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# The child rearing practices of Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education

The University of Auckland

## **Abstract**

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the parenting styles and practices of 207 Korean immigrant parents of children aged between 6 and 10, their children's behavioural adjustment, and the influence of parental acculturation on parenting and child behaviour. In order to obtain a better understanding of the parenting experiences of Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand, a mixed methods design using both quantitative and qualitative approaches was used. Both mothers (N = 128) and fathers (N = 79) completed self-report questionnaires. Parenting styles were measured using the authoritative and the authoritarian subscales from the modified version of the Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ) developed by Wu et al. (2002). Next, five parenting constructs (i.e., maternal involvement, shaming/love withdrawal, encouragement of modesty, protection, and directiveness) emphasised in China developed by Wu et al. (2002) were used in this thesis to assess Korean parenting practices and a new six-item scale, Mo jeong was created to capture devotion and affection shown by Korean parents. Korean immigrant parents' acculturation and their adaptation into the New Zealand culture were assessed using the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (Suinn, Rickard-Fugueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987). Finally, Korean immigrant parents' perceptions of their children's behavioural strengths and difficulties were measured using the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Goodman, 1997). Structured interviews were conducted with 21 parents to explore the parenting challenges and experiences of Korean immigrant parents and to identify the unique parenting challenges faced by Korean 'geese parents' and their strengths in the parenting role. The term geese parent or geese family refers to a separated family where one parent (usually the mother) and their young children immigrate overseas to English-speaking countries for

the sake of their children's education, while the other parent typically remains in Korea and financially supports their family's overseas stay.

Prior to analysing the questionnaire data, a series of confirmatory factor analyses of the measures of parenting, child behaviour and acculturation used in this thesis were conducted, based on pre-existing models, to evaluate the reliability of the measures in use in this sample and to refine and revise them if necessary. The revised models largely replicated existing models, and the revised measures were sufficiently coherent and robust to be used. Results showed that Korean immigrant mothers and fathers demonstrated similarities in their parenting behaviours that could be characterised by a mix of Western parenting styles and Korean parenting practices. They perceived themselves as using an authoritative parenting style and their reported use of Korean parenting practices indicated they were highly devoted, involved, and moderately directive and used moderate levels of shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty. In regard to mother and father parenting differences, fathers were more authoritarian and they perceived themselves as engaging in slightly more shaming/ love withdrawal and modesty encouragement than mothers. Regarding child behavioural strengths and difficulties, mothers and fathers did not differ significantly in their ratings of internalising and externalising behaviour problems in their children. However, results of the regression analyses showed some differences between mothers and fathers in the parenting predictors of child internalising and externalising behaviour problems and prosocial behaviour. Lower levels of internalising problems were predicted by maternal devotion and fathers' authoritative parenting; while higher levels of mothers' authoritarian parenting and father directiveness predicted more internalising problems. Maternal directiveness and maternal and paternal devotion were predictive of fewer externalising problems. Child prosocial behaviour was predicted by both maternal and paternal devotion while for mothers only, prosocial behaviour was negatively predicted by authoritarian parenting.

A structural equation model showed that strict/ controlling and authoritative parenting styles were clearly contrasting and had relationships with parental perceptions of behavioural problems and prosocial behaviour, with authoritative parenting style contributing substantially to fewer reported problems.

Four major topics emerged from parent interviews with several themes and subthemes. Those topics include parenting experiences of Korean immigrant parents (e.g., changes in parent-child relationships after immigration), parenting challenges of Korean immigrant parents (e.g., parent-teacher communication difficulties), unique experiences and challenges of geese parents and their strengths in this parenting role (e.g., sole parental responsibility and lack of parenting support and greater independence, responsibility, self reliance), and recommendations on successful childrearing strategies for new Korean immigrants (e.g., importance of mother-tongue). Parent interviews revealed that most parents encountered positive changes associated with parenting following their migration to New Zealand. The interview findings also highlighted the challenges that Korean immigrant parents and geese parents face as they adapt and adjust to the new cultural context.

Based on the results of this thesis, recommendations for parenting professionals working with Asian immigrant parents and children were made, particularly about ways to promote healthy parent-child relationships. For example, helping Korean immigrant parents to enhance their child's behavioural well-being and minimise parent-child conflicts. The thesis also has some practical implications for school seeking to involve immigrant parents and makes some recommendations for those who support geese parents in their transition into New Zealand society.

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## **Chapter 1**

## Introduction

1.1 Why study Korean immigrants in New Zealand? What is unique about them within the New Zealand context?

The present thesis focuses on Korean immigrant parents in Auckland, New Zealand. Korean immigrants have been chosen for two primary reasons. First, although they comprise the third largest Asian ethnic group in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006), little is known about the parenting practices and experiences of Korean mothers and fathers who settle in New Zealand (DeSouza, 2006). The reason for the lack of research on Korean immigrants in New Zealand, compared to other Asian groups such as Chinese, may be that they have a short immigration history as they are a relatively new immigrant group (Chang, Morris, & Vokes, 2006). Koreans may also have been lumped with other East Asian groups as one homogenous group in the minds of most New Zealanders (Renwick, 1997). Although Korean immigrants in New Zealand share their Confucian heritage culture with Chinese or Japanese immigrants and have much in common because of the powerful influence of Confucian philosophy and practice, Korean immigrants are ethnically and linguistically distinct in many ways (Zhou & Kim, 2007). Aside from their language, what differentiates Korean immigrants from other Asian groups is that they are a homogeneous group with their own language, culture and customs. They also differ from other East Asian groups in their respective histories of immigration as well as socioeconomic backgrounds prior to immigration. They are also well-educated and professional immigrants make up the foundation of contemporary Korean immigration (Zhou & Kim, 2007). Indeed, from 1991 onwards, most new Korean immigrants entered New Zealand under the "general skills"

category and most were drawn from the Korean middle-classes (Chang et al., 2006). By the end of 2001, the Korean population in New Zealand increased twentyfold from 930 in 1991 to 30,792 in 2006 (Yoon & Choi, 2007). This increase in the Korean population makes them the fastest growing ethnic group in New Zealand over this period. Further, it makes the Korean community quite unique as a distinctively 'new' ethnic group in New Zealand (Chang et al., 2006). Therefore, there appears to be a need to better understand the unique parenting experiences of this under-researched group.

#### 1.2 Rationale of the thesis

As a Korean-born student, the researcher has always been interested in the voice of ethnic minority and Asian immigrant groups in New Zealand because such voices are seldom heard. The researcher also witnessed and listened to the stories of Korean immigrant parents and single parents experiencing language and emotional difficulties in adjusting to life in New Zealand and facing challenges in child rearing. For example, parents are busy trying to make a living in their foreign country, and thus lack time and support to care for their children. Lack of time and support therefore had been identified as barriers to child rearing by parents I met prior to starting my research. Also, parents put in their best effort to ensure their children did not lose their cultural identity and maintain their first heritage language. But, I have noticed, as children grow up and begin to use English and start going to school, conflict between immigrant parents and children increases and children themselves get confused about their identity. The situation is far more difficult for single parents because they have to do the duties of both mother and father, so their tasks are heavier and tougher than for two parents. The researcher was thus motivated by a concern at the lack of research carried out in New Zealand with a specific focus on these Korean immigrant parents' parenting experiences, despite the size of the total Korean population in New Zealand. The researcher wanted to

attempt to fill the void created by the lack of representation in research by shedding light on Korean immigrant families and exploring the characteristics of their unique ethnic culture and its relation to parenting. I hope the findings of this thesis enable us to gain a better understanding of Korean immigrants' experiences in New Zealand. It is also hoped that this thesis will enrich the family studies literature on child development and Asian immigrant parenting. Further, seeing immigrant Korean parents and single parents experiencing severe challenges became an impetus for this thesis and encouraged the researcher to conduct research at the University of Auckland.

#### 1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis comprises seven chapters. Chapter 1 provides a rationale for studying Korean immigrants in New Zealand and sets out the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the relevant literature that yields the context of this thesis. First, general background information about Korean population in New Zealand is provided. General characteristics of Korean immigrants in New Zealand are described and the major factors for choosing New Zealand as their second place of home are identified. Further, the challenges faced by Korean immigrants in New Zealand are examined, including adapting to unfamiliar parenting styles, and the impact of acculturation and immigration on Korean parenting is discussed. Next, the literature review is organised into sections that reviews and critiques the literature on topics relevant to the research questions. These include parenting practices emphasised in Korea, Western concepts of authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles, and comparisons between mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices. Next, the influence of acculturation and socioeconomic status variables is considered, followed a review of the literature on children's behavioural strengths and

difficulties, their relationships with parenting factors and the moderating influence of acculturation on the relationship between parenting practices and child behaviour. Lastly, research findings about parenting challenges faced by Korean immigrant families and geese parents are presented. The chapter concludes with an overall summary of the literature that provides the justification for the study's research questions and hypotheses that follow.

Chapter 3 describes the research methodology used this thesis. It includes the research design, sample recruitment procedures, ethical issues, participant characteristics, measures and data collection procedures and a plan for the data analysis. The chapter carefully addresses the design for the study along with the justifications for selecting of research methods (mixing methods research) used. It also gives an account of the research instruments that were used to collect quantitative and qualitative data. A detailed description of the questionnaires is provided, including their properties and any modifications that were made. The rationale for chosen interview questions is discussed. The analytic strategy used for both the questionnaire data and the interview data is outlined at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 4 presents a series of confirmatory factor analyses of the measures of parenting, child behaviour and acculturation used in this thesis. The goal was to assess whether the models derived from previous Western and Chinese studies could be replicated and to assess their reliability for use in this sample of 207 Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand. A summary and discussion of the CFA models are provided at the end of each revised model.

Chapters 5 and 6 present and discuss the findings which arose from the analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data. Chapter 5 presents the self-reported

questionnaire findings of parenting styles, Korean parenting practices, acculturation, and children's behavioural strengths and difficulties, including descriptive statistics comparing mother and father data and correlation and regression analyses, that examine relationships between parenting and child behaviour, reported separately by mothers and fathers. Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) was used to examine the relations between the constructs: strict/controlling and authoritative parenting, the Korean parenting practices of directiveness, and children's behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour. Chapter 6 discusses parent interview findings in relation to several themes and associated sub-themes that were linked with the topic area of each research aim for this part of the study.

Chapter 7 presents a discussion of the research findings organised according to research hypotheses, and discusses implications of the findings for practices, the study limitations and directions for future research, and a summary of contributions made by this thesis.

## **Chapter 2**

## **Literature Review**

#### 2.1 Background: Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand

#### 2.1.1. The Korean population in New Zealand

At the time of the 2006 Census, there were approximately 30,792 Koreans in New Zealand, virtually all from the Republic of South Korea, constituting almost 1% of the total New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The Korean population is the third largest ethnic group within New Zealand's Asian population (Yoon & Choe, 2007). Korean migration to New Zealand is comparatively recent. Immigration by Koreans to New Zealand started only in the 1990s, meaning the Korean community makes the smallest population of the New Zealand-born population of all ethnicities (Friesen, 2008). The Korean population in New Zealand differs vastly to other migrant populations, with almost half of the Korean population falling in the age group of 10-20, and Korean women outnumbering men in all age groups (except 15 and under), with the divide particularly sharp between ages 25-39, with only 71 men for every woman (Yoon & Choe, 2007). This gender gap is mainly the result of the phenomenon of 'geese families' (Yoon & Choe, 2007). Geese families is a commonlyused term in South Korea referring to "a split-household transnational family" in which mothers and young children immigrate overseas to English-speaking countries for the sake of their children's education (i.e., seeking a more flexible educational system, English immersion). Mothers and children live in the English-speaking country for the duration of their child's primary and/or secondary years while fathers typically remain in Korea and financially support their family's overseas stay. The term 'geese families/ parents' are derived from the similarity to migrating geese, which fly long distances seasonally for family reunions (Lee & Koo, 2006). This new form of family has emerged as a mainstream trend

among the South Korean middle class families for whom educational qualifications in Western countries are seen as a channel for social mobility in response to globalisation. The driving force of this extraordinary phenomenon began to appear from the mid 1990s in Korea when the first civilian South Korean government of Kim Young Sam (1993-1997) initiated the general policy of globalisation in hopes of a national and international economic jump-start (Kang, 2000). This policy change resulted in the transnational family structure (Lee & Koo, 2006).

#### 2.1.2. General characteristics of Korean immigrants in New Zealand

Korean immigrants in New Zealand have several characteristics in common: they are a homogenous group in terms of culture and historical experiences. They are also very homogenous linguistically since Koreans speak a single language (Min, 1988, 1995). This monolingual background, combined with their cultural and historic homogeneity, has helped Korean immigrants maintain their strong ethnic attachments and solidarity. Based on 1996 census data, Koreans (excluding geese parents) who immigrated to New Zealand were drawn from the middle-classes and migrated under the general skills system (Kim & Yoon, 2003). Having arrived in New Zealand under a general skills system, most Koreans have attained a high level of educational qualifications and professional work experience (Chang et al., 2006; Kim & Yoon, 2003). Though they qualified to come to New Zealand, in part because of their high educational and professional experiences, their skills are often not easily transferable from Korea to New Zealand and sometimes are even unrecognisable. Language poses a further barrier for Korean immigrants seeking employment in the New Zealand context. Instead of seeking mainstream employment opportunities, Koreans are more likely to work on a self-employed basis in small-scale businesses such as Korean food groceries, Korean restaurants, and travel agencies for the in-bound tourist from Korea (Chang et al., 2006). This occupational pattern reflects the fact that Korean-owned small businesses in New Zealand are either ethnic or transnational, both of which existed to serve the Korean community itself. While ethnic businesses such as Korean groceries and restaurants are operated by Korean staff and cater mainly for Korean customers, the major customers of transnational businesses like international study and travel agencies are prospective immigrants, Korean international students or tourists from Korea (Kim & Yoon, 2003; Koo, 2010). In this sense, these two business sectors are interrelated (not clearly separated) since most ethnic businesses mainly attract Korean customers or Korean transnational migrants. It is, however, noticeable that many 1.5 generation Koreans (people who immigrate to a new country as children and adolescents) who have been educated in mainstream society are employed in companies and organisations as office workers or professionals (Koo, 2010), but in reality, they are still likely to serve Koreans or as a liaison between the community and the host society (Koo, 2010; Yoon, 1998). The concentration of Koreans in small businesses, often separated from the wider economy, may help Korean immigrants maintain their strong ethnic attachments by interacting with fellow immigrants and Korean customers (Min, 1989).

#### 2.1.3. Reasons for coming to New Zealand: Education and language issues

According to the interview study by Chang et al. (2006) with 36 Korean immigrants in Christchurch, children's education was a major motivation for Korean parents to immigrate to New Zealand. Korean immigrant parents reported that their decision to come to New Zealand was connected with their desire to offer children a lower-pressure educational experience in an English-speaking country. Even though Korea remains a predominantly monolingual society, English speaking ability is seen as a symbolic measure of one's competence and is associated with professional careers, and international competitiveness (Lee & Lee, 2010). In Korea, high competition for tertiary places and the need to acquire

English in global communication also leads parents and their children to seek to immigrate overseas for study (Kim, 2009).

However, geese parent families differ from Korean immigrant families, who typically have both parents settling in the new country in the hope of improving their family and children's well-being. Instead, geese family arrangements require a significant reduction of the family's financial resources for unseen benefits in the future (Park, 2012). Geese mothers are motivated to endure the difficulties associated with living overseas.

Geese mothers (i.e., Korean women living in NZ with children, while their fathers live and work in Korea), also tend to be highly educated, often with graduate degrees and professional occupations, and they have high aspirations for their children's education and English language learning, whether in Korea or studying abroad in a global context (Tokita, 2006). Indeed, a few studies with geese parents have shown that parents tend to believe that learning English at an early age makes their children competent in English and this can be a major advantage in entering a competitive college and getting into the domestic and international labour markets (Kim, 2009; Lee & Koo, 2006). English learning therefore, has become one of the most important social and educational issues, among middle and uppermiddle class South Koreans as a means to furthering economic and social advantage in South Korea's globalised environment. Korean parents' English zeal, combined with globalisation, has, thus, created the phenomenon of 'early sending abroad' of young children but has also increased willingness to become geese parents (Kim, 2009).

#### 2.1.4. Challenges to Korean immigrants in New Zealand

Immigrant parents are often exposed to numerous acculturative stressors, including the challenges of adapting to unfamiliar parenting styles, placing them at risk for parenting stress (Bornstein & Bohr, 2011). Chang et al. (2006) found that most of the Korean immigrant parents in their study left their homeland with a great sense of hope of building a new life in New Zealand. In particular, at this stage, most parents harboured strong expectations as to the better educational and economic opportunities they would be able to provide for their families and children. However, for many, this dream was tempered by the reality or actual experience of living in New Zealand. Many Korean immigrant parents described a general sense of frustration and disappointment over employment barriers, harassment, and developing friendships and contacts with New Zealanders and overall difficulties with integration into New Zealand society (Chang et al., 2006). These challenges faced by Korean (and other) immigrant parents have implications for the type of community support services that should be available to help Korean immigrant parents settle in New Zealand. Given the increase in Korean immigrant families in New Zealand, understanding immigrant parents' specific experiences in parenting their children upon arrival to their new country and identifying the specific problems these parents face when socialising their children has significant implications for supporting or counselling immigrant parents.

#### 2.1.5. Impact of acculturation and immigration on Korean parenting

Although there has been a large influx of emigrants from South Korea to the United States, Canada, and New Zealand, a very limited number of studies have examined the role of migration and acculturation on Korean immigrant parenting practices outside of the U.S. This may be because the history of Korean immigration to New Zealand is relatively short compared to immigration to the U.S. Koreans have a century-long immigration history to the

U.S.A. beginning in 1903, while Korean migration to New Zealand began only in the early 1990s (Tan, 2012). The size of the Korean population in New Zealand is very small relative to the Korean population in the U.S., which still has the highest concentration of Korean immigrants (Park, 2004). Thus, compared to the U.S., relatively little information is available with regard to Korean immigrant families in New Zealand.

In terms of the residential concentration, Korean-American immigrants are concentrated in various U.S. cities (seven states) (Terrazas & Batog, 2010) and they are more geographically dispersed than Korean immigrants in New Zealand who are heavily concentrated in one area. The Auckland metropolitan region contains 70% of the Koreans in New Zealand (Yoon & Choe, 2007). Research suggests that immigrant parents living in neighbourhoods with a heavy concentration of co-ethnics have less exposure to the mainstream culture, and in turn, may be less likely to engage in parenting behaviours that are in line with mainstream parenting practices (Huang, 2007; Nesteruk, 2007). On the other hand, research has consistently shown that higher orientation toward the host culture is positively associated with parenting success (i.e., mastery experiences) in the parenting domain that bolster parents' feelings of confidence in their ability to effectively parent in a new cultural context (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011; Costigan & Su, 2008; Ortega, 2001). A possible explanation is that involvement with host social contacts increases parents' familiarity with the cultural expectations related to child development and parenting in the host context (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011).

Furthermore, there are several other ways that Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand differ from participants in studies of Korean immigrant parents in the U.S. First, most Korean-American parents in parenting research were first-generation immigrants who

migrated to the U.S. as adults (Kim, 2005; Kim & Rohner, 2002; Rohner & Pettengill, 1985). However, some NZ Korean immigrant parents are of the 1.5 generation who came to New Zealand at a young age or as young students. There are likely to be significant differences between immigrants who arrived in New Zealand as adults, the so-called the 1.0 generation, and those who arrived as children before 13 years of age, the so-called 1.5 generation (Danico, 2004). It is possible that Korean immigrant parents of 1.5 generation in New Zealand may have had more opportunities to learn about mainstream Western or New Zealand parenting practices compared to Korean-American parents in the above studies. Second, from 1991 onwards, a large proportion of Korean immigrants came to New Zealand under the Business Immigration Scheme (where potential immigrants were assessed on their economic potential and their ability to contribute to the New Zealand economy) and the points-based system (where points were generally granted for criteria such as applicants' salary, work experience, and educational qualifications) (Park, 2007). This is quite different from the case of Korean Americans, many of who came or were invited to the U.S. under the family category for the purpose of family reunifications, which may have been a function of U.S. involvement in the Korean war (1950-1953) (Park, 2007). Therefore, one unique feature of Korean immigrants is that a large proportion of them have come from a middle-class background; they are largely urban and well-educated (Chang et al., 2006). Given that Korean immigrants arrive in New Zealand with relatively high levels of income and educational qualifications, links between SES and parenting may have a different pattern of relationships to those obtained in studies of Korean-American samples. Third, while there may be cultural similarities between the U.S. and New Zealand, a number of studies indicate parenting differences across so-called Western countries (Bornstein et al., 1998). These results raise the possibility that different patterns of findings may be obtained when

examining the extent to which Korean parents adopt Western parenting practices when they immigrate to New Zealand rather than the U.S.

Against this general background, this chapter discusses and reviews the key literature that yields the context of this study. First, the influence of Confucianism on the traditional and contemporary Korean family is discussed to enable the reader to gain a better perspective on understanding and interpreting Korean perceptions of parenting practices (Min, 1998; Yi, 1993). In particular, the influence of Confucianism on Korean practices is discussed. Next, social changes and contemporary parenting practices in Korea are examined. Third, the application and relevance of Western concepts of authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles to parents in Korea and Korean immigrant parents are reviewed. Fourth, studies of the parenting styles and practices of Korean immigrants in North America are discussed, including comparisons between mothers' and fathers' parenting, and the influence of acculturation and socioeconomic status variables. Fifth, literature is reviewed on children's behavioural strengths and difficulties and their relationships with parenting factors, along with the moderating influence of acculturation on the relationship between parenting practices and child behaviour. Next, an overview of knowledge about parenting challenges faced by Korean immigrant families and geese mothers is provided in order to highlight further issues that need to be explored in the New Zealand context. Finally, an overall summary of the literature is provided, specifying the research gaps, research questions, hypotheses, exploratory aims, and measurement issues that this thesis will address.

#### 2.2 Confucianism Influences on the Traditional Korean Family

#### 2.2.1. Human Relationships

In order to understand Korean families and the role of parents and children better, it is important to review the historical perspective about Confucian society and historical traditions that have guided greatly the Korean familial system and structure (Park & Cho, 1995; Yi, 1993). Confucianism is a Chinese moral and philosophical system originally developed by Confucius in the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC. For centuries, Confucianism has exerted a strong influence on the governments, societies, educational practices and family life of East Asia, including Korea (Park & Cho, 1995). Confucianism and its ethics, as the dominant ideology of East Asia, have played a central role in governing human relationships in Korea for over 500 years until the turn of 21th century. Chu (1987) and Yi (1993) identified five main human relationships in Confucianism, especially the Five Cardinal Relationships: (1) parent and children, (2) king and people, (3) husband and wife, (4) older (brother) and younger (brother), and (5) friends (Chu, 1987; Min, 1988). Among those relationships, three of these five were within the family, so the significance of Confucianism for the Korean family system is clear. Moreover, Korean Confucianism posits that the purpose of family life is unity, and emphasises hierarchy in human relations based on age, gender, and inherited social status (Han, 1989; Park & Cheah, 2005).

#### 2.2.2. Traditional Korean parenting roles and roles of fathers and mothers

Traditionally, parent-child relations have been more highly valued than the marital relationship in Korea (Cho & Shin, 1996). Korean childrearing practices and beliefs are derived from the traditional teachings of Confucius and are largely based on Confucian principles that promote social harmony, cohesiveness of the group, respect for authority, and proper behaviour (Kim & Wong, 2002; Park & Cheah, 2005). Confucian principles also

placed a great deal of importance on filial piety. Filial piety (*hyo do*) is one of the most important concepts in Asian families and it is a pillar of parent-child relationships (Kim & Choi, 1994). Within parent-child relationships, the concept of filial piety particularly emphasises children's strong obligation to return parental love and care, respect for the elders in the family, and ancestral worship after the death of the parents (Harrell, 1982). Kim and Choi (1994) described the duties and responsibilities of children toward their parents. These duties involve obeying, attending, supporting, comforting, and honouring, which encompass the traditional meaning of filial piety. Filial duties also extend to one's overall family in terms of respecting and honouring the family and the family name. For fathers and mothers, Confucianism established strictly different roles in the family, which are discussed below.

Traditionally, the goal of child rearing in Korea was to bring a child to a level of maturity through nurturing and socialisation of the child into an adult who would become an honourable human (Lee, 1985). In the traditional Korean family, the methods by which each parent shaped children's development were further distinguished by the gender of the parent; a strict and stern father and a benevolent and nurturing mother (Kim & Choi, 1994; Yi, 1993). Korean fathers and mothers, thus, played very different and complementary roles in child rearing. This contrast in parental roles in Korea is well expressed by a popular Korean phrase, "ombujamo", or "strict father, benevolent mother" (Rohner & Pettengill, 1985). This phrase represents a positive cultural perception for Koreans (Kim, 2005).

According to the patriarchal ideology in the Confucian tradition, the division of labour and child rearing responsibility was based on gender: fathers as providers and mothers as homemakers (Suh, 2007). The Confucian influence on the contemporary Korean family is still strong, as evidenced by a clear hierarchy between men and women. Strict gender

segregation has remained widespread throughout family culture in Korea more or less until today (Han, 1999; Kim 2008). The role of father was authoritarian; fathers were generally characterised as a stern disciplinarian who was the breadwinner and decision maker in the family. Fathers were more concerned with behavioural self-regulation of the child than the child's emotional stability. According to Korean tradition, it was believed that a father must not express the emotions of happiness, anger, love, and pleasure in order to maintain a position of authority and be respected as an honourable man because he avoided any expression of feelings and affection towards his children (Kim & Choi, 1994). Fathers were also, therefore, emotionally distant from their children. Instruction, guidance, and discipline were largely the responsibilities of a father and he emphasised his role as moralistic educator rather than a psychological agent (Yi, 1993).

In contrast, mothers were primarily responsible for managing household duties and for child rearing involving educating and socialising of their children. Mothers were generally characterised as a kind and affectionate protector whose role was to serve as the emotional provider of the family (Yi, 1993). In response to these cultural prescriptions, mothers were thought to show understanding and empathetic orientation toward their children (Kim & Choi, 1994). In the socialisation of children, Confucian philosophy emphasised composed and reverential behaviour in children (Kim & Wong, 2002). As a result, mothers exercised high impulse control over their children and closely monitored them, in order to train them to behave properly. Mothers encouraged their young children to stay physically and safely nearby, and by, extension, fostered dependency on parents.

Overall, Confucianism has directly shaped Korean family systems and positioned the family as the fundamental unit of society, as evidenced by strong patriarchal characteristics.

Confucianism has also influenced paternal and maternal values and behaviour, with the Korean father established as an authority figure who yielded enormous power over his family, while Korean mother was subordinate of that of the husband and primarily concerned with achieving interpersonal harmony in child rearing (Park & Cheah, 2005). Based on these customs, traditional Korean fathers placed great emphasis on disciplining their children to behave properly and to be obedient. Mothers, on the other hand, were involved in being devoted to their children and physically and emotionally caring. For children, Confucius emphasised a number of duties for children's filial behaviour. They were required to not only show the highest respect for parents but also show unquestioning obedience to their parents' wishes, catering for parents materially and emotionally, and performing ancestral duties (Harrell, 1982; Kim & Choi, 1994). To a large extent these traditional gender roles and the parenting practices are still evident in contemporary Korean families, although there have been some shifts in parenting practices associated with social and economic changes in Korean society. Contemporary Korean parenting practices are discussed in the next two sections.

#### 2.2.3. Social changes and current paternal roles and parenting practices in Korea

Recent research has challenged the traditional image and role of Korean fathers. A small but growing body of research indicates that Korean fathers are facing a period of transition into new fatherhood roles (Chae & Lee, 2011; Kim & Chung, 2011). Traditionally, Korean fathers were seen as the distant breadwinners who were often absent, both physically and emotionally, from their children as they worked to provide financial stability for the family. However, social and economic changes as well as increase in maternal employment and earnings have increased pressure on fathers to assume equal responsibility in parenting (Jung & Honig, 2000). In South Korea, the increasing status and economic power of women

have weakened fathers' authority and the loss of paternal authority has been significantly noticeable since 2000 (Lim, 2006). According to the newspaper *Dong A Ilbo* (2005, p.2), one of Korea's leading newspapers, "the absolute authoritarian and strict father no longer exists in Korea'. In explaining this situation, the economic crisis of 1997, the so-called IMF (International Monetary Fund) crisis played an important role in fathers' work lives and their family involvement (Kwon & Roy, 2007). The IMF crisis threatened fathers' job security and many fathers experienced substantial income loss. Korean fathers' job losses during the economic crisis forced many mothers to devote more time to the workforce and as a result, women's participation in labour and their involvement in family decision making have increased.

In tandem with the growing autonomy and independence of women, related social trends such as declining fertility and decreasing numbers of children in each family have often led to fathers becoming more affectionate and nurturing to their children (Atkinson & Blackwelder, 1993). Noting that Korea has the second lowest birth rate in the world (United Nations Funds for Population Activities, 2009), Atkinson and Blackwelder (1993) argued that the low birth rate causes changes in fathering from providing to nurturing. In their study, they compared the cultural definition of fathers as providers versus nurturers as evidenced in magazine articles from 1900 to 1989, with women's labour force participation and fertility rates. They found a strong relationship between higher fertility rates and an emphasis on fathers' provider roles. In other words, fathers with larger number of children were more likely to be defined as providers than as nurturers (Atkinson & Blackwelder, 1993).

New social expectations have emerged regarding nurturing fathers, with Korean fathers expected to actively participate in parenting more than before (Chae & Lee, 2001;

Kwon & Roy, 2007). There is also evidence to suggest that the role of Korean fathers has shifted from a traditional male-disciplinary parenting style to a more egalitarian, Western style of parenting, in which fathers' parenting style is characterised by being more affectionate than fathers of previous generations. For example, Jung and Honig (2000) identified similarities and differences between Korean grandfathers' (n = 57) and fathers' (n = 57) parenting practices and attitudes in middle-class, two-parent, Korean families in Korea. Korean fathers reported significantly more nurturance and affection compared with their own fathers and believed that praise was essential. In particular, fathers who had higher education and who were more satisfied with their jobs than other fathers in the study were more accepting and flexible regarding parental rules and showed more democratic child rearing practices towards their 5- to 9-year-old children.

Moreover, the emergence of the new nurturing father role expanded the expectations for Korean fathers to prioritise family above work and assume a more active role in raising their children (Kwon & Roy, 2007). However, as a reflection of Confucian traditions, the conservative patriarchal point of view embedded in some Korean fathers who work in conservative working environments, such as politics or law offices, has prevented many fathers from becoming involved in daily caregiving activities (Chae & Lee, 2011; Kwon & Roy, 2007). Fathers working in conservative working environments are more likely to (a) follow Confucian ideals and traditional notions of paternal involvement and (b) view themselves as the breadwinners who provide authority and discipline (Chae & Lee, 2011; Kwon & Roy, 2007). There is some evidence that Korean fathers who are compelled by economic hardship to work long hours dedicate themselves even more strongly to fulfilling expectations as providers and are under extraordinary pressure as breadwinners (Chae & Lee, 2011). Other findings suggest that even where Korean fathers are too busy to discipline the

child, they do not give up their role as disciplinarian (Sakai, 2007). Another example of how employment pressures may affect fathers' roles comes from a study of 32 Korean fathers in Korea by Kwon and Roy (2007) who found that fathers who were either unemployed and/or worked the longest work hours (50 to 80 hours per week) easily turned their frustration onto their children and used more scolding when disciplining them.

Overall, it is apparent that socioeconomic conditions have changed societal expectations of fathers' roles in Korea. This may be partly due to the growing involvement of mothers in the labour force and fathers' job losses during the economic crisis in 1997, thereby weakening the fathers' authority. For some fathers, exposure to a culture of new fatherhood has encouraged them to prioritise family above work and become nurturers as well as providers. At the same time, Korean fathers who work in conservative environments may hold more traditional notions of paternal participation in parenting while fathers who are under work pressures may strictly discipline their child. While paternal parenting practices are changing in response to contemporary cultural events, their effects on maternal parenting practices are examined next.

#### 2.2.4. Contemporary maternal parenting practices in Korea

The benevolent mother constitutes the traditional image of Korean mothers. Although the traditional family structure and values have changed with modernisation, two important features of traditional parenting practices remain and persist: devotion and indulgence (Kim & Choi, 1994; Kim, Park, Kwon, & Koo, 2005). These tenets are commonly shared in both the traditional and the modern mother-child relationship (Park, Trommsdorff, & Lee, 2012). Han (1999) and Park et al. (2012) reported that even though young Korean mothers in contemporary society are more likely to adopt Western individualistic values regarding child development, they devote themselves to nurturing and taking care of their child's everyday

life and expect their child to be dependent on them. The common reasons given for mothers' full responsibility for their child's everyday life are to establish mother-child interdependent relationships in which both mothers and children gain a sense of security (Park et al., 2012). Mothers in Korea, therefore, try to maintain close relationships with their children to make sure that their child feels secure, and to make the boundary between herself and the child minimal by providing for the needs of her children (Kim & Choi, 1994). Korean mothers typically are willing to do everything for their children even if it means physical, emotional, and financial sacrifice. Children's strong emotional and existential dependence needs are satisfied by their mother's indulgence and devotion (Kim & Choi, 1994; Park & Kim, 1999).

The Korean mother-child relationship stems from and is the essence of *jeong* (Kim & Choi, 1994). *Jeong* has a psychological connotation because it is translated as 'love or affection' and is an important affective bond that ties and integrates in-group members together in Korean culture. Its meaning is broader though, since *jeong* operates through an osmosis-like process that circulates among group members to bind them together. *Mo jeong* is translated as a mother's (*Mo*) affection (*Jeong*) for children (Kim & Choi, 1994). *Mo jeong* encompasses more than a mother's deep love and generosity; it is associated with a mother's empathy, care, and unconditional love. For instance, if child makes a mistake or faults are found, a mother tries to accept and even overlook the mistakes made by children. In a *mo jeong* relationship, a mother tries to understand from the child's perspective and empathically relate to her own disappointments. This emotional arousal within such relationship is a powerful force that shapes a child's behaviour (Kim & Choi, 1994). In addition, the Korean father-child relationship also stems from the essence of *jeong*. While jeong does not have an exact English equivalent, *jeong* is also epitomised by father's love (Kim & Choi, 1994).

Korean mothers are also immensely involved in their children's high academic achievement, especially during the early years (Wu et al., 2002), and sacrifice significant time and energy to foster it. Maternal involvement, however, may overlap somewhat with devotion since both reflect Asian notions of parental sacrifice. Thus, an importance distinction needs to be made between maternal involvement and devotion. Maternal involvement places emphasis on mothers sacrificing significant time to help children succeed academically, and the academic success of a child is often described as the success of the mother (Cha & Kim, 2013). In contrast, devotion denotes mothers' empathic understanding of their children, such as trying to understand from child's perspective and often to forbear and accept mistakes made by a child.

#### 2.2.5. Contemporary Korean parenting practices used by both mothers and fathers

For both mothers and fathers, encouragement of modesty and shaming/love withdrawal are important traditional aspects of socialisation that continue in contemporary Korean society. In order to become honourable men as defined by Confucianism, children were taught to be modest and humble and not to seek personal recognition for their own good deeds (Miller, 1994; Wu, Robinson, Yang, Hart, & Olsen et al., 2002). One of the key principles of Confucian teaching is the stability of society, harmony, and peace. In order to maintain harmony, one needs to be able to cooperate with others and be modest. Therefore, humble, modest behaviour, and an emphasis on group accomplishments as opposed to individual accomplishments was and still is an important aspect of socialisation in Korea. This emphasis on the group over the individual has been identified as collectivism (Hofstede, 1980). In collectivist societies (e.g., Korea), people tend to view themselves as member of group, including family members, friends, and co-workers. This view of the self maintains that individuals are interdependent with others (Gao, 1998). Thus, interdependent individuals view themselves as more connected to and less differentiated from others and are more likely

to find ways to fit in with others. As such, people with an interdependent self-construal are more likely to under- represent their own favourite traits and abilities by controlling their personal inner attributes (i.e., to behave in a modest way) to avoid disrupting harmony in the relationship (Chen, Hasting, Rubin, Chen, & Cen et al., 1998; Ho, 1986). The ability to cooperate with others and prioritise the achievements and successes of in-group members is considered an index of individual social maturity (Wu et al., 2002). Therefore, within a collectivistic context, individuals are expected early on to learn to conform to such norms.

Modesty is a characteristic esteemed by Koreans and modesty appears to be more common in collectivist societies like Korea (Hofstede, 1980). Evidence that collectivist beliefs are still present among Korean immigrant parents comes from a study by Choi, Kim, Pekelnicky, and Kim (2012). In their study on the family socialisation beliefs and practices of 241 Korean-American immigrant families they found that on average parents endorsed collectivist attributes more than individualist attributes. For example, the ability to attribute his or her success to help from others was considered an ideal attribute that Korean-American parents would like to see in their 11 to 14 year-old adolescents. Consistent with modesty, the ability to pay attention to others' feelings and needs was also considered important for Korean to acquire among their parents in Choi et al's. (2012) study.

Given that Confucianism emphasises harmonious social relations among people, another important aspect of socialisation continues to be the use of shaming and love withdrawal techniques. The importance of shame in Asian and Korean culture was closely linked to the dominant social and moral thought of Confucianism. In order to be aware of other person's opinions, judgments, and evaluations, children were expected to be sensitive to shame and "encouraged to act so as to maximise the positive esteem they are granted from

others while trying to avoid incurring their disapproval" (Schoenhals, 1993, p. 192). Thus, traditional child rearing beliefs based on Confucian principles of social harmony, moral and social conforming behaviour, discipline, and proper behaviour still appear to exert some influence on contemporary Korean parents' socialisation goals and parenting practices.

In addition to the encouragement of modest behaviour and shaming/ love withdrawal, parental protection in the Asian cultural context reflects the parental intention of keeping young children safely nearby and fostering dependency on parents meeting the child's needs (Wu et al., 2002). Children are, therefore, taught to depend on their parents from a young age and they are not allowed to be active or participate in explorative activities (e.g., living outside the family home without being married, maintaining close contacts with the family no matter where one lives), especially if there was a risk of physical injury (Ho, 1986). In this sense, parents do not let their children injure themselves because they are the people who will care for their aged parents in the future. However, there is some evidence that parental protection may no longer be endorsed or idealised by the contemporary Korean immigrant parents living in the U.S. For example, Choi et al. (2012) found that parents did not feel strongly about their children living with them until marriage.

#### 2.3 Parenting styles in Western cultures

#### 2.3.1. Parenting styles and typologies

Baumrind's (1971) typology of parenting styles, a conceptual framework for examining parent-child relationships, has been used extensively to research parenting in Western societies. It has also been a fruitful focus for research on Asian and Asian American parenting (Kim & Wong, 2002), including comparisons between Asian and Western samples. Baumrind distinguished between three types of parenting style, which she labelled authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. These parenting styles have been associated with

different outcomes in children. Baumrind's initial classification of parenting styles was further elaborated by Maccoby and Martin (1983) with the addition of a fourth parenting style called uninvolved (permissive neglectful). Maccoby and Martin proposed a two-dimensional model of parenting according to the degree of parental responsiveness and parental demandingness shown, to identify the four parenting styles. Parental responsiveness refers to the degree of support, warmth, and acceptance that parents display toward their children. Parental demandingness refers to the claims parents make on children to be mature and responsible individuals, and the extent to which parents use rules and restrictions to control their children (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Cross-tabulating the two orthogonal dimensions of responsiveness and demandingness produces four different parenting styles: The authoritarian parenting style is high in demandingness but low in responsiveness. This parenting style is characterised by the parent's attempt to shape, control, and evaluate the behaviour and attitudes of children based on absolute sets of standards. These parents are highly demanding, controlling and directive, but unresponsive. They value obedience, emphasise respect for authority and order, and impose rules without flexibility or discussing the rationale with their children. Authoritarian parents also favour forceful and punitive measures to control the child's misbehaviour and they do not encourage verbal give and take (Baumrind, 1971, 1989). Within authoritarian families, democratic exchanges between the parent and child are often forbidden which means that children are discouraged from being involved in negotiating family rules issues, and roles. Thus, children of authoritarian parents are expected to obey explicit standards of rules without explanation. Children growing up in households of authoritarian parents are likely to have negative developmental outcomes, including poorer peer relations, less motivation, and more internalising and externalising problems (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997; Wang, Pomerantz, & Chen, 2007).

The authoritative parenting style is high on both responsiveness and demandingness. Parents who use this style exercise control over their children by the use of firm guidelines, limits, and expectations. Children are expected to behave according to the rules. However, authoritative parents attempt to control and shape their children's attitudes and behaviour using rational explanation and by giving their children some input into the decision making. They are warm, focus on positive feedback, and are unlikely to use physical and punitive punishment (Baumrind, 1971, 1989). Authoritative parents tend to demonstrate moderate control and show warmth and often express affection to their children. Such parents value communication, encourage independence, and reason with the child in a democratic manner about appropriate standards of behaviour. According to Baumrind, authoritative parents are sensitive and open to children's changing and developing sense of self. Furthermore, they do not see themselves as infallible, in that they allow themselves to learn from their children. In addition, these parents establish realistic goals and provide the necessary support to help their children to achieve these goals. As their children get older, authoritative parents encourage more social responsibility within well-outlined rules and in turn, they grow up to be independent and socially successful. Baumrind (1971, 1989) has suggested that authoritative parenting appears to be the most effective style of parenting. Outcomes associated with this style of parenting are well documented (Baumrind, 1991; Chen et al., 1997; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, 2001). Research has consistently found that authoritative parenting is associated with positive child outcomes, including academic achievement, fewer internalising and externalising problems, and greater social competence with peers. Therefore, children of parents who adopt the authoritative parenting style tend to have the best social, cognitive, and emotional outcomes.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) identified two kinds of permissive parenting: permissive-indulgent and permissive neglectful. The permissive-indulgent parenting style is low on demandingness but high on responsiveness. Parents who use this parenting style are responsive to the needs of their children and are lenient with them while avoid confrontation and punishment. They put few limits on their children, do not set clear boundaries or expectations and the rules they set are usually inconsistently enforced. Permissive parents have few controls over and make few demands on their children. In these families, self-regulation by the child is emphasised and parents do not require mature behaviours and have few behavioural expectations for children. They allow children to make their own decisions, even when the child is not capable of doing so. Children of permissive parents may lack the direction necessary to develop appropriate goals and morals. Baumrind (1971, 1991) found that children raised by permissive parents tended to be the most immature and they are low in self-reliance and lack of self-control.

Finally, the permissive-neglectful (rejecting-neglecting) parenting style is low on both responsiveness and demandingness. Parents who use this style neglect their responsibility to socialise and control their children, fail to provide emotional nourishment, and are not responsive to their children's needs. These parents have a low degree of commitment to their role as parent. Children brought up by parents with a rejecting-neglecting parenting style have been shown to have disturbed attachment relationships when they are infants or toddlers and problems with peer relationships as children (Parke & Buriel, 1998; Thompson, 1998). In adolescence, they tend to exhibit a wide range of problems, from anti-social behaviour (e.g., excessive drinking, delinquency), low academic performance to internalising problems (e.g., depression, social withdrawal) (Baumrind, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Steinberg et al., 1994).

Given the Korean approaches to parenting described above, it is highly likely that father roles will be aligned with authoritarian parenting and mother roles will be characterised by authoritative parenting. These Western conceptualisations of authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles fit the traditional description of Korean paternal and maternal roles expressed in 'strict father, benevolent mother' (Rohner & Pettengill, 1985). Furthermore, parenting practices of Asian parents demonstrate aspects of continuity of cultural tradition in promoting a socialisation process that emphasises parental control and consistent monitoring and involvement (Wu, 1996). In neither case would permissive and rejecting-neglecting parenting be expected. In Asian and Korean immigrant families, authoritarian and authoritative parenting is linked to positive social outcomes and academic success, due in part to parenting goals and training specific to Asian families (e.g., Bornstein & Bornstein, 2007; Chen et al., 1997; Chen, Liu, Cen, Chen, & Wang, 2000b; Kim & Rohner, 2002). Permissiveness has been shown to be culturally an unreliable construct with Asian samples in Asian and Asian immigrant parenting studies and may not be relevant for describing the socialisation goals and styles of Asian parents, thus, may not be appropriate in the Korean cultural context too (Chen et al., 1997; McBride-Chang & Chang, 1998; Wu et al., 2002). Most research studies into Asian and Asian American parenting have focused on authoritarian and authoritative styles. Consequently, permissive and rejecting-neglecting styles were not included in this thesis.

### 2.3.2. Korean parents' use of control and warmth

The construct 'parental control' needs to be interpreted cautiously in non-western cultures because it may have a different meaning for Asians and Asian Americans than it does for European and European-American parents (Chao & Tseng, 2002, Wu et al., 2002). For example, parental control for Asian parents has been described by Chao (1994) as *guan*,

which means to govern, and to care for, and is positively evaluated in Chinese culture. Asian parents' use of parenting control also involves directive control and close monitoring of child's behaviour (it has been described as a more preventative approach to child misbehaviour) while building close parent-child relationships so the parental care and concern are regarded as synonymous for firm control (Chao & Tseng, 2002). While firm control that characterises authoritative parenting reflects a high degree of regulation that places fair and consistent limits on child behaviour primarily through reasoning about rules (Barber & Olsen, 1997; Baumrind, 1989), the Asian notion of guan parenting is more strongly linked to parental goals based in Confucian values for Asian parents such as obligation and obedience to, as well as respect for, their parents (Chao & Kaeochinda, 2010). A further example of the meaning of parental control in Asian cultures comes from Jose, Huntsinger, Huntsinger, and Liaw (2000) who observed 120 Taiwanese, Chinese American, and Euro-American parents of preschool children in the U.S. Taiwanese and Chinese-American parents exerted more parental control over their children than did American parents. Jose et al. (2000) also suggested that although the two groups of Chinese parents demonstrated more control than Euro-American parents, their chief disciplinary strategy is that of "order-keeping", rather than a punitive style. However, some studies often used the term parental control without distinguishing the various types of parental control and, thus, this confusion of terminology has led to inconsistent and even paradoxical findings across studies involving Asians and Asian-Americans (e.g., Chao & Su, 1996; Skinner, Johnson, & Snyder, 2005).

Likewise, Chao and Tseng (2002) argued that the Western measure of parental warmth which typically includes emotional, verbal and, physical expressions such as praising, hugging, and kissing the child does not capture the important features of parental warmth for

Asians and Asian-Americans. Parental warmth among Asian immigrant parents is more conveyed through involvement, devotion, and support for education. Accordingly, parental warmth is often expressed non-verbally and indirectly (Choi, Kim, Kim, & Park, 2013). In fact, more than 90% of Korean-American parents of 11- to 14-year-old in the survey by Choi et al. (2013) reported providing instrumental support and employing indirect expressions of warmth and affection by sacrificing, working hard, and cooking a child's favourite dishes. This instrumental support, however, differs from measures of devotion. Although devotion reflects Korean parents' sacrifice and love, devotion, to some extent, is conveyed in a psychologically affective bond of love between mother and child, and empathy. Measures of devotion, therefore, assess parents' expression of their empathetic understanding of their children, and parents' unconditional support and love. Nevertheless, the finding by Choi et al. (2013) is consistent with previous research indicating that Asian American parents tend to be less expressive in showing affection (Huntsinger, Jose, Rudden, Luo, & Krieg, 2001).

Researchers argue that, while using a Western-derived framework (e.g., Baumrind's parenting styles) may be useful for comparative purposes, relying solely on Western models of parenting does not fully capture the essence of Asian parenting (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Choi et al., 2013; Gamble et al., 2007; Kim & Wong, 2002). Researchers therefore suggest that cultural-specific measures of Korean parenting practices need to be used (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Choi et al., 2013). Alternatively, other researchers argue that authoritarian and authoritative parenting patterns are present in Asian countries such as China and Korea, and similarly to Western societies, have relevance for children's academic success and social adjustment (Chen et al., 1997; Chen et al., 2000b). However, in spite of these different views, both research traditions allow for the idea that different parenting practices may be prioritised and valued (Chao, 2001; Chen, Liu, & Li, 2000a) and, thus have different meanings and

implications for parents and children depending on the sociocultural context in which these practices occur.

In recent years, several parenting measures have been created to capture parenting practices that are specific to Korean and Chinese families. Examples include measures of parenting practices emphasised in China developed by Wu et al. (2002), such as involvement, protection, encouragement of modesty, shaming/ love withdrawal, and directiveness. The work of Wu et al. (2002) demonstrated that parenting constructs emphasised and derived empirically from indigenous Chinese cultural notions, were measureable for mothers in the US, although derived from different underlying socialisation goals. Further, a model of parenting constructs derived from global parenting styles emphasised in North America was also relevant for mainland Chinese mothers (Wu et al., 2002). Their results from the multi-sample confirmatory factor analysis showed that similar constructs of authoritarian and authoritative were identified in both the North American and Chinese cultures.

Another example is a parenting measure designed to capture family processes that are specific and unique to Korean-American families, called *ga-jung-gyo-yuk* (Choi et al., 2013; Choi et al., 2012). *Ga-jung-gyo-yuk* (translated as "home" or "family" education) includes emphasis on parenting through role-modelling, the centrality of the family, and family hierarchy (Choi et al., 2012; Choi et al., 2013). The concept of *ga-jung-gyo-yuk*, however, is closest in concept to "family socialisation" or "family processes". It does not necessarily capture the essential features of parental devotion. Similarly, there are *Qin* measures (translated as "child's feeling of closeness to parents") developed for Chinese Americans but which measure children's perceptions of parental devotion and sacrifice (Chao, 1994; Wu & Chao, 2011) rather than assessing parents' own perception of their devotion.

### 2.3.3. Comparisons between mothers' and fathers' parenting

There has been recent interest in comparing parenting styles of mothers and fathers regardless of ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Chao, 2011; Gamble, Ramakumar, & Diaz, 2007; Kim, 2008; Winsler, Madigan, & Aquilino, 2005). Some of this interest relates to whether there might be similarities and differences between maternal and paternal self-reported parenting styles both across and within two-parent families. A consistent pattern of findings has emerged across samples of parents with preschool and school age children and across a number of countries such as America and Australia (Gamble et al., 2007; Holmbeck, Paikoff, & Brooks-Gunn, 1995; Russell, Aloa, Feder, Glover, Miller, & Palmer, 1998; Smetana, 1995). These studies have consistently shown that mothers tend to exhibit parenting practices more consistent with an authoritative parenting style, while fathers more commonly engaged in parenting that fit most closely with an authoritarian parenting style, particularly with regard to disciplinary practices.

As previously described, Korean mothers and fathers parenting roles may be characterised by different parenting practices and complementary styles as reflected in the saying: strict father and benevolent mother. However, there have been limited comparisons of maternal and paternal parenting among Korean immigrant samples. A small body of research has compared maternal and paternal warmth and control mainly from the perspective of their adolescent children. For example, Kim and Rohner (2002) asked 245 Korean American adolescents in Grades 6 through 12 to report on their perceived warmth and control of their mothers and fathers using the Child Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire (PARQ/Control). They found that both Korean immigrant mothers and fathers were perceived by their adolescents to be being warm and loving, as well as moderate to firm in their behavioural control. Another study by Kim (2005), collected data from both adolescents

(aged 11-14) and parents from 106 Korean American families also using the Child Parental Acceptance-Rejection/Control Questionnaire (PARQ/Control). They found that the parents' perceptions of their own parenting did not differ from their adolescents' perceptions, with both adolescents and parents reporting that Korean immigrant mothers and fathers were warm and moderate to firm in their behavioural control.

There is also very limited information on Korean parent-gender differences using parenting measures developed in Asian cultures. Nevertheless, Choi et al. (2013) using a sample of 247 Korean-American families with early adolescents (ages 11-14years), examined the relationships between Korean and Western parenting constructs among mothers and fathers. While associations between Korean and Western parenting measures were similar for mothers and fathers, two gender differences were found. Mothers, who used traditional disciplinary practices, were less likely to provide parental monitoring and reported a higher rate of using physical discipline than fathers. Fathers who endorsed Korean traditional etiquette reflecting core Korean social traditions and norms were more likely to use negative discipline.

The few studies comparing Korean mothers' and fathers' parenting have several limitations. First, the samples have comprised mothers and fathers of 11-14 year old adolescents. However, the nature of parenting issues and practices vary across child age groups according to normative developmental changes. For example, early adolescence is a key time for negotiating autonomy-related changes in parent-child relationships (Steinberg, 2001), that lead to the development of a mature and healthy sense of autonomy. A key parenting issue relates to psychological autonomy granting (the extent to which parents encourage their adolescents to develop their own opinions and beliefs). There are, however,

cultural differences in the timing of negotiating autonomy in the extent to which parents grant autonomy with their children. In a collectivist culture that stresses family obligation over individual freedom, autonomy may not be granted until quite late; whereas Western parents, in general, grant autonomy to their children at an earlier age (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1991). In contrast, key normative changes that occur in middle childhood (ages 5 to 11 years) include transitions in social contexts, such as starting school, developing relationships with peers, and participation in activities outside the home independently of family, and the development of self-regulation (often called self-control) and social responsibility (Collins, Madsen, & Susman-Stillman, 2002). Associated with these developmental changes, central parenting issues in Western cultures include fostering self-management and social responsibility and facilitating positive peer relations. These parenting issues align with Asian cultural child rearing values that emphasise the duty to raise well-adjusted children and the ability to cooperate with others and develop positive relationships (Wu et al., 2002). The different normative changes and parenting issues that arise in middle childhood (between the ages of 5 to 12 years) highlight the need for research comparing parenting of Korean mothers and fathers who have children within this age group.

Moreover, there have been few studies comparing mothers and fathers parenting in Asian samples, particularly in Korean parents. Relatively few studies have focused on paternal parenting styles and possibly gender differences in parenting styles in Asian samples. Because a significant portion of Asian parenting research has heavily relied on the use of mothers' self-reports and little information exists about fathers' reports of parenting styles, conclusions have been made without taking into consideration the separate unique contribution of fathers' views (Kim & Wong, 2002).

#### 2.4 Studies of Asian and Korean Immigrant families

# 2.4.1. Influence of acculturation on parenting practices

As previously discussed, high levels of exposure to Western society may be associated with familiarity with Western culture, which may in turn be associated with more Western parenting practices (e.g., more warmth, reasoning, and monitoring). Cheah et al. (2009) provided a possible explanation for the endorsement of authoritative parenting among a sample of 85 Chinese immigrant mothers of preschoolers in the U.S. Although the mothers' level of acculturation was not examined in their study, they found that Chinese-American parents who lived in areas with small concentrations of co-ethnics endorsed parenting practices that are encouraged in the larger U.S. majority (i.e., authoritative parenting). According to the authors, as these immigrants were more geographically dispersed or lived in neighbourhoods with low Chinese ethnic density, these parents may have had more opportunity to become friends with American parents of their children's friends, compared to parents who live in co-ethnic communities. This is likely to have increased parents' access to parenting resources and such parents may have been more likely to informally consult with other non-co-ethnic parents and receive help with key parenting responsibilities relevant to their child's developmental stage (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011). Consistent with this idea, among a sample of 177 Chinese Canadian parents of 10- to 14-year-olds, Costigan and Koryzma (2011) suggested that parents with a higher orientation toward Canadian society were more likely to take advantages of parenting resources that are available in the Canadian community. They may acquire new parenting goals, beliefs, and expectations through interactions with host friends and media, and these may also weaken the parenting practices (i.e., authoritarian parenting style) used in their culture of origin. Costigan and Su (2008) suggested that a high level of exposure may lessen the extent to which parenting cognitions are embedded in a more general ethnic cultural belief system.

Consistent with this idea are findings from a correlational study of 58 mothers and 20 fathers of 3 to 8 year old children (Kim, Guo, Koh, & Cain, 2010). Using the Social Competence Scale (Webster-Stratton, 2007b) and Parent Practices Interview (Webster-Stratton, 2007a), they found that Korean-American mothers and fathers who had more exposure and access to American culture used parenting practices that were similar to their American counterparts in disciplining their children, including reasoning or reduced use of spanking, practices which would have fallen under the heading of authoritative parenting style. Kim and Hong (2006) reported a similar finding from a small qualitative study of eight first generation Korean-American parents of 6 to 8 year old children (Kim & Hong, 2006). Using data from in-depth interviews they found that, compared to recent immigrant parents, parents who had been living in the U.S. longer or who had more access to observing American disciplinary strategies made some changes in disciplinary strategies conventionally used in Korea (i.e., spanking and hitting) and adopted aspects of European-American disciplinary strategies (i.e., time-out, reasoning, more praising, hugging/ kissing, and adding/ removing privileges), consistent with an authoritative parenting style.

Kim and Hong (2006) and Kim et al. (2010) speculated that these parenting behaviours might reflect acculturation and higher orientation toward the U.S culture. Given that higher acculturation toward the host culture shapes parental perceptions of what represents desirable behaviour, Korean immigrant parents may have discontinued the use of discipline strategies that they perceived to be negative aspects of Korean parenting style and adopted some aspects of American/Western parenting style. A more recent qualitative study, conducted by Kim, Im, Nahm, and Hong (2013b), of 29 first generation Korean-American parents' perceptions of parenting, reported a similar finding. The sample in their study consisted of mothers and fathers of children, ages 3 to 8, who had lived in the U.S. on

average for 10 years. In being exposed to the host culture, parents started to reconstruct their Korean-American parenting to better fit with living in two cultural contexts. In this process, parents evaluated positive and negative aspects of both Korean parenting constructed in Korea and European-American parenting observed in the U.S. After evaluating the pros and cons of the two parenting models, they learned to express affection more freely and used more praise, and came to realise and perceive that hitting and spanking were unnecessary. Instead, they tried using timeouts, reasoning, and removing privileges to reduce child misbehaviour. These changes were particularly notable and obvious for those who had lived in the U.S. for a longer period of time and among those who had considerable contact with the host culture, both of whom had greater opportunity to observe American parenting practices and disciplinary strategies.

In contrast, evidence suggests Asian parents who maintain their own cultural traditions are less likely to adopt the parenting styles and practices prevalent in their host country. For example in a study of 38 Chinese-American mothers and 38 Caucasian American mothers of three- to eight-year-old children, Kelly and Tseng (1992) examined the cultural differences in childrearing behaviours between immigrant Chinese mothers and Caucasian American mothers and examined how parenting reflects both the culture of origin and an attempt to adapt to the new culture. In their study, the mothers' level of acculturation was not examined but, included the length of residence in the U.S. and the frequency of attending Chinese language programme and a local Chinese church. They also examined whether these factors were related to use of traditional methods of Chinese parenting practices. Results of this study revealed that a heavy reliance on traditional Chinese methods of child-rearing and retention of many traditional aspects of parenting practices occurred regardless of the length of time spent in the U.S. The authors suggested that reliance on traditional child-rearing methods may be explained by low exposure to American society and

strong ethnic ties that many of these mothers maintained. This was seen in the fact that these families attended Chinese churches where Chinese was spoken and they sent their children to a Chinese language school. This is consistent with other research showing that parents who are more resistant to the host culture and who strongly adhere to ethnic (i.e., Chinese) traditions are more likely to rely upon traditional child rearing methods (Clayton, 2011; Lin & Fu, 1990). The findings also suggest that a reason for Chinese mothers' emphasis on traditional parenting styles is that, as first-generation individuals, they considered themselves to be part of the culture of origin. Also, in Kelly and Tseng's (1992) study, many of the Chinese participants were uncertain of their situation (i.e., as to whether they would remain in the U.S. or return to China) and, consequently, favoured maintaining their traditional child-rearing approaches (Kelly & Tseng, 1992).

While most of the studies reviewed have shown that acculturation and higher orientation toward the host culture entails changes in parenting practices, the results need to be interpreted cautiously given the limits of the acculturation measures used. Most studies reviewed (e.g., Cheah et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2010; Kim & Hong, 2006; Kelley & Tseng, 1992) did not examined the parents' level of acculturation. However, it will be worthwhile to address the inconsistent assessment of the construct of acculturation. Past studies used immigration status and length of residence in the U.S. (e.g., Lin & Fu, 1991; Feldman & Rosenthal, 1992) as a proxy measure of acculturation level, assuming that acculturation is a uni-dimensional process that can be inferred from the amount of exposure individuals have to the dominant culture (Negy & Woods, 1992; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). However, a limitation associated with the uni-dimensional model is that it fails to capture the extent to which individuals maintain their culture of origin while also adapting to the new culture as they go through the process of acculturation (Rivera, 2008). In a bi-dimensional model,

acculturation typically consists of two distinct dimensions that separately measure adherence to the dominant culture and maintenance of the culture of origin (Cabassa, 2003). This allows immigrant parents to evaluate their involvement in both cultures independently and produce better understanding of how immigrants balance both their own cultural identity and acquisition of novel values, attitudes and behaviours across different domains (Cabassa, 2003). For instance, using a bi-dimensional model of acculturation, acculturative attitudes across both cultures are measured by indicating degree of affiliation to both the home country (e.g., Korea or China) and the host culture (e.g., U.S., Canada, or New Zealand). A major strength in this approach is that it captures the realities and challenges of the acculturation process more clearly than a uni-dimensional model (Cabassa, 2003).

2.4.2. Influence of parent occupation and education on authoritative parenting among Korean immigrant parents

As previously stated, there is some evidence from Korean-American adolescent samples that both mothers and fathers are perceived to be warm and loving, as well as moderately in control (Kim, 2005; Kim & Rohner, 2002), consistent with an authoritative parenting style. Findings from these studies, however, seem to show a departure from the traditional Korean father's role, where they are expected be strict and authoritarian in nature (Yi, 1993). One possible answer lies in the fact that Korean-American fathers are more likely than mothers to be highly involved in mainstream American work contexts (Rohner, Hahn, & Rohner, 1980). As a result of being more exposed to American culture, fathers may adapt more quickly than mothers to American values that emphasise individualism and self-reliance (Lehner, 1988). Thus, fathers with high levels of exposure to American society through their work may acquire new parenting styles, goals, and expectations through interactions with Americans. This may prompt a shift away from the traditional, hierarchical style of parenting

to a more egalitarian style (Shrake, 1996). Similarly, Min (1988) in his study of Korean immigrants in the U.S. noted that those who received college education or higher in the U.S. adopted more of the American liberal childrearing practices and seem to use more positive reinforcement than fathers educated in Korea. This may be because these parents have been exposed to a more liberal educational environment and have experienced more democratic method of socialisation in their host country. Likewise, Kim's (2008) dissertation study of Korean-American fathers' parenting styles found that highly educated fathers, high-income fathers, and fathers who worked 42 hours per week reported more authoritative parenting styles compared with fathers who had a low level of education and income and who worked a higher number of hours (on average 46 hours per week).

A link between education levels and authoritative parenting patterns has also been found among Korean-American immigrant mothers. For example, Shrake's dissertation study (1996) found that Korean-American adolescents reported their university-graduate mothers to be warmer and less hostile compared to adolescents (age between 10 and 14) with less-educated mothers. This may be because well-educated mothers are more likely to adopt a child-rearing approach that involves flexible and reasoned control (Cheah et al., 2009). Similar findings were obtained by Kim (2005) who reported that higher education among Korean-American mothers of 11- to 14-year-old adolescents was a significant predictor of overall maternal acceptance (i.e., the presence of maternal affection and warmth).

In sum, there is evidence that Korean immigrant fathers and mothers who live in the U.S. self-reported engaging in more authoritative parenting styles. It could be that, as the more highly acculturated fathers had more exposure to American culture, they were more inclined to engage in parenting practices that are encouraged in the larger U.S. majority.

Educational attainment was also a significant predictor of authoritative parenting for Korean immigrant fathers and mothers.

# 2.5 Parenting, acculturation, and Korean immigrant children's behavioural adjustment

This section first discusses what is known about Korean parents' perceptions of behavioural and emotional difficulties in their children. Comparisons are also made with findings from other Asia and Western samples. Then, literature on relationships between Korean immigrant parenting practices and behaviour adjustment in their children is examined. Lastly, literature on the role of acculturation in moderating the relationship between Korean parenting practices and child behaviour is discussed.

# 2.5.1. Comparison of mothers' and fathers' perceptions of their child's behavioural difficulties and strengths

There is some evidence that young immigrant children are at risk of having difficulties with behavioural adjustment. For example, a longitudinal U.S. national study by Rathbun, West, and Hausken (2004) of 10,345 children who entered kindergarten for the first time, found that immigrant children (African, , non-Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander) tended to experience more behaviour problems and less social competence than European-American children on entry into kindergarten. Studies of behaviour problems in Korean-American adolescents (age 11-17) and Korean adolescents in Korea (seventh- and eighth-grade students), however, have concentrated on adolescents' depressive symptoms and behaviour problems using adolescents' self-reports of their behaviour (Kim & Cain, 2008; Kim et al., 2013a). Young children, on the other hand, may not be reliable reporters of their own behaviour (Mellor, 2004). Therefore, to better understand the emotional and behaviour patterns of young Korean immigrant children, it is necessary to use adult ratings of child

behaviour problems. Although child behavioural problems are frequently assessed by obtaining data from different informants, it has been established that informant ratings are influenced by context, with parents being a reliable source of information about their child's behaviour at home (Achenbach, McConaughy, & Howell, 1987).

Research on inter-parental agreement on child's emotional and behavioural problem has been abundant and has been systematically analysed through meta-analyses (Achenbach, McConaughy, & Howell, 1987; Duhig, Renk, Epstein, & Phares, 2000). Achenbach et al. (1987) found that mothers' and fathers' reports of their children's internalising and externalising behaviours on the Child Behaviour Checklist (CBCL) were both moderately, but significantly correlated. In contrast, the meta-analysis conducted by Duhig et al. (2000), found high inter-parental correlations for externalising behaviours and moderate correlations for internalising problems. Studies included in the meta-analysis by Duhig et al. used a range of child behaviour measures.

One consistent finding is that mothers seem to be more sensitive to and report higher rates of behavioural problems than fathers (Duhig et al., 2000; Treutler & Epkins, 2003). Several explanations have been proposed to explain this. One possibility is mothers' greater tendency to spend more time with their children and fulfil more of a caregiving role for the child (Duhig et al., 2000; Mellor et al., 2011). It has been suggested that mothers, therefore, may provide a more accurate perception of their children's behaviour; whereas, fathers may be less able to detect problem behaviours in children. The second explanation for the discrepancy is that children may exhibit different behaviours when interacting with their mothers and fathers (Mellor et al., 2011).

However, other researchers have found fathers to report greater problems in their children than mothers (Dave et al., 2008). One example is a comparison study of father and mother reports of child behaviour using the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) (Goodman, 1997) in a UK community sample of 248 parents of four-to-six-year-olds. Mother and father ratings were moderately correlated; however, fathers reported higher mean scores than mothers for conduct problems, hyperactivity, and total difficulties. These contrasting findings, compared to other research, may be due to different measures of child behaviour, different ages of children, and sampling differences (some studies used clinical samples) used in other studies (Dave et al., 2008). Recent research by Mellor, Wong and, Xu (2011) in a sample parents of school-aged children in China, used the Chinese parent version of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) to assess inter-parent agreement about behavioural problems and prosocial behaviour. Consistent with research in other samples (Dave et al., 2008; Duhig et al., 2000) they obtained moderate correlations between mother and father ratings of child behaviour problems with stronger relationships between reports of externalising than emotional problems.

Several studies have also found an interaction between the gender of the parent and the gender of the child, where mothers report more problems for sons than fathers do, and fathers reporting more problems for daughters than mothers (Duhig et al, 2000). Mellor et al. (2011) and Dave et al. (2008) have also reported a gender of parent by gender of child interaction for some of the subscales on the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire. Based on a sample of 380 girls and 320 boys, Mellor et al. found that mothers reported higher levels of prosocial behaviour for their sons than fathers, with no significant differences between mother's and father's reports of their sons and daughters behaviour on any other scales. In contrast, Dave et al. (2008) found that fathers were more likely to report more conduct

problems and total difficulties for their daughters compared to mothers. However, other research has found no gender of parent by gender of child interactions in ratings of behavioural problems (e.g., Achenbach, Howell, Quay, & Connors, 1991; Stranger & Lewis, 1993).

While research on the correspondence between inter-parental reports of children's behaviour problems has proliferated over the past decade, there appears to be no research examining similarities and differences between mothers' and fathers' ratings of children's behavioural difficulties and strengths in Korean samples.

# 2.5.2. Parenting and Korean immigrant children's behaviour adjustment

Available literature on the relationship between parenting and children's behavioural outcomes includes Asian, non-Asian children, and Asian American immigrant parents and children. In general, the research suggests that the Korean and Chinese-American parents' use of positive parenting practices (e.g., high parental monitoring and warmth-acceptance) is related to better psychological and behavioural adjustment in Korean and Chinese-American populations (e.g., Cheah et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2013a; Wang et al., 2007). For example, in a longitudinal study, of 1641 seventh- and eighth-grade Korean adolescents in Korea, Kim et al. (2013a) reported that perceived maternal and paternal positive parenting practices such as warmth-acceptance were inversely related to adolescents' behavioural problems. The study also found that perceived maternal rejection-restriction parenting practices reflected by denial of the child's autonomy, verbal assaults, and negative emotions and attitudes towards the child were associated with increased risks for later internalising behavioural problems, while paternal rejection-restriction was linked to increased risk for externalising behavioural problems. However, the parenting data was based on adolescents reports only. A similar

pattern of findings was obtained from Wang et al. (2007) based on self-reports of 806 Chinese-American seventh-graders. The study found that both mothers' and fathers' psychological autonomy support was positively correlated with children's enhanced emotional functioning.

On the other hand, research has demonstrated that negative parenting practices such as harsh, hostile, and verbal and physical punitive discipline are significantly related to children's internalising and externalising behavioural problems (e.g., Chang, Schwartz, Dodge, & McBride-Chang, 2003; Chen et al., 1997; Fung & Lau, 2009; Kim et al., 2013a; Wang et al., 2007). For example, Chen et al. (1997) collected self-reports of behaviour from 304 second grade (aged 8 years) Chinese children in China as well as teachers' and parents' reports on school-related social competence and problems, and child rearing practices. Results of the study showed that authoritarian parenting of both mothers and fathers was significantly and positively correlated with aggression-disruption and peer rejection in the school, and negatively correlated with sociability competence. However, other research, involving 107 Chinese-American immigrant families with children aged 7 to 17 years, has shown that the negative effects of punitive parenting on child internalising and externalising behaviour problems may be buffered when parents adhere to training and shaming ideologies (Fung & Lau 2009). Fung and Law (2009) suggested that the parents' punitive discipline was accompanied with the motivation of nurturing the child toward a cultural ideal of social responsibility to instil appropriate conduct that may lead children to perceive punitive discipline as reflective of genuine parental care and concern. Consistent with this notion, Fung's (2006) interview study with nine Taiwanese parents of preschool children (ages 2-4) found that parents in Taiwan often used shaming practices to help children develop prosocial behaviour because the experience of shame may lead to self-examination and repentance.

Another example comes from research on parenting styles, which has shown that authoritarian practices, represented by high levels of demanding and directiveness, have less detrimental effects among Asian adolescents compared to European-American adolescents (Chao, 2001; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). For instance, Chao (2001) examined differences in the effects of parenting styles and parent-adolescent relationships across 500 European-American and two generations of Chinese-American adolescents (9<sup>th</sup> through 12<sup>th</sup> grades) by estimating interaction effects for ethnicity and parenting styles. She found that authoritarian parenting had more beneficial consequences for academic performance for first-generation Chinese-American adolescents than for European-American adolescents, whereas authoritative parents had more positive consequences for European-American adolescents compared to their Chinese-American adolescents.

The research reviewed so far shows similar patterns of relationships between maternal and paternal parenting and child adjustment. Other research in samples from Western and non-Western countries has found different effects for the parenting practices of mothers and fathers on children's behavioural problems. For example, a longitudinal study with 69 preschoolers and their mothers and fathers in the US found that mothers' observed proactive parenting practices (i.e., supportive presence and clear limit setting) consistently predicted fewer externalising problems in children over time (Denham, Workman, Cole, Weissbrod, Kendziora, & Zahn-Waxler, 2000). In contrast, fathers' anger, hostility, as well as a lack of proactive parenting predicted higher levels of externalising symptoms. Another study with a sample of 324 Chinese children (age 3 to 6 years) and their parents showed that mothers' harsh parenting, as measured by the Parental Acceptance Rejection Questionnaire (Rohner, 1986), predicted child emotional dysregulation; whereas, fathers' harsh parenting significantly predicted child aggression (Chang et al., 2003).

There have been very few studies that have examined the different effects of Asian maternal and paternal parenting practices. Available research has focused on the connections between parental indulgence and adjustment in Chinese children (Chen et al., 2000a). The study by Chen et al. (2000a) is one of the few studies that added the dimension of indulgence and investigated the different roles of paternal and maternal influence of indulgence on the social, academic and psychological adjustment of 250 Chinese children (age 12) over a twoyear period. They found that paternal indulgence made significant negative contributions to the prediction of later leadership, social competence, academic achievement and positively predicted later aggressive-disruptive behaviours. Thus, children, who had indulgent fathers, tended to be less competent and more maladjusted in both social and academic areas compared to other children. Maternal indulgence was not associated with children's adjustment outcomes. Chen et al. (2000a) offered several possible explanations for these results. First, in Chinese culture (as in Korean culture), mothers are traditionally characterised as soft-hearted and sensitive to their children's emotional and psychological well-being, whereas fathers are the authority figure in the family and are expected to be responsible for the child's social functioning and discipline. Hence, mothers' indulgence and high tolerance of the child's inappropriate behaviours may be considered relatively normal and, thus, may not lead to adjustment problems in children. However, because fathers are expected to play a more important role in child discipline and training, fathers' failure to place adequate expectations and requirements on the child may threaten the conventional role structure of the family for socialisation. As a result, children of indulgent fathers have poorer social, behavioural and academic learning skills. Chen et al. (2000a) further added that the different patterns of links between paternal and maternal indulgence and child outcomes may be due to the differing effects of indulgence on the specific domains of adjustment with which fathers and mothers are concerned.

An important distinction should be made between parental indulgence and parental devotion. Although, on the surface, parental indulgence may appear to overlap somewhat with parental devotion there are some important differences between these aspects of parenting. Parental devotion represents parental empathy, sacrifice, and involvement, whereas parental indulgence is considered an indication of lack of parental responsibility in Asian culture (Chen et al., 2000). In general, children of indulgent parents are highly likely to be spoiled because their parents may give their child too much attention and too many privileges. It has been found that excessive parental indulgence of the child's expression of impulses may lead to the development of uncontrolled, impulsive behaviours in children (Parke & Buriel, 1998). Children of devoted parents, on the other hand, may learn their behaviour (i.e., empathy, concern for others) from their parents' examples. As children grow up, they realise that it is through the parents that they obtain gratification, security, and love. Once children sense this, they are more likely to be motivated to remain close to their parents by taking a more active role and reciprocating the unconditional support provided for them. They do so by pleasing their parents and behaving according to their parents' wishes (Kim & Choi, 1994).

There is one study of Korean immigrant parents that has found different effects for mothers' and fathers' parenting on children's behaviour. Using a sample of 58 mothers and 20 fathers of children aged from 3 to 8 years, Kim et al. (2010) examined the relationship between Korean-American parents' disciplinary practices and their 3- to 8-year-old children's social competence and behaviour problems. Although Korean mothers and fathers used more positive and appropriate discipline (i.e., reasoning and correcting misbehaviours) than harsh discipline, there were no significant differences in maternal and paternal harsh discipline; only paternal positive and appropriate discipline was negatively related to children's social

competence. Conversely, mothers' positive discipline was associated with children's higher social competence. The authors speculated that the findings might be partly due to Korean immigrant fathers using tangible rewards to bribe their children rather than making the rewards contingent upon desired behaviours. Research has demonstrated that when parents use rewards as behavioural reinforcers, it is effective in decreasing misbehaviour only if they appear contingent upon good behaviour (Reymond, Brett, & Jane, 2004; Robert & Garry, 1996). Additionally, Kim et al. (2010) found that only paternal harsh discipline (e.g., spanking, hitting, and raising arms) was positively related to children's problem behaviours; whereas, it was not related for mothers. Nevertheless, with only 20 fathers, the results may be a consequence of the small sample size.

The authors provided a number of possible reasons for their findings. First, they suggested that a different range of discipline strategies used by mothers and fathers may explain why only fathers' use of harsh discipline was positively correlated with children's problem behaviours. According to Kim and Hong (2006), Korean immigrant parents have been found to use a range of disciplinary strategies including hugging/ kissing and tangible rewards to increase desired behaviours; instead of using reasoning, yelling/ scolding, warning, and making children raise their arms in the air for a certain amount of time to manage children's misbehaviour. In the Korean culture, mothers assume the role of primary disciplinarian and use all above the discipline strategies to discipline their child. However, when all of the above discipline strategies do not seem to work, they use physical punishment as a last resort. According to Wissow (2002), when physical punishment is used as a small part of a scope of discipline strategies, it may not be linked to children's negative developmental outcomes (Kim et al., 2010). Therefore, this may explain why maternal harsh discipline was not linked to children's negative developmental outcomes. Another

explanation provided by the authors is the different parental roles played by mothers and fathers in the discipline process. In the Korean culture, children are referred to their fathers when mothers cannot handle the children's problems for further disciplinary action (Kim et al., 2010). Children who are referred to fathers are often harshly punished and, as a result, they tend to exhibit more behaviour problems than do those who are handled by mothers only. When fathers give discipline, they usually use physical punishment. Previous findings with European-American and Chinese samples suggested that the use of harsh physical discipline during childhood increases the chance that they will engage in future misbehaviour because harsh discipline provides a negative model of behaviour and fails to promote prosocial behaviour (Benjet & Kazdin. 2003; Patterson & Capaldi, 1991; Webster-Stratton & Taylor, 2001).

In sum, the current literature on parenting and Korean and Asian immigrant children's behaviour problems has found negative parenting practices such as harsh discipline are associated with increased internalising and externalising problems. Thus, parents' use of harsh and abusive control has been found to have a negative impact on child behaviour problems regardless of culture. There is some evidence from a study of parents in Korea (Kim et al., 2013a) and another study of Korea immigrant parents (Kim et al., 2010) that positive and appropriate discipline is positively related to children's social competence. Overall, the studies reviewed above have demonstrated that while problematic parenting by either parent is an antecedent for childhood behavioural problems, findings from Kim et al. (2013a), Chen et al. (2000a) and, Kim et al. (2010), suggest there may be differing effects for the parenting of mothers and fathers on children's behavioural problems and social competence in Korean and Chinese samples. While there is some research examining relationships between Korean parenting practices such as shaming, directiveness, indulgence,

and child behaviour functioning, this work needs to be extended to include other Korean parenting practices such as devotion, parental involvement and encouragement of modesty. Although, there is some indication that paternal indulgence, in particular, had negative contributions to the prediction of children's social competence and aggressive-disruptive behaviour, devotion may lead to positive outcomes in children. This is because parental devotion denotes more salient features of parental care, empathy, and involvement intended to ensure that their child feels secure and loved. Yet, no research has examined how parental devotion affects children's behavioural difficulties and strengths.

2.5.3. Parental acculturation, parenting practices and children's emotional and behavioural problems

As discussed earlier, parenting practices of Asian immigrant parents may change as they adopt attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours endemic in the new host culture. Given the established links between parenting practices and children's behavioural problems, researchers have speculated that this relationship might be modified by parental acculturation (Kim et al., 2010). Studies based on a range of immigrant groups in the U.S. support this possibility. For example, in a Chinese-American sample who had lived in the U.S. on average for 18 years, Liu, Lau, Chen, Dihn, and Kim (2009) found that higher maternal acculturation as measured by the Vancouver Index of Acculturation, which reflects a bi-dimensional model of acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), was significantly associated with lower levels of adolescents' conduct problems as well as more monitoring and less harsh discipline for Chinese-American mothers. These results corroborate the findings of a great deal of the previous work in this field with non-Asian samples (e.g., Dumka, Roosa, & Jackson, 1997; Eamon & Mulder 2005; Hill, Bush, & Roosa, 2003). For instance, in a sample of Mexican American mothers of fourth-grade children, Dumka et al. (1997) found that higher maternal acculturation, as measured by the multidimensional Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican

Americans (ARSMA; Cuellar, Harris, & Jasso, 1980), was related to a decrease in maternal inconsistent discipline. Lower levels of inconsistent discipline practices were in turn related to reduced levels of conduct disorder and depression. The authors suggested that, when highly acculturated mothers have more exposure to parents of the host culture and when they have more interaction with the majority culture, they become increasingly aware of negative socialisation forces in the dominant culture and accordingly mobilise more protective and restrictive parenting as well as effective discipline. In addition, mothers who accepted the majority culture were more likely to take initiatives to encourage their children to socialise with more acculturated peers or with peers of the majority culture both at home and at school.

To date, only a limited number of studies have examined how parental acculturation levels may influence the relationship between parenting practices children's emotional and behavioural outcomes among Korean immigrants (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Kim, Cain, & McCubbin, 2006). For example, Kim et al. (2006) examined whether parental acculturation might have a moderating effect on the relation between parental acceptance-rejection and behavioural control and young adolescents' psychological adjustment in a sample of 106 Korean-American families, who had lived in the U.S. for an average of 15 years. They found that adolescent perceptions of maternal and paternal acceptance-rejection were related to young adolescents (11 to 14 years) psychological adjustment. In terms of the role of acculturation as measured by the Acculturation Attitudes Scale (Kim, 1988), only maternal acculturation moderated the relationship between mothers' reports of maternal acceptance-rejection and behavioural control and young adolescents' reports of their psychological adjustment. More specifically, Kim et al. (2006) found that Korean-American mothers who reported higher levels of rejection of American culture (i.e., those who tended to be highly separated and marginalised) tended to report higher levels of maternal rejection, which in turn,

was negatively related to their adolescents' psychological adjustment. However, for Korean-American mothers who reported higher maintenance of Korean identity while adopting American culture (i.e., those who were assimilating and integrating into American culture) maternal behavioural control was related to better adolescent psychological adjustment. The authors suggested these mothers might have been able to balance both cultures, which in turn, may have allowed them to use a different method of behavioural control more suited to their adolescents. The authors also suggested a reason why maternal, but not paternal, acculturation had a moderating effect: mothers are the primary caregivers of children and the healers who provide emotional support. Because Korean mothers seem to play a more prominent role in childrearing, mothers' acculturation attitudes may have been expressed through the interaction with their children every day (Kim et al, 2006). Indeed, Kim and Hong (2006) noted that for many Korean parents, childrearing is still considered a mothers' duty and fathers are not involved in childrearing as much as mothers.

In contrast to Kim et al. (2006), Farver and Lee-Shin (2000) found a negative association between maternal acculturation and parenting practices, which were both associated with children's negative social behaviour with peers. Farver and Lee-Shin's (2000) study was based on a sample of 108 Korean-American mothers of 2- to 6- year- old children, who had lived in the US for an average of 6 years. The study measured mothers' parenting attitudes, such as parents' acceptance of their child's creativity, parents' frustration with parenting, parents' feelings about control issues, parents understanding of play, and parents' perceived ease in providing learning experiences in the home for their child. The level of mothers' acculturation was measured using the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA). It is, however, important to note that the acculturation measure in Farver and Lee-Shin's (2000) study differed from Kim et al's (2006) study. Although both studies

used the four distinct dimensions of acculturation such as assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation, Kim et al., performed factor analysis on the four modes of acculturation variables to reduce the dimensionality of acculturation. The analysis resulted in two factors: assimilation-integration, which assessed the extent of balancing both Korean and American cultures versus following exclusively American culture, and separation plus marginalisation, which assessed the level of rejection of American culture. In contrast, in Farver and Lee-Shin's (2000) study the four acculturation dimensions were used to classify Korean-American parents.

Farver and Lee-Shin (2000) found that the integrated mothers (mothers who were involved in both American and Korean cultures) expressed more frustration with parenting, a greater need for control over their children's behaviour, and less confidence in their own ability to facilitate and provide a teaching-learning atmosphere in the home compared to their separated (mothers who accepted the Korean culture but not the majority of the new culture) and marginal (mothers who rejected both cultures) counterparts. In addition, children of the integrated and the assimilated Korean-American mothers were rated by their teachers as having more difficult peer relationships and a high proportions of negative peer interactions than did children of separated and marginal mothers. One possible explanation provided by Farver and Lee-Shin (2000) for these findings is that teacher ratings are culturally biased. Another explanation offered by Farver and Lee-Shin (2000) and other Korean researchers (e.g., Chang, 1991; Min, 1991, 1995) is that it may be especially difficult for Korean-Americans to achieve bicultural functioning due to their strong ethnic identity (Min, 1988; 1995). Furthermore, the integrated Korean mothers appeared to have difficulty managing an integrated style successfully and struggled to adjust to the American culture (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000).

Most of the studies reviewed above, based on Korean and Chinese-American samples, found that high parental acculturation was associated with positive parenting practices such as higher monitoring and decreased internalising and externalising behaviours. A different pattern of results was seen in the study by Farver and Lee-Shin (2000), where there was a negative relationship between parenting attitudes and children's social behaviour among integrated mothers but not among separated and marginal mothers. In Farver and Lee-Shin's study, the different parenting and acculturation measures, younger age of the children, the shorter length of residence in the U.S., and mothers' difficulty in managing and balancing the Korean and American cultures may have partly accounted for the distinct nature of the findings obtained compared to other research reviewed in this section. For example, Korean mothers in Farver and Lee-Shin's study consisted of recent immigrant mothers, whose average length of residence in the U.S. was 11.6 years shorter than mothers in the studies by Kim et al. (2010) and Liu et al. (2009). Recent immigrants or immigrants who had lived in the U.S for a shorter period of time may be in a process of learning and adopting important features of the mainstream culture and have lack of experience with American culture. They may also still be in the process of becoming bicultural by weaving different cultural elements together (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000).

In summary, two separate studies of Korean immigrant parents have found different links between parental acculturation, parenting, and child behaviour. In Kim et al's (2006) study, adolescents of assimilated and integrated mothers tended to have better psychological adjustment possibly because they were able to balance both cultures and use the type of parenting control practices that were acceptable and reasonable for their adolescents. However, in Farver and Lee-Shin's (2000) study, children of assimilated and integrated mothers were rated by their teachers as being more difficult (or less docile). This suggests

that mothers' individual acculturation styles may affect children's behaviour. Farver and Lee-Shin (2000) further suggested that one's cultural values and beliefs are not replaced by the host culture's beliefs and values. Instead, one tends to create an integrative working model involving different aspects of each culture.

There appears to be little if any research examining the role of acculturation in moderating the relationship between parenting and children's behaviour adjustment in samples of Korean immigrant parents with children between the ages of 6 to 11 years. As previously discussed, during middle childhood, there are child development and parenting issues specific to this age group that shape parenting. The samples in the research reviewed above were mostly limited to mothers; hence, there is insufficient data from fathers to augment the understanding of parenting processes within the context of parental acculturation (Dumka et al., 1997). Liu et al. (2009) and Dumka et al. (1997) argued that it may be possible that mothers' acculturation may not be the sole or most influential cultural predictor of parenting practices and children's behavioural outcomes and psychological adjustment because the effects of maternal acculturation on parenting and children's outcomes may be variable depending on other circumstances. For example, the acculturation levels of other family members who perform parenting practices (e.g., fathers, older siblings, extended family members) may also influence maternal parenting and children's behavioural outcomes. In sum, research on the relationship between parental acculturation, parenting practices, and Korean children's behavioural difficulties is limited.

### 2.6 Parenting Challenges

2.6.1. Difficulties faced by first generation Korean immigrant parents in parenting

In addition to the need to address gaps in knowledge about maternal and paternal Korean immigrant parenting, there is a need to gain some insight into the parenting experiences of Korean mothers and fathers when they immigrate to NZ. As discussed in section 2.4.1, Asian immigrant parents often encounter the issue of integrating their own parenting style with that of the dominant culture. As a result, they often face challenges when they use child rearing methods that are different to, unfamiliar with, or in conflict with the parenting values of the new country of settlement (Bornstein & Bohr, 2011; Hur, 1997).

There are only a few studies that have looked at the struggles Asian immigrant parents have had in parenting their children in a culture that they were not familiar with. In a dissertation study, Hur (1997) surveyed Korean-American parents of 6- to 10-year-olds about immigrant Korean cultural-related parenting difficulties. Her survey data showed that the most difficult part of parenting was understanding the differences between Korean and American cultures. In addition, Hur (1997) also interviewed seven parents, and discipline style emerged as the main theme in relation to the Korean culture-related parenting difficulties. All the parents expressed a strong wish to apply two cultures in parenting. However, many of these parents expressed confusion and frustration in blending new cultures into their culture and they were not familiar with the American style of parenting and discipline. Although they were aware that hitting a child was considered an act of abuse against children by American standards, five parents punished and scolded their children according to Korean beliefs or Korean style. In observing their children's behaviour, parents evaluated their own parenting, and most agreed that they lacked tolerance so that they easily shouted or became angry at their children. Similarly, Lee (2009) interviewed seven Chinese-

American mothers of children aged between 14 months and 13 years old around the challenges faced by immigrant parents in parenting their children in the U.S. culture. Most of the mothers also expressed their frustrations with parenting their children in their own traditional ways, especially in disciplining children who were exposed the dominant American cultural attitude of freedom of speech. The mothers felt that they could not harshly or strictly discipline and reprimand their children due to the legal issues concerning corporal punishment in the U.S. Consequently, parents were experiencing conflicts with their children because children in her study had freedom to talk back to the parents and reminded them they could not yell at their children. This attitude frustrated the mothers and hindered mothers from teaching their children the proper way to behave according to the principle of filial piety and avoiding loss of face for self and the family.

With a specific reference to challenges faced by Korean immigrants in New Zealand, there is only one New Zealand study by Chang et al. (2006), of Korean migrant families in Christchurch. The study addressed expectations, experiences, and difficulties facing Koreans in New Zealand generally, including the settling process, employment, and harassment. Although parenting experience was not examined in their study, they reported that Korean mothers with children who attended primary school had made friends with the New Zealand parents of their children' school friends and some expressed satisfaction with their contact and relationships with the host mothers.

The parenting difficulties identified in the above studies (e.g., Hur, 1997; Lee, 2009) represent only some information about parenting barriers. More information is needed about the parenting experiences and challenges of Korean immigrant parents in raising their children in the New Zealand culture. More specifically, there is a need to gain further insight

into parental perceptions of changes in parent-child relationships after immigrating to New Zealand and parents views on helpful child rearing strategies for newly arrived Korean immigrant parents.

## 2.6.2. Geese parents' experiences overseas

The phenomenon of geese families has received widespread popular attention in Korean and international media due to their unique form of family structure that sacrifices the togetherness of a family, mainly for purpose of the children's education abroad (Kim, 2009; Lee & Koo, 2006; Tokita, 2006). The split of family living arrangements even at the expense of separation and possible dissolution of the family can involve great financial and emotional sacrifices for all family members (Lee, 2010; Lee & Koo, 2006). There are several notable outcomes that emerged from geese parenting studies regarding the experiences of the Asian transnational family arrangement, all of which were related to a lack of social support and the shifts in spousal relationships.

For example, lack of social support was a finding that emerged from an interview study of 24 Hong Kong and Taiwanese geese mothers living in Canada who reported that their experiences in the host country were predominantly negative. They mentioned experiencing language shock and feeling isolated with the loss of existing support from their spouse and social networks in an English-speaking background, especially in the early phases of migration (Waters, 2002). Similar findings were obtained from a survey data of 66 Korean geese mothers of children in New Zealand (Kim, Choi, & Lee, 2005). Mothers were asked about their opinions of children's international study, frequency of contact with their husbands in Korea, frequency of communication with friends in New Zealand, and their migration experience. Nearly half (47%) of the mothers were highly satisfied with their lives

in New Zealand compared to 42% of the mothers who felt that they were moderately satisfied with their lives. Although these mothers were generally satisfied with their current lives in New Zealand, they expressed feelings of loneliness and isolation arising from having inadequately meaningful social relationships. The mothers tried to ease their loneliness by making friends with Kiwis but expressed difficulties making friends with the locals due to language barriers. In terms of marital relations between geese couples, some studies have shown cases where physical distance has been associated with more satisfied and improved marital relationship (Chee, 2003; Lee & Koo, 2006); whereas, others reported marriages failing with the long-distance, often resulting in divorce (Lam, 1994; Waters, 2002). Another finding from Lee's (2010) study on Korean geese mothers has suggested that the couples' agreement to live apart to have a geese family arrangement was seen as a strategy for the geese mothers to be free from any sacrifices for their in-laws.

Nonetheless, little information currently exists about geese parents in New Zealand and possible challenges and difficulties in their parenting. There is some indication that geese parents, particularly geese mothers, relative to married couples may experience more stress and emotional problems due to the on-going strain associated with loneliness and inadequate English skills (Tokita, 2006). Previous studies on geese parents, however, have predominantly focused on the marital separation between geese mothers and fathers (Lam, 1994; Waters, 2002) and on the phenomenon of geese families as an extended form of studying abroad (Cho; 2002, Kim, 2009; Tokita, 2006). Only a small body of research has focused on experiences of geese parents, and, as a result, little is known about how they parent their child(ren) as a solo parent, given the unique nature of the challenges they experience and their strengths in parenting.

# 2.7 Summary of the literature and aims of the present research

The preceding review of the literature has discussed the influence of Confucianism on Korean practices and the extent to which social and economic changes have influenced contemporary parenting practices in Korea. The application and relevance of Western concepts of authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles to parents in Korea and Korean immigrant parents were then reviewed. Next, studies of the parenting styles and practices of Korean immigrants in North America were discussed, including comparisons between mothers' and fathers' parenting, and the influence of acculturation and socioeconomic status variables. Literature was then reviewed on children's behavioural strengths and difficulties and their relationships with parenting factors, along with the moderating influence of acculturation on the relationship between parenting practices and child behaviour. Finally, an overview of knowledge about parenting challenges faced by Korean immigrant families and geese parents was provided in order to highlight what further issues need to explored in the New Zealand context.

When considering the available research on Korean immigrant parenting there are a number of gaps in the research that need to be addressed. Few studies have examined Korean immigrant parenting styles as separately reported by mothers and fathers. As indicated in the literature review, a number of differences have been identified in the patterns of mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices in both Korean and non-Korean samples, highlighting the importance of obtained parenting data from both mothers and fathers. Second, most studies of Korean immigrant parenting have focused on early adolescence (ages 11-14) rather than on younger children aged between 6 and 10. This age range is the beginning of formal schooling and thus the necessity to deal with the host culture comes to the fore. As discussed earlier, there is a need to conduct research with Korean immigrant parents with children between the ages of 6 to 10 years, given the different normative developmental changes and

parenting issues faced by parents in middle childhood compared to adolescence. Thus, parenting styles of Korean immigrant mothers and fathers of primary school aged children (ages 6-10) will be examined. Given the findings from samples of Korean immigrant parents in the U.S. that their adolescents perceived them to have an authoritative parenting style (Kim, 2005; Kim & Rohner, 2002), this study sought to extend these findings to a sample of Korean immigrant parents with children aged 6 to 10 years. More specifically, the study sought to examine whether Korean mothers and fathers perceived themselves to have an authoritative parenting style. Furthermore, based on research, predominantly with Western samples, that found fathers to have a more authoritarian parenting style than mothers (Gamble et al., 2007; Holmbeck et al., 1997; Russell et al., 1998; Smentana, 1995; Winsler et al., 2005), this study examined whether these patterns apply to Korean immigrant mothers and fathers.

With regard to Asian parenting, much of the research has been based on measures of parenting styles. While using a Western derived framework and concepts of parenting may be useful for comparative purposes, this has yielded an incomplete picture of Asian and Korean parenting. Although Western based conceptualisations of parenting may possibly be generalised to Asian culture (Chen et al., 1997; Kim & Ge, 2000), the concepts related to parenting such as authoritarian and authoritative behaviours, may have different meanings and implications across cultures (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002). Research suggests that it is important to assess culture-specific dimensions of Asian parenting, which this study will do by measuring Asian parenting practices such as devotion, involvement, protection, shaming/love withdrawal, encouragement of modesty, and directiveness.

To date, other than *ga-jung-gyo-yuk*, there have been no culture-specific and indigenous parenting concepts in Korean parenting measures developed. This study therefore

aimed to fill this gap by creating a measure of what is typically thought of as Korean parenting devotion. As previously discussed, the roles of Korean mothers and fathers are strictly differentiated and distinguished by gender as directed by Confucianism (Yi, 1993). Mothers are more devoted, involved and protective; whereas, fathers are strict and responsible for child discipline (Kim & Choi, 1994; Kim & Wong, 2002; Wu et al., 2002; Yi, 1993). This study will extend this research by examining whether these differences apply to Korean immigrant mothers and fathers of 6 to 10 year old children. Because Chinese and Korean societies value group harmony and social relationships regardless of gender, there is great pressure on children to use humble and social conforming behaviour when interacting with others (Miller, 1994; Wu et al., 2002). As discussed earlier, there is evidence that responsiveness to the needs of others, awareness of others' feelings, and attributing his or her success to help from others are considered important by both Korean immigrant mothers and fathers (Choi et al., 2012). For these reasons, it is expected that there will be no differences between mothers and fathers in this study with respect to their endorsement of modesty encouragement and shaming/ love withdrawal.

It is possible that as Korean immigrant parents acculturate to more mainstream New Zealand parenting norms, they may use similar parenting practices to those of their New Zealand counterparts. Parents may also take some positive elements of the mainstream culture, while maintaining other core elements of the culture of origin (e.g., respect for elders and parents) (Choi et al., 2012). In fact, Berry (1997) suggested that integration, which refers to balancing both cultures have been reported to produce the most successful adaptation. However, some argue that it may be difficult for Korean immigrants to achieve two-cultured (Korean and New Zealand) functioning (e.g., parenting practices) and they may be resistant to change due to their strong ethnic attachment (i.e., the tendency to maintain cultural traditions and to associate primarily within ethnic social networks) (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000;

Lin & Fu, 1990). It is possible that Korean immigrants in New Zealand, particularly in Auckland, maintain a higher level of ethnic identity, which may hinder their opportunities to form broader networks of support, including New Zealand parents and resources. Their Confucian past which shapes their child rearing practices and parent-child relationships may also be a crucial factor that makes Korean families retain traditional aspects of parenting practices regardless of where they live (Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000).

To date, studies on acculturation and Asian immigrant parenting have focused mainly on parenting concepts such as warmth, reasoning, and non-punitive parenting formulated in Western cultures (e.g., Costigan & Koryzma, 2011; Liu et al., 2009). Research on parental acculturation and cultural-specific parenting practices, thus, has to be examined. Parenting practices such as teaching children to respect authority (i.e., directiveness), encouraging children to be aware of others' feelings (i.e., shaming), emphasising group over individual accomplishments (i.e., encouragement of modesty), and sacrificing and devoting time and energy for the well-being of the child (i.e., devotion and involvement) are important to examine because they are traditional Confucian values that are viewed as fundamental to maintain order in the family and society, and thus protect the family (Min, 1998).

This study will also address the limitation associated with acculturation measurement shown in past studies. These studies assumed that length of residence in the host country (i.e., uni-dimensional variable) represents higher levels of acculturation towards the dominant culture. Instead, acculturation will be viewed as a bi-dimensional construct in this study. However, in order to make comparisons with other research this study will also explore whether the length of residence in NZ is associated with parenting styles and practices.

Few studies on parenting in Korea or in the U.S. have examined the influence of socioeconomic variables on authoritative parenting in both mothers and fathers in the same study. There is some indication from separate studies of fathers and mothers that the level of authoritative parenting may vary according to factors such as education and parents' work status (Kim, 2008, Rohner et al., 1980). This thesis, therefore, considers how parent education and job characteristics influences patterns of authoritative parenting in Korean immigrant mothers and fathers.

The present thesis also attempts to replicate and extend the findings of mothers' and fathers' perceptions of their child's behavioural difficulties and strengths, from research with other Asian and Westerns samples to Korean immigrant parents (Dave et al., 2008; Mellor et al., 2011). Based on previous research it is expected that agreement will be higher between mothers and father reports of externalising problems than internalising problems in their children (Dave et al., 2008; Mellor et al., 2011). It is also expected that both mothers and fathers will report more externalising problems for their boys than girls and more prosocial behaviour for their girls than boys, while mothers will report more prosocial behaviour in their boys than will fathers (Mellor et al., 2011).

As discussed earlier, different parenting styles have been associated with children's behavioural adjustment. Authoritarian parenting and negative parenting practices are generally associated with increased behavioural problems, while negative relationships tend to be found between authoritative and positive parenting practices and children's internalising and externalising behavioural problems (Chang et al., 2003; Chen et al., 1997; Fung & Lau, 2009; Kim et al., 2013a; Wang et al., 2007). This study sought to extend these findings to a sample of Korean immigrant parents with children aged 6 to 10 years old. Only a few Asian

studies have examined the different roles of mothers and fathers on children's behavioural outcomes using culture-specific parenting or Korean parenting practices. Therefore, this study will also examine how mothers' and fathers' parenting practices are related to their 6-10 year old children's behaviour using the both Western and Korean parenting practices. In particular, based on a longitudinal study of Chinese parents' indulgence and their relations to adjustment in children (Chen et al., 2000a), the relationship between parental devotion and prosocial behaviour and whether this differs for mothers and fathers will be examined. Lastly, given the finding that Korean parents often use shaming to foster prosocial behaviour (Fung, 2006), relationships between modesty encouragement, shaming/love withdrawal, and prosocial behaviour will be studied.

The small body of research in the U.S. has produced mixed findings regarding links between parental acculturation, parenting practices and child behaviour problems in Korean immigrant samples (Kim et al., 2006; Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000). Kim et al. (2006) found that children of assimilated and integrated mothers had better psychological adjustment; whereas, Farver and Lee-Shin (2000) found that children of mothers whose acculturation style was integrative had more problems with peer relationships than children of marginal or separated mothers. Although being acculturated in the Western culture yielded mixed findings, parents' individual acculturation styles did affect their children's behaviour. Therefore this study sought to further explore associations between these variables. This thesis will also address limitations in previous research by including measures of both mothers' and fathers' acculturation and cultural-specific parenting practices to examine the extent to which mothers' and fathers' acculturation influences the relationships between parenting variables and child outcomes and by using a sample of parents of 6 to 10 year old children.

Finally, research suggests that Asian immigrant parents experience many parenting challenges, unfamiliar parenting styles, and language barriers which are all related to the unfamiliarity with the new culture (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011; Hur, 1997; Lee, 2009).

Findings from several small-scale studies indicate parental frustration in blending new cultures into their culture when parenting and disciplining their children (Hur, 1997; Lee, 2009). Although there is recognition that more efforts are needed to support immigrant parents (Chang et al., 2006), there are few studies that identify the challenges Korean immigrants parents face in relation to parenting. Therefore, this study will look in detail at the parenting experiences of Korean immigrant parents raising their children in New Zealand. It will also explore retrospectively reported changes in parent-child relationships after immigrating to New Zealand and obtain parents' views on helpful child rearing strategies for newly arrived Korean immigrant parents.

Studies suggest that geese parents may experience either positive or negative changes in their marital relationship from geographical separation and tend to suffer emotional and social isolation due to a lack of support. Therefore, more research is needed in this emerging area of geese parenting to better understand the unique role and experiences of geese parents as guardians accompanying their children studying abroad in New Zealand, and their strengths in the parenting role.

# 2.8 Research questions and hypotheses

Based on the preceding review of the literature, the following questions and related hypotheses have been generated:

1. From the perspective of Korean immigrant single and two-parent families, what is the predominant parenting style of mothers and fathers of children aged between 6 and 10,

residing in New Zealand, as measured by Western concepts of parenting? (i.e., authoritarian or authoritative parenting).

Hypothesis 1a: It is hypothesised that Korean immigrant mothers and fathers will selfreport engaging in an authoritative style of childrening.

Hypothesis 1b: It is hypothesised that Korean immigrant mothers will report being more authoritative and less authoritarian in their parenting styles than fathers.

2. What are the specific parenting practices of Korean immigrant mothers and fathers of children aged between 6 and 10 in New Zealand?

Hypothesis 2a: It is hypothesised that Korean immigrant mothers will be more devoted and involved than fathers; whereas, fathers will be more directive. Both mothers and fathers will not differ in their use of shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modest behaviour.

- 3. To what extent are authoritative parenting styles among Korean immigrant parents influenced by socioeconomic status variables?
  Hypothesis 3a: It is hypothesised that authoritative parenting styles will be associated with greater parental education, employment status, and income.
- 4. How does acculturation influence the parenting of Korean immigrant parents?
  Hypothesis 4a: It is hypothesised that greater orientation to New Zealand culture will be associated with a more authoritative parenting style.

Research question 4a: What is the relationship between length of time spent in NZ and the endorsement of authoritative, authoritarian, and Korean parenting practices.

5. Do mothers and fathers differ in their perceptions of their children's behavioural strengths and difficulties?

Hypothesis 5a: It is hypothesised that both mothers and fathers will rate their sons higher on externalising (conduct problems, hyperactivity) problems than their daughters, whereas daughters will receive higher maternal and paternal ratings on prosocial behaviour than sons. There will no child gender differences for mother-and father-reported internalising (emotional) problems.

Hypothesis 5b: It is hypothesised that for mother and father reports on the same child, mothers will report higher levels of prosocial behaviour for their sons than will fathers. Hypothesis 5c: It is hypothesised that the agreement between mothers' and fathers' ratings of their children's behaviour will be higher for externalising problems than for internalising problems.

- 6. Is acculturation linked to Korean children's behaviour difficulties?
- 7. Are Korean immigrant mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices associated with their 6-10 years old child's behavioural adjustment?

Hypothesis 7a: It is hypothesised that Korean immigrant fathers' authoritarian and directive parenting will be positively associated with child externalizing behaviours while paternal devotion will be positively associated with child prosocial behaviour.

Hypothesis 7b: It is hypothesised that Korean immigrant mothers' authoritarian and directive parenting will be positively associated with child internalising behaviours, while maternal devotion will be positively associated with prosocial behaviour. Hypothesis 7c: Both mothers' and fathers' authoritative parenting, shaming/love withdrawal, and encouragement of modesty will be negatively associated with internalising and externalising behaviours and positively associated with prosocial behaviour.

8. How does acculturation influence the relationship between parenting styles and Korean parenting practices and children's behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour?

Given the mixed results from the few available studies, none of which include Korean parenting practices, specific hypotheses are not proposed.

In addition to these specific research questions and hypothesis, this study also has following aims:

- To examine the parenting challenges and experiences of Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand and to identify the unique parenting challenges faced by Korean immigrant single parents of "wild geese" families and their strengths in the parenting role.
- 2. The study also aimed to test the fit of parenting and child behaviour measures derived from Western and Chinese samples to a Korean sample: The modified version of the Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire and parenting practices emphasised in China (Wu et al., 2002), The Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA; Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992), and Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Goodman, 1997).

# **Chapter 3**

# **Research Methodology**

This chapter is organised into the following five sections: (1) research design, (2) sample recruitment procedures and ethical considerations, (3) participant characteristics, (4) measures and data collection procedures, and (5) data analysis strategy.

#### 3.1 Research design

As Sayer (1992, p. 4) argues, the choice of a research method for any study must be "appropriate to the nature of the object under the study and the purpose and expectation of the study". Given that the purpose of this study was to explore a relatively under-researched topic (i.e., the current parenting styles and practices of Korean immigrant parents of children aged between 6 and 10, their children's behavioural adjustment, and the influence of parental acculturation on parenting and child behaviour), and to obtain a better understanding of the parenting experiences of Korean immigrant parents, a mixed methods design using both quantitative and qualitative approaches seemed an appropriate approach to answer the research questions. In mixing methods, choices have to be made as to the sequence and relative priority of methods (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In this study, data collection was sequential with a quantitative survey data administered before qualitatively-analysed interviews. In analysing the data, quantitative data was collected and analysed first, followed by qualitative data.

For the purpose of the study, a cross-sectional design was used. A fixed-format, self-report survey analysed with causal-correlational statistical methods was used to

collect data on parenting styles and practices, parental perceptions of child behaviour, parental acculturation, and socioeconomic status and family background variables. The survey data were used to generate answers to the research questions and to test hypotheses about Korean immigrant parents' perceptions of their parenting and their children's behavioural adjustment, and relationships between parenting, child behaviour, and acculturation. The major contribution of this thesis is the survey results, with contrasts between mothers and fathers across whole families, in the same families and between geese mothers and mothers from two-parent families.

Qualitative data were collected from parent interviews to explore the parenting challenges and experiences of Korean immigrant parents and to identify the unique parenting challenges faced by Korean geese mothers and their strengths in the parenting role. Due to resource constraints and the requirement of voluntary participation, the survey data could not be used for selection of interview participants; however, all interviewees had completed the survey. Consequently, the two methods are reported separately. Although the qualitative questions addressed different and complementary issues to the survey questionnaire, relevant interview data are used to illustrate and expand on the questionnaire results.

"All research involves ethical issues because as a rule, it requires the collection of data from people, and about people" (Punch, 2005, p. 34). This is true because in any research, it is possible to inadvertently cause harm to participants. The major ethical issues in this study focused on ensuring the privacy and safety of the participants. All procedures were disclosed to and approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (HPEC ref. #2010/559). A copy of the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form can be found in Appendices G, H, I, and J.

# 3.2 Participant recruitment

Participants were recruited within the greater metropolitan area of Auckland since, of the 30,792 Koreans in New Zealand, 70% live in the Auckland region (Yoon & Choe, 2007). This study used non-random, purposive sampling; thus, participants were recruited from Korean immigrant parents whose children, aged between six and ten, attended primary schools in Auckland, New Zealand. Since the elements of the population are selected arbitrarily and according to certain characteristics, non-random sampling does not allow the estimation of sampling errors; there is no statistical way to assess the validity of results of non-random samples (Garson, 2002). Moreover, the data that is collected via non-random, non-probability methods usually lead to more or less biased estimates. However, given the achieved sample size, the results of this study are sufficiently robust to provide preliminary answers to the research questions.

After receiving ethics approval from the UAHPEC in January 2010, the researcher took a number of steps to recruit participants. As a method of identifying the potential participants, the researcher first contacted Auckland-based Korean church pastors, Korean language school principals, advisors of English language schools, and the president of the Korean Single Mothers Support Group (KSMSG, a non-profit organisation situated in Te Atatu South, Auckland) to recruit parents and schedule visits to explain the study and to distribute recruitment materials.

Recruiting through churches is especially warranted for Korean immigrants in New Zealand. In the Auckland region, there are approximately 150 Korean ethnic churches (Korea Town, June, 2013). This means that there is one church per 140 Koreans in the Auckland region. Nearly all Korean immigrants in New Zealand are affiliated with Korean ethnic

churches. Of the 30,792 Korean immigrants in New Zealand, about 70% identified themselves as Christians and about 90% of them attended church regularly (Yoon & Choe, 2007). The Korean ethnic churches serve important functions for many Korean migrants in New Zealand and the Korean community as a whole. It is believed that Korean immigrants' active participation in the ethnic church serves a range of functions, including meeting religious and spiritual needs, offering social-psychological support, providing a source of economic assistance, information on business opportunities, and educational resources for immigrants and their families (Chang et al., 2006). Korean ethnic churches, therefore, serve as important social institutions for Korean immigrants and Korean church networks make it easier for Koreans to make a living, particularly for newly arrived immigrants (Chang et al., 2006). Hence, sampling through religious organisations does not bias the sample relative to the population.

In accordance with HPEC requirements, the researcher did not directly approach potential participants. The church pastors, advisors of English language schools, presidents of the Korean language schools, and the president of the KSMSG distributed invitations and the questionnaire package via post on behalf of the researcher. A number of announcements about the study were made by the church ministers at several Korean churches in Auckland during the 'announcements' period at the end of the Sunday service. Parents were asked to take the questionnaires home to complete and return them, with no personal identifiers, in self-addressed, stamped envelopes to the researcher.

Participants were also recruited via advertising in places frequented by Korean parents such as Korean grocery stores and restaurants, and the Korean community newspaper (Good day) which is circulated in neighbourhoods where significant numbers of Korean

parents live. Eighteen participants were recruited through flyers posted at Korean shops and a Korean newspaper advertisement. A notice was put on the Korean community websites (www.koreapost.co.nz and http://cafe.daum.net/newzealand) advertising the study and requesting participation. Information regarding the study was given in these advertisements, including the purpose of the study and contact details of the researcher.

The questionnaire package was accompanied by: (1) an invitation letter about the purpose of the study, and asking parents to voluntarily participate, and, (2) questionnaire and interview consent forms for mother's and father's participation. At the end of the questionnaire, parents were asked if they were willing to participate in a follow-up individual interview. If they agreed, parents were asked to provide their name, phone number, and email address so that future contact could be made. If parents declined, contact details were not requested and the questionnaires remained anonymous. Survey questionnaires were expected to take approximately 45 minutes to complete.

Parents who met the following inclusion criteria were invited to participate. Inclusion criteria required Korean immigrant parents to: (a) be born in the Republic of Korea, (b) currently live in New Zealand, (c) have a child aged 6-10 who was currently enrolled in a New Zealand primary school, and (d) be willing to participate. Families where one parent was not Korean and married parents who live abroad were excluded. Thus, this study focuses solely on Korean immigrant parents from the Republic of Korea. There were no restrictions for the length of time spent in New Zealand. If there was more than one child in the specified age range (ages 6-10) in the family, parents were asked to rate their responses based on their parenting, and the behaviour of the oldest child in this age range.

# 3.3 Participant characteristics

Participant characteristics are shown in Table 3.1. Of the total of 207 parents who completed the questionnaire, 128 were female (61.8%) and 79 were male (38.2%). Parent ages ranged from 26 to 56 years with a mean age of 34 (SD = 11.9). More than half of the sample (N=120, 58%) were in the 30-44 age group, 20 (9.7%) parents were less than 30 years old, and 23 (9.2%) parents were over 45 years old. The average length of residency was 7.4 (SD = 5.2) years. Seventy four (36.5%) parents reported that they had lived in New Zealand for a period of six to ten years. Two to five years was the second longest time of residence for 60 (29.6%) parents. One person reported living in New Zealand for over 25 years, while 13 (6.4%) parents had resided in New Zealand for a period of only 2 months to 1 year.

In terms of marital status, 184 (88.9%) parents were married and living with a long-term partner, while 22 (10.6%) parents reported being divorced, and one parent was widowed. Of the total of 207 parents, 20 (9.6%) parents reported that they were geese parents. The length of time the geese partners had been living apart ranged from 3 months to 10 years. The average length of planned separation was 3.0 (SD = 2.6) years for geese couples. There were 121 girls (58.5%) and 86 boys (41.5%) in the sample, with a mean age of 7.8 (SD = 1.8) years old. The average number of children per family was 1.5 (SD = .61). The average family member size, including the parents, children, and other family members across all family types was four people (SD = .93), with the largest percentage being four people (42.0%), followed by three people (36.7%), two people (11.6%) and between five to seven people (9.2%).

Ninety eight (47.3%) parents held permanent residence, 48 (23.3%) parents had NZ Citizenship, 38(18.4%) of the parents were on temporary work visas, and 20 (9.7%) parents

were in New Zealand on student visas. One person held a visitor's visa while two people (1%) reported holding other visas. Most of the mothers were highly educated, with 106 (82.8%) having at least Bachelor's degree and eight (6.3%) mothers held Masters or PhD degrees, while just 14 (10.9%) had only graduated from high school. With regard to employment status, 23 (13.7%) of the mothers were in full-time employment, 34 (20.2%) worked part-time, 15 (8.9%) were students, and 56 (33.3%) were unemployed. Of the 125 mothers who responded to this question, 28 of them (21.9%) had a household income less than \$40,000 per year. Fifty three mothers (41.4%) had an annual household income of between \$40,000 and \$60,000, 28 (21.9%) had a household income of between \$60,000 and \$80,000, and nine mothers (7.0%) had a household income of between \$80,000 and \$100,000 per year. Seven (5.5%) had annual household incomes of over \$100,000. These financial statistics seem similar to the average annual income of New Zealand households in 2009/10, which was \$76,584 (Statistics New Zealand, 2011).

For fathers, 63 (79.7%) had a least Bachelor's degree, 15 (19.0%) fathers held Masters or PhD degrees, while just one father had only graduated from secondary school. With regard to employment status, 54 (68.4%) fathers were full-time employed, five (6.3%) fathers work part-time, 16 (20.3%) were students, and four (5.1%) fathers were unemployed. Ten (12.7) fathers had a household income less than \$40,000 per year. Thirty two (40.5%) fathers had an annual household income of between \$40,000 and \$60,000, 20 (25.3%) fathers had a household income of between \$60,000 and \$80,000, and eight (10.1%) fathers had a household income of between \$80,000 and \$100,000 per year. Nine (11.4%) fathers had annual incomes of over \$100,000 per year. On average, Korean immigrant parents had an annual household income falling between \$60,000 and \$80,000, with fathers reporting higher incomes than mothers.

Table 3.1 Characteristics of survey participants

Demographic Information	Parents N%		<u>Fathers</u> N %		Mothers N%		Geese parents N %	
Gender								
Male	79	38.2%					4	20.0%
Female	128	61.8%					16	80.0%
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)	<u>Mean</u>	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Age in years	34.0	11.9	34.3	11	33.9	12.5	35.7	5.38
Length of residence in years	7.4	5.2	7.2	4.4	7.3	5.3	6.0	2.71
Marital status								
Married	184	88.9%	72	91.1%	112	87.5%	19	95.0%
Divorced	22	10.6%	7	8.9%	15	11.7%	1	5.0%
Widowed	1	0.5%	0	0%	1	0.8%	0	0%
Gender of 1st child								
Male	66	47.0%					10	50%
Female	73	53.0%					10	50%
	Mean	(SD)					Mean	(SD)
Age in years	7.8	1.8					8.9	1.35

Table 3.1 continued

Demographic Information	<u>Parents</u>		<u>Fathers</u>		Mothers		Geese parents	
	<i>N</i> %		N	%	N	%	<i>N</i> %	
Number of child/children								
One	109	52.7%	44	55.7%	65	50.8%	9	45.0%
Two	85	41.1%	34	43.0%	51	39.8%	11	55.0%
Three	13	6.3%	1	1.3%	12	9.4%	0	0%
Level of education								
Secondary education	15	7.2%	1	1.3%	14	51.6%	0	0%
Bachelor's degree or Diploma	169	81.6%	63	79.7%	106	27.3%	18	90.0%
Masters degree or beyond (M.D. or Ph.D)	23	11.1%	15	19.0%	8	21.1%	2	10.0%
Visa status								
Citizen	48	23.2%	18	22.8%	30	23.4%	0	0%
Permanent resident	98	47.3%	37	46.8%	61	47.7%	5	25.5%
Working visa	38	18.4%	11	13.9%	27	21.1%	7	35.5%
Student visa	20	9.7%	12	15.2%	8	6.3%	5	25.5%
Visitor's visa	1	0.5%	1	1.3%	0	0%	1	5.0%
Other	2	1.0%	0	0%	2	1.6%	2	10.0%
Occupation status								
Unemployed	60	29.0%	4	5.1%	56	33.3%	9	45.0%
Students	31	15.0%	16	20.3%	15	8.9%		
Part-time employed	39	18.8%	5	6.3%	34	20.2%	6	30.0%
Full-time employed	77	37.2%	54	68.4%	23	13.7%	5	25.0%

Table 3.1 continued

Demographic Information	Parents	<u>S</u>	Father	<u>rs</u>	Mothe	<u>ers</u>	Gee	ese parents
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Number of jobs								
None	72	34.8%	9	10.1%	64	50.0%	8	40.0%
One	130	62.8%	68	86.1%	62	48.4%	11	55.0%
Two	3	1.4%	1	1.3%	2	1.6%	0	0%
Three	1	0.5%	1	1.3%	0	0%	0	0%
Family income								
Less than \$20,000	9	4.3%	3	3.8%	6	4.7%	0	0%
\$20,000~\$40,000	29	14.0%	7	8.9%	22	17.2%	3	15.5%
\$40,000~\$60,000	85	41.1%	32	40.5%	53	41.4%	11	55.0%
\$60,000~\$80,000	48	23.2%	20	25.3%	28	21.9%	3	15.5%
\$80,000~\$100,000	17	8.2%	8	10.1%	9	7.0%	1	5.0%
\$100,000~\$120,000	2	1.0%	1	1.3%	1	0.8%	1	5.0%
\$120,000~\$140,000	7	3.4%	5	6.3%	2	1.6%	0	0%
\$140,000 or more	7	3.4%	3	3.8%	4	3.1%	1	5.0%

Table 3.2 shows the number of Korean immigrant mothers and fathers who completed the survey and those who were interviewed, classified by family structure. Of the total of 207 Korean parents who participated and returned the survey, 68 mothers and 68 fathers were from the same families living together, while 32 mothers were either divorced, widowed, or geese mothers. Seven fathers were divorced and four fathers were geese fathers. 28 mothers had their partners living with them in NZ, but their partners did not respond to the questionnaire.

Table 3.2 Participation in Research by Korean immigrant families

Participar	its	Questionnaire	Interview	
Mothers				
	Mothers whose partners answered	68	7	
	Mothers with partners in NZ	28	2	
	Mothers without partners in NZ	32	5	
	(wild geese, divorced, widowed)			
Sub-total		128	14	
Fathers				
	Fathers whose partners answered	68	6	
	Fathers without partners in NZ	11	1	
	(wild geese, divorced)			
Sub-total		79	7	
Total		207	21	

# 3.2.1. Interview participants

At the end of the questionnaire, all participants who were willing to participate in a follow-up individual interview provided their contact details. Of the 22 parents who initially indicated they were willing to be interviewed, 21 agreed to be interview. Interview participants were 21 Korean immigrant parents (14 mothers and 7 fathers) with young children (aged 5-10 years) living in Auckland, New Zealand. The mean age of parents was 39 (SD = 4.7) years. All participants had lived in New Zealand for an average of 5.1 (SD = 2.7) years. Four mothers were geese mothers, one father was a goose father, and one mother was

divorced. Thirteen parents had daughters whose mean age was 8.6 (SD = 1.0) years, while eight parents had sons whose mean age was 8.1 (SD = 1.0) years. The interview sample did not differ from the survey sample beyond chance regarding the average age of parents and children, and length of residence. Only one couple from the same family volunteered to be interviewed.

Table 3.3 Characteristics of interviewed parents

			Child	Child	
<u>Parents</u>	<u>Age</u>	Marital status	<u>gender</u>	<u>age</u>	Length of residence
Mother	46	Married	Daughter	10	16 years
Mother	50	Married	Son	7	9 years
Mother	41	Married	Daughter	5	8 years
Mother	42	Married	Daughter	10	10 years
Mother	34	Married	Daughter	10	4 years
Mother	43	Married	Daughter	10	1 year
Mother	39	Married	Daughter	6	5 years
Mother	48	Married	Son	10	14 years
Mother	-	Married	Daughter	9	5 months
Mother	40	Married/ divorced	Daughter	6	2 years
Mother	32	Married/goose	Daughter	9	3 years
Mother	36	Married/goose	Son	9	6 years
Mother	38	Married/goose	Daughter	9	4 years
Mother	36	Married/goose	Son	10	2 years
Father	40	Married	Son	10	2 years
Father	34	Married	Daughter	10	1 year
Father	38	Married	Daughter	8	11 years
Father	37	Married	Son	6	3 years
Father	39	Married	Son	7	2 years
Father	33	Married	Son	6	6 years
Father	_	Married/goose	Daughter	10	1 year

#### 3.4 Measures

Mothers and fathers completed separate similar questionnaires, differing only in items that were specific to single mothers (see Appendix B). Because the Korean immigrant parents' first language was not English, the wording of the items had to be carefully constructed. To ensure that the English version of the questionnaire was readable, the questionnaire was

checked by two experienced academics. English versions of the questionnaires were translated into Korean by a professional translator and then back-translated into English to identify and correct any discrepancies. Questionnaires were provided in both Korean and English versions so that parents were able to use their preferred language. The questionnaire included five sets of questionnaires that were linked to the research questions, including parenting style, Korean parenting practices, acculturation, and children's behaviour.

#### 3.4.1. Demographic questionnaire

Participants were asked to provide information regarding their socio-demographic status, including age, gender, marital status (i.e., single, married and cohabitating, or goose parent), educational level, socio-economic status (i.e., family income. employment status, type of jobs, number of jobs, number of hours of working at the workplace), immigration status (i.e., New Zealand citizen, Permanent Resident, Visitor's visa), and family composition (i.e., number of family members living in household and age of child). Further, they were asked to indicate their length of residence in New Zealand. A copy of the demographic questionnaire is attached in Appendix A.

# 3.4.2. Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ)

This study used the authoritative and the authoritarian subscales from the modified version of the Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ; Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen, & Hart, 2001) developed by Wu et al. (2002).Wu et al. (2002) modified the PSDQ, to include 26 items pertaining to authoritarian and authoritative dimensions of parenting. Both mothers and fathers were asked to complete the 26-item version of the PSDQ modified by Wu et al. (2002). The PSDQ yields separate, continuous scores for each participant and each dimension of parenting: authoritarian and authoritative. The higher the score, the greater the use of parenting practices associated with a particular style. The authoritative scale yields

three subscales: Warmth and acceptance has seven items (e.g., "I express affection by hugging, kissing, and holding my child"); Reasoning/Induction with four items (e.g., "I explain the consequences of the child's behaviour"); and Democratic participation also four items (e.g., "I allow my child to give input into family rules"). The authoritarian scale contains three subscales: Verbal hostility with three items (e.g., "I yell or shout when my child misbehaves"); Physical punishment with five items (e.g., I spank when my child is disobedient); and Punitive/ Non-reasoning strategies with three items (e.g., "I punish by putting the child off with little or no justification"). Parents rated the frequency of their parenting behaviours and practices on each item using a 5-point Likert-type scale: 1 = never; 2 =once in a while; 3 =about half of the time; 4 =very often; 5 =always. Wu et al. (2002) used a multi-sample confirmatory factor analysis procedure to test the measurement model of the authoritarian and authoritative constructs. All the standardised factor loadings were above .40, which indicated scale reliability for a large sample. Reliability tests conducted for the present study revealed Cronbach's alphas of .79 and .91 for Korean immigrant mothers' authoritarian and authoritative scales respectively and .87 and .89 for Korean immigrant fathers' authoritarian and authoritative scales respectively. A copy of the measure is attached in Appendix B.

# 3.4.3. Parenting practices emphasised in Korea

Five parenting constructs emphasised in China that were developed by Wu et al. (2002) were used in this study to assess Korean parenting practices. This inventory was chosen because the items reflected similar Confucian-influenced parenting practices across China and Korea. The five constructs are: (1) Parental involvement consisting of four items (e.g., "A mother's sole interest is in taking care of her children"); (2) Protection with three items (e.g., "Supervise all of my children's activities"); (3) Shaming/ Love withdrawal with four items (e.g., "I tell my child that I get embarrassed when he/she does not meet my

expectations"); (4) Directiveness with three items (e.g., "I scold and criticise when my child's behaviour doesn't meet my expectations"), and (5) Encouragement of modesty with four items (e.g., "I discourage my child from proudly acknowledging compliments or praise from friends or adults") (Wu et al., 2002). Again, Wu et al. (2002) used a multi-sample confirmatory factor analysis procedure to test the measurement model of the five latent constructs and all the standardised factor loadings were above. 40, which indicated scale reliability for a large sample.

A new six-item scale, *Mo jeong* (i.e., devotion) was created to capture both maternal and paternal devotion and affection specific to Korean parents (Kim & Choi, 1994; Kim et al., 2005; Park et al., 2012). The seven items in this scale included: (e.g., "Children's mistakes and failures are attributed to parents", "I try to understand from my child's perspective and empathically relate to my own disappointments", "If my child makes a mistake or faults are found, I try to accept, forbear and even overlook the mistakes made by children", "I'm willing to sacrifice my career to devote myself to my children's well-being, "I try to maintain close relationships with my child to make sure that my child feels secure, and "I regard my child as an extension of myself and I am closely and intrinsically tied to my child'). Parents were asked how strongly they agreed or disagreed with each statement on a 6-point Likert-type scale: (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = slightly agree, 5 = agree, 6 = strongly agree).

For the six constructs of Korean parenting practices used in the present thesis, the Cronbach's alphas for mothers were .61 for devotion, .74 for parental involvement, and .64 for directiveness. For fathers the Cronbach's alphas were .76 for devotion, .76 for parental involvement, and .37 for directiveness. The mean inter-item correlation for the directiveness scale was .29, which falls within the recommended range of .20 to .40. Following

confirmatory factor analysis, two items from encouragement of modesty and three items from shaming/ love withdrawal had to be combined to form a shaming and love withdrawal/ modesty encouragement/ scale with Cronbach's alpha of .77 for mothers and .72 for fathers.

Because all three items from protection had factor loadings less than .30, protection was removed; hence, Cronbach's alphas for mothers and fathers were not analysed. A copy of the measure is attached in Appendix C.

# 3.4.4. Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ)

The Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ; Goodman, 1997) is a brief behavioural screening questionnaire for parents and teachers of 4- to 16- years old. It is designed to assess the presence of emotional difficulties and behavioural problems and adjustment of children in the families and school context. The SDQ has several advantages over other widely used measures such as the Child Behaviour Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991). It is relatively short, with only 25 questions, making it quick and easy for parents to complete. By contrast, the CBCL consists of 118 items on psychopathology alone (Goodman & Scott, 1990). Another difference between the SDQ and CBCL is that the SDQ has a simple factor structure with good face validity; whereas, the CBCL has been found to have a lack of concordance with nosology from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV; American Psychiatric Association, 1994) (Goodman & Scott, 1999). Perhaps, the most notable difference between the SDQ and CBCL is that, whereas the CBCL's psychopathology scales are based entirely on parental endorsement of negative items (e.g., "Can't concentrate, can't pay attention for long"), the SDQ focuses on children's strengths as well as difficulties, as some of the items are positively worded and address positive behavioural attributes of children (e.g., Prosocial, "Kind to younger children"; Hyperactivity, "Sees tasks through to the end, good attention span") (Goodman & Scott, 1999).

The SDQ consists of 25 items and is composed of five subscales, each of which has five items: (1) Emotional symptoms (e.g., "Often complains of headaches, stomach-aches or sickness"); (2) Conduct problems (e.g., "Often fights with other children or bullies them"); (3) Hyperactivity (e.g., "Restless, overactive, cannot stay still for long"); (4) Peer problems (e.g., "Picked on or bullied by other children"); and (5) Prosocial (e.g., "Considerate of other people's feelings"). Parents were asked to complete the SDQ and rate their answers on the basis of the child's behaviour over the last six months. Each of the 25 items is rated on a 3point scale with responses: 0 = not true; 1 = somewhat true; and 2 = certainly true. When scoring the SDQ five of the items are reverse-scored, meaning that "not true" is scored as 2, "somewhat true" is scored as 1 and "certainly true" is scored as 0. The reversed scored items are: one item from the conduct problems scale ("Generally obedient, usually does what adults request"), two items from the hyperactivity scale ("Thinks things out before acting" and "Sees tasks through to the end, good attention span"), and two items from the peer problems scale ("Has at least one good friend" and "Generally liked by other children"). Each of the five subscales is scored by adding the responses of the constituent items. A total difficulties score is obtained by summing scores for all items except for the prosocial items. Subscale scores range from 0 to 10 and the total difficulties score range from 0 to 40. Higher scores on the problem-oriented subscales are indicative of more behavioural problems. Higher scores on the prosocial scale indicate more positive behaviour. A number of studies have demonstrated the validity and reliability of the SDQ among community populations (e.g., Du, Kou, & Coghill, 2008; Mellor, 2004) and have reported marginal to acceptable internal reliabilities across the parent versions of the SDQ. For example, Cronbach alphas for parentreported emotional problems ranging from .60 to .71, conduct problems from .48 to 67., hyperactivity from .76 to .80, peer problems from .30 to .75, prosocial from .68 to .70, and total difficulties from .59 to .73 (Du et al., 2008; Mellor, 2004). In the current study, the

reliability coefficients for mothers were .49 for emotional symptoms, .48 for peer problems, .38 for conduct problems, .75 for hyperactivity, .65 for prosocial, and .75 for total difficulties. The reliability coefficients for fathers were .42 for emotional symptoms, .44 for peer problems, .64 for conduct problems, .77 for hyperactivity, .67 for prosocial, and .75 for total difficulties. It is worth noting that the relatively low alpha values (esp. <.70) may arise from two sources; (a) having only a three-option response scale which reduces variability in responses and (b) having relatively few items per scale. Future research should consider extending the length of the response scale. Pallant (2006) recommended that, with scales that have fewer than 10 items, it may be appropriate to report the mean inter-item correlation for the items. Briggs and Cheek (1986) recommended an optimal range for the inter-item correlation of .20 to .40 and the mean inter-item correlations for the current study were in the optimal range of .20 and .40 for most of the scales and the mean of the scores was .30. A copy of the measure is attached in Appendix D.

# 3.4.5. Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA)

The Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (Suinn, Rickard-Fugueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987) was designed specifically to assess the adaptation of Asian immigrants into the dominant culture and it has been the most extensively used instrument for the acculturation of Asians living abroad (Ponterotto, Baluch, & Carielli, 1998). The scale consists of 26 items in a multiple choice questionnaire format that measures language use, friendships, ethnic identity, geographic background, acculturative behaviours, and cultural attitudes. The scale contains five items that assess specific acculturative behaviours (e.g., What is your food preference at home?), five items focused on identity (e.g., How do you identify yourself?), four items asked about friendship choices (e.g., If you could pick, who would you prefer to associate with in the community?), four items assessed proficiency and

preferences for speaking a given language and English (e.g., What language do you prefer to use?), three items were about generation history (e.g., What generation are you?), and five items addressed cultural attitudes (i.e., How would you rate yourself in terms of being Korean versus being Westernised?). Suinn et al. (1987) reported Cronbach's alpha of .87. For the current study, the alpha estimate of reliability for the SL-ASIA was.75 for mothers and .71 for fathers.

All respondents were asked to choose one of a five-point Likert-type response scales to indicate their preference for each item on the SL-ASIA scale. All 21 items are summed and an average score is calculated by dividing the total value by 21. Averaged scores range from 1.0, which indicates low acculturation to the New Zealand culture or high Korean identification, to 5.0, which reflects high acculturation to the New Zealand culture or low Korean identification. A copy of the measure is attached in Appendix E.

#### 3.5 Parent interviews

Structured individual interviews were conducted to gather qualitative information on the experiences of Korean immigrant parents raising their children in New Zealand. The interviews were designed to elicit the opinions, thoughts, and feelings about parenting as immigrant parents in NZ, and what changes (if any) occurred in their own parenting after they migrated to New Zealand. Interviews focused on specific areas that researcher wished to gain a better understanding of, such as the parenting difficulties and challenges that Korean immigrant parents, including geese parents, faced as they adapted to living in New Zealand.

# 3.5.1. Interview questions for all parents

Structured, Open-ended questions were used for the interview as they allowed the researcher to elicit more in-depth responses and discussion from the interviewees, and centred on the topics linked with each research aim. The guiding questions for each topic are provided.

Parenting in New Zealand. Interview question 1: What has changed about your parenting since you immigrated to New Zealand?

The first interview question was aimed to investigate whether there had been any changes in their parenting since moving to New Zealand in regard to their parent-child relationship.

Difficulties in parenting. Interview questions 2: What are your major barriers to child rearing in New Zealand?; What has been your greatest struggle as an immigrant parent?; How do these barriers affect your relationship with child?

The second section aimed to gain an understanding of how perceived child rearing barriers affected Korean immigrants' parenting practices in New Zealand and used interview prompts to explore the extent to which Korean parents have increased difficulties in parent-child relationships after they emigrated to New Zealand and, if so, elicit any suggested strategies or sources of support to help deal with any parenting difficulties experienced by Korean immigrant parents. Therefore, the researcher asked questions regarding the most difficult challenges they faced as immigrant parents raising children in New Zealand and how these challenges affected their relationship with children.

*Recommendations and support:* Interview question 3: What recommendations would you make for other Korean immigrant parents or newly arrived immigrant parents regarding successful child rearing strategies?

The questions in this section were designed to find out what strategies parents could suggest that might provide avenues to reducing potential barriers to successful parenting in New Zealand. Each parent was specifically asked to recommend possible strategies based on their personal experience and in order to elicit strategies they may have used to overcome any barriers.

Single parenthood (Interview questions for geese/ single parents only)

Challenges of being a goose/ single parent: Interview questions 4: What is your experience as a single/goose mother?; What are the most difficult challenges you have had to deal with as a sole parent in New Zealand?; How have these challenges affected you and your children?; Tell me about your strengths as a sole parent.

These questions were designed particularly for geese parents and divorced mothers to assist them to reflect on their parenting experiences in their new home country. Questions examined perceived single parenthood and child well-being, perceived barriers as a goose/divorced parent and also as an immigrant parent raising children alone, and perceived personal strengths as a sole parent. Given the small sample size of single parents without a spouse (due to separation, divorce, and being widowed) and geese parents (whose spouses are physically absent from New Zealand), both single and geese parents were combined into one group.

#### 3.5.2. Interview Procedures

All interviewees preferred to be interviewed at home and asked that the interview be conducted in the participants' first language, Korean. At the start of the interview, the researcher again gave detailed information about the research purpose and explained the nature of the research. The researcher audio-recorded the interviewees' responses with their permission and these were then transcribed verbatim by the researcher and a Korean research assistant. The interview translation from Korean into English was also done by the researcher. On average, the interviews lasted for one hour.

#### 3.5.3. Thematic analysis

In order to ensure accuracy of translation, the translation was overseen and double translated by a native Korean student. The transcribed and translated data were then analysed using qualitative thematic analysis as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). This approach is a method for identifying meaningful themes relative to research aims and reporting themes within a data set in rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

# 3.5.4. Coding of interviews

The coding of transcribed data relating to specific interview questions involved reading and re-reading the transcript. Based on this initial reading, a classification and/or coding system for the major themes was inductively developed and identified. Next, phrases, sentences, and longer extracts within the transcripts that corresponded to each theme were identified. This process of 'repeated reading' (Braun & Clarke, 2006) results in data immersion and refers to the greater familiarity with and insight into the data.

Upon completion of coding and classifying themes, agreement on the clarity of categories was obtained by giving a sample of the raw text to a postgraduate student to assign to the initial categories developed by the researcher (Thomas, 2006) and supervisor input was obtained to develop and refine the themes and subthemes. After discussion and exploration of any discrepancies, and examination of relationships to other sub-themes, the researcher and a postgraduate student agreed on seven sub-themes that comprised 12 major themes. In addition, some overlap in sub-themes was reduced by using common wording across similar sub-theme labels and descriptions. Once thematic analysis was completed, the frequencies of each theme were computed. A pattern was deemed to be any topic that the participants repeated at least two times (May, 2001). Each parent was assigned a number and quotations are identified by that number.

# 3.6 Analytic strategy

This section describes the major analytic procedures used for both the survey data and interview data. As results are reported, specific procedures will be identified and described.

#### 3.6.1. Survey data

In analysing the quantitative survey data, SPSS (The Statistical Package for Social Science) 19.0 was used. All questionnaire data (i.e., the responses) were coded and verified. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations for the entire sample were generated to summarise the data.

In order to determine the requisite sample size of the study, an a priori power analysis was conducted using G power 3.1 (Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996). As noted earlier, it is not appropriate to calculate margins of error for this sample, due to the non-representative, non-random processes used to assemble it. Nevertheless, with 207 participants, correlations

r>.14 will be statistically significant. The current sample of 207 participants provided a power of .995 to detect a medium effect size of  $f^2 = .15$  (Cohen's effect for  $R^2$ , Cohen, 1988). The sample of 68 matched mothers and fathers provided a power of .95 to detect effect sizes of d=.30 using t-tests of means. Hence, the actual total sample size of 207 of this study has sufficient power.

Missing data were minimal in this study. The largest number of missing cases was 15, less than 5% of the total number of cases in the data set. Missing data occurred for 15 participants who intentionally or unintentionally skipped or refused to answer some questions. Missing data were replaced using the expectation maximisation (EM) algorithm (Dempster, Laird, & Rubin, 1977). The EM algorithm is a method of finding the maximum-likelihood estimate of the parameters from incomplete data or the data that has missing values (Dempster et al., 1977).

In order to ensure that the data met the assumptions for subsequent analysis, including confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), the variables were checked for normality, linearity, homoscedasticity, and homogeneity of error variance in line with the procedures suggested by Hair, Black, Babin, and Anderson (2010) and Pallant (2001). The normality of the distribution and homogeneity of variance assumptions was assessed by conducting univariate analyses (skewness and kurtosis). Skewness and kurtosis values for all of the study variables were found to be well within acceptable ranges (i.e., +/-3.00). Levene's tests for homogeneity of variances were non-significant for each analysis, indicating that this assumption was met. Residual and scatter plots revealed no significant violation of the assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity.

Once these preliminary analyses were completed, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using AMOS 20 was used to test a series of alternative plausible models for the structure of the questionnaire measures. For a more detailed description of the rationale and description of the model fitting procedures (see section 3.6.2.). After examining the goodness-of-fit for alternative measurement models (e.g., correlated-factor, hierarchical-factor, and orthogonal factors) for parenting styles and parenting practices emphasised in Korea, the most appropriate model was selected and descriptive statistics computed. Reliability analyses were then conducted for each of the constructs using Cronbach's alpha.

One-way ANOVAs and paired sample *t*-tests were performed to compare mothers' and fathers' scores on their reported parenting styles and practices, and their reports of their child's behaviour. Specifically, a series of one-way ANOVAs was used to compare mothers' and fathers' scores across family structures. Then paired sample *t*-tests were used to compare the parenting style and practices of Korean immigrant fathers and mothers within two-parent families. Given the number of *t*-tests and ANOVAs run, an alpha level of .01was adopted to minimise a chance of making a Type 1 error (incorrect rejection of a true null hypothesis). Effect sizes for differences in means were reported using Cohen's *d*.

Pearson correlations coefficients were calculated to examine relationships between the length of residency in New Zealand, acculturation, parenting styles, and Korean parenting practices, as well as the relationships between parenting styles and practices and child's behavioural strengths and difficulties. One-tailed tests were used where a specific direction of relation was hypothesised between variables; for example, that parents' education and acculturation would be positively associated with authoritative parenting. Two-tailed tests were used for the rest of the correlations. Regression analyses were run separately for

mothers and fathers to examine the best parenting predictors of child behaviour in two-parent families. Prior to performing regression analyses, the assumption of no multicollinearity was checked. When variables are highly correlated in a multiple regression analysis, it becomes difficult to determine which of the variables accounts for variance in the dependent variable because highly correlated variables are predicting the same variance in the dependent variable, thus threatening the validity of the regression equation (Slate & Rojas-LeBouef, 2011). Bivariate correlations were run between all the independent variables. In this study, no independent variables were highly correlated and multicollinearity analysis revealed no significant violation of the assumption. Hence, the data were ready for a correlation analysis and multiple regression analysis. Finally, structural equation modelling (SEM) was used to examine the relations between the constructs: strict/ controlling and authoritative parenting, the Korean parenting practices of directiveness, acculturation, and children's behavioural and emotional difficulties and prosocial behaviour. SEM provides an advantage over multiple regressions in that it can simultaneously estimate regressions and correlations among latent structures (i.e., factors) and manifest variables. This means that SEM can produce estimates of variance explained for multiple dependent constructs which can be single items or latent trait factors. A further advantage of SEM is that it provides indices of fit to the data so that the statistical quality of a model can be judged independently of the variance explained (Klem, 2000; Maruyama, 1998).

# *3.6.2. Confirmatory factor analysis.*

In order to examine validity of individual items and assess model-fit for each scale used in the study, the models were generated and modified in a four-step approach. In the first step, alternative measurement models were constructed based on the relevant theories and empirical research. The goal was to replicate the original factor structure of the scales

suggested in the original study and keep to the original models as closely as possible. This involved testing and comparing several alternative (i.e., competing) models, all of which were grounded in theory (Byrne, 2001). In the second step, the alternative models were then explicitly tested statistically against the sample data and the fit indices were compared to assess how well each model fit the data. Fit indices were inspected to determine the best-fitting of all models tested (Byrne, 2001).

Improper solutions (e.g., negative error variances and non-positive definite covariance matrix) can occur by chance about 2% of the time when samples are about 400 (Boomsma & Hoogland, 2001) rendering the solution inadmissible. In this study, then, inadmissible solutions could occur simply because of the relatively small sample size. In the event a model was inadmissible, the following options were used in an attempt to resolve the problem (Chen, Bollen, Paxton, Curran, & Kirby, 2001). To deal with the negative error variance, the variance parameter was constrained to a small positive number (i.e., 0.005) if twice the standard error was greater than the observed value, highly correlated factors were merged, or a hierarchical model was tested.

Because of the large number of variables and low number of participants in mother and father groups, CFA for each construct was performed for the entire sample (*N*=207), rather than for mothers and fathers separately, thus, avoiding problems associated with low ratio of participants to variables (Costello & Osborne, 2005). One exception was the PSDQ, where separate analyses for mothers and fathers was required since invariance testing showed that different items contributed to the construct for each group. Admissible solutions with relatively poor or marginal fit were modified or trimmed using modification indices to identify items which were not well-fitting. Three criteria were used to identify the best-fitting

model for each factor (Bandalos & Finney, 2010) and thus, how many factors to retain for each construct:(1) items had to have a factor loading greater than or equal to .40, (2) items with cross-loadings to other factors >.30 or with strong modification indices (i.e., >20) to other factors were removed, and (3) statistically non-significant paths and items were removed.

#### 3.6.3. Structural equation modelling

To assist with SEM, scale score variables were created by averaging all the contributing items to each factor and creating an item parcel variable for each factor. Structural equation modelling was used to test the relations between the constructs: authoritarian, authoritative, directiveness, acculturation, children's behavioural and emotional difficulties, and prosocial behaviour using item parcels. With regards to authoritative and authoritarian parenting, because different models were found for men and women, total scores for both mothers and fathers were examined separately and computed by averaging the responses on all items contributing to its respective factor. Items loading on each factor were similar for mothers and fathers except for fathers' authoritative. The structural equation model was assessed by (1) inspecting multiple fit indices, (2) examining the direction and significance of the paths, and (3) examining the proportion of variance accounted for by the independent variables (i.e., squared multiple correlations or *R*<sup>2</sup>).

#### 3.6.4. CFI Fit statistics

Fit statistics determine the statistical significance of a proposed model relative to the responses found in the data. The best fit indices are those that are not affected by sample size or model complexity. For example, the  $\chi^2$  statistic falsely punishes models with large sample sizes and degrees of freedom; the comparative fit index (CFI) falsely punishes complex

models; and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) falsely rewards complex models (Fan & Sivo, 2007). In line with current practice (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002; Fan & Sivo, 2007; Marsh, Hau, & Wen, 2004; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000), acceptable fit for a model was imputed when the  $\chi^2$  per df was statistically non-significant (p>.05), gamma hat >.90, and the standardised root mean residual (SRMR) was <.08. Models that met these criteria were retained. That said, the traditional indices of CFI and RMSEA are provided, as is standard practice.

# **Chapter 4**

# **Examination of the construct validity of the scales**

The current chapter presents a series of confirmatory factor analyses of the measures of parenting, child behaviour and acculturation used in this study. The models were derived from previous Western and Chinese studies and were tested to assess their validity in this sample. The procedures used to test and measure the fit of a model in CFA are described in Chapter 3. Given the differences between fathers and mothers discussed in Chapter 2, wherever possible, measurement models were run separately for mothers and fathers. Constructs which were not tested separately were those which would be shared between men and women (e.g., Korean-ness or acculturation).

#### 4.1 Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire: Authoritarian Parenting

The modified version of the *Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire* (PSDQ; Robinson et al., 2001) as used by Wu et al. (2002) contained 26 items forming two stylistic patterns of parenting: authoritarian and authoritative. The fit of the three competing models of the authoritarian factor structure suggested by the literature were tested first and compared, to ascertain which model provides the most parsimonious fit to the data. Models 1 and 2 corresponded to the Wu et al. (2002) a priori factor pattern. The first of these tested was a single-factor model combining the 11 items of authoritarian parenting style from all three constructs (i.e., physical coercion, verbal hostility, and non-reasoning/ punitive) onto a single factor. Wu et al. (2002) developed this single-factor model to test whether three constructs were well distinguished and to make a comparison to their proposed first-order three factor model. The second model was the first-order three factor model with no parameters

constrained. The Wu et al. (2001) model proposes that the 11 items of authoritarian parenting are grouped in three latent sub-factors in which the relationships among the three latent factors are explained by their inter-correlations. The final model to be tested was a modification of the second model and specified a hierarchical factor model in which the three first-order factors form a second-order 'mothers' authoritarian' factor. Model 3 was considered a plausible alternative model of measure.

#### 4.1.1. Authoritarian parenting – Mother sample only

Negative error variances appeared on the Verbal hostility factors from the hierarchical factor model and were fixed to a small positive number (0.005) because the standard errors suggested there was a high probability that the true value was larger than zero. Table 4.1 shows that the single-factor model had rather poor fit to the data with values for CFI, RMSEA, and SRMR outside the recommended cut-offs. The first-order three factor model also did not fit well. The hierarchical model provided a slightly better fit than the single factor and the first-order three factor models. Of the alternative models tested, the hierarchical factor model in which the three first-order factors form a second-order factor was judged to demonstrate the best fit with the Korean immigrant sample data. This hierarchical model was further revised by examination of the modification indices which suggested that one item (i.e., "I yell or shout when my child misbehaves"), intended to measure verbal hostility factor loaded on punitive/ non-reasoning factor. The revised model removed that item (Figure 1, left panel). All of the standardised regression coefficients were above .50 and the model fit for the revised hierarchical factor model resulted in an improved, though still marginal fit to the data.

Table 4.1

Goodness-of-fit indices of models for the mothers' authoritarian parenting (*N*=128)

Model	k	$\chi^2$	df	$\chi^2/df$	p	CFI	gamma hat	RMSEA	SRMR
Single-factor model	11	169.9	44	3.86	.05	.65	.85	.150	.111
Three factor model (correlated)	11	124.7	41	3.04	.08	.77	.89	.127	.097
Hierarchical model	11	125.7	43	2.92	.09	.77	.91	.123	.096
A revised hierarchical model*	11	110.9	43	2.58	.11	77	.93	.112	.087

# 4.1.2. Authoritarian parenting (Father sample only)

A similar procedure was followed for constructing the authoritarian model for the father sample. The single-factor and the first-order three factor models also did not provide good fit. Therefore, it was decided to test a hierarchical factor model. The analysis showed that one item from Physical coercion (i.e., "I slap my child") and one item from Verbal hostility (i.e., "I argue with my child") had very low loadings on their respective factors and so they were removed. The CFA was rerun on the remaining nine items (Figure 1, right panel), and the hierarchical three-factor model resulted in an acceptable but marginal fit to the data (Table 4.2). The standardised loadings were high, ranging from .70 to .83.

Table 4.2

Goodness-of-fit indices of models for the fathers' authoritarian parenting (*N*=79)

Model	k	$\chi^2$	df	$\chi^2/df$	p	CFI	gamma hat	RMSEA	SRMR
Single-factor model	11	118.0	44	2.68	.11	.78	.85	.147	.084
Three factor model (correlated)	11	97.0	41	2.37	.12	.84	.88	.133	.077
Hierarchical model	11	97.0	41	2.37	.12	.84	.89	.132	.077
A revised hierarchical model*	9	64.6	24	2.69	.10	.87	.90	.147	.073

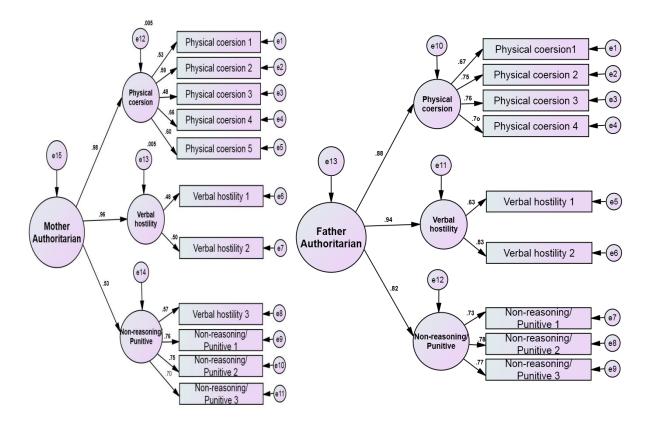


Figure 1: Mother and Father authoritarian models (A copy of the revised questionnaire on PSQD can be found in Appendix B).

Note that while the three factors proposed by Wu et al. (2002) were recovered for both the father and mother samples of Korean parents in New Zealand, there were small differences between the two groups and to the original models. Slightly different combinations of items were needed for mothers and fathers, but the general impression was that there was considerable similarity (i.e., Physical coercion 4 of 5 items identical; Verbal hostility 2 of 2 items identical; Non-reasoning/ punitive 3 of 4 items identical). Hence, the factor means were created using the models for each group separately, but are deemed to be conceptually equivalent. It is expected that the small sample sizes in each group are

responsible for the differences in models and with samples of 400 or more the original factor structure would be recovered.

## 4.2 Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire: Authoritative Parenting

In Wu et al. (2002), the authoritative parenting factor included three latent constructs (warmth/ acceptance, reasoning/induction, and democratic participation) measured with 15 items. Again, a single-factor, first-order three factor, and hierarchical models were constructed with no constraints imposed.

#### *4.2.1.* Authoritative parenting Mothers

In the hierarchical model, the error variance of one indicator (warmth/ acceptance) was negative so it was fixed to 0.005. As seen in Table 4.3, a single factor and first-order three factor models did not represent the data well. However, the hierarchical model was found to fit the data marginally better; hence, this model was selected to revise. Three items had factor loadings less than .50 (i.e., Warmth/Acceptance: "I give comfort and understanding when my child is upset"; Reasoning/ Induction: "I explain the consequences of the child's misbehaviour"; and Democratic participation: "I take my child's desire into account before asking him or her do something") and so were removed. A revised model was run which moved three items and this trimmed model had adequate fit (Figure 2, left panel). All of the standardised regression coefficients for the final scale were greater than .59.

Table 4.3

Goodness-of-fit indices of models for the mothers' authoritative parenting (*N*=128)

Model	k	$\chi^2$	df	$\chi^2/df$	p	CFI	gamma hat	RMSEA	SRMR
Single-factor model	15	237.9	90	2.64	.10	.83	.87	.114	.079
Three factor model (correlated)	15	297.9	90	3.30	.07	.76	.79	.135	.179
Hierarchical model	15	221.9	89	2.49	.11	.85	.88	.108	.078
A revised hierarchical model*	12	98.4	52	1.89	.17	.94	.94	.084	.057

# *4.2.2.* Authoritative parenting Fathers

Following the same procedure, it was found that all three models tested had poor fits for father and had two identical weak item loadings. After removal of these two items with low loadings (i.e., Democratic participation "I apologise to my child when make mistake in parenting" and Warmth/ acceptance: "I show sympathy when my child is hurt or frustrated") the fit to the data was still poor. Given that 10-12 items are needed to recover a factor with sample sizes of about 50 (Marsh, Hau, Balla, & Grayson, 1998), it was decided to test and revise a single-factor by collapsing all the items into a single factor. In this model, the correlations among the factors were fixed to 1 and so the three latent factors were treated as one general factor of authoritative parenting. The model was run again and the results of CFA provided support for the correlated structure model and fitted better than the hierarchical structure model (Table 4.4; Figure 2, right panel). Hence, it is apparent that mothers and fathers in this study can be compared only for the total authoritative scale score since 10 of 12 items are identical. Since the hierarchical structure of authoritative was recovered with the larger mother sample, it is assumed that failure to do so with fathers is a function of sample size rather than any inherent characteristic of fathers.

Table 4.4

Goodness-of-fit indices of models for the fathers' authoritative parenting (*N*=79)

Model	k	$\chi^2$	df	$\chi^2/df$	p	CFI	gamma hat	RMSEA	SRMR
Single-factor model	15	212.7	90	2.36	.12	.77	.83	.132	.091
Three factor model (correlated)	15	288.8	90	3.21	.07	.62	.75	.168	.219
Hierarchical model	15	210.0	88	2.39	.12	.77	.83	.133	.091
A revised single factor model*	10	64.9	35	1.86	.17	.91	.94	.082	.057

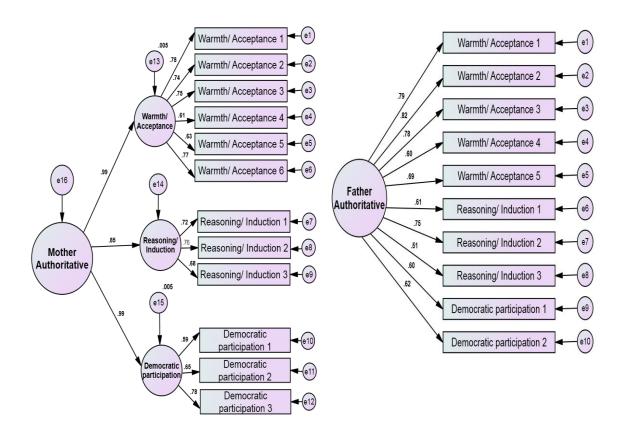


Figure 2: Mother and Father authoritative models

#### 4.2.3 Discussion and summary of the CFA study

This thesis tested models based on prior research and found differences which warrant further consideration.

4.2.3.1. Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ) modified by Wu et al. (2002): Authoritarian parenting (mothers and fathers)

The study was able to test a reliable and valid version of the *Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire* (PSDQ) for use with Korean immigrant mothers and fathers in New Zealand which generally supported the three-factor model of the authoritarian constructs developed by Wu et al. (2002) for both the father and mother samples of Korean parents in New Zealand. When mother and father models were compared, however, slightly different combinations of items were obtained for the mothers and fathers. The most pronounced differences involved items in the verbal hostility dimension. The rest of the items appear to be indicative of verbal hostility that is equivalent for mothers and fathers. The different combinations of items obtained for mothers and fathers may be due to two reasons, including (1) wording of items, and (2) different parenting roles of Korean mothers and fathers.

First, the wording of "I yell or shout when my child misbehaves" may not represent the 'verbal hostility' construct well for mothers. Yelling and scolding may be viewed by Korean immigrant mothers as more punishment (McLoyd & Wilson, 1991; Thomas, 2004) than verbal hostility.

Second, it is possible that Asian cultural norms prevent the statement "I argue with my child" being part of punitive factor for Korean fathers. Research suggests that Korean-American fathers hold more traditional views of parent-child relationships than mothers and children (Kim & Cain, 2008), seeing themselves as the authority of the household (Kim, 2005;

Lehner, 1996; Rohner & Pettengill, 1985). Such expectations would lead to an authoritarian parenting style, particularly when children misbehave (Xu et al., 2005). In other words, fathers especially would expect children to be obedient, listen to authority figures, not dissent or question authority's judgment, and not talk back. Arguing with parents has been cited as a common cause of punishment of children in Taiwan (Wu, 1981). This tendency would be even more evident among culturally traditional Asian parents (Cheng,1944), in which, when children are punished or scolded by their fathers, they would be discouraged from criticising the acts of their fathers even if these acts were heinous. Therefore, unquestioning obedience to fathers may explain why argument between fathers and children does not load on the expected factor.

Third, in addition to the verbal hostility, item 6 (i.e., "I slap my child") from the physical coercion dimension was also removed from father model, but not from the mother model perhaps because of the differences between mothers' and fathers' impulsive and emotional behaviours in the discipline process. Ahn (1994) found that 70% of Korean-American parents considered hitting and slapping a child on the hand as an appropriate strategy for a nine-year-old child who cheated at school compared to 7% of European-American parents. Korean-American parents believed that spanking a child with a wooden rod was an acceptable strategy and more emotionally controlling than spanking with an open hand. When parents look for a rod for flogging, they have a chance to be patient, calm their temper, and avoid anger and emotions (Yi, 1993). In support of this possibility, Kim and Hong (2006) found that only Korean-American mothers in their study responded in an impulsive manner when slapping a child. They admitted that slapping a child with an open hand was something they use according to their emotions. This suggests that mothers are less likely than fathers to regulate their emotions when using physical punishment. In the Korean

culture, it is believed that a father must not express the emotions of happiness and anger. This may explain why item 6 was retained in mother model but removed from father model.

All dimensions were equivalent in meaning for mothers and fathers except for the verbal hostility dimension. Notwithstanding the differences in results for mothers and fathers, the general impression is that there was considerable similarity between mothers and fathers and that the results were in line with Wu et al. (2002). Therefore, future studies should revise this dimension and the different parental roles between mothers and fathers in the act of punishment and verbal hostility need to be taken into account. As a note of caution, one should keep in mind that physical coercion is an issue that is sensitive to individual cultures. For such reason, differences in mothers' and fathers' responses regarding this item might be affected by not only the differences between mothers' and fathers' impulsive and emotional behaviours in the discipline process but also affected by social desirability of parents in answering the survey. Use of other informants, such as children would be helpful for validating these findings.

## 4.2.3.2. Authoritative parenting

The results obtained here partially supported Wu et al's (2002) authoritative constructs for both fathers and mothers in this study. However, slightly different factor structures were obtained for the mothers and fathers. The three factors proposed by Wu et al. (2002) were recovered for the mothers only in this sample. For fathers, CFA failed to replicate the original three-factor structure. Instead, the results of CFA provided support for a single-factor model. One possible reason why CFA failed to replicate results of Wu et al's (2002) three-factor structure for fathers is related to the gender of the parents. Wu et al. (2002) found a three-factor structure included only mothers. There were 79 fathers included in the

current sample. There may be gender differences in terms of the factor structure that are affecting the results in the present study.

For the mother model in the warmth/acceptance dimension, item 4 ("I give comfort and understanding when my child is upset") and item 5 ("I show sympathy when my child is hurt or frustrated") share closely related meanings. When they are translated into Korean, two different meanings that are the equivalences of the words "comfort" and "sympathy" were found. Thus, these two items have very similar meanings with respect to Korean language. In fact item 4 was retained because this item had the least skew, while item 5 was highly skewed. For fathers, showing sympathy and giving comfort when the child is upset or hurt are not considered fathers' domain, which may explain why these items had low factor loadings for that group. These two items seem to strongly reflect maternal devotion. As discussed in chapter 2, section 2.2, the Korean mother-child relationship is associated with maternal care, understanding, and unconditional love, whereby mothers try to understand the child's perspective and empathically relate to mothers' own disappointments.

There is another reason for the removal of reasoning/ induction item 4 ("I explain the consequences of the child's behaviour") from both the mother and father model, possibly because Korean parents do not make a distinction between the meanings of items 3 and 4. The wording of the item 4 is also close to the item 3 ("Encourages child to talk about consequences of behaviour") with respect to the meaning. Whether parents explain or encourage children to talk about the consequences of behaviour, these two items could be understood as helping children to become aware of the consequences associated with misbehaviour overall.

Item 4 "I apologise to the child when making a mistake in parenting," which is from the democratic participation factor, was retained in mother model but removed from the father model. One possible reason why Korean fathers may not relate to this item is that Korean fathers tend to maintain a distance, associated with the traditional status hierarchy, when interacting with their children. They are less verbally expressive, and most importantly, they tend to save face and ask their children to obey (Kim & Cain, 2008). Apologising to children might thus considered face threatening for the Korean immigrant fathers.

Moreover, the inequality of the factor structure for mothers and fathers may have been due to differences in item interpretation. But the most likely explanation is that inequality of the factor structure for mothers and fathers occurred because of the small samples used for factor analysing a large number of items (128 mothers and 78 fathers). Nevertheless, the authoritative parenting style model explained more variance and provided a better fit to the data than the authoritarian parenting style in the current study.

CFA demonstrated acceptable fit to the intended three-factor structure for the mother sample and supported a single-factor structure for the father sample. Nevertheless, the 10 authoritative items measuring authoritative constructs were adequate indicators for Korean immigrant mothers and fathers. Most items had adequate and similar factor loadings for mothers and fathers, providing evidence for conceptual equivalence. Since the three-factor structure of authoritative was recovered with the larger mother sample, it is assumed that failure to do so with fathers is a function of sample size rather than any inherent characteristic of fathers. Therefore, future studies would need to include a larger sample of father report data to replicate the original three-factor structure. The present findings provide some insight regarding the question of whether the Western conceptualisations of authoritarian and

authoritative parenting styles can be applied to Korean immigrant parents in NZ. The present findings can be regarded as a positive response to this question as the findings clearly suggest that the revisions make sense theoretically and conceptually, and retained most parts of the original models. Hence, the present findings suggest that the concept of authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles developed in the West is applicable to Korean immigrant parents, which can be regarded as interesting additions to the literature on the parenting styles.

#### 4.3 Parenting practices emphasised in Korea

CFA was used to verify the original five-factor structure of the parenting constructs emphasised in China as obtained by Wu et al. (2002). The researcher wanted to examine the validity of the measurement model for these five parenting constructs derived from the Chinese parenting literature by ascertaining whether the postulated factors would emerge and to determine whether these five constructs could be used to assess the parenting of Korean immigrant population. Two more theoretically plausible CFA models were also tested with a sample of 207 Korean immigrant parents. Model 1 tested and replicated the original 18-item measurement model of the five latent constructs derived from the Chinese parenting literature and the five factor model found in Wu et al. (2002) (i.e., modesty encouragement, protection, directiveness, shaming/love withdrawal, and beliefs about maternal involvement). Model 2 is the 24-item six factor model where six items from devotion are added. The researcher developed devotion (mo jeong), a factor derived from extant literature on Korean parenting. The final model tested was the uncorrelated or orthogonal first-order factors. There are two reasons for the decision to run the uncorrelated model. First, the discussion of the relationship among the five parenting practices constructs emphasised in China in Wu et al. (2002) indicated the factors were weakly inter-correlated. Second, examining such a model provides a test of the necessity of incorporating correlated factors by enabling a comparison of the

increase in fit between correlated and uncorrelated factors (Doll, Raghunathan, Lim, & Gupta, 1995).

As seen in Table 4.5, the five-, six-, and four correlated models had very poor fit to the data, although comparing the  $\chi^2$  difference between 5 factor model and the 4 factor correlated model, there is a statistically significant advantage to the four factor correlated model.

The 18-item original five-factor solution showed a better fit than the six factor model, though, it too was inadequate. The six-factor model had the poorest fit to the data, with five indices all exceeding conventional cutoff values. A number of items had low factor loadings and strong factor cross-loadings. Specifically, all three items from Protection did not load on any factor and did not have a significant relationship with the total scale of the Parenting practices emphasised in Korea and hence were excluded from the analysis. Modification indices suggested that the three items from the Shaming factor loaded onto the Encouragement of modesty factor and so shaming/ love withdrawal factor were merged into the Encouragement of modesty factor. The trimmed model consisted of 16 items related to four correlated factors consisting of Devotion, Maternal/Paternal Involvement, Shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty and, and Directiveness factors.

Examination of the factor inter-correlations showed that Devotion and Shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty were independent of each other, but that both were positively were positively correlated with Maternal and Paternal Involvement and Directiveness (Table 4.5; Figure 3).

Table 4.5

Fit indices of models for the Parenting practices emphasised in Korea (*N*=207)

Model	k	$\chi^2$	df	$\chi^2/df$	P	CFI	gamma hat	RMSEA	SRMR
Five factor model (correlated)	18	430.0	125	3.44	.06	.71	.86	.109	.097
Six factor model (correlated)	24	893.2	237	3.77	.05	.62	.79	.116	.111
Four correlated factor model*	16	373.6	100	3.74	.05	.76	.86	.115	.110

Devotion was strongly correlated with Involvement than Shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty (r =.80 vs. .28), while both were moderately correlated with Directiveness (r =.43 and .63). Therefore, both a positive (i.e., devotion, involvement) and a negative (i.e., directiveness and shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty) construct both explained variance in the caring and strict behaviours. Overall, the CFA fit indices for the four factor correlational model failed to reach the recommended cutoffs. However, the difference in  $\chi^2$  conditioned by the difference in degrees of freedom between the five-factor model and this trimmed correlational model is statistically significant; hence, this model is preferred. Consequently, given these various conditions, the study will proceed cautiously with the four factors of Devotion, Shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty, Involvement, and Directiveness as the best understanding of Korean parenting.

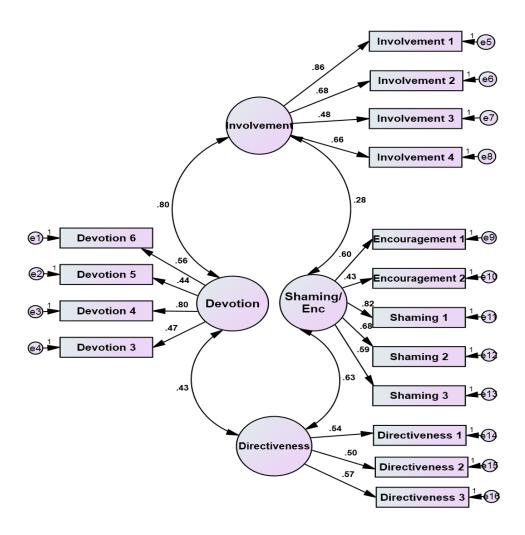


Figure 3: Parenting practices emphasised in Korea model

## 4.3.1 Discussion and summary of the CFA study

Parenting practices emphasised in Korea

The study attempted to replicate the five-factor structure of the *Parenting practices emphasised in China* proposed by Wu et al. (2002). Unfortunately, the five-factor model did not fit this data. Instead, a four-factor correlated structure, which consisted of Devotion, Shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty, Involvement and Directiveness, performed better than the five-factor solution, though neither had good fit. The fact that the four-factor model goodness-of-fit solutions were not as good as the results of Wu et al.

(2002), maybe a function of the relatively small sample size (Bentler, 1981). A sample size of 207 may not be sufficient to perform this analysis, with so many parameters to estimate.

However, one interesting finding was that the three items from the Shaming factor loaded onto the Encouragement of modesty factor, which may have happened because Korean parents may consider shaming as a means of reinforcing humility and discouraging self-promotion. Another possible explanation for this may relate to the strong training and socialisation children receive to be aware of other people's opinions, judgments, and evaluations. Korean children are required to acquire sensitivity to shame, be humble, and show modest behaviour in order to avoid a bad reputation. Indeed, Ho (1986) stated that to fit in, people in collectivist cultures must learn to inhibit behavioural and emotional expression of their own wants and desires to keep from standing out.

All three items from Protection, however, were found to have relatively low factor loadings and, hence, were excluded from the CFA. The reduced salience among these items and their removal relative to other Korean parenting practices items may indicate Korean immigrant parental adaptation to the cultural and social expectations of the NZ mainstream society, which includes autonomy and independence in children, much as is found in Korean-American contexts (Choi et al., 2012). Another possible reason for the failure to include the Protection factor in the present thesis may be due to the age of the children of parents in the present sample. The parenting practices emphasised in China were used with mothers of preschool-age children (ages 5 years and under) in Wu et al's (2002) study that contributed to the understanding and development of a model of parenting constructs emphasised and derived empirically from indigenous Chinese cultural notions. Ages of parents' children in the present thesis ranged from six to ten years. It is possible that parents of preschoolers may

have endorsed items in Protection factor more than parents of slightly older children. For example, mothers of preschoolers tend to be more concerned with their child's safety, and therefore, may encourage their young child to stay physically close to them and restrict certain activities to keep their children safe from harm (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993). However, as children reach a period of middle childhood and start school, parents are with children less than half as much as before their children started in school. Therefore, interactions between parents and children become less frequent in middle childhood and parental protection is less emphasised (Collins et al., 2002). Parenting behaviour is affected by these developmental changes. The differences are certainly apparent between preschoolers and school-aged children. Items on the protection may or may not apply differently to parents of older children. Therefore, the protection factor may not be valid with parents of older children. Hence, child age may also be a factor that affects the factor structure of the parenting practices emphasised in Korea, and these variables should be explored in future research. Other than the protection factor, parenting constructs that were highly valued in China were found to be applicable and relevant for Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand. This suggests that these parenting practices emphasised are highly likely to stem from the same underlying socialisation goals that are prevalent in Chinese society.

Because the model did not fit well, this instrument should be used cautiously in future research and requires further study to assess its validity in other samples of Korean immigrant parents. At the item level, further refinement of the parenting practices emphasised in Korea may require removal or revision of items that do not load on any factor (e.g., protection). Moreover, a closer inspection may be needed, especially of items that loaded in others factor than previously reported. Modifications may need to be made for Korean parent communities.

In future studies, the researchers should consider including a larger sample to examine the factor structure of the parenting practices emphasised in Korea and examined separately for mothers and fathers. Comparisons in factor structure between parents of older and younger children may provide differential support for the use of the parenting practices emphasised in Korea in one population than the other. Although the present findings did not produce an exact replication of the original model because of a small sample size, the present findings have some strength that have allowed it to contribute to the current parenting literature regarding the parenting practices emphasised in Korea. The sample was Korean immigrant parents of children aged between six and ten. Second, fathers, who are not often represented in parenting research, were included in the sample. Third, the use of the more stringent CFA to test factor structure, as compared to the more subjective EFA, allowed for a deeper understanding of the usefulness of the parenting practices emphasised in Korea. Finally, the present thesis expanded the study of the model of parenting constructs emphasised from indigenous Chinese cultural notions for Korean immigrant parents of school-aged children.

# 4.4 Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ)

A confirmatory factor analysis was performed to examine the structural validity of the parent-informant version of the SDQ (Goodman, 2001) with a sample of 207 parents. Fit of four competing models of the SDQ's factor structure suggested by the extant literature for the parent-informant version of the SDQ were tested and compared (Table 4.6). Model 1 is the three-factor first order solution (Dickey & Blumberg, 2004) consisting of an internalisation dimension (i.e., five emotional symptoms and five peer problems items), an externalisation dimension (five hyperactivity and five conduct problem items), and a prosocial, positive construal factor (five items). Model 2 is the traditional five-factor model postulated by

Goodman (2001) with each factor comprising five items, in which the relationships among the five factors are explained by their intercorrelations (Palmieri & Smith, 2007). Model 3 is is a six-factor model suggested by Palmieri and Smith (2007) which includes all five correlated factors but also specifies a separate uncorrelated method factor on which all the five prosocial items and the five reverse keyed problem-oriented items load. According to Palmieri and Smith (2007, p. 132), Model 3 posits that these 10 positively worded items "might reflect method variance rather than conceptually distinct dimensions". The final model to be tested was a hierarchical factor analytical model which corresponds to Goodman's (1997) claim that the four first-order problem-oriented scales represent a higher-order difficulty. Because the SDQ emphasises both behavioural/emotional difficulties and strengths of children, this model postulates that the prosocial scale is conceptually different construct forming a separate strengths factor which is lateral but correlated with the second-order difficulties factor (McCrory & Layte, 2012).

Looking at the results across all the models, the goodness of fit indices for all the models did not meet the required cutoff values.

The three-factor conceptualisation proposed by Dickey and Blumberg (2004) provided the worst fit compared to all other models. The traditional five-factor conceptualisation had better fit to the data, but still inadequate. Five items did not reach the target factor loading of .30 and one item from Conduct problems loaded on more than one factor, one item from Emotional symptoms loaded onto the Conduct problems factor somewhat differently than the original five-factor SDQ. Almost all items from the traditional five-factor model loaded on their respective factors and the average factor standardised factor

loading was .50, .49, .50, .62, and .53 for the emotional symptoms, peer problems, conduct problems, hyperactivity, and prosocial dimensions respectively.

The six-factor model, which encompassed a separate uncorrelated method factor was found to fit the data marginally better than the traditional five-factor model, as evidenced by decrease in the value of chi square and improved CFI, GFI, RMSEA, and SRMR, but the fit indices did not meet the accepted fit criteria. All five of the items comprising the prosocial factor had higher loadings on their original factor than on the method factor. Although the six-factor model suggested by Palmieri and Smith (2004) had the slightly better fit with the data, many of the items did not load on their predicted factors and 11 items had loadings less than .30. Finally, the hierarchical model, which contained a second-order factor labelled 'difficulties' and a correlated first-order factor labelled 'strengths' was also found to fit the data less well than the method factor model.

The results for the 5-Factor model led to removing two items from Emotional symptoms (i.e., "Nervous and clingy in new situations" and "Many fears, easily scared", two items from Peer problems (i.e., "Picked on or bullied by other children" and "Gets on better with adults than with other children") and one item from Conduct problems (i.e., Steals from home, school or elsewhere") (Figure 4). After removing these items, CFA results indicated that the five-factor solution fit the data well. While two items did not meet the criterion to retain items with a factor loading greater than or equal to .30, it was necessary to include these small number items with loadings .28 and .29, however, all items had statistically significant loadings on the relevant factor. As expected, the inter-correlations among the emotional symptoms, peer problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity were all negatively correlated with prosocial behaviours, while these four behavioural difficulties were positively

correlated with each other. This suggests that the prosocial subscale is a conceptually distinct construct representing a 'separate and positive construal' factor. The inter-correlations among the five factors were mostly small to moderate (.16 to .73). As can be seen in Table 4.6, this model had the best fit and met standards for being acceptable and thus, subsequent analyses were conducted using this model.

Table 4.6

Goodness-of-fit indices of models of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (*N*=207)

Model	k	$\chi^2$	df	$\chi^2/df$	p	CFI	gamma hat	RMSEA	SRMR
Three factor model (correlated)	25	819.4	272	3.01	.08	.50	.82	.099	.107
Five factor model (correlated)	25	723.5	265	2.73	.10	.58	.85	.092	.095
Six factor model (correlated)	25	680.2	255	2.67	.10	.61	.86	.090	.092
Hierarchical model	25	729.8	270	2.70	.10	.58	.85	.091	.095
Five factor model-revised*	20	348.8	160	2.18	.14	.77	.92	.076	.077

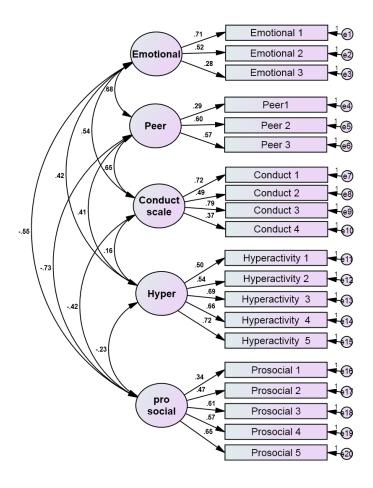


Figure 4: Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire model

## 4.4.1 Discussion and summary of the CFA study

*Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ)* 

This thesis confirmed that the original five-factor structure of the SDQ proposed by Goodman (2001) was the best option, although some modifications were necessary to reach acceptable fit.

In the present thesis, consistent with previous research (McCrory & Layte, 2012), the conduct problems item "Steals from home, school or elsewhere" showed limited variance and with only 1.5% of parents endorsing this item while the rest of parents responded that their child did not show this behaviour. The study revealed that removal of this item led to

marginal improvement in reliability despite the resulting scale comprising only four items. It would be expected that in mainstream populations few parents would report this behaviour; hence, the utility of this item in non-extreme parenting situations is reduced. Two items (bullying other children and getting along better with adults than other children) from the peer problems scale failed to load on their respective factors. It is possible that these antisocial behaviours are more difficult for parents to observe and rate compared to teachers. For example, teachers see children interacting more with other children in the classroom and getting along with adults may indicate positive relationships with teachers in a formalised setting. Another possible explanation is that these behaviours are more influenced by the setting (e.g., school versus at home) or that subjective norms of parents of and teachers differ more on these types of behaviour. In support of this notion, Stone, Otten, Engels, Vermulst, and Janssens (2010) speculated that the low internal consistency on the peer problems scale as rated by parents may be because parents may be rather poor judges of children's peer relationship interactions. Moreover, two items from emotional symptoms (e.g., nervous or clingy and many fears) also failed to load on their respective factors and these findings have been reported elsewhere (e.g., Thabet, Stretch, &Vostanis, 2000). Whilst Thabet el al. (2000) have also confirmed the original five-factor structure of the Arabic version of the parentreport SDQ, they found that particular items (e.g., "many fears") appeared to have a different function or meaning than is seen among children and their parents from Western cultures. In the current study, the removal of and the estimated low frequencies for the items of "many fears" and "nervousness-clingingness" may be speculatively interpreted in a cultural context. These areas of emotional development are no longer perceived as the norm by Korean immigrant parents, with less parent-child physical proximity and protection. An alternative explanation is that children of the parents in the present sample may be less exposed to the situations where their fears and nervousness are frequently exhibited. Moreover, the current

sample consisted of parents whose children's behaviour mostly falls in the normal range while very few exhibited problem behaviour.

The present study lends support to Goodman's five-factor structure, suggesting that the original component scales may be appropriate for a sample of Korean immigrant parents of children aged between six and ten. The finding that the five-factor model is a better fit than the three-factor, six-factor, and hierarchical model is not surprising in light of the previous research. Most attempts at replicating the factor structure of the SDQ have essentially confirmed Goodman's (2001) predicted five-factor structure with minimal cross-loadings observed among subscales and demonstrated acceptable model fit (e.g., Goodman, 2001; Hawesm & Dadds, 2004; Van Roy, Veenstra, & Clench-Aas, 2008). It is worth mentioning that this analysis is constrained by the characteristics of the sample under study. In particular, the sample was restricted to well-adjusted families, reducing the generalisability of the results to clinical samples. Additional research with larger, more diverse Korean immigrant samples (e.g., including at-risk children) in New Zealand is needed in order to confirm the generalisability of the results. As McCrory and Layte, (2012) suggest further revisions of the instrument might consider whether it would be feasible to replace, in particular "Steals from home, school or elsewhere" item with one that generates greater variability in responses and might be less susceptible to socially desirable responding.

#### 4.5 Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation (SL-ASIA)

Confirmatory factor analysis was conducted to examine the construct validity of the SL-ASIA questionnaire with a sample of 207 Korean immigrant parents. In order to examine the number of factors, the following three hypothesised models were tested. Model 1 tested a five inter-correlated latent factors (1) language, (2) friendship choices, (3), geographic/

generation, (4) acculturative behaviours, and (5) cultural attitudes with 26 items. Prior to testing models, CFA did not include identity subscale and the reported results were obtained after removing all five items from the identity subscale. When this subscale was included, a solution was not obtained because iterative process failed to reach convergence, which may be indicative of model misfit (Kline, 2005). Furthermore, one item from geographic/generation (i.e., "What contacts have you had with Korea?") was problematic and highly skewed. This question, the amount of contact they had with their country of origin (Korea) had more than one response that described them best. While the participants were instructed to choose the one response that best described their contact with Korea, some participants still responded to this question by choosing more than one answer, and thus this item had to be removed. Model 2 tested a hierarchical factor structure with five first-order factors as in Model 1, and one second-order factor defining acculturation. Model 3 tested a single-factor model combining the items from all five dimensions onto a single factor.

In Model 1, Model 2, and Model 3 a number of items had very poor loadings and were removed for subsequent analyses. These were: one item from friendship choice (i.e., "If you could pick, whom would you prefer to associate with in the community?"), two items from acculturative behaviours (i.e., "What is your food preference in restaurants?" and "Do you participate in Asian occasions, holidays, traditions, etc.?") and, all five items from the cultural attitudes (i.e., "Rate yourself how much you believe in Asian values (e.g., about marriage, families, education, work)", "Rate yourself how much you believe in Western values", "Rate yourself on how well you fit when with other Asians of the same ethnicity", "Rate yourself on how well you fit when with other New Zealanders who are non-Asian (Westerners)", and "There are many different ways in which people think of themselves.

Which one of the following most closely describes how you view yourself?"). In addition, in

Model 1, modification indices suggested that fit would improve considerably if one item from friendship choice (item 3, "Who do you now associate within the community) was allowed to load on the language factor.

The fit for the models is shown in Table 4.7. As shown, Model 1 provided a significantly better fit than the hierarchical four-factor model, though the value for RMSEA (.097) was above the recommended criterion .080 to indicate a good fit. Figure 7 shows that all items loaded significantly on their respective factors: Language averaged .73, friendship choice averaged .79, geographic averaged .70, and acculturative behaviours averaged .41.

The hierarchical four-factor model by contrast was found to provide a poor fit to the data with values for CFI, GFI, RMSEA, and SRMR were outside the recommended cut-offs. The intercorrelations among the four factors were generally moderate to strong, with the range between .48 to .88, indicating that the four factors were complementary facets of Korean immigrant parents' acculturation. Overall, the data indicated that the Model 1 (see Figure 5) provided the best fit for the data and the results show that this hypothesised model is a good representation of the four-dimensional construct of parental Koreanness (strong Koreanness) and provide evidence of validity for the SL-ASIA.

Table 4.7

Goodness-of-fit indices of the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Questionnaire (N=207)

Model	k	$\chi^2$	df	$\chi^2/df$	p	CFI	gamma hat	RMSEA	SRMR
Four factor model (Model 1)*	12	140.4	48	2.93	.09	.90	.93	.097	.061
Hierarchical factor model	12	205.8	51	4.04	.04	.84	.89	.121	.093
Single factor model	12	338.7	54	6.27	.01	.70	.82	.160	.100

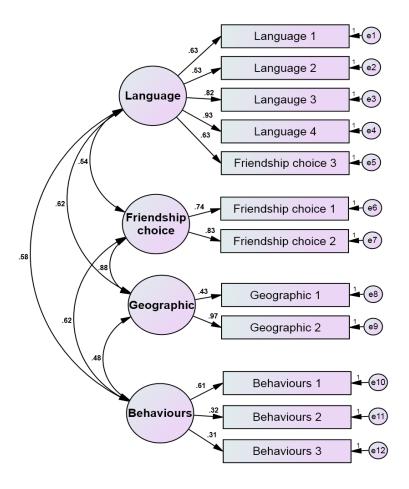


Figure 5: Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation model

# 4.5.1 Discussion and summary of the CFA

Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation (SL-ASIA)

The results of this study confirmed the four-factor model of the Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation. No available studies to date have used confirmatory factor analysis techniques to evaluate the factor structure of the SL-ASIA.

The results indicated that one item (i.e., "Who do you now associate within the community) showed limited association with the originally associated friendship choice scale. In fact, associating with people within the community seemed to be indicative of more language in the present population, suggesting parents' understanding of interacting with the Koreans or New Zealanders was perceived as related to parents' preference to speak Korean

or their ability to speak English in order to interact and communicate. Moreover, two items from acculturative behaviours, all four items from ethnic identity and five items from the attitudes failed to load on their respective factors and were found to have relatively low factor loadings, and their response distributions were highly skewed. Alpha coefficients fell below acceptable standards for ethnic identity and attitudes subscales. This applied in particular, to all three items from the ethnic identity and the attitudes item 26 (i.e., "There are many different ways in which people think of themselves), and the question, which one of the following most closely describes how you view yourself?" had very limited variance and all were potentially problematic with almost all parents endorsing these items. One possible explanation for the lack of variance in the ethnic identity subscales (i.e., "How do you identify yourself?", What identification does (did) your mother use?, and "What identification does (did) your father use?") is that the present sample consisted of first generation Korean parents who were born in Korea and focused solely on parents from Korea. Korean immigrant parents' strong sense of ethnic attachment and their strong adherence to Korean cultural values and attitudes combined with fewer NZ values may also explain why item 26 was removed from the model along with the rest of the cultural attitudes items. Overall, the results indicated that the hypothesised model is a good representation of the fourdimensional construct of parental Koreanness and may be relevant for other Korean immigrants living outside NZ.

However, the relatively low acculturation level of the present sample (or strong orientation towards Korean culture) is not surprising given that Korean immigrant parents of this study reported, on average, a low level of acculturation into the NZ majority culture, which may explain why there was little variability in the acculturation level of the present sample, and most parents reported beliefs and customs more aligned with the Korean way of

life than the NZ majority culture. The sample of the study consisted of Korean immigrant parents only; hence, additional research is needed to determine if the various Asian ethnic groups score differently on the total SL-ASIA, on certain individual items, or both. In addition, future research should consider changing the wording of the items that make up the scale to better reflect the culture of participants filling out the questionnaire. Some of the questions and responses on the SL-ASIA seemed to capture multiple responses and not detailed enough for the participants to respond in an accurate manner.

# Chapter 5

# Korean immigrant parenting practices, acculturation, and child behaviour in New Zealand: Analysis of a self-reported survey

This chapter is organised by the study research questions and hypotheses and includes a description of the analytic strategies used to answer each research question. The chapter begins by presenting the results of descriptive analyses comparing Korean immigrant mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices. The descriptive statistics are based on the CFA results described in Chapter 4. Descriptive statistics are provided for the entire sample, for parents in two-parent families, and geese parents. Comparisons of mothers' and fathers' parenting variables are made using t-tests and ANOVAs. Next, correlations are presented for the study variables of interest (i.e., between parenting styles, parenting practices, and acculturation and between parenting styles, parenting practices and demographic factors). This is followed by descriptive statistics summarising and comparing mothers and fathers ratings of children's behaviour difficulties and strengths, and correlations between parenting practices and child behaviour. Next, multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the parenting predictors of child behaviour in two-parent families. Finally, structural equation modelling was used to test the relations between the constructs: parenting styles, Korean parenting practices (directiveness, shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty), acculturation, and children's behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour.

#### **5.1 Research question 1:**

From the perspective of Korean immigrant single and two-parent families, what is the predominant parenting style of mothers and fathers of children aged between six and ten, residing in New Zealand, as measured by Western concepts of parenting?(i.e., authoritarian or authoritative parenting).

Hypothesis 1a: It is hypothesised that Korean immigrant mothers and fathers will self-report engaging in an authoritative style of childrening.

Hypothesis 1b: It is hypothesised that Korean immigrant mothers will report being more authoritative and less authoritarian in their parenting styles than fathers.

Three strategies were used to investigate the self-reported parenting styles of Korean immigrant mothers and fathers across all families in the sample, as well as multiple family structures (i.e., matched mothers and fathers from two-parent families, geese mothers, and single mothers). Independent samples *t*-tests, rather than one-way ANOVAs, were used to examine if there were significant differences in parenting styles between mothers in two-parent families and geese mothers, as they do not require the population variances to be equal. The purpose of the comparison between married mothers and geese mothers was to see if there are parenting differences between married mothers whose spouses are in New Zealand compared to those mothers whose husbands reside in Korea. Comparisons were also made with single parents who were widowed or divorced. ANOVAs and paired samples *t*-tests were used to examine if there were significant differences in parenting styles between mothers and fathers across all families and matched mothers and fathers from two-parent families. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 display the means, standard deviations, Cohen's *d*, and internal consistency reliabilities for mothers' and fathers' self-ratings on the two parenting styles across all families in the sample (*N*=207) and for 136 parents from two-parent families as

well as 16 geese mothers and 15 single mothers. Results from the one-way ANOVA tests are also reported in Table 5.1 and results of independent samples *t*-tests are reported in Table 5.2.

5.1.1. Tests of differences in self-reported authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles between mothers and fathers across all families

Both parents scored higher on authoritative parenting than authoritarian parenting (p<.005; d=3.14). The results of a one-way ANOVA (Table 5.1) revealed that there was a statistically significant difference between mothers' and fathers' self-reports of their authoritarian parenting. An inspection of mean scores indicated that fathers used more authoritarian parenting than mothers, with a medium effect size (Cohen's d=-.43). No significant difference was found between mothers' and fathers' self-reports of their authoritative parenting. An inspection of mean scores indicated that both mothers and fathers (d=.23) displayed moderately high levels of authoritative parenting. The mean sub-scale scores within each construct consistently reflected the same patterns between mothers and fathers as observed in the total scores.

5.1.2. Tests of differences in self-reported authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles between mothers and fathers in two-parent families

Consistent with the parents across all families, both mothers and fathers within the same family endorsed authoritative parenting (characterised by being responsive with moderately low levels of control) more than authoritarian parenting (p<.001; d= 3.56). Within two-parent families, no significant differences (Table 5.2) were found between mothers' and fathers' (d= -.35) self- reports of their authoritarian parenting; and authoritative parenting (d=.18).

5.1.3. Tests of differences in self-reported authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles between mothers in two-parent families and geese mothers

The results in Table 5.2 also show that there were no statistically significant differences in authoritarian (d=.49) and authoritative parenting (d=.41) between the mothers from two-parent families and the geese mothers. The effect size was medium. Thus, while it appears that geese mothers were slightly more authoritarian and authoritative in their parenting than matched mothers from two-parent families, these differences may be due to chance factors.

5.1.4. Tests of differences in self-reported authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles between mothers in two-parent families and single mothers

As seen in Table 5.2, there were no statistical significant differences in authoritarian (d=.12) and authoritative parenting (d=-.48) between the mothers from two-parent families and the single mothers. The effect sizes ranged from trivial to small.

Table 5.1 Means, standard deviations, and one-way ANOVA for Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire - Whole sample (N=207)

	Pare	nts ( <i>N</i> =2	(07)	Moth	ers (N=1	28)	Fath	ers (N=	<u>79)</u>	ANOVA		Cohen's d
Parenting subscales	M	SD	α	M	SD	α	M	SD	$\alpha$	$\boldsymbol{\mathit{F}}$	p	
<u>Authoritarian</u>	1.98	.52	.84	1.90	.43	.79	2.13	.62	.87	9.58	.002	43
Physical coercion	1.87	.60	.75	1.80	.48	.69	1.99	.66	.81			
Verbal hostility	2.07	.61	.39	1.94	.54	.37	2.28	.66	.63			
Non-reasoning/ Punitive	2.01	.77	.80	1.95	.70	.78	2.10	.86	.78			
<u>Authoritative</u>	3.81	.64	.90	3.87	.63	.91	3.72	.66	.89	2.53	.11	.23
Warmth/ Acceptance	3.97	.71	.85	4.05	.66	.85	3.85	.77	.85			
Reasoning/ Induction	3.80	.77	.74	3.87	.74	.76	3.69	.80	.71			
Democratic participation	3.67	.68	.61	3.69	.70	.69	3.64	.67	.45			

Table 5.2 Means and standard deviations for Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire –Matched mothers and fathers in two-parent families, geese mothers, and single mothers

	Mothe	ers (N	= 68)	Fathers $(N = 68)$					Geese mothers $(N = 16)$ Single mothers $(N = 16)$					V = 15			
Parenting subscales	M	SD	α	M	SD	α	p	$d^a$	M	SD	α	p	$d^b$	M	SD	α	$d^c$
Authoritarian	1.87	.42	.74	2.04	.54	.85	.06	35	2.10	.51	.83	.91	.49	1.82	.32	.74	.12
Physical coercion	1.79	.46	.61	1.91	.58	.79			1.91	.57	.81			1.77	.42	.62	
Verbal hostility	2.03	.50	.31	2.16	.53	.37			1.96	.34	.12			1.93	.42	.20	
Non-reasoning/ Punitive	1.80	.67	.64	2.04	.82	.74			2.42	.98	.90			1.75	.56	.81	
<u>Authoritative</u>	3.72	.63	.91	3.61	.62	.89	.29	.18	3.93	.35	.78	.08	.41	4.01	.44	.78	48
Warmth/ Acceptance	3.95	.68	.82	3.80	.74	.84			4.19	.43	.77			4.20	.59	.84	
Reasoning/ Induction	3.67	.75	.80	3.54	.78	.77			3.86	.46	.31			4.02	.53	.40	
Democratic Participation	3.56	.68	.71	3.50	.56	.42			3.75	.41	.43			3.82	.55	.34	

Note. <sup>a</sup>Effect sizes for the difference between matched mothers and fathers. <sup>b</sup>Effect sizes for the difference between matched mothers and geese mothers. <sup>c</sup>Effect sizes for the difference between matched mothers and single mothers.

## **5.2 Research question 2:**

What are the Korean specific parenting practices of Korean immigrant mothers and fathers of children aged between 6 and ten in New Zealand?

Hypothesis 2a: It is hypothesised that Korean immigrant mothers will be more devoted, involved than fathers, whereas fathers will be more directive than mothers. It is expected that mothers and fathers will not differ in their use of shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modest behaviour.

A one-way ANOVA was used to compare all mothers and fathers in the sample and paired sample *t*-tests were used to compare matched mothers and fathers within the same family on all Korean parenting practices. Descriptive statistics for the protection factor were not calculated because all the items from protection failed to load onto any factors. As previously noted in Section 4.3, because items from shaming/love withdrawal loaded on encouragement of modesty, that factor mean included the items of shaming/love withdrawal. Hence, the name of the combined scale was renamed to shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty.

5.2.1. Comparisons between Korean parenting practices of mothers and fathers across the whole sample

Table 5.3 shows that across the whole sample, fathers were more likely than mothers (d=.39) to encourage children to engage in modest behaviours (e.g., not appearing overconfident and strongly expressing his or her point of view) and to use shaming/love withdrawal (e.g., tell child we get embarrassed when doesn't meet expectations). There were no statistically significant differences between mothers' and fathers' self-reports of their devotion, parental involvement, and directiveness. All effect sizes for these three factors were

in the trivial range. The mean scores indicated that both mothers and fathers parents were highly devoted and involved with their children and were moderately directive.

Further analyses were calculated for the subscale scores to estimate the magnitude of differences between the subscales as reported by each parent (Table 5.3). For mothers, very large effect sizes were found between the subscales devotion and parental involvement compared to all the other scales. The difference between directiveness and shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty was large (d>.80), and trivial between devotion and involvement. For fathers, an almost identical pattern of mean scores was seen, except that the difference between directiveness and shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty was medium (d>70).

5.2.2. Comparisons between Korean parenting practices of mothers and fathers in twoparent families

As shown in Table 5.4., within the same family, fathers were significantly more likely than mothers to encourage and to use shaming/love withdrawal (e.g., inducing guilt) and to encourage modest behaviour in their children, such as encouraging their child to be less proud, not show their skills, or be over-confident to others about his or her abilities ( $t_{(67)}$ =-2.95, p<.001). The effect size was moderate (d=-.48). No significant differences were found between mothers' and fathers' self-reports of their devotion, maternal/paternal involvement, and directiveness. The effect of size differences in mean scores was small, with the exception of shaming/love withdrawal being medium. These results showed that both parents within the same family were highly devoted and involved with their children, and were moderately directive. In two-parent families, fathers had a greater tendency to use shaming and making their child feel guilty about not meeting their expectations than mothers.

Again, effect sizes were calculated comparing the subscale scores for each parent group to estimate the magnitude of differences among the scales (Table 5.4). For mothers, very large effect sizes were found between the subscales 'devotion' and parental involvement compared to all other scales, while large effect sizes (d>1.00) were seen among directiveness and shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty. The difference between devotion and parental involvement was trivial. For fathers, an almost identical pattern of mean score differences was seen.

Table 5.3 Means, standard deviations, and one-way ANOVA for parenting practices emphasised in Korea - Whole sample (*N*=207)

	<u>Parents (<i>N</i>=207)</u>		Mothers ( <i>N</i> =128)			<u>Fathers (<i>N</i>=79)</u>			ANOVA			
Parenting constructs	M	SD	a	M	SD	α	M	SD	α	F	p	d
Devotion	4.31	.69	.68	4.32	.64	.61	4.29	.76	.76	.72	.79	.04
Parental involvement	4.15	.81	.75	4.17	.80	.74	4.13	.85	.76	.13	.72	.05
Directiveness	2.60	.60	.55	2.58	.63	.64	2.63	.55	.37	.33	.57	08
Shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty	2.05	.67	.76	1.95	.65	.77	2.21	.68	.72	7.42	.007	39
Within group effect sizes	Ι	II	III	IV								
I. Devotion		.20	2.50	2.88								
II. Parental involvement	.21	_	2.10	2.49								
III. Directiveness	2.74	2.21	_	.68								
IV. Shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty	3.67	3.05	.98	_								

Note. Effect sizes for mothers below diagonal; fathers above diagonal

Table 5.4 Means and standard deviations for parenting practices emphasised in Korea – Matched mothers and fathers in two-parent families only

	Mo	others (N=	<u>68)</u>	Far	thers (N=6	<u>(8)</u>	t-test	
Parenting constructs	M	SD	$\alpha$	M	SD	α	p	d
Devotion	4.35	.53	.62	4.25	.70	.83	.37	.16
Parental involvement	4.25	.83	.77	4.14	.81	.72	.44	.13
Directiveness	2.57	.69	.71	2.64	.57	.44	.56	.11
Shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty	1.88	.57	.74	2.18	.68	.72	.00	48
Within group effect sizes	I	II	III	IV				
I. Devotion	_	.15	2.52	3.00				
II. Parental involvement	14	_	2.14	2.62				
III. Directiveness	2.89	2.20	_	.73				
IV. Shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty	4.49	3.33	1.09	_				

Note. Effect sizes for mothers below diagonal; fathers above diagonal

## **5.3 Research question 3:**

To what extent are parenting styles among Korean immigrant parents influenced by socioeconomic status variables?

Hypothesis 3a: It is hypothesised that authoritative parenting styles will be associated with higher levels parental education and employment status.

Pearson correlations were performed separately for mothers and fathers to examine the associations between parenting styles, parenting practices, and demographic factors such as parental education, employment status, and income. Results are reported only for the matched mothers and fathers in two-parent families because none of the correlations were significant across the whole sample. One-tailed tests were used to determine the statistical significance of the correlations between parenting and education level, given the positive association found between parental education and authoritative parenting among Korean-American immigrant parents in other research (Kim, 2005; Shrake, 1996).

Correlation analyses (Table 5.5) indicated that only one out of 12 correlations were statistically significant and the strongest value was .20, explaining just 4% of variance. It is notable that only one of the mother-father comparisons was statistically significant. For fathers only, authoritative parenting style was associated with working full-time.

Table 5.5 Correlations between mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices and, demographic variables (*N*=136)

Parenting constructs	Educa	ation_	Employ	nent status	<u>Income</u>			
	Mother	Mother Father Mo		Father	Mother	Father		
Authoritarian	.07	.01	.02	09	.06	12		
Authoritative	07	01	15	.20*	.11	.06		

Note. Only fathers' authoritative parenting style was associated with working full-time. p < .05

## **5.4 Research question 4:**

How does acculturation and length of time in New Zealand influence the parenting of Korean immigrant parents?

Hypothesis 4: It is hypothesised that greater orientation to New Zealand culture will be associated with a more authoritative parenting style.

Research question 4b: What is the relationship length of time spent in NZ the endorsement of authoritative, authoritarian, and Korean parenting practices.

Tables 5.6 and 5.7 show the means (SD) for SL-ASIA and correlations between the length of residency in New Zealand and acculturation and parenting styles of authoritarian and authoritative, as well as Korean parenting practices for mothers and fathers across all families and parents within two-parent families.

It is first important to note that both mothers and fathers across all families and parents within two-parent families reported a very low of acculturation into the NZ majority culture because Korean orientation is at the low end of the scale and NZ orientation is at the high end of the scale.

As can be seen in Table 5.5., only seven out of a possible 24 correlations are statistically significant and those values ranges range between -.31 and .19. Of the seven variables, fathers' acculturation was the only variable that showed a strong inverse (negative) correlation with directiveness, although this only explained 9% of the variance. This suggests that fathers who are more oriented toward Korean culture (or less oriented toward New Zealand culture) used more directive parenting. However, the results need to be interpreted

cautiously since the statistically significant variables all showed weak correlations, explaining just 4 to 9% of the variance, so the power of these results is not strong. In regard to parent-gender differences, the differences in correlations by gender are all not statistically significant.

Table 5.6 Means (SD) for SL-AIA and Correlations between length of residency, acculturation and mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices (N=207)

	Length of	residency	Accult	turation
Parenting constructs	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Authoritarian	.02	.08	07	04
Authoritative	15*	11	.17*	01
Devotion	.13	15	06	20*
Parental involvement	.19*	04	14	26*
Directiveness	.02	.01	07	31**
Shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement				
of modesty	09	.01	21**	14
			1.17 <sup>a</sup>	1.82 <sup>a</sup>
			(.44)	(.43)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Mean scores (SD) of SL-ASIA for mothers and fathers.

In two-parent families, only three out of 24 possible correlations are statistically significant and both explain only just over 4% of variance so the differences between mothers and fathers in the correlations are not statistically significant and do not differ by more than chance.

<sup>\*</sup>*p* <.05, \*\**p* <.01

Table 5.7 Means (SD) for SL-ASIA and correlations between length of residency, acculturation and mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices in two-parent families only (N=136)

	Length of	residency	Accult	uration
Parenting constructs	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Authoritarian	.15	03	14	05
Authoritative	19	14	.21*	05
Devotion	.13	16	.02	16
Parental involvement	.15	07	.16	23*
Directiveness	.01	02	02	28*
Shaming/ love withdrawal and				
encouragement of modesty	.07	.00	12	12
			1.82 <sup>a</sup>	1.82 <sup>a</sup>
			(.47)	(.42)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Mean scores (SD) of SL-ASIA for mothers and fathers.

<sup>\*</sup> p <.05

## **5.5 Research question 5:**

Do mothers and fathers differ in their perceptions of their children's behavioural strengths and difficulties?

In addition to examining this general question the following specific hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 5a: It is hypothesised that both mothers and fathers will rate their sons higher on externalising (conduct, hyperactivity) problems than their daughters, whereas daughters will receive higher maternal and paternal ratings on prosocial behaviour than sons. There will no child gender differences for mother- and father-reported internalising (emotional) problems.

Hypothesis 5b: It is hypothesised that for mother and father reports on the same child, mothers will report higher levels of prosocial behaviour for their boys than will fathers.

Hypothesis 5c: It is hypothesised that the agreement between mothers' and fathers' ratings of their children's behaviour will be higher for externalising problems than for internalising problems.

First, one-way ANOVAs were used to compare mother and father responses across the whole sample. Second, paired sample *t*-tests were performed to compare mothers and fathers within the same family on their perceptions of their child's behaviour. A series of paired samples *t*-tests were used to test; (a) whether mothers and fathers in the same family differed significantly in their ratings of girls' and boys' behaviours; (b) to compare mother and father reports on the same child by gender in two-parent families. Confidence intervals (95%) were calculated for each effect size, which were significant if their 95% confidence intervals did not cross zero. Finally, Spearman correlation analyses were conducted to test

relationships between mothers' and fathers' ratings of their child's behavioural strengths and difficulties in two-parent families

5.5.1. Comparisons of maternal and paternal ratings of child behaviour across all families in the sample

Across the whole sample (Table 5.8), there were no statistically significant differences between mothers and fathers in their perceptions of their child's behaviour. Effect sizes were small to trivial. Based on the 95% confidence intervals, the mean effect sizes for all subscales were shown to be statistically non-significant, as the 95% confidence interval included zero. An inspection of mean scores indicated that both mothers and fathers reported low levels of emotional symptoms, peer problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity, and moderately high levels of prosocial behaviour in their children.

Further analyses were calculated for the subscale scores to estimate the magnitude of differences between the four problem behaviour subscales as reported by each parent. As shown in Table 5.8, for mothers, large effect sizes were found between the subscales emotional symptoms and hyperactivity, while medium effect sizes (d< .50) were seen among peer problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity. The difference between peer problems and conduct problems was trivial. For fathers, an almost identical pattern of mean score differences was seen, except that the difference between conduct problems and hyperactivity was small (d<.20). The effect sizes, with associated 95% confidence intervals are shown in Table 4.8.

5.5.2. Comparisons of maternal and paternal ratings of child behaviour in two-parent families

Within two-parent families, no statistically significant differences (Table 5.9) were found between mothers' and fathers' perspectives and mean score differences ranged from trivial to small. The mean effect sizes of all subscales for mothers and fathers were statistically non-significant, as the 95% confidence interval included zero (Table 5.9). Consistent with findings for families across the whole sample, mothers and fathers in the same family reported low levels of emotional symptoms, peer problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity. Both parents reported moderately high levels of prosocial behaviour.

Further analyses were calculated for the subscale scores to estimate the magnitude of differences (Table 5.9). For mothers, effect sizes ranged from trivial to large. Large effect sizes were found between the subscales emotional symptoms and hyperactivity, while medium effect sizes (d< .50) were seen among peer problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity. The difference between peer problems and conduct problems was trivial. For fathers, effect sizes ranged from trivial to medium. Medium effect sizes (d< .50) were seen among peer problems, conduct problems, and hyperactivity. The difference between peer problems and conduct problems was trivial and the difference between conduct problems and hyperactivity was also trivial.

5.5.3. Comparisons of maternal and paternal ratings of child behaviour by child gender in two-parent families

An inspection of the mean scores indicated that fathers and mothers of boys reported higher levels of conduct problems compared to fathers and mothers of girls. Mother-reported hyperactivity was not found to differ between girls and boys. Fathers of boys, however,

reported higher levels of hyperactivity for their sons than did fathers of girls. In regards to prosocial behaviours, mothers of girls reported higher levels in their daughters compared to mothers of boys. Fathers' perceived similar levels of prosocial behaviour in their boys and girls. Trivial to medium effect sizes were obtained for both of these comparisons (Table 5.9). Parent ratings of boys' and girls' behaviour on the other subscales did not differ significantly according to both mothers and fathers.

5.5.4. Comparisons of maternal and paternal behaviour reports on the same child by gender in two-parent families

Within the same family, there were no statistically significant differences between mothers' and fathers' reports of their sons' prosocial behaviour and the effect sizes were trivial. Maternal and paternal reports of their sons' behaviour and their daughters' behaviour on the remaining scales were similar.

5.5.5. Extent of agreement between maternal and paternal ratings of child behaviour in twoparent families

Prior to conducting the correlation analysis, extreme outlier pairs that were identified as having a dramatic effect on the correlation coefficients were removed (ranging from three pairs for prosocial behaviour to five pairs for emotional symptoms, conduct problems, and peer problems).

As shown in Table 5.9, there was moderate agreement between mothers and fathers in their total score ratings of child behaviour difficulties, and subscale ratings of hyperactivity and conduct problems. Agreement was moderately low for prosocial behaviour, peer

problems, and emotional symptoms. All correlations were statistically significant at the level of p = <.05.

Table 5.8 Means, standard deviations, and ANOVA for mother and father rated SDQ scores – Whole sample (*N*=207)

				Mothers ( <i>N</i> =128)		<u>Fat</u>	hers (N=	<u>79)</u>	ANO	<u>VA</u>			
SDQ subscale				M	SD	$\alpha$	M	SD	$\alpha$	F	p	d	95% CI
Total difficulties				7.25	4.82	.48	8.27	5.29	.57	2.01	.16	20	48 to .08
Emotional symptoms				1.21	1.55	.49	1.57	1.77	.42	2.34	.13	22	50 to .06
Peer problems				1.77	1.85	.48	2.09	2.03	.44	1.32	.25	17	45 to.11
Conduct problems				1.70	1.59	.38	2.11	2.08	.64	2.56	.11	23	51 to .05
Hyperactivity				2.56	1.96	.75	2.49	2.06	.77	.06	.81	.04	25 to .32
Prosocial behaviour			•	7.07	1.89	.65	6.87	1.84	.67	.54	.46	.11	17 to .39
Within group effect sizes	I	II	III	IV									
I. Emotional symptoms	_	27	28	48									
II. Peer problems	33		01	20									
III. Conduct problems	31	.04	_	18									
IV. Hyperactivity	76	41	48	_									

Note. Effect sizes for mothers below diagonal; fathers above diagonal

Table 5.9 Reliability, correlations, means, and standard deviations for mother and father rated SDQ scores – Matched mothers and fathers in two-parent families only (*N*=136).

SDQ subscale	Cro	onbach's	s alpha (a)	r		<u>M</u>	<u>others</u>			<u>Fatl</u>	<u>ners</u>		
	Mother (	N=68)	Father (N=	<u>-68)</u>		M	SD	d	95%CI	M	SD	d	95% CI
Total difficulties	.76	5	.76	.43	Overal	1 6.93	5.20			8.32	5.43	26	60 to .08
					Boys	7.80	4.93	15	63 to .33	8.63	5.62	05	53 to .43
					Girls	7.02	5.28	13	03 10 .33	8.37	5.02	03	33 10 .43
Emotional symptoms	.58	3	.42	.27	' Overal	1 1.25	1.64			1.65	1.79	23	57 to .11
					Boys	1.33	1.60	.08	40 to .56	1.50	1.66	.21	27 to .69
					Girls	1.47	1.80	.00	40 10 .50	1.87	1.85	.21	27 to .07
Peer problems	.54	1	.45	.29	Overal	1 1.66	1.94			2.09	2.08	21	55 to .12
					Boys	2.03	2.24	21	69 to .27	2.20	2.22	- 10	58 to .38
					Girls	1.61	1.73	1	.07 (0 .27	2.00	1.86	.10	.20 10 .20
Conduct problems	.44	1	.66	.34	- Overal		1.74			2.24	2.16	25	59 to .08
					Boys	2.07	1.89	31	78 to .18	2.33	2.22	07	55 to .41
					Girls	1.55	1.54		.,	2.18	2.08		
Hyperactivity	.77	7	.76	.38			1.94			2.36	2.04	04	38 to .30
					Boys	2.37	2.01	.01	47 to .49	2.60	1.96	14	62 to .34
					Girls	2.39	1.87			2.32	2.03		
Prosocial	.57	7	.83	.28			1.79			6.90	1.87	.12	22 to .46
					Boys	6.77	1.92	.32	16 to .80	6.87	2.03	06	54 to .42
Within group effect sizes	I	II		V	Girls	7.32	1.53			6.76	1.65		
I. Emotional symptoms		23	30	.37									
II. Peer problems	23	_	07	.13									
III. Conduct problems	29	04	<del>-</del>	.06									
IV. Hyperactivity	57	32	29 -	<u> </u>									

Note. All correlations significant, p < .05; Boys (N=30), Girls (N=38)

## **5.6 Research question 6:**

Is acculturation linked to Korean children's behaviour difficulties?

Correlational analyses were conducted to test relationships between parental acculturation and child internalising (emotional problems), externalising (total of conduct and hyperactivity items) and prosocial behaviours across all families and in two-parent families.

5.6.1. Correlations between mothers' and fathers' acculturation and reports of child behaviour, across all families in the sample

No associations were found between mothers' and father's acculturation and child internalising, externalising, and prosocial behaviours across all families (Table 5.10).

Table 5.10 Associations between parental acculturation and children's behavioural strengths and difficulties

Child behaviours	<u>Accultu</u>	ration
	Mother	Father
Internalising problems	17	05
Externalising problems	.04	.11
Prosocial	.01	

5.6.2. Correlations between mothers' and fathers' acculturation and reports of child behaviour, across all families in the sample

Again, no associations were found between mothers' and father's acculturation and child internalising, externalising, and prosocial behaviours in two-parent families (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11 Associations between parental acculturation and children's behavioural strengths and difficulties

Child behaviours	<u>Accultu</u>	ration
	Mother	Father
Internalising problems	19	05
Externalising problems	.04	.11
Prosocial	.24	.02

## **5.7 Research question 7:**

Are Korean immigrant mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices associated with their 6-10 years old child's behavioural adjustment?

Hypothesis 7a: It is hypothesised that Korean immigrant fathers' authoritarian and directive parenting will be positively associated with child externalising behaviours while paternal devotion will be positively associated with child prosocial behaviour.

Hypothesis 7b: It is hypothesised that Korean immigrant mothers' authoritarian and directive parenting will be positively associated with child internalising behaviours, while maternal devotion will be positively associated with prosocial behaviour.

Hypothesis 7c: Both mothers' and fathers' authoritative parenting, shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty will be negatively associated with internalising and externalising behaviours and positively associated with prosocial behaviour.

Correlational analyses were conducted to test relationships between parenting styles, Korean parenting practices, and child internalising (emotional problems), externalising (total of conduct and hyperactivity items) and prosocial behaviours across all families and in two-parent families. Next, multiple regression analyses were conducted separately for mothers and fathers in two-parent families to identify the best parenting predictors of children's internalising, externalising, and prosocial behaviours.

Correlation analyses (Table 5.12) indicated that 21 out of 36 correlations were statistically significant and those values range between r = -.43 to r = .37. Of the 18 pairs of correlations, only one set of values differed between mothers and fathers by statistically significant margins. Directiveness was more negatively related to externalising problems for mothers than fathers, suggesting that mothers who are less directive are reporting higher rates of externalising problems. However, for fathers, there was a weak positive relationship between fathers' report of directiveness and externalising problems.

5.7.1. Correlations between mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices and reports of child behaviour, across all families in the sample

For mothers, authoritarian parenting and shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty were moderately and positively correlated with internalising problems. On the other hand, mothers' authoritative parenting was moderately and negatively associated with internalising problems, and weakly and negatively associated with externalising problems. There was also a weak negative association between maternal devotion and internalising problems and a moderately strong, negative association between maternal devotion and externalising problems. For fathers, authoritarian parenting and shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty were moderately and positively correlated with externalising problems. Fathers' authoritative parenting was moderately and negatively associated with externalising problems and there was a weak negative association with devotion. Father directiveness and shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty were both moderately and positively associated with internalising problems.

Both mothers' and fathers' authoritarian parenting had a moderate negative relationship with prosocial behaviour, as did fathers' shaming/ love withdrawal and

encouragement of modesty. For mothers, shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty was weakly and negatively associated with prosocial behaviour. In contrast, both mothers' and fathers' authoritative parenting and devotion were moderately and positively correlated with prosocial behaviour.

Table 5.12 Correlations between mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices and, SDQ – Whole sample (N=207)

Parenting constructs	Internalisi	ing problems	Externalis	ing problems	Prosocial	
	Mthr	Fthr	Mthr	Fthr	Mthr	Fthr
Authoritarian	.36**	.17	.12	.37**	43**	39**
Authoritative	34**	10	26*	37**	.34**	.41**
Devotion	20*	03	41**	27**	.30**	.32**
Involvement	.01	.12	14	08	.08	.15
Directiveness	.05	.30**	35**a	.15 <sup>a</sup>	.06	08
Shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty	.25**	.28**	.07	.31**	25**	40**

Note. Mthr=Mother Fthr=Father

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Statistically significant differences in values between mothers and fathers.

<sup>\*</sup>*p* <.05, \*\**p* <.01

5.7.2. Correlations between mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices, and child behaviour in two-parent families

In two-parent families, correlation analyses (Table 5.13) indicated that 22 out of 36 correlations were statistically significant and those values ranged between  $-.51 \le r \le .42$ . Of the 18 pairs of correlations, only two sets of values differed between mothers and fathers by statistically significant margins. For mothers, directiveness was more negatively related to externalising problems, explaining 16% of the variance, suggesting that mothers who are less directive are reporting higher rates of externalising problems. However, for fathers, there was a weak positive relationship between fathers' reports of directiveness and child externalising problems. For fathers, self-reported directiveness was related to higher levels of child internalising problems, whereas for mothers there was a weak negative relationship between self-reported directiveness and levels of child internalising problems.

For mothers in two-parent families, authoritarian parenting was moderately and positively associated with internalising problems. On the other hand, authoritative parenting was moderately and negatively associated with internalising and externalising problems. Mothers' devotion was also moderately and negatively associated with externalising problems and had a moderately low negative association with internalising problems. For fathers in two-parent families, authoritarian parenting and shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty had moderately low positive associations with internalising problem and moderate, negative associations with externalising problems. Fathers' authoritative parenting was moderately and negatively associated with externalising problems, and had a weak negative association with internalising problems. Fathers' devotion was moderately and negatively associated with externalising problems, while shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty was moderately and positively associated with

externalising problems. Both mothers' and fathers' authoritarian parenting had a moderate negative relationship with prosocial behaviour, as did fathers' shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty. In contrast, both mothers' and fathers' authoritative parenting and devotion were moderately and positively correlated with prosocial behaviour.

Table 5.13 Correlations between mothers' and fathers' parenting styles and practices and, SDQ – Matched mothers and fathers only (*N*=136)

Parenting constructs	Internalising problems		Externalising problems		Prosocial	
	Mthr	Fthr	Mthr	Fthr	Mthr	Fthr
Authoritarian	.29**	.27*	.10	.42**	42**	45**
Authoritative	32**	21*	39**	40**	.47**	.43**
Devotion	28**	11	51**	31**	.36**	.33**
Involvement	.06	.04	.15	15	.05	.03
Directiveness	12ª	.28*a	49** <sup>a</sup>	.18ª	.22*	09
Shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty	.15	.25*	.00	.33**	18	40**

Note. Mthr=Mother Fthr=Father

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Statistically significant differences in values between mothers and fathers.

<sup>\*</sup>*p* <.05, \*\**p* <.01

## 5.7.3. Maternal and paternal parenting predictors of children's internalising problems

As shown in Table 5.14, results of the regression analyses found that mothers' authoritarian parenting was the most powerful predictor of children's increased levels of internalising problems. The next marginally significant, albeit negative, predictor was mothers' devotion. This would suggest that mothers perceived their children as displaying reduced levels of internalising problems when they are devoted to their children. For fathers, directiveness was the strongest predictor of internalising problems, indicating that fathers' use of directive parenting was related to their perception of more internalising problems in their children. Fathers' authoritative parenting also predicted internalising problems, suggesting that fathers' authoritative parenting was related to reduced levels of perceived internalising problems.

Table 5.14 Maternal and paternal parenting predictors of children's internalising problems

	В	β	t
Mothers			
Authoritarian	1.02	.26*	1.98
Devotion	64	26*	-2.06
Authoritative	27	11	80
<u>Fathers</u>			
Directiveness	1.20	.38*	2.32
Authoritative	88	33*	-2.05
Authoritarian	18	06	28
Shaming and love withdrawal/encouragement of modesty	.01	.01	.03

<sup>\*</sup>p <.05

## 5.7.4. Maternal and paternal predictors of children's externalising problems

For mothers, three parenting practices contributed significantly and negatively to the prediction of externalising problems. As seen in Table 5.15, directiveness contributed significantly to the prediction of conduct problems followed by devotion. This would suggest that more directive, devoted mothers perceived their children as exhibiting fewer

externalising problems. For fathers, only devotion negatively predicted externalising problems, suggesting that the more devoted fathers perceived their children as displaying fewer externalising problems.

Table 5.15 Maternal and paternal predictors of children's externalising problems

	В	β	t
Mothers			
Devotion	-1.18	28*	-2.21
Directiveness	-1.14	28*	-2.30
Authoritative	88	21	-1.99
<u>Fathers</u>			
Authoritarian	1.53	.26	1.51
Devotion	92	22*	1.69
Authoritative	72	14	1.02
Shaming and love withdrawal/encouragement of modesty	.49	.10	.63
* - < 05			

<sup>\*</sup> *p* < .05

# 5.7.5. Maternal and paternal predictors of children's prosocial behaviour

As shown in Table 5.16, mothers' authoritarian parenting and devotion were the significant predictors of prosocial behaviour. Authoritarian parenting negatively predicted prosocial behaviour, whereas devotion was the next strongest predictor and had a significant positive weight, suggesting that the mothers who were more devoted to their children were more likely to perceive their child as displaying prosocial behaviour. For fathers, only devotion positively predicted prosocial behaviour.

Table 5.16 Maternal and paternal predictors of children's prosocial behaviour

	b	β	t
Mothers		-	
Authoritarian	-2.33	54*	-3.79
Directiveness	.88	.34*	2.25
Devotion	.49	.18	1.46
Authoritative	.19	.07	.54
<u>Fathers</u>			
Devotion	.57	.24*	1.91
Authoritarian	63	19	-1.13
Shaming and love withdrawal/encouragement of modesty	62	22	-1.43
Authoritative	.44	.16	1.14

<sup>\*</sup>*p* < .05

#### **5.8 Research questions 8:**

How does acculturation influence the relationship between parenting styles and Korean parenting practices and children's behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour?

To answer research question 8, the analysis proceeded in three steps: (1) the degree to which children's behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour may be related to parenting styles, Korean parenting practices and acculturation factors was assessed, (2) the influence of acculturation on the relationship between parenting styles and Korean parenting practices was tested, and (3) the pathways were assessed separately for mothers and fathers, as well as geese mothers.

In the first step, the relations between parenting styles, parenting practices emphasised in Korea, acculturation, and children's behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour were tested in structural equation modelling (SEM) using 'item parcels' instead of latent factors with a sample of 207 parents. Item parcels are aggregate-level indicators in which raw item responses or behaviours are combined into a scale score prior to model fitting. This process is

done by summing or averaging item responses into item parcels; in this study, finding the average of all items belonging to a factor to create a new manifest variable (Bandalos, 2002; Little et al, 2002). The important consequence is that the ratio of cases to items is improved, permitting more effective modelling with small sample sizes. The recommended ratio of cases to variables is at least 10:1 (Costello & Osborne, 2005). To address the low case to variable to ratio (i.e., 207:71), mean scale parcelled variables were created for the 13 latent traits, resulting in a case to manifest variable ratio of 207:14 or almost 15:1, exceeding the recommended value of 10:1. Each construct was modelled as a latent trait consisting of two to five factors, being the parcelled mean scale variables. Items for authoritarian and authoritative as well as Korean parenting practices were reduced to two to three parcels, and children's behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour items were kept as five parcels.

Decisions about the inclusion of paths within the model were guided by theoretical and empirical considerations. It was expected that both the parenting styles, Korean parenting practices, and acculturation would simultaneously predict children's behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour.

Both authoritarian and authoritative parenting traits themselves were modelled as predicting the child behaviour latent trait and acculturation latent trait itself was also modelled as predicting the child behaviour latent trait.

In an initial model, all paths from the authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles, acculturation latent traits and the three manifest Korean parenting variables (directiveness, modesty encouragement/ shaming and love withdrawal, and devotion) were tested to all five child behaviours dimensions (i.e., total of 30 paths). All statistically non-significant paths were removed to create a trimmed model that had satisfactory fit characteristics. The Korean

parenting factor was trimmed to two scales (i.e., directiveness and shaming and love withdrawal/encouragement of modesty) as the items loaded strongly on multiple factors. Three other scales from authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles that loaded strongly on other factors were also removed (i.e., reasoning/induction, physical coercion, verbal hostility). In place of authoritarian parenting, a new factor called strict control with loadings from shaming and love withdrawal/encouragement of modesty and non-reasoning/punitive was created because the authoritarian parenting factor comprised one non-reasoning/punitive authoritarian subscale and two Korean parenting practices scales.

Acculturation, as a latent trait itself and the correlations between acculturation and all other factors were removed as they were not statistically significant (i.e., all r<.14 has p>.05 non-directional when N=207). Strict/ controlling and authoritative parenting styles were inversely related to each other and both parenting styles predicted the child behaviour. The resulting model had acceptable fit to the data ( $\chi^2=77.3$ ; df=31;  $\chi^2/df=2.49$ ; p=.10; CFI=.93; gamma hat=.98; RMSEA=.085; SRMR=.059) (Figure 6). All the paths were statistically significant. As can be seen from the model, the statistically significant paths are the correlation from authoritative to strict control (r=-.39), the regression from strict control to directiveness ( $\beta=.58$ ), the negative regression from authoritative parenting to child behaviour problems ( $\beta=-.41$ ), the regression from authoritative to directiveness ( $\beta=.33$ ), and the positive regression from strict control to child behaviour problems ( $\beta=.26$ ).

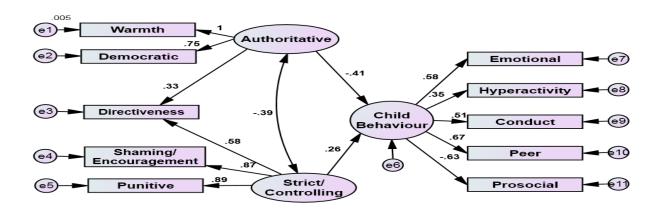


Figure 6: The relationships between parenting styles, Korean parenting practices, and child behaviour

While both strict/controlling parenting and authoritative parenting styles were predictors of children's behavioural difficulties and strengths, authoritative parenting was a stronger predictor of children's behavioural difficulties than strict/controlling parenting behaviours ( $\beta$  = -.41 vs.  $\beta$  = .26). Those parents with more authoritative parenting styles were inclined to view their child as having fewer difficulties ( $\beta$  = -.41) and authoritative parenting tended to be inverse to strict, controlling parenting (r= -.39), while also contributing to a more directive style ( $\beta$  = .58). This seems to suggest that the warmer and more democratic the parents were, the fewer problems they perceived while still being directive (i.e., scolds or criticises when the child's behaviour does not meet our expectations, demands child do things, tells child what to do) and in charge.

A strict/controlling parenting style contributed strongly to being directive ( $\beta$  = .58). More specifically, these parents used less reasoning, were more punitive, encouraged more modest behaviour and used more shaming and love withdrawal.

The relations here give some insight into the understanding of Korean immigrant parents and provide useful directions in understanding the role of parenting affecting children's behavioural difficulties and strengths in Korean immigrant samples.

## 5.8.1. Sub-group analyses

Differences in the magnitude of individual pathways in the mothers' and fathers' models were tested for significant differences using a nested, multi-group SEM invariance test. However, due to the small sample size (especially among fathers), the solution was inadmissible. Hence, simple correlations were investigated as a way of determining differences between mothers and fathers.

For the complete sample of mothers (Table 5.17), there were three statistically significant correlations. However, no associations were found between acculturation and other variables. For fathers too, there were three statistically significant correlations and an almost identical pattern of correlations were seen. Of the 12 pairs of correlations, no set of values differed between mothers and fathers. It can be concluded that mothers and fathers' responses were similar or almost identical.

Table 5.17 Correlations between mothers' and fathers' parental styles, SDQ, and acculturation – Whole sample

Scales	Strict control		Authoritative		Child behaviour		Acculturation	
	Mthr	Fthr	Mthr	Fthr	Mthr	Fthr	Mthr	Fthr
Strict control	-	-	42**	46**	.30**	.36**	07	04
Authoritative	42**	46**	-	-	35**	37**	.17	01
Child Behaviour	.30**	.36**	35**	37**	-		09	.02
Acculturation	07	04	.17	01	09	.02	-	-

Note. Mthr=Mother; Fthr=Father

For matched mothers in two-parent families (Table 5.18), there were three statistically significant correlations. For fathers too, there were three statistically significant correlations and an almost identical pattern of correlations were seen. Of the 12 pairs of correlations, no set of values differed between mothers and fathers.

Table 5.18 Correlations between mothers' and fathers' parental styles, SDQ, and acculturation – Matched mothers and fathers

Scales	Strict control		<b>Authoritative</b>		SDQ		<b>Acculturation</b>	
	Mthr	Fthr	Mthr	Fthr	Mthr	Fthr	Mthr	Fthr
Strict control	-	-	45**	45**	.28**	.46**	14	05
Authoritative	45**	45**	-	-	47**	45**	.21	05
SDQ	.28**	.46**	47**	45**	-	-	10	.02
Acculturation	14	05	.21	05	10	.02	-	-

Note. Mthr=Mother; Fthr=Father

For geese mothers, only strict control and authoritative parenting styles were negatively related with each other (r=-.43, p<.05).

<sup>\*</sup>*p* <.05, \*\**p* <.01

<sup>\*</sup>*p* <.05, \*\**p* <.01

5.8.2. Moderating effect of acculturation on the relationship between strict/controlling and authoritative parenting styles, and child behaviour

To assess the potential moderating effect of acculturation on the relationship between parenting styles and child behaviour, two hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted. Before entering the variables into the regression equations, the predictor (strict/ controlling parenting and authoritative parenting styles) and moderator (acculturation) variables were centred in order to reduce multicollinearity with the interaction term. Centering was done by subtracting the mean of the variables from each individual scores, producing a new sample mean of zero for each of the variables. To test acculturation as a potential moderator of the strict/ controlling parenting and authoritative parenting styles, two interaction variables were created by first centering the parenting style variables and the acculturation variable, and then multiplying each centred parenting style variable by the centred acculturation variable. Therefore, in each of the analyses, the independent variable of parenting style was entered at step 1. Next, the independent variable of parenting style and the moderating variable of acculturation were entered at step 2. Lastly, the interaction term produced by multiplying the parenting style variable score and the acculturation score was entered at step 3. Each interaction term was entered into the linear regression model with the appropriate centred parenting style main effect and centred acculturation variables. As can be seen in Tables 5.19 and 5.20, strict/controlling and authoritative parenting styles were the significant predictors of child behaviour in step 1. In step 2, inspection of the positive beta coefficients revealed that parents who were more strict/controlling were more likely to perceive their child as displaying behavioural problems. On the other hand, authoritative parenting had a significant negative weight, suggesting that the parents' authoritative parenting was related to reduced levels of behavioural problems. With the entry of moderating variable of acculturation in step 2, acculturation did not account for a significant

amount of variance in strict/ controlling and authoritative parenting styles. The overall model at step 2, therefore, did not reach significance. In step 3, the interaction variable was not significant in either case (both p values >.10), indicating that acculturation does not significantly moderates the relationship between parenting styles and child behaviour.

Table 5.19 Moderating effect of acculturation on the relationship between strict/ controlling parenting and child behaviour

	b	В	t
Step 1			
Strict/ controlling	3.23	.34*	5.14
Step 2			
Strict/ controlling	3.22	.34*	5.10
Acculturation	33	03	44
Step 3			
Strict/ controlling	3.25	.34*	5.14
Acculturation	13	01	17
Strict/ controlling X Acculturation	2.08	.09	1.32

<sup>\*</sup>p <.05

Table 5.20 Moderating effect of acculturation on the relationship between authoritative parenting style and child behaviour

	b	β	t
Step 1		-	
Authoritative	-2.84	36*	-5.58
Step 2			
Authoritative	-2.83	36*	-5.52
Acculturation	13	01	17
Step 3			
Authoritative	-2.83	36*	-5.52
Acculturation	16	01	21
Authoritative X Acculturation	-1.05	06	87

<sup>\*</sup>p <.05

#### **5.9** Summary of the descriptive statistics findings

The present findings suggest that Korean immigrant mothers and fathers perceive themselves to engage in a moderately high authoritative parenting style and they are highly devoted, involved, and moderately directive and use shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty. They are very similar both within and across families, and geese mothers are not much different either. Regarding child behavioural problems, both mothers and fathers reported similar ratings of child internalising and externalising behaviour problems. However, there were some differences between mothers and fathers in the parenting predictors of child internalising and externalising behaviour problems and prosocial behaviour in the regression analyses. A SEM model showed that strict/controlling and authoritative parenting styles are clearly contrasting and have different effects on parental perceptions of behavioural problems, with one style (i.e., authoritative parenting style) contributing substantially to fewer reported problems. Among Korean immigrant parents, being directive is part of both styles of parenting (i.e., strict/controlling and authoritative parenting), indicating that directive parenting is more or less prevalent. Finally, acculturation did not play a moderating or mediating role in explain the relationship between parenting and child behaviour. Further discussion of these points will be undertaken in Chapter 7.

### Chapter 6

### Parent interview findings

This chapter presents summaries of the themes from interviews with 21 parents. As previously stated in Chapter 3, interview questions were based on the aims of this part of the thesis, which were to explore the parenting experiences and challenges of Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand, to identify the unique challenges faced by geese parents, and what geese parents saw as their strengths in this parenting role. Lastly, the interviews aimed to obtain Korean immigrant parents' views on successful childrearing strategies for new Korean immigrants. As shown in Table 6.1, analysis of interview data produced several themes and associated sub-themes that were linked with the topic area of each aim. Four topics emerged from the interviews: (1) parenting experiences of Korean immigrant parents with two major themes and five subthemes, (2) parenting challenges of Korean immigrant parents with two major theme and two subthemes, (3) unique experiences and challenges of geese parents and their strengths in this parenting role with three major themes, and (4) recommendations on successful childrearing strategies for new Korean immigrants with five major themes. The interview findings for each aim are presented as follows: a description and definition of the overall themes and each sub-theme, and quotations which illustrate the sub-themes. Note that all quotations have been translated from Korean and expressed in standard English to avoid any impression of less-than-fluent language competence. The parent interview findings are discussed with and links are made to the parent questionnaire where relevant.

Table 6.1 Themes and sub-themes coded from responses to parent interview

#### Themes and sub-themes

#### **Topic: Parenting experiences of Korean immigrant parents**

Theme: Changes in parent-child relationships after immigration

- 1. Increased parental time with children
- 2. Encouraging child independence
- 3. Less parental pressure on children
- 4. Reduced parenting self-efficacy
- 5. Parent-child disagreement

Theme: Parental commitment and personal and financial sacrifices

#### **Topic: Parenting Challenges of Korean immigrant parents**

Theme: Parent-teacher communication difficulties

1. Communication difficulties with other parents

Theme: Unfamiliarity with the school system

## Topic: Unique experiences challenges of geese parents and their strengths in this parenting role

Themes:

- 1. Sole parental responsibility and lack of parenting support
- 2. Loneliness and homesickness
- 3. Greater independence, responsibility, self reliance

### **Topic: Recommendations on successful childrearing strategies for new Korean immigrants**

Themes:

- 1. School participation and involvement
- 2. Importance of mother-tongue
- 3. Spending quality and quantity time with the children
- 4. Encouraging child independence
- 5. Taking time out for yourself

#### 6.1 Topic: Parenting experiences of Korean immigrant parents

Theme: Changes in parent-child relationships after immigration

Interview question 1: What has changed about your parenting since you immigrated to New

Zealand?

A number of parents reported strengths and positive changes associated with parenting after immigration. The following changes in parenting positively affected both parents and children.

#### 1. Increased parental time with children

The questionnaire findings suggest that Korean immigrant mothers and fathers were highly devoted and involved. These results were supported by the interview findings and repeated among the interview participants, eight of whom expressed satisfaction with the increased parental time with their children, reporting that the lifestyle in NZ allowed parents to be more involved and spend more quality time with their children. Having flexible work arrangements also enabled parents to assist parents to balance work and family responsibilities, indicating that flexible working hours in NZ work contexts are shown to deliver significant benefits.

Two fathers' previous jobs and working hours in Korea had prevented them from spending much time with their children. After they moved to NZ, their NZ lifestyle allowed them to spend more quality time with their children. For example, one father stated that:

"I was working full-time when I was in Korea. I woke up at 7am and came home at 7. I also had other extra work to do at home so I was even more exhausted when I got home. But ever since we came here, my daily routine and life style has changed. I have a lot of time to spend with my child, especially after my work. I pay more attention to my child and we go out often in the weekend". (F16)

Another father similarly expressed satisfaction with his new job and changed lifestyle:

"Before we came to NZ, my wife took 100% of household responsibilities and childcare. I really felt I should share responsibilities but I was a full-time chief in one of the busiest restaurants in Pusan. I came home very late when my children were asleep. I remember my wife once said to me 'I feel like I'm a single mum and your kids will forget what you look like'. I sometimes had to go out to work on Saturday. But I found a more flexible job here and I appreciate the fact that I'm able to help my

wife with household duties and I get to spend more time with my children after work and help them with their homework. I like my new job here". (F14)

Three mothers and three fathers identified benefits due to flexible working hours; having flexible work arrangements enabled parents with caring responsibilities to spend more quality time with their families while maintaining their positions at work. Therefore, both full and part-time working parents reported that they found it easier to balance work and family in NZ.

"I work as a part-time nurse. Because I only work in the morning I can be with my child after her school". (M4)

"My husband is working full-time but I work part-time in the morning so I always come home early before school finishes and prepare tea and snacks for my children".

(M9)

"I am a photographer and my wife owns a small café. We both have jobs but our schedule is very flexible". (F15)

#### 2. Encouraging child independence

Four mothers and one goose father were keen for their children to become independent. While some children in Korea depend on their parents to do things for them, even though they are capable of doing those things for themselves, three Korean immigrant mothers were opposed to raising their children in such a dependent manner or being so protective, after they moved to NZ. Parents provided opportunities at home (e.g., simple household tasks) for children to gain independence. Such behaviours are at odds with the generalisation of Asian parenting being simply protective, restricting children's growth and autonomy and discouraging children's independence (Kim & Wong, 2002). The results were

consistent with the questionnaire findings. Encouraging independence in children is considered to be an important component of authoritative parenting. Korean immigrant parents perceived that Western parenting practice included stressing the importance of their child developing a strong sense of independence and they endorsed the authoritative way NZ parents dealt with their children (i.e., granting autonomy).

"When I visited Korea, what I realised was that Korean parents are just too protective of their children. I felt that I'm doing my job well as a parent, by not being too protective. I think it is more efficient to raise children independently like New Zealand mothers". (M7)

"I heard that mothers in Korea do everything for their child but the child does not appreciate their parents' hard work and efforts. They think that it is obvious parental things that the parents must do for them. I like the way how mothers in NZ raise their children...being patient and encourage the child to do things on her own". (M8)

"NZ parents encourage their children to act independently and I like that. So I am raising my child freely and independently now. I'm happy with western parenting". (M11)

For two geese parents, by dealing with difficult situations well by themselves, they have also provided their children with a model of independence and responsibility.

"My daughter knows that I am taking care of her solely by myself so she tries to do things for herself independently now days. I think my child has become enthusiastic in everything she does and more independent". (F19)

"I learned to be independent and even my daughter is learning how to do things for herself and taking part in household chores. She helps me a lot in these days. She prepares a simple meal when I am busy and folds her clothes after laundry". (M20)

#### 3. Less parental pressure on children

Parents in Korea tend to pressure their children to succeed in school and limit their social activities. However, parent comments suggested that they perceived a safer, amicable, and less-competitive environment that allowed both parents and children to enjoy their lives in New Zealand and encouraged a shift in parenting practices. Some parents reported shifting from a strict and intense focus on academic achievement to more child-initiated activities and an increased emphasis on fun.

"I have changed a lot. If I was still in Korea, I would probably have sent my kids to cram-school and I would have done more things for my children. But, I am not like that here anymore. I am surprised at myself because I see myself not pushing and pressuring my children. When I talk to my friends in Korea, they said that I am changed". (M3)

"I pressured my child to study harder and so she did not have enough time to hang out with her friends. But in this country, the study pressure is not as strong as Korea so I let my child to enjoy her life and gave her a lot of breaks". (M12)

#### 4. Reduced parenting self-efficacy

Six parents reported feeling less confident about their parenting and expressed concerns about the effects on their children as consequence of their limited English language skills. Comments included a negative impact on their child's personality and their child's disappointment with them.

"I am seen as a passive mother to my child because I cannot communicate well at my child's school, I'm worry this might affect my child's personality". (M8)

Four parents echoed similar concerns:

"It is sometimes difficult to help with my child's homework. Because my English is bad, it takes a lot of time to interpret and understand so I cannot explain to him straight away. So I think my child may feel disappointed in me". (M12)

"Before coming to NZ, I was busy with work so I had no time to spend with my children but after immigration, I constantly worried about how to guide my children in the right direction and it is still hard to figure out the best possible way for my children". (M14)

"First of all, I lost confidence (because of poor English skills). I did not get to make many opportunities for my child to make many friends. He also did not get to go out and experience various things". (M18)

"I think my lack of confidence and intimidating behaviour due to my English may affect my child. Compared to NZ parents, immigrant parents play a limited role regarding school involvement". (F19)

One father expressed anxiety that his lack of English communication skills might unfavourably affect his child in the future:

"I worry my poor communication skills might negatively affect my child as he grows". (F17)

#### 5. Parent-child disagreements

Another notable change that seems to have occurred in parent-child relationships after migration was the increase in parent-child disagreements, perhaps illustrating clashes with traditional Korean parenting values. Three parents in the interview experienced parent-child disagreements in the areas of independence and roles in decision making. In fact, the directiveness scores for these three Korean immigrant parents (two mothers and one father)

showed that they were more directive than other parents in the sample. Their directiveness scores were above the mean. Parents stated that their children began to disagree with them and express their opinions openly. Such behaviours (i.e., disobeying parents and freedom to express their opinions) may be challenging to Korean parents whose beliefs about child behaviour and the parent's role emphasise absolute obedience and parental authority.

Traditionally, Korean parents also expect their child to be unassertive, and modest.

When the children asserted their independence by disagreeing with their parents, some parents were shocked and felt uneasy because this is in sharp contrast to Korean values. The conflict experienced between parents and their NZ born child was also the result of disagreements due to differing values:

"My child has a different opinion to mine... Well...it may be due to a generation gap or a cultural difference. I was raised in Korea and my children were born here and raised in NZ. I also did my schooling in Korea but my children do schooling here so there is a little gap and we have different opinions regarding school work. If I was in Korea, I'll probably get to meet other mums and share information but it's difficult here...due to English especially ". (M3)

"My son has started to raise his voice and disagree with me sometimes. He wasn't like that before". (F17)

One mother had disagreements with her daughter about clothes:

"We argued for the first time about clothes. I used to tell my child what clothes to wear before she went to school and I chose nice clothes for her as usual just like every morning. But for the first time, she said 'No! I am not wearing that. That is Korean style'. So she started to find clothes that she wanted to wear and ditched the clothes that I have chosen for her. I was shocked and felt perplexed. I was a little bit upset

with the fact that she disagreed with me and does what she wants to do without taking or considering my opinion". (M20)

Theme: Parental commitment and personal and financial sacrifices

According to Korean immigrant parents, parental commitment reflected parents' willingness to make personal and economic sacrifices for the sake of supporting their children and family, including saving money for their child's future expenses. These views are also similar to Korean parents living in Korea, whose duty is to make every possible sacrifice to ensure child's success (Kim & Choi, 1994). These views are also consistent with Asian cultural values emphasising the responsibility of parenthood (Wu et al., 2002). From this perspective, the child is viewed as being the sole interest and concern of the parents. All the parents in the interview stated that parents have a responsibility to do their best to meet their child's needs.

All Korean immigrant parents who were interviewed stated that they were highly devoted to their family and children's education and future. Many parents felt that it was their duty to sacrifice and they were willing to fulfil their role as a parent.

"My highest priority is my son. I put the needs of my child first and I am willing to sacrifice my time and money for the sake of my child". (M6)

Fathers were especially responsible to financially support their family and work hard to support his family financially.

"I have to give up my personal life and make a living for my children". (F5)

"I sometimes worry what if I cannot financially support my wife and my children. I want to work hard for my family". (F10)

All geese parents also stated that they were committed and willing to make personal and economic sacrifices for the sake of supporting their children's education and they were highly devoted to their children's education and future. Geese parents were able to separate and sacrifice their marriage because they agreed to give their children a better education abroad since education is of foremost importance in Korean family.

"Geese parenting is challenging. I have learnt to accept my responsibilities as a geese mum and I am responsible for my child's academic upbringing. I'm deeply committed to my child's future, and that's why we came here. My husband and I are saving hard for my kid's future expenses like university education". (M12)

"I had to give up my personal life to educate our son here. I think my biggest sacrifice as a goose mother is educating our son and living apart from home and my husband". (M21)

#### 6.2 Topic: Parenting challenges faced by Korean immigrant parents

Theme 1: Language barrier

Interview question 2: What are your major barriers to child rearing in New Zealand?; What has been your greatest struggle as an immigrant parent?; How do these barriers affect your relationship with child?

Irrespective of the parents' length of residence in New Zealand, perceived low
English language proficiency was the most frequently cited problem related to: (1) parentteacher communication difficulties and (2) difficulties communicating with other parents and
making friends. Although they wanted to communicate well with teachers and get along with
other parents, they confessed that they had difficulties communicating with teachers and

making friends with other parents because of their English. Most of the parents were frustrated by their limited ability to communicate with the teachers and parents.

#### 1. Parent-teacher communication difficulties

Almost all the parents (i.e., 19 out of 21) reported that real and perceived low English language proficiency was the major reason that hindered them from communicating with school teachers and other parents. This in turn, led to some parents expressing loss of self-confidence and feelings of frustration. These language barriers and their effects are illustrated by the following quotes:

"Although my English in not good, I still attend parent-teacher meetings. I understand what the teacher talks about but I felt frustrated when the teacher often did not understand my English". (M11)

#### 2. Communication difficulties with other parents

In addition to the difficulties communicating with the teachers, 11 parents reported that they were not able to communicate effectively and meet other parents to share experience in educating their children due to their limited English language skills. They also expressed frustration at being not able to interact with the parents of their children's schools friends. The examples shown below illustrate limitations for effectively communicating with other parents:

"English is the biggest problem. I can't have a deep conversation with my child's friends' mothers and teacher. They asked me 'How are you? How's your child?' my answer is always 'yes...good'. A short and simple response". (M1)

"I really want to make friends with my child's friends' mothers but I'm always stressed because I can't interact with them (because of English)". (M8)

"I wish I could speak English well so that I can make friends here and freely talk to my kid's teacher and ask things about my kid's progress. But it's hard. English is frustrating for me sometimes". (M20)

"Because of my poor English, I am unable to attend school meetings, get along with mothers and share school-related information with the mothers and teachers". (M21)

#### One father added:

"I feel that I need to be engaged in an effective communication and interaction with my child's friends' parents and have an active communication with my child's teacher. But there is a limited face to face communication with the teachers and parents due to limited English and cultural differences so I feel frustrated". (F19)

Two mothers relied on their children as translators with school teachers because their limited fluency with English made it difficult for them to express their views and concerns regarding the progress of their children:

"As an immigrant parent, English is the biggest obstacle. It is always too difficult to speak to the teacher...I can understand what my child's teacher is saying but I just can't speak well. I want to hear from my child's teacher about my child's academic progress and what she is good at or lacks at but I have to ask my child about that..that's what I find weird". (M6)

#### One mother adds:

"I want to visit my child's school and see my child's teacher and ask her how my kid is doing at school in fluent English. But I have to ask my child for interpretation".

(M12)

#### Theme 2: Unfamiliarity with the school system

For two parents, their unfamiliarity with the NZ education system was reported as additional reason that prevented them getting involved in school-based activities. This was, in part, because parental participation or parents' school visits are not as encouraged in Korea, as reflected in this comment:

"I want to familiarise myself with the NZ school system but I find that the school systems in Korea and NZ do not have similarities at all in terms of school-based activities. In Korea, parents are not necessarily required to participate in school meetings or field trips except school sports day where parents are invited to attend to see them perform or when the child badly misbehaved. Parents of the NZ school system, on the contrary, participate more in school. Teachers require or invite the parents to participate but I am not sure if I really have to go unless my child is in trouble". (F10)

In addition to the limitations for school involvement, parents' lack of knowledge about the NZ education system further added difficulty of providing direct assistance with homework. Two parents stated:

"I find it difficult to help my children with homework. I don't know much about the educational system here". (M9)

"I cannot provide any assistance with my child's school work. I did not receive schooling here so I feel sad when I can't provide efficient support". (M13)

# 6.3 Topic: Unique challenges experienced by geese/ single parents and their strengths in this parenting role

Interview question 3: What is your experience as a single/goose mother?; What are the most difficult challenges you have had to deal with as a sole parent in New Zealand?; How have

these challenges affected you and your children?; Tell me about your strengths as a sole parent.

Responding to the question about their experiences, challenges, and strengths as geese parents and a single parent, all parents said that their lives have dramatically changed upon their arrival in NZ. Their experiences as geese parents varied according to their personal and family situations, financial instability, and willingness to cope with the changes.

#### Theme 1: Sole parental responsibility and lack of parenting support

All five geese parents and one divorced mother were often challenged by the demands of fulfilling both parental roles and shouldering double responsibilities of educating and parenting, and trying to be both a mother and a father. Geese parents stated that they must bear the burden of childcare and domestic responsibility alone. As two mothers remarked:

"When we were in Korea, we shared the child care and household tasks but it is burdensome to take the sole parental responsibility here. I cannot act as a father and even though I try to take the father's role, I am not a father and it's different. So I feel bad for my child". (M13)

"Parenting is a huge responsibility. Now I am here, I have a double responsibility," mother and father'. In the physical absence of my husband, I sometimes feel great pressure to fulfil my parenting duties because I have to carry domestic and child care burdens by myself and it is difficult to negotiate parenting responsibilities with my husband because he is in Korea. He is a good father to our child and involved in parenting but the physical distance does not reduce child care related burdens". (M20)

All geese parents who were interviewed felt they lacked support to provide adequate care and discipline for their child due to the absence of a spouse.

"It is still hard to bear and take the sole responsibility for disciplining and caring for a child without a husband. I feel burdened to take all the responsibilities". (M13)

"As a parent, I have to fulfil the roles of both father and mother so I feel that I am lacking in both parenting duties. Because I am a father (goose father), there are some parts I struggle with and I'm not satisfied at myself when I take my role as a mother most of the time". (F19)

#### Theme 2: Loneliness and homesickness

While some parents reported feelings of freedom from any sacrifices for their in-laws and husbands, some reported experiencing loneliness and isolation due to the physical absence of a spouse, family members, and close friends. Four mothers also mentioned lack of social support as they have neither close friends nor family members in NZ who can provide help and support.

"I personally, felt very lonely. It was difficult to stay in this country without my friends and family around". (M13)

"My son was really ill when we just recently arrived in NZ. He was almost never sick before but he had developed a rash on his face, neck and had a high fever for 5 days. It was a very frightening, lonely, and sad experience for me. My husband was not here with us and I had no close friends, relatives, and family to call for help and support. If we were in Korea, I would have taken my car and taken him to the doctor straight away by myself. Anyway, it is a lonely and sad experience when a child gets sick". (M21)

#### Theme 3: Greater independence, responsibility, self-reliance

Despite their loneliness and difficult challenges, comments indicated that life in NZ allowed all five geese parents to become stronger and more independent and better able to take care of themselves, their children, and a house on their own. They have learned how to

handle any type of situation that comes their way, how to juggle multiple tasks at a time, and the importance of always trying and moving forward:

"I feel that I can take the big step towards independent living without my husband and I actually feel I have become more independent and stronger than before. I did everything here by myself...dealing with housing, sending my kid to school, making a decision, and home management. I make decisions based on my own needs and wants for my child without input from my hubby who can be bossy sometimes and always conflicts with my own ideas and opinions". (M12)

"I am learning to cope better as a parent, individually and independently. Since raising my daughter alone and living in a foreign country, I have learned how to manage our lives better and deal with household matters and problems. I learned to be independent". (M20)

"Settling down in a foreign country with a child was truly difficult and I went through a difficult time for the first three months. But after three months and until now, I feel that I have moved forward in all areas of my life and I feel much stronger than I ever have in my adult life so I do not regret coming to NZ. I am still learning and struggling to survive emotionally myself and I am trying to become emotionally and physically independent". (M21)

One mother expressed the feeling of escape and a sense of freedom from in-law pressures and duties:

"I feel less stressful because I am free from my in-laws. You see, in-law relationships in Korea are very complicated and stressful and difficult. I used to live nearby my parents-in law. They were driving me crazy and gave me a hard time. My duties as a daughter-in-law in Korea were burdensome. I was actually glad when my husband planned a 'geese arrangement'. He wanted to send our child here and he wanted to me to go with him because our kid is too young to be by himself. In NZ, I just feel so relieved and I'm glad that I don't have to worry about my in-laws while I am here". (M12)

## 6.4 Topic: Recommendations on successful childrearing strategies for new Korean immigrants

Interview question 4: What recommendations would you make for other Korean immigrant parents or newly arrived immigrant parents regarding successful child rearing strategies?

When parents were asked to suggest a number of recommendations for other Korean immigrant parents or newly arrived immigrant parents regarding successful child rearing strategies they made following recommendations:

#### Theme1: School participation and involvement

Six parents encouraged other newly arrived parents to actively participate and be involved in their child's school meetings and events on a regular basis regardless of language barriers. Immigrant parents also need to communicate with their child's teachers and NZ parents effectively. Parents commented that they must show interest in their child's education and directly participate in their child's learning activities at home.

"I would like to recommend to the parents, they should actively participate in school events or volunteer at school events or activities. There are many passive parents who are not willing to do so because of their limited English. However, their active involvement or participation in school events or activities regardless of the language barrier can actually help the teachers a lot. Fathers too, should also get involved and show an interest in their child's school. They should also try to actively engage in a communicating with the teachers and use the parent-teacher interview time well".

(M1)

"Parents need to pay more attention to their child, study together, and learn to get involved in child's education". (M11)

"Many immigrant parents or parents of international students think that if they send their children to schools and cram schools, they think that school education is all that their child needs or school education is the end of education. However, I don't think so. I believe the things a child learns at home and from the parents are also important too and part of the education begins at home. Furthermore, parents must interact with other kiwi parents and school teachers so the parents themselves need to learn to adjust to a child's school". (F19)

#### Theme 2: Importance of mother-tongue

Three parents stressed the importance of mother-tongue and implored that children should never forget their mother-tongue. These parents thought that parents should make their children speak Korean only at home and send their child to Korean language school. They said that some parents expressed concern and unnecessary worry that their children would fall behind their English-speaking classmates academically because English is not the child's first language. They wanted parents to take it easy and be patient because children will naturally overcome the language obstacles and English will be naturally acquired at school.

"We used to live in Canada before we moved to NZ. Even when we were in Canada, I did not teach my child English. I always told my kids to speak in Korean only at home. So they had to speak their mother-tongue. However, not many Korean parents are like us. They should not stress their kids to speak English, but they should stress their kids to speak Korean". (F5)

"First, it is most important to achieve full proficiency in *han gul* (Korean alphabet) and Korean. Not only they should speak Korean but they need to learn to write and have a high level of Korean writing skills. English is important after that. I think children will be fully competent in English until 2 to 3 years later". (M7)

"Not only English is important but also Korean too. Korean is the child's parents' mother-tongue. Children pick up English much faster than the adults and they are better than adults at learning a second language. Parents don't have to be anxious

about their children's English skills. They will naturally learn English at school. It will not take too long. So parents have to be patient. I want to recommend the parents to send their children to Korean language school. If they can't, then teach them *han gul* and use Korean only at home". (M16)

#### Theme 3: Spending quality and quantity time with the children

Two parents suggested that parents should take the time to prioritize and set aside quality time with their children.

"Although you have to earn your living, the most important thing is to spend time with your children. Therefore, if you are working parents, plan out your schedule and schedule your work hours wisely. Furthermore, parents should lead an exemplary life". (M9)

"No matter what, family comes first. Make a living in a foreign country must be difficult for many non-English immigrants and I know a number of parents spending less time with their children because they are spending more time at work. However, parents should make sufficient time to pay attention especially when they are newly arrived because a child may have a difficult time adjusting or settling in at their new schools. Also, parents may have such little time with their children as they grow up". (F15)

#### Theme 4: Encouraging child independence

Two mothers emphasised the fostering of independence in their child and indicated that mothers should not do everything for their child but help the child to become more independent:

"A child has much potential so the duty of the mother is to assist and support the child to find his or her potential. Mothers do not necessarily have to do everything for their child and open the door for a child". (M4)

"Parents should not do everything for their child. I think it is better to help and encourage child to think and act independently". (M8)

#### Theme 5: Taking sometime out for yourself

Geese mothers suggested that it is important for mothers to take or invest some time for themselves. Some geese mothers took advantage of living abroad by experiencing something new that they hadn't experienced before. The physical distance from their husbands also provided them space where they were able to experience different roles in different contexts and find or create their own identity. They reported being satisfied because they were fulfilling their roles as wives and devoted their time for themselves at the same. The geese arrangement certainly allowed them to reposition themselves. They suggested that geese mothers should enjoy their lives and freedom while they are abroad.

"Being separated from your husband can be hard and lonely. As for me, I tried to make myself busier. And I still do. I go to church and I do a lot of voluntary jobs and I have a big block of free time so I tend to spend quality time for myself. I learn English and do things I like to do. So what I would like to say to other geese mums is that you shouldn't spend too much time with your kids but also use your spare time wisely for yourself while you are here away from your husband". (M13)

"While you are in NZ, this may be your only time to spend quality time with yourself. You do not have to worry about your husband and in-laws while in overseas. Being a geese mom allows you to have extra bonding time with your children but also with yourself. You may feel caught between parenting responsibilities and your identity as a geese mom. But please do not spend too much time taking care of your child and doing household tasks. Taking some time out for yourself, while your kids are at school, will help you to boost yourself back up again, give you more energy and keep in touch with who you are. So, take a walk, go to the gym, shopping or study". (M20)

#### **6.5** Summary of the interview findings

The Korean immigrant parents interviewed for this thesis appeared to have encountered positive changes associated with parenting following their immigration to NZ. One of the most notable changes was that they learned from New Zealand parents how to raise independent children and they were keen for their children to become more independent. A safer and less-competitive environment and a relaxed way of life in NZ allowed both parents and children to spend quality time together and encouraged a shift in parenting styles, from a strict and intense focus on academic achievement to more child-initiated activities. However, immigration was not always associated with positive changes as some parents were experiencing conflicts with their NZ raised children. Particularly, when their child's assertive behaviour was inconsistent with Korean expectations for appropriate child behaviour. Parents' perceived low English language proficiency contributed to reduced parenting self-efficacy, especially in relation to being able to assist with homework and fearing that this might make them seen as incapable parents. Regarding school involvement, although Korean immigrant parents showed high interest and desire to communicate effectively in parent-teacher meetings, and to interact and exchange information with other mothers, an English language barrier and unfamiliarity with the NZ school system hindered their communication efforts. As for geese mothers, they were generally satisfied with their lifestyle in NZ but all of them experienced loneliness and isolation due to the absence of a spouse, family members and close friends. They were also challenged by the heavy demands and burdens of fulfilling both parental roles. However, despite their loneliness and difficult challenges, they seem to have learned to survive emotionally and become independent.

### **Chapter 7**

### **Discussion**

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings, their implications, limitations of the present study, and potential avenues for future research. Finally, the contributions of the study and the conclusions of the thesis are discussed. The chapter begins by discussing the findings of maternal and paternal parenting styles of Korean immigrant parents in NZ and parenting practices emphasised in Korea in relation to the hypotheses. Furthermore, the role of acculturation and length of time in New Zealand and demographic factors (i.e., parental education, employment status, and income) are considered. Discussion also covers the findings for children behaviour and relationships with parenting and acculturation. The insights and contributions provided by the parent interviews about parenting challenges and experiences of Korean immigrant parents, including Korean geese mothers are discussed.

The follow sections proceed to a detailed discussion of the major findings of this study.

## 7.1 Maternal and paternal parenting styles of Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand

The first hypothesis that Korean immigrant mothers and fathers would self-report engaging in an authoritative style of childrearing was supported. In accordance with previous research conducted in the USA with Korean immigrant parents of adolescents (Kim, 2005; Kim & Rohner, 2002), on average, Korean immigrant mothers and fathers in this thesis reported themselves to be using a moderately high level of authoritative parenting style.

Findings are also consistent with Jung and Honig (2000) and Park and Cheah (2005) who found that young Korean parents in Korea endorsed reasoning guidance rather than direct teaching for young children, compared with their parents' generation. Younger Korean mothers, in particular, have also been found to be more likely to encourage social assertiveness rather than traditionally valued behaviours such as self-restrained behaviours (Park & Cheah, 2005). This reasoning guidance and individual self-assertion is an attitude associated with authoritative parenting styles and the authors suggested that this finding is possibly due to the growing Western influence on contemporary South Korean parents' childrearing ideas. Hence, it is possible that the Korean immigrant parents in this study held authoritative parenting beliefs prior to their arrival in New Zealand. The parents in this thesis consisted mainly of young recent immigrants whose average age was 34 years. Parents in contemporary Korean society may be influenced by Western ideologies regarding child development due to frequent contact with Western culture, democratic ideology, and the materialistic and competitive nature of industrial society (Park & Cheah, 2005). Alternatively, the current results may be due to the influence of social desirability that may have biased parents' self-reported parenting styles. Since the authoritative parenting style may appear to be valued in the New Zealand society, it is possible that parents might have rated their own parenting in a way that seemed consistent with New Zealand societal parenting values. Consistent with the notion of social desirability, higher self-ratings in authoritative parenting could be due to response sets reflecting "saving face" or "giving face". Among Asians, social desirability may be related to "saving face," whereby individuals tend to understate or overstate problems to prevent shaming their families (Gong, Gage, & Takada, 2003).

Regarding gender differences between mothers and fathers, the results did not support the second hypothesis that the mothers would report a more authoritative parenting style than fathers. The lack of differences between mothers and fathers in the current study compared to other research may have been due to the sample differences. For example, data showing mother and father differences in authoritative parenting in previous research have been based on Western samples (e.g., Gamble et al., 2007; Russell et al., 1998; Winsler et al., 2005).

There was support for the hypothesis that fathers would report higher rates of authoritarian parenting than mothers, when comparisons were made across the whole sample. The present results add to other research in Western samples that has found higher rates of self-reported authoritarian parenting for fathers than mothers (Russell et al., 1998; Winsler et al., 2005). There are at least two possible explanations for the findings in this study. One relates to general differences in the interpersonal styles of fathers and mothers, arising from the fathers' role as being high on instrumentality and low on expressiveness, and the mothers' role as being complementary to that (Eagly, 1987; Russell et al., 1998). A second explanation draws on traditional roles and expectations, where fathers' greater use of an authoritarian style fits with the traditional parenting role for Korean fathers as being the primary disciplinarian (Kim & Choi, 1994). Father participants in the current thesis may have had a greater focus on the more traditional father role in which being strict in discipline is emphasised. The findings are also consistent with research by Choi et al. (2013) who found that Korean immigrant fathers use more forceful parenting than mothers emphasising traditions, such as child obedience and respect for authority. With respect to the second explanation, self-reports of parenting style may also reflect parents' beliefs and stereotypes about traditional parenting practices, particularly among fathers (Winsler et al., 2005). Fathers' perceived authoritarian parenting style could therefore reflect beliefs consistent with traditional parenting stereotypes (i.e., fathers as an emotionally distant breadwinner and a strict disciplinarian).

#### 7.2 Parenting practices emphasised in Korea

The hypothesis that Korean immigrant mothers would be more devoted and involved than fathers; whereas, fathers would be more directive was partially supported. Contrary to prediction, fathers were highly devoted and involved. This contrasts with other research where fathers were emotionally and physically distant from their children and fathers' expressions of their sentiments were constrained by their traditional parenting role (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Traditionally, Korean fathers were not consistently involved in their children's education because there is agreement in South Korea that fathers should commit themselves totally to their job and work hard to support their family (Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001). Therefore, the current findings that Korean immigrant fathers were highly devoted and involved are surprising. These findings suggest that fathers can be as devoted and affectionate as mothers, and are consistent with research by Jung and Honig (2000) who found that Korean fathers in Korea were more nurturance and affectionate compared with their fathers. Russell and Russell (1994) also found that fathers tend to be more involved with their children when mothers are also more involved. Taken together, the current findings fit with the emergence of new social expectations in Korea regarding nurturant fathers, which have led some Korean fathers to become involved in their children's lives in a multitude of ways that go beyond the traditional roles of Korean fathers (Chae & Lee, 2011).

Furthermore, having smaller families may have allowed father to be more devoted and involved with their children. The average number of children per family in the current sample was 1.5. Atkinson and Blackwelder (1993) suggested that having fewer children accounts for shifts in fathering from providing to nurturing, hence the smaller family size in the current study may provide another explanation for the findings.

As predicted, mothers were highly devoted and involved with their children. These findings are not surprising given that the benevolent and affectionate mother constitutes the traditional Korean notions of the ideal mother figure. These findings are also consistent with the existing literature on contemporary maternal parenting practices, which states that Korean mothers in the contemporary society devote themselves to nurturing and taking care of their child's everyday life, and they are immensely involved in their children to foster their children's high academic achievement (Han, 1999; Park et al., 2012).

Regarding parental directiveness, both Korean immigrant mothers and fathers were moderately directive. The results did not support the hypothesis that fathers would be more directive than mothers. Findings for fathers' directiveness, however, need to be interpreted with caution given the moderately low alphas for this scale. This finding seems consistent with both parents reporting moderately high levels of authoritative parenting, which uses reasoning and explanation of rules, and autonomy granting. These authoritative practices are unlikely to happen if parents are being highly directive (i.e., demanding and telling children what to do). The lack of differences in authoritative parenting between mothers and fathers could explain why both parents are moderately directive.

In relation to differences between mothers and fathers, the only difference in self-reports of parenting practices was for shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty, as contrary to predictions fathers scored slightly higher on this dimension than mothers. Although moderate and humble behaviour is a central Confucian principle and positively valued in contemporary Korean society, it is interesting to note that Korean fathers were more likely than mothers to use shaming, encourage children to engage in modest

behaviours and discourage them from strongly expressing their point of view and appearing overconfident.

Two possible explanations are offered for this finding. First, the finding may be due to the different levels of acculturation between mothers and fathers as well as different working patterns of mothers and fathers. The correlational analysis in this study showed that mothers who were more acculturated to NZ mainstream were less likely to use shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty. This may be because mothers who are more involved in NZ culture have greater exposure to cultural norms and expectations related to childrearing in the NZ context (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011). With respect to the parents' working patterns, most mothers in the current sample were either not employed, or employed only part-time, compared to 89% of fathers who were part-time or full-time employed. With more time available, these mothers may have had more opportunity to become friends with NZ neighbours and parents of their children's friends. Through interaction with them, these Korean immigrant mothers may have had more opportunities to learn about NZ mainstream parental practices (Kim, 2005). They may also have been better able to take advantage of parenting resources available in the community compared to fathers.

A second explanation relates to the relationship between authoritarian parenting and the use of shaming/love withdrawal among fathers in this sample. The traditional expectation is that Korean fathers have a more authoritarian parenting role than mothers. In Confucian cultures, people are required to acquire sensitivity to shame and to be aware of other people's opinions, judgments, and evaluations (Wu et al., 2002). Thus it appears that in this sample fathers who were more likely to endorse the traditional authoritarian father role were more likely to use the traditional Korean parenting practices of shaming and love withdrawal.

#### 7.3 Associations between authoritative parenting and socioeconomic status

In this study, it was hypothesised that authoritative parenting styles will be associated with greater education, employment status, and income. This hypothesis was partly supported, as authoritative parenting style was associated with working full-time for fathers only. While for mothers, no associations were found between mothers' authoritative parenting and their education or their employment status, possibly because most mothers in this study were not in paid employment. The results for fathers are consistent with previous research showing that authoritative parenting style is more widely employed among Korean immigrant fathers who are engaged in the mainstream work contexts (Kim, 2008; Lehner, 1988; Rohner et al., 1980).

Contrary to what was expected, there was no association between authoritative parenting style and parental education. The lack of significant findings in regards to the relationship between Korean immigrant parents' authoritative parenting and parental education is somewhat surprising, given studies like Kim (2005) and Shrake (1996) that found highly educated Korean immigrant parents are more likely to engage in authoritative parenting. Perhaps this departure from the existing literature was because almost 90% of mothers and fathers were highly educated which meant there was insufficient variability in parental education to detect an association with authoritative parenting.

#### 7.4 Associations between acculturation and Korean parenting practices

When the relationship between acculturation and Korean parenting practices was explored, negative links were found between acculturation and directiveness for fathers but not for mothers. Interestingly, fathers who were more oriented toward Korean culture (less NZ acculturated) used more directive parenting and thus could be seen to be more involved in

the traditional socialisation aspects of childcare for Korean fathers; whereas mothers who were more involved in the NZ mainstream culture used less shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty. One possible explanation for these findings is the different paid employment patterns for mothers and fathers, as discussed above. Because fathers were spending more working hours in the paid work force, they may be less involved with their children, have had less contact with their children's parents (i.e., wives and partners), been less exposed to NZ child rearing, and they may have had less opportunity to observe parenting of NZ parents. Mothers in this study were likely to have been spending more time with their children at home and to have had more opportunities to observe and learn NZ parenting practices. In turn they may have been more familiar with the expectations related to NZ parenting and felt less positive about using parenting practices such as shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty.

However, the explanation for the relationships between acculturation and Korean parenting practices should be interpreted carefully, since the majority of father participants of this study were employed and mothers were either unemployed or part-time employed. Taken together, these results suggest that different levels of exposure to work and home contexts may influence relationships between acculturation and parenting practices of Korea immigrant fathers and mothers.

The second research question in this section explored the relationship between the length of time spent in NZ and the endorsement of authoritative, authoritarian, and Korean parenting practices. No significant associations were found suggesting that in this sample time spent in NZ did not appear to influence parents' traditional Korean parenting beliefs nor the extent to which they endorsed Western parenting beliefs. The current findings provide

some support for the limitations associated with using a uni-dimensional approach as a proxy for acculturation (e.g., years lived in the host country) with the underlying assumption that individuals undergo greater adaptation to the mainstream culture with the passage of time (Ryder et al, 2000). In the study of acculturation, Ritsner and Ponizovsky (1999) have shown that acculturation does not necessarily increase with time. In this way, living in NZ for a long time does not necessarily mean that one's adherence to traditional parenting practices are likely to diminish or one's endorsement of Western parenting beliefs are likely to increase.

# 7.5 Korean immigrant mothers' and fathers' perceptions of their children's behavioural strengths and difficulties

The finding that mothers and fathers did not differ significantly in their ratings of internalising and externalising behaviour problems in their children conflict with other research suggesting that mothers tended to report more internalising and externalising behavioural problems in their children than fathers (Duhig et al., 2000; McBride & Mills, 1993). The current findings are also inconsistent with Dave et al's (2008) findings that fathers tended to report significantly more problems in their children than mothers (Dave et al., 2008). The different results from those of Dave et al. may be because the current study used a modified version of the SDQ. Another possible reason might be because the characteristics of the current sample who were parents who volunteered to take part in the study and reported low levels of problem behaviours and were perhaps more likely to have similar perceptions of their child's behaviour compared to other studies who have recruited parents from clinical samples or large population samples (e.g., Dave et al., 2008; Duhig et al., 2000).

The first hypothesis that both mothers and fathers would rate their sons higher on externalising problems (i.e., conduct problems and hyperactivity) than their daughters was

partially supported, while the hypothesis that both parents would rate their daughters higher on prosocial behaviour than their sons was not supported. In line with previous studies (e.g., Dave et al., 2008; Du et al., 2008; Mellor et al., 2011), both mothers' and fathers' ratings of children's conduct problems were significantly higher for sons than daughters. However, mothers' reports of hyperactivity were not found to differ between daughters and sons. Fathers of boys, however, reported higher levels of hyperactivity for their sons than did fathers of girls. While both parents reported higher rates of conduct problems for their sons than daughters, fathers' ratings of conduct problems in both their sons and daughters were higher than mothers' ratings. These patterns of findings for father ratings of hyperactivity and conduct problems have also been demonstrated by Dave et al. (2008) in a UK sample of children aged 4 to 6 years. One possible reason for these higher reported rates of externalising behaviours by fathers is that fathers may be particularly sensitive to children's behaviour problems and may be less forgiving with regard to problem behaviours than mothers (Dave et al., 2008; Henrichs & Rescorla, 2012). Another possibility is that they over-reported in these behaviour domains (Dave et al., 2008).

In regards to prosocial behaviour, daughters received higher maternal ratings than sons whereas fathers' perceived similar levels of prosocial behaviour in their sons and daughters. Perhaps socialisation differences and child gender role expectations may account for why mothers may have rated their girls' prosocial behaviour higher than those of boys' and why mother view their boys' and girls' behaviour differently (Miller, 1995). These results corroborate Park and Cheah (2005) who found that Korean mothers rated social skills as being more important for girls than did mothers of boys. These findings also reflect the continued presence of traditional gender-role expectations of social behaviour among Korean families where prosocial behaviours were seen compulsory for girls, but less compulsory or

obligatory for boys (Park & Cheah, 2005). Park and Cheah (2005) also reported that Korean mothers of girls believed that moral characteristics such as being kind, considerate, and thoughtful were more important for girls than boys. Korean mothers of boys were more likely to believe that helping and sharing behaviours are important only if their boy was developmentally ready rather than because of moral and social conventional reasons (parental expectations). In contrast, Korean mothers of girls were most likely to endorse moral principle reasons (i.e., that it was more obligatory reasons based on principles of equality and fairness) for girls with regard to sharing and helping behaviours (Park & Cheah, 2005).

As expected, no statistically significant differences were found for mother- and father-reported internalising (emotional) problems of their sons and daughters. These results are similar to those reported by Mellor et al. (2011) for mother- and father- reported child internalising problems in a Chinese sample. These findings may be due to internalising behaviours such as anxiety, depression, and withdrawal behaviours being more difficult to observe and less visible and disruptive to family or school functioning than externalising behaviours and therefore less likely to attract the attention of both mothers and fathers (Achenbach et al., 1987).

The second hypothesis, that for mother and father reports on the same child, mothers would report higher levels of prosocial behaviour for their sons than would fathers was not supported. Contrary to what was expected, there were no significant differences between mothers' and fathers' reports of their sons' prosocial behaviour. This finding is also inconsistent with those of Mellor et al. (2011) who found that mothers are more likely than fathers to report higher levels of prosocial behaviour for their boys. Again, socialisation and traditional gender-role differences may account for why both mothers and fathers tended to

rate their son's prosocial behaviour similarly. Korean parents traditionally emphasise strengths and intellect for their sons with less focus on emotional and social development (Park & Cheah, 2005).

Consistent with previous research (e.g., Dave et al., 2008; Mellor et al., 2011), findings supported the third hypothesis that agreement between mothers' and fathers' ratings of their children's behaviour would be higher for externalising problems than for internalising problems. Low to moderate correlations were found between mother and father reports for internalising and externalising problems. However, the strength of these correlations was weaker than previous studies that reported moderate to large correlations of the internalising and externalising problems, including studies that have used the SDQ with parents of younger children (e.g., g., Dave et al., 2008; Mellor et al., 2011). The pattern of agreement was also almost identical to the results of Mellor et al. (2011) in a Chinese sample. In both studies, for both boys and girls, the relationship between mother and father ratings of their children's behaviour was highest for total difficulties, followed by hyperactivity and conduct problems, and lowest for prosocial behaviour, peer problems, and emotional symptoms.

# 7.6 Relationships between parenting styles, Korean parenting practices, and child behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour

The first hypothesis that Korean immigrant fathers' authoritarian and directive parenting would be positively associated with child externalising behaviours was partially supported. Although there was a positive relationship between fathers' authoritarian parenting and child externalising behaviours in the correlational analyses, fathers' authoritarian parenting was not a significant predictor of externalising problems when included in the regression with other parenting variables. These findings were not consistent

with results of number of studies showing that Chinese and Korean fathers' authoritarian parenting and negative parenting practices, such as hostile parenting, were positively associated with child externalising problem behaviours (Chang et al., 2003; Chen et al., 1997; Fung & Lau, 200; Kim et al., 2013a). This may be because of overlap with other independent variables in the model (authoritative, devotion, shaming/encouragement of modesty). Fathers' directiveness was also not associated with child externalising behaviours. The lack of significant relationship between paternal directiveness and child externalising problems may be due to fact that for Korean parents, parental directiveness as a form of discipline is regarded as a more preventative approach to child misbehaviour (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

Unexpectedly, lower levels of father devotion and authoritative parenting and higher levels of shaming and love withdrawal/encouragement of modesty were related to externalising problems, and in the regression model only devotion predicted externalising problems. These findings are discussed below in relation to findings for hypothesis 7c.

In regards to prosocial behaviours, the hypothesis that paternal devotion would be positively associated with child prosocial behaviour was supported. Korean immigrant fathers who were devoted to their children were more likely to perceive their child as displaying prosocial behaviour. This result conflicts with the results reported by Chen et al. (2000a) who found that paternal indulgence significantly predicted children's adjustment difficulties. One possible reason for the difference in findings is that the measure of devotion in the current study measured different aspects of parenting behaviour than the measure of indulgence by Chen et al. (2000a). Korean aspects of devotion denote parents' empathic understanding of their children and devoted parents empathise with children when their children are hurt or upset. It has been found that when parents talk with children about their own feelings and

problems, and listen to their children when they are upset, they demonstrate more empathic concern for others and develop more prosocial skills (Garner, Dunsmore, & Southam-Gerrow, 2008). This suggests that children learn empathy when their parents consistently meet and respond to their needs and emotions. In contrast, parental indulgence in Chen et al's (2000a) study is characterised by parents' great attention to satisfying the child's desires, yielding to the child's demands, including the unreasonable ones. Parents who are indulgent are also known as permissive parents. Children of indulgent and permissive parents are likely to be less socially competent, suffer in academic performance, and show more problem behaviour (Chen et al., 2000a).

The second hypothesis that Korean immigrant mothers' authoritarian and directive parenting would be positively associated with the child internalising behaviours was partially supported. Only mothers' authoritarian parenting style was a significant predictor of internalising problems in children. This finding supports previous work by Chang et al. (2003) and Kim et al. (2013a) who found that harsh parenting (i.e., physical punishment, scolding, yelling) was highly correlated with emotional dysregulation and maternal negative parenting practices (i.e., verbal assaults) increased risks for internalising behavioural problems. The results in the present study also show some similarity to those found in Western samples linking authoritarian parenting style and child anxiety (Baumrind, 1989; Steinberg et al., 1994). Authoritarian parents do not encourage the child to express him/herself, exhibit high levels of directive control and impose many rules while offering little reason or explanation for rules and decisions (Baumrind, 1971, 1989) and children exposed to these parenting behaviours are more likely be fearful and anxious (Sclafani, 2004).

Contrary to prediction, mothers' directiveness was not a significant predictor of children's internalising behaviour problems. The current results are consistent with past research findings that mothers' highly directive parenting may not undermine children's adjustment in collectivistic cultures, probably because such parenting is viewed as appropriate and in the child's best interest (Chao, 1994). One explanation for this finding is that directive parenting may be normative and considered beneficial in East Asian cultures regardless of the child's emotional disposition. This may thus reflect East Asian mothers' general child rearing philosophy; Chinese and Korean mothers tend to encourage children to control their strong emotional states because personal feelings are relatively less important than interpersonal consequences of displaying emotions (Louie, Oh, & Lau, 2013).

Although not hypothesised, lower levels of mother devotion and moderate levels of authoritative parenting were related to internalising problems and in the regression model only devotion predicted mothers' perceptions of reduced internalising problems. This suggests that devoted mothers may be sensitive to the children's emotional well-being and problems (Chen et al., 2000a). Mothers are traditionally thought to be emotional healers and provide assistance when children experience psychological problems and emotional distress (Chen et al., 2000a). As a result, maternal devotion may be the primary resource for children in coping with their emotional problems. In support of this interpretation, Su (1968) found that children in Chinese families often turned to their mothers for emotional support and help in dealing with problems of daily life.

Contrary to expectation, maternal devotion failed to predict children's prosocial behaviour. Although maternal devotion was positively related to children's prosocial behaviour in the correlation analyses, it did not contribute significantly to children's prosocial

behaviour when included in the regression. This may be because of overlap with other independent variables in the model (authoritarian, authoritative parenting, directiveness). Although not hypothesised, mothers' authoritarian parenting negatively predicted children's prosocial behaviour. Consistent with previous research, authoritarian parenting may undermine children's prosocial behaviour by modelling a lack of concern for the needs of others (Hastings, Utendale, & Sullivan, 2007).

The third hypothesis that both mothers' and fathers' authoritative parenting, shaming/ love withdrawal, and encouragement of modesty would be negatively associated with internalising and externalising behaviours was partially supported. Results confirmed that only fathers' authoritative parenting (i.e., autonomy encouragement) was related to their perceptions of fewer internalising problems. This may be because authoritative fathers often tune into their children's feelings, encourage more freedom of expression and facilitate the child's attempts at autonomy. Thus, children whose fathers are responsive to their emotions may be equipped with awareness and confidence in their own worth or have learned that their expression of feelings is acceptable (Barber, Olsen, & Shagle, 1994). However, mothers' authoritative parenting was not a significant predictor of children's internalising and externalising behaviours and fathers' authoritative parenting was also not a significant predictor of externalising behaviour problems. Nevertheless, negative relationships were found between mothers' and fathers' devotion and externalising problems and the measure of devotion, which has similarities with some aspects of authoritative parenting, especially warmth/acceptance. For example, devoted parents are warm, soft-hearted, and sensitive to the emotional state of their children. Similarly, authoritative parents are also responsive and more sensitive towards their children's needs and feelings. As discussed above, devoted Korean mothers perceived their children as having fewer internalising problems and this was

probably because devoted parents are likely to show more empathy and understanding towards their child. Korean parents consider their children extensions of themselves (i.e., reflection of parental devotion), and as such, assume full responsibility for their children's good and bad behaviours and outcomes (Ahn, 1994). This may partly explain why devotion rather than authoritative parenting predicted internalising and externalising behaviour problems. Second, Korean mothers and fathers are often blamed for their children's failure, mistakes, and misbehaviour (Kim & Choi, 1994) and they are sensitive to 'saving face'. Therefore, they may devote their time to teach their children proper behaviour in order to avoid loss of face and prevent their children from engaging in aggressive or antisocial behaviour.

Furthermore, although mothers' and fathers' shaming/ love withdrawal, and encouragement of modesty and authoritative parenting were correlated with child internalising and externalising behaviours, other parenting variables (authoritarian parenting, devotion, directiveness) turned out to be strong predictors in the regression models. These findings are inconsistent with those of Nelson, Craig, Hart, Wu, and Yang et al. (2006) who found that shaming was positively related to all forms of withdrawn behaviours in children. Moreover, contrary to the hypothesis, mothers' and fathers' authoritative parenting and shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty failed to predict children's increased prosocial behaviour. These results are also inconsistent with those of Fung (2006) and Sclafani (2004) who found that authoritative parenting is associated with more prosocial behaviour in children and Chinese-American and Taiwanese parents use shaming practices to help children develop prosocial behaviour. However, these studies did not examine all of the same parenting variables that were used in the current study.

Despite the current findings, some unexpected findings emerged from the data that were not hypothesised. Contrary to expectations, mothers' directiveness negatively predicted externalising problems. This may because Asian mothers continuously monitor and correct children's behaviour by providing structure, standards, and supervision but not punishing (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Wu et al., 2002). For Asians, parents' use of directive control as a form of discipline, thus may not impede on children's behavioural adjustment. In fact, directive parenting may be effective in controlling children's behaviour due to the strong internalised values of filial piety (Chao & Aque, 2009).

Finally, although not hypothesised, fathers' use of directive parenting positively predicted internalising problems in their children. One possible explanation for this may be the traditional role of Asian fathers. Fathers are emotionally distant and they mainly focus on social functioning, whereas mothers are more sensitive to the children's emotional adjustment as discussed above (Chen et al., 2000a). Because Asian fathers, themselves are not encouraged to be verbally expressive and show their emotions, they may also strongly restrict children's expressions of their thoughts and emotions. The different patterns of relations between mothers' and fathers' directiveness and child outcomes may be due to the differential impact of directiveness on the specific domains of emotional expressivity with which mothers and fathers are concerned.

In sum, it is interesting to note that findings support the possibility that mothers and fathers contribute in distinctive ways to a child's behavioural strengths and difficulties, perhaps as a result of their different strengths and styles of parenting. In regard to mother and father differences, devoted mothers and authoritative fathers perceived their child as having fewer internalising problems; low maternal directiveness predicted fewer externalising

problems while higher father directiveness predicted more internalising problems. In regard to prosocial behaviours, authoritarian mothers perceived their child as having less prosocial behaviour while devoted fathers perceived their child as having more prosocial behaviour.

# 7.7 Relationships between parenting style, Korean parenting practices and children's behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour

One goal of this study was to examine the question: how does acculturation influence the relationship between parenting styles and Korean parenting practices and children's behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour using SEM. In response to this question, acculturation did not moderate or explain the relation between parenting styles and Korean practices and children's behaviour. The relatively low acculturation level of the Korean immigrant parents may be one reason for these findings since the participants in this thesis research reported, on average, a very low of acculturation into the NZ majority culture. As such, there was little variability in the acculturation level of the present sample.

However, there were still a number of interesting results when relationships between parenting style and Korean parenting practices and children's behaviour were examined across the whole sample.

The first, noteworthy finding was the strong positive relationships between a strict/controlling parenting style and parental directiveness and the moderate relationship between authoritative parenting and parental directiveness. These linkages may reflect the role of parental directiveness in a collectivistic familial context, where parental directiveness is used to regulate children's behaviour and academic performance (Wu et al., 2002). The use of directive and controlling parenting practices in East Asian cultures tends to be based on affectionate attitudes toward the child and has positive connotations including parental care,

involvement, supervision, and encouragement of achievement (Chen et al., 1997), and thus has some similarities to an authoritative parenting style. Furthermore, the similarities between the non-reasoning punitive dimension of authoritarian parenting (e.g. when my child asks why he has to conform I state because I said so) and directiveness (e.g., "I tell my child what to do") may partly account for the strong relationship between strict control and directiveness. Both sets of parenting behaviours have the control aspect associated with East Asian parenting practices. Also, it's possible that the link between directiveness and strict control is partly due to an association between shaming/modesty encouragement as these two aspects of Korean parenting practices are likely to co-occur. Overall, these two paths to directiveness suggest a picture of parenting that is a blend of Western and Korean parenting practices.

In regards to parenting styles, a strict/ controlling parenting also suggested a picture of Korean immigrant parenting as a mixture or a blend of Western parenting style and Korean parenting practices with positive and although very limited negative parenting. A strict controlling parenting was also found to be inversely correlated with authoritative parenting. This can be interpreted to mean that if parents described themselves as high in strict/ controlling parenting style, they would be less likely to use an authoritative style. For example, if parents hold strong traditional Asian or Korean beliefs about disciplining their child through punishment and non-reasoning, as well as use of shaming/modesty encouragement, they may be less likely to endorse the more Westernised parenting practices of warmth/acceptance and democratic behaviour when disciplining and encouraging appropriate child behaviour.

Finally, the SEM results showed evidence for a negative link between authoritative parenting and children's overall behavioural difficulties. The finding that Korean immigrant parents who used the authoritative parenting style perceived their

children to display fewer behavioural problems is consistent with findings that parents' positive parenting practices were inversely related to behavioural problems (Cheah et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2013a; Wang et al., 2007). While, there was a weak but positive link between strict/ controlling parenting and children's overall behavioural difficulties.

These results are also consistent with previous findings that strict parenting practices are significantly related to children's internalising and externalising behavioural problems (Chang, Schwartz, Dodge, & McBride-Chang, 2003; Chen et al., 1997; Fung & Lau, 2009; Kim et al., 2013a; Wang et al., 2007).

#### 7.8 Parenting experiences of Korean immigrant parents

7.8.1. Immigrant parenting: Parenting associated with immigration

In addition to the quantitative findings, this thesis explored Korean immigrant parents' experience in parenting their children and the challenges of Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand, to identify the unique challenges faced by geese parents and what they saw as their strengths in this parenting role, and obtained Korean immigrant parent views on successful childrearing strategies for new Korean immigrants. This thesis was also designed to provide an avenue for Korean immigrant parents to communicate and discuss their parenting experiences in a culture differed from their own. The interviews with 21 Korean immigrant parents provided new insights into how they perceive Korean and NZ parenting, changes, and challenges in their parenting after immigration, and what they liked and disliked about the parenting of each culture. Examining the themes raised by Korean immigrant parents during the interview contributed to an understanding of the parenting experiences and challenges that these parents faced as they adapted to the new cultural context.

With regard to parenting experiences, the findings are encouraging given the strengths and potential for immigration to be a positive, growth-enhancing experience for Korean

immigrant families and children. For the most part, parents enjoyed and appreciated the more relaxed life in New Zealand since the lifestyle in NZ and flexible working hours in NZ work contexts allowed them to be more involved with their children and family, indicating that immigration can deliver significant benefits to their life.

The interview findings about Korean immigrant parenting also highlight the process of adapting to a new country and emphasises the importance of the host country context in shaping parenting styles. Some parents talked about learning from NZ parents how to raise their children independently, and endorsed the way NZ parents foster independence in their children, reflecting the aspects of authoritative parenting valued by the NZ mainstream (Lawrence & Smith, 2009). Korean immigrant parents encouraged their children to do things on their own to help them gain independence, which is a characteristic of authoritative parenting (Baumrind, 1971, 1989). Such characteristics sharply contrast with Asian parenting being protective which restricts children's growth while fostering interdependence (Kim & Wong, 2002). These parents also criticised Korean parenting being overprotective of their children. They seemed to believe that children of overprotective parents have fewer opportunities to develop autonomy and assertive social skills. This finding suggests that Korean immigrant parents appear to resemble parenting of their NZ counterparts who take an authoritative approach (Lawrence & Smith, 2009). These findings are largely consistent with those of Kim and Hong (2006) who found that exposure to the American culture led Korean immigrant parents to learn more about American parenting, adopted positive aspects of Western parenting style (e.g., granting more autonomy and encouraging independence) and to realise that sometimes they needed to modify aspects of parenting practices from their own culture. This may have been so with parents in the current study who were less directive and

used less shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty than parents with a strong orientation to traditional Korean parenting practices might use.

Some geese parents perceived that their children had become more independent and they encouraged them to take on more responsibility for household tasks such as laundry and helping with the meal preparation. One possible explanation for this is that it may be difficult for geese parents to fulfil all the parenting requirements of the child in regards to adequate food, clothing and any other non-physical care and some parents want to foster independence in their children. Therefore children may be expected to help with the simple household tasks and learn to do things for themselves. In fact, children living with one parent have been found to benefit from increased levels of responsibilities in the family and develop more independence (Quinn & Allen, 1999).

While most parents experienced positive parenting practices associated with immigration, some parents have reported low parental self-efficacy and felt less confident about their parenting due to their limited English language skills. Parents feared that their limited English might affect their children's personality and negatively affect them, in turn, children feel disappointed at them rather than proud of their parents. Kim, Sawdy, and Meihoefer (1982) contend that Korean-American parents' lower proficiency in English can produce impatience, scorn, or embarrassment in the child. A few Korean immigrant parents experienced conflict with their more acculturated, NZ raised children and these parent-child conflicts/ disagreements appeared to be related to culture clash. Their children freely expressed their opinions when they disagreed with their parents. This may be unacceptable to the first generation Korean immigrant parents who endorse traditional cultural values and it seems understandable that parents felt uneasy about their children's behaviour when it did not

meet their expectations for behaviour. This is not surprising given the substantial literature indicating that a clash between immigrant parents and children over cultural values are regarded as a normative experience (Lee, Su., Yoshida, 2005; Ying, Coombs, & Lee, 1999). This occurs because many Asian immigrant parents seek to retain the values and traditions of their culture of origin and make an effort to pass these to their children through culture-specific parenting techniques (Chao, 2000). These findings suggest that, in order to support their child growing up to be a New Zealander and Korean without any conflicts or identity confusions, parents need to understand the need to be flexible in their parenting approaches and to be aware of why these parent-child conflicts might occur (Clayton, 2011).

## 7.8.2. Parenting challenges of Korean immigrant parents

Another major topic emerged in the interview was parenting challenges of Korean immigrant parents, related to language barrier, a challenge shared by other Asian immigrant groups (Qin, 2008; Zhong & Zhou, 2011). The real and perceived limited English language proficiency hindered almost all parents in the interview from communicating with their children's school teachers and interacting and developing close relationship with the parents of their child's friends. They also experienced fewer opportunities to participate in parent-teacher meetings or other school-related activities. This finding is consistent with Zhong and Zhou's (2011) study which said that language barrier was the main reason that contributed Chinese Canadian parents' limited involvement in school activities. It is also consistent with Sohn and Wang's study (2006) of the influence of the language barrier on Korean-American parental involvement in schools. Their study indicates that the limited English proficiency is the most significant barrier for Korean mothers to build effective partnerships with teachers and participating in school activities in spite of their positive perception of American schools and teachers.

7.8.3. Unique experiences challenges of geese parents and their strengths in this parenting role

This study has made unique contributions to the existing body of literature on the transnational family strategy known as geese family arrangement. It is one of few studies that provides in-depth information on the experience of geese parents from their own perspectives and this thesis has provided new insights into the potential emotional costs of entering a geese living arrangement for Korean immigrant families and their children. In addition to the challenges that geese parents may face, the thesis also illuminated the rewards of entering a geese family arrangement; geese parents developed a stronger sense of independence.

The interview findings suggest that the lives of geese parents changed upon their arrival in NZ. While some parents expressed feelings of freedom from any sacrifices for their in-laws and husbands, some reported experiencing loneliness, homesickness, and isolation due to the physical absence of a spouse, family members and close friends. These findings are consistent with those of Kim et al. (2005) who found that Korean geese mothers in NZ, though, they were generally satisfied with their lives, expressed feelings of loneliness and isolation arising from having inadequately meaningful social relationships. Geese mothers were also often overwhelmed and challenged by the demands of fulfilling both parental roles. However, despite their loneliness and difficult parenting challenges and burdens, they gained the ability to survive a challenging situation and learned to become emotionally and physically independent. Geese parenting was perceived as an experience for personal growth and maturity, and a boast to self-confidence. These results are consistent with Shaw's (1991) study of single parenting who found that the process of single-parenting develops the parents' independence and ability to handle a variety of situations for some parents.

#### 7.9 Implications for parenting practice

Based on findings from the study, some practical suggestions can be made for professionals working with Korean immigrant families, including the need for culturally sensitive practices in working with Korean immigrant parents and children.

## 7.9.1. Implications for parenting and family support professionals

Korean immigrant parents in general perceived their children as having high levels of prosocial behaviour. However, as demonstrated in the SEM model, higher levels of parental strict/ controlling behaviours (i.e., punitive, shaming/ love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty) were weakly but positively associated with more behavioural difficulties. Furthermore, although parental directiveness was somewhat important for reducing and preventing Korean immigrant children's externalising behaviour, higher levels of parental directiveness, especially for fathers, were associated with more child emotional problems, suggesting that their emotional problems substantially increased when fathers exerted high levels of directive control over their children. Also, mothers' authoritarian parenting was associated with more internalising problems. These findings have implications for parenting practitioners working with Korean immigrant parents and their children to develop healthy parent-child relationships. For example, parenting programme developers and practitioners could be made aware of the findings and look at how they could be addressed when working with Korean parents. Where practitioners are aware that parents are using very strict/controlling and/or directive parenting behaviours parenting professionals might help parents think of other ways to reduce behavioural difficulties and encourage prosocial behaviours such as being helpful and considerate of other's feelings. For example, as discussed earlier, Garner et al. (2008) indicate that when parents encourage children to talk about their own feelings, listen to their children when they are upset, and teach their children

how to express emotions and cope with negative feelings, their children are likely to develop more prosocial skills. Further, if parents are involved in discussing their child's distress or other emotional issues when their child is hurt or upset, their children become better able to turn to and help others who are distressed and empathise with others (Garner et al., 2008). These types of discussions, may make it easier for both parents and the child to be affectionate with each other. Trying to understand what their child going through at school, showing an interest in their child's daily activities, and showing respect for their child's points of view, may lead parents to reduce the amount of strict/ controlling parenting practices they use.

Parenting professionals can also educate Korean immigrant parents about the appropriate use of parental directiveness and control. Parents need to be aware that directive parenting may potentially lead to negative short or long term emotional consequences (Liew, Castillo, Chang, & Chang, 2011) and that Korean immigrant children whose parents always make decisions for them may become confused about teachers' expectations of them at school (Kim et al., 2013b).

Among the issues raised in the interview findings is the challenge for parents of accepting and understanding their children who are growing up in NZ culture. More workshops or programmes for Korean parents focusing on parent-child conflict in the early stages could be offered by parenting professionals and at counselling services and community centres. Counsellors, therapists, and parenting practitioners need to be aware of possible parent-child conflicts in Korean immigrant families and reasons for these conflicts (e.g., acculturation gap between the parent and child, culture clash), and have an understanding of Korean parenting beliefs in order to better support parents. When assisting parents, they

should advice them about expectations for child behaviour among NZ parents (e.g., granting more autonomy). However, when assessing parent-child conflicts that arose from the parents' maintenance of their traditional values and children's new Western values, it is important that practitioners assume a neutral stance with both parents and children in the conflict, and be careful about supporting, emphasising, and aligning with either side. In order to minimise the parent-child conflict, parents and children need to come to understand each other's culturally based expectations.

#### 7.9.2. Korean immigrant parents: Strategies for school support

The interview findings of this study also have some practical implication for schools and suggest that schools should be aware of the communication difficulties faced by some Korean immigrant parents. In order to make communication effective between teachers and parents, and to resolve the language barrier, schools should identity and implement communication strategies that are effective and convenient for the parents. By paying careful attention to the needs and comfort level of their students' parents, teachers may be able to identity and use different communication methods or technology (e.g., emails, written notes) to keep in touch with parents and to exchange information with parents on their children's school progress and listen to the parents' concerns, suggestions, and expectations about their children's education (Zhong & Zhou, 2011). When face-to-face meetings or personal contact between teachers and parents are necessary, as much as possible schools can offer translations/interpretation services and translators should have a bilingual background who speaks English as a second language. In fact, it was clear from the interviews that one parent found the translation services provided by their child's school very helpful in parent-teacher interviews. Where feasible, schools can also provide English language learning support for

parents such as ESL classes and parents could also be made aware of English language learning opportunities available in the community.

Schools could also assist parents to become familiar with and gain better understanding of the NZ school system, especially for those who are new to NZ, by holding seminars and hosting workshops with translators and distributing brochures in different languages. For teachers to be most effective, they need to become aware of the essence of different cultural values so they can be more proactive in communicating with immigrant parents (Zhong & Zhou, 2011).

#### 7.9.3. Counselling and support services for geese parents

The results of the interview findings together with existing research on geese families suggest that the geese family arrangement has high emotional, psychological, and social costs for geese families. These findings could be used to inform services about the needs of these parents. First, when working with geese mothers and fathers, counsellors or health care providers should have the background knowledge of the transnational families and gain awareness of the clients' culture as well as the effects of transnational living arrangements on their clients' emotional well-being and cultural adaptation to NZ. More specifically, in order to provide culturally-sensitive services, it is important for practitioners to understand the role of mother in Korean culture (Kim et al., 2013b). Having a priori knowledge of geese family arrangement and understanding geese mothers' role and their current state will assist practitioners to identify the stressors and develop culturally competent ways to provide care for the goose mother population in NZ.

Acknowledging the reasons behind their decision to migrate (e.g., children's education, English education) and discussing the issues related to their migration process

with an open mind may enable practitioners to establish rapport with geese mothers and allow opportunities to learn about their situation (Kim et al., 2013b). Second, practitioners working with geese parents should be aware that when they become goose parents, they may not use counselling and support services because their position in the family as traditional care provider role limits their time and effort to pursue health services/ promotion (Cha, 2010). To better assist geese parents, practitioners need to be familiar with the informal sources of help or support systems available to these parents and identity informal social networks and their willingness to use the available support systems in NZ. Geese parents' major sources of social support are their families and they also seek support from their Korean friends in Korea and New Zealand who speak the same language (Kim et al., 2005). Therefore, practitioners could encourage geese parents to attend social support meetings within their ethnic group, such as 'Peaceful ponds', a non-profit community-based support group, recently developed for geese parents in NZ. This meeting facilitates discussions allowing geese parents to interact, create social networks with other geese parents similar to themselves, and share their experiences. This type of support groups may be a more efficient and accessible way to provide geese parents with emotional and informational support than setting up new support systems.

#### 7.9.4. *Implications for cross-cultural parenting theory*

The current findings for fathers' authoritarian parenting style fits with the Asian notion of the strict father who are more authoritarian than mothers and is also consistent with the image of Korean fathers as breadwinners who are directive toward their children (Kim & Choi, 1994; Shwalb et al., 2010). However, the findings for father involvement also support a shift in the image of Korean fathers from maintaining traditional male power to establishing more egalitarian relationships with their children and family (Shwalb et al., 2010). The shift

seems to be occurring in the context of small families, a shifting division of labour, and women's changing employment conditions and to be influenced by globalisation. Future studies should consider further exploring the changing role of Korean fathers and factors influencing role changes.

As illustrated in the SEM model, the two paths from strict/ controlling and authoritative parenting to directiveness suggest a blend of Western and Korean parenting practices in this sample. Future research should further examine the specific Korean parenting behaviour of directiveness and how it relates to other Western parenting behaviours (e.g., parental warmth, monitoring).

#### 7.10 Limitations and future recommendations

This thesis has a number of limitations that need to be taken into account when interpreting the result. First, there was a moderately low response rate in relation to the number of questionnaire sent out. This could be partly due to the length of the questionnaire, which some parents may have perceived as too time-consuming. For example, three parents wrote a note in the questionnaire stating that the questionnaire was very long and took them more than an hour to complete. They suggested the researcher minimise the questionnaire length in the future. To address this limitation and to increase the response rates, the length of the questionnaire could be shortened by reducing the number of questions. However, this depends on the design of the future study. It is also recommended that future research should focus on investigating strategies for successfully recruiting Korean immigrants to participate in parenting studies.

The low return rate in the present thesis may mean there is some bias in the sample towards well-functioning parents who have a high interest in parenting and their children's development. It is possible that parents who did not participate in the research may have children with more severe problems than reported by parents in this thesis. Because Asian parents are often ashamed of children with emotional and behavioural problems and fear a loss of face from others, they tend to keep problems within the family and make every attempt to deal with children's behaviour problems within the family (Lin, Inui, Kleinman, & Womack, 1982). Future research should try to obtain a larger, more diverse group of Korean immigrant parents and their primary school-aged children that have similar numbers of fathers and mothers, from different communities or regions in New Zealand where Korean immigrant parents are known to live. In addition, the findings of this thesis are also limited by the lack of variability in levels of acculturation and socioeconomic status (i.e., parental education) in the sample.

In line with much other research on parenting, the data was based on self-reported questionnaires from parents, whose responses might have been affected by social desirability. Although such survey methodology is certainly essential for assessing mothers' and fathers' perceptions of their own parenting styles and practices as well as exploring gender-based differences in parenting styles, the findings would be strengthened by behavioural observations of both the mothers' and fathers' parenting behaviours in the home, and/or structured interviews about parenting that are rated by the interviewer. Future research could also collect data from children about their parent's parenting, however it may not be possible to collect reliable data from young children (e.g., less than eight years old) (Mellor, 2004). Hence, future research should seek to use multi-method, multi-informant data collection

methods to gain a greater understanding of the parent-child relationships and parenting of Korean immigrant parents.

Children's behavioural strengths and difficulties were also solely assessed via selfreported questionnaires from parents. It is possible that parents' rating were also affected by social desirability, that is, that they gave socially desirable ratings of their children's behaviour by underestimating their children's problem behaviours or overestimating their prosocial behaviour, which could have biased results. Although research suggests that parents, especially mothers, are reliable reporters of their child's behaviours (Achenbach et al., 1987), teachers are also a useful source of information on children's externalising behaviours and adaptive behaviours (Phares, 1997). Because parents and teachers interact with the child in different contexts, they may see different child behaviours. It would be ideal to gather data from multiple informants at home as well as classroom observations to obtain a more objective view of children's behaviour (Achenbach et al., 1987). Such broad-based assessment, using information from adults having different relationships with the child in different settings, assists to obtain a more comprehensive, reliable, and valid picture of the child's behavioural problems and strengths and reduces source and setting error variance (Merrell, 1999). It is recommended that future research include both parent and teacher reports of child behaviour problems to examine questions about relationships, child behaviour and parenting in Korean immigrant samples, and whether there are differences according to the rater.

Another limitation of this study is that a cross-sectional design was used to explain the relationships between parenting and child behaviour. Cross-sectional study designs limit the ability to examine casual pathways between parenting and child behaviour. Cross-sectional

design studies can suggest that two variables are related, but they provide support for a possible direction of influence between parenting and child behaviour. There were also no measures of the quality of the parent-child interaction and parental involvement (e.g., nature of time spent with the child, such as leisure and learning activities and helping with school work). Other studies found that these aspects of parenting are related to children's behaviour (e.g., Chilcoat & Breslau, 1997; Treutler & Epkins, 2003), which suggests these variables might be important to examine in further studies about Korean immigrant parents in NZ. Similarly, future research should consider other relevant factors affecting children's behavioural problems such as peer relations.

Another suggestion for future research is to conduct longitudinal studies that follow families as the children grow and move along the school system to the time they enter or graduate from high school. This may provide further insight into the ways that parents adjust their parenting strategies as their children grow and acculturate to NZ mainstream culture. Longitudinal studies may also be able to examine how both parents and children negotiate differences in cultural values, acculturation levels, and generational differences. Furthermore, it would be illuminating to obtain data from Korean parents and children in Korea and Korean immigrant families in New Zealand to make comparisons using a model of parenting constructs derived from Western parenting styles (i.e., authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles) and a model of parenting constructs emphasised in Korea. Comparisons between Korean families in Korea and Korean immigrant families in New Zealand with regard to the relations between parenting styles and adaptation could enhance understanding of the dynamic relations between parenting styles and culture (Kim, 2005).

A limitation regarding Korean immigrant parents' parenting styles was that the researcher was not able to tell from the data whether the parents endorsed an authoritative parenting style and the extent to which they endorsed Korean parenting practices before coming to New Zealand. Therefore, future research could investigate the parenting styles and Korean parenting practices of Korean immigrant parents before and after they come to New Zealand.

Another imitation was that nature of the sample in this study did not allow a relationship between acculturation and parenting to be identified. This thesis primarily included well-functioning families and the majority of parents were recruited from Korean churches and Korean organisations. There was little variability in the cultural attitude subscale, which may have been due to the sample being a homogenous group of parents drawn from a homogenous community of Korean immigrants who were more likely to maintain their Korean cultural values. In future research, a larger and more diverse sample may provide more variability in the data that would allow relationships between acculturation and parenting to be detected.

Second, in this study, acculturation was not linked with either parenting styles or Korean parenting practices. In future research, it would be interesting to include a measure of parenting cognitions (i.e., goals, values, expectations and beliefs that parents hold regarding childrearing and the parenting role) as a potential influence on parenting practices of Korean immigrant parents in NZ. Cross-cultural research shows that compared with non-immigrant parents, parenting cognitions are more salient for immigrant parents, because their experience of cultural change brings underlying ideas about parenting to the fore (Costigan & Su, 2008). Furthermore, parenting cognitions in immigrant parents are likely to change from those of the culture of origin to those of the culture of destination because immigrant parents may

experience greater diversity in the factors that influence their parenting cognitions as they balance their existing childrearing ideas with the new parenting ideas that are introduced following immigration (Costigan & Su, 2008). Therefore, parenting cognitions would be useful to measure in future studies.

#### 7.11 Contributions of the thesis

This thesis made a number of contributions. The findings have extended existing previous work in two important directions. First, this work has added to limited previous research by examining and comparing Korean immigrant parenting styles and practices as separately reported by mothers and fathers. Furthermore, the research examined whether traditional Korean parent gender differences (e.g., devoted and involved mother and strict father) applied to Korean immigrant mothers and fathers of six to ten year old children. The work of Wu et al. (2002), which examined parenting practices informed by Confucian values in a sample of Chinese and American mothers was further extended to a Korean sample that included both mothers and fathers. This study also developed a new measure of Korean parenting practices (i.e., devotion). The second way in which the present thesis extends previous research is by examining the parenting styles and practices of Korean immigrant mothers and fathers of primary school aged children (ages 6-10). Most studies of Korean immigrant parenting have focused on early adolescence (ages 11-14). Third, the current thesis extended previous research about mothers' and fathers' perceptions of their child's behavioural difficulties and strengths, based other Asian and Westerner samples (Dave et al., 2008; Mellor et al., 2011) to Korean immigrant parents of children aged between six and ten.

This thesis has some new interesting findings and makes several noteworthy contributions to the current literature. First, Korean immigrant mothers and fathers showed

similarities in their parenting behaviours that can be characterised by a mix of Western parenting styles and Korean parenting practices. Second, fathers were as highly devoted and involved as mothers. Third, there were differences between mothers' and fathers' use of shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty, where fathers perceived themselves as using slightly more shaming/love withdrawal and engaging in modesty encouragement than mothers. Fourth, the length of time spent in the NZ did not influence parents' traditional Korean parenting beliefs and the extent to which they endorsed Western parenting beliefs. Fifth, there were a number of relationships found between parenting styles, Korean parenting practices, and child behavioural difficulties and prosocial behaviour. Specifically, devoted mothers and fathers perceived their child as having fewer externalising problems, while devoted mothers and authoritative fathers perceived their child as having fewer internalising problems. In addition, lower maternal directiveness predicted fewer externalising problems while higher father directiveness predicted more internalising problems. In regard to prosocial behaviours, devoted fathers perceived their child as having more prosocial behaviour.

Another contribution of this thesis was that it integrated three areas of research including parenting, acculturation and child behavioural strengths and difficulties using a sample of Korean immigrant parents of primary school aged-children. Previous research has examined these relationships in samples of parents and adolescents (e.g., Kim et al., 2006).

Finally, another contribution of this thesis was the confirmatory factor analysis of the measures of parenting styles, Korean parenting practices, child behaviour and acculturation used in this thesis to examine the reliability of individual items and assess the model-fit for each scale. Although, some items from the originally proposed scales were found to be not

appropriate for the current sample, most of the items making up the scales were found to be applicable for the assessment of their corresponding construct in the current sample. This indicates that a model of parenting constructs derived from Western parenting styles and parenting practice constructs that are highly valued in China are measurable in the Korean sample. Furthermore, the factor structures of the SDQ and SL-ASIA were found to be applicable for the current sample.

#### 7.12 Conclusions

Korean immigrant parents are parenting their children within the context of two cultures: the mainstream NZ culture and their ethnic Korean culture. The results provided in this thesis suggest a detailed picture of Korean immigrant parenting that was a blend of Western parenting styles and Korean parenting practices. Both mothers and fathers perceived themselves to use an authoritative parenting style. However, fathers reported higher rates of authoritarian parenting than mothers when comparisons were made across the whole sample. Perhaps general differences in the interpersonal styles of fathers' and mothers' and traditional roles and expectations of fathers (i.e., strict and primary disciplinarian) may account for fathers being more authoritarian than mothers. Next, parents' reported use of Korean parenting practices indicated they were highly devoted, involved, and moderately directive, and used moderate levels of shaming/love withdrawal and encouragement of modesty. Father, however, perceived themselves as engaging in slightly more shaming and modesty encouragement than mothers. In regards to child behavioural strengths and difficulties, there were some differences in the extent to which mothers and fathers parenting styles and practices were associated with their child's internalising and externalising behaviour problems and prosocial behaviour, perhaps as a result of their different strengths and styles of parenting. The results of the SEM model showed that the link between directiveness and

authoritative and strict/ controlling parenting is a blend of Korean and Western parenting practices. Moreover, strict/ controlling and authoritative parenting styles had contrasting relationships with parental perceptions of behavioural problems and prosocial behaviour, with authoritative parenting style contributing substantially to fewer reported problems. Parent interviews revealed that most parents encountered positive changes associated with parenting following their immigration to New Zealand. However, some parents found themselves confronted with parenting challenges and reported low parental self-efficacy, many of which were related to limited English language proficiency. For geese parents, although they encountered emotional problems associated with loneliness, lack of support and parenting responsibilities, findings suggest that geese parenting enabled them to become more independent.

# Appendix A

# **Demographic Questionnaire**

INSTRUCTION: This questionnaire is for a Korean immigrant parent who has children between 6 and 10 years old. Please base your answers on only ONE child. If you have more than one child aged 6-10 years, please select the oldest child to answer all the questions only in relation to that child.

1.	What is your gender (select one)	
	MaleFemale	
3.	How old are you?	
4.	What is your current marital status?MarriedDivorcedSeparated	
	Are you a goose mother?YesNo	
6.	If yes, how long have you lived apart from your partner? (years, months)	
7.	How long have you been in New Zealand? (years, months)	
8.	What is age and gender of your child/children  First child: age and gender  Second child: age and gender  Third child: age and gender	
9.	How many family members do you have?	
10.	What is your current visa status? CitizenPermanent ResidentWorking VisaStudent VisaVisitor's Visa	
11.	What is the highest level of school that you have completed? (please tick)  _PrimaryMiddle schoolHigh schoolUniversity  _MA programmeDoctoral programme	
12.	What is your current occupational status? Full time employedPart time employedStudent Unemployed	

13. What type of jobs do you hold?	
14. How many jobs do you have? Job(s)	
15. How many hours do you work per day?Hours	
16. What is your total amount of income by all 2010?	family members of your household in
Less than \$20,000\$20,000~40,000\$60,000~\$80,000\$80,000 or more\$120,000~\$140,000	\$40,000~\$60,000 \$100,000~\$120,000 \$140,000 or more

## Appendix B

## Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ)

INSTRUCTION: The following page contains a list of behaviours that parents may exhibit when interacting with their children. The questions are designed to measure (1) how often you exhibit certain behaviours toward your child(ren).

1 =Never 2 =Once in a while 3 =About half of the time 4 =Very often 5 =Always

#### Authoritarian parenting

## Physical coercion

- 1. I use physical punishment as a way of disciplining my child.
- 2. I spank when my child is disobedient.
- 3. I slap my child when the child misbehaves.
- 4. I grab my child when being disobedient.
- 5. I guide my child by punishment more than by reason.

## Verbal hostility

- 1. I explode in anger toward my child.
- 2. I argue with my child.
- 3. I yell or shout when my child misbehaves.

## Non-reasoning/ Punitive

- 1. I punish by taking privileges away from my child with little if any explanations.
- 2. I punish by putting my child off somewhere alone with little if any explanations.
- 3. When my child asks why he/she has to conform, I state: because I said so, or I am your parent and I want you to.

#### Authoritative parenting

# Warmth/ Acceptance

- 1. I show sympathy when my child is hurt or frustrated.
- 2. I encourage my child to talk about his/her troubles.
- 3. I tell my child that I appreciate what he/she tries to accomplish.
- 4. I give praise when my child is good.
- 5. I express affection by hugging, kissing, and holding my child.
- 6. I am aware of problems or concerns about my child in school.
- 7. I give comfort and understanding when my child is upset.

## Reasoning/ Induction

- 1. I give my child reasons why rules should be obeyed.
- 2. I talk it over and reason with my child when he/she misbehaves.
- 3. I encourage my child to talk about consequences of misbehaviour.
- 4. I give my child reasons why rules should be obeyed.

## Democratic participation

- 1. I apologise to my child when making a mistake in parenting.
- 2. I encourage my child to freely express him/herself even when disagreeing with me.
- 3. I allow my child to give input into family rules.
- 4. I take my child's desire into account before asking to do something.

#### **Appendix C**

## Parenting practices emphasised in Korea

INSTRUCTION: Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement.

1 =Strongly Disagree 2 =Disagree 3 =Not Sure 4 =Agree

5 = Strongly Agree

## Maternal/paternal devotion

- 1. Children's mistakes and failures are attributed to parents.
- 2. I try to understand from my child's perspective and empathically relate to my own disappointments.
- 3. If my child makes a mistake or faults are found, I try to accept, forbear and even overlook the mistakes made by children.
- 4. I'm willing to sacrifice my career to devote myself to my children's well-being.
- 5. I try to maintain close relationships with my child to make sure that my child feels secure.
- 6. I regard my child as an extension of myself and I am closely and intrinsically tied to my child.

## Maternal/ paternal involvement

- 1. Mothers/ fathers should do everything for their children's education and make many sacrifices.
- 2. A mother's/ father's sole interest is in taking care of her children.
- 3. Mothers/ fathers primarily express love by helping their children to succeed in school.
- 4. Children should be in the constant care of their mothers/ fathers or family.

#### Shaming/love withdrawal

- 1. I tell my child that I get embarrassed when he/she does not meet my expectations.
- 2. I make my child feel guilty when he/she does not meet my expectations.
- 3. I tell my child that he/she should be ashamed when he/she misbehaves.
- 4. I am less friendly with my child if he/ she doesn't see things our way.

#### Encouragement of modesty

- 1. I discourage my child from strongly expressing his/her point of view.
- 2. I discourage my child from appearing overconfident.
- 3. I discourage my child from proudly acknowledging compliments or praise.
- 4. I discourage my child from showing off his/ her skills.

#### Directiveness

- 1. I tell my child what to do.
- 2. I demand that my child does things that I want or think he/she needs to do.

3. I scold and criticise when my child's behaviour does not meet my expectations.

# Protection

- It is important to supervise all of child's activities.
   I expect my child to be close by when playing.
- 3. I overly worry about my child getting hurt.

## Appendix D

## Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ)

INSTRUCTION: For each item, please indicate Not True, Somewhat True or Certainly True.

#### Emotional symptoms scale

- 1. Often complains of headaches stomachaches or sickness
- 2. Many worries, often seems worried
- 3. Often unhappy, downhearted, or tearful
- 4. Nervous or clingy in new situations
- 5. Many fears, easily scared

## Peer problems scale

- 1. Rather solitary, tends to play alone
- 2. Has at least one good friend
- 3. Generally liked by other children
- 4. Picked on bullied by other children
- 5. Gets on better with adults than with other children

## Conduct problems scale

- 1. Often loses temper
- 2. Generally obedient, usually does what adults request
- 3. Often fights with other children or bullies them
- 4. Often lies or cheats
- 5. Steals from home, school or elsewhere

#### Hyperactivity scale

- 1. Restless, overactive, cannot stay still for long
- 2. Constantly fidgeting or squirming
- 3. Easily distracted, concentration wanders
- 4. Thinks things out before acting
- 5. Sees tasks through to the end, good attention span

#### Prosocial scale

- 1. Considerate of other people's feelings
- 2. Shares readily with other children (treats, toys, pencils etc.)
- 3. Helpful if someone is hurt, upset or feeling ill
- 4. Kind to younger children
- 5. Often volunteers to help others (parents, teachers, other children)

#### Appendix E

## **Suinn-Lew Asian Self Identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA)**

INSTRUCTION: The questions which follow are for the purposes of collecting information about your historical background as well as more recent behaviours which may be related to your cultural identity. Choose the best answer which best describes you.

#### Language

- 1. What language can you speak?
  - 1. Korean only
  - 2. Mostly Korean, some English
  - 3. Korean and English about half equally well (bilingual)
  - 4. Mostly English, some Korean
  - 5. Only English
- 2. What language do you prefer?
  - 1. Korean only
  - 2. Mostly Korean, some English
  - 3. Korean and English about half equally well (bilingual)
  - 4. Mostly English, some Korean
  - 5. Only English

## 3. Do you

- 1. Read only Korean language?
- 2. Read Korean language better than English?
- 3. Read both Korean and English equally well?
- 4. Read English better than Korean language?
- 5. Read only English?

## 4. Do you

- 1. Write only Korean language?
- 2. Write Korean language better than English?
- 3. Write both Korean and English equally well?
- 4. Write English better than Korean language?
- 5. Write only English?

#### Ethnic identity

- 1. How do you identify yourself?
  - 1. Korean
  - 2. Asian-New Zealander
  - 3. Korean-New Zealander
  - 4. New Zealander

- 2. Which identification does (did) your mother use?
  - 1. Korean
  - 2. Asian-New Zealander
  - 3. Korean-New Zealander
  - 4. New Zealander
- 3. Which identification does (did) your father use?
  - 1. Korean
  - 2. Asian-New Zealander
  - 3. Korean-New Zealander, etc
  - 4. New Zealander
- 4. How would you rate yourself?
  - 1. Very Korean
  - 2. Mostly Korean
  - 3. Bicultural
  - 4. Mostly Westernised
  - 5. Very Westernised

## Friendship choices

- 1. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child up to age 6?
  - 1. Almost exclusively Koreans, Korean-New Zealanders
  - 2. Mostly Koreans, Korean-New Zealanders
  - 3. About equally Korean groups and New Zealand groups
  - 4. Mostly New Zealanders, Māoris, Pacific Islanders, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
  - 5. Almost exclusively New Zealanders, Māoris, Pacific Islanders, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
- 2. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child from 6 to 18?
  - 1. Almost exclusively Koreans, Asian-New Zealanders
  - 2. Mostly Koreans, Korean-New Zealanders
  - 3. About equally Korean groups and New Zealand groups
  - 4. Mostly New Zealanders, Māoris, Pacific Islanders, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
  - 5. Almost exclusively New Zealanders, Māoris, Pacific Islanders, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

- 3. Whom do you now associate with in the community?
  - 1. Almost exclusively Koreans, Asian-New Zealanders
  - 2. Mostly Koreans, Korean-New Zealanders
  - 3. About equally Korean groups and New Zealand groups
  - 4. Mostly New Zealanders, Māoris, Pacific Islanders, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
  - 5. Almost exclusively New Zealanders, Māoris, Pacific Islanders, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
- 4. If you could pick, whom would you prefer to associate with in the community?
  - 1. Almost exclusively Koreans, Asian-New Zealanders
  - 2. Mostly Koreans, Korean-New Zealanders
  - 3. About equally Korean groups and New Zealand groups
  - 4. Mostly New Zealanders, Māoris, Pacific Islanders, or other non-Asian ethnic groups
  - 5. Almost exclusively New Zealanders, Māoris, Pacific Islanders, or other non-Asian ethnic groups

## Geographic/ Generation

- 1. What generation are you? (circle the generation that best applies to you)
  - 1. 1<sup>st</sup> Generation = I was born in Korea or country other than New Zealand
  - 2. 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation = I was born in New Zealand, either as parent was born in Korea or country other than New Zealand
  - 3. 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation = I was born in New Zealand, both parents were born in New Zealand, and all grandparents were born in Korea or country other than New Zealand
  - 4. 4<sup>th</sup> Generation = I was born in New Zealand, both parents were born in New Zealand, and at least one grandparent born in Korea or country other than New Zealand, and one grandparent born in New Zealand
  - 5. 5<sup>th</sup> Generation = I was born in New Zealand, both parents were born in New Zealand, and all grandparents also born in New Zealand
  - 6. Don't know what generation best fits since I lack some information
- 2. Where were you raised?
  - 1. In Korea only
  - 2. Mostly in Korea, some in New Zealand
  - 3. Equally in Korea and New Zealand
  - 4. Mostly in New Zealand, some in Korea
  - 5. In New Zealand only

- 3. What contact have you had with Korea?
  - 1. Raised one year or more in Korea
  - 2. Lived for less than one year in Korea
  - 3. Occasional visits to Korea
  - 4. Occasional communications (letters, phone calls etc.) with people in Korea
  - 5. No exposure or communications with people in Korea

#### Cultural behaviours

- 1. What is your music preference?
  - 1. Only Korean music
  - 2. Mostly Korean
  - 3. Equally Korean and English
  - 4. Mostly English
  - 5. English only
- 2. What is your movie preference?
  - 1. Korean-language movies only
  - 2. Korean-language movies mostly
  - 3. Equally Korean/English English-language movies
  - 4. Mostly English-language movies only
  - 5. English-language movies only
- 3. What is your food preference at home?
  - 1. Exclusively Korean food
  - 2. Mostly Korean food, some Western
  - 3. About equally Korean and Western
  - 4. Mostly Western food
  - 5. Exclusively Western food
- 4. What is your food preference in restaurants?
  - 1. Exclusively Korean food
  - 2. Mostly Korean food, some New Zealand
  - 3. About equally Korean and New Zealand
  - 4. Mostly New Zealand food
  - 5. Exclusively New Zealand food
- 5. Do you participate in Asian occasions, holidays, traditions, etc.?
  - 1. Nearly all
  - 2. Most of them
  - 3. Some of them
  - 4. A few of them
  - 5. None at all

#### Cultural attitudes

1. Rate your education,	rself on how muc work):	h you believe in	Korean values (	e.g., about mai	riage, families
1	2	3	4	ļ	5
(do ı	not believe)	(beli	eve)	(strongl	y believe in
				Korean	values)
2. Rate your	rself on how muc	h you believe in	New Zealand (W	Vestern) values	s:
1	2	3		4	5
(do not belie	not believe) (believ			(strongly Korean	believe in values)
3. Rate your	rself on how well	you fit when w	ith other Asians of	of the same eth	nicity:
1	2	3	4	:	5
(do 1	not fit)			(	fit very well)
4. Rate your (Westerners		you fit when w	ith other New Zea	alanders who a	are non-Asian
1	2	3	2	4	5
(do ı	not fit)			(	fit very well)
	many different voost closely descr	•	eople think of the ew yourself?	emselves. Which	ch ONE of the

- 1. I consider myself basically Korean. Even though I live and work in New Zealand, I still view myself basically as Korean.
- 2. I consider myself basically as a New Zealander. Even though I have Korean background and characteristics, I still view myself basically as a New Zealander.
- 3. I consider myself as a Korean-New Zealander, although deep down I always know I am Korean.
- 4. I consider myself as a Korean-New Zealander, although deep down, I view myself as a New Zealander first.
- 5. I consider myself as an Asian-New Zealander. I have both Korean and New Zealander characteristics, and I view myself as a blend of both.

# Appendix F

### **Interview Guide**

# Parenting in New Zealand

What has changed about your parenting since you immigrated to New Zealand?

Do you work? If so how do you handle working and parenting?

# **Difficulties in parenting**

What are your major barriers to child rearing in New Zealand?

What has been your greatest struggle as an immigrant parent?

How do these barriers affect your relationship with child?

# Single parenthood

What is your experience as a single/goose mother?

What are the most difficult challenges you have had to deal with as a sole parent in New

Zealand?

How have these challenges affected you and your children?

How has geese parenting changed your relationship with your partner?

Tell me about your strengths as a sole parent. ?

### Recommendations

What recommendations would you make for other Korean immigrant parents or newly arrived immigrant parents regarding successful child rearing strategies?

# Appendix G

# **Questionnaire Participation Information Sheet - Parents**

# The characteristics of child rearing practices of two-parent and single-parent Korean immigrants in New Zealand

My name is Boram Lee and I am a doctoral student in Education at the University of Auckland. I am currently conducting a research project for my degree.

I am writing to invite you to voluntarily participate in this study. This study will require you to complete a questionnaire and it will take approximately 1 hour and 30 minutes to complete. Please base your answers on only ONE child. If you have more than one child aged 6-10 years, please select the oldest child to answer all the questions only in relation to that child.

The primary aim of this study is to examine the characteristics of two and single Korean immigrant parents living in the Auckland area and their association with the behavioural well-being of their primary school-aged children (ages 6-10). The overall goal of the study is to provide information regarding immigrant Korean parenting attitudes in the Korean-New Zealand cultural context and provide insight into important indigenous concepts of immigrant Korean parenting.

Your questionnaire responses will be used to enable us to gain a fuller understanding of Korean immigrants' experiences in New Zealand and it is hoped that this study will enrich the family studies literature on child development and Asian immigrant parenting. Information obtained through your responses will provide a deep insight into the needs of Korean immigrant parents and it will also provide and suggest useful child rearing strategies that will help potential immigrant parents to successfully raise their children in New Zealand.

All participants who complete the questionnaires will be put into a draw to win one of five \$40.00 Westfield gift vouchers. The draw will take place once the questionnaire data collection has ceased. The winners will be informed by email.

In order to be eligible to enter the draw, you will need to provide your name and email address at the end of the questionnaire. The last page of the questionnaire will also be separated and removed immediately upon collection of the responses. In this way, your responses will not be linked to your personal details and your identity will not be divulged to any other individuals except the researcher.

1<sup>st</sup> May 2012 is the last day to withdraw from the participation.

# **Storage and use of results:**

The anonymised questionnaires will be kept in the researcher's room in a locked cabinet for six years. The last page of the paper questionnaire that contains contact information will be kept in a locked drawer separate from the rest of the questionnaire. All data will be stored for six years at the University after the completion of the study.

I intend to use the data to complete my Doctor of Philosophy thesis, submit articles for publication, present the findings at academic and professional conferences and for secondary data analysis. You will be able to access the copies of the completed study via the library or request a copy from the researcher.

# **Other Information:**

The researcher seeks 30 interview participants (mothers and fathers individually) as this study also involves a follow-up individual interview. So if you would like to be interviewed, please indicate that I may contact you to set up an interview. And if you have any questions regarding this project, please feel free to contact me.

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For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 ext. 83711.

Thank you for your help.

# **Appendix H**

#### **Consent Form - Parents**

# The characteristics of child rearing practices of two-parent and single-parent Korean immigrants in New Zealand

Researcher: Boram Lee, Dr. Louise Keown, and Dr. Susan Farruggia

Please circle one

I consent/ do not consent to complete a questionnaire for this study.

I agree / do not agree to be contacted for participating in the interview.

I agree/ disagree to enter a draw to win one of five \$40.00 Westfield gift vouchers.

I agree/ disagree to request a full copy of the study from the researcher and access the copies of the study via the library after the study is completed.

Parent's name:

Your child's name:

Signature:

Date:

# Appendix I

### **Interview Participation Information Sheet - Parents**

# The characteristics of child rearing practices of two-parent and single-parent Korean immigrants in New Zealand

My name is Boram Lee and I am a doctoral student in Education at the University of Auckland. I am currently conducting a research project for my degree.

I am writing to invite you to voluntarily participate in the second part of my study. This study involves an interview and it will take approximately 60 minutes.

The primary aim of this study is to examine the characteristics of two and single Korean immigrant parents living in the Auckland area and their association with the behavioural well-being of their primary school-aged children (ages 6-10).

# **Participation:**

If you are willing to be interviewed, a study ID number will be assigned to your interview as your name to assure your confidentiality. I will audio record and transcribe your responses by your assigned study ID, not your name. Any personal identifiers and information will be removed once transcribed. The interview will take place at that is convenient for you, including a public location such as a café or library, meeting room at the university, or a school. During the interview, you may refuse to answer any of the questions that you do not wish to answer or you may ask for the recording to be stopped. You will not be able to edit the transcripts of the recordings and you will not be offered a copy of your tape or transcripts.

To acknowledge your participation in the research all interview participants will receive a \$20.00 Westfield gift voucher for their participation.

1<sup>st</sup> June 2012 is the last day to withdraw from the interview participation.

# **Storage and use of results:**

All audio recoded files will be assigned study ID numbers replacing participants' names. I will keep separately a list linking your name with the study ID numbers used to record your interview; this will make it possible for you to withdraw your data at a later date.

Interviews will be audio recorded using a digital voice recorder. You will have an option of being recorded on audio tape (digital voice recorder) or being recorded on written notes. The audio recorded files will be transcribed by the researcher within a month. The transcriptions and recorded files will be stored in a password-protected computer file. Any printed transcripts and researcher's notes will also be secured in a locked file. All audio recorded files will be deleted and transcripts as well as written notes will be destroyed six years after the collection. All data will be stored for six years at the University after the completion of the study.

I intend to use the data to complete my Doctor of Philosophy thesis, submit articles for publication, present the findings at academic and professional conferences and for

secondary data analysis. You will be able to access the copies of the completed study via the library or request a copy from the researcher.

#### **Possible Risks:**

Your participation in this study may involve emotional risks because some of the questions involve personal and privacy issues so it may upset you. Emotional risks can be reduced by stop the talking. You may also refuse to answer any of the questions that you do not wish to answer, or you may ask for the recording to be stopped. A counsellor will be recommended for you if you feel distress and would like this option.

If you would like to access counselling services, please contact the counsellors below:

Lynn Yang info@homeandfamily.org.nz Brian 630 8961 Shelley 09 419 9853 Stephen 09 419 9853 Christine 09 419 9853

For more information on counselling, please visit www.homeand family.org.nz

In addition, a free translator from Shakti Community Council is recommended for you if you do not feel confident and comfortable speaking English. If you would like to have a free translator, please contact Shakti Community Council below:

Shakti Community Council Inc

Postal Address: PO Box 24448, Royal Oak, Auckland, New Zealand

Phone: 09 634 5427 Email:scc@shakti.org.nz

If you have any questions regarding this project, please feel free to contact me.

E-mail: blee034@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Mobile: 021 032 7296

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Thank you for your help.

# Appendix J

#### **Interview Consent Form – Parents**

# The characteristics of child rearing practices of two-parent and single-parent Korean immigrants in New Zealand

Researcher: Boram Lee, Dr. Louise Keown, and Dr. Susan Farruggia

- 1. I agree to take part in a recorded interview conducted by Boram Lee as part of her research.
- 2. I understand that I will not be able to edit the transcripts of the recordings and I will not be offered a copy of my tape or transcripts.
- 3. I understand that digital audio recorder will be used to record the interviews. However, I have an option of being recorded on audio tape or being recorded on written notes.
- 4. I understand that I may refuse to answer some of the answers that I do not wish to answer and I may ask for recording to be stopped.
- 5. I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary. And the last day to withdraw from the participation is 1<sup>st</sup> June 2012.
- 6. I have been given detailed information about the research purpose and the nature of the research has been fully explained to me.
- 7. I have had an opportunity to ask questions regarding the research and have them answered by the researcher.
- 8. I understand that my names will not be used in the written report and that the researcher will maintain confidentiality.
- 9. I understand that my name will not be recorded with the interview data and will not be disclosed in any written report or publication.
- 10. I understand that I may stop the recording at any time during the recording.
- nd I 1

11. I understand th	at the audiotapes will be transcribed by the researcher.
	at I can request a full copy of the study from the researcher a copies of the study via the library after the study is complete.
Parent's name:	
Signature:	
Date:	

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