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Preservation and Modification of Culture in Family Socialization: Development of Parenting Measures for Korean Immigrant Families

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Abstract

This study aims to describe the family socialization beliefs and practices of Korean immigrant parents through testing psychometric properties of several newly developed items and scales to assess the major components of the Korean traditional concept of family socialization, *ga-jung-kyo-yuk*. These new measures were examined for validity and reliability. The findings show that Korean immigrant parents largely preserve their traditional and core parenting values, while also showing meaningful, yet not very dramatic, signs of adopting new cultural traits. The results also suggest that the acculturative process may not be simply bilinear but may generate a new, unique and blended value and behavior set from the two (or more) cultures involved. Culturally appropriate practice requires not only further validation of existing knowledge with minority groups, but the development of a theoretical framework of family socialization that recognizes the cultural uniqueness of immigrant families.

Keywords

Korean immigrants; family socialization; parenting; enculturation; acculturation

Family is first and foremost the crucible of socialization for children, representing the primary setting for the transmission of culture and ethnicity to children. Family socialization is a process in which children are socialized into the family's system of values, norms and beliefs (Musitu, 2006). This process varies from culture to culture with differences reflected in parenting goals, values and practices and parent-child interactions (Bornstein & Cote, 2006). Through family socialization, children are enculturated into the culture of the family (i.e. learn the culture and assimilate its practices and values) and their cultural and ethnic identity is formed (Hughes et al., 2006). The socialization among immigrant families, especially those from non-Western cultures, is likely to be different from that of culturally mainstream families. However, the cultural characteristics of family socialization are not static; they may be partially or fully transformed by changes in the cultural context, e.g. the social and cultural expectations of the mainstream culture (Russell, Crockett, & Chao,

2010). In other words, a complex, dynamic interchange exists between the culture of the family and the mainstream culture in which the family is embedded, driving the acculturative process of individual family members and shaping the content of family socialization (Kagitçibasi, 2007).

In the U.S., non-Western immigrant families are often cultural minorities, simultaneously facing enculturation (socialization to the culture of origin) and acculturation (adaptation to the mainstream U.S. culture), which may demand changes in the family culture. This dual process of cultural adaptation occurs at varying degrees across multiple domains, such as language, behaviors, norms, and values. The intricate process of family socialization is also multifaceted; it is shaped by and alters the cultural context of the family, as well as the greater cultural context. One of the major challenges facing research and practice with immigrant families is to accurately operationalize this dynamic family socialization among non-Western immigrant families and to assess the impact of acculturation on family culture (Bornstein & Cote, 2006).

Asian Americans and their children are the fastest growing race/ethnic group in the U.S. and the majority of this expansion stems from a continued influx of immigrants (Zhou & Gatewood, 2000). Despite the burgeoning demographic impact and the ever-increasing diversity of Asian Americans, they remain understudied, with existing research rarely distinguishing between subgroups, leaving a knowledge gap regarding subgroup differences (Choi, 2008). Research should now begin systematic examination of subgroup-specific cultural characteristics of family socialization to advance our understanding in a meaningful way and inform the development of more effective, targeted interventions.

Culturally Appropriate Measures

The majority of existing parenting measures were developed from the perspective of Western parenting practices and theories (Harachi, Choi, Abbott, Catalano, & Bliesner, 2006). Existing family and parenting research generally uses these measures without explicitly testing generalizability to non-Western families, with only a few recent exceptions (e.g. Crockett, Veed, & Russell, 2010; Harachi, et al., 2006). Without the verified validity, any differences assessed across groups using these measures will not be meaningfully interpretable.

One way to address the measurement issue is to examine existing measures for validity, reliability, and cross-cultural equivalence for accurate comparisons across diverse groups. However, tests of existing measures do not address the problem of excluded critical content that is culturally unique. For example, even if existing measures appear accurate and meaningful across groups, it may be the unmeasured content – or the unrecognized nuances in measured content – of family socialization that explains children's outcomes in a cultural group.

For example, parenting styles in collectivist cultures, such as Asian cultures, are often perceived as controlling when assessed by the existing measures of the Western parenting styles but studies have shown that these “controlling” parental behaviors do not predict negative child outcomes among Asian families as they do in White families (Chao & Tseng,

2002). This inconsistency is likely due to inaccurate conceptualization, thus some have offered a more nuanced concept of parental control among Asians as *order keeping* rather than *dominating* control (Jose, Huntsinger, Huntsinger, & Liaw, 2000; Kagitçibasi, 1996). Dominating control, the Western parental control, is coercive, punitive and emotionally distant, thus predicts negative parent-child relations and poor child outcomes. However, order keeping control, the Asian parental control, is more directive than Western parenting and is practiced with verbal explanations, praise and warmth, so it is unlikely to be associated with adverse child outcomes.

Thus, another way to address the measurement issue is to develop alternative and appropriate measures for culture-specific constructs. Herz and Gullone (1999) argue that researchers should conduct more group-specific exploratory studies before deciding which measures to use in large surveys. Chao and Tseng (2002) also advocate for identifying indigenous cultural notions of parenting. Chao (1994), for example, has developed measures to better reflect parental control among Chinese parents. Comparable to order-keeping parental control, but specific to Chinese, *guan* means to govern and love. *Guan* practices a directive control and close monitoring of child behaviors, while building close parent-child relationships. The *guan* concept, a prime example of a culturally-specific parenting construct, is not captured with existing measures of parental control. Similarly, several new items were constructed for the present study to assess Korean immigrant parenting beliefs and practices. Using survey data, this study aims to: (1) establish psychometrics of those newly developed survey measures of family socialization for Korean immigrant families and (2) describe the family socialization that occurs in Korean immigrant families.

Enculturation, Acculturation and Immigrant Families

Cultural adaptation of immigrant families is a dual process of enculturation and acculturation. Many immigrant families have deliberately maintained their culture of origin and their distinct ethnic community and have successfully enculturated their children to their culture of origin (Zhou & Gatewood, 2000). At the same time, acculturation is inevitable, at least to an extent, and still poses a major challenge to immigrants in the U.S., who must learn a new language and a new set of behavioral, social and cultural norms. Even if reluctantly and slowly, immigrants and their offspring alter their cultural pinning in the acculturative process (Bornstein & Cote, 2006), which then changes the cultural content of enculturation. The processes of enculturation and acculturation are not only simultaneously occurring, but are intertwined and reshaping each other.

Accordingly, family socialization, through which enculturation and acculturation occur within the family context, is likely to evolve (Bornstein & Cote, 2006) – as the traditional cultural characteristics of family socialization, including childrearing values and parental practices of the culture of origin, are challenged by the parenting ideals and expectations of the dominant society, incompatibilities between the two cultures must be negotiated. In this evolving process, some cultural elements are discarded quickly, others may persist, and still others may even intensify over time and generations (Choi & Kim, 2010). Rosenthal and Feldman (1992), for example, distinguish *core* and *peripheral* elements, suggesting that the core elements are less likely to change over time than the peripheral ones. For instance,

Asian immigrant parents may strive to maintain intrinsic values (core elements, e.g. respect for parents and the elders) over extrinsic behaviors (peripheral elements, e.g. speaking English as a primary language). They are also reacting to the severity of the dominant culture's social sanctions. For example, parenting practices that are no longer acceptable in the dominant culture, such as corporal punishment, are the first to abate, while others are maintained as they may be compatible with the expectations of the larger society and still others may be strengthened to protect their children from potential risks (e.g., emphasis on education) (Choi & Kim, 2010). Parents may also take on some elements of the mainstream culture while rejecting, or more slowly accepting, other elements of the culture. However, this process is not guided solely through an individual's selection of which cultural traits to maintain, acquire, or shed; cultural adaptation is an interactive process between individuals and their environment (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009). In this interactive process, a new hybrid culture may emerge with the process of family socialization demonstrating a coexistence of elements from both original and dominant cultures.

Overview of Korean Parenting

In contrast to the individualistic culture of the mainstream U.S. society, Korean families are regarded as culturally collectivistic. The traditional values of Korean childrearing were influenced by Confucianism, Taoism and Mahayana Buddhism, which were jointly translated into the virtues of filial piety, a strong familism characterized by a deeply ingrained sense of obligation and orientation to the family, and emphasis on collective needs, interdependency, and conformity (Sung, 2010).¹ These overall characteristics are certainly shared with many Asian subgroups. Emotional self-control and humility that are highly valued among Koreans are also shared among Asian cultures (B. Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999).

However, despite the wide commonality across Asian subgroups, these shared cultural themes are defined and practiced with significant variation across cultures. For example, while family is central, the boundary of the family varies across Asian cultures, from nuclear to extended families and to neighbors (Chao & Tseng, 2002). The degree to which children are obligated to the family also greatly varies from helping with house chores and finances to successful academic and career achievement. Parenting behaviors can also be different, though values are similar, e.g. Chinese parenting may be more explicit and instructive in teaching children family values, while Korean parenting may be more indirect, often relying on demonstrating and modeling those values (Bornstein & Cheah, 2006). In addition, Confucianism in Korea, for example, has freely adopted elements of Buddhism and shamanism and is unlikely equivalent to its original one in China (Hurh, 1998). Each subgroup also has a different history, language and indigenous culture. Thus, in spite of several common cultural characteristics across Asian subgroups, each subgroup has a distinct culture and family socialization process (Kurasaki, Okazaki, & Sue, 2002). Clearly,

¹Confucianism and Taoism came from China, while Mahayana Buddhism originated from India. Confucianism emphasizes filial piety, patriarchy and education. Taoism stresses harmony. Mahayana Buddhism (in contrast to Hinayana Buddhism) emphasizes compassion to and cohesion with others as a pathway to individual enlightenment. Despite their distinct origins, philosophies and emphases, their influence on Korean parenting values and strategies are intimately intertwined and often indistinguishable as they were, together with shamanism, absorbed into the traditional Korean culture (Hurh, 1998).

the practice in research to view Asian subgroups as indistinguishable compromises the accuracy of scientific inquiry. The present study redresses this practice and is one of the first to address the uniqueness of Asian subgroup parenting.

Ga-jung-kyo-yuk

The Korean concept of *ga-jung-kyo-yuk*, whose literal English translation is “home (or family) education (or training),” may be best translated into the Western concept of family socialization. In a Korean encyclopedia, *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* is broadly defined as a fundamental process through which parents help their children build the character and knowledge necessary to become a respected person and learn the basic rules for communal life. Analogous to family socialization, *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* is also a process in which enculturation occurs, i.e. the transmission of core values from one generation to the next but refers to socialization to a specific set of norms, beliefs, and values. The core values of *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* include family hierarchy, demonstration of respect for and the use of appropriate etiquette with parents and the elderly, family obligations and ties, and an emphasis on education. *Ga-jung-kyo-yuk* also governs childrearing practices (e.g. strict parenting styles). The present study sought to develop measures to assess major components of *ga-jung-kyo-yuk*, especially measures to assess whether the core values of Korean family socialization are evident among Korean immigrants and whether they continue influencing childrearing practices.

Method

Overview of the Project

The data were from the Korean American Families (KAF) Project, a survey with Korean American youth and their parents living in Midwest. Korean American and immigrant families with early adolescents (age between 11 and 14) were eligible to participate. The data were collected over a two-year period. The family was the sampling unit. In 2007, a total of 291 families were interviewed (220 youth, 272 mothers and 164 fathers, $N = 656$). A follow-up interview was completed a year later at the end of 2008 with 247 families (220 youth, 239 mothers and 146 fathers, $N = 605$).² No significant differences were found between remaining and dropout participants in age, gender and socio-demographic variables such as the level of household income and parental education. Three sources (phonebooks, school rosters and Korean church/temple rosters) were used to recruit survey participants. Samples were obtained from each source in approximately equal proportions. Families from each data source did not differ in age, gender and socio-demographic data.

At Time 1, trained bilingual interviewers conducted individual, in-person interviews. At Time 2, the majority of follow-up surveys were collected via self-administered questionnaire: paper and pencil survey for parents (88.3%) and on-line survey for youth

²Although parents and a child from each family were invited for survey, participating members varied among families. For example, the number of families whose all eligible members participated was 120. Eight-five families had a mother and a child, 14 had a father and a child, 26 had parents only, 41 had mothers only and 4 had fathers only. In Time 2, no new families were recruited but several families had different member participating. For example, 184 youth participated in both Time 1 and 2 and 36 youth did not participate in Time 1 but did in Time 2.

(83.6%), unless they preferred other options including in-person and phone interview. The survey in Time 1 contained new and existing parenting measures and several risk and protective factors of youth behaviors. Youth survey included a battery of youth behaviors as well as youth perception of parenting. The survey in Time 2 was a shorter version of the first survey, containing mainly new parenting measures in parent survey and youth behaviors in youth survey. Survey was available in Korean and English. All parents except one filled out the Korean version while most of youth filled out the English one.

Sample Characteristics—At Time 1, the average age was 12.97 ($SD = 1.00$) for youth, 43.4 for mothers ($SD = 4.57$) and 46.3 for fathers ($SD = 4.69$). This study used only parent data from Time 1 and Time 2. The level of parental education was fairly high: 63.7% of mothers and 70.3% of fathers reported having at least some college education, either in Korea or in the U.S. Forty-seven percent reported annual household income between \$50,000 and \$99,999. A total of 21% of mothers reported having received public assistance, food stamps, or qualifying for the free/reduced-price school lunch programs, while 15% currently receiving these programs. Over 40% of fathers were self-employed running small business such as dry-cleaners or beauty supply. About 40% of mothers also reported being employed. The majority (94%) reported attending Korean ethnic religious institutions (76.7% of them attend Korean Protestant churches). These characteristics are overall similar to the socioeconomic characteristics of Korean immigrants in the U.S., i.e., urban middle class immigrants with a high proportion of small business owners and Protestants (Min, 2006) and fairly comparable to the parent profile in national data such as the Add Health.

Analysis Strategy

To test psychometric properties of newly developed measures, reliability, content validity and construct validity were examined. First, reliability and content validity were tested by examining internal consistency, descriptive statistics of each item and by scale and item-total correlation for the measurement fit as an intact scale (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Items that do not meet criteria (e.g. low mean, less than .3 item-correlation) were dropped. To examine content validity at scale level, Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was used with M Plus 4.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2005).³ Along with χ^2 statistics, two additional fit indices were used to examine the fit of the measurement, including the Comparative Fit Indices [CFI >.90 indicating a good fit (Bentler, 1990)], Root Mean Square Error of Approximation [RMSEA<.05 good fit, between .05 and .10 a fair to mediocre fit and >.10 a poor fit (MacCallum, Browne, & Sugawara, 1996)]. In addition, items with less than .4 loading were considered for exclusion from scale (Floyd & Widaman, 1995). When items were dropped from the scale, another series of analyses were executed to obtain the new scale mean, internal consistency reliability, and CFA for the construct.

Construct validity (i.e. convergent and divergent validity) was tested by examining correlations among various measures including both new and existing measures (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Three existing measures were used for this purpose: Asian Cultural

³When responses are binary (e.g. “Yes” and “No”), weighted least squares mean and variance (WLSMV) adjusted χ^2 statistic with robust standard errors estimations were used to examine the fit of the measurement model. In other constructs (Likert scale), maximum likelihood (ML) estimation was used.

Values (ACV, B. Kim, et al., 1999), *guan* ideology (Chao, 1994) and *guan* parenting practices (Chao & Wu, 2001). Although the new measures were developed for a distinct subgroup, this subgroup is embedded within the broader Asian culture, so new and existing measures are likely to share latent traits, with correlations expected to be statistically and positively significant (convergent validity), but not too high (divergent validity if r is less than .85) (Campbell & Fiske, 1959).⁴

All analyses were conducted first with fathers and mothers separately and then with the combined full sample.⁵ In addition, when available in Time 2 data, analyses were done over two time periods to detect any significant changes in rates and patterns of the new items. We also ran CFA with and without missing imputations, although the rate of missing was quite low (less than 5% in any given item).

Measures

Construction of New Measures of Family Socialization—Multiple methods were used to construct new measures of *ga-jung-kyo-yuk*. First, several focus groups with Korean immigrant parents and youth were conducted in 2006. Detailed results are reported elsewhere (Choi & Kim, 2010). In summary, 5 parent focus groups were conducted (3 with mothers and 2 with fathers, $n = 43$) and 4 youth groups (2 with boys and 2 with girls, $n = 26$). Parent groups were carried out in Korean and youth groups in English. Focus groups asked parents open-ended questions on childrearing goals and parenting practices, e.g. “What are the most important values that you want to impart to your child?” Youth were asked similar open-ended questions that were revised to gain their perspectives and experiences. Based on the results of these focus groups and extensive literature review, preliminary items were constructed. They were then revised, guided by systematic feedback from several academic experts as well as community leaders. To use participants’ words from focus groups in new items, parental items were first developed in Korean and youth items in English. Translations of survey questionnaires went through numerous iterations and back-translations and several pretests were conducted with parents and youth, through which items were further revised or removed. Seven new scales were constructed from this multiple-method process. Complete list of items are found in Tables 1 and 2. Response options for the new items are mostly a 5-point Likert Scale, e.g. (1) “Not at all” (2) “Not much” (3) “Moderately” (4) “Much” and (5) “Very much.” Exceptions are noted below.

Korean traditional parent virtues: When asked how parents should parent children, focus group parents most frequently mentioned trusting children, making efforts to help children trust parents, and parenting in a developmentally appropriate way. Also, when asked how

⁴Divergent validity can also be tested by multiple-factor CFA models with new and existing measures examined together. The method, however, was not used in this study because the existing measures (ACV, *guan* ideology and behaviors) either did not work well as a single latent factor or were highly correlated with one another with several significant residual covariances, showing a poor fit. In addition, it is more common to use items as a scale or to parcel items in analyses modeling latent constructs, which likely reduces residual covariance among items and improves fit. Thus, correlation analyses (in contrast to latent factor analyses) seem more appropriate and useful in this study to examine divergent validity.

⁵The differences between fathers and mothers in CFA were tested by examining unconstrained and constrained models using chi-square test (DIFF test in Mplus) (Muthén & Muthén, 2005). Unconstrained models allow factor loading to be freely estimated while constrained models assume them to be equal across groups. The significant differences between the two models indicate significant invariance of the item across groups.

they transmit core values, parents felt that the best way is to live and model those values⁶. Although parents did not refer to them as such, these parental beliefs are acclaimed as the Korean traditional parental virtues in the literature (K. Kim, 2006). Kim (2006), for example, lists parental virtues, mainly derived from filial piety, and stipulates parental behaviors that are indicators of virtues such as self-discipline, moral cultivation, modeling, patience, tolerance and stern parenting. These specified behaviors were quite consistent with those offered by focus groups. These virtues, however, are not limited to Koreans. Kim (2006) pointed out that these virtues, as well as filial piety, originated from Confucianism and are shared across several Asian subgroups; selected aspects of these virtues even seem universal. In any case, these virtues and their corresponding behaviors were perceived as traditional and idealized by Korean immigrant parents. Integrating both focus group results and Kim's work, eight items were constructed.

Enculturation of familial and cultural values: In response to a question about the core values that parents wish to transmit to their children, focus group participants identified close family ties (e.g. helping family members in need, living together with or in close proximity to parents, supporting aging parents), centrality of the family (e.g., family as a source of trust and dependence), and obedience to parents, consistent with the core Korean traditional values described earlier. Some of these items are also similar to those in ACV (B. Kim, et al., 1999), e.g., items of filial piety and family close ties, showing a commonality of family values among Asians. One value that is not recognized in the literature as a core Korean value but identified by focus group parents was financial independence. A total of 10 items were constructed, incorporating many parents' own words. For example, some parents preferred "seriously considering parent's wish and advice" to "obeying parents," while others clearly favored obedience to parents as a core value. Both items were included in the scale.

Important Korean traditional etiquettes: Focus group participants identified Korean traditional etiquettes as something important for their children to maintain. To better specify the traditional etiquettes, participants were further probed to enumerate such etiquettes. Example behaviors include bowing to adults in greeting, passing things with two hands to adults, using Korean addressing terms (but not first names) and avoiding eye contact when reprimanded. Six items were generated, representing behaviors that signify Korean norms and values, such as respect for adults and the elders, age-based social and family hierarchy, and conformity (e.g. non-confrontational social interactions) (Hurh, 1998; Min, 1998). Although the norms and values (e.g. respect to adults) seem common across Asian subgroups, exact behaviors (e.g. passing things with two hands to adults to show respect) seem culturally specific.

Indirect expression of affection: One of the Korean parental virtues (K. Kim, 2006) is to refrain from excessive⁷ praise on their children. Focus group participants strongly concurred

⁶Parents felt most awkward to tell children to respect them ("You cannot demand respect!") or take care of them when they get old. They felt it is unduly imposing, especially because such values are not taught in schools or promoted by the larger society. Thus, they try to live the values e.g. taking care of their aging parents, hoping that their children will internalize the value by watching their parents.

that this is a traditional Korean virtue and a problem for immigrant parents. Many of them felt that this virtue is so ingrained that it inhibits them from openly expressing love to their children even when they want to. This parenting behavior is not unique to Koreans, but shared among Asian subgroups (Chao & Tseng, 2002). Asian parents tend to express their affection indirectly. Focus group parents were further probed to specify ways to indirectly express affection and seven behaviors were generated, e.g. trusting children and being there for them during hard times. Response options for these behaviors were “Yes” or “No.”

Parenting practices with young children: Two aspects of parenting practices with young children were considered. The sleeping arrangement of infants and young children greatly varies across cultures and reflects cultural differences in parenting goals (Greenfield & Cocking, 1994). Co-sleeping with young children is common among Korean (and Asian) families and focus group participants recognized this practice as differing from the mainstream culture. The survey asked parents whether their child used to sleep with them during the toddler and early elementary school years (“Yes” or “No”) and, if so, at what age their child started sleeping in his/her own room. In addition, several focus group participants identified a few disciplinary practices with younger children as uniquely Korean such as hitting palms with stick, hitting calf with stick, and having the child raise his or her arms for a prolonged time as punishment. Kim and Hong (2007) have also recognized these practices as unique to first generation immigrant Koreans. Accordingly, three items with response options “Yes or “No” as well as “other (specify)” were constructed.

Ideal attributes of collectivism and individualism: Focus groups asked parents about ideal attributes that they would like to see in their children. These questions were asked to determine ideal cultural values that parents endorse. In conjunction with Harry Triandis’ list of ideal attributes of collectivism and individualism (1994), the list of ideal attributes provided by focus groups was used to develop items that assess the endorsement of the ideal cultural values. In total, 28 ideal attributes were constructed, broken into 14 attribute pair, each consisting of one attribute of collectivism and one of individualism. For example, one attribute pair is: “Thinks that debate and confrontation are acceptable” vs. “Thinks that in-group harmony is critical.” Parents were instructed to rate paired items independently, e.g., both could be high or low or unrelated.

Existing Measures

Asian Cultural Values: ACV is originally a 25-item scale developed to measure commonly known Asian cultural values such as conformity to norms, emotional self-control, collectivism, humility, filial piety, and close family ties. The scale has been tested for factor structure and reliability (B. Kim, et al., 1999). In the present study, 15 ACV items were selected for use, eliminating items deemed redundant, difficult to translate, or irrelevant to Koreans by expert scholars and community leaders. Selected items include “One should follow the role expectations of one’s family” and “Controlling one’s emotions is a sign of

⁷It is unlikely that parents in any culture endorse something that is perceived as excessive or spoiling. The difference lies in what constitutes “excessive” or “spoiling.” In other words, some of the behaviors that are viewed as natural and loving in one culture can be viewed as excessive in other culture.

strength.” Response options were (1) “Not at all” to (5) “Very much.” Reliability α was .88 in this study.

Guan Parenting Ideology consists of six items that Chao (1994) developed to describe socialization goals among Chinese immigrants. Examples include “Parents should train children to work very hard and be disciplined” and “Parents must provide instruction and guidance in order for their children to be successful.” Parents were asked how much these items describe their beliefs. Response options ranged from (1) “Not at all” to (5) “Very much”. ($\alpha = .84$)

Guan Parenting Behaviors consist of four items, originally designed to ask children about their parents’ behavior (Chao & Wu, 2001). Items were modified to ask parents to assess their own behavior toward their children. Examples are “I give more freedom only if my child shows s/he is responsible” and “I have to know his/her friends before she can do things with them.” Response options ranged from (1) “Not at all” to (5) “Very much”. ($\alpha = .70$)

Results

Results are summarized and reported mainly from Time 1 and the total sample, since results were quite consistent across times and gender groups. For example, most DIFF tests of CFA models were not statistically significant across mothers and fathers. Any notable differences are described in the text. In addition, the results were almost identical with and without missing imputations, so the results with complete data are reported here.

Overall, Korean immigrant parents highly endorsed their traditional parent virtues [Mean at Time 1 (M_{T1}) = 4.33 ($SD = .467$) and at Time 2 (M_{T2}) = 4.11 ($SD = .517$)], would like to enculturate children with familial and cultural values [M_{T1} = 4.03 ($SD = .391$), M_{T2} = 3.96 ($SD = .367$)], and regarded the Korean traditional etiquettes as very important [M_{T1} = 4.44 ($SD = .647$)]. Each scale showed acceptable reliability ranging from .762 to .918.

Within these constructs, however, there were some items that were endorsed low, did not relate to other items within construct and/or were not a strong indicator of the construct. Specifically, the item “Parents should refrain from excessive praise” was endorsed only at 2.94, a little less than “moderate” level, with .155 item-total correlation and .094 factor loading. The item “Parent should interact sternly as well as lovingly,” while endorsed fairly high (4.17), had moderate item-total correlation (.436, which was further reduced to .375 if the excessive praise item is dropped) and weak factor loading (.382). Although this virtue is usually gender specific (i.e., stern father, loving mother), mothers and fathers were not significantly different in means and factor loading of the item ($\chi^2 = .0162, p > .05$). When these two items were dropped from the scale, the fit of Traditional Parent Virtue fit the data well with CFI of .953 and RMSEA of .136, with factor loadings ranging from .569 to .850, with an improved alpha of .856.

Similarly, two items in Enculturation of Familial and Cultural Values (i.e., parents wish that their children live with parents until married and obey parents) were endorsed relatively low with low item-total correlation, but, more importantly, weak factor loading. In addition, although the item, “financially independent from parents,” was endorsed at 3.84, item-total

correlation was .229 with a factor loading of .243. When these three items were dropped, the scale fit was improved from CFI of .750 and RMSEA of .135 to CFI of .845 and RMSEA of .150, with factor loadings ranging from 0.438 to 0.768. Cronbach alpha also improved, but only slightly, to .792.

Items of Important Korean Traditional Etiquettes were overall highly endorsed with good item-total correlations and factor loading except one item, “avoids eye contact when reprimanded” at a relatively lower end of endorsement and weaker correlation and factor loading. This item was kept because it met minimum fit criteria. The measurement fit was good with CFI of .977 and RMSEA of .096.

The results on the other new constructs were somewhat mixed. Indirect Expression of Affection items, while highly endorsed by parents ranging from 85% to nearly 97%, did not highly relate to one another, indicated by a poor reliability coefficient, low item-total correlation and weak factor loading. However, the fit of the CFA measurement testing was fairly good with CFI of .928 and RAMSEA of .047 but a wide range of factor loadings. Since some of the items seem gender-specific (e.g., cooking), items were analyzed for fathers and mothers separately. Reliability coefficients were .328 for mothers and .547 for fathers. There were notable mean differences in endorsement by gender, e.g., as a way to express affection, cooking kids' favorite foods was much higher among mothers (97% vs. 78%) and working hard to provide financial support was higher among fathers (94% vs. 80%). In addition, factor loading was significantly different by fathers and mothers in these items (e.g., cooking item had .563 for mothers but .259 for fathers but working item had .279 for mothers while .527 for fathers). Being there for them when children have hard times had a factor loading of .051 among mothers but .941 among fathers, showing quite a difference. Item-total correlations were generally low even with separate analyses with father and mothers. When two items were dropped among mothers (working item and being there during hard times), CFI was .979 with RMSEA of .024, $\chi^2(3) = 3.45$. For fathers, cooking item was dropped and the measurement perfectly fit the data with CFI of 1.000 and RMSEA of .000, $\chi^2(7) = 4.83$.

In regard to sleeping arrangement, 82% of the parents reported to have co-slept with child in early years, with a mean co-sleeping age of 6.41 (SD = 4.34) with a maximum of 15. These two items were not examined for reliability or validity because they are single-item questions. Although identified by the focus group participants as uniquely Korean and widely practiced, survey participants did not report much use of traditional disciplinary practices. The rate of practicing these disciplinary behaviors was as low as 1.39 out of 5 point scale. However, the internal reliability was fair with .601 with no item scoring less than .3 item-total correlation and reasonable factor loadings except “other corporal punishment” item. In addition to meeting the minimum criteria, a standard one-factor CFA model must have at least four indicators in order to be over-identified, so no item was dropped in this scale (Kline, 2010).

Ideal Attributes were examined as two separate measures for collectivism and individualism. The results were that Korean immigrant parents on average endorsed collectivistic attributes more than individualistic attributes [3.54 (SD = .522) vs. 2.88 (SD = .492)], but there were

some individualistic attributes that parents endorsed highly and comparable to the contrasting collectivistic attributes. For example, parents rated highly both “selecting partners who will maximize family integrity” and “who are attractive and with exciting personality.” When asked whether they want their children to think the family needs over personal needs or think of oneself over the family needs in setting goals, parents rated the latter item (individualistic attribute) higher [3.40 (SD = 1.14)] than the former [3.07 (SD = .97)], both with fairly large standard deviations especially in the individualistic attribute item. For both scales, however, internal reliability was low to moderate (.537 and .415 respectively) with low item-total correlations (none was above .4) and low to moderate factor loadings, especially in Individualistic Attributes. Measurement model fit was better for Collectivistic Attributes with CFI of .819, RMSEA of .077 [χ^2 (14) = 44.941]. The fit for Individualistic Attributes was CFI = .699 with RMSEA of .070 [χ^2 (14) = 40.283].

Construct validity was examined only with the measures with good psychometric properties, i.e. acceptable reliability and content validity. Based on the results above, Traditional Etiquettes was used without revisions. Disciplinary Practices, although the fit was not optimal, was included for an exploratory purpose. Revised measures were used for Traditional Parent Virtues (2 items dropped) and Enculturation (3 items dropped). Three measures (Indirect Expression, Ideal Attributes in Collectivism & Individualism) were not used in correlation analyses due to their poor psychometric quality as a scale. The three existing measures were also included in correlations. They were examined for reliability and content validity with the survey data (not shown in this paper) and demonstrated good reliability and content validity and did not require any modification for use. Co-sleeping arrangement and the age of separate sleeping items were included in correlations to examine relationships with new and existing measures.

The patterns of correlations as shown in Table 3 were mostly as expected, especially among multiple-item constructs – i.e. the new measures of *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* and the existing measures of Asian values and parenting were significantly and positively correlated (showing convergent validity), but not too highly (divergent validity). Statistically significant correlations ranged from .114 to .602. Exceptions were with single-item questions (co-sleeping and age of co-sleeping) and Disciplinary Practices with Young Children. Co-sleeping and age of co-sleeping were not significantly correlated with other constructs (except positively correlated with Traditional Etiquettes and with each other) and Disciplinary Practices was significantly correlated only with Enculturation, Traditional Etiquettes and *guan* behavior measures.

Discussion

Culture constantly evolves. Culturally-specific family socialization processes also change along with changes in the society in which the family is embedded. For immigrant and racial/ethnic minority families, family socialization is at least a dual process of acculturation and enculturation. In other words, while parents are trying to maintain and transmit their culture of origin to their children, they are simultaneously adapting to the mainstream, likely transforming the cultural traits of family socialization. In the course of developing and testing new measures of family socialization, this study aims to portray family socialization

among Korean immigrant families and to identify signs of preservation and modification of culture.

This study finds that, in relation to what is perceived as their traditional culture, Korean immigrant parents largely preserve traditional parenting values and practices, while also showing meaningful, yet not very dramatic, signs of adopting new cultural traits. For example, Korean immigrant parents in the survey showed solid endorsement on several traditional parenting virtues, e.g. demonstrating and modeling to teach children values. At the same time, parenting beliefs among this group were somewhat different from the traditional parenting beliefs. For example, some items of traditional beliefs were not endorsed as high as other items, such as the virtue of stern parenting and refraining from excessive praises, showing signs of change. However, caution is advised in interpreting the low endorsement as an indication of actual changes in behaviors. As briefly mentioned earlier, focus group participants brought up the lack of active praise, rewards, and explicit demonstrations of affection to children as the most problematic aspect of the traditional Korean parenting and as particularly unsuitable for their children who are growing up in a Western culture where parents liberally express affection to children, both verbally and physically. Parents also, however, stated that these virtues are so internalized that they feel unable to express affection openly. Thus, although parents may perceive these virtues as not ideal, they may not have actually been able to change their behavior.

As Korean immigrant parents live in the U.S., in a Western cultural context, parent's expectation of the level and content of enculturation may be changing. While parents are eager to maintain and transmit many of the traditional Korean values to their children such as centrality of the family (e.g. supporting family members in need), survey participants did not feel strongly about their children living with them until marriage or their children's obedience, both of which have been regarded as natural and expected in Korean and many other Asian cultures. The reduced salience among these items relative to other family-centered values may indicate parental adaptation to the cultural and social expectations of the mainstream society, which include autonomy in children and independent living among young people (Bornstein & Cote, 2006). It also shows that children's absolute obedience to parents may no longer be idealized by parents. As described earlier, many parents in the focus groups preferred toned-down expectations from "obeying parents" to "seriously considering parental wish and advice." Financial independence, while highly endorsed, was not well related with other enculturation items. This item was not identified as traditional Korean in the literature, but it was included based on the results of focus groups. Hence, this item may reflect the acculturative changes that parents have already undergone. In other words, financial independence from parents was cited as an important value to transmit, not because it is traditional, but because, as parents have adapted to the mainstream society, they have adopted this mainstream value.

Korean traditional etiquettes were very important for Korean parents in the study, which may be because those traditional etiquettes included in the survey are symbolic of the core values such as respect for the elders and family hierarchy. Yet, the results also indicate that some of the behaviors are abating. For example, the expectation of children waiting to eat until adults start eating at meals was less endorsed probably because it is less relevant within

the nuclear family structure. Anecdotally, it is also possible that this practice is no longer practical among many working families where parents often cannot have meals together with children (Min, 1998). Another indication of some traditional etiquettes abating is parents' low endorsement of children avoiding eye contact. In Korean culture, children are taught to engage in deferential behavior, such as avoiding eye contact (e.g., keep your head down) when reprimanded. However, this behavior is often misunderstood in the mainstream culture, where it is sometimes considered indicative of a child's lack of attention, concentration or social competence (Hill, 2010), which is probably the reason for this item's low endorsement by parents.

Indirect Expression of Affection is often considered indicative of non-Western parenting styles. In lieu of physical and verbal expressions of affection, Korean and other Asian parents often indirectly express their love to children (Russell, et al., 2010). Korean immigrant parents surveyed echoed this sentiment and reported using various ways to express parental love such as cooking for their children, working hard, and trusting their children. Each item was highly endorsed, but items were not highly correlated to one another, which may suggest a wide variety of ways that parents indirectly express affection for their children. Furthermore, endorsement of behaviors seemed gender-specific. Although the gender-specific scales fit the data better, additional work is needed to enhance this scale for future use.

Although the practice of co-sleeping with young children is still quite common among Korean immigrant parents, the Disciplinary Practices with Young Children scale showed that the traditional disciplinary practices may be no longer prevalent among Korean immigrant parents. In particular, hitting palms and calves with sticks, which can be perceived as child abuse by the mainstream society, may no longer be actively practiced as disciplinary techniques. Consistent with an existing study (e.g. Choi & Kim, 2010), the results indicate that parenting behaviors that can draw legal sanctions may be the first to abate.

The findings on the idealized traits of collectivistic and individualistic cultural scripts were mixed and intriguing. Despite a general trend showing that Korean immigrant parents endorse collectivistic traits more than individualistic traits, there were several signs that Korean immigrant parents may equally – or even more strongly – endorse some individualistic cultural traits. While these results may indicate active acculturative changes among parents, they may also shed light on the complexity of cultural traits, indicating that, despite previous suggestions, the relationship between collectivistic and individualistic traits may not be a dichotomous one in which the selection of one trait is equivalent to the rejection of another trait, but, rather, traits may be harmoniously intermingled (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002).

In categorizing the traits that Korean immigrant parents endorse as either adhering to collectivistic or individualistic cultural scripts, the use of scales as two separate measures may implicitly reject the idea that the acculturative process itself creates a new, blended culture with its own cultural scripts (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009) that are neither fully collectivistic nor fully individualistic. The results, which indicate that the items used do not

likely work as a coherent scale, may suggest that a bilinear scale – or a scale that simultaneously measures the endorsement of the idealized cultural traits of the traditional and the mainstream cultures – may not alone adequately reflect the impact of acculturation on the endorsement of cultural traits. As Faver and Lee-Shin (2000) contemplated during their discussion of the impact of acculturation on Korean American mothers' parenting and play attitudes, Korean Americans integrating both traditional and mainstream cultures may actually develop a new, unique, blended value set that enables them to operate successfully in each culture. Future work should focus on the development of a scale that measures the endorsement of cultural traits that belong to the new, integrated culture that is created as a byproduct of the acculturation process.

The core concept of *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* was very much evident among the surveyed Korean immigrants, also with some signs of possible change. The majority of parents surveyed agreed “much” or “very much” with the following statements: Parents should start *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* their children from early age (97.9%); Children's behaviors are largely determined by *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* (97.1%); Child's good manners (especially how they interact with the elders) are an indication of good *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* (95.7%); *Ga-jung-kyo-yuk* is parent's primary responsibility (97.3%); *Ga-jung-kyo-yuk* is a primary method to teach child virtues (94.5%). These results, together with the findings of this study, suggest that the concept of *ga-jung-kyo-yuk*, while similar to the Western concept of family socialization, may be a much more purposeful process that emphasizes deliberate teaching and training by parents to enculturate children and carries significant weight as a primary responsibility of parents.

However, whether *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* is a dominating parenting ideology that governs parenting behaviors as it used to be is not as clear as the high endorsement in the core concept. Specifically, 75.2% of parents much or very much agreed with the statement “I pass down Korean traditions and values through *ga-jung-kyo-yuk*” and a mere 20.6% much or very much agreed that *ga-jung-kyo-yuk* should be stern to be effective, which shows a consistent pattern in the measurement testing indicating that parents maintain the core values of parenting, while modifying the means and behaviors by which they achieve those values. Hyun (2001) found a similar pattern in his comparative work of Korean immigrants in Detroit and Koreans in Seoul; as Korean immigrant parents acculturate, they more easily shed traditional behaviors, while maintaining traditional ideology.

It is also noted that these changes are likely to occur among Koreans who have not immigrated to the U.S. Traditional values used to be significantly more predominant in *ga-jung-kyo-yuk*, but, in recent years, Korean families have placed greater emphasis on independence and autonomy – the virtues that are valued in modern and industrialized society. Achievement in education continues to be critical, not only because it has been traditionally highly valued, but also because it is in high demand in the industrialized economy. Contemporary Korean parenting scholars encourage Korean parents to, in their *ga-jung-kyo-yuk*, practice more democratic parenting, such as giving praise and granting autonomy, rather than stern parenting, such as employing punitive disciplines and demanding obedience. These changes are likely due to the rapid industrialization and globalization and extensive westernization. Some argue that, in fact, immigrants may be more resistant to change and may demonstrate the traditional traits of the culture of origin

more so than those who did not migrate (Lin & Fu, 1990). Additional studies are warranted to better understand patterns of change and preservation of cultural traits among parents and how these patterns are related to children's outcomes and family well-being.

Future Use and Recommendations

Based on the study results, we recommend for future use those new measures with empirical support for reliability and content and construct validity. These include measures of Korean Traditional Parental Virtues (6 items), Enculturation of Familial and Cultural Values (7 items), and Important Korean Traditional Etiquettes (6 items). Disciplinary Practices with Young Children, although probably usable, needs more work. Although details were not reported, the existing scales (ACV, *guan* parenting and *guan* ideology) worked properly in this study and are recommended for use with Korean immigrants and Korean Americans. These new and existing measures collectively and distinctively contribute to the understanding of family socialization in Korean immigrant families.

Indirect Expression of Affection, although each item of the scale may be a valid indicator of the construct, is not likely to work as a coherent scale. Although not usable in its current form, the items helped describe immigrant parental efforts to express love to their children. Additional work is needed to better assess indirect ways of expressing affection and their role in child development. Ideal Attributes in Collectivism and Individualism will not work as a scale either. However, these items provided insight into the complex process of cultural adaptation, challenged the current conceptualization of the traditional and mainstream cultures as separate entities, and highlight the need for an expanded understanding of how cultural traits are adopted.

It is noted that, although "changes" (or acculturation) were assumed when certain items of traditional beliefs or behaviors were endorsed low, this study did not explicitly test changes per se as we did not compare the rates of endorsement of this present sample to those of the past. One possible way to test the change in culture is to investigate whether and how various acculturation variables predict differences in the traditional cultural characteristics of family socialization. Acculturation variables would include years of residence in U.S., a sense of identity as American, cultural and social participation in the mainstream. This investigation will be the next step of this study.

With the rapid expansion of the Asian American population and the overall growing diversity in the U.S., achieving culturally appropriate practice requires not only further validation of existing knowledge and additional cross-cultural research, but the development of a theoretical framework of family socialization that recognizes the cultural uniqueness of families living in multiple cultural settings. The study of Korean American families offers insight into a complex cultural adaptation that can guide development of a new understanding of the impact of acculturation on family socialization. Furthermore, existing research can be expanded upon to include the study of the impact of family socialization on children's development and family processes to help design better interventions for Asian immigrant children, parents, and families.

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Table 1

Newly Measures of Korean Immigrant Parenting I

Constructs	Mean (SD)	Alpha	Factor
Items (Italicized items are later dropped)		Item-Total	loading
Korean Traditional Parent Virtues	4.33 (.47)	0.762/.856	
Please think about how you believe good parents should behave. Use the scale below to express how much each statement describes or is like an ideal parent.			
1. Parents should try to demonstrate proper attitude and behaviors in front of their children.	4.57 (.60)	0.686	0.851
2. Parents should try to learn and practice parenting that is appropriate to their children's developmental stage.	4.50 (.63)	0.657	0.822
3. Parents should try to be the model of honesty and righteousness for their child.	4.67 (.54)	0.632	0.849
4. Parents should teach their children to respect elders by showing that they love and respect their parents (children's grandparents).	4.60 (.59)	0.662	0.793
5. <i>Parents should try to refrain from excessive praise of their children.</i>	2.94 (1.33)	0.155	0.094
6. <i>Parents should try to interact with their children sternly as well as lovingly.</i>	4.17 (.90)	0.436	0.382
7. Parents should trust their children.	4.53 (.65)	0.527	0.573
8. Parents should make an effort to help their children trust them.	4.72 (.49)	0.608	0.728
Enculturation of Familial and Cultural Values	4.03 (.39)	0.762/.792	
The following set of questions is about values regarding families and what you want to see in your child when s/he is grown up.			
1. Support/help siblings when they need help	4.43 (.53)	0.497	0.719
2. Support/help relatives when they need help	4.20 (.60)	0.494	0.676
3. Thinks of family as a source of trust and dependence	4.46 (.53)	0.521	0.713
4. Do things to please parents	4.00 (.68)	0.595	0.592
5. <i>Live with parents until married</i>	3.32 (.93)	0.378	0.349
6. <i>Obey parents (e.g. on career or marriage matters)</i>	3.55 (.78)	0.341	0.292
7. Seriously consider parents wishes/advices (e.g. on career or marriage matters)	4.15 (.53)	0.514	0.507
8. Take care of parents when they get older	3.78 (.75)	0.521	0.496
9. <i>Financially independent from parents</i>	3.84 (.89)	0.229	0.243
10. Maintain close contacts with family no matter where s/he lives	4.54 (.52)	0.410	0.552
Important Korean Traditional Etiquettes	4.44 (.65)	0.918	
How important are the following to you?			
1. My child properly greets adults (e.g. bowing to adults with proper greeting words).	4.52 (.68)	0.727	0.841
2. My child uses formal speech to adults.	4.45 (.73)	0.775	0.902
3. My child keeps Korean social norms and public etiquette in the presence of other adults (e.g. passing things with two hands to adults).	4.46 (.71)	0.781	0.869
4. My child uses correct addressing terms (e.g., calling family members with Korean addressing terms instead of using their first names (unni, oppa, eemo, komo, etc.)	4.34 (.77)	0.757	0.832
5. My child waits until other adults start eating at mealtimes.	3.95 (1.01)	0.620	0.631
6. My child avoids eye contact when adults reprimand him/her.	3.53 (1.26)	0.435	0.432

Table 2**Newly Measures of Korean Immigrant Parenting II**

Constructs	Mean (SD)	Alpha	Factor
Items		Item-Total	loading
Indirect Expression of Affection		0.436	
Some Korean parents told us that, instead of openly express affection to their children, they may do the following out of affection or care to their children. Which of the following do you think that you may do for your child to express affection or care?			
1. By cooking my child's favorite food for him/her	90.1%	0.112	0.386
2. By trying to spend more time with my child	90.7%	0.334	0.733
3. By working hard to provide financial support to the family	85.1%	0.062	0.177
4. By staying up waiting for him/her when s/he comes late	90.0%	0.322	0.691
5. By checking on my child while s/he sleeps	89.8%	0.241	0.576
6. By being there for them when s/he has hard times	93.8%	0.242	0.648
7. By trusting him/her.	96.6%	0.161	0.616
Disciplinary Practices with Young Children	1.78 (.67)	0.601	
Now I will be asking about corporal punishment when your child was younger. How often did you do the following?			
1. I used to discipline him/her by hitting palms with sticks.	1.81 (.96)	0.428	0.626
2. I used to discipline him/her by hitting calves with sticks.	1.39 (.74)	0.366	0.535
3. I used to discipline him/her by having him/her kneeling down with hands up.	2.04 (1.09)	0.436	0.563
4. I used to discipline him/her by other corporal punishment	1.9 (1.01)	0.317	0.398
Please think about what you want to see from your child when s/he is an adult. How much do you want to see the following attributes in your child when s/he is grown up? This is about your 'wish.' Even if you think it is unrealistic, just tell me whether it is a characteristic (or characteristics) that you wish to see in your child when s/he is grown up.			
Collectivism	3.54 (.52)	0.537	
1. Thinks the family needs over personal goals in setting goals	3.07 (.97)	0.366	0.572
2. Frequently pays attention to others' feelings and needs	4.01 (.72)	0.224	0.297
3. Fear ostracism the most	3.06 (1.34)	0.194	0.218
4. Thinks his/her success is mostly thanks to help from others including family	3.61 (.88)	0.343	0.526
5. Thinks his/her failure is mostly due to lack of efforts	3.71 (.91)	0.313	0.338
6. Regards sacrifice for the family as natural	3.33 (1.01)	0.289	0.466
7. Select partners or future spouse who will maximize family integrity	3.96 (.74)	0.198	0.288
Individualism	2.88 (.49)	0.415	
1. Thinks oneself (personal needs) over the family needs in setting goals	3.4 (1.14)	0.267	0.427
2. Frequently self-focused	2.22 (.93)	0.230	0.468
3. Fear dependence on others the most	3.16 (1.26)	0.105	0.132
4. Thinks that his/her success is mostly thanks to his/her ability	2.91 (1.09)	0.248	0.381
5. Thinks that his/her failure is mostly due to external factors (e.g. task difficulty, bad luck)	1.99 (.81)	0.157	0.256
6. Less willing to sacrifice oneself for the family	2.24 (.97)	0.155	0.277

Constructs	Mean (SD)	Alpha	Factor
Items		Item-Total	loading
7. Select partners or future spouse who are attractive and with exciting personality	4.08 (.75)	0.173	0.212

Table 3

Correlation among Main Constructs

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Parenting Virtues	1								
2. Enculturation	.363**	1							
3. Korean Manners	.228**	.278**	1						
4. Co-sleeping	.084	.067	.160**	1					
5. Age of Co-sleeping	.056	.092	.146**	.695**	1				
6. Early Disciplines	.030	.114*	.154**	.043	.007	1			
7. ACV	.428**	.584**	.376**	.064	.079	0.045	1		
8. Guan Ideology	.421**	.412**	.302**	.047	.069	0.021	.602**	1	
9. Guan Behavior	.310**	.235**	.175**	.055	.019	.144**	.361**	.419**	1

* Note: $p < .05$;** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$