FAMILY COHESION AND CHILD FUNCTIONING AMONG SOUTH KOREAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE US: THE MEDIATING ROLE OF KOREAN PARENT-CHILD CLOSENESS AND THE MODERATING ROLE OF ACCULTURATION

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Abstract

From a family systems perspective, family connectedness is one of the essential attributes of healthy family functioning. Families who are overly connected or disconnected are regarded as dysfunctional. However, several studies on Asian and Asian American families have reported divergent findings on family cohesion in comparison to European Americans. Distinct aspects of Asian heritage culture, such as values embedded in close interpersonal relationships and devoted parent-child relationships, may account for the discrepancies. Specifically, Jung culture, Confucian ideologies, and acculturation strategies may explain the distinctive patterns in family relationships and parent-child closeness in Korean heritage families. To better understand cultural variations in family dynamics and interpersonal functioning at the family level, the present study investigated family cohesion including balanced cohesion, enmeshment, and disengagement, indigenous notion of parent-child closeness, acculturation, and their associations with children’s socioemotional and academic functioning among Korean immigrant families via moderated mediation models. The sample consisted of 101 South Korean immigrant families with children in 7 and 14 years of age residing in the Greater New York Combined Statistical Area. Utilizing Structural Equation Modeling, the mediating role of Korean parent-child closeness was tested through the bootstrapping method and the moderating role of acculturation was examined via multiple group analyses. Findings revealed 1) possible cultural variations in conceptions of family cohesion and parent-child closeness, 2) the beneficial roles of family enmeshment for children’s socioemotional functioning, 3) dimension-specific functions of Korean father-child closeness on child academic functioning, 4) the complete mediating role of Korean mother-child closeness between balanced cohesion and child socioemotional difficulties, and 5) the moderating role of acculturation in the association between family enmeshment and
child socioemotional functioning. The findings are discussed in terms of practical and future research implications and the importance of cultural contexts in understanding Korean immigrant families in the United States.
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Chapter 1. Introduction

Family closeness or cohesion has been studied as a key factor in predicting healthy family functioning in the field of family science. Minuchin (1974) highlighted clear boundaries among family members as a critical indication for functional family relationships. Also, Olson (1989) proposed that balanced family cohesion is one of the essential contributors to healthy family functioning whereas extremely close or distant family relationships are indicative of family dysfunction. Many family studies have built upon these systemic views of family relationships and confirmed their basic principles. For instance, it has been shown that balanced family cohesion is positively associated with the functioning of American children and youths: specifically with boy’s self-esteem (Ellerman & Strahan, 1995), ego development of middle adolescents (Bakken & Romig 1989), and identity achievement among children in late adolescence (Bhushan & Shirali, 1992), but negatively related with criminal behavior of adolescent males (Cox, 1996), depression in rural youths (Rudd, Stewart, & McKenry, 1993), internalizing and attention problems of children longitudinally (Lucia & Breslau, 2006), and the ADHD symptomatology of adopted children (Crea, Chan, & Barth, 2013). Furthermore, it was reported that family cohesion is associated with children’s anxiety symptoms across ethnic groups in the US, including Latin-American, European-American, and Mexican families (Varela, Sanchez-Sosa, Biggs, & Luis, 2009). More specifically, family enmeshment, in which the connections between family members are overly close, was found to be positively associated with psychological symptoms of US kindergarten children longitudinally (Davies, Cunnings, & Winter, 2004), American youths’ internalizing and externalizing problems (Barber & Buehler, 1996), and Australian university students’ social anxiety (Craddock, 1983).
Although these research findings appear to indicate clear trends regarding the influences of family cohesion on childhood, adolescent, and youth outcomes, there have been contradictory findings from studies on Asian American family cohesion. For example, Chao (2011) found no significant association between family enmeshment (overly connected family relationships) and spiritual well-being among Asian-Americans as a whole including Chinese, Filipino, Hmong, Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese, and Vietnamese Americans. This finding may not reflect the within-group variation in Asian family groups, but it nonetheless raises questions about whether the concept of enmeshment is really a universal sign of dysfunction in family relationships across ethnic groups. This may be particularly questionable for application with the Korean heritage population, which historically has valued close interpersonal relationships embedded in cultural concepts such as Jung (情), in which families are often viewed as having blurred physical and psychological boundaries. To date, the role of family enmeshment in Korean immigrant families in the US has not been examined. Thus, one of the major goals of the present research was to shed light on the role of enmeshment among Korean immigrant families in the United States and its relationship to childhood functioning.

The unique family dynamics among Korean heritage families could be attributed to the culturally situated concept of Bujayuchin-Sungjung (Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994; Choi, 2011) and partly to Hyo ideology. Most of all, Bujayuchin-Sungjung embodies the traditional Korean notion of parent-child closeness based on Confucianism and Jung cultural principles. The concept places a high premium on affection, closeness, trust, expectation/respect, sacrifice/responsibility, compassion/emotional oneness, consciousness as his/her own flesh and blood, and mixed emotions. In addition, Hyo ideology, consisting of behavioral, emotional, and family-centered dimensions (Bae & Park, 2013; Sung, 1994), has shaped filial piety in Korea in
which children are expected to obey their parents in the interest of children’s success (Bae & Park, 2013; Lim, 1995). The behavioral dimension includes the child’s responsibility, sacrifice, and repayment of the parental care/love; the emotional dimension includes harmony, affection, and respect, and the family-centered dimension includes carrying on the family lineage and bringing honor to the family. These indigenous characteristics and the accompanying culturally accepted practices seen in *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* and Hyo ideology contain properties of family functioning that could be more easily misconceived as enmeshment than other cultural groups. There is also the danger that these characteristics, which may differ from the standards held in the United States and European cultures, may be considered malfunctional by clinicians who offer family and mental health services to Korean heritage families. At the moment, there is a serious gap in current understanding of the utility of the enmeshment construct for Korean immigrant families in the US. Hence, clinicians (e.g., family therapists and social workers) and scholars of child and family studies may benefit from research studies that examine whether enmeshment is indicative of family dysfunction among Korean immigrants, and whether Korean indigenous notions of parent-child closeness could account for the unique dynamics in Korean heritage families.

The lives of immigrant families are often in flux with inevitable changes in family social adjustment and family organization as they adapt to a new cultural environment. Cultural beliefs and practices regarding family cohesion and relational closeness may depend on the levels and types of acculturation among immigrant families. In their quest to adapt to a new society, immigrants display divergent adjustment strategies: integration, separation, marginalization, and assimilation (Berry, 1997). It is possible that the relationship dynamics observed in Korean indigenous families are less prevalent among Korean immigrants who pursue cultural adjustment
patterns such as marginalization and assimilation compared to those who pursue adjustment strategies that involve integration and separation. Accordingly, the present research investigated the moderating role of acculturation in understanding family relationships, parent-child closeness, and childhood functioning among Korean heritage families in the US.

The present study explored: 1) the distribution of Korean immigrants on the circumplex model map to see if they are skewed toward very connected areas, 2) group differences in Korean parent-child closeness and family cohesion scores by acculturation, 3) the associations between family cohesion, parent-child closeness, and socioemotional and cognitive functioning in children, 4) the mediating role of the Korean indigenous notion of parent-child closeness in the associations between family cohesion and childhood outcomes, and finally 5) the moderating role of acculturation on the associations among family cohesion, parent-child closeness, and child functioning in the Korean immigrant sample.

In chapter 2, I provide a brief description of key aspects of Korean immigrants and their cultural practices: Confucianism, collectivism, and Jung culture. This information provides a cultural context for understanding the implications of the present research. Next, a detailed look at Korean immigrants in the US is provided. Specifically an outline is provided of (a) their drive for immigration, (b) areas of settlement, (c) marriage and family, (d) education, (e) employment patterns, and (f) income levels.

**Chapter 2. Background Information**

Korean Americans and Korean immigrants constitute a population with high educational attainment levels, high rates of small business ownerships and religious affiliations with Christianity, and a low divorce rate, settling in broad regions across the United States including
rural, urban, and metropolitan areas (Yu, Choe, & Han, 2002). The complexity of Korean family life is captured in Confucian principles discussed in the Analects, collectivistic values, and Jung cultural practices.

**Korean Culture**

**Confucianism.** Korean culture is typically defined according to Confucianism, collectivism, and Jung-based culture. First, many areas of Korean family life such as family structure, parent-child relationships, spousal relationships, and sex roles as well as belief systems, daily life, and social structures are influenced by Confucian ideology (Kim & Wolpin, 2008; Kim 1998; Shin 1994). Confucianism was the official doctrine of Korea over the 500 years of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). Confucianism consists of eight key principles according to *Sam-Gang-Oh-Ryun* (삼강오륜; 三綱五倫). Essentially, these principles stipulate rules for roles between the parent and the child, king and the subjects, wife and husband, younger and older persons, and friends. The first three principles are *Bu-We-Ja-Gang* (부위자강; 父為子綱) for the child to obey his/her parents, *Gun-We-Sin-Gang* (군위신강; 君為臣綱) for subjects to obey their king, and *Bu-We-Bu-Gang* (부부부강; 夫為婦綱) for the wife to obey the husband. Hyo ideology is to some extent rooted in the tenets of *Bu-We-Ja-Gang*. However, it should be noted that Hyo ideology hardly captures relational features of parent-child closeness but the one-sided responsibility of the child toward the parent.

The other five principles are *Bu-Ja-Yu-Chin* (부자유친; 父子有親) maintaining close relationship between parents and children, *Bu-Bu-Yu-Byul* (부부유별; 夫婦有別) maintaining clear boundaries between husband and wife, *Gun-Sin-Yu-Ui* (군신유의; 君臣有義) maintaining
faithfulness between the king and the subjects, *Jang-Yu-Yu-Seo* (장유유서; 長幼有序) maintaining hierarchical relationships among individuals by age, and *Bung-Woo-Yu-Sin* (붕우유신; 朋友有信) maintaining trust between friends. As seen, in Confucian ideology, *Bu-Ja-Yu-Chin*, and *Bu-Bu-Yu-Byul*, the parent-child dyad, rather than the spousal dyad, seems to function as the hub for close family relationships in traditional Korean culture.

**Collectivism.** In the same vein, collectivism is well embedded in the Korean culture along with Confucianism (Kim & Wolpin, 2008; Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clack, 1985; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucas, 1988; Hui, 1988). Collectivistic cultures can be characterized as sharing an in-group identity with group members who are considered as an extension of the self (Triandis et al., 1985). Hofstede (1980) proposed that people in collectivistic cultures are less differentiated and more connected with one another in the group. They put great emphasis on maintaining group harmony and meeting the implicit needs of others (Bochner, 1994). Historically, interpersonal relationships and social contexts are key factors that have influenced the behaviors and psychological functioning of Korean descendants.

**Jung culture.** Tied to conceptions of interpersonal relationships noted in Confucian principles, Korea owns a distinctive *Jung*-based culture. *Jung* (情) is the Korean indigenous notion about interpersonal minds in close relationships, including family members (Choi, 2011; Choi & Kim, 2006, 2011). According to Choi (2011), *Jung* can be characterized by three distinctive features. First, *Jung* can arise when people spend time together no matter how well they get along. Second, *Jung* has irrational and emotional rather than logical attributes. Third, *Jung* is related to meek or weak personalities. Therefore, relationships viewed in terms of *Jung* could appear rather silly or indecisive when compared to European perspectives. Fundamentally,
Jung could be developed through weness/long-term in-group identity, care for each other, shared experiences, and no boundaries/candidness like a second self in the relationship (Choi, 2011, p. 46). Hence, Jung could be considered a reliable attribute of relationship closeness in Korean heritage culture (Choi, 1997b).

People in close relationships in Korean culture tend to reveal their weaknesses as well as their strengths to each other. At times this leads to conflicts, misunderstandings, or arguments, and/or reconciliations (Choi & Kim, 2011). It could worsen the relationship if individuals do not aptly deal with the conflicts. However, once relational issues are resolved, the relationship tends to be strengthened and it is believed that Jung is built up in the relationship. This type of Jung-based relationship could provide feelings of ease, trust, and closeness. What is more interesting is Jung consists of not only positive feelings about a person but also negative ones simultaneously, which are termed Goun-Jung (고운정) and Miun-Jung (미운정), respectively (Choi & Kim, 2011). Goun-Jung is about positive representations of the person in the Jung-based relationship and Miun-Jung is about negative/mixed feelings toward the person in close relationships. Miun-Jung is different from experiencing pure negative emotions such as hatred or grudge. It is closer to having mixed emotions or ambivalence while people keep experiencing conflicts and reconciliations. Choi (1997b) found that family members develop Miun-Jung and Goun-Jung most frequently within spousal relationships, parent-child relationships, sibling relationships, and other cross-generational relationships, followed by dating couple relationships and peer relationships. And, Choi and Kim (2011) reported that solely possessing Goun-Jung is just an incomplete status of Jung that is easily broken in the face of difficulties; having both Miun-Jung and Goun-Jung indicates stronger, more comfortable, and resilient relationships.
These core principles of *Jung* such as having long-term ingroup identity/weness, care for each other, shared experiences, and no boundaries/candidness like a second self in interpersonal relationships have shaped unique patterns of parent-child relationships in Korean heritage culture, in combination with Confucian ideologies about empathizing parent-child dyads as a hub for functional family relationships.

**Summary.** Putting these elements together, Korean culture has formed a unique *Jung*-based culture influenced by Confucianism. European scholars have described Korean culture as collectivistic as compared to the individualism found in North America and Europe. Furthermore, interpersonal relationships and social contexts influence Koreans’ behaviors and thought processes as seen in shared values among Confucianism, collectivism, and *Jung* cultural principles. In short, in family relationships, parent-child closeness tends to play a key role for functional family relationships among Korean families.

**Korean Immigrants in the United States**

Having discussed some central tenets of the ideological and cultural belief systems that drive traditional Korean family functioning and relationships, in the next section I provide some details on Korean immigrants in the US: their drive for migration, areas of settlement, marriage and family, religion, education, employment patterns, and income levels.

**Drive for immigration.** Migration from Korea to the United States is not a new phenomenon. There are four distinctive phases of migration among Korean immigrants to the US. According to Yu, Choe, and Han (2002), about 200 to 400 Koreans first migrated to Hawaii, San Francisco, and Los Angeles between 1883 and 1902. During the second period (1903-1924), 7,000 Koreans were recruited as plantation laborers to Hawaii, 1,100 picture brides were sent to
Hawaii and the mainland, 540 political refugees came through China and Europe, and 289 Korean students arrived with Japanese passports during the Japanese colonial period in Korea. Subsequently, during the third phase (1951-1964) that began after the Korean War and the division of South and North Korea, about 6,500 brides of American soldiers, 6,300 adopted children as war-orphans, and 6,000 students came to the US. The fourth period comprises Korean migration between 1965 up to the present. The Immigration Act of 1965 permitted greater numbers of Korean families to immigrate to the US for the first time. During the 1980s, immigration rates increased rapidly; the peak number was 35,849 in 1987. The main drive for immigration during the period was political and social security and better education for children (Shin & Shin, 1999). But, the number of immigrants decreased in the 1990s to 12,301 in 1999 due to improved economic and political conditions in Korea (Yu, Choe, & Han, 2002). The immigration rate rose again after 2000 due to the high unemployment rate in Korea and the impact of globalization and technological advances in the global community (Min, 2011). In all, the size of the Korean population in the US increased from 11,171 in 1960 to 1,042,580 in 2007 (Terazas, 2009), which is the fastest growing Asian groups in the US (Ko, 2008).

Areas of settlement. In the 1950s, Korean immigrants were concentrated in Hawaii. They later dispersed to other regions across the country. According to the 2000 Census, 44% of Koreans resided in the West, 23% in the Northeast, 12% in the Midwest, and 21% in the South (2000 US Census). In comparison, for the US population as a whole, 24% are in the West, 19% in the Northeast, 21% in the Midwest, and 36% in the South. Korean immigrants are dense in the West and Northeast areas rather than the Midwest or the South areas. The largest numbers of Korean immigrants (30.9%) reside in California, followed by New York (9.1%), New Jersey (7.0%), and Virginia (5.0%; Terrazas, 2009).
Marriage and family. Korean immigrant families display great stability in their family structure (Min & Kim 2012; Yu, Choe, & Han, 2002). Among Korean immigrant families, 82% were married-couples compared to the 76% of all families in the US. In addition, 54% of Korean married-couple families had children below 18 years of age in comparison to 46% of US married-couple families as a whole. Divorce or separation rates for Korean immigrants are one of the lowest across ethnic groups in the US. In 2005, 3.1% Korean immigrant men and 6.6% of Korean immigrant women were divorced while the rates for non-Hispanic White US population were 9.6% for men and 11.9% for women (Min & Kim, 2012).

Religion. The majority of Korean immigrants in the US identifies themselves as Christian. According to Yoo and Chung (2008), 80% of Korean Americans has religious affiliations with Protestantism, followed by 11% with Roman Catholics, 5% with Buddhism, and 4% with no religion. Kim (2003), through her qualitative research, reported that Korean immigrant working mothers’ Christian faith has influenced their parenting values. The Christian parenting values can be compared with Korean traditional Confucianism. In one sense they could look similar in that they both value close family relationships. However, the essence of healthy family relationship is distinctive. From the Confucianism perspectives, parent-child relationship constitutes the core of the functional family. Confucianism values parental dedication to their children, especially mothers’ sacrifice. But, Christianity put great emphasis on individual relationships of each family member with God. In terms of parenting, parents are considered as an instrument or a medium for child care.

Likewise, there are some incompatible aspects between Confucianism and Christianity but how they intersect is sparsely studied. Christian Korean immigrants may withdraw some Confucian-based traditional customs and comply with Christian values and practices. Despite
their priority, it is likely that their heritage cultural values still remain effective in their lives through cultural inheritance of such values through a great number of generations.

**Education, employment patterns, and income levels.** The Migration Policy Institute, (Terrazas, 2009) reported that 51.3% of Korean immigrants age 25 years and older had at least a bachelor’s degree which was above the average of 27% across the US population.

Employment patterns for Korean immigrants are dense in entrepreneurship and small business ownership (Yu, Choe, & Han, 2002). One-third of Korean immigrant householders in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and Atlanta were involved in self-owned businesses, about one-fifth in professional work, and the rest in other salaried occupations (Yu, 1983; Hurh & Kim, 1984; Min, 1988; Los Angeles Times, 1992). In earlier stages of immigration, Korean immigrants could start their own business only after saving money while working in semi-skilled jobs in the US. In more recent decades, they have been able to start business ventures right away due to the liberalization in exchange laws and the stronger national economic status of Korea (Yu, Choe, & Han, 2002). Based on the 1997 US Economic Census, business ownership of Korean immigrants was 71% higher than their share of the population in the nation, which is highest among Asian ethnic groups. Moreover, Terrazas (2009) reported that 20.6% of Korean foreign born males were involved in management, business, and finance, 19.6% in sales, 9.6% in services, 7.3% in education/training and media/entertainment, 4.3% in information technology, and 6.6% in other sciences and engineering. In comparison, among all foreign born males, 10.2% were in management, business, and finance type occupations, 7.8% in sales, 17.2% in services, 3.3% in education/training and media/entertainment, 3.8% in information technology, and 3.9% in other sciences and engineering.
Yu, Choe, and Han (2002) reported that Korean immigrants showed a higher within-group disparity in income levels than other ethnic/racial groups in the U.S; the standard deviation was the highest among other ethnic groups. The ethnic rank by the median income was lower than the rank by the mean income due to the extremely skewed data; the mean income per family was $72,600 which ranked 5th out of 11 groups (Vietnamese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino, Chinese, Asian Indian, Native American, Black, White, Non-Hispanic White, and Hispanic) with a median of $50,000 (US Census Bureau, 2000). Despite the higher education level among Korean immigrants, there was a significant gap between educational attainment and income levels (Yu, Choe, & Han, 2002). Yu and her colleagues (2002) reasoned that this phenomenon may be due to high rates of small business ownership, greater acculturation problems, weaker networking resources as relatively new immigrants, and the report bias on income in cash-based, small businesses. It was anticipated that the gap between income and education would be lessened because the US born Korean immigrant tends to do better than the first generation Korean immigrants on these indices (Yu, Choe, & Han, 2002).

Summary. Korean immigrants’ migration to the US has gone through 4 different phases from 1883 to the present, and the number has increased 93-fold from 1960 to 2007. More than half of all Korean immigrants reside in California, New York, New Jersey, and Virginia. Korean immigrants show great stability in their marriage and family structure, high rates of educational attainment and business ownership, and a high density on Christianity, but show a significant gap between educational attainment and income levels.

Chapter 3. Empirical Literature
In this chapter, I discuss the research literature on family cohesion, parent-child closeness, and the acculturation process among Korean immigrant families in the United States. Emphasis is on studies that pertain to the major questions posed by the proposed work. It should be pointed out that research studies in each of the three areas considered are spare. Occasionally, I draw upon studies conducted in adjacent disciplines and on other Asian immigrants in the United States who share some cultural practices with Korean immigrants, and indigenous Korean families in Korea to discuss family dynamics and parent-child relationships in the Korean heritage culture.

**Family Cohesion**

As the field of family science expanded to consider systemic views about the family from the mid-1950s onward (see influences of the Bateson Project, the Palo Alto Group, 1953-1963, which introduced cybernetics and general systems theory to arenas of social psychology and psychotherapy), cohesion became a central topic of investigation as an important indicator of family functioning. Broadly speaking, family cohesion is defined as “emotional bonding that family members have toward one another (Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1983, p. 70).” When family members are overly connected, it is categorized as enmeshed, when they are well connected, it is balanced, and when family members are too disconnected, it is considered disengaged (Olson & Gorall, 2003). Although there is an extensive literature on family cohesion in European American families (see Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1989; Olson, 2011) and a number of studies on family cohesion among immigrant families in North America, there are few studies on family cohesion among Korean immigrants in the United States (e.g. Bae & Park, 2010; Kil & Yi, 1999). For example, among immigrant families, the studies have concentrated on Latino Americans (e.g. Fuligni, 1998; Marsiglia, Parsai, Kulis, & Southwest Interdisciplinary
A comparatively smaller literature exists on family cohesion in indigenous Korean families (for children, see Kim & Oh, 2006; Kim, 2001; for adolescents, see Moon, Lee, Lee, Kim, & Moon, 2013; Kim, 2012; Song, 2012; Lee & Jang, 2011; Choi, 2009; Kim & Ahn, 2008; Lee & Nam, 2005; Kil & Yi, 1999; Min, 1992). It should be mentioned at the outset that the studies on Asian immigrant families in the US have produced conflicting findings regarding family cohesion and individual functioning, few have used the FACES (Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scale) measure, they generally did not solicit the opinions of children, and few considered indigenous cultural beliefs about family closeness. Nor have studies considered the meaning of cutoff scores that are commonly used to assess family cohesion across cultures.

**Associations between family cohesion and functioning in children and youth.** For the most part, studies of family functioning among Korean immigrants, Asian immigrants in North America, and indigenous Koreans, have shown positive associations between family cohesion and social functioning in children and adolescents (for Korean immigrants, see Bae & Park, 2010; Kil & Yi, 1999; for indigenous Koreans, see Kim & Oh, 2006; Kim, 2001; Moon, Lee, Lee, Kim, & Moon, 2013; Kim, 2012; Song, 2012; Lee & Jang, 2011; Choi, 2009; Kim & Ahn, 2008; Lee & Nam, 2005; Kil & Yi, 1999; Min, 1992; for Asian immigrants, see Leong, Park, & Kalibatseva, 2013; Ho, 2010; Rousseau, Hassan, Measham, Moreau, Lashley, Castro, Blake, & McKenzie, 2009). For instance, Bae and Park (2010) found that among Korean immigrants in Canada,
family cohesion was positively associated with individual mental health indirectly through self-esteem. Also, Kil and Yi (1999) found that family cohesion was positively associated with family adaptability and family open communication in Korean immigrant adolescents from middle-school students to graduate students in Los Angeles and adolescents in Korea.

Turning to children and adolescents in Korea, Kim and Oh (2006) found that family cohesion was positively related to friendship quality and happiness of 5th and 6th grade elementary school children and Kim (2001) similarly showed that family cohesion was positively associated with social competence and negatively associated with antisocial behaviors among 6th and 8th grade children. Working with older children, Moon, Lee, Lee, Kim, and Moon (2013) found that family cohesion was indirectly associated with suicidal ideation through self-esteem among middle school students in Daegu, Korea. Similarly, Lee and Jang (2011) reported a negative association between cohesion and suicidal ideation, and moderating effects of family cohesion in the association between academic stress and suicidal ideation among middle school students in Seoul, Kyungki-do, and Busan, and Choi (2009) found that family cohesion was positively associated with self-differentiation, and negatively associated with depression and interpersonal sensitivity among high school students in Korea. Kim and Ahn (2008) found sex differences in the associations between family cohesion and social functioning in high school students in Korea. Specifically, family cohesion was indirectly associated with depression and delinquent behaviors among male high school students in Korea, but there was no significant association between family cohesion and functioning of female high school students in Korea when parents-youth communication and family conflicts were entered as control variables. Further, Lee and Nam (2005) confirmed that family cohesion was positively related to life satisfaction; but family enmeshment was negatively associated with life satisfaction and self-
esteem, and positively associated with depression among middle and high school students in Korea. Finally, Min (1992) showed that juvenile delinquency was negatively associated with family cohesion and parent-adolescent open communication among juvenile delinquents in Seoul and Daegu. Father-adolescent communication had a greater influence on family cohesion than mother-adolescent communication.

Other work has also found indirect relationships between family cohesion and childhood outcomes in indigenous Korean samples. For instance, Kim (2012) found family cohesion moderated the association between learned helplessness and psychological maladaptation among Korean adolescents. In addition, Song (2012) found negative relationships between family cohesion and sexual addiction among Korean adolescents and this association was mediated by loneliness.

Related research on Asian immigrant groups in the United States has also found associations between different dimensions of family functioning and childhood and family outcomes. Leong, Park, and Kalibatseva (2013) studied the risk and protective factors associated with mental health of Latino and Asian immigrant adults in the US and found that low-level family cohesion among Asian immigrants was associated with high-level anxiety disorder, and low-level family cohesion among Latino immigrants was associated with high-level depressive symptoms but low-level risk in substance-related disorders. In other words, family cohesion was a protective factor for Asian immigrants, but a risk factor for Latino immigrants. Wong, Uhm, and Li (2012) confirmed a positive association between family cohesion and suicidal ideation that was partially mediated by psychological distress among an Asian American sample from the National Latino and Asian American Study (NLAAS). Furthermore, they found that English proficiency moderated this association. High English language proficiency showed no
significant association between family cohesion and suicidal ideation; but low English proficiency showed a significant negative association between the two constructs. In a study of Vietnamese immigrant adolescents in the US, Ho (2010) also found that acculturation gaps in Vietnamese identity between adolescents and their parent were negatively associated with family cohesion and family satisfaction; Vietnamese adolescents’ Vietnamese language competence and Vietnamese identity were positively associated with family cohesion. At the same time, acculturation gaps between adolescents and their parents in American language, American identity, and Vietnamese language were not associated with family cohesion and family satisfaction. In a Canadian study, Rousseau and his colleagues (2009) found that for Caribbean immigrant adolescents, self-esteem and perceived racism were correlated with family cohesion, and for Filipino immigrant adolescents, school attitude was significantly correlated with family cohesion. However, there was no significant direct association between family cohesion and externalizing and internalizing problems among adolescents in either ethnic group. Indirect associations between family cohesion and internalizing and externalizing functioning among Caribbean and Filipino immigrant adolescents in Canada were implied in the study although they were not empirically tested.

But other studies seem to provide less parsimonious relationships between family cohesion and childhood outcomes. For example, Ruth Chao (2001) undertook a comparison study between Chinese American adolescents and European American adolescents to determine whether family cohesion (FACES II; Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1979), labeled as parent-adolescent closeness, was associated with adolescents’ school performance. Findings indicate that family cohesion was related to academic performance only among European American adolescents when authoritative parenting style was controlled for. This is a noteworthy finding
because family cohesion was believed to be more important in Asian Americans than European Americans. In addition, Brian Chao (2011) examined family functioning, acculturation, and individual spiritual well-being among Asian Americans and found that there were no significant associations between family enmeshment and religious well-being and with spiritual well-being as a whole. Likewise, no significant association was found between family disengagement and individual religious well-being. These findings may imply that family cohesion plays a different role among Asian immigrants including Korean heritage population than other ethnic groups.

**Limitations of prior research.** As is obvious, there are far more studies on family cohesion in other Asian immigrant families than Korean immigrants in North America (see Leong, Park, & Kalibatseva, 2013; Wong, Uhm, & Li, 2012; B. Chao, 2011; Ho, 2010; Rousseau, Hassan, Measham, Moreau, Lashley, Castro, Blake, & McKenzie, 2009; R. Chao, 2001). In general, these studies did not take into consideration within-group variations in conceptualization or measurement of family cohesion in the Asian culture. For example, Leong, Park, and Kalibatseva (2013) studied risk and protective factors of Latino and Asian immigrant adults without specifying particular ethnicity, Wong, Uhm, and Li (2012) used data on the Asian American sample from the National Latino and Asian American Study (NLAAS) as a whole, and B, Chao (2011) did not suggest any implications for ethnic variations in the role of cohesion in his cluster analysis and instead focused on general findings of Asian Americans as a group. Within and between group variations in family functioning in other ethnic groups suggest that within-group variation issues should be considered very seriously among Asian and Asian American populations (see Rivera, Guarnaccia, Mulvaney-Day, Lin, Torres, & Alegria, 2008; Estrada-Martínez, Padilla, Caldwell, & Schulz, 2011). Families from Asia do not all display the same patterns of family dynamics and values related to family closeness, and general findings
from Asian immigrant samples may not be applied particularly to Korean immigrant families since each ethnic group even in Asia carries unique values and cultural practices in family relationships. To address this critical point, there should be more studies of family cohesion from different ethnic and cultural groups including Korean immigrant families in the US.

**Old versions of FACES.** As the different versions of the FACES scale evolved over the several iterations, the applicability of the instrument, the scoring and cut-off scores for use with non-European heritage cultural groups were questioned (see Olson and McCubbin, 1982). Moreover, older versions of FACES including the original, II, and III did not properly capture the curvilinear associations between family cohesion and functioning of children and adolescents (Barnes & Olson, 1985; Olson, 2000), yet most studies on Asian Americans or Asian groups utilized the older versions to measure family cohesion. For example, Kim (2001), Chao (2001), Jung and Lee (1999), and Min (1992) used FACES II, and Wong, Uhm, and Li (2012), Song (2012), Lee and Jang (2011), Choi (2009), Kim and Ahn (2008), Kim and Oh (2006), and Kil and Yi (1999) used FACES III, and Lee and Nam (2005) used the Colorado Self-Report of Family Inventory (CSRFI; Bloom, 1985) to measure family cohesion and family enmeshment. Only Chao (2011) used FACES IV. The field is in need of studies that use FACES IV to determine the curvilinear associations between family cohesion and functioning of children and youths.

**Balanced and unbalanced family cohesion scores.** Major challenges that arise with using FACES IV is determining the ranges that distinguish balanced or unbalanced family functioning based on the scores of family cohesion on the circumplex model map. Many studies entered a total score in their regression models (see Moon, Lee, Lee, Kim, & Moon, 2013; Leong, Park, & Kalibatseva, 2013; Kim, 2012; Song, 2012; Wong, Uhm, & Li, 2012; Lee & Jang, 2011;
Ho, 2010; Rousseau, Hassan, Measham, Moreau, Lashley, Castro, Blake, & McKenzie, 2009; Kim & Ahn, 2008; Kim & Oh, 2006; R. Chao, 2001; Kil & Yi, 1999; Min, 1992), and fewer yet incorporated the percentile scores of family cohesion in their analyses of the associations between family cohesion and childhood outcomes (see Jung & Lee, 1999; Choi, 2009; B. Chao, 2011). Those considering the balanced and unbalanced dimensions of the FACES found that withdrawn behaviors of Korean children in Korea were greater in families with the unbalanced ranges of family cohesion than in families with the balanced ranges of family cohesion (Jung & Lee, 1999). Also, Choi (2009) found that there were significant differences among disengaged (unbalanced), separated (balanced), connected (balanced), and enmeshed (unbalanced) groups in self-differentiation, depression, and interpersonal sensitivity among high school students in Korea. The disengaged group showed the lowest level of self-differentiation and the greatest levels of depression and interpersonal sensitivity whereas the enmeshed group showed the greatest level of self-differentiation, and the lowest levels of depression and interpersonal sensitivity. Furthermore, in the study by Brian Chao (2011) noted earlier, there were negative associations between family enmeshment and existential well-being, but no significant associations between family enmeshment and religious and spiritual well-being. Without consideration of the balanced ranges of family cohesion scores, meaningful implications cannot be made since the simple quantity changes in scores may not capture the quality of changes in family functioning.

**Cultural variations in cutoff scores.** Tied to concerns about ranges of scores in determining family cohesion are cutoff scores for designating families as balanced or unbalanced based on family cultural ideologies about social boundaries and the nature of close interpersonal relationships. For example, in assessments of mental health, Bernstein and her colleagues (2011)
used the higher cutoff score (21 in the CES-D-K) than the standardized score (16) of the European population to determine depression among Korean immigrants according to previous studies and recommendations (Jang, Kim, & Chiriboga, 2005; Cho & Kim, 1998; Noh, Avison, & Kaspar, 1992) while pointing out that Korean people tend to express negative feelings more than positive ones probably because Korean culture emphasizes humility and humbleness. To date, no study has incorporated this approach in the study of family cohesion in Asian or Asian American cultural groups. Most studies that utilized the balanced ranges of family cohesion have applied the original cutoff scores to ethnic minority groups without questioning their cultural relevance (see Jung & Lee, 1999; Choi, 2009; B. Chao, 2011). This issue was addressed in the present study by mapping scores on the FACES to determine whether Korean immigrant families in the US show similar distributions to those found in previous studies (Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1989; Olson, 2011).

**Summary.** Family cohesion tends to show divergent outcomes across different ethnic groups and across domains although it is generally believed to be beneficial to the functioning of children and adolescents. It is worth repeating that there have been very few studies on family cohesion on Korean immigrant families in North America and there are considerably more studies with adolescents than children in attempting to determine the role of family cohesion in individual level functioning. Moreover, there was only one study that used FACES IV for studying immigrants in North America, which embraces curvilinear associations between family cohesion and family functioning. The version of FACES IV that Chao (2011) used was the preliminary version by Tiesel and Olson (1997), whose validity was tested by Franklin, Streeter, and Springer (2001), rather than by Olson (Olson, 2011). Many studies did not use the balanced or unbalanced cutoffs when interpreting results of the FACES series and there is no study that
has attended to issues of cultural diversity in cutoff scores of family cohesion across cultures which limits drawing meaningful implications from the results of prior work. Equally important, studies have shown within-group variations in family functioning among Latino immigrant families (e.g. Rivera et al., 2008; Estrada-Martínez, Padilla, & Caldwell, 2011) but no study has assessed this issue among Asian immigrants in North America. To address these limitations, the present study examined family cohesion of children in the late childhood or young adolescence period via FACES IV (Olson, 2011) and its association with individual-level outcomes in both the socioemotional and academic domains specifically among Korean immigrant families to gain insights into cultural diversity in balanced family cohesion while attending to the unique values around the family in Korean culture.

**Parent-Child Closeness**

Parent-child closeness, defined as having sensitive, responsive interactions, and strong emotional bonds with some degree of continuity over time (Allen & Land, 1999; Collins & Laursen, 2005), includes properties of affection, cohesion, companionship, interdependence, intimacy, and trust (Collins & Repinski, 2001) in the North American literature and its implications for childhood development have received quite a bit of attention in developmental psychology (e.g. Erel, & Burman, 1995; Cox, & Harter, 2003; Leidy, 2009; Suldo, 2009; DeLay, 2011; Chan, Doan, & Tompson, 2013; Werneck, Eder, Yanagida, & Rollett, 2014). Its systemic importance for family structures and family dynamics has also been delineated in the family social science literature (see Minuchin, 1974; Lamb, 1976; Pederson, Anderson, & Cain, 1980; Belsky, 1981; Sroufe, Jacobvitz, Mangelsdorf, DeAngelo, & Ward, 1985). However, as noted already, most of the studies have been conducted on European or European heritage families (see for reviews Erel, & Burman, 1995; Cox, & Harter, 2003; Collins & Laursen, 2005; Leidy, 2009;
Suldo, 2009; DeLay, 2011). There are virtually no studies on parent-child closeness among Korean immigrants in North America and only a handful of studies on other Asian immigrant families. Furthermore, the studies on Asian immigrants are limited in that many of them did not actually incorporate different cultural conceptualizations of parent-child closeness across ethnic groups. Studies of Korean immigrants are no exception; there were no immigrant studies that took account of Korean indigenous concepts of parent-child closeness. There are studies that have integrated Korean indigenous notions of parent-child closeness but they were conducted on Korean indigenous samples.

An overall finding among Asian immigrant groups is that parent-child closeness has a beneficial role in childhood (see Fung & Lau, 2010) and adolescent development (see Wu & Chao, 2011; Wang, Kviz, & Miller, 2012). For example, Fung and Lau (2010) found that relationship closeness was negatively associated with dissonance in child internalizing problems and punitive parenting. Wu and Chao (2011) found that the Chinese concept of parent-child adolescent closeness was negatively associated with internalizing and externalizing problems among Chinese immigrant adolescents in the US. Wang, Kviz and Miller (2012) reviewed studies on adolescent-parent bonding and alcohol use among Asian adolescents in the US and they discovered that acculturation functioned as a risk factor for alcohol use among the Asian adolescents and adolescent-parent bonding played a buffering role in associations between culturally-based factors (e.g. cultural values and acculturation) and alcohol use among the Asian adolescents in the US. As with family cohesion, parent-child closeness may take on different meanings across different cultural groups.

Conceptualization of parent-child closeness across cultures. What constitutes parent-child closeness and good relationships appear to be divergent across ethnic and cultural groups.
There are only a small number of studies on immigrant families that have considered cross-cultural variations in the conceptualization of parent-child closeness or desirable relationships (see Wu & Chao, 2011; Rothbaum, Morelli, Pott, & Liu-Constant, 2000; Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994). For instance, Wu and Chao (2011) introduced the Chinese indigenous notion of parent-adolescent relationships, *qin* (親; Wu & Chao, 2007) consisting of parental devotion, sacrifice, thoughtfulness, and *guan* (governing the child’s life and activities), and Rothbaum and his colleagues (2000) explored divergent meanings of physical closeness between parents and young children in Chinese immigrants and European Americans. Similarly, Choi, Kim, and Yu (1994) introduced the Korean indigenous notion of parent-child closeness, *Bujayuchin-Sungjung*, consisting of 1) *Yuchin*/closeness (有親), 2) consciousness as one’s own flesh and blood, and 3) compassion/emotional oneness. However, there is no study of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* in Korean immigrant families in North America. As stated before, *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* is the Korean indigenous notion of parent-child closeness stemming from Confucian doctrines and *Jung* culture. Although it has not been globally introduced yet, there are studies published on *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* in the Korean indigenous population (see Choi, 2011; Choi, Kim & Yu, 1994 for conceptual studies; see Kim & Choi, 2010; Choi, 2006; Park & Lee, 2005; Choi, 2005; Lee & Choi, 2003 for empirical studies). The following sub-sections will look at Korean studies of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* more closely because they could be instructive in understanding parent-child relationships among Korean immigrants in the US.

**Beneficial roles of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung***. Like other aspects of parent-child closeness, *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* has a beneficial impact on family and child functioning (see Kim & Choi, 2010; Choi, 2005; Lee & Choi, 2003; Park & Lee, 2005). For example, Kim and Choi (2010) found that Korean women who experienced high levels of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* with their
fathers tend to have higher positive parenting attitude, and Korean women who experienced low levels of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* with their fathers tend to have lower parenting efficacy. Furthermore, Choi (2005) reported that *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* was positively associated with self-differentiation, and negatively associated with psychosocial dysfunction among high school students in Korea. Lee and Choi (2003) showed positive associations between *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* and parent-adolescent communication, self-concept, self-esteem, and problem behaviors among high school students in the metropolitan Seoul area. In the only study of children per se, Park and Lee (2005) also found that *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* was significantly associated with self-differentiation and interpersonal relationships among of 5th and 6th grade elementary school children in Seoul.

**Efforts at developing *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* scales.** There have been significant efforts in Korean scholarly circles to develop reliable and valid measures of Korean parent-child closeness. Choi, Kim, and Yu (1994) developed their own measurement of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* for middle school, high school, and undergraduate students and confirmed five subscales among undergraduate students: 1) Yuchin/closeness (유친; 有親), 2) distrust, 3) protection/responsibility, 4) emotional oneness, and 5) burden regarding the child’s mind toward the parents, and 1) Yuchin/closeness (유친; 有親), 2) distrust, 3) consciousness as his/her own flesh and blood, 4) sacrifice, and 5) worries regarding the parents’ mind toward the child. Factor loadings for the subscales ranged between .67 and .84 for parents toward the child and .41 and .87 for the child toward parents among undergraduate students. But there was no mention of the outcomes of the validity test. Later, Lee and Choi (2003) developed a separate measure of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* among high school students in the Seoul metropolitan area. This attempt produced only two subscales: oneness/trust and self-sacrifice. Cronbach’s alphas were
between .92 and .93 for the child toward the mother and between .95 and .96 for the child toward the father. Split-half reliability coefficients were .89 for mothers and .91 for fathers for the trust scale and .76 for mothers and .84 for fathers for the self-sacrifice scale. Confirmatory factor analysis indicated that the factor model fit well with the data for mothers and fathers, respectively. The subscales showed good convergent and predictive validity with self-concept, self-esteem, and problem behaviors. Nonetheless, conceptualization of Bujayuchin-Sungjung (Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994) was not fully reflected in their scale and the bidirectional relationship between parents and the child was also not integrated into the measurement.

In another study, In Jae Choi (2006) developed a parent-child relationship scale based on the Bujayuchin-Sungjung concept and tested it on undergraduate students attending colleges in Seoul (Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994). His scale consisted of four subscales: closeness, self-sacrifice, respect, and strictness from the child toward the mother and the father. Cronbach’s alphas were between .70 and .91 for mothers and between .74 and .93 for fathers. Split-half reliability was between .54 and .88 for mothers and between .60 and .89 for fathers. Confirmatory factor analysis confirmed the data fit well with the factor model for both mothers and fathers and validity assessments were determined with other scales that measured parent child bonding, parent-adolescents communication, self-esteem, and stress in the same study by In Jae Choi (2006).

Vital limitations. A major drawback in the operationalization and development of these instruments on Bujayuchin-Sungjung is that they did not consider children’s views of relationship closeness in bidirectional terms. In addition, they did not incorporate the mixed emotions component in measurements of the construct. Choi, Kim, and Yu (1994) did conceptualize Bujayuchin-Sungjung as bidirectional between parents and the child and included
mixed emotions toward each other based on the property of compassion/emotional oneness in their assessments (Choi, 2011). In light of this, the bidirectional relationship between parents and the child in addition to mixed emotions based on *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* (Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994) was an important focus of the proposed work.

**Summary.** There are a small number of empirical studies about parent-child relationship among Asian immigrant families including Korean immigrants in North America. Among these studies, it is evident that parent-child closeness plays a beneficial role in enhancing social development in children and youth. But only a few studies have taken into consideration the diverging conceptualizations of parent-child relationship across different ethnic groups and adequately integrate them into their investigations. Like *qin* (Wu & Chao, 2011) which is the Chinese indigenous notion of parent-adolescent relationship, *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* (Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994; Choi, 2011) should be introduced internationally and considered in studies of parent-child and family relationships among the Korean heritage population.

Attending to the limitations listed above, this study included the Korean indigenous notion of parent-child closeness, *Bujayuchin-Sungjung*, in conceptualizing parent-child closeness among Korean immigrant families. The operationalization of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* for measurement purposes was close to the original conceptualization introduced by Choi, Kim and Yu (1994) that embraces bidirectional associations between parents and children and includes mixed emotions toward each other. Additionally, this study focused on children in their late childhood or early adolescence to uncover the role of Korean indigenous notion of parent-child closeness in influencing social and academic skills in children from Korean immigrant families in the US.
Acculturation

The process of social-psychological and cultural adjustment to a new community is complex and involves possible changes in natal cultural orientations and adaptation to the new cultural community (Berry, 1997). Studies have richly investigated acculturation processes among diverse immigrant families in North America including Korean immigrants and they have shown a general trend toward the beneficial role of acculturation on Korean immigrant social and economic life. The following sections describe general findings of empirical studies on acculturation among Korean immigrants and identify constructive points of existing acculturation studies.

Positive functions of acculturation. Several studies have revealed positive functions of acculturation among Korean immigrants (see Bernstein, Park, Shin, Cho, & Park, 2011; Jang & Chiriboga, 2011; Kim, Seo, & Cain, 2010; Ayers, Hofstetter, Usita, Irvin, Kang, & Hovell, 2009; Kim 2009; Kim, Han, Shin, Kim, & Lee, 2005; Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002). Bernstein and her colleagues (2011) found higher English proficiency and lower discrimination experiences were associated with lower depressive symptoms among Korean immigrant adults (mean age = 46.7 years) in New York City. Jang and Chiriboga (2011) also confirmed that acculturation was negatively associated with depressive symptoms among Korean American adults residing in Tampa and Orlando, Florida. Eunjung Kim with Seo and Cain (2010) found that higher mainstream acculturation was associated with higher scores on positive affect items on the CES-D scale but not with scores on depressive symptom items for Korean immigrant adults (mean age = 43.68) in the Pacific Northwest in the US. Another study by Eunjung Kim (2009) revealed that integration, which consists of high heritage acculturation and high mainstream acculturation, was negatively associated with depressive symptoms but marginalization, consisting of low
heritage acculturation and low mainstream acculturation, was positively associated with depressive symptoms. Moreover, it was found that acculturation together with life stress, social support, and sense of mastery was negatively associated with depression among Korean immigrants in the US (Miyong T. Kim et al., 2005) and American mainstream acculturation was negatively associated with acculturative stress and depression, and Korean heritage acculturation was negatively associated with depression among Korean immigrants in the Pittsburgh area in the US (Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002).

**Moderating roles of acculturation.** Beyond the above associations, acculturation seems to have a buffering effect on Korean immigrant adjustment in North America (see Kim, Sangalang, & Kihl, 2012; Jang & Chiriboga, 2011). Kim, Sangalang, and Kihl (2012) found significant interactions between acculturation and social network support in predicting depressive symptoms among elderly Korean immigrants in Los Angeles. Elders with higher US mainstream acculturation benefited from the strong social network support more than elders with lower US mainstream acculturation in relation to depressive symptoms. Jang and Chiriboga (2011) also found acculturation significantly interacted with social activity in predicting Korean American elders’ depression. Put differently, the lower mainstream acculturation group benefited from social activity more than the higher mainstream acculturation group regarding depression. These two studies point to the importance of social support or social activities for reducing depression among Korean immigrants. Likewise, it is possible that children’s acculturation status interacts with family relationships and value systems when predicting functioning of Korean immigrants but it has not been empirically tested yet. Therefore, the present study investigated the moderating role of acculturation in associations among family
dynamic, parent-child relationships, and child psychological and academic outcomes in Korean immigrant families.

**Limitations.** It is necessary to view the positive functions of acculturation on individual outcomes with caution given methodological and conceptual limitations in previous studies. These limitations are described in greater detail in the following sub-sections.

**Mixed findings across domains and ages.** Although overall acculturation showed positive associations with immigrants’ psychological functioning, there are some conflicting findings about the role of acculturation on Korean immigrant elders (see Kim, Sangalang, & Kihl, 2012; Kim & Chen, 2011) and on physical health outcomes including smoking behaviors, light physical activities, and body weight (see Lee, Sobal & Frongillo, 2000). As examples, Kim, Sangalang, and Kihl (2012) found that acculturation was not associated with elders’ depression although social network support was negatively associated with depression among elderly Korean immigrants, and Kim and Chen (2011) found that acculturation was not significantly associated with depression of Korean immigrant elders in Canada when social determinants such as physical health status, financial status, living arrangement, and level of social activity were controlled for. Similarly, Lee, Sobal and Frongillo (2000) studied acculturation of Korean immigrants in the US, their health behaviors, and reported health. Cluster analysis indicated three groups: acculturated, bicultural, and traditional. Bicultural men were least likely to smoke, while acculturated and bicultural women were more likely to smoke than traditional women. Higher acculturation was associated with light physical activity, higher body weight, and better self-reported health in men. These findings show diverging trends of acculturation in associations with health outcomes of Korean immigrants in the US and call for domain-specific approaches within different age groups when studying acculturation among immigrants. This
study considered both cognitive and psychological outcomes during childhood to better understand the moderating role of acculturation on different domains of functioning among Korean immigrant children in the US.

A few studies from the bidimensional framework. Studies on immigrant adjustment have generally employed a unidimensional acculturation perspective in framing their questions (e.g. Kim, Sangalang, & Kihl, 2012; Jang & Chiriboga, 2011; Kim & Chen, 2011; Bernstein et al., 2011; Ayers et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2005), and considered mainstream acculturation or assimilation as adaptive acculturation while overlooking heritage acculturation. In this regard, Kim, Sangalang, and Kihl, (2012) included American acculturation only when studying depression among Korean immigrant elders in the U.S, Kim and Chen (2011) used the unidimensional acculturation measure only including English language proficiency and years after immigration, and Bernstein and her colleagues (2011) adopted the unidimensional acculturation measure of self-reported English proficiency, and years of immigration among Korean immigrant adults in NYC. Others have looked at length of residency in the US, English proficiency, and utilization of societal resources as proxies of acculturation among Korean immigrants in the U.S (Ayers et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2005).

Few studies have approached the bidimensional perspective in their work on immigrant adjustment (Kim, Seo, & Cain, 2010; Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002; Lee, Sobal & Frongillo, 2000). Kim, Seo, and Cain (2010) used the Korean or English version of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (ARSMA-II; Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995) based on Berry’s bidimensional framework (2005) and Oh, Koeske, and Sales (2002) utilized the Suinn–Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (SL–ASIA; Suinn, Richard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987) which measures both Korean heritage and American mainstream acculturation. Lee, Sobal
and Frongillo (2000) developed their own scale to measure acculturation based on Berry’s bidimensional model (Berry, 1980, 1992) resulting in four components: American structural, American cultural, Korean structural, and Korean cultural patterns of adjustment. Accepting that the unidimensional approach cannot properly capture the nature of acculturation among immigrants (Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000), the present study adopted the bidimensional framework that takes account of both natal and mainstream cultural values and processes.

**Lack of heritage cultural understanding.** Acculturation has been perceived as a process while having four different types by degrees of heritage and mainstream cultural orientations based on the bidimensional framework developed by Berry (1997). It is important to note that acculturation not only includes the process of adjustment but is also composed of cultural practices that constitute the content aspects of acculturation. Put differently, there is a need to investigate Korean indigenous concepts among Korean immigrants like others have done with the Chinese concepts of guan (Chao, 1994) and qin (親; Wu & Chao, 2011). Research on acculturation with certain cultural beliefs and indigenous notions should better enable researchers to contextualize the life of immigrants and thus broaden understanding of immigrants in terms of both US and Korean cultural values, beliefs, and practices. Again, the present study integrated the heritage cultural content of Korean immigrants such as Bujayuchin-Sungjung in investigating Korean childhood adjustment in the United States.

**Need for studies on childhood.** Many studies of acculturation among Korean immigrants have focused on adults and the elderly or used aggregated data on a wide age range of participants (for adulthood, see Bernstein et al., 2011; Kim, Seo, & Cain, 2010; Kim, 2009; Ayers et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2005; Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002; Lee, Sobal & Frongillo, 2000; for elderly, see Kim, Sangalang, & Kihl, 2012; Kim & Chen, 2011; Jang & Chiriboga, 2011).
Thus, there are few studies during the middle-childhood, adolescence and early adolescent periods (see Kim, Landis, & Cain, 2013; Kim & Wolpin, 2008). The extant studies of children and youth regarding acculturative gaps between parents and their offspring did not assess bidimensional acculturation modalities and they were mostly on Chinese immigrant families (for Korean immigrants, see Kim & Park, 2011; for Chinese immigrants, see Kim, Chen, Wang, Shen, & Orozco-Lapray, 2013; Wang, Kim, Anderson, Chen, & Yan, 2012; Wu & Chao, 2011; Hwang, Wood, & Fujimoto, 2010; Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, Moon, 2009; Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Buki, Ma, Strom, & Strom, 2003). The field is in need of studies that integrate the voices of children in research on immigrant families to better define acculturation, family processes, and child outcomes to adequately serve this population.

**Less rigorous mediation tests.** There are some studies that have investigated acculturation as a mediator in their models (see Ayers et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2005; Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002). For instance, Ayers and his colleagues found the mediation role of immigrant stress in the association between acculturation and depression among female Korean immigrants in California, Kim and her colleagues (2005) reported that the association between life stress and depression was mediated by sense of mastery and social support but not by acculturation or SES among Korean adult immigrants in the U.S, and, Oh, Koeske, and Sales (2002) showed that acculturative stress mediated the relationship between the US mainstream acculturation and depression, but not the relationship between Korean heritage acculturation and depression among Korean immigrant adults. Despite these laudable attempts to assess the mediating role of acculturation on the relationship between individual functioning and mental health, these studies neither performed the Sobel’s test nor the bootstrapping method for the significance test in the mediation and path models (MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007). In view of this, the present
study employed more advanced techniques to test mediation: bootstrapping methods in Structural Equation Modeling (SEM).

**Summary.** When considered in their entirety, studies of acculturation among Korean immigrants in North America have revealed that generally, mainstream acculturation is positively associated with individuals’ functioning especially ones’ mental health in spite of the incongruent results with elders (Kim, Sangalang, & Kihl, 2012; Jang & Chiriboga, 2011; Kim & Chen, 2011) and on physical health (Lee, Sobal & Frongillo, 2000). Major drawbacks in existing studies include lack of consideration of the bidimensional framework of adjustment when assessing family processes and childhood social and academic functioning, lack of cultural understanding by acculturation types, and less rigorous mediation tests. To address some of these limitations and to fill some of the knowledge gaps, the present study included both socioemotional and cognitive functioning of children from the bidimensional approach. Further, this study examined the role of Korean indigenous concept of parent-child closeness among Korean immigrants while including the moderating role of acculturation types.

**Chapter 4. Theoretical Foundation**

This study builds upon previous family science theories on family cohesion while assessing family closeness in the context of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* in Korean families. It is guided by principles and tenets rooted in three sets of theoretical considerations: family systems processes (Minuchin, 1974; Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1989), *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* which is a Korean cultural conceptual framework on parent-child closeness (Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994; Choi, 2011), and an acculturation framework (Berry, 1997) that considers varying levels of immigrant adjustment to a new cultural community. Although the tenets of these frameworks were
conceived in different branches of the social sciences, they share core common concerns over family processes and relationships. The confluence of different aspects of these frameworks and theories assisted in guiding the development of the research questions and hypotheses, the selection of measures, and the development of the moderated and mediated models to be tested in the current work. In this chapter, the basic tenets of each theory/framework are described and their roles in the formulation of the study are discussed.

**Family Cohesion**

Structural family therapy theory (Minuchin, 1974) conceptualizes the family as a system consisting of respective sub-systems including parent-child and spousal subsystems while at the same time, highlighting boundaries between the sub-systems. Minuchin’s boundary continuum distinguishes family boundary levels based on the degree of closeness/cohesion within the subsystems; rigid boundaries often indicate disengaged relationships between members of a family system, clear boundaries between family members are interpreted as indicating healthy relationships, and diffuse boundaries between family members are indicative of enmeshed relationships (Minuchin, 1974). In a parallel manner, the circumplex model conceptualizes family cohesion as “the emotional bonding that couple and family members have toward one another” (Olson, 1989, p. 9). As in Minuchin’s Theory, the circumplex model holds that family cohesion concerns the degree of family level closeness as a whole; but unlike structural theory, the circumplex model uses the concepts of togetherness and separateness instead of family boundary to account for family cohesion (Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1989; Olson & Gorall, 2003). Olson and his colleagues (Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1989) proposed that the functional family is able to balance separateness and togetherness in accordance with the situational needs of the family, whereas the dysfunctional family is unable to do so by itself. The earliest
conceptualization of the circumplex model categorized family cohesion along four attributes: disengaged, separated, connected, and enmeshed. Later re-categorization of family cohesion has included five levels while expanding ranges for balanced cohesion from two levels to three levels: disengaged (disconnected), somewhat connected, connected, very connected, and enmeshed (overly connected) (Olson & Gorall, 2003). The disengaged and enmeshed levels represent unbalanced family functioning and the remaining three levels represent balanced family functioning, which are somewhat connected, connected, and very connected.

Based on the circumplex model, Olsen and his colleagues developed several iterations of the family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES) to assess family cohesion as well as family flexibility. In all, there are five different versions of FACES: the original FACES (Olson, Bell, & Portner, 1978), FACES II (Olson, Bell, & Portner, 1982), FACES III (Olson, Portner, and Lavee, 1985), the older version of FACES IV (Tiesel and Olson, 1997), and the newer version of FACES IV (Olson, 2011). FACES I, II, and III did not fully reflect the principles of the circumplex model because they measured the linear relationship between family cohesion and family functionality instead of curvilinear relationship (Olson, 2000). FACES IV improved on this as it now measures the curvilinear association between family cohesion and family functioning. However, the older version of FACES IV (Tiesel & Olson, 1997) has been criticized for its poor validity (Franklin, Streeter & Springer, 2001). So, Olson (2011) recently introduced a newer version of FACES IV and its validity and reliability have been demonstrated across some cultures (Olson, 2011; Baiocco, Cacioppo, Laghi, & Tafà, 2013; Pereira & Teixeira, 2013). This newer FACES IV version represents unbalanced family functioning at the extreme family cohesion levels; the lower end represents malfunctional disengaged family cohesion, and the high end represents malfunctional enmeshed family cohesion. Family cohesion in the middle
range including somewhat connected, connected, and very connected indicate balanced family functioning.

Despite its wide use with European American families, there are potential difficulties with using the circumplex model to catalog family functioning in diverse ethnic and cultural groups. Olson and McCubbin (1982) did recommend using family satisfaction scores in addition to family cohesion scores to better understand family functioning in ethnic minorities. Also, Woehrer (1988) has shed some light on this issue in cross-cultural conceptualization of family functioning. He suggested that Jewish, Italian, and Mexican families may show enmeshed tendencies among both traditional and contemporary extended families and Anglo families may show disengaged tendencies in contemporary extended families (Woehrer, 1988). Nonetheless, there are few empirical studies that have examined family cohesion and family functioning through cultural lenses (see Choi, 2009; Estrada-Martínez, Padilla, Caldwell, & Schulz, 2011; Ho, 2010; Chao, 2001).

Considering each culture passes on different values on the desired levels of family closeness, the cutoffs to determine unbalanced functioning will accordingly need to be adjusted to reflect cultural norms of behaviors. For example, as noted already, Korean culture tends to emphasize closeness among family members based on traditional values drawn from Confucianism, collectivism, and Jung culture. On the surface, more Korean families could be considered as enmeshed and dysfunctional than many European families if the European yardstick is directly applied to this ethnic group. This is problematic particularly if there is no distinction between emic and etic interpretation of the construct enmeshed across cultural groups. It is not yet clear if the concept of enmeshed cohesion is a pan-cultural construct, which is an etic concern (Berry, 2012). Even if we assume that the concept of enmeshed cohesion is applicable
cross-culturally to some degree, it is unlikely that the functional range is also universal across cultures, which is more of an emic concern. The emic concern embraces not only the existence of unique notions/aspects of given constructs in a specific culture such as Guan (Chao, 1994) or qin in Chinese culture (Wu & Chao, 2011) but also provides unique cutoffs of a pan-cultural construct in specific cultures when the culture has a distinctive value on the relevant construct such as applying the higher cutoff score on depression among Korean heritage population to take into account their values on humility (Cho & Kim, 1998). This study explored the use of FACES IV to determine how reliably the measurement of family cohesion captures family functioning among the Korean heritage population in the US.

**Parent-Child Closeness in Korea**

Parent-child closeness in the United States and Europe has been described using behavioral indices such as nurturance and control, acceptance and rejection, warmth and hostility, demandingness and responsiveness, permissiveness and restrictiveness, detachment and involvement, and dominance and submission (see review by Darling & Steinberg, 1993). In Korea, close parent-child relationship is emphasized through *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* (부자유친성정; 父子有親性情; Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994; Choi, 2011). The notion of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* was first introduced by Choi and his colleagues in 1994 and they linked its origin to the *Bu-Ja-Yu-Chin* (부자유친; 父子有親) principle in Confucianism (Master Kong, 551–479 BCE). Basically, the *Bu-Ja-Yu-Chin* principle emphasizes close relationships between the parent and child. However, it was modified as a unique style of parent-child closeness in Korea based on the indigenous *Jung* culture (Choi, 2011; Lee & Choi, 2003). It has been phrased differently by scholars: Affective Bondage between Parent and Children (Choi,
Kim, & Yu, 1994), Bujayuchin-Sung-Cheong (Lee & Choi, 2003; Park & Lee, 2005; Choi, 2005), and Bujayucinsungceong (Kim & Choi, 2010). This study uses Bujayuchin-Sungjung to represent the nature of Bu-Ja-Yu-Chin from the Confucianism doctrine by adding Sungjung after Bujayuchin.

Bujayuchin-Sungjung is a mixture of the Jung-based culture in Korea and the Bu-Ja-Yu-Chin principle from Confucianism; it can simply be understood as a Korean indigenous notion of parent-child closeness. Evidently, it is a relational concept as opposed to Hyo ideology, the basis of Korean filial piety. Choi (2011) conceptualized Bujayuchin-Sungjung as bidirectional between parent and child and contains properties of 1) Yuchin (有親), 2) consciousness as one’s own flesh and blood, and 3) compassion/emotional oneness. Literally, Yuchin can be interpreted as there is closeness in the relationship. But its meanings extend beyond just closeness. In Choi’s (2011) study, Yuchin was conceptualized as having affection, closeness, trust, respect/expectation, and responsibility/sacrifice. Considering this, closeness between parents and the child in Korean culture is determined by how much the parent and child 1) express affection, 2) have a close relationship, 3) trust each other, 4-a) how much the child respects the parent or 4-b) how much the parent has high expectations of the child, 5) how much the child has a sense of responsibility toward his/her parents or 5-b) how much the parent sacrifices oneself for his/her offspring, 6) how much they think they are precious as one’s own flesh and blood, and 7) how much they feel compassion toward each other. It is noteworthy that the notion of compassion between the parent and child in Korean culture is distinct from other related concepts like sympathy or empathy in other cultures because it further includes feeling sorry for each other for not being able to provide more or do better, and feeling thankful for sacrificing or performing under the given situation (Choi, 2011, p. 248).
Choi (2011) brought up the critical problem related to ethnocentrism in the field of family and related scientific disciplines. Western theories of parent-child relationship or parenting have been directly applied to the Korean heritage families without taking into consideration cross-cultural and indigenous concerns. Along this line, the present study anticipates enhancing our understanding of Korean heritage family dynamics, and their associations with children’s social and academic skills. It examined whether the associations between family cohesion and child outcomes among Korean immigrants could be accounted for by the Korean indigenous notion of parent-child closeness (Bujayuchin-Sungjung) through a mediation model. For instance, it is possible that family enmeshment is not associated with childhood difficulties in Korean heritage culture given the unique values in Bujayuchin-Sungjung including parental sacrifice and emotional oneness. Further, Korean immigrants may be dissimilar from Korean indigenous families in Korea because they have gone through an acculturation process. Acculturation is a vital feature to take into account in studies of immigrant families because the acculturation process has the potential of influencing beliefs or values about family cohesion, parent-child closeness, and parenting.

**Acculturation**

Acculturation is the process by which immigrants adjust to their new cultural setting after migration. In recent decades, researchers have debated the nature - unidimensional or bidimensional - of the acculturation process. Gordon (1964) conceptualized the acculturation process as losing heritage cultural identification while compensating for it with the adoption of the mainstream culture based on the polar continuum between the heritage culture and the mainstream culture. He described this unidimensional acculturation process as assimilation; low assimilation represents low levels of mainstream cultural adoption while maintaining high
heritage cultural identification, and high assimilation represents high levels of mainstream cultural adoption with low heritage cultural identification. This unidimensional conceptualization ignored the important role of maintaining heritage cultural identification for immigrants to obtain optimal adjustment in their new cultural community.

Later conceptual frameworks on immigrant adjustment would challenge the assimilationist perspective. Berry (1980, 1984, & 1997) proposed that the acculturation process is bidimensional between the mainstream culture and the heritage culture rather than the unidimensional movement toward the mainstream culture. Berry’s framework proposes that both the mainstream and heritage cultural identifications respectively play a significant role in the adjustment of immigrants. It explains the acculturation process through four specific patterns depending on the degree of identification with the heritage and mainstream cultures: integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization. Briefly, integration achieves a well-balanced status by blending values and practices of the mainstream and heritage cultures; separation involves exclusively sticking to heritage cultural values and practices; assimilation involves only following mainstream cultural values and practices; and marginalization involves rejecting both heritage and mainstream cultural values and practices. Ryder, Alden and Paulhus (2000) empirically compared the two frameworks to see which approach is more valid for understanding the acculturation process. It was found that the bidimensional model is more appropriate for conceptualizing immigrant adjustment. There were positive correlations between heritage cultural orientation and immigrants’ functioning scores in personality, self-identity, and psychological adjustment, which ultimately implies that not only adopting the mainstream culture but also maintaining the heritage cultural orientation is related to successful cultural adjustment after immigration.
In spite of the modifications in conceptualizing immigrant adjustment, the content part of acculturation which assists in defining acculturation has received less attention than the social-psychological processes of acculturation. No doubt, Berry’s categorization of acculturation into four groups has helped immensely in advancing our understanding of the process of acculturation among diverse groups of immigrants. But there is still a lack of research that considers the role of heritage acculturation in understanding immigrant families. What does integrated acculturation look like among Korean immigrant families? There are overwhelmingly more studies available about US mainstream cultural orientation than on ethnic minority or immigrant cultural orientation. Furthermore, within-cultural variations among the Asian population have not been seriously considered in the immigrant studies as of yet. It is therefore important to balance understandings of the mainstream culture with the heritage culture among ethnic minority immigrants in the US to better meet their family functioning needs.

**Research Hypotheses**

Based on prior theories, frameworks, and research findings regarding family cohesion (Olson, 2011; Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1989), the Korean notion of parent-child closeness (Choi, 2011; Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994), and acculturation (Berry, 1997) among Korean heritage population, the following research hypotheses were generated and tested; all of the hypotheses include important covariates in the model. First of all, it is hypothesized that 1) the distribution of family cohesion scores on FACES IV among Korean immigrant families will be negatively skewed toward very connected or too connected areas as seen values in family connectedness from Jung culture (Choi, 1997b) and Confucianism embedded in Korean heritage culture, and 2) the skewed tendency will be more significant among the higher heritage acculturation groups including separated and integrated groups when plotting the scores on the circumplex model map.
This hypothesis was generated considering possible discrepant value systems in relation to family connectedness while Korean immigrants are acculturated in terms of their heritage culture (Berry, 1997). Next, 3) family cohesion scores on FACES IV and 4) Korean parent-child closeness scores will be different among Korean immigrants by acculturation degrees tested via one-way Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA). For instance, the family cohesion score and the Korean parent-child closeness score would be higher among the less American acculturated group than the more American acculturated group after controlling for important covariates. It is based on possible differences in Korean heritage value systems on parent-child closeness and family connectedness in accordance with immigrants’ American or heritage acculturation (Berry, 1997). And, 5) Korean parent-child closeness will mediate associations between family cohesion and child outcomes, meaning when Korean parent-child closeness is taken into account in the model the significant associations between family cohesion and child outcomes will become weaker (partial mediator) or insignificant (full mediator). It is hypothesized based on Korean cultural values in close parent-child relationships rooted in Bujayuchin-Sungjung (Choi, 2011; Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994) and previous empirical findings about significant associations between family cohesion, Korean parent-child closeness, and child functioning (Olson, 2011; Choi, 2011; Bae and Park, 2010; Kim & Choi, 2010; Choi, 2005; Lee & Choi, 2003; Park & Lee, 2005). It will be examined through the mediation test (Baron & Kenny, 1986) with the bootstrapping method (MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007) via SEM (see Figure 1); 5-a) the indirect paths from family cohesion to child outcomes will be significant, 5-b) the total paths will be significant, and 5-c) the direct paths will be insignificant (complete mediators) or the significance of the direct paths will be lessened in comparison to the total paths (partial mediators) through the bootstrapping analysis. Unlike exiting findings from European families, 6) detrimental
associations of family enmeshment with childhood functioning will not be significant, 6-a) neither directly 6-b) nor indirectly through Korean parent-child closeness, tested with the bootstrapping method via SEM. It follows Korean indigenous values and cultural practices that emphasize close interpersonal relationships based on Jung culture and resilience in close relationships having both positive and negative emotional representations between the persons in the relationship seen in Miun-Jung and Goun-Jung (Choi, 2011), and a few previous findings from Asian families about no significant associations between family enmeshment and child outcomes (Chao, 2011; Chao, 2001). Finally, 7) degrees of acculturation will moderate the mediation model among family cohesion, Korean parent-child closeness, and child outcomes (see Figure 2). This hypothesis is built in accordance with the basic principles of Berry’s acculturation model (1997) about differences in ideology and cultural practices in terms of degrees of heritage or American acculturation, and empirical findings about the moderating role of acculturation in US Korean immigrants (Kim, Sangalang, & Kihl, 2012; Jang & Chiriboga, 2011). Specifically, it is tested with multiple group analysis via SEM; 7-a) any paths among family cohesion, Korean parent-child closeness, and child outcomes may vary by acculturation degrees tested via the bootstrapping method and multiple group analysis with SEM.

Chapter 5. Method

Sampling

A total of 101 South Korean immigrant families with a child between 7 and 14 years old participated in this study, after dropping five families whose children were over 14 years of age. The children ($m=11.5$, $sd =1.60$) in this age group were selected because they would be better able to appraise and understand the concepts of family cohesion and parent-child closeness
(Bujayuchin-Sungjung) than children in early childhood. The sex proportion was 42.7% male and 57.3% female. Both 1.5th and 2nd generation children were the targets in the present study which aimed to include children whose parents were born in Korea to avoid confounds associated with intergenerational shifts in ideological beliefs about relationships. Over fifty percent of the children was 2nd generation immigrants (56.7%) and 41.1% was 1.5th generation immigrant children.

After considering missing data, there were 93 mothers, 87 fathers, and 83 children who completed the survey. Missing one or more informants in each observation is common in multiple source/informant study of this nature (Horton & Fitzmaurice, 2004), and data are not removed from the research. It is because excluding missing data can cause serious biases due to possible systematic differences in results of analyses with respondents in comparison to analyses with non-respondents (Huisman, 2009). Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) is preferable with missing data for one member of the dyad (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006).

The mean age of fathers was 42.89 years (sd=4.43) and the mean age of mothers was 40.20 years (sd=4.47). Parents had migrated to the United States on average 13.87 years for mothers and 16.02 years for fathers. Most participating families had two children (58.9%) and the majority of participating children was first-born (68.9%). Over half of the children were born in the US (56.7%), 41.1% was born in South Korea, and 2.2% was born in other countries. All of the participating children and parents identified themselves as Asian for their ethnicity, specifically Korean. Most participating children were affiliated with the Protestantism (75%), 11 (12.5%) with no religion, 10 with Catholicism (11.3%), and one child with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (1.1%).
Concerning the legal status of parents, most mothers and fathers were US citizens (38% of mothers and 40.9% of fathers) followed by US permanent residents (35.9% of mothers and 33% of fathers), international employees with H1 or J1 visas (12.5% of mothers and 6.5% of fathers), international students with F1 visa (6.5% of mothers and 9.1% of fathers), and unspecified others (12% of mothers and 4.5% of fathers). A majority of fathers had a full-time job (86.4%) but most mothers worked part-time (40%) or were not employed (33%). These distributions reflect traditional gender role patterns in Korean heritage culture; fathers as breadwinners and mothers as homemakers/caregivers. Families were primarily from upper-income backgrounds and highly educated. Congruent with other reports on Korean immigrants, parents in this study also showed high rates of educational attainment. Most mothers and fathers obtained at least a bachelors’ degree (77.2% and 86.4%, respectively); 10.9% mothers and 20.5% fathers had a master’s degrees, and 2.2% mothers and 15.9% fathers had doctoral degrees. Also, many participating families in this study (around 70%) were making over the US GDP per capita in 2013 (53k; World Bank, 2013); 18 (20.9%) families were making under 50k, 42 (48.8%) families between 51k and 99k, 16 (18.6 %) families between 100k and 149k, and 10 (11.6%) families over 150k.

More information on the sample is found in Table 1.

Table 1. Sociodemographic Information of Participating Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>n</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Mean</th>
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<td><strong>Age (years)</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>1-47</td>
<td>16.02</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Master’s Degree</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral Degree</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Highest Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Diploma</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s Degree</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctoral Degree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal Employment Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Employment Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal Legal Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Citizen</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent Resident</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed with H1 or J1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International with F1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Unspecified</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Legal Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Citizen</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
After the Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval from Syracuse University, families were recruited from the New York City and Philadelphia metropolitan areas considered the Greater New York Combined Statistical Area. This geographic area has the second highest Korean American population in the US following the Greater Los Angeles Combined Statistical Area (US Census Bureau, 2010).

The present study employed the purposive and snowball sampling techniques that constituted a non-probability sampling method. These approaches to recruiting families were deemed more productive given limited access and the small number of Korean heritage families in the US. Families were contacted through Korean community organizations such as Korean American Parents association, Korean language/culture schools, and Korean churches as churches play an important role in the fabric of the religious and community life of Korean Americans and Korean immigrants in the U.S (Kim & Wolpin, 2008). The heads of the Korean community organizations were contacted by the researcher after which a letter and a detailed description of the study were sent to them via e-/mail. In churches, pastors or ministers were first contacted and then they referred the researcher to the relevant department. The directors of Korean schools and Korean American Associations were contacted directly. The cooperating directors of the organizations first distributed advertisement letters to their members, students, or parents. Then, they sent survey copies or online links to the members, or students/parents. Most directors did not want to disclose personal information of the members or students so that participants could not be contacted directly. Six Korean schools and two Korean churches agreed to cooperate and 400 sets of questionnaires were sent out through them. The response rate
was 26.5% (106/400). However after taking into consideration the age composition of schools and organizations, the response rate was about 50% (Sunday and Korean schools consist of students of ages between 3 and 17).

Parents who showed interest in participating in the study were given the option of filling out the questionnaires either offline or online. For those who chose the online format, the survey links using Qualtrics were sent to their email addresses by the directors. Additionally, the links to the study were distributed online through social networking websites such as Facebook to increase access to families. For parents who preferred a hard copy, all materials were delivered to them through the community organizations and the completed materials were handed in to the directors. The organization directors held the completed surveys until the researcher picked them up or they sent the questionnaires to the researcher in bulk. All parents and the child respectively were asked to complete the informed consent form and the child assent form before completion of the instruments. All participants were assured that there was no harm to the study and that the strictest confidentiality will be maintained, and were provided an account of the potential benefits of the study to them and the scientific community. Each family was told that a summary of the findings will be provided to them electronically or via regular mail through the directors of the cooperating organization.

Procedure

This study contained of 12 focal variables: 1) balanced cohesion, 2) disengagement, 3) enmeshment, 4) father-child closeness (FC closeness), child’s perception of how close the father feels toward him/her and 5) child-father closeness (CF closeness), how close the child feels toward the father, 6) mother-child closeness (MC closeness), child’s perception of how close the
mother feels toward her/him and 7) child-mother closeness (CM closeness), how close the child feels toward the mother, 8) child’s heritage acculturation, 9) child’s mainstream acculturation, 10) academic functioning with child’s self-report on school efforts and academic performance, and 11) mother’s report on child’s socioemotional functioning, 12) mother’s report on child’s cumulative grade point average (GPA), and three control variables of children: 1) child acculturative stress, 2) child Korean proficiency, 3) child English proficiency, two control variables of parents which were 1) parenting styles and 2) parental English proficiency, and two family-level control variables which were 1) family flexibility, and 2) family satisfaction. In addition, six important demographic variables were also included as control variables: 1) child’s sex, 2) child’s age, 3) parents’ vocational status, 4) family income, 5) church attendance, and 6) parents’ education.

Control variables were determined based on findings from existing literature on Korean or Asian immigrant families. Individual acculturative stress including discrimination experiences has shown significant associations with Korean immigrants’ socioemotional functioning (Bernstein et al., 2011; Ayers et al. 2009; Oh, Koeske, and Sales, 2002), immigrants’ English language proficiency was associated with family cohesion in Asian American (Wong, Uhm, and Li, 2012) and depressive symptoms in Korean immigrants (Bernstein et al., 2011), and child’s heritage language proficiency was associated with family cohesion in Vietnamese immigrant families (Ho, 2010). Furthermore, acculturation including length of immigration was associated with decrement in Asian adolescents’ alcohol use (Wang, Kviz and Miller, 2012), and Korean immigrants’ depressive symptoms (Bernstein, Park, Shin, Cho, & Park, 2011; Jang & Chiriboga, 2011; Kim, Seo, & Cain, 2010; Ayers, Hofstetter, Usita, Irvin, Kang, & Hovell, 2009; Kim 2009; Kim, Han, Shin, Kim, & Lee, 2005; Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002). Parenting styles were
significantly associated with Chinese American adolescents’ academic performance (Chao, 2001), parent-child relationship in Asian American families (Fung & Lau, 2010), and parent-child closeness in indigenous Korean families (Kim & Choi, 2010). Family flexibility and family satisfaction were included as covariates in the model in accordance with recommendations by Olson and McCubbin (1982) and Olson (2011). Finally, important demographic characteristics of children, parents, and families including child’s sex and age, parental vocational status, education levels, and religiosity, and family income, were selected as possible covariates guided by exiting literature on immigrant families.

Table 2. Scales Asked Children and Parents and its Cronbach’s Alphas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Number of Items</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Cronbach’s Alphas with items included in the study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Child</strong></td>
<td>Main Variables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Family cohesion (FACES IV)</td>
<td>.85 for balanced cohesion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.61 for disengagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.61 for enmeshment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 (17*2)</td>
<td>Bujayuchin-Sungjung from the mother/father to the child</td>
<td>.90 for FC closeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.84 for MC closeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 (17*2)</td>
<td>Bujayuchin-Sungjung from the child to the mother/father</td>
<td>.94 for CF closeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.83 for CM closeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Child’s acculturation (VIA)</td>
<td>.89 for heritage acculturation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.89 for American acculturation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>School efforts</td>
<td>.87 for school efforts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Single Item Measure (SI) for Subjective Academic Performance (SAP)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Control Variables</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Child’s acculturative stress (AAS)</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (3+3)</td>
<td>Korean and English language proficiency (EPS)</td>
<td>.89 for Korean proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.96 for English proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Family flexibility (FACES IV)</td>
<td>.70 for balanced flexibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.55 for rigidness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.76 for disorganization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Family satisfaction</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Parents</strong></td>
<td>Main Variables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Selected items from Social Skills Rating System (SSRS: Gresham &amp; Elliott, 1990): mothers only</td>
<td>.77 for internalizing problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.79 for externalizing problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Child’s GPA and grades on school</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects: Mothers only</td>
<td>Control Variables</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>20</strong> Demographic Information: mothers only</td>
<td>Parenting styles (PARQ): mothers and fathers</td>
<td>.86 &amp; .79 for maternal and paternal warmth .78 &amp; .68 for maternal and paternal hostility .77 &amp; .75 for maternal and paternal neglect .70 &amp; .58 for maternal and paternal rejection .71 &amp; .63 for maternal and paternal control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td>English language proficiency (EPS): mothers and fathers</td>
<td>.91 for mothers .94 for fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td>Total 63 for mothers 32 for fathers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Measures asked of children.** Each child was asked to fill out scales on family cohesion, Korean parent-child closeness, acculturation, and academic functioning as focal variables, and acculturative stress, Korean and English language proficiency, family flexibility, and family satisfaction as covariates (see Table 2). Children were given options of completing the measurements either in English or Korean based on their preference. Back-translation techniques were adopted to ensure there was no drift in meaning during translations from Korean to English and vice-versa (Maneesriwongul & Dixon, 2004) while paying extra attention to the nature of Korean indigenous notions of parent-child closeness. All the participating children completed the questionnaires in English. It could be because they are educated in the American school system and comfortable using English as 1.5th or 2nd generation immigrants.

**Family cohesion.** Each child filled out FACES IV (Olson, 2011), a 42-item self-report measure on family functioning. Items are scored on a Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). In this scale, 21 items are used to measure family cohesion and 21 items to measure family flexibility. The cohesion dimension of FACES IV measures perceived levels
of connectedness among family members; 7 items were designed to measure balanced cohesion (e.g., “My family members are involved in each other’s lives,” “Family members feel very close to each other,” “Family members like to spend some of their free time with each other,” “Although family members have individual interests, they still participate in family activities,” “Our family has a good balance of separateness and closeness.”), 7 items were designed to measure family disengagement (e.g., “Family members are on their own when there is a problem to be solved,” “Family members seldom does things together,” “Family members seldom depend on each other,” “Family members mainly operate independently.”), and 7 items were designed to measure family enmeshment (e.g., “We spend too much time together,” “Family members feel pressured to spend most free time together,” “Family members are too dependent on each other,” “We feel too connected to each other.”).

In the present study, children completed the cohesion scale to measure family cohesion in order to assess this construct from the child’s perspective. Based on the circumplex model (Olson, Sprenkle, & Russell, 1989), the family cohesion scale should reveal curvilinear or inverted U-shaped relationships between family cohesion and family functioning, meaning too high or too low family cohesion/connections are indicative of family dysfunction. However, questions have been raised in previous versions of FACES about capturing the curvilinear associations with positive questionnaires only. FACES IV (Olson, 2011) has dealt with this issue by adding three different sub-scales to the cohesion scale: disengagement, balanced cohesion, and enmeshment. The validity test on the newer version has confirmed that balanced cohesion is positively correlated to functional family outcomes including family satisfaction and communication, and disengagement (too low connection) and enmeshment (too high connection) are negatively correlated with functional outcomes, not only in US adults (Olson, 2011) but also
Italian adolescents (Baiocco et al., 2013) and Portuguese adults (Pereira & Teixeira, 2013). The Cronbach’s alpha was .87 for disengagement, .89 for balanced cohesion, and .77 for enmeshment among U.S. adults (Olson, 2011), .73 for cohesion, .63 for enmeshment, and .67 for disengagement among Italian adolescents (Baiocco et al., 2013), and .83 for cohesion, .73 for enmeshment, and .67 for disengagement among Portuguese adults (Pereira & Teixeira, 2013). Cronbach’s alphas in the current study were .85 for balanced cohesion, .61 for disengagement, and .57 for enmeshment. The scale measuring family cohesion does not show good internal consistency with this sample and there were several item-total correlation scores below .3, especially on disengagement (no. 3, 9, 15) and enmeshment (no. 22, 34, 40). After removing these items, the Cronbach’s alphas changed to .61 for disengagement and .61 for enmeshment.

To confirm reliability of family enmeshment, disengagement, and the balanced cohesion scales, a Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was conducted in the measurement model and it showed a fairly good model fit with determined items, which alleviated reliability concerns on family enmeshment and disengagement in this study (CFI = .925, TLI = .906, Normed $\chi^2$ = 1.164, RMSEA = .040).

There are two different cohesion scores calculated from the percentile scores; 1) the cohesion dimension score is to plot on the circumplex model map and 2) the cohesion ratio score is to use for the statistical research (Olson, 2011). The cohesion dimension score was estimated guided by Olson (2011) only to plot it on the circumplex model map. However, the cohesion ratio score could not be utilized in this research due to very low factor loadings of some items. Instead, the mean scores of the three subscales including balanced cohesion, family enmeshment, and family disengagement, were computed and included in the analyses. The possible range of
the cohesion scores are between 1 and 5; the greater each score is the more the family is cohesive, enmeshed, or disengaged.

**Korean parents-child closeness.** Children were asked to fill out the Korean version of the parent-child closeness scale designed to measure the child’s perception of parent-child closeness on a 4-point Likert scale from 1 (Almost never true) to 4 (Almost always true). The measure was conceptualized and constructed around the Korean cultural principle of *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* by Choi, Kim, and Yu (1994). It consists of five factors from the child’s perspective: first regarding the child’s mind toward the parents, 1) *Yuchin*, 2) distrust, 3) protection/responsibility, 4) emotional oneness, and 5) burden, and second regarding the parents’ mind toward the child, 1) *Yuchin*, 2) distrust, 3) consciousness as his/her own flesh and blood, 4) sacrifice, and 5) worries. It should be noted that the *Yuchin* factor in this version includes dimensions of affection, closeness, trust, expectation, respect, sacrifice, and responsibility, but sacrifice and responsibility are overlapping with other sub-constructs in the scale (e.g. “I feel I need to treat my parents well,” “My parents endures hardships for me.”), which could result in unclear operationalization of the construct (e.g. Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994; Choi, 2011).

Accordingly, the present study subcategorized the *Yuchin* factor in the following manner: 1) affection, 2) closeness, 3) trust, 4) expectation, and 5) sacrifice for parents’ mind toward the child, and 1) affection, 2) closeness, 3) trust, 4) respect, and 5) responsibility for the child’s mind toward the parents. Because in close relationships Korean people, including family members, tend to develop mixed emotions/ambivalence (*Miun-Jung*) as well as positive emotions (*Goun-Jung*) toward each other in their *Jung* based cultural practices (Choi, 2011; Choi & Kim, 2011), the distrust and burden/worries subscales were re-categorized under the mixed emotion scale based on the conceptualization of *Jung*. Thus, wording of the distrust and burden/worries
subscals were adjusted to represent these mixed emotions rather than pure negative emotions. Further, consciousness as his/her own flesh and blood in the child’s mind toward the parent and compassion/emotional oneness in the parent’s mind toward the child were not included in the initial scale by Choi, Kim, and Yu (1994). The current study included the two constructs to both parties, because as Choi (2011) suggested both the child and the parent feel compassion/emotional oneness and consciousness as his/her own flesh and blood toward each other.

Later, Lee and Choi (2003) developed another version of the Korean parent-child relationship measurement scale based on Bujayuchin-Sungjung. However, the measurement scale was made up of only two factors, oneness and self-sacrifice, and conceptualized unidirectionally from the child toward the parent. Also, In Jae Choi (2006) developed the Bujayuchin-Sungjung measure and it also contained four subscales of closeness, sacrifice, respect, and strictness for children toward mothers and fathers only. Due to concerns in the operationalization of the construct in the two versions of the measurement and the unknown validity of the measures, the later versions of the scale by Lee and Choi (2003) and Choi (2006) were not considered in the present study but the original version by Choi, Kim, and Yu (1994) was adapted in accordance with Choi’s conceptualization of Bujayuchin-Sungjung (2011). The factor loadings ranged between .67 and .84 for parents toward the child and .41 and .87 for the child toward parents among undergraduate students in the original study (Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994; Choi, 2011).

The measurement of Korean parent-child closeness in the present study comprised eight dimensions referring to Choi’s most recent study in 2011, which were first, from the parent to the child, 1) affection (e.g., I feel my mother/father loves me), 2) closeness (e.g., My mother/father
feels close to me), 3) trust (e.g., My mother/father trusts me), 4) expectation (e.g., My 
mother/father expects me to be successful), 5) sacrifice (e.g., My mother/father endures hardship 
in their life to provide me with good things), 6) compassion/emotional oneness (e.g., When my 
mother/father thinks of me, she/he sometimes feels sorry), and 7) consciousness as his/her own 
flesh and blood (e.g., My mother/father thinks as if he/she and I are one since I am his/her own 
flesh and blood), and 8) mixed emotions/ambivalence for parents toward the child (e.g., 
Although my mother/father loves me, there are times s/he makes me think that he/she does not 
like me); second, from the child to each parent 1) affection (e.g., I love my mother/father), 2) 
closeness (e.g., I feel I am close with my mother/father), 3) trust (e.g., My mother/father will 
always love me even when I do something wrong), 4) respect (e.g., I respect my mother/father), 
5) responsibility (e.g., I feel great responsibility for my mother/father), 6) compassion/emotional 
oneness (e.g., I sometimes feel sorry for my mother/father when I think of her/him), 7) 
consciousness as his/her own flesh and blood (e.g., I feel like my mother/father as my other self), 
and 8) mixed emotions/ambivalence for the child toward the parents (e.g., I love my 
mother/father but I sometimes hate him/her). Parents and the child share six factors out of eight 
including affection, closeness, trust, compassion/emotional oneness, consciousness as his/her 
own flesh and blood, and mixed emotions. They differed on two factors: expectation/respect and 
sacrifice/responsibility (see Table 3).

Table 3. Proposed Eight Dimensions of the Korean Parent-Child Closeness Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
<th>Factor 4</th>
<th>Factor 5</th>
<th>Factor 6</th>
<th>Factor 7</th>
<th>Factor 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>Affection</td>
<td>Closeness</td>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>Expectation</td>
<td>Sacrifice</td>
<td>Compassion/emotional oneness</td>
<td>Consciousness as his/her own flesh and blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toward the child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The child</td>
<td>Affection</td>
<td>Closeness</td>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>Compassion/emotional oneness</td>
<td>Consciousness as his/her own flesh and blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, the variable of Korean parent-child closeness was entered as one construct in the SEM model instead of 8 sub-constructs due to the small sample size and low variable to sample size ratios. Furthermore, bidirectional associations between the child and the parent could not be assessed in the present study due to cross-sectional nature of data and the small sample size for dyadic models and the high correlation between the child’s perceived closeness that the father felt to the child (FC closeness) and the closeness that the child felt toward the father (CF closeness) in the measurement model ($\beta = .93, SE = .05, p < .001$). It was equally applied to the mother-child closeness models for the model compatibility. More specifically, FC closeness and MC closeness were chosen over CF closeness and CM closeness because the measurement models of FC closeness and MC closeness fit the data better than CF closeness and CM closeness (see Table 4 for measurement model indices). Once again, FC closeness was the child’s perceived closeness that the father felt toward the child and so was MC closeness.

Cronbach’s alphas were .86 for FC closeness, .76 for MC closeness, .91 for CF closeness, .78 for CM closeness. Nonetheless, there were several items that had low item-total correlations, which were no. 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 in FC closeness and no. 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 in MC closeness, no. 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 in CF closeness, and no. 1, 2, 4, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 in CM closeness. After removing them, Cronbach’s alphas become .90 for FC closeness, .84 for MC closeness, .94 for CF closeness, and .83 for CM closeness. Each mean score of FC closeness and MC closeness with the nine items was computed so the possible range of Korean parent-child closeness scores was between 1 and 4, meaning the greater the score is the more they are close each other. For the more complete picture of the Korean parent-child closeness scale, measurement models with CFA are tested and described in the results section.
Academic functioning. Child academic functioning was measured through a 4-item self-report of children’s school efforts (Steinberg et. al, 1992) and 1-item subjective academic performance (Leung & Xu, 2013) in addition to maternal reports on the child’s GPA. First, the school efforts scale consisted of four items including 1) the number of hours the child spent studying per week, and 2) how often the child completed assignments, 3) studied before an exam, and 4) was attentive in class. It was measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Never) to 5 (Always). The Cronbach’s alphas were .48 for first-generation Chinese Americans, .46 for second-generation Chinese, and .60 for European Americans in a previous study (Chao, 2001). In the current study, the Cronbach’s alpha was .69. However, after removing the item no. 1 due to its different rating scale, the Cronbach’s alpha was .87 with the three items. The total mean score with the tree items was computed in the study and the possible range of the score was between 1 and 5, with higher scores representing better school efforts. Subjective academic performance was measured by a single Likert-type item of subjective academic performance: “My academic results were very good” ranging from 0 (strongly disagree) to 10 (strongly agree; SAP, Leung & Xu, 2013). The content and face validity were good in a number of studies (Borsboom, Mellenbergh, & Van Heerden, 2004; Sloan et al., 2002; Nagy, 2002; Bergkvist & Rossiter, 2007), and discriminant construct validity was also shown to be good ranging from .25 to .51 among indigenous Chinese and Macau samples (Leung & Xu, 2013). In the present study, the convergent construct validity of child’s school efforts was .54 (S.E. = .13, p < .001) with mother’s report on child’s GPA. Subjective academic performance was not included in the current study due to different rating systems with school efforts and high correlations with mother’s report on GPA (r = .62, p < .01).
Acculturation rating scale. The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000) was used to measure the degree of acculturation among Korean immigrant children. The VIA consists of 20 items that were rated on a 9-point Likert-type scale from 1 (disagree) to 9 (agree). It is a bi-dimensional scale containing two subscales of the heritage culture and the mainstream culture and measures three different spheres: values, social relationships, and adherence to traditions. The 10 heritage culture questions included “I often participate in my heritage cultural traditions,” “I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture,” “I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself,” “I am comfortable interacting with people of the same heritage culture as myself,” “I enjoy entertainment (e.g. movies, music) from my heritage culture,” “I often behave in ways that are typical of my heritage culture,” “It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture,” “I believe in the values of my heritage culture,” “I enjoy the jokes and humor of my heritage culture,” and “I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture.” The 10 mainstream culture questions included “I often participate in mainstream American cultural traditions,” “I would be willing to marry a white American person,” “I enjoy social activities with typical American people,” “I am comfortable interacting with typical American people,” “I enjoy American entertainment (e.g. movies, music),” “I often behave in ways that are typically American,” “It is important for me to maintain or develop American cultural practices,” “I believe in mainstream American values,” “I enjoy white American jokes and humor,” and “I am interested in having white American friends.”

The reliability coefficient for this scale in previous work ranged from .66 to .92 for the heritage subscale and from .70 to .89 for the mainstream subscale according to the meta-analysis by Huynh, Howell, and Benet-Martinez (2009). Concurrent validity and factorial validity were
demonstrated by Ryder and his colleagues (2000). No significant ethnic or sex differences have been found in heritage and mainstream scores suggesting the applicability of the scale with diverse ethnic groups (Ryder et al., 2000). In the present study, the Cronbach’s alpha was .89 for the heritage acculturation and .89 for American acculturation sub-scales. The subscales of heritage acculturation and mainstream acculturation were individually computed in the study and the possible range of scores was between 1 and 9, with higher scores representing greater degrees of acculturation.

The median scores in heritage cultural orientation (Median=6.34, Interquartile range=1.1) and mainstream cultural orientation (M=6.65, Interquartile range=1.385) were used to develop 4 groups of acculturation: integration, marginalization, assimilation, and separation. A higher heritage and higher mainstream cultural score indicates integration (n=32), higher heritage and lower mainstream cultural score indicates marginalization (n=19), lower heritage and higher mainstream cultural score indicates assimilation (n=19), and lower heritage and lower mainstream cultural score indicates separation (n=31). Considering that the sample sizes in the four groups are too small to run multiple group SEM models, two groups are created by the median score of American acculturation (n= 51 in the lower American acculturation and 50 in the higher American acculturation) and another set of two groups by the median score of heritage acculturation (n=51 in the lower heritage acculturation and 50 in the higher heritage acculturation).

**Acculturative stress.** Acculturative stress was measured by the Acculturative Stress Scale (ASS) adapted from the National Latino and Asian American Study (NLAAS) by Bernstein and her colleagues (Bernstein et al., 2011). The scale consists of 9 items that focus on (1) feeling guilty for leaving the family in a home country; (2) receiving the same level of
respect that immigrants had in a home country; (3) limited contact with family or friends in a home country; (4) difficulties in interaction with others because of English proficiency; (5) being treated badly because of speaking English with an accent; (6) difficulties in finding work because of Asian descent; (7) being questioned about legal status; (8) concern about being deported if one were to go to a social or government agency; and (9) the avoidance of seeking health services due to fear of immigration officials. The original scale by Bornstein and her colleagues (2011) was the dichotomous-type questionnaire of yes or no but the current study modified it to create a 4-point Likert-type scale from 1 (almost never) to 4 (almost always) to embrace variations in degrees of stress. The total mean score was computed so the possible range of scores is between 1 and 4, with higher scores representing higher levels of acculturative stress. The internal consistency was .62 in the study of Bornstein et al. on Korean immigrants (2011). The current study obtained a Cronbach’s alpha of .76 for this scale. After removing two items (number 1 and 2) of which item-total correlations were below .3, the Cronbach’s alpha increased to .83 with 7 items.

**Language proficiency.** Child’s English language proficiency was assessed by the English Proficiency Scale (EPS; Bernstein et al., 2011). This scale consists of 4 items measured on 4-point Likert-type scale from 1 (poor) to 4 (excellent): “How well do you speak English?” “How well do you write English?” and “How well do you read English?” The current study used the same questions as EPS but switching the object to Korean. The Cronbach’s alpha was .93 among Korean immigrants (Bernstein et al., 2011). In this study he Cronbach’s alpha for Korean proficiency was .89 and the Cronbach’s alpha for English proficiency was .96. The scores on this scale reflect perceived language proficiency. The total mean scores were computed so the
possible range of scores is between 1 and 4, with higher scores representing the better language ability.

**Family flexibility.** Family flexibility was measured by the 21-item family flexibility scale (e.g., my family is able to adjust to change when necessary) in the newer version of FACES IV (Olson, 2011) on 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The Cronbach’s alpha was .82 for rigidness, .84 for flexibility, and .86 for disorganization among U.S adults (Olson, 2011), .68 for rigidness, .68 for flexibility, and .69 for disorganization among Italian adolescents (Baiocco et al., 2013), and .67 for rigidness, .70 for flexibility, and .75 for disorganization among Portuguese adults (Pereira & Teixeira, 2013). In this study, the Cronbach’s alphas were .70 for family flexibility, .55 for family rigidness, and .76 for family disorganization. The flexibility dimension score was estimated in an effort to plot on the circumplex model map. However, the ratio score was not utilized for the some items that had very low factor loadings. Instead, the subscale scores of rigidness, balanced flexibility, and chaos were computed so the possible range of scores is between 1 and 5, with higher scores reflecting greater family rigidity, flexibility, or chaos. Due to its high correlation with the balanced cohesion variable ($r = .68, p < .01$), it was not included in the SEM model to alleviate concerns with multicollinearity.

**Family satisfaction.** Family satisfaction was measured by the 10-item Family Satisfaction Scale on 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (very dissatisfied) to 5 (extremely satisfied) (FSS; Olson, 2011; e.g., How satisfied were you with the amount of time you spend together as a family?) to take into consideration variations in family functioning among ethnic minority groups recommended by Olson (1989). The Cronbach’s alpha was .93 among U.S adults (Olson, 2011), .90 among the Italian adolescents (Baiocco et al., 2013), and .93 among Portuguese adults
(Pereira & Teixeira, 2013). In the current study, the internal consistency was .93. A total score ranging between 10 and 50 was obtained and then converted to the percentile score ranging between 10 and 99 as outlined by Olson (2011). Again, due to its high correlation with the balanced cohesion variable \((r = .75, p < .01)\), family satisfaction also could not be included in the SEM models because of multicolinearity issues.

**Measures asked of parents.** Mothers were asked to report on children’s socioemotional and academic functioning as outcome variables in addition to providing sociodemographic information on the family. Both parents were asked to complete measures of parenting styles and English language proficiency—all used as control variables. As with children, parents were also given the option of completing the instruments either in English or Korean. Again, back-translation techniques were used with the parental measures (Maneesriwongul & Dixon, 2004). All the parents completed the questionnaires in Korean. Korean was their preferred language because the parents were all 1\(^{st}\) generation Korean immigrants.

**Sociodemographic information.** Parents filled out a short sociodemographic questionnaire that asked for information on the child’s sex, age, school year, birth place, birth order, the number of siblings, mother’s and father’s educational attainment, vocational status (job, part time/full time), religion, age, ethnicity, child birth place, parental marital status, family income, the length of family immigration, and the number and composition of people in the household.

**Child socioemotional outcomes.** Six items selected from the Social Skills Rating System (SSRS: Gresham & Elliott, 1990) were used to measure child’s socioemotional functioning. The items are scored on a 4-point Likert scale: never (0), sometimes (1), often (2), and very often (3).
Three items were constructed to measure child externalizing problems (“fights with others,” “threatens or bullies others,” and “argues with others.”) and three items were constructed to measure internalizing problems (“has low self-esteem,” “appears lonely,” and “shows anxiety about being with a group of children.”). Reynolds (1990) defined internalizing problems as being inner-directed and over-controlled resulting in emotional stress such as depression, anxiety, and social withdrawal, and externalizing problems as creating conflicts within the environment or with others including destructive and aggressive behaviors. This study looked at socioemotional outcomes according to the dimensions of internalizing and externalizing functioning of children. In previous work, Cronbach’s alphas were .93 for the externalizing problems subscale and .85 for the internalizing problems subscale from the Fragile Families Study sample of 9 years old children in the US (2013). The Cronbach’s alphas were .77 for internalizing problems and .79 for externalizing problems in the current study. The possible range of scores was between 0 and 3 with higher scores suggesting more internalizing or externalizing difficulties.

**Child academic outcome.** Children’s academic functioning was measured by multiple informants including children and their mothers. Mothers provided child’s academic performance via 5 items including child’s most recent cumulative grade point average (GPA) and grades on English, mathematics, science, and social science. A scale of 1 to 12 was used to convert letter grades into numerals. This approach is commonly used to measure a child’s academic performance using the following numerical designations: 1 for A, 2 for A-, 3 for B+, 4 for B, 5 for B-, 6 for C+, 7 for C, 8 for C-, 9 for D+, 10 for D, 11 for D-, and 12 for F. The total GPA score was computed and the possible range of scores was between 1 and 12, with lower scores indicating better GPAs. The Cronbach’s alpha for child academic functioning reported by mothers was .93 in the present study.
**Parental English proficiency.** English language proficiency was assessed by asking mothers and fathers to fill out the English Proficiency Scale (EPS; Bernstein et al., 2011). The scale consists of three 4-point Likert-type items “How well do you speak English?” “How well do you write English?” and “How well do you read English?” The items were scored on a scale of 4 = excellent, 3= good, 2= fair, and 1= poor. The total mean scores were computed so the possible range of the score was between 1 and 4 with higher scores representing better language ability. The Cronbach’s alpha for Korean immigrants was .93 (Bernstein et al., 2011). In the current study, the Cronbach’s alpha was .91 for mothers and .94 for fathers.

**Parenting styles.** Parenting styles were measured using the 29-item (short form) Parental Acceptance and Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ; Rohner, 1990) on a 4-point Likert scale from 1 (almost never true) to 4 (almost always true). Both mothers and fathers were asked to fill the PARQ individually (Chao, 2001; Chen, Liu, & Li, 2000; Chang, Schwartz, Dodge, & McBride-Chang, 2003; Nelson, Hart, Yang, Olsen, & Jin, 2006). The PARQ measures parental warmth and affection via 8 items (e.g., I make my child feel wanted and needed), hospitality and aggression via 6 items (e.g., I hurt my child’s feelings), neglect and indifference with 6 items (e.g., I pay no attention to my child), undifferentiated rejection via 4 items (e.g., I let my child know (s)he is not wanted), and control via 5 items (e.g., I always tell my child how (s)he should behave). Items no. 16 and no. 20 was reverse scored for their converse wording. The Cronbach’s alpha was .89 through meta-analysis of studies on Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean, and on African Americans, Asian Americans, European Americans, and Hispanic Americans, the test-retest reliability was .62, and factor analysis revealed the same structure across 10 nations (Khaleque & Rohner, 2002).
In the present study, the Cronbach’s alphas were .87 for mothers and .85 for fathers with all 29 PARQ items, .86 for the warmth subscale for mothers and .79 for fathers, .67 for the hostility subscale for mothers and .51 for fathers, .77 for the neglect subscale for mothers and .75 for fathers, .70 for the rejection subscale for mothers and .58 for fathers, and .46 for the control subscale for mothers and .46 for fathers. Several items showed low item-total correlations, below .3, in the hostility subscale (no. 24) and the control subscale (no. 20 and 26). After removing them, the Cronbach’s alphas became .78 for the hostility subscale for mothers and .68 for fathers, and .71 for the control subscale for mothers and .63 for fathers. The current study considered all five subscales of the PARQ as covariates instead of the total PARQ because each domain of parenting may exert different influences on childhood development (Rohner & Khaleque, 2005). Accordingly, the five subscale scores were respectively computed and the possible range of scores was between 1 and 4, with higher scores representing greater warmth, hostility, neglect, rejection, and control.

Analytical Strategies

It is important to deal with missing data appropriately by examining whether data are missing completely at random (MCAR) or not. To address this issue, Little’s MCAR test was conducted on focal variables and potential covariates and it showed that the data were not missing completely at random ($\chi^2(585) = 503.04, p = .994 > .05$). To deal with the missing data, the multivariate regression imputation method was utilized. The multivariate regression imputation has several strengths over listwise and pairwise deletion methods, Hot deck imputation, or mean substitution in that 1) it allows for being inclusive of cases with missing values so that the analysis remains less biased, 2) it creates greater variability than mean imputation, and 3) imputed values are conditional on other information. Yet, there are limitations
in that it still could restrict variance and could inflate covariances (Byrne, 2010). Amos provides the multivariate regression imputation as one of the data imputation options.

Confirmatory factor analyses were conducted via Amos in the measurement model to confirm significant item loadings and moderate correlations among factors/variables. The measurement models were created for each focal variable of Korean parent-child closeness including FC closeness and MC closeness, family cohesion variables including balanced cohesion, disengagement, and enmeshment, and child outcome variables including academic functioning and socioemotional difficulties.

To deal with the small sample size and multivariate nonnormality issues in the data set, the present study utilized the bootstrap sampling method. The bootstrapping method should resolve the nonnormality issues, and furthermore reduce likelihood of type I error and increase statistical power better than other methods (Tollenaar, & Mooijaart, 2003; Byrne, 2010). Amos has the bootstrapping function and requires trivial steps before running the SEM analysis. Furthermore, SEM with Amos enables conducting multiple group analysis to detect significant differences in the path weights between groups. This procedure also requires simple settings before running the analysis in Amos.

Accepting these benefits, the present study ran SEM via Amos 21 in addition to simpler analytic strategies such as one-way Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) and t-test via SPSS 19 to investigate group differences.

**Research Design**

**Measurement models.** First, measurement models with the bootstrapping method were conducted with study focal variables: Korean parent parent-child closeness including FC
closeness and MC closeness, family cohesion including balanced cohesion, enmeshment, and disengagement, and child functioning including socioemotional difficulties and academic functioning. These analytic approaches showed the factor loadings of each construct for the reliability test and correlations among the variables to check for multicolinearity.

**Plotting the cohesion score.** The raw cohesion scores were converted to percentile scores and then the cohesion dimension scores were calculated with the percentile scores to plot the scores on the map guided by the FACES IV manual (Olson, 2011). The mean cohesion dimension scores of the total sample were plotted on the circumplex model map. This was done to determine whether the cohesion scores were negatively skewed among this Korean immigrant family sample. Then the mean dimension scores were compared by groups of acculturation degrees via t-test to see if those cohesion dimension scores were plotted on significantly different places on the circumplex map.

**Comparing cohesion and Korean parent-child closeness scores by acculturation.** The data were divided into two sets of two groups by levels of acculturation in both the mainstream culture and the heritage culture based on the bidimensional model (Berry, 1980; 1984; 1997; Ryder et al., 2000). The two groups were divided by the median scores of mainstream or heritage acculturation. First, the cohesion scores were compared among the two groups through ANCOVA that controlled for important covariates such as child’s acculturative stress, child language proficiency, parenting styles, parental language proficiency, and other family demographic information to see if there were significant differences in cohesion scores by degrees of acculturation. Next, Korean parent-child closeness scores were compared among the two groups through ANCOVA with the bootstrapping method to see if there were significant
differences in Korean parent-child closeness scores by degrees of acculturation after accounting for important covariates.

The mediation model. The SEM mediation models were generated and examined with the bootstrapping method to overcome the small sample size related issues and to test the significance of indirect paths. To evaluate the model fit, four indices were reported as a combination of incremental fit indices and absolute fit indices as recommended by Hu and Bentler (1999). Incremental fit indices examine differences in models between the designed model of interest and a baseline model. Usually, the baseline model sets all the correlations between variables in the model as zero. In comparison, absolute fit indices investigate the sample covariances matrix from the designated model of interest rather than comparing models. Comparative Fit Index (CFI; Bentler, 1989. 1990) and Tucker-Lewis index (TLI; Tucker & Lewis, 1973) were reported as incremental fit indices; and Normed $\chi^2$(CMIN/df) and the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA; Steiger & Lind, 1980) were reported as absolute fit indices in the current study. The incremental fit indices (CFI & TLI) over .95 (Lei & Wu, 2007), Normed $\chi^2$ under 2 (Bollen, 1989), and RMSEA under .05 (Browne & Cudeck, 1993) were considered a good model fit. The incremental fit indices (CFI & TLI) over .90 (Hu & Beltler, 1999), Normed $\chi^2$ under 3 (Bollen, 1989), and RMSEA under .08 (Browne & Cudeck, 1993) were considered a fair model fit.

The model first tests the relationships between independent variables and dependent variables while placing all the variables in the mediation model (Figure 1). One holistic model was originally intended but the model was separated into four models (2 by 2) by two parental sexes (mother or father) and by two child outcome domains (academic or socioemotional outcomes) mainly due to concerns related to the small sample size issues and the single mediator
design. Therefore, four single mediator models were generated in the current study. The hypotheses for the mediation models are 1) family cohesion is positively or negatively associated with child outcomes depending on the positive or negative nature of variables, 2) family cohesion is also positively or negatively associated with Korean parent-child closeness depending on the cohesion dimensions, and 3) Korean parent-child closeness is positively or negatively associated with child outcomes depending on the positive or negative nature of variables. Then, the mediation test was performed based on bootstrapping results about direct, indirect, and total paths to see if 4) Korean parent-child closeness mediated the associations between family cohesion and child outcomes (see studies by Baron & Kenny, 1986; Cole & Maxwell, 2003; MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007 for the guidance of the mediation test).

This mediation model included relevant covariates after the correlation test with variables described in the previous section: parenting styles, parental language proficiency, child’s acculturative stress, child language proficiency, and other family demographic information. Finally, the model fit indices informs us whether this mediation model is adequate for this data set or not.

![Figure 1. The Simplified Mediation Model of Korean Parent-Child Closeness with Family Cohesion and Child Outcomes among the US Korean Immigrant Family Sample](image)

**The moderated mediation model.** The mediation models were planned to be tested by four acculturation categories: marginalized, assimilated, separated, and integrated in the
moderated mediation models (Figure 2). However, given the small sample sizes in the individual groups by four acculturation types (n = between 16 and 34), two groups were instead generated by heritage acculturation or by American acculturation. It was because the multiple group analyses by the four acculturation groups caused errors in the SEM models. Iacobucci (2009) also recommends conducting SEM analyses with sample sizes over 50.

This moderated mediation model determined if the degree of child acculturation (lower or higher) moderated the mediation model; in other words, if there are any differences in path estimates in the mediation models by child acculturation degrees. For example, the mediating role of parent-child closeness might be abated among the lower heritage acculturation or the higher American acculturation group (MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007).

The multiple group analyses with SEM were employed for the model comparison and Figure 2 presents a simplified moderated mediation model to help readers better conceptualize the model. The multiple group confirmatory factor analyses (MG CFA) preceded the main models as a prerequisite test for multiple group analyses (MGA) to confirm invariance of scales in each model.
Chapter 6. Results

Preliminary Analysis

To determine the adequacy of the sample size to conduct SEM, power analyses and required sample size estimation were performed as recommended by scholars (Kenny, 2014; Wolf et al., 2013). The sample size required for structural equation modeling not only depends on the number of variables in the model but also the model complexity, correlations among variables, the number of latent variables, and nature of the data (Kenny, 2014; Wolf et al., 2013). Based on the degree of freedom, significance level (α < .05), sample size (n=101), and desired model fit indices (e.g., .05 for RMSEA), power analyses were conducted to confirm that the sample size was enough to adopt SEM. The results showed strong power in all the four models: between .89 and 1.00 for the MC academic model, between .90 and 1.00 for the MC socioemotional model, between .90 and 1.00 for the FC academic model, between .92 and 1.00 for the FC socioemotional model (Gnambs, 2013; MacCallum, Browne, & Cai, 2006; Kim, 2005). In addition, given estimates based on the desired power (e.g., .05 for RMSEA), the degree of freedom, number of variables, and the significance level (α < .05) in the models, the number of participating families in the present study (n=101) are over the required sample size (Gnambs, 2013; MacCallum, Browne, & Cai, 2006; Kim, 2005); it was 77.73 for the MC socioemotional model, 80.47 for the MC academic model, 74.02 for the FC socioemotional model, and 79.69 for the FC academic model.
Furthermore, Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistics showed that the general assumption of normality of data was not violated in balanced cohesion, American acculturation, and heritage acculturation (Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistics > .05). There were negatively skewed variables, meaning the values were skewed toward the high end: MC closeness (skewness = -2.21), FC closeness (skewness = -2.57), school efforts (skewness = -1.50), disengagement (skewness = -.25), and enmeshment (skewness = -.45); there were positively skewed variables, meaning the values were skewed toward the low end: internalizing problems (skewness = 2.10), externalizing problems (skewness = .98), and GPA (skewness = 1.30). Next, extreme values in the respective variables were within the genuine range and 5% trimmed means were not very different from the mean values. The multivariate outlier test through the squared Mahalanobis distance showed a few significant cases but it was not unusual given the sample size, and those values were just slightly outside the critical values. Even after removing them, there were no significant differences in the results so they were retained in the SEM models. The issues with non-normal distribution due to the small sample size in the present study were handled with the bootstrapping method (Byrne, 2010).

To eliminate multicollinearity issues and identify covariates in the SEM models, Pearson correlation tests were conducted on the main and potential control variables. The variables whose correlations with the main variables were over .7 were removed from the model because of multicollinearity issues: child English (w/school effort), paternal employment status (w/school effort), family satisfaction (w/balanced cohesion), family flexibility (w/balanced cohesion) and paternal warmth (w/balanced cohesion). Covariates for each model were determined from variables that showed significant correlations with focal variables: child heritage and American acculturation, child acculturative stress, child Korean proficiency, child sex and birth year,
maternal immigration year, family income, paternal education and religious attendance, paternal and maternal English proficiency, and maternal and paternal parenting (see Table 4 for correlation coefficients). As the main SEM models were separated into four different models (2*2: FC/MC closeness by socioemotional/academic functioning), covariates varied depending on focal variables in the models.

Table 4. Bivariate Correlations between Focal Variables and Control Variables

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<td>FC Closeness</td>
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<td>-.39**</td>
<td>-.11</td>
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<td>-.14</td>
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<td>.13</td>
<td>.26**</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.29**</td>
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<td>.32**</td>
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<td>.16</td>
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<td>.26**</td>
<td>-.32**</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.35**</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.34**</td>
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<td>.07</td>
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<td>.12</td>
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<td>.26**</td>
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<td>-.01</td>
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<td>.04</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.23*</td>
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<td>.06</td>
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<td>.39**</td>
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<td>.23*</td>
<td>-.32**</td>
<td>-.21*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paternal Rejection</td>
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<td>.17+</td>
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<td>-.15</td>
<td>-.18*</td>
<td>.26**</td>
<td>.22*</td>
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Measurement Models

Measurement models were created for family functioning variables, MC closeness and FC closeness variables, and child outcomes to check the internal consistency among items on respective variables. Models were tested separately rather than as one whole model due to the small sample size. The measurement models fit the data fairly well; CFI and TLI outcomes were over .90, Normed χ² outcomes were under 2, and RMSEA outcomes were under .08 (see Table 4).

Table 5. Model Fit for Measurement Models on Focal Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CFI</th>
<th>TLI</th>
<th>Normed χ²</th>
<th>RMSEA</th>
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<td>.925</td>
<td>.906</td>
<td>1.164</td>
<td>.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC Closeness</td>
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<td>.980</td>
<td>.000</td>
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<tr>
<td>FC Closeness</td>
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<td>.935</td>
<td>1.637</td>
<td>.080</td>
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<tr>
<td>Child Outcomes</td>
<td>.956</td>
<td>.929</td>
<td>1.493</td>
<td>.070</td>
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</table>

Family cohesion. First, the measurement model for family functioning fit the data fairly well after removing items for which factor loadings were below .3 (e.g. CFI = .925, TLI = .906, Normed χ² = 1.164, RMSEA = .040). The factor loadings range from .53 to .68 for balanced cohesion with all the seven items (no. 1, 7, 13, 19, 25, 31, 37), from .33 to .66 for enmeshment with four items (no. 4, 10, 16, 28) after removing three items with factor loadings below .3 (no.
22, 34, 40), and from .36 to .60 for disengagement with four items (no. 21, 27, 33, 39) after removing three items with factor loadings below .3 (no. 3, 9, 15). In addition, the only significant correlation was between enmeshment and disengagement ($r = .49, p < .01$). The construct validity, more specifically the discriminant validity is in doubt due to the positive association between family enmeshment and disengagement.

**Korean parent-child closeness.** The measurement models of Korean parent-child closeness were separated into FC closeness and MC closeness due to the small sample size and a high correlation between the two variables ($r = .63, p < .01$). The models showed good fit with the data for MC closeness (CFI = 1.000, TLI = 1.003, Normed $\chi^2 = .980$, RMSEA = .000) and FC closeness (CFI = .964, TLI = .935, Normed $\chi^2 = 1.637$, RMSEA = .080) after removing the items with factor loadings below .3. The factor loadings were between .39 and .86 for MC closeness and between .58 and .81 for FC closeness with eight items (no. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12), including dimensions of affection, closeness, trust, sacrifice, and emotional oneness. The individual mean scores of determined items for FC closeness and MC closeness were calculated and entered in respective SEM models.

**Child outcomes.** Finally, the measurement model for child functioning was tested and fit the data well after removing items with factor loadings below .3 (CFI = .956, TLI = .929, Normed $\chi^2 = 1.493$, RMSEA = .070). The factor loadings range from .71 to .77 with all of the six items for child socioemotional difficulties, and from .79 to .96 with six items of child academic functioning. As indicated earlier, child academic functioning consisted of school efforts reported by children themselves (three items on assignment completions, study hours before exam, and class attentiveness) and GPA reported by mothers (three items on English, social science, and science). The correlations between internalizing problems, externalizing
problems, school efforts, and GPA were significant (< .001) and moderate ranging from .47 to .58. The individual mean scores of the four sub-scales were entered in main SEM models; school effort and GPA loaded on the latent variable of child academic functioning, and externalizing problems and internalizing problems loaded on the latent variable of child socioemotional difficulties.

Findings from Hypotheses

The main analyses were conducted to show distributions of family cohesion on the circumplex model map, group differences in family cohesion and Korean parent-child closeness by degrees of acculturation via ANCOVA, mediating roles of Korean parent-child closeness via the bootstrapping method in SEM, and the moderating role of acculturation via multiple group analyses.

Distributions of family cohesion. To plot the family cohesion score on the circumplex model map (Olson, 2011), family dimension scores were individually calculated. The formula for the dimension scores was:

\[
\text{Cohesion (or Flexibility) Dimension Score} = \frac{\text{Balanced Cohesion (or Flexibility)}}{2} + \frac{(\text{Enmeshed (or Chaotic)} - \text{Disengaged (or Rigid)})}{2}
\]

It was obtained only for plotting and some visual understanding of family functioning in this group on the standardized map. The family cohesion dimension score range was 0 to 100 and the score reflects the curvilinear association with family functioning (Olson, 2011). Scores between 0 and 15 indicate disengaged unbalanced, between 16 and 35 somewhat connected
balanced, between 36 and 65 connected balanced, between 66 and 85 very connected balanced and between 86 and 100 enmeshed unbalanced (Olson, 2011). The mean score for the cohesion dimension was 66.38 (n = 83, sd = 16.20; see Figure 3), which falls under the very connected area (for family flexibility, n = 83, m = 46.98, sd = 11.41). There were zero disengaged, five somewhat connected, 34 connected, 33 very connected, and 11 enmeshed families.

Figure 3. The Family Cohesion Dimension Scores on the Circumplex Model Map in the Sample of Korean Immigrant Families with Children

Family cohesion dimension scores varied by degree of heritage acculturation; families in the high heritage group (HH: m = 70.95, sd = 12.37; m = 46.58, sd = 10.27 for flexibility) had significantly higher family cohesion dimension score (t (69.908) = -2.68, p < .01) than those in the low heritage acculturation group (LH: m = 61.70, sd = 18.36; m = 47.40, sd = 12.59 for flexibility). The triangle in figure 4 is representative of the low heritage group and the circle representative of the high heritage group. However, there were no significant differences in
cohesion dimension scores by American acculturation or bidimensional acculturation (heritage*American).

Figure 4. The family Dimension Scores on the Circumplex Model Map in the Lower Heritage Acculturation Group and the Higher Heritage Acculturation Group

**Group differences.** Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was used to determine group differences by degree of acculturation on the cohesion scores including balanced cohesion, disengagement, and enmeshment, and parent-child closeness (MC closeness and FC closeness). The preliminary analysis showed that there was no violation in assumptions of linearity, variances, and homogeneity of regression slopes. To address nonnormality issues in some covariates, the bootstrapping method was applied.

There was a significant difference in balanced cohesion across the two groups by degree of American acculturation \((F (1, 87) = 3.66, p = .05, \text{partial eta squared} = .04)\). Balanced cohesion was greater in the high American acculturation group (HA; \(m = 4.13, sd = .65\) under 95% C.I.) than in the low American acculturation group (LA; \(m = 3.94, sd = .47\) under 95% C.I.)
based on 1000 bootstrap samples; and the R squared score was .702. However, no significant group differences were found on other variables by degrees of either heritage or American acculturation. These findings were based on Levene’s test ($p > .05$) assuring homogeneity of variance in variables across groups and after accounting for covariates of family income, maternal and paternal warmth and control, paternal and maternal English, paternal education, maternal immigration year, child Korean competency, child acculturative stress, and child sex.

**Mediation models of parent-child closeness.** The mediation models were separated by MC closeness and FC closeness because 1) single mediation models were intended, 2) there was a relatively high correlation ($r = .63, p < .01$) between MC closeness and FC closeness, and it was preferred in order 3) to reduce the ratio of variables to the sample size and 4) to deal with the small sample size. The models were separated once again by the dimension of child functioning either academic functioning or socioemotional functioning to handle concerns related to the small sample size. There were four main models generated (2parents*2outcome dimensions): 1) the MC academic model, 2) the MC socioemotional model, 3) the FC academic model, and 4) the FC socioemotional model. The mediation models were tested via the bootstrapping method on data with multiple regression imputation in SEM to deal with non-normal distribution, small sample size, NMAR data, and the mediation test. The results with these methods were not different from results with maximum likelihood (ML) for comparisons.

**Model fit.** The respective mediation models fit the data very well (see Table 5). CFI and TLI outcomes were all over .95, Normed $\chi^2$ results were under 2, and RMSEA outcomes were under .05. The power was strong for each model, between .89 and 1.00 for the MC academic model, between .90 and 1.00 for the MC socioemotional model, between .90 and 1.00 for the FC academic model, and between .92 and 1.00 for the FC socioemotional model (Gnambs, 2013;
MacCallum, Browne, & Cai, 2006; Kim, 2005). The model descriptions are found in Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6 with the bootstrapping estimates for significant direct paths.

Table 6. Model Fit for Main Mediation Models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model Description</th>
<th>CFI</th>
<th>TLI</th>
<th>Normed $\chi^2$</th>
<th>RMSEA</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>MC Academic Model</td>
<td>.992</td>
<td>.993</td>
<td>1.039</td>
<td>.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC Socioemotional Model</td>
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<td>1.019</td>
<td>.947</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC Academic Model</td>
<td>.999</td>
<td>.998</td>
<td>1.007</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC Socioemotional Model</td>
<td>.988</td>
<td>.973</td>
<td>1.072</td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Covariates.** Each model included 11-13 covariates after the correlation between potential control variables were determined based upon empirical findings and Pearson correlation test outcomes: acculturative stress (Bernstein et al., 2011; Ayers et al. 2009; Oh, Koeske, and Sales, 2002), English language proficiency (Wong, Uhm, and Li, 2012; Bernstein et al., 2011), heritage language proficiency (Ho, 2010), parenting styles (Chao, 2001; Fung & Lau, 2010; Kim & Choi, 2010), and acculturation (Wang, Kviz and Miller, 2012; Bernstein, Park, Shin, Cho, & Park, 2011; Jang & Chiriboga, 2011; Kim, Seo, & Cain, 2010; Ayers, Hofstetter, Usita, Irvin, Kang, & Hovell, 2009; Kim 2009; Kim, Han, Shin, Kim, & Lee, 2005; Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002).

Specifically, the MC academic model included 11 covariates of maternal control, paternal neglect, immigration year, heritage and American acculturation, family income, paternal education, paternal and maternal English, child Korean proficiency, and child birth year; the MC socioemotional model included 11 covariates of maternal rejection, paternal neglect, heritage and American acculturation, acculturative stress, maternal immigration year, family income, paternal education, paternal and maternal English, and child Korean; the FC academic model included 13 covariates of maternal warmth, control, neglect, and rejection, paternal control and neglect, heritage and American acculturation, acculturative stress, maternal immigration year, family income, paternal education, and maternal English; and the FC socioemotional model included 13
covariates of maternal warmth and control, paternal control, neglect, and rejection, heritage acculturation, acculturative stress, maternal immigration year, paternal English, paternal education, paternal religious attendance, child Korean ability, and child sex.

Figure 5. The Bootstrapping Estimates on Significant Direct Paths in the MC Academic Model

Note. Model fit indices: Normed $\chi^2 = 1.039$, RMSEA = .020, CFI = .992, TLI = .993
Standardized regression coefficients ($\beta$) and standardized errors ($SE$) were shown here.
$p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$

Figure 6. The Bootstrapping Estimates on Significant Direct Paths in the MC Socioemotional Model

Note. Model fit indices: Normed $\chi^2 = .947$, RMSEA = .000, CFI = 1.000, TLI = 1.019
Standardized regression coefficients ($\beta$) and standardized errors ($SE$) were shown here.
$p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$

Figure 7. The Bootstrapping Estimates on Significant Direct Paths in the FC Academic Model

Note. Model fit indices: Normed $\chi^2 = 1.007$, RMSEA = .008, CFI = .999, TLI = .998
Standardized regression coefficients ($\beta$) and standardized errors ($SE$) were shown here.
$p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$

Figure 8. The Bootstrapping Estimates on Significant Direct Paths in the FC Socioemotional Model

Note. Model fit indices: Normed $\chi^2 = 1.072$, RMSEA = .027, CFI = .988, TLI = .973
Standardized regression coefficients ($\beta$) and standardized errors ($SE$) were shown here.
$p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001$
Family cohesion and child functioning. The direct associations between family cohesion and child outcomes were explored in the four MC/FC academic/socioemotional models. First in the MC models, the only significant path was between balanced cohesion and academic functioning ($\beta = .41, S.E. = .15, p < .05$; see Figure 5). Next in the FC models, there were significant paths between balanced cohesion and child academic functioning ($\beta = .52, S.E. = .17, p < .001$; see Figure 7), between balanced cohesion and child socioemotional difficulties ($\beta = -.53, S.E. = .18, p < .01$; see Figure 8), between disengagement and child academic functioning ($\beta = .24, S.E. = .12, p < .05$; see Figure 7), between disengagement and child socioemotional difficulties ($\beta = -.272, S.E. = .131, p < .05$; see Figure 8), and between enmeshment and child socioemotional difficulties ($\beta = -.15, S.E. = .09, p < .05$; see Figure 8).

Parent-child closeness and child functioning. When the direct associations between Korean notion of parent-child closeness and child outcomes were investigated, it was found that mother-child closeness was significantly associated with both academic functioning ($\beta = .41, S.E. = .20, p < .05$; see Figure 5) and socioemotional difficulties ($\beta = -.59, S.E. = .17, p < .01$; see Figure 6). In comparison, father-child closeness was significantly associated with child academic functioning only ($\beta = .30, S.E. = .18, p < .05$; see Figure 7) but not with child socioemotional difficulties (see Figure 8).

Family cohesion and parent-child closeness. Balanced cohesion was the only variable that was significantly associated with Korean parent-child closeness. Specifically, balanced cohesion was associated with both Korean mother-child closeness ($\beta = .57, S.E. = .10, p < .001$ in the MC academic model, see Figure 5; $\beta = .61, S.E. = .10, p < .001$ in the MC socioemotional model, see Figure 6) and Korean father-child closeness ($\beta = .62, S.E. = .10, p < .001$ in the FC
academic model, see Figure 7; β = .56, S.E. = .13, p < .001 in the FC socioemotional model, see Figure 8).

**Mediating roles of Korean parent-child closeness.** The mediation models were created to assess the mediating role of Korean mother/father-child closeness in associations between family cohesion and child outcomes. The mediation test on single mediator models was conducted guided by Baron and Kenny (1986) for basic requirements and Cole and Maxwell (2003) for the more sophisticated mediation test with bootstrapping. First of all, the total paths should be significant between considered independent, mediating, and dependent variables (Baron and Kenny, 1986), then, the indirect paths should be significant between the independent and dependent variables, and third, regression estimates of the direct paths need to be lessened or insignificant (Cole & Maxwell, 2003). Total paths are indicative of associations between two variables before mediating variables or indirect associations are explained, and direct paths are associations between two variables after mediating variables or indirect associations are accounted for. When the regression weights of direct paths decrease and become insignificant, the mediator is considered a complete mediator.

**The mediating role of Korean mother-child closeness.** The mediation model of Korean notion of mother-child closeness revealed that mother-child closeness 1) partially mediated the association between balanced cohesion and child academic functioning, and 2) completely mediated the association between balanced cohesion and child socioemotional functioning. Regarding the partial mediation role of mother-child closeness between balanced cohesion and child academic functioning, a) all of the total associations between balanced cohesion, mother-child closeness, and child academic functioning were significant (see Figure 9), b) there was a significant indirect association between balanced cohesion and academic functioning (see Figure
and c) the direct association between balanced cohesion and academic functioning became lessened, yet remained significant (see Figure 13). These results satisfy partial mediation testing criteria for Korean mother-child closeness in the association between balanced cohesion and academic outcomes. Concerning the complete mediation role of mother-child closeness between balanced cohesion and child socioemotional difficulties, a) all of the total associations between mother-child closeness, balanced cohesion, and child socioemotional difficulties were significant (see Figure 10), b) there was a significant indirect association between balanced cohesion and academic functioning (see Figure 12), and c) the direct association between balanced cohesion and socioemotional difficulties became lessened and insignificant (see Figure 14). These results satisfy criteria for the complete mediation test for Korean mother-child closeness in the association between balanced cohesion and child socioemotional difficulties.

Figure 9. Standardized Bootstrapping Estimates on Total paths Between Balanced Cohesion, Mother-Child Closeness, and Child Academic Functioning

*Note: Standardized regression coefficients (β) and standardized errors (SE) were shown here.

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Figure 10. Standardized Bootstrapping Estimates on Total Paths between Balanced Cohesion, Mother-Child Closeness, and Child Socioemotional Difficulties

*Note: Standardized regression coefficients (β) and standardized errors (SE) were shown here.

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
The mediating role of Korean father-child closeness. The mediation model for Korean notion of father-child closeness revealed that father-child closeness 1) partially mediated the association between balanced cohesion and child academic functioning, but 2) did not mediate the associations between family cohesion variables and socioemotional difficulties. Specifically, a) All of the total associations between balanced cohesion, father-child closeness, and child
academic functioning were significant (see Figure 15), b) there was a significant indirect association between balanced cohesion and academic functioning (see Figure 16), and c) the direct association between balanced cohesion and academic functioning become lessened yet remained significant (see Figure 17). So, it satisfies the partial mediation testing criteria for Korean father-child closeness between balanced cohesion and child academic functioning. In comparison, there were no significant indirect associations between family cohesion variables and child socioemotional difficulties through Korean father-child closeness ($\beta = -.01, p = .99$ for the path between balanced cohesion and socioemotional outcomes; $\beta = .00, p = .86$ for the path between family disengagement and socioemotional outcomes; $\beta = -.00, p = .89$ for the path between family enmeshment and socioemotional outcomes). Moreover, the association between father-child closeness and child socioemotional difficulties was also not significant ($\beta = -.01, p = .94$). Korean father-child closeness did not mediate the associations between family cohesion and child socioemotional difficulties.

Figure 15. Standardized Bootstrapping Estimates on Total Paths between Balanced Cohesion, Father-child Closeness, and Child Academic Functioning

*Note:* Standardized regression coefficients ($\beta$) and standardized errors (SE) were shown here.

$^*p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Figure 16. Standardized Bootstrapping Estimates on Indirect Paths between Balanced Cohesion, Father-child Closeness, and Child Academic Functioning

*Note:* Standardized regression coefficients ($\beta$) and standardized errors (SE) were shown here.

$^*p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$
Moderation models of acculturation. Moderated mediation models were intended to be tested but it could not be performed due to incompatibility in models between mediation models and moderation models due to non-invariance of a number of scales across sub-groups. So, moderating roles of acculturation were conducted on the simplified mediation models.

To confirm any differences in path estimates across groups by degrees of acculturation, multiple group analyses were performed. Before running multiple-group analyses, measurement invariance across groups needs to be confirmed. Multiple-group confirmatory factor analyses (MG CFA) tested invariance across groups in scales and then multiple group analyses examined differences in path weights by degrees of acculturation to confirm the moderating roles of acculturation in the mediation models.

Multiple-group CFA. Groups divided by heritage acculturation showed statistically significant non-invariance in main variables including socioemotional difficulties, academic functioning, and the MC and FC closeness. Thus the multiple-group analyses could not proceed on these groups. However, two groups by American acculturation show invariance across groups in main variables including family enmeshment, MC closeness and FC closeness, school efforts, GPA, and internalizing problems. Therefore, the multiple group analyses could be performed on groups by degrees of American acculturation.
**Multiple group analyses.** Due to nonequivalence of several variables across groups and small sample sizes in each group (51 in LA and 50 in HA), the models for multiple-group analyses were adjusted and simplified. No latent variable was included in the models. The internalizing problems variable was inserted as an observed variable in the socioemotional models, and GPA and school efforts were individually entered in the academic models. Only one significant difference was found in the association between family enmeshment and child internalizing problems in the MC socioemotional model (Critical Ratios for Differences between Parameters = 2.156 > 1.965). It implies the moderating role of American acculturation in the association between family enmeshment and child internalizing problems when mother-child closeness is controlled for. The association was significantly negative ($\beta = -.30$, $S.E. = .13$, $p < .05$) in the lower American acculturation group, which is greater in its strength than the outcome with the whole sample ($\beta = -.10$, $S.E. = .05$, $p < .05$). However, the association was not significant ($\beta = -.06$, $S.E. = .13$, $p > .05$) in the higher American acculturation group based on the 95% C.I. bootstrapping outcomes.

**Chapter 7. Discussion**

Interpersonal closeness in adult and parent-child relationships have mainly been defined and studied within the parameters of European and European-heritage cultural groups. Moreover, very little is known about how definitions of family connectedness as constructed in such frameworks as the circumplex model (Olson, 2011) are linked to childhood outcomes in other cultural and ethnic groups. The findings of the current study provide us with some insights into the family dynamics, parent-child closeness, and child academic and socioemotional functioning in Korean immigrant families in the US. The findings have implications for understanding the validity of family connectedness for use with other cultural groups in the context of different
degrees of acculturation. In this chapter, the validity of the FACES IV for use with Korean immigrant families is first discussed before examining the associations between parent-child closeness, childhood cognitive and socioemotional outcomes within the respective research hypotheses.

Possible Cultural Variations in Family Cohesion

Results suggest different patterns and possible variances with other cultural groups in perceptions of family cohesion including family enmeshment and disengagement. The scales of family cohesion as measured by FACES IV in the Korean immigrant sample differ in their item loadings in comparison to those obtained by Olson (2011) and other studies on European American families (Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1989), particularly with respect to family enmeshment and disengagement. Perhaps the participating Korean immigrant children have different conceptions of family enmeshment and disengagement than children and adults in other cultural groups (Olson, 2011). In this study, the items loaded on enmeshment (4, 10, 16, and 28), were “We spend too much time together,” “Family members feel pressured to spend most free time together,” “Family members are too dependent on each other,” and “We feel too connected to each other”; and items loaded on family disengagement (21, 27, 33, and 39) were “Family members are on their own when there is a problem to be solved,” “Family members seldom does things together,” “Family members seldom depend on each other,” and “Family members mainly operate independently”. The items of enmeshment contain negative responses about being overly connected in family relationships. It shows immeasurable enhancement in validity for the measure of family enmeshment in comparison to the previous FACES versions, which typically contained only positive items to measure negative responses of family enmeshment. However, the disengagement scale in the present study contains ‘neutral’ responses about the family being
weakly connected or being independent, rather than negative responses about being disconnected in family relationships. This cast some doubts about the content validity of family disengagement for use with Korean immigrant families and perhaps other cultural groups as well and calls for further research on conceptualizations of the family cohesion scale including family enmeshment and disengagement. Furthermore, the current study could not utilize family cohesion dimension scores used to identify balanced vs. unbalanced family functioning due to the low internal consistency of the original scales with all seven items. Accordingly, cutoff scores for balanced or unbalanced family functioning could not be estimated. The dimension score is incorporated here only to plot it on the circumplex model map to acquire some visual understanding of these constructs. Despite limitations, the present study has implications for the field of family studies in that it utilized the most recent version of the family cohesion measurement (FACES IV), included voices of children in their late childhood or early adolescence, and focused on the specific ethnic group of Korean immigrant families.

**Parent-Child Closeness in Korean Heritage Culture**

The Korean notion of parent-child closeness is intended to comprise eight subscales including affection, closeness, trust, expectation, sacrifice, emotional oneness, consciousness as his/her own flesh and blood, and mixed emotions. However, the current study could not perform the secondary factor analysis for the eight latent variables with 37 items due to the small sample size. Instead, Korean parent-child closeness is tested as one construct and the determined items included dimensions of affection, closeness, trust, sacrifice, and emotional oneness. These dimensions are distinguishable from the notion of parent-child closeness in North American families and highlights attributes of sacrifice and emotional oneness in Korean origin culture. It tends to shed lights on the mechanisms of parent-child relationship in Korea, which contains
emotional oneness as feeling grateful to each other derived from parental sacrifice as Choi discussed (2011). It is deemed an appropriate way to discipline children in Korean culture in that it elicits children’s intrinsic motivation for good conduct from their reciprocal interactions based on *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* values. It is distinguishable from mechanisms seen in Hyo ideology (filial piety) in that it requires unilateral movement from the child to be a good son/daughter regardless of how parents treat the child; it seems to rely on children’s extrinsic motivation. Korean parent-child closeness is rather similar with *qin*, the Chinese concept of parent-adolescent relationship introduced by Wu and Chao (2007); *qin* contains dimensions of parental devotion, sacrifice, thoughtfulness, and *Guan*.

Unlike in the original study by Choi, Kim, and Yu (1994), the subscales of mixed emotions/ambivalence, expectation, and consciousness as his/her own flesh and blood did not load on the construct of Korean parent-child closeness in this project. This could be attributable to the younger age range of the children in the current study than in the original study; the original study included individuals from the middle school to college age (Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994). Or, it could reflect changes in ideology related to parenting and parent-child relationships in Korean immigrants. Future research should examine these scales with older age groups of Korean immigrants and in cross-cultural comparisons that include indigenous Korean samples. Also, the bidirectional nature in parent-child closeness could not be incorporated due to the cross-sectional nature of the data, multicolinearity issues, and the small sample size in the present study. In spite of these limitations, the findings of this study points to the need for further consideration of cultural variations in the notion of parent-child closeness, introduction of the content aspect of acculturation like the *Bujayuchin-Sungjung* conception in Korean heritage culture, and inclusion of children’s perceptions of child-parent relationships.
Respective Roles of Family Cohesion, Parent-Child Closeness, and Child Functioning

Associations between the primary variables were identified. Specifically, the findings reveal advantageous functions of family cohesion on child outcomes, positive roles of balanced cohesion on parent-child closeness, and beneficial roles of Korean parent-child closeness on child functioning. These findings are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Advantageous functions of family cohesion on child outcomes. It was found that balanced cohesion and family disengagement were positively related to child academic functioning and negatively associated with children’s socioemotional difficulties; and that family enmeshment was negatively associated with children’s socioemotional difficulties. The findings on balanced cohesion are consistent with those in the existing literature (e.g. Bae & Park, 2010; Kim & Oh, 2006; Kim, 2001). As predicted, balanced family cohesion played a beneficial role in terms of childhood outcomes. In other words, the covert family-level expectation about family connectedness was associated with better child functioning. In comparison, there were mixed findings about family enmeshment in Korean heritage families (Lee & Nam, 2005; Chao, 2011).

The present study with Korean immigrant families showed that family enmeshment is not detrimental for child academic and socioemotional outcomes but rather related to decreasing child socioemotional difficulties. This is instructive because the enmeshment scale in the present study included negative responses to overly connected family relationships, which is contrary to previous versions of enmeshment scales. Nonetheless, the findings with family disengagement should be interpreted with great caution due to validity issues in the scale with this sample. As discussed in an earlier section, family disengagement measured herein is conceptually close to the notion of independence rather than disengagement which may require refinement in the conceptualization and operationalization of family disengagement in Korean immigrant families.
Positive roles of balanced cohesion on parent-child closeness. Balanced cohesion was positively associated with mother-child closeness and father-child closeness. By contrast, family disengagement and enmeshment were not significantly related to parent-child closeness. The relationship between family cohesion and parent-child closeness is not well researched in the field. It is conceivable that family cohesion overlaps with dimensions of parent-child relationship. Family cohesion is about family-level functioning reflecting connectedness between family members; it to some extent involves covert expectations/rules about connectedness among family members. In the main, parent-child closeness considers only one subsystem of the family and reflects interpersonal relationships between the parent and the child. While expectations about balanced family connectedness may be related to parent-child closeness, expectations on too close or too disconnected family relationships may not be significantly associated with parent-child relationships. This may suggest that family-level connectedness does not always correspond with relational closeness in these subsystems, particularly when the expectation goes extreme or unbalanced. Researchers will need to distinguish the notion of family-level connectedness from the interpersonal-level closeness in their studies. Future research could investigate associations between family cohesion and parent-child closeness with better conceptualized notions of family cohesion in Korean heritage families.

Beneficial roles of Korean parent-child closeness on child functioning. The Korean notion of mother-child closeness and father-child closeness played beneficial roles in child academic functioning. It is a novel finding in that there was no study that uncovered associations between Korean indigenous notion of parent-child closeness and child academic functioning. Korean traditional ideologies about close parent-child relationship seem to play a significant role in the life of Korean immigrant families and children in the US. Seen in other Asian studies
(Chao, 2001; Kalhotra, 2013), close parent-child relationship may play an important role in academic performance of Korean immigrant children, particularly when they are in the late childhood or the young adolescent stages. Similarly, Korean mother-child closeness was significantly related to child socioemotional functioning which converges with findings from previous studies (Kim & Choi, 2010; Choi, 2005; Park & Lee, 2005; Lee & Choi, 2003). It is worth highlighting that father-child closeness was not associated with child socioemotional difficulties but only with child academic functioning (Jeynes, 2014) although recent studies have yielded mixed trends (Kim & Kochanska, 2012; Choo & Shek, 2013).

These different patterns of associations could be due to Korean traditional beliefs about parental roles such as ‘strict father, kind mother’ based on Confucianism. Mothers may have taken a nurturing role for child socioemotional development while fathers may have assumed an instrumental role for child cognitive performance (Wolf, 1970; Kitano, 1969; Sung, 1967). Although more recent studies have reported changes in paternal roles in contemporary Korean families in terms of increased paternal involvement in child care and socioemotional responsiveness (Hyun, Nakazawa, Shwalb, & Shwalb, 2015), Korean fathers are still described by their child as an economic provider or being exhausted by work (Cho, 2010, 2011; Choi & Cho, 2005), or having low intimate relationships with their child (Lee & Oh, 2011). Future research needs to investigate whether there are actually changes in ideologies about fathering and parental practices in Korean heritage families.

**Discussions Pertaining to the Research Hypotheses**

The seven hypotheses formulated around the main themes of this study (see Research Hypotheses at page 41) are partially supported via analyses of the four main models including
MC socioemotional, MC academic, FC socioemotional, and FC academic models. The following section discusses implications based on the findings per hypothesis.

**More connected families with higher heritage acculturation.** First, the findings on the distribution of family cohesion support the first hypothesis, which was that the distribution of family cohesion scores among Korean immigrant families would be negatively skewed toward very connected or too connected areas. The family cohesion dimension scores were negatively skewed toward very connected areas in this Korean immigrant sample. It is in agreement with the existing literature on high expectations on close relationships in Korean heritage families as seen in Confucianism, *Jung* culture (Choi, 1997b), and collectivism (Hofstede, 1980). The second hypothesis was also supported, which is that the skewed tendency would be more significant among the higher heritage acculturation groups on the circumplex model map. The family cohesion dimension score was greater in the higher heritage acculturation group than the lower heritage group. Families with the higher heritage acculturation are in a better position to remain more connected owing to their less affected beliefs and cultural practices regarding Korean traditional values than the lower heritage group. Or, their close family relationship might have helped them maintain greater levels of heritage cultural values and practices. Although the directionality and causality of these findings are not clear in this study due to the cross-sectional nature of the data, this study provides us with a glimpse into family connectedness among participating Korean immigrant families by acculturation degrees.

**Healthier families with greater American acculturation.** The hypothesis about group differences by acculturation was tested through ANCOVA and was partially supported. The hypothesis was that family cohesion and Korean parent-child closeness scores would be different among Korean immigrants by acculturation degrees. The difference was found in the balanced
cohesion score by degrees of American acculturation only but the trend was contrary to the original assumption.

It was expected that the group differences in family cohesion and Korean parent-child closeness would imply changes in value systems involving family connectedness and close parent-child relationships during the course of acculturation. However, the overall family cohesion scores (e.g. family cohesion dimension/ratio score), which reflect spectrums in family connectedness degrees from family disengagement to enmeshment, could not be included in the statistical models. This was because of issues related to variance in conceptualization of family enmeshment and disengagement. Therefore, sub-constructs of family cohesion were instead individually considered in the models, which are balanced cohesion, family enmeshment, and family disengagement. Thus, the findings about differences in the balanced cohesion score departs from the framework of holistic family cohesion score (family cohesion dimension/ratio scores). More likely, the difference is about family functioning in terms of balanced family connectedness rather than overall family cohesion including conception of family disengagement or enmeshment.

Specifically, the finding was that the balanced cohesion score was greater in the higher American acculturation group than in the lower American acculturation group after controlling for important covariates. It might suggest that families with higher levels of American acculturation are more balanced and healthier than families with lower American acculturation in terms of their family connectedness. Existing literature has consistently reported this tendency as well; integrated or assimilated groups tend to function better than separated or marginalized groups (Kim, Sangalang, & Kihl, 2012; Kim, 2009; Oh, Koeske, & Sales, 2002). Yet, no causal
inference between American acculturation and balanced family cohesion can be made with these cross-sectional data.

Next, Korean parent-child closeness was not different across groups by degrees of American acculturation. It would be of interest to determine whether acculturation would have more proximate influences on family-level functioning and covert rules on family connectedness rather than on relational closeness in sub-systems or on individual-level functioning for the future research via a longitudinal design.

Surprisingly, there were no significant differences in family cohesion or Korean parent-child closeness by heritage acculturation degrees. This may be because of variance in conceptions of family cohesion and Korean parent-child closeness across groups by heritage acculturation as shown in the multiple group CFA. Having variant conceptions on variables across groups influences and deters comparison research. Future research may want to investigate group differences based on the simultaneous bidimensional model of acculturation with longitudinal data and larger sample sizes.

**Mediating roles of Korean parent-child closeness.** The results to some extent support the hypothesis that Korean parent-child closeness would mediate associations between family cohesion and child outcomes. The Korean notion of mother-child closeness significantly mediated the associations between balanced cohesion and child outcomes: partial mediation for the academic functioning and full mediation for the socioemotional functioning; Korean father-child closeness partially mediated the association between balanced cohesion and child academic functioning but did not mediate any associations with child socioemotional difficulties. In other words, the association between balanced family cohesion and child academic functioning could
be understood through both Korean mother- and father-child closeness. However, the association between balanced family cohesion and child socioemotional difficulties can be fully explained through Korean mother-child closeness only. It fortifies previous findings about child functioning in relation to family cohesion (e.g. Bae & Park, 2010; Kim & Oh, 2006; Kim, 2001) and with Korean parent-child closeness (Kim & Choi, 2010; Choi, 2005; Park & Lee, 2005; Lee & Choi, 2003). Specifically, the insignificant direct association between balanced family cohesion and child socioemotional difficulties is congruent with the findings by Rousseau and his colleagues (2009). Moreover, their presumption about indirect associations between family cohesion and child socioemotional difficulties also could be substantiated in the present study through a complete mediator role of Korean mother-child closeness. In short, built upon the existing literature, the current study confirms the mediating roles of Korean parent-child closeness in associations between balanced family cohesion and child outcomes.

It is also the case that Korean indigenous notions of parent-child closeness based on Bujayuchin-Sungjung tends to remain functional among the US Korean immigrant families in accounting for the family dynamics and subsequently child functioning. After migration, it might be expected that acculturation to the mainstream US culture by Korean Americans could have led to modifications in their value systems regarding family relationships and parent-child closeness. On the contrary, the findings indicate that Korean traditional ideology and values still play a significant role in the life of Korean immigrant families. But, the findings on the mediation models should be interpreted with great caution due to the nature of cross-sectional data. The mediation roles of Korean parent-child closeness shown in the cross-sectional model could be less effective in longitudinal models with the same variables (Scott, Cole, & Mitchell, 2011; Maxwell & Cole, 2007). In addition, causal inferences should never be made through these
findings with this cross-sectional data. Future research should explore the mediation models with longitudinal data to obtain a clearer picture of the associations among family cohesion, Korean parent-child closeness, and child outcomes.

**Beneficial functions of family enmeshment.** The results of this study also support the hypothesis about the role of enmeshment in the Korean immigrant families. The hypothesis was that detrimental associations between family enmeshment and childhood functioning would not be significant, either directly or indirectly through Korean parent-child closeness. The current study found no significant detrimental associations between family enmeshment and child functioning. It is not only directly but also indirectly supported. It contradicts previous finding on Korean adolescents (Lee & Nam, 2005). Lee and Nam (2005) found family enmeshment was negatively associated with socioemotional functioning among Korean middle and high school students in Korea.

Beyond being non-detrimental, it exposes advantageous functions of family enmeshment for child socioemotional outcomes. This trend was also present in the lower American acculturation group even with greater strength than the whole sample. These findings in some respects correspond to the findings obtained by Chao (2011); family enmeshment was not significantly associated with spiritual and religious well-being in his study with Asian American families including Korean Americans. However, there is no exiting study that has shown positive associations between family enmeshment and child functioning, on which family enmeshment was measured with negative reactions to too connected family relationships. This finding possibly would be explained through Korean traditional values in interpersonal connectedness based on Jung culture including both Miun-Jung and Goun-Jung (Choi & Kim, 2011), Confucianism ideology, and collectivism. Korean heritage families could have developed hidden
rules about family connectedness based upon their cultural belief systems tied to *Miun-Jung*. The principles embedded in *Miun-Jung* indicate that negative or mixed emotional responses in close relationships are natural and a part of the relationship building. Furthermore, they are encouraged to be overcome adversity and develop more resilient relationships. Future research needs to investigate whether it does indeed account for the mechanisms whereby family enmeshment could be beneficial to child socioemotional functioning and neutral to academic performance in Korean heritage families. Moreover, it raises questions as to whether the concept and the function of family enmeshment are really pan-cultural. Although the current study utilized the enmeshment scale of which validity is immensely improved (FACES IV; Olson, 2011), in this study the scale demonstrated low internal consistency with all the original items in the present study. Future research may need to broaden conceptualizations of family cohesion, including family enmeshment and disengagement among Korean heritage families in order to develop new scales of family cohesion.

**Moderating roles of acculturation.** Finally, the hypothesis on the moderating role of acculturation is supported in relation to child internalizing problems by American acculturation. The hypothesis was that degrees of acculturation would moderate the mediation model among family cohesion, Korean parent-child closeness, and child outcomes. Both heritage and American acculturation were respectively taken into account in separate models based on the bidimensional model of acculturation because they could not be considered simultaneously in one model due to the small sample size in each sector.

The multiple group CFA showed significant non invariance in most focal variables by the degree of heritage acculturation, meaning that the children perceived the concepts differently across groups by heritage acculturation. At the same time, most main variables were invariant
across groups by American acculturation, meaning the children perceived the concepts similarly across groups regardless of their degrees of American acculturation. This may imply that being acculturated to the mainstream culture is not necessarily associated with losing heritage cultural conceptions. Additionally, there was no significant association between heritage acculturation and American acculturation as independent factors (see Table 4), congruent with principles from the bidimensional model (Berry, 1997).

The multiple group analyses revealed that American acculturation moderated the association between family enmeshment and child internalizing problems, attenuating the path strength between enmeshment and child socioemotional difficulties. The data on the lower American acculturation group reveal the beneficial role of family enmeshment on child internalizing problems and it was even stronger than the path with the whole sample. However, this was diminished and insignificant in the higher American acculturation group. Possibly, Korean traditional values in interpersonal connectedness and Miun-Jung might remain effective in less Americanized Korean families but not effective in more Americanized families.

A point that deserves attention here is the distinguishing features of variances in conceptions and variances in effects. For instance, although US parents might share the conception of physical control, its effect could vary depending on their value system across groups by religious affiliations. In a similar way, Korean immigrant families might share the conception of family enmeshment but its functions could be divergent by degrees of American acculturation. Thus, although conceptions may appear pan-cultural, there is always the possibility that the effects of a particular construct may not be universal due to dissimilar values in each culture and unique cultural practices.
Conclusions

The current study examined family cohesion, Korean parent-child closeness, and child socioemotional and academic functioning in Korean immigrant families. It revealed variations in conceptions of family cohesion and parent-child closeness that are present in previous work and theoretical frameworks (Choi, 2011; Choi, Kim, & Yu, 1994). Also, Korean immigrant families in this sample tended to be very connected on average and this was more pronounced in the higher heritage cultural group. Balanced cohesion scores were significantly greater in the higher American acculturation group than the lower American group. The mediation model revealed that mother-child and father-child closeness partially-mediated the association between balanced cohesion and child academic functioning. In comparison, mother-child closeness solely completely-mediated the association between balanced cohesion and child socioemotional difficulties. Father-child closeness was not significantly associated with child socioemotional difficulties but was associated with academic functioning. The beneficial role of family enmeshment was found regarding child socioemotional difficulties and it was more evident in the lower American acculturation group, but not significant in the higher American acculturation group.

Limitations. There are several limitations to the current study: the relatively small sample size, cross-sectional data, non-probability sampling, validity issues in measuring family disengagement, missing data, the survey-based method, the wide age range of children, and the large number of covariates. The single SEM model with the simultaneous bidimensional acculturation and dyadic parent-child closeness could not be examined due to a small sample size and cross-sectional nature of the data. Instead, they were separated by parent sex, child outcome dimensions, and acculturation dimensions, which could undermine a holistic understanding of
the model and associations. Since the mediation test was performed with cross-sectional data, the findings should be interpreted with great caution. The possibility remains that a longitudinal mediation model may yield different results from the cross-sectional mediation model (Scott, Cole, & Mitchell, 2011; Maxwell & Cole, 2007). In addition, no causal inferences can be made due to the cross-sectional nature of the data. The multiple group analyses were conducted on the simplified mediation models due to non-invariance of some variables across groups by acculturation and the small sample size. Admittedly, it limits compatibility in the models due to different conceptions of some variables across groups. It is not unusual for research that is culture-bound.

The findings from the present research should not be generalized to the whole population of Korean immigrant families in the United States. The participating families had high income levels on average, very high educational attainment, and limited variation in their religious background. Korean immigrants tend to have high educational attainment (52% vs. 30% for the native-born population; Zong & Batalova, 2014), high income levels ($55,800 vs. 53,000 for native born populations; Zong & Batalova, 2014), and are mostly Christians (91%; Yoo & Chung, 2008, vs. 73% for the whole Americans; Pew Research Center, 2012). The characteristics of participating families on these dimensions exceeded their national averages for Korean immigrants.

Findings of family disengagement should also be interpreted with great caution due to concerns related to content and construct validity of the scale in the current study. The missing data in the present study was handled with the multiple regression imputation method. But risks remain with respect to restricting variance and inflated covariances. The study included 11 to 13 covariates due to distinctive nature of research on immigrant families. Nonetheless, it is rather a
large number considering the sample size of the study. Having fewer covariates could have increased model power. The age range in this study was wide including children from late childhood to the young adolescence. Child’s age was not correlated with mediating, moderating, or outcome variables and it was controlled in the model. However, there is the possibility that some children may not accurately appraise some concepts used in the questionnaire. Finally, the survey based research is vulnerable to measurement/informant biases more than observational studies.

**Contributions.** Despite the limitations, the present study has the potential of making meaningful contributions to the social science field in general and family studies in particular. First, it suggested inter-cultural variations in conceptualizing and understanding the construct of parent-child closeness. The conception of parent-child closeness may not be pan-cultural considering diverging values and nature of parent-child relationship in each culture. In Korea, the notion of parent-child closeness is structured upon Confucianism ideology, *Jung* culture, and *Bujayuchin-Sungjung*. In comparison to European-American or European cultural groups, Koreans value strict hierarchical relationships between the parent and the child and children’s obedience. Therefore, its attributes may vary accordingly. The present study confirmed sacrifice and emotional oneness in addition to affection, closeness, and trust, as important aspects of parent-child closeness in Korean heritage culture.

Second, the current study investigated family relationships focusing on Korean immigrant families with children in their late childhood or early adolescence. Taking into consideration that there is limited understanding of Korean immigrant families with children than with adolescents or adults, it is meaningful that this study focused on a younger group of children. Third, this study provided another sphere to perceive and contextualize Korean heritage
families with Korean indigenous notion of parent-child closeness. It is especially meaningful when considering there was no study on Korean immigrants’ family relationships with Korean indigenous concepts. Fourth, both heritage acculturation and American acculturation were considered in the study based on the bidimensional model. Many previous immigrant studies were based on the unidimensional model considering American acculturation only. Furthermore, most acculturation studies did not perform the multiple group confirmatory factor analyses or multiple group analyses with structural equation modeling. Fifth, the present study solicited children’s perceptions of family cohesion and parent-child relationships. There are few studies that have integrated children’s perceptions of family cohesion. Children’s voices in family relationships and parent-child closeness are a critical part of family studies but rarely included in such studies, probably due to challenges related to difficult access and low interest in the research participation on the part of children. Furthermore, not only voices of children but also the voices of both mothers and the fathers were incorporated in this research attempt as utilizing multi-informant methods. The multi-informant method is less vulnerable to measurement/informant bias (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2012), and it allowed for generating parent-sex specific models. As a result, the specific role of father-child closeness on childhood functioning was determined. Sixth, this study specifically focused on Korean immigrant families in the U.S rather than general Asian immigrants seen in many previous studies, which could alleviate concerns related to within-culture variations in the Asian culture. There may exist varying value systems across groups based on cultural traditions and ideologies even within the same Asian culture (Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997). Seventh, child individual-level outcomes could be understood through both interpersonal- and family-level functioning. As children are surrounded in multi-layered relational systems, it provides us
meaningful insights into child development from relational perspectives. Eighth, the mediation role was tested through rather rigorous methods with bootstrapping in the SEM models rather than with Sobel’s test. The bootstrapping method is less prone to biases in sample size and increase in power for the mediation test (Ader, Mellenbergh, & Hand, 2008). Ninth, the moderation test of acculturation was conducted on the whole mediation models rather than on individual variables via multiple group analyses. Also, the multiple group confirmatory factor analyses preceded the main multiple group analyses. It ensures invariance in the variables across groups by acculturation degrees and it allows for more sophisticated moderation tests.

**Practical implications.** The present study has several practical implications as well. Mental health counselors including marriage and family therapists, clinical/counseling psychologists, or clinical social workers need to approach Korean heritage families and individuals differently while being mindful of the possible beneficial role of family enmeshment in this cultural group. Korean unique values in *Miun-Jung* and interpersonal connectedness could also be discussed during the therapy session to help their clients increase self-awareness of inherent cultural practices. Given that interpersonal connectedness was found to be more pronounced in the families with lower American acculturation, it might be important for clinicians to check on degrees of acculturation in clients before they make any therapeutic plans. They should not indiscriminately distantiate family members with Korean heritage background. It is likely that traditional structural family therapy (Minuchin, 1974) might not be very effective with Korean heritage families unless it is further modified as to embrace Korean heritage beliefs/practices and attributes in the model.

Educators could be enlightened about the unique values in family connectedness, parental sacrifice, and emotional oneness between the parent and the child in Korean heritage culture.
This could better help educators understand children from Koran heritage background and more effectively communicate with their parents. Acculturation is not unidirectional but bidirectional and it can be assisted by individuals who provide educational and social services to families and children. There are increased responsibilities on the part of educators to create a climate of acceptance of diverse strategies that children and families employ to achieve successful school adjustment and optimal learning environments as they navigate between the mainstream American and Korean origin cultures.

Policy makers need to invest more resources in educating immigrant children and families on heritage cultural beliefs and values. To enhance Korean community health, seminars on their traditional ideology could be provided to children and their parents. Ignorance of internal values and psychological mechanisms can yield personal difficulties (Cloninger, 2006) because immigrant children live in multiple socio-cultural worlds (Kosof, 1997). Many immigrant children are ignorant about their heritage culture in spite of its significant influences on their lives. Moreover, many Korean immigrant parents tend to overlook effects of heritage culture on their offspring. Many parents habitually think Korean culture is not very relevant to the life of their children as they are physically distant from South Korea and need to be educated as ‘American’ in the American school system. Seminars about the Koran ideology and their traditional values would immensely improve children’s self-awareness as Korean American and amend parental beliefs about child education.

**Future research implications.** Future research should focus more on the unique family processes and dynamics, and parent-child relationships in Korean heritage culture from both emic and etic perspectives with a larger sample size and within longitudinal designs. Three realms are identified as requiring particular attention: 1) the role of sub-construct of mixed
emotions in Korean parent-child closeness, 2) conceptualizations of family enmeshment and children’s perceptions of culture-bound variables, and 3) the bidirectional nature of parent-child closeness. The role of mixed emotions/ambivalence in Korean parent-child relationships could add to the existing literature in this area. It is doubtful whether mixed emotions/ambivalence will carry negative consequences in Korean heritage culture as those seen in other cultures (Fingerman et al. 2008; Kielcolt, Blieszner, & Salva, 2011; Suitor, Gilligan, & Pillermer, 2011) due to prevalent cultural beliefs in Jung culture and interpersonal practices based on Mian-Jung.

Furthermore, conceptualization of family cohesion including enmeshment and disengagement in this group could be further explored with some qualitative work. It is possible that Korean heritage culture may not possess a concept like enmeshment in family relationships or in any other interpersonal relationships. Similarly, the meaning or conceptualization of family disengagement could have different meanings in Korean culture. In addition, children’s perceptions/perspectives on family enmeshment and Korean parent-child closeness, including parental sacrifice and emotional oneness, could be examined to better understand the development of immigrant children. Children who hold negative perspectives on their cultural beliefs and practices could show different trends in their socioemotional and academic development, as opposed to children with positive attitudes.

Finally, as Korean parent-child closeness reflects interpersonal relationships between the parent and the child, it should be bidirectional in its nature. More recent studies have empirically showed the bidirectional nature of parent-child relationships through longitudinal designs (McWey, Claridge, Wojciak, & Lettenberger-Klein, 2015; Bogenschneider & Pallock, 2008; Steinberg, 2001). Dyadic models within a longitudinal design may condignly suit investigations on parent-child relationships and childhood development.
References


한국아동학회, 20, 239-248.


한국가정관리학회지, 19, 185-196.


Appendices
Appendix A

Consent Form for Parents

CHILD AND FAMILY STUDIES
(426 Ostrom Ave. Syracuse, NY 13244, (315) 443-2757)

Family Cohesion and Child Functioning among South Korean Immigrants in the US: A Moderated Mediation Model of Korean Parent-Child Closeness and Acculturation

My name is Bora Jin, and I am a Ph.D. student in Child and Family Studies at Syracuse University. I am inviting you to participate in a research study. Involvement in the study is voluntary, so you may choose to participate or not. This sheet will explain the study to you and please feel free to ask questions about the research if you have any. I will be happy to explain anything in detail if you wish.

I am interested in learning more about family cohesion, parent-child closeness, and child cultural adjustment, and their associations with child development. Particularly, family cohesion will measure the degree to which your family members are connected or disconnected to each other within the family. In addition, parent-child closeness will be measured by of Korean traditional concept of Bujayuchin-Sungjung. Bujayuchin-Sungjung is the mixture of the Bujayuchin principle from Confucianism and Korean Jung-based culture. Bujayuchin-Sungjung and its relationships to family functioning and childhood development are not well understood among Korean immigrants in the United States. This study hopes to provide data that would assist in improving services and policies for Korean immigrant families in the US.

This study includes three parties within one family: the father, the mother, and the child between 9 and 12 years of age. Therefore, parental permission must be provided to the researcher before the child would be asked about their assent to participate in the research.

Participants will be asked to fill out survey questionnaires. It will include three different versions: the father’s version, the mother’s version, and the child’s version. The father’s version includes scales of parenting styles and English language ability, the mother’s version includes measures of child’s social and school performance, parenting styles, English language ability, and some general information about the family, and finally the child version includes scales of family cohesion, parent-child closeness, cultural adjustment, school performance, cultural adjustment stress, English and Korean language ability, and family flexibility and satisfaction. Specifically, family flexibility means how your family members are flexible and organized around rules and roles in the family. The parent questionnaires should take about 30 minutes or less and the child questionnaires should take about one hour or more.
However, because this is not an evaluating examination, there is no time limit to complete the survey. Select a convenient time for you and take your time. All information will be kept confidential. This means that your name will not appear anywhere and your specific answers will not be linked to your name in any way.

By taking part in the research, participants may experience the following benefits. First, your family will be helping people better understand Korean immigrant families in the US and children’s functioning within the family. Second, all the participating families will get a copy of the research findings regardless of whether they complete the survey or withdraw from the study.

Additionally, there are possible risks by taking part in the research. First, children might feel tired while answering the questions. I recommend that children split the questionnaire into two or three parts and do a part at a time. However, children don’t have to finish it. Whenever the child wants to stop, s/he can do so. In addition, children could experience some negative emotions while or after answering questionnaires about family functioning and acculturative stress. It will be helpful if children could talk to someone whom they can trust such as close friends, parents, or counselors about how they feel or they could exercise deep breathing or meditation by themselves.

If you do not want to take part, you have the right to refuse to do so, without penalty. Moreover, even though you decide to take part but later no longer wish to continue, you also have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, with no penalty.

If you have any questions, concerns, or complaints about the research, contact me at bojin@syr.edu or my advisor, Dr. Jaipaul L. Roopnarine, at jroopnar@syr.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, if you have other questions, concerns, or complaints that you wish to address to someone other than the investigator, or if you cannot reach the investigator, contact the Syracuse University Institutional Review Board at 315-443-3013.

All of my questions have been answered, I am 18 years of age or older, and I wish to participate in this research study. In addition, I give my consent for my child ___________________________ to participate in the research.

I have got a copy of this form to keep for myself.

_____________________________________
Signature of participant

_____________________________________
Date

_____________________________________
Printed name of participant

_____________________________________
Signature of researcher

_____________________________________
Date

_____________________________________
Printed name of researcher
Appendix B
Assent Form for Children

Family Cohesion and Child Functioning among South Korean Immigrants in the US: A Moderated Mediation Model of Korean Parent-Child Closeness and Acculturation

My name is Bora Jin, and I am originally from South Korea and studying in the department of Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University. I would like to ask if you could participate in this research study. You are selected in this study because you are the child of Korean immigrant families between 9 and 12 years of age living in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, or Pennsylvania.

PURPOSE: A research study is a way to learn more about people. In this study, I am trying to learn more about South Korean immigrant families, particularly about 1) family cohesion, parent-child closeness, and child cultural adjustment, and 2) their relationships to how children develop. Particularly, family cohesion is about the degree to which your family members feel close to each other within the family. In addition, parent-child closeness will be studied through Korean traditional concept, Bujayuchin-Sungjung. I hope this study will enhance understandings, services, and policies for Korean immigrants in the United States.

PARTICIPATION: If you decide you want to be part of this study, you will be asked to report on your cultural adjustment, family cohesion, parent-child closeness, and school performance as well as difficulties you may experience living in the United States, English and Korean language ability, and family flexibility and satisfaction. Family flexibility will tell how your family members explain rules and roles in the family. All of this should take about 1 hour or a little more. But, because it is not a test, there is no time limit. Select a good time for you and take your time. In addition, this study is confidential, meaning that your name should not appear on the documents and your personal information will not be linked to your answers so that we won’t be able to know how you answered the questions.

RISKS & BENEFITS: There are some things you should know about this study. You might feel tired while answering the questions. I recommend that you split the set of questions into two or three parts and do a part at a time. However, remember you don’t have to finish it. Whenever you want to stop, you can do so. In addition, you could experience some negative feelings while or after answering the questions about the family and difficulties you may have with living in the United States. If you experience any stress answering the questions, it will be helpful if you could talk to someone whom you can trust such as your close friends, parents, or counselors about how you feel or exercise deep breathing or meditation by yourself.
Not everyone who takes part in this study will benefit. A benefit means that something good happens to you. We think these benefits might be that 1) you will help others better understand traditional Korean culture and Korean immigrant families and children, and 2) you will be informed of the research findings.

**REPORTS:** When I am finished with this study I will write a report about what was learned. This report will not include your name in the study.

**VOLUNTARY:** Voluntary means that you do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. I have already asked your parents if it is ok for me to ask you to take part in this study. Even though your parents said I could ask you, you still get to decide if you want to be in this research study. You can also talk with your parents, grandparents, or teachers before deciding whether or not to take part. No one will be mad at you or upset if you decide not to take part in the study. If you decide to stop after we begin, that’s okay too. You can also skip any of the questions you do not want to answer.

**QUESTIONS:** You can ask questions whenever you wish. If you want to, you may call me at 315-480-5782, or Dr. Jaipaul Roopnarine at 315-443-4586. If you are not happy about this study and would like to speak to someone other than me, you or your parents may call the Syracuse University Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 315-443-3013.

All of my questions have been answered, and I wish to participate in this research study.

Please sign your name below, if you agree to be part of my study.
I have got a copy of this form to keep for myself.

Signature of Participant ____________________________  Date ________________

Name of Participant ____________________________

Signature of Investigator or Designee ____________________________ Date ________________

Name of Investigator ____________________________
Appendix C
Cooperation Letter to Directors

Dear Director,

My name is Bora Jin. I am a doctoral student at the department of Child and Family Studies in Syracuse University and currently working on my dissertation. I am studying about South Korean immigrant families and their children. Specifically, I am interested in looking at the role of Korean traditional parent-child closeness and acculturation in understanding family relationships and functioning of children at late childhood or young adolescence.

In the US, there are lack of studies about Korean immigrant families and little understanding of Korean heritage culture. Not only are there languages, literature, food, history, and other material aspects of culture but also do exist emotional and interpersonal dimensions in culture such as Jung and Bujayuchin-Sungjung in Korean. However, there are only few international studies that can explain unique characteristics of familial relationship in Korean culture. Personally as a 1st generation immigrant mother, and professionally as a family science researcher, I felt great responsibility to enlighten the scholarly and practical fields in the US and beyond, about our culture, especially Korean family relationships.

For the study, I am trying to reach out to Korean immigrant families residing in the Greater New York Combined Statistical Area that includes NY, NJ, CT, and PA states. It is not easy to study Korean immigrant families in the US due to difficult access to the population for their small numbers and busy schedules. Despite these limitations, studies on Korean immigrant families should be continuously pursued because they can provide valuable information that can increase the quality of community and educational services for Korean immigrant families and children.

I need your cooperation to access South Korean families in the US. By allowing me advertising the research to Korean parents in your organization, you are contributing to advancing a greater understanding of Korean immigrant families and their children. There are different ways to advertise the research such as face to face meetings, the written advertisement, phone calls, emails, etc. and I would like to listen to your suggestions as well for more optimal outcomes. Once families show interests in the research participation, I will start communicating with them about the research and the research participation procedure through their preferred way.

If you have any concerns or questions about the study, please do not hesitate to contact me or my advisor, Dr. Jaipaul Roopnarine; the email address of my advisor is jroopnar@syr.edu and his phone number is 315-443-4586. I would be more than happy to talk about any of your questions and concerns. For your information, this study has been officially approved by Syracuse University’s Office of Research Integrity and Protections.

Thank you for reading this mail and considering sharing the information for the study. I will look forward to hearing from you regarding your decision for the research cooperation.

Sincerely,

Bora
Appendix D

Questionnaires for Mothers

Part 1. The following pages contain a number of statements describing the way different parents sometimes act toward their children. Read each statement carefully and think how well it describes **the way you treat your child**. Please work quickly; give you first impression and move on to the next item.

There is **no right or wrong answer** so please be as honest as you can.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TRUE OF ME</th>
<th>NOT TRUE OF ME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Almost Always True</td>
<td>Sometimes True</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I say nice things about my child</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I pay no attention to my child</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>I see to it that my child knows exactly what (s)he may or may not do</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>I make it easy for my child to confide in me</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>I hit my child, even when (s)he does not deserve it</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>My child is a nuisance for me</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>I always tell my child how (s)he should behave</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>I punish my child severely when I am angry</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>I am too busy to answer my child’s questions</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>I resent my child</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>I take real interest in my child’s affairs</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>I say unkind things to my child</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I pay no attention to my child when (s)he asks for help</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>I insist that my child do exactly as(s)he is told</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>I make my child feel wanted and needed</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>I pay a lot of attention to my child</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>I hurt my child’s feelings</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>I forget important things my child thinks I should remember</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>When my child misbehaves, I make him/her feel I don’t love him/her anymore</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>I let my child do anything (s)he wants to do</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>I make my child feel want (s)he does is important</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>When my child does something wrong, I frighten or threaten him/her</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>I care about what my child thinks and encourage her/him to talk about it</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>I feel other children are better than (s)he is no matter what (s)he does</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I let my child know (s)he is not wanted</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>I want to control whatever my child does</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>I let my child know I love him/her</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>I pay no attention to my child as long as (s)he does nothing to bother me</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>I treat my child gently and kindly</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please indicate how you think you are good at English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>How well do you speak English?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>How well do you write English?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>How well do you read English?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please indicate how well your child is described by checking the most appropriate box.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Very Often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>My child has low self-esteem</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>My child fights with others</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>My child appears lonely</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>My child threatens or bullies others</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>My child shows anxiety about being with a group of children</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>My child argues with other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please specify the most recent GPA and grades on each subject of your child.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How will you rate your child’s recent academic performance on</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A-</th>
<th>B+</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>B-</th>
<th>C+</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>C-</th>
<th>D+</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>D-</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative grade point</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The subject of English?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The subject of mathematics?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The subject of science?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>The subject of social science?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Part 2. The following questions are about your demographic information.**

1) Your date of birth:

2) Where were you born?
   - 1. South Korea
   - 2. USA
   - 3. Others

3) When did you immigrate to the US?
4) What is your status in the US?
   1. Citizen
   2. Permanent resident
   3. Student with F1
   4. Employed with H1
   5. Employed with J1
   6. Others

5) What is your ethnic background (check all that apply)?
   1. Asian
   2. Black/African
   3. Hawaiian or Pac. Islander
   4. Hispanic/Latino
   5. Mixed Race
   6. Native American
   7. White/European
   8. Others

6) Your highest education:
   1. Less than Middle school Education
   2. Graduated Middle School
   3. Some High School
   4. Completed High School
   5. Obtained GED
   6. Some College
   7. Obtained Bachelor's Degree
   8. Some Graduate Work
   9. Obtained Master's Degree
   10. Obtained Doctoral Degree
   11. Obtained Post-Doctoral Degree
   12. Others

7) Household income (if relevant):
   1. Less than $10,000
   2. $10,000-20,999
   3. $21,000-30,999
   4. $31,000-40,999
   5. $41,000-50,999
   6. $51,000-60,999
   7. $61,000-80,999
   8. $81,000-99,999
   9. $100,000-149,999
   10. $150,000 or More
   11. Others

8) Your employment status:
   1. Full-time
   2. Part-time
   3. Retired
   4. Unemployed
   5. Others

9) Current relationship status:
   1. Married, first marriage
   2. Married, not first marriage
   3. Single, never married
   4. Single, divorced
   5. Single, widowed
   6. Separated, not divorced
   7. Living together, not married
   8. Life-Partnership, not married
   9. Others

10) Current living arrangement (check all that apply):
    1. Alone
    2. Living with Parents
    3. Living with Spouse/Partner
    4. Living with Children
    5. Living with Others

11) What is your religion?

12) Church/Temple attendance:
    5. More than once a week
    4. Once a week
    3. Once a month
Part 3. The following questions are about your child who is participating to this study.

1) Date of birth of the child: ______________________________________________________

2) Where was your child born?
   1. South Korea
   2. USA
   3. Others

3) Child’s ethnic background (check all that apply):
   1. Asian
   2. Black/African
   3. Hawaiian or Pac. Islander
   4. Hispanic/Latino
   5. Mixed Race
   6. Native American
   7. White/European
   8. Others

4) Gender of the child:
   1. Male
   2. Female
   3. Others

5) Birth order of the child:
   A. First
   B. Second
   C. Third
   D. Fourth
   E. Fifth or Younger

6) Number of children in family:
   a. None
   b. One
   c. Two
   d. Three
   e. Four
   f. Five
   g. Six or more

7) Family structure of the current family:
   1. Two parents, biological
   2. Two parents, step mother and biological father
   3. Two parents, biological mother and step father
   4. Two parents, step mother and step father
   5. Two parents, adoptive
   6. Two parent, same sex
   7. One parent
   8. Others

8) Does the child have the same religion as the mother?
   1. Yes
   2. No

9) If the child has the different religion from the mother, please specify the religion of the child:
   ______________________________________________________

Thank you for your participation. 😊
Appendix E

Korean Version Questionnaires for Mothers

Part 1.
다음 페이지에서는 다양한 부모들이 자녀들을 어떻게 대하는지를 묘사하는 문항들이 나올 것입니다.
각 문항을 신중하게 읽으시고 그 문항이 여러분들이 아이들을 대하는 방식을 얼마나 잘 묘사하고 있는지 생각해 보시고 신속하게 응답해주세요. 읽고 처음으로 떠오르는 생각을 반영하시고 바로 다음 문항으로 넘어가시면 됩니다.

올고 그른 정답이 없으므로 최대한 솔직하게 답해주세요.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>그런 편이다</th>
<th>그럴지 않다</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>거의 항상</td>
<td>가끔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>나는 아이에 대해 좋게 이야기한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>나는 아이에게 관심을 가지지 않는다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 무엇을 해야 하고 하지 말아야 할지 알도록 신경 쏟다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 나에게 비밀을 털어놓기 쉽도록 만든다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>비록 아이가 체벌을 받을 만 하지 않더라도 나는 아이를 따러다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>나는 아이는 나에게 곤작거림이다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>나는 항상 내 자녀에게 어떻게 행동해야 하는지 알려준다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>나는 화가 나면 내 자녀를 양하게 처벌한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>나는 너무 바쁘어서 내 아이의 질문에 대답하지 못한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>나는 내 아이에게 분개한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>나는 내 아이에 관한 일에 진심으로 관심이 있다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>나는 내 아이에게 애착한 말을 한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 나에게 도움을 요청할 때 새겨 듣지 않는다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 정확히 배운 대로 행동할 것을 요구한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 소중히 보는 존재라고 느끼도록 한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>나는 내 아이에게 많은 관심을 가져다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>나는 내 아이의 마음을 아프게 한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 생각하기에 내가 기억해야 하는 중요한 것들을 깨닫는다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>나는 자녀가 바쁘지 않으면 나는 내가 그 아이를 더 이상 사랑하지 않는다.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
나는 내 아이가 원하는 것이라면 어떤 것이든 하도록 허락해 준다.
나는 내 아이가 자신을 중요한 존재라고 느끼도록 만든다.
내 아이가 잘못을 하면 나는 아이를 겸을 주거나 위협한다.
나는 내 아이가 무엇을 생각하는지 관심을 가지며 아이가 나에게 그 생각을 이야기 할 것을 겪려한다.
나는 내 아이가 무엇을 하던 간에 다른 아이들이 내 아이보다 더 낳다고 느낀다.
나는 내 아이가 원치 않은 존재라는 것을 알게 한다.
나는 내 아이가 하는 무엇이든지 통제하고 싶다.
나는 내가 내 아이를 사랑한다는 것을 아이가 알게 한다.
나는 내 아이가 나를 거칠게 하는 일을 하지 않는 한 아이에게 신경 쓰지 않는다.
내 아이를 다정하고 친절하게 대한다.

자신이 생각하기에 자신이 영어를 얼마나 잘 하는지 표기해 주세요.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>매우 촬르</th>
<th>촬르</th>
<th>그럭저럭</th>
<th>매우 부족</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 영어로 말하기를 얼마나 잘 하나요?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 영어로 글 쓰기를 얼마나 잘 하나요?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 영어로 된 글을 얼마나 잘 읽나요?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

당신의 아이에 대해 가장 잘 묘사하고 있다고 생각하는 곳에 체크해 주세요.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>전혀 아니나</th>
<th>때때로 그렇다</th>
<th>자주 그렇다</th>
<th>매우 자주 그렇다</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 우리 아이는 자존감이 낮은 편이다.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 우리 아이는 다른 사람들과 싸우는 편이다.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
아이의 가장 최근 GPA와 과목당 성적을 체크해 주세요.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>A-</th>
<th>B+</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>B-</th>
<th>C+</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>C-</th>
<th>D+</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>D-</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part 2. 다음은 어머니 자신에 대한 질문입니다.

1) 당신의 생년월일은 언제인가요?

2) 당신이 태어난 곳은 어디인가요?
   1. 남한
   2. 미국
   3. 그 외 다른 나라

3) 언제 미국으로 이민 왔나요?

4) 미국에서 당신의 법적 신분은 무엇인가요?
   1. 미국 시민권자
   2. 미국 영주권자
3. F1을 가진 학생
4. H1을 가진 고용인
5. J1을 가진 고용인
6. 그 외 다른 신분

5) 당신의 민족성 (해당하는 곳에 모두 표기 해 주세요):
   1) 아시아계 (Asian)
   2) 아프리카계 (Black/African)
   3) 하와이 또는 태평양 섬계 (Hawaiian or Pac. Islander)
   4) 히스패닉/남미계 (Hispanic/Latino)
   5) 혼혈계 (Mixed Race)
   6) 미국 인디언계 (Native American)
   7) 백인/유럽계 (White/European)
   8) 그 외

6) 당신의 최고학력:
   1) 중학교 교육 이하
   2) 중학교 졸업
   3) 일부 고등학교 교육
   4) 고등학교 졸업
   5) 고등학교 경성고시 통과
   6) 일부 대학교육
   7) 학사학위 취득
   8) 일부 대학원교육
   9) 석사학위 취득
   10) 박사학위 취득
   11) 포스트 닥터 학위 취득 (post-doctoral degree)
   12) 그 외

7) 가계 소득:
   1) $10,000 이하
   2) $10,000-20,999
   3) $21,000-30,999
   4) $31,000-40,999
   5) $41,000-50,999
   6) $51,000-60,999
   7) $61,000-80,999
   8) $81,000-99,99
   9) $100,000-149,999
   10) $150,000 이상

8) 당신의 근무 형태:
   1) 전임 (Full-time)
   2) 파트타임 (Part-time)
   3) 은퇴 (Retired)
   4) 무직 (Unemployed)
   5) 그 외 (Others)

9) 현재 관계상태:
   1) 기혼, 첫번째 결혼
   2) 기혼, 첫번째 결혼이 아님
   3) 싱글, 결혼한 적 없음
   4) 싱글, 이혼 함
   5) 싱글, 과부
   6) 이혼하지는 않았지만 서로 관계는 정리한 상황임
   7) 함께 살지만 결혼하지는 않음
   8) 평생의 동반자이지만 결혼하지 않음
   9) 그 외

10) 현재 동거형태 (해당하는 모든 항목에 체크해 주세요):
    1) 혼자
    2) 부모님과 함께 동거
    3) 남편/파트너와 동거
    4) 아이(들)과 동거
5 이 외에 다른 사람들과 동거

11) 당신의 종교는 무엇입니까?

______________________________________________________________________________

12) 교회나 종교적 사원 참석 정도:

   5 일주일에 1회 이상
   4 일주일에 한 번
   3 한 달에 한 번
   2 가끔
   1 거의 가지 않음

Part 3. 아래 질문은 이 연구에 참여하는 아동에 대한 질문입니다.

1) 아이의 생년월일:

______________________________________________________________________________

2) 아이의 출생지:

   1. 남한   2. 미국   3. 그 외 다른 나라

3) 아이의 민족성 (해당하는 곳에 모두 표기 해 주세요):

   1 아시아계 (Asian)          5 혼혈계 (Mixed Race)
   2 아프리카계 (Black/African) 6 미국 인디언계 (Native American)
   3 하와이 또는 태평양 성계 (Hawaiian or Pac. Islander) 7 백인/유럽계 (White/European)
   4 히스패닉/남미계 (Hispanic/Latino) 8 그 외

4) 아이의 성별:

   1 남성   2 여성   3 그 외

5) 아이의 출생순위:

   a 첫째   c 셋째   e 다섯째 혹은 더 어린
   b 둘째   d 넷째

6) 가족 내 아이의 수:

   a 없다   e 네 명
   b 한 명   f 다섯 명
   c 두 명   g 여섯 명
   d 세 명
7) 현재 가족 구성:
   1. 친 어머니와 친 아버지
   2. 의붓어머니와 친 아버지
   3. 친 어머니와 의붓아버지
   4. 의붓어머니와 의붓아버지
   5. 양 어머니와 아버지 (입양)
   6. 동성 부모님
   7. 편 부모
   8. 그 외

8) 아이가 어머니와 같은 종교를 가지고 있나요?
   1. 네
   2. 아니요

9) 만약 어머니와 아이가 서로 다른 종교를 가지고 있다면, 아이의 종교는 무엇인가요?

연구에 참여해 주셔서 감사합니다. 🙂
Appendix F

Questionnaires for Fathers

The following pages contain a number of statements describing the way different parents sometimes act toward their children.

Read each statement carefully and think how well it describes the way you treat your child. Please work quickly; give you first impression and move on to the next item.

There is no right or wrong answer so please be as honest as you can.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRUE OF ME</th>
<th>NOT TRUE OF ME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Almost Always True</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I say nice things about my child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I pay no attention to my child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>I see to it that my child knows exactly what (s)he may or may not do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>I make it easy for my child to confide in me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>I hit my child, even when (s)he does not deserve it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>My child is a nuisance for me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>I always tell my child how (s)he should behave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>I punish my child severely when I am angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>I am too busy to answer my child’s questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>I resent my child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>I take real interest in my child’s affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>I say unkind things to my child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I pay no attention to my child when (s)he asks for help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>I insist that my child do exactly as(s)he is told</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>I make my child feel wanted and needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>I pay a lot of attention to my child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>I hurt my child’s feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>I forget important things my child thinks I should remember</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>When my child misbehaves, I make him/her feel I don’t love him/her anymore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>I let my child do anything (s)he wants to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>I make my child feel want (s)he does is important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>When my child does something wrong, I frighten or threaten him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>I care about what my child thinks and encourage her/him to talk about it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>I feel other children are better than (s)he is no matter what (s)he does</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Please indicate how you think you are good at English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. How well do you speak English?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How well do you write English?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How well do you read English?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Your date of birth: ___________________________________________

Where were you born?
1. South Korea
2. USA
3. Others

When did you immigrate to the US? ___________________________________________

What is your status in the US?
1. Citizen
2. Permanent resident
3. Student with F1
4. Employed with H1
5. Employed with J1
6. Others

What is your ethnic background (check all that apply)?
1. Asian
2. Black/African
3. Hawaiian or Pac. Islander
4. Hispanic/Latino
5. Mixed Race
6. Native American
7. White/European
8. Others

Father's highest education:
1. Less than Middle school Education
2. Graduated Middle School
3. Some High School
4. Completed High School
5. Obtained GED
6. Some College
7. Obtained Bachelor's Degree
8. Some Graduate Work
9. Obtained Master's Degree
10. Obtained Doctoral Degree
11. Obtained Post-Doctoral Degree
12. Others

Household income (if relevant):
1. Less than $10,000
2. $10,000-20,999
3. $21,000-30,999
4. $31,000-40,999
5. $41,000-50,999
6. $51,000-60,999
7. $61,000-80,999
8. $81,000-99,999
4  $31,000-40,999  
5  $41,000-50,999  
9  $100,000-149,999  
10  $150,000 or More

9) Father's employment status:
   1  Full-time  
   2  Part-time  
   3  Retired  
   4  Unemployed  
   5  Others

10) Current relationship status:
   1  Married, first marriage  
   2  Married, not first marriage  
   3  Single, never married  
   4  Single, divorced  
   5  Single, widowed  
   6  Separated, not divorced  
   7  Living together, not married  
   8  Life-Partnership, not married  
   9  Others

11) Current living arrangement (check all that apply):
   1  Alone  
   2  Living with Parents  
   3  Living with Spouse/Partner  
   4  Living with Children  
   5  Living with Others

12) What is your religion?

_____________________________________________

13) Religious attendance:
   5  More than once a week  
   4  Once a week  
   3  Once a month  
   2  Sometimes  
   1  Almost never

Thank you for your participation. 😊
다음 페이지에서는 다양한 부모들이 자녀들을 어떻게 대하는지를 묘사하는 문항들이 나올 것입니다.

각 문항을 신중하게 읽고 그 문항이 여러분들이 아이들을 대하는 방식을 얼마나 잘 묘사하고 있는지 생각해 보시고 신속하게 응답해주세요. 읽고 처음으로 떠오르는 생각을 반영하시고 바로 다음 문항으로 넘어가시면 됩니다.

올고 그른 정답이 없으므로 최대한 솔직하게 답해 주세요.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>문항 번호</th>
<th>문항내용</th>
<th>그렇다</th>
<th>가끔 그렇다</th>
<th>드물게 그렇다</th>
<th>전혀 그렇지 않다</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>나는 아이에 대해 좋게 이야기한다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>나는 아이에게 관심을 가지지 않는다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 무엇을 해야 하고 하지 않아야 할지 알도록 신경 쏟다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 나에게 비밀을 털어놓기 쉽도록 만든다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>비록 아이가 체벌을 받을 만하지 않더라도 나는 아이를 때린다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>나의 아이는 나에게 골칫거리이다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>나는 항상 내 자녀에게 어떻게 행동해야 하는지 알려준다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>나는 화가 나면 내 자녀를 잔하게 처벌한다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>나는 너무 바빠서 내 아이의 질문에 대답하지 못한다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>나는 내 아이에게 분개한다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>나는 내 아이에 관한 일에 진심으로 관심이 있다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>나는 내 아이에게 애Į한 말을 한다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 나에게 도움을 요청할 때 새겨 듣지 않는다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 정확히 배운 대로 행동할 것을 요구한다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 소중하며 필요한 존재라고 느끼도록 한다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>나는 내 아이에게 많은 관심을 가진다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>나는 내 아이의 마음을 아프게 한다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 생각하기에 내가 기여해야 하는 중요한 것들을 깨닫는다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>내 자녀가 바쁘지 않아 행동하면 나는 내가 그 아이를 더 이상 사랑하지 않는다고 느끼도록 만든다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 원하는 것이라면 어떤 것이든 하도록 허락해 준다.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 자신을 중요한 존재라고 느끼도록 만드는가?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>내 아이가 원가 잘못을 하면 나는 아이를 겁을 주거나 위협한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>나는 아이가 무엇을 생각하는지 관심을 가지며 아이가 나에게 그 생각을 이야기 할 것을 격려한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 무엇을 하는 간에 다른 아이들이 내 아이보다 더 냈다고 느낀다.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 원치 않은 존재라는 것을 알게 한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 하는 무엇이든지 통제하고 싶다.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>나는 내가 내 아이를 사랑한다는 것을 아이가 알게 한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>나는 내 아이가 나를 거칠게 하는 것을 하지 않는 한 아이에게 신경 쓰지 않는다.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>나는 내 아이를 다정하고 친절하게 대한다.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) 자신이 생각하기에 영어를 얼마나 잘 하는지 표기해 주세요.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>매우 훌륭</th>
<th>출중</th>
<th>그럭저럭</th>
<th>부족</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>영어로 말하기를 얼마나 잘 하나요?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>영어로 글 쓰기를 얼마나 잘 하나요?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>영어로 된 글을 얼마나 잘 읽나요?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) 당신의 생년월일은 언제인가요?

3) 당신이 태어난 곳은 어디인가요?

1. 남한  2. 미국  3. 그 외 다른 나라

4) 언제 미국으로 이민 왔나요?

5) 미국에서 당신의 법적 신분은 무엇인가요?

1. 미국 시민권자  
2. 미국 영주권자  
3. F1을 가진 학생  
4. H1을 가진 고용인  
5. J1을 가진 고용인  
6. 그 외 다른 신분

6) 당신의 민족성 (해당하는 곳에 모두 표기 해 주세요):
1 아시아계 (Asian) 5 혼혈계 (Mixed Race)
2 아프리카계 (Black/African) 6 미국 인디언계 (Native American)
3 하와이 또는 태평양 섬계 (Hawaiian or Pac. Islander) 7 백인/유럽계 (White/European)
4 히스패닉/남미계 (Hispanic/Latino) 8 그 외

7) 당신의 최고학력:
   1 중학교 교육 이하 7 학사학위 취득
   2 중학교 졸업 8 일부 대학원교육
   3 일부 고등학교 교육 9 석사학위 취득
   4 고등학교 졸업 10 박사학위 취득
   5 고등학교 검정고시 통과 11 포스트 닥터 학위 취득 (post-doctoral degree)
   6 일부 대학교육 12 그 외

8) 가계 소득:
   1 $10,000 이하 6 $51,000-60,999
   2 $10,000-20,999 7 $61,000-80,999
   3 $21,000-30,999 8 $81,000-99,999
   4 $31,000-40,999 9 $100,000-149,999
   5 $41,000-50,999 10 $150,000 이상

9) 아버지의 근무 형태:
   1 전임 (full-time)
   2 파트타임 (part-time)
   3 은퇴 (retired)
   4 무직 (unemployed)
   5 그 외

10) 현재 관계상태:
   1 기혼, 첫번째 결혼 6 이혼하지는 않았지만 서로 관계는 정리한 상황임
   2 기혼, 첫번째 결혼이 아님 7 함께 살지만 결혼하지는 않음
   3 싱글, 결혼한 적 없음 8 평생의 동반자이지만 결혼하지 않음
   4 싱글, 이혼 함 9 그 외
   5 싱글, 과부

11) 현재 동거형태 (해당하는 모든 항목에 체크해 주세요):
   1 혼자
   2 부모님과 함께 동거
   3 남편/파트너와 동거
   4 아이(들)과 동거
   5 이 외에 다른 사람들과 동거

   12) 당신의 종교는 무엇인가요?

   13) 교회나 종교적 사원 참석 정도:
       1 거의 가지 않음
       2 가끔
       3 한 달에 한 번
       4 일주일에 한 번
       5 일주일에 1회 이상

연구에 참여해 주셔서 감사합니다. ☺
Appendix H

Questionnaires for Children

Please mark **one of the options** that describe your family well. There is **no right or wrong answer** so please be as **honest as you can**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Generally Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Generally Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Family members are involved in each other’s lives.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Our family tries new ways of dealing with problems.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. We get along better with people outside our family than inside.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. We spend too much time together.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. There are strict consequences for breaking the rules in our family.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. We never seem to get organized in our family.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Family members feel very close to each other.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Parents equally share leadership in our family.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Family members seem to avoid contact with each other when at home.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Family members feel pressured to spend most free time together.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. There are clear consequences when a family member does something wrong.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. It is hard to know who the leader is in our family.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Family members are supportive of each other during difficult times.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Discipline is fair in our family.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Family members know very little about the friends of other family members.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Family members are too dependent on each other.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Our family has a rule for almost every possible situation.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Things do not get done in our family.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Family members consult other family members on important decisions.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. My family is able to adjust to change when necessary.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Family members are on their own when there is a problem to be solved.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Generally Agree</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Generally Disagree</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>25.</td>
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<td>26.</td>
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<td>27.</td>
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<td>42.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Please indicate how much you are satisfied with your family on each subject below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Extremely Satisfied</th>
<th>Very Satisfied</th>
<th>Generally Satisfied</th>
<th>Somewhat Dissatisfied</th>
<th>Very Dissatisfied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The degree of closeness between family members.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Your family’s ability to cope with stress.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Your family’s ability to be flexible.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Your family’s ability to share positive experiences.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The quality of communication between family members.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Your family’s ability to resolve conflicts.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The amount of time you spend together as a family.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The way problems are discussed.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. The fairness of criticism in your family.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Family members concern for each other.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please mark one of the options based on your view about how **your father thinks of you**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Most Always True 4</th>
<th>Sometimes True 3</th>
<th>Rarely True 2</th>
<th>Almost Never True 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. My father is emotionally supportive to me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I feel my father loves me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. My father feels close to me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. My father tells me about many things.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. My father trusts me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. My father thinks that I am very trustworthy.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. My father expects me to be successful.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. My father expects that I will please him.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. My father endures hardship in his life to provide me a good thing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. My father sacrifices himself for me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. When my father thinks of me, he sometimes would feel sorry.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. When my father thinks of me, he would feel grateful to me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. My father considers me as his other self.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. My father thinks as if he and I are one since I am his own flesh and blood.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Although my father loves me, there are times he makes me think that he is not fond of me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. My father has a close relationship with me but at times, he makes me think he feels burdened about me.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17. My father trusts me but he sometimes makes me think that he is disappointed with me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Most Always True</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Please **think of your mother** while you answer the questions below.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Most Always True</th>
<th>Sometimes True</th>
<th>Rarely True</th>
<th>Almost Never True</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I love my mother.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I care for my mother.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I feel I am close with my mother.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I can tell my mother about my worries.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. My mother will always love me although I do something wrong.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I believe my mother is a reliable supporter of mine all the time.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I respect my mother.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. My mother has great wisdom of life.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. I think I ought to please my mother.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. I feel great responsibility for my mother.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>13. I feel like my mother is my other self.</td>
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<td>14. I think as if my mother and I are one as sharing her own flesh and blood.</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>17. I feel responsible to my mother but I feel burdened about my mother at times.</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Please **think of your father** while you answer the questions below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I love my father.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. I feel thankful to my father when I think of her/him.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>13. I feel like my father is my other self.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Please indicate the degree to which you are involved in your heritage and mainstream culture during the last one year.

|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1. | I often participate in my heritage cultural traditions. | Disagree | Agree |
| 2. | I often participate in mainstream American cultural traditions. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 3. | I would be willing to marry a person from my heritage culture. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 4. | I would be willing to marry a white American person. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 5. | I enjoy social activities with people from the same heritage culture as myself. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 6. | I enjoy social activities with typical American people. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 7. | I am comfortable interacting with people of the same heritage culture as myself. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 8. | I am comfortable interacting with typical American people. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 9. | I enjoy entertainment (e.g. movies, music) from my heritage culture. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 10. | I enjoy American entertainment (e.g. movies, music). | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 11. | I often behave in ways that are typical of my heritage culture. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 12. | I often behave in ways that are typically American. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 13. | It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of my heritage culture. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 14. | It is important for me to maintain or develop American cultural practices. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 15. | I believe in the values of my heritage culture. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 16. | I believe in mainstream American values. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 17. | I enjoy the jokes and humor of my heritage culture. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 18. | I enjoy white American jokes and humor. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 19. | I am interested in having friends from my heritage culture. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 20. | I am interested in having white American friends. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
Please mark one of the options that match up with your current status.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Almost Never</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Frequently</th>
<th>Almost Always</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How often do you feel guilty for leaving family or friends in your country of origin?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How often do you feel that in the US you have the respect you had in your country of origin?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How often do you feel that living out of your country of origin has limited your contact with family or friends?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. How often do you find it hard interacting with others because of difficulties you have with the English language?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How often do people treat you badly because they think you do not speak English well or speak with an accent?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. How often do you find it difficult to find the work you want because you are of Asian descent?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. How often do you question about your legal status?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How often do you think you will be deported if you go to a social or government agency?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How often do you avoid seeking health services due to fear of immigration officials?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please indicate how you think you are **good at Korean**.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Fair</th>
<th>Poor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. How well do you speak Korean?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. How well do you write Korean?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. How well do you read Korean?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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Please indicate how you think you are **good at English**.

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<tr>
<td>10. How well do you speak English?</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. How many hours do you spend studying per week? ________ Hours

Please answer the questions based on the most recent semester at school.

2. How often do you complete assignments?
   1 (never) ---- 2 (seldom) ---- 3 (sometimes) ---- 4 (often) ---- 5 (always)

3. How often do you study before an exam?
   1 (never) ---- 2 (seldom) ---- 3 (sometimes) ---- 4 (often) ---- 5 (always)

4. How often are you attentive in class?
   1 (never) ---- 2 (seldom) ---- 3 (sometimes) ---- 4 (often) ---- 5 (always)

Please indicate how well the sentence below describes you.

Strongly disagree Strongly agree

“My academic results are very good,” 0 --- 1 --- 2 --- 3 --- 4 --- 5 --- 6 --- 7 --- 8 --- 9 --- 10

Thank you for your participation. 😊
Vita

NAME OF AUTHOR: Bora Jin
PLACE OF BIRTH: South Korea
DATE OF BIRTH: September 14, 1980

EDUCATION
• Ph.D., Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 2015
• M.A., Marriage and Family Therapy, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 2010
• B.A., Psychology, Chung-Ang University, Seoul, South Korea, 2006

AWARDS
• The Child and Family Studies Doctorate Award for Research Excellence, Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University, May 2015
• The Dean Edith Smith Endowed Dissertation Award for the 14-15 Academic Year, Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University, May 2014
• Alice Sterling Honig Award, Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University, Spring 2012

SCHOLARSHIPS
• Teaching Assistantship from Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University, August 2010-December 2012
• Summer Graduation Tuition Scholarship from College of Human Ecology, Syracuse University, 2009, 2011, 2012
• Graduate Assistantship from Marriage and Family Therapy, Syracuse University, August 2008-May 2010
• Academic Scholarship from Ministry of Patriots & Veterans Affair, Seoul, South Korea, March 2002-February 2006

GRANTS
• Travel Grant Subsidy for the NCFR Annual Conference Presentations, Graduate Student Organization (GSO), Syracuse University, October 2013, & November 2014
• The Departmental Funding for the NCFR Annual Conference Presentation, Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University, September 2013
• Stipends from the Future Professoriate Program (FPP), Syracuse University, Aug 2011-May 2013
• Travel Grant Subsidy for the AAMFT Annual Conference, Graduate Student Organization (GSO), Syracuse University, October 2009

PUBLICATIONS

**PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES**
• Instructor, Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University
  Development of Children and Youth (Summer, 2015)
  Play, Child Development, and Early Education (Spring, 2015)
• Teaching Assistant, Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University (2010-2012)
• Discussion Facilitator, Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University (2010-2012)
• Marriage and Family Therapist Intern
  Brownell Center for Behavioral Health, Liberty Resources, Syracuse, NY (2009 - 2010)
  Goldberg Couple and Family Therapy Center, Syracuse University (2008 - 2010)
• Graduate Assistant, Marriage and Family Therapy, Syracuse University (2008-2010)
• Researcher, Clinical Research Center for Depression, Seoul, South Korea (2005 - 2006)

**PROFESSIONAL SERVICES**
• Reviewer for Conference Presentation Proposals (03/2013-03/2015)
  National Council on Family Relations (NCFR), USA
• Events/Activities Chair (02/2013 - 05/2014)
  Student Council on Family Relations (SCFR; the regional chapter of NCFR), Syracuse University, USA
• Guest Speaker
  The Korean Language and Cultural Education Institute, Trinity College, Hartford, CT (September, 2014)