

EXPLORING SENSE OF INDEBTEDNESS TOWARD PARENTS
AMONG KOREAN AMERICAN YOUTH

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Korean American youth experience immigration-related parent-child challenges including language barriers, generational cultural divides, and parental unavailability. Despite these challenges, studies suggest their lack of negative effects on these youth's global perception of their parents and an indication of positive relationships in Korean immigrant families. Evidence suggests the important role of Korean American youth's positive meaning-making in their perceptions of their parents and past family challenges, as well as the salience of their perception of parental sacrifice in the process of positive meaning making. Thus this study proposed Korean American youth's sense of indebtedness toward parents as an important concept that may be useful to understand the gap between parent-child challenges and their outcome among Korean immigrant families.

Using symbolic interactionism theory and grounded theory methods, this exploratory qualitative study examined the role of Korean American youth's sense of indebtedness toward their parents in understanding the process of positive meaning-making. The findings show that the majority of these youth developed their narrative sense of indebtedness toward parents, in which they incorporated SIP-related perceptions into their own narratives. However, only some youth internalized sense of indebtedness toward parents, making these perceptions integral part of their own beliefs by attributing personal and significant meaning to these perceptions. The findings suggest that Korean American youth's internalization of sense of indebtedness toward parents may play a role as a protective factor against parent-child challenges by positively affecting the youth in cognitive, affective, and behavioural domain, through which it appeared to help youth overcome parent-child challenges and promote more positive parent-child relationships.

To my Daddy, my all in all

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Previous research shows multiple challenges in parent-child relationships faced by Korean immigrant families, including language barrier (Zhou, 2004), profound cultural divide between immigrant parents and their U.S.-raised children (Ahn et al., 2008; Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Lee & Liu, 2001; Tsai, Tsang, Lee, Lee, & Ying, 2001; Tseng & Fuligni, 2000; Zhou, 2004), discrepancies in terms of children's desired and experienced parenting experiences (Pyke, 2000), impaired communication between parents and children (Kang et al., in press), and other immigration-related challenges (e.g., lack of parental availability due to busy work schedule and parents' lack of knowledge in the new culture) (Kang et al., in press; Min, 1998; Park, 2005). Some studies suggest that these challenges are related to Korean American (KA) youth's high rates of dissatisfaction and conflict with their parents (Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Lee & Liu, 2001; Pyke, 2000; Yeh & Inose, 2002). Immigrant adolescents in Korean immigrant families reported a significantly higher level of intergenerational conflicts compared to those from other Asian immigrant families such as Chinese and Japanese immigrant families (Yeh & Inose, 2002). Research shows a higher level of intergenerational conflicts in Korean immigrant families compared to European American families (Lee & Liu, 2001). Moreover, Korean American young adults described their Korean immigrant parents as being emotionally distant, overly strict and deficient compared to what they perceive as majority American parents (Pyke, 2000).

Despite these challenges, research suggests their lack of negative effects on KA youth's global perception of their parents and an indication of positive relationships in Korean immigrant families. Instead of, for instance, disconnecting themselves from their parents, many Korean American (KA) youth, especially older youth, positively reconstruct their past negative

experiences with their parents and express positive feelings toward their parents despite these parent-child challenges and prior conflicts with parents (Kang et al., in press; Park, 2005). Furthermore, not only do they attempt to normalize their unsatisfying experiences with their parents, but they express a strong sense of filial obligation (e.g., desire to provide financial assistance and care to their parents in the future) (Pyke, 2000).

Thus, a discrepancy appears to exist between the challenges KA youths experience with their parents and the effects that these challenges have on their global perception of their relationships with their parents. This leads to a question of “What contributes to this discrepancy?” “What can explain this paradox in Korean immigrant families?” Specifically, why do the negativities expressed in these KA family relationships (i.e., high level of conflicts and children’s dissatisfaction with parents) not necessarily have a detrimental impact on youth’s global perception of their relationship with their parents?

A recent study (Kang et al., in press) sheds light into this paradox in Korean American immigrant families. It reveals that many KA youth, particularly as they enter emerging adulthood, they narrated positive change in their view of earlier immigration-related parent-child challenges. Salient in many of these youth’s positive changes was the theme of parental sacrifice. Specifically, these youth’s perceptions of parental sacrifice appeared to help them be more sympathetic toward their parents as they interpreted the past immigration-related family challenges, (e.g., undesirable parental and family features in the past) as a result of or byproduct of parental sacrifice made for children. Importantly, this study suggests that meaning-making processes among these youth in terms of their perceptions of their parents or family experiences would be important to understand the discrepancy between challenges and outcome in parent-child relations in KA families.

That study (Kang et al., in press) offers valuable insight into understanding the process involved in this paradox among Korean immigrant families, yet the meaning-making process involved in KA youth's positive changes in their perceptions of their parents still remains unclear. Moreover, this study indicates that the construct such as parental sacrifice may offer merit in understanding the meaning-making processes among KA youth, which may help further explaining the discrepancy between immigration-related parent-child challenges and their outcome among Korean immigrant families.

In my dissertation, I propose KA youth's sense of indebtedness toward their parents (SIP) as a key concept that may be useful to understand the processes involved in the positive changes in KA youth's perceptions of and relationship with their parents and may help explain this paradox. No study to date has empirically investigated this construct. Thus, as an initial step to understand this phenomenon, my dissertation project aims to (1) investigate whether or not Korean American youth indeed experience SIP, (2) operationally define SIP and explore KA youth's experience of SIP, and (3) investigate where KA youth's SIP comes from. These are important steps to address the important question of (4) whether and how SIP explains the discrepancy between challenges and outcomes regarding KA youth's perception of and their relationships with their parents.

Theoretical Framework

Symbolic Interactionism Theory

The theoretical framework guiding the study is symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionism posits that human beings create meanings to help them make sense of their world and that people's actions towards people and events are determined by the meaning that those people and events have for them (Blumer, 1969; White & Klein, 2002). Further, the meaning is constructed during social interaction and through a process of interpretation. In particular, central to this meaning-making process, is the use of symbols or signs that may have particular cultural or social meaning (Blumer, 1969; White & Klein, 2002).

According to symbolic interactionism, KA youth's SIP may reflect their construction of meaning to make sense of their experiences with their parents. Especially in the family context in which a lot of their experiences differ from what they perceive as "normal American family," meaning-making may be central for them to adjust to this discrepancy. In the meaning-making process, particular symbols that are integral to their immigrant family context may have cultural or social meaning. For example, parents' immigration or hardships as immigrants may convey a specific cultural or social meaning as a symbol of parental sacrifice and devotion for children. Moreover, from a symbolic interactionism perspective, Korean American youth's SIP will be influenced by the meaning that they attribute to their family experiences. Similarly, their meaning-making process will be influenced by how they interpret particular symbols (e.g., parents' immigration). Furthermore, their interpretations of these symbols are shaped by their social interaction with different sources that affect their meaning-making. For example, their close interaction with ethnic community (e.g., ethnic church, other Korean American peers) may foster

the process of positive meaning-making regarding their parents as it may cultivate positive meaning of immigration deeming it as a symbol of parental sacrifice.

CHATER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

The literature review is organized as follows. I will first examine Korean immigrant family context as related to parent-child relationships, discussing prevalent immigrant discourse in Korean immigrant community, challenges embedded in the Korean immigrant family context, and features related to family life, such as parenting, parent-child relationship dynamics, and family obligation. Then I will discuss indications of the effects of these challenges on KA youth's perception of and their relationship with parents. Next, I will conceptualize SIP, discussing important concepts and theories pertaining to SIP, and distinguishing it from other constructs that may overlap with SIP in some aspects of KA youth's experiences. Then, there will be a discussion of hypothesized sources of SIP, to provide evidence in the literature for my hypothesis. Later in Chapter 4 and 5, I will discuss the findings related to these hypotheses. Due to a lack of research on KA youths and families, part of the foundation for this study is research on other Asian American groups.

Korean Immigrant Family Context as related to Parent-child Relationships

Korean American Immigrant Context and Immigrant Discourse

Korean Americans in general are relatively recent immigrants who arrived in the United States after 1965 when the United States changed its immigration policy (Kim, 1997). The majority of the adult Korean immigrants were well-educated, white-collar professionals prior to immigration, and many of them from middle-class families. The majority of Korean immigrants migrated in order to pursue better educational opportunities for their children than those that were available in South Korea (Yoon, 1997; Zhou & Kim, 2006). This child-centered immigration

aspiration is documented in other immigrant population, particularly those from Latin American and Asian background. In response to this prevalent message of parents' immigration aspiration, prevalent in immigrant community, including Korean American, is common narratives of parents' sacrifice for the sake of children – specifically to provide better life in the future. Existing literature confirms this, and some link children of immigrants' sense of obligation to repay their parents in response to perceived parental sacrifice, particularly among those from Asian and Latin American background (Fuligni, 2007; Gibson & Bhachu, 1991; Park, 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). Together, the idea of child-centered immigration aspiration and parents' sacrifice generate a common immigrant discourse among Korean immigrants.

Immigration-related Challenges of Korean Immigrant Families

The 1990 U.S. Census data (cited in Yoon, 1997) indicated that the self-employment rate of Korean Americans at 24.3% ranked highest among U.S. ethnic groups. Most Korean immigrants begin employment in less desirable, labor-intensive businesses such as dry cleaners or jewellery stores. A typical Korean business is a small, family business run by two adults; usually a husband and wife with no employees (Hurh & Kim, 1984; Min, 1984), requiring long work hours away from their families. In Park's (2005) ethnographic study of Korean American and Chinese American families, 87% (62 out of 71) of respondents reported that fathers worked an average of 70 hours a week whereas 80% of respondents reported that mothers worked an average of 70 hours a week. Moreover these shops are often in low-income ethnic minority neighborhoods and thus requiring long-distance commuting from their homes. Together, work life of Korean immigrant parents allow little time for face-to-face interaction between parents and children (Park, 2005) and for attending their children's school functions or activities (e.g., parent-teacher conferences, children's recitals) (Kang et al., in press; Park, 2005). In fact, absence of parental

supervision has been reported as a risk factor for school dropout among KA youth (Suh & Satcher, 2005).

Moreover, Korean immigrant parents' lack of English proficiency is another challenge that may limit their parenting ability creating frustration both in parents and their children. Indeed, research shows a relatively low English fluency of the parent generation among Korean immigrants (Zhou, 2004). This language-related limitation among Korean immigrants is largely two-fold: limitation in their functioning outside of the family context and within the family context. It limits their level of participation in adolescents' life outside of the family (e.g., lack of participation in school activities and socializing with English-speaking parents of their children's friends) as well as limiting the level and quality of communication with their children. Moreover, their lack of involvement in children's school or other parents, potential resources, may exacerbate their lack of knowledge and resources in the new country. Further, our recent study (Kang et al., in press) indicates communication impairment among Korean immigrant families due to issues other than parents' lack of English proficiency, such as superficial level of conversation between parents and children often because of parents' sole interest in children's schooling and failure to show interests in other aspects of youth's life.

Korean Immigrant Family Life

Korean Parents' Parenting

Ogbu (1991) perceived parenting or child-rearing as part of a culturally organized system which evolves through generations of collective experiences in tasks designed to meet environmental demands. According to this perspective, parenting is affected by the parent's perception of competency that fit with the environmental demand specific to the family. Thus, the socialization goals and cultural values of a family influence parenting cognitions and practices,

and even the way parents express love (e.g., Chao, 1994, 1996; Greenfield & Suzuki, 1998). Consistent with this perspective, Korean immigrants' parenting is congruent with their socialization goals defined by their cultural values and models of success (Kim, 1993; Min, 1998; Uba, 1994). For example, consistent with the Confucian ideology and collectivism, they tend to emphasize family obligations and maintenance of family harmony (Fuligni, 1998; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). Moreover, following their model of success, they place a significant emphasis on children's academic success (Kim, 1993).

Korean immigrant parents and Asian immigrant parents in general do recognize the need for adopting certain Western-oriented behaviors (e.g., parenting practices) in order to be successful in the new country (Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Uba, 1994). This factor is likely to affect their parenting as they struggle to provide what they perceive as the most ideal parenting to their children in a foreign country. However, the majority of literature tends to show a one-dimensional portrait of "Asian" (or Korean) parenting attitudes and practices, potentially further dichotomizing Korean versus American trends. The most common parenting style adopted by Korean immigrant parents, as portrayed in the existing literature, is authoritarian parenting, characterized by high involvement in their children's lives and strict regulation of their children's behaviors (Kim, 2005). Similarly, the ways that they express their parental affection are shaped by culture (Uba, 1994). In particular, in Korean culture, parents are generally less physically and emotionally expressive with their children (Kim, 1997; Pyke, 2000), which reflects Confucianistic values that emphasize self-control and restraint, particularly in expressing emotions (Hsu et al., 1985; Uba, 1994). Instead of expressing affection openly through words or physical affection, Asian parents, including Korean parents, demonstrate their love and affection to their children through means of instrumental support and making sacrifices for their children (Chao, 1994; Chao

& Tseng, 2002; Uba, 1994). However, these parenting practices contrast with the majority of typical American parenting, which is characterized by direct and open expression of parental love and affection, such as hugging, kissing, and praising children. It has been noted that what is perceived as typical American parenting is the type of parenting that is idealized and preferred by Korean American youth (Pyke, 2000).

Parental Devotion to Children

Instead of displaying physical and verbal affection towards children, parental devotion is a useful concept to understand the relational ideology that guides parent-child relationships or parenting practices in Korean families. The notion of devotion (*hun-shin*) that is often marked by a sense of psychological enmeshment between parent and child and self-denial (i.e., putting the family first before the individual) is an important element in Korean families (Kim & Choi, 1994).

The psychological essence of parental devotion indicates that parents do not draw any boundaries between themselves and their children and thus, their children's well-being becomes their very own. This parental attitude highlights parents' view of their children as extensions of themselves, which sharply contrasts with the parenting ideology of the Western culture. In the psychological context of devotion, for Korean parents, especially for mothers, their children vicariously fulfill their unaccomplished dreams and goals. For example, in an ethnographic study (Choi, 1990) that compared maternal attitudes of Korean mothers and Canadian mothers, Canadian mothers assigned equal emphasis to their role as caregivers and to their own personal development, whereas Korean mothers placed a greater weight on their role as caregivers. Korean mothers also felt little to no conflict in sacrificing their careers to devote themselves to their children (Choi, 1990). Another example of Korean parents' parental devotion is their persistent and limitless financial support for their children throughout their lives. According to 1983 Gallup

data (cited in Kim & Choi, 1994), Korean parents exceeded parents from the United States, England, Germany, France, and Japan in terms of their eagerness or willingness to pay their children's college education as well as to pay off their children's debts.

In this context, parental devotion can also be exemplified through immigration itself. Specifically, an immigration decision is often made based on Korean parents' desire to provide a better life for their children, specifically by providing opportunities for better education (Yoon, 1997; Zhou & Kim, 2006) while giving up their family and community ties back in Korea and bearing hardships as new immigrants in a foreign country (Park, 2005).

Parent-child Relationship Dynamics

Considering the different parenting beliefs and practices of Korean immigrant parents and the unique context of the immigrant family, parent-child relationship dynamics in Korean immigrant families are likely to be different from those of majority American families. In particular, Korean parent-child relationship shares similarities with those in other Asian immigrant families (i.e., Chinese and Vietnamese families), which are characterized by rather clear hierarchical relationships. In these hierarchical family relationships, parental authority is emphasized while children remain in subordinate position to their parents (Chao, 1994, 1996; Yang & McMullen, 2003). In contrast to majority American families in which parent-child relationships become more egalitarian as children get older (Steinberg, 1990; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Korean immigrant parents tend to maintain or attempt to maintain strong parental control even after children become young adults or adults (Kim, 1993). For example, parental influence is a significant factor in KA young adults' career-related decisions (Kim, 1993; Park, 2005). In this hierarchical relationship context, open exchange of ideas and feelings between parents and children is not common and often discouraged, as found in studies of Asian American and Korean

American families (Kim, 1993; Uba, 1994; Ying, 1994). Moreover, the immigrant reality (e.g., need for financial establishment) places pressure on KA youth to comply with parents' wishes and collective family needs (e.g., work at the family business, take on family responsibilities, get a financially lucrative job as an adult).

Family Obligation and Korean American Youth

Studies have shown that family obligation is emphasized among Asian American families (e.g., Fuligni, 1998; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). It has been noted that in Asian countries where interdependence is emphasized, children's obligation is often emphasized in the family (Fuligni, 1998; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). Fuligni et al's study (1999) on children of immigrants of Chinese and Hispanic descents find that these youth not only express a stronger sense of family obligation compared to their peers from European American families but also spend more time engaging in family tasks (e.g., taking care of younger siblings, running an errand for parents, translating for parents, helping parents at their work, etc.). The context of the immigrant family may further reinforce the cultural value of interdependence due to their practical needs. For example, socioeconomic hardships in Korean immigrant families may often necessitate family members' collaboration in household and family tasks (Min, 1998). In Korean American households where both parents jointly own and manage their family business, Korean American youths may need to work many hours in the family business, sacrificing their freedom and social life for the sake of the family in order to save the cost of hiring other employees (Hurh & Kim, 1984; Park, 2005). Indeed, according to Park (2005) the majority of Korean American and Chinese American college students reported that they spent many hours at their family businesses while growing up. In addition, because of their parents' lack of proficiency in English, Korean American children often act as interpreters and translators for their parents, taking on pseudo-adult

roles, while their peers from non-immigrant families enjoy more freedom and go through what American society prescribe as normal adolescence (e.g., increased pursuit of autonomy and socialization with peers).

In sum, Korean American immigrant household reflects a unique family context related to shared understanding of parents' immigration aspiration, family experience that can be different from that of non-immigrant families due to cultural and immigration-related factors, and lastly immigration-related challenges.

Outcomes of Challenges on KA Parent-Child Relationships

In this section, I will discuss the effects of challenges and risk factors discussed above on KA youth's perception of and relationship with their parents.

Korean American Youth's Perception of Their Family Experiences

Overall, the existing studies show Asian American and KA youth's sense of dissatisfaction with their family experiences. Pyke's (2000) study on Korean and Vietnamese American young adults suggested that they view their Asian parents as overly strict, emotionally distant, and deficient compared to what they perceive as normative American parents. In another study, Korean and Chinese American young adults reported less parental warmth and acceptance and a less cohesive overall family environment than did their European American peers (Greenberger & Chen, 1996). Moreover, evidence suggests that these youth's dissatisfaction with their parents may lead to conflicts with parents. For example, KA young adults, along with other Asian Americans, reported higher likelihood of family conflicts compared to those from European American families (Greenberger & Chen, 1996; Lee & Liu, 2001). Korean immigrant adolescents report a significantly higher level of intergenerational conflict, compared to immigrant adolescents from Japanese and Chinese families (Yeh & Inose, 2002).

Intergenerational Cultural Conflict

Cultural conflicts between immigrant parents and their children have been one of the most common variables that have been investigated in relation to parent-child conflicts in these families. Although one study shows a high level of parent-child congruency in terms of the value placed on family roles and obligations (i.e., Fuligni et al., 2002), there is a general consensus in the existing literature on the presence of a higher level of intergenerational value discrepancies (e.g., autonomy of youths, endorsement of parental authority) in Asian American families compared to European American families. In general, differential rate of acculturation has been accounted for these intergenerational value discrepancies (e.g., Chung & Okazaki, 1991; Kwak, 2003). In particular, one of the primary sources of intergenerational cultural conflict is parental beliefs and practices (Kim, 2001; Phinney et al., 2000). The gap between immigrant parents and their children regarding parenting practices and beliefs has been noted by a number of scholars (Pyke, 2000; Wu & Chao, 2005). Because the parent is the primary cultural transmitter through whom children come to contact with the ethnic culture, KA youths tend to interpret differences in parental behavior as ethnic or cultural, rather than individual, differences (Pyke, 2000). This indicates that for KA youth, cultural conflicts are usually experienced in the most personal level, within their family environment, and in the everyday life around typical adolescent issues such as curfew and social activities.

In this family context, generational differences or disagreements between parents and children surrounding issues that are common among majority American families (e.g., curfew and social activities) are likely to be perceived as (deviant) cultural conflicts, thus create more distress among KA youths. On the other hand, European American youths might perceive the

disagreements with parents as a normative generational gap, which is often perceived as typical in the youth culture (Montemayor, 1983).

On the other hand, despite these conflicts and expressed negativities in terms of parent-child relationships, some findings indicate their lack of negative effects on KA youth's overall perceptions of or relationships with parents. In particular, Korean American young adults tend to positively reconstruct their childhood (Kang et al., in press; Park, 2005) and furthermore, express strong desire to fulfil filial obligations.

Positive Reconstruction of Experienced Challenges and Hardships

In a qualitative study, Chinese and Korean American college-age respondents provided a positive interpretation of their relationships with their parents and their childhood experiences, while acknowledging challenges and difficulties that they have experienced growing up (Park, 2005). In yet another recent qualitative study (Kang et al., in press) that examined the ways in which KA college-enrolled emerging adults retrospectively made sense out of their experiences of immigrant family hardships found that over half of these youth narrated positive change in which they reinterpreted their relationship to their parents and redeemed their immigrant parents either through their own maturation or through spirituality. Importantly, many Korean American young adults invoked the narratives of parental sacrifice in their attempts to positively reinterpret their childhood experiences (e.g., "I now understand that my parents were unavailable when I was young because they were busy trying to provide a better life for me") (Kang, 2005).

Not only do KA youth attempt to positively reinterpret and normalize their experienced challenges in their experiences with their parents, they also tend to express strong sense of filial obligation. For example, Korean American, along with Vietnamese American, young adults have stated strong desire to fulfil their filial obligation including strong desires to provide financial

assistance and parental care in the future (Pyke, 2000). In another study, KA and Chinese American college students' strong sense of filial obligation was expressed as a means to repay their immigrant parents for their sacrifices and hardships as immigrants (Park, 2005).

In sum, the preliminary studies suggest the importance of the construct of sense of indebtedness toward parents, especially in terms of the observed resilience in KA youth's perception of and relationships with their parents in the context of challenges. However, SIP has never been the focus of empirical investigations but rather, has been observed as part of other phenomenon (e.g., immigrant family life). Thus, it is unclear as to what it is and how SIP affects their experience.

Conceptualizing Sense of Indebtedness toward Parents (SIP)

In this section SIP will be conceptualized based on existing theory, literature, and some speculations from informal preliminary work. Little is known about what SIP is, but research with adults by Greenberg (1980) suggests that recipients of aid experience feelings of obligation toward their helpers, a state labelled as "indebtedness." I will use social exchange theory in order to bring a theoretical insight into the basic mechanisms of indebtedness and apply it to KA youth's SIP.

Social Exchange Theory on Indebtedness

Social exchange theory is a useful theoretical perspective for understanding the basic mechanism of indebtedness. According to Greenberg (1980), the magnitude of indebtedness is determined by various factors: the recipients' perception of (1) the donor's motives, (2) the magnitude of the rewards and costs incurred by the recipients and donor as a result of the exchange, (3) the locus of causality of the donor's action, and (4) cues emitted by comparison others.

In Greenberg's study, indebtedness was defined as "responses that explicitly acknowledge an obligation to repay the helper" (Greenberg, 1980, p. 4). However, slightly different interpretations to the terms *indebted* and *obligated* have been reported. One study shows that people view indebtedness as synonymous with gratitude (Tesser, Gatewood, & Driver, 1968). Two broad classes of responses have been investigated as expression of perceived magnitude of indebtedness. This includes self-reports of recipients' cognitive and affective response (e.g., feeling of obligation to repay and feeling of discomfort in relation to their perceived indebtedness) and behavioral and cognitive attempts to reduce indebtedness (e.g., reciprocity behavior).

Although parent-child relational dynamics are likely to differ from other kinds of social exchange relationships, thus may not have the same implication in experiences related to indebtedness, Greenberg's (1980) theory of indebtedness is useful in understanding the dynamics of reciprocal exchange within any human interaction. In the following, I will apply this theory to discuss KA youth's SIP.

Applying Indebtedness Theory to KA Youth's SIP

Although there may be differences in terms of implications according to Greenberg's (1980) conception of indebtedness due to the differences in relational dynamics between parent-child relationships and non-familial relationships, it seems plausible to apply the basic mechanism of indebtedness to Korean American youth's SIP. In particular, it is presumable that the magnitude of Korean American youth's perceived indebtedness towards their parents is affected by different determinant factors stated in social exchange theory: youth's perception of (1) parents' motives, (2) perceived rewards and cost incurred by youth and their parents, (3) locus of causality of the parents' action, and (4) cues emitted by others in regards to their indebtedness

toward their parents. Moreover, as posited in social exchange theory, their feelings of indebtedness may be followed by subsequent behavioral, cognitive and affective reactions among KA youth.

Behavioral Responses to Indebtedness

Following social exchange theory, some of KA youth's behaviors may be understood in the context of their responses to the perceived debt to their parents. In particular, one study links KA youth's behaviors with their desire to repay their parents for their perceived sacrifice. In Park's (2005) study, repayment for parental sacrifice was a central motivation for many Korean and Chinese American young adults' actions, whether the discussion was on their relationships with their parents, work experience at the family business, and their future career goals. In this study, these young adults' desires to repay their parents for their sacrifice were expressed especially through their plan for material compensation for their parents or bringing glory to the family, for example, by going to a prestigious college or pursuing status-laden professions.

Similar findings that indicate sense of obligation to repay their parents among children of immigrant parents, particularly those from Asian and Latin American background was observed in another study (Fuligni, 2007). Moreover, there has been scholarly narration, while more anecdotal and descriptive rather than empirical, that indicates sense of indebtedness among children of immigrants toward their parents. This concept has been used as to explain high academic motivation or success and sense of obligation toward their family among children of immigrants, particularly those from Asian and Latin American backgrounds (Gibson & Bhachu, 1991; Fuligni, 2007; Park, 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995)

While the existing literature suggests that KA youth's SIP is likely to have some behavioral implications, it still remains unclear as to what it really means to these youth: What is the process involved in their developing this sense of debt to their parents?; and what are their

experiences related to their sense of indebtedness toward their parents, including how it affects them and their experiences with their parents?

The hypothesized link between KA youth's SIP and their actions will be further investigated and verified in this study. Although SIP may not be the only factor that explains these behaviors of KA youths (e.g., pursuit of particular careers, expression of strong filial obligation), I propose that it is one of the important factors to consider in order to establish a more nuanced understanding of these youth's experiences.

Distinguishing SIP from Other Constructs

SIP needs to be distinguished from other constructs such as family obligation and filial piety that may overlap with some aspects of Korean American youths' experiences that SIP taps into.

Family Obligation

Based on the definition of indebtedness given earlier, "responses that explicitly acknowledge an obligation to repay the helper" (Greenberg, 1980. p. 4), KA youth's SIP is likely to accompany a sense of obligation to repay their debt. In this sense, the construct of SIP seems closely related to the family obligation. Family Obligation is measured in three aspects of adolescent and young adults' attitudes on instrumental and behavioral domains of their family relations.: 1) to support, assist the family; 2) respect family members (e.g., acknowledge importance of respecting parents, doing well for the sake of the family, and making sacrifices for the family); and 3) place value on supporting the family in the future (Fuligni et al., 1998; 2002). While there may be similarities between SIP and sense of family obligation, especially in behavioral expressions, they are different particularly in that SIP taps into the motivations and meaning behind these behaviors.

Filial Piety

Filial piety has served as a guiding principle governing general patterns of socialization, as well as specific rules of intergenerational conduct in Korean culture. In particular, it stresses children's obligations toward their parents. It makes rigorous demands: "that one should provide for the material and mental well-being of one's aged parents...and in general conduct oneself so as to bring honor and avoid disgrace to the family name" (Ho, 1986; p.155).

However, although there may be some overlaps between the construct of filial piety and SIP in terms of behavioral expression of Korean American youth, the former is based on cultural values (e.g., Confucianism). SIP, however, appears to be based on more specific experiences pertaining to growing up in Korean immigrant family. Moreover, as both constructs tap into KA youth's behaviors and values based on their cultural inheritance, they involve uniform norms that apply to all KA youth. SIP, however, as suggested in the social exchange theory, may differ as a function of, for example, perceived parental sacrifice or cost. Thus, SIP is more useful in addressing individual differences among KA youth. Moreover, SIP may provide more rich information on KA youth's experiences, such as motivational, psychological and emotional aspects of youths' experiences in their relationships with parents.

Potential Sources of SIP

I have thus far discussed what SIP is (and is not) as revealed in the existing literature. At this point, it is prudent to discuss what may cause SIP among KA youth. In the following I discuss primary factors that KA youth's SIP may derive from. This section will address variations among youths that are derived from differences in terms of their association with these factors. These speculated factors are drawn from literature and an informal preliminary study by the author. These factors may not be mutually exclusive but interrelated with each other.

Age and Maturity

Witnessing parental hardship as immigrants or hearing about parental sacrifice may not necessarily mean that youth will give significant meaning to these experiences or personally relate to them. I predict that it is through a process in which KA youth make meaning out of their observations of parental hardship and narratives of parental sacrifice that they develop more personal and meaningful perceptions of their parental experiences.

As children get older, they develop more capacity to process their experience and create meaning and interpretation of the experiences. For example, some KA young adults, as they recount their past family experiences, identified their own maturity as a source of reinterpreting their negative parental experiences (Kang et al., in press). Thus, it is predicted that SIP will vary as a function of a function of a youth's age and maturity.

Distance from Parents

Having some distance from their parents and family context may also help KA youth to process their family experiences into SIP. As children go to college thus moving away from their family, this physical distance allows them space from their parents and to avoid engaging in everyday life negotiations which are often sources of conflicts for adolescents and their parents. The positive effect of having space from parents or family context on Korean American youths' perception of their parents and/or their parental experiences is indicated in one study (Park, 2005). According to Park (2005), whereas most college age participants were able to separate their early experiences and their current perception of their parents, thus providing positive interpretations of their experience and positive perception of their parents, adolescents or college-age participants who are still living with their parents were unable to do that. Thus, it can be predicted that SIP will vary as a function of a youth's distance from their parents.

Cultural Values

SIP is not a new concept in Korean culture. As evidenced in highly prescribed value of filial piety that was discussed earlier, children's gratitude and sense of duty towards their parents is emphasized in Korean culture. According to the Confucianism, the greatest obligation of individuals is to their parents and the debt that is owed to their parents can never be repaid by children (Ho, 1986). Whereas SIP is to be distinguished from these cultural values, they may provide an ideological foundation in which SIP is constructed. Thus, it can be predicted that SIP will vary as the function of the youth's cultural identification.

Perceived Parental Hardship

KA youths are likely to be familiar with the narratives of parental sacrifice through their parents, other Korean peers, and ethnic community. Considering that immigration aspirations for Koreans often center around a better future of children (Park, 2005; Yoon, 1997), it is possible that KA youths may relate parents' struggle as immigrants as a symbol of sacrifice for them. Indeed, one of the substantial sacrifices is the act of immigration itself, which involves leaving extended family and country and entering a radically different and unfamiliar society.

Parents' sacrifice is most often understood as the loss of social status and the consumptive goods that signify social location (Park, 2005). Parents' sacrifice may also include discrimination and disrespect experienced as they interact with their customers. Small family business ownership is understood by KA youth as a lowly profession and indication of downward mobility. As mentioned earlier, the small entrepreneurial family context may trigger challenges in the quality of parent-child interactions but may also provide a particular context in which SIP might be more easily developed (e.g., children grow up witnessing parental hardships).

A few studies suggest the significance of Asian American youth's perceptions of parental sacrifice in their behaviors. For example, children's awareness of parental sacrifice has been linked with strong academic motivation (Zhou, 1997), sense of filial obligation and career choices (Kang, 2005; Park, 2005) among KA and Asian American youth.

Thus, based on this evidence, it can be predicted that SIP will vary as a function of youth's perception of parental sacrifice. Moreover, the social exchange theory of indebtedness may provide a helpful guidance in considering the potential variations of SIP based on KA youth's perceptions of parental sacrifice. Based on the social exchange theory of indebtedness (Greenberg, 1980), KA youth is likely to feel indebted to the extent that (1) he/she perceives that her parents were more concerned with her welfare than their own; (2) he/she perceives the magnitude of benefits she received and/or costs incurred by the parents; (3) he/she perceives that she is responsible for the parents' sacrifice/hardships; (4) he/she perceives cues from the parents or social reality that label or confirm her state of indebtedness. (e.g., if she perceives cues from the parent or social environment that conveys that she is indebted to the parent, she is more likely to feel indebted).

Contextual

KA youth's interactions with various SIP-fostering agents (e.g., other Korean American peers, ethnic community, Korean church, and parental narratives of sacrifice) and particular circumstances may foster SIP. For example, as mentioned earlier, Korean American youth are often exposed to the narratives of parental sacrifice not only through their parents, but through other Korean peers and ethnic community. These are likely to be important sources that provide KA youth inspiration and verification of SIP-related beliefs and responses.

Christian narratives that highlight human imperfections and one's obligation to forgive these imperfections have been also reported as an important factor for Korean American young adults' positive interpretation of the past challenges in which they attempt to positively reconstruct their childhood (Kang et al., in press). In fact, some studies have noted the significant role of the ethnic church for Korean immigrants especially in maintaining their connection to ethnic culture (Chong, 1998; Hurh & Kim, 1990). Based on this evidence, Korean church may play a role in communicating and instilling SIP among Korean American youth.

Moreover, particular circumstances of Korean American youth may trigger their embedded awareness of parental sacrifice. For example, as they become more independent and have to take over more responsibilities for themselves, they may learn to appreciate their parents more, which may help them feel SIP. Being in an environment that invokes a sense that they are benefited from their parents' sacrifice may also arouse their SIP. This can be particularly related to financial assistance that Korean American youth get from their parents. As mentioned earlier, Korean parents, compared to parents from the U.S., are more willing to pay for their children, including expense for personal needs for which many college students from majority American families have to earn themselves through work (Gallup, 1983). Although there is no empirical evidence on Korean immigrant parents' financial support for their children, considering that they identify more with Korean culture than American culture, it is likely that they will not be significantly different from Korean parents in terms of their willingness for financial support for their children. Thus KA youth's interaction with these various contextual factors (e.g., SIP-fostering sources) may contribute to the variations of SIP among youths. Specifically, more interaction may lead to higher SIP.

Effects of SIP on KA Youth

I have discussed thus far what SIP is and where KA youth's SIP may come from. This lays ground for my main question of "what is the role of SIP in mediating challenges and their outcome?" As mentioned earlier, I propose that SIP mediates between challenges and outcome, regarding KA youth's global perception of their relationship with parents particularly through (1) fostering positive perceptions of their parents and their relationships with parents and (2) accommodating behavioral responses to parents.

Evidence shows that through an internalization of parental sacrifice in which they attribute special meanings to parents' actions, some KA young adults attempted to positively reconstruct their past interactions with their parents. In this process, parents' hardships were often interpreted by these youth as a symbol of parental affection and care (Kang et al, in press; Park, 2005).

Therefore, SIP may help KA youths positively reconstruct their perceptions of their parents or experiences with parents (e.g., positive interpretation of parental actions) in the context of challenges. Consequently, these positive perceptions are likely to be transformed into more positive interactions with their parents. In particular, as indicated in some studies that linked KA and Asian American youth's behaviors and their perception of parental sacrifice, KA youth's strong SIP may help them be more likely to comply with their parents and less likely to engage in conflicts.

In conclusion, existing literature shows preliminary evidence that SIP may be an important construct to understand Korean American youth's perceptions of and their relationships with their parents. In particular, SIP may function as a protective factor against challenges in terms of their parent-child relationships that they experience growing up. In this sense, SIP may explain the

existing discrepancy between the challenges and risk factors in KA youth's perception of and relationship with their parents and their outcome.

This Research

This study will be an exploratory qualitative inquiry that aims to understand Korean American youths' sense of indebtedness towards their immigrant parents (SIP). I choose the qualitative approach as the primary method to examine this phenomenon because qualitative method captures what the quantitative method may not, that is the subjective experiences and meaning-making of these youth. Moreover, as this is relatively unknown area, qualitative method is useful in exploring the construct itself without limiting the investigation to the researcher's own set questions. This study will look at KA young adults given the evidence from the previous research (Kang et al., in press; Park, 2005) that suggests it is not until they reach later developmental stage, young adulthood in particular, that young people can more meaningfully identify with SIP.

These research questions are posed to guide the present study. Although this study is primarily qualitative, I will present specific hypotheses for some questions (in italics). These hypotheses are drawn from the literature discussed above.

- I. A. What are the experiences of SIP like among KA youth?
 - a. Do KA youth experience SIP?
 - b. How do KA youth define and describe SIP?
- B. What are the processes of development of SIP among KA youth?
 - a. Maturity
 - b. Distance from parents
- II. What are the facilitating factors of SIP?

A. Cultural

Youths with high SIP will report stronger identification with Korean culture than youths with low SIP.

B. Perceived parental sacrifice

a. High SIP youth are more likely than low SIP youth to perceive that their parents made sacrifice for them.

b. High SIP youth are more likely to be from entrepreneurial households compared to low SIP youth.

C. Contextual: level of interaction with SIP-fostering agents (e.g., KA peers, ethnic community, Korean church, parental narratives of sacrifice)

KA youths who have a high level of interaction with SIP-fostering agents will report more SIP than those who do not.

III. Does/how does SIP mediate between immigration-related parent-child challenges and the outcome regarding KA youth's perception of and their relationship with parents?

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Phase I: SIP Scale

The primary goal of Phase I was to recruit stratified sample for interviews in Phase II. Phase I involved administering the preliminary SIP scale to a larger pool of participants. Their score on the preliminary SIP scale was used to stratify interview participants and specifically to identify high SIP and low SIP individuals who were to be recruited for the qualitative study. High SIP and low SIP groups were then compared on their processes of development of SIP as well as the effects of SIP.

Preliminary SIP Scale

The preliminary quantitative scale of SIP (Appendix B) was used to measure participants' level of SIP. This scale taps into global sense of indebtedness and other important components of SIP in cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains (e.g., perception of parental sacrifice, feelings associated with parents' immigration). The 24-item scale was originally developed based on Greenberg's (1980) indebtedness theory and a preliminary pilot study. In the pilot study, I conducted two focus groups, each with 5 to 8 Korean American college students. From these focus groups, potential scale items were generated. I then checked with other Korean American youth and colleagues who have research expertise in this population to verify the appropriateness of items and the wording. Each item is rated on a Likert-type scale according to extent of agreement (1 = *completely disagree* to 9 = *completely agree*). As for the reliability of the SIP scores, Cronbach's alpha in terms of the current sample was .82.

Sample Recruitment

In Phase I, 1.5 and second generation KA youth were recruited to complete the preliminary SIP scales. In general, 1.5 generation Korean American refers to those who were born abroad but brought at an early age to the U.S. Inclusion criteria were that (1) youth were between age 18-25, (2) both their parents were first generation Korean immigrants, (3) youth were born in the U.S. or moved to the U.S. before age of nine, and (4) youth spent most of their life growing up in the household (e.g., instead of having a long term separation as child or youth).

I used several different strategies to recruit my sample. First, I recruited U of I undergraduate students through classes in different departments on campus. Recruitment strategies included announcements in classes, fliers, and snowballing. Efforts were made to recruit students who are in “stereotypically Korean” majors (e.g., engineering and pre-med) as well as those who are not (e.g., humanities, social science), given that their experiences in terms of parent-child relationships and SIP might be different from each other. For example, those in stereotypically Korean majors may experience less opposition from their parents in deciding or continuing with their major, thus experiencing less conflict with their parents. Second, I recruited participants through a number of student organizations on campus that focus on Korean ethnic and/or cultural identification (e.g., Korean Student Association, Korean Law Student Association). Third, informants forwarded the link to the on-line version of the measure through Survey Monkey to those in their social network who also met inclusion criteria. Lastly, I recruited participants of cultural events (e.g., Korean Festival in Chicago), during which I distributed the SIP scale packet or obtained permission to send the link to the on-line survey. At the end of the survey, participants were asked to leave their contact information if they were interested in further participating in the interview part of the study. Survey participants were entered into a drawing to win one of fifteen

\$15 gift cards (1 in 10 chance), and the interview participants each received \$15 cash for their participation.

Participants

Participants in Phase 1 were 124 KA youth with immigrant parents living in the U.S. The age of young adults were between 18 and 25. The following are the characteristics of the participants in Phase I (Table 1).

Table 1

Characteristic of Sample in Phase I

Characteristic	Sample ($N = 124$)
Age	18 – 25 years ($M = 22.4$)
Sex	33.1% male; 66.9% female
Place of Birth	US-born: 80.6% Korea-born: 19.4%
Age of migration (If not born in US)	1-8 years ($M = 3.6$)

Phase II: In-depth Interviews

Sample Identification and Recruitment

My aim was to compare participants who experienced different levels of SIP, thus efforts were made to recruit an even number of participants who scored high SIP as who scored low SIP. First, eight participants ($M = 3$, $F = 5$) with the highest SIP score were recruited and interviewed. Based on these interviews, a preliminary conceptual definition of SIP was developed and salient themes related to SIP were identified.

The working definition and themes from the initial interview analysis were then used to narrow down items for a revised SIP scale. Only the 12 items from the original SIP scale, which tapped onto the themes identified as related to SIP from the interviews with high SIP individuals, were kept in the revised SIP scale. This SIP-Short version scale was then used as the criterion for selection of subsequent interview participants. On the 12-item SIP-Short version scale, the mean score of the SIP scale was 6.95 ($SD = .95$; $Range = 5.0 - 8.92$). Because participants' scores were skewed towards higher scores, a mean score of 6.95 was the cut-off score. Those scoring higher than 6.95 were labelled as high SIP and those scoring lower than 6.95 as were labelled as low SIP.

Based on this screening process, 33 high SIP youth, in addition to the first 8 interviewed, were identified who also provided information to be contacted for an interview. I specifically targeted the highest from the high SIP group. The first 13 who agreed to participate were interviewed. Similarly for low SIP youth, 27 were identified to be potentially contacted for an interview, but only the first 12, among the lowest from the low SIP group, who agreed were interviewed. Efforts were made to recruit even number of participants who reported high vs. low SIP. Thus, 13 youth ($M = 4$, $F = 9$) comprised the high SIP group and 12 youth ($M = 6$, $F = 6$) comprised the low SIP group. The mean score of high SIP group was 8.28; low SIP group 6.21.

Recruiting stopped after conducting 25 interviews when I perceived that no more new information was obtained from interviews.

Participants

The sample of interview participants were selected from the 68 (124 total) KA youth who completed SIP scale and also indicated their willingness to be contacted for a follow-up interview. Twenty-five participants were interviewed from the sample in Phase I. The following are the characteristics of sample in Phase II (Table 2 & 3).

Table 2

Characteristic of Sample in Phase II: High SIP Group

Characteristic	Sample ($N = 13$)
Age	18-25 years ($M = 22.54$)
Sex	4 male; 9 female
Place of birth	77% ($N = 10$): US-born 23% ($N = 3$): Korea-born
Age of migration (If not born in US)	3-7 years old ($M = 4.7$)
Education/Occupation	46% ($N=6$) were enrolled in a 4-year college 31% ($N=4$) were working 23% ($N=3$) were attending medical/nursing school or graduate school

Parental Occupation	92% (N=12) were Entrepreneurs
	8% (N=1) were professional (e.g., pastor)

Table 2 (cont.)

Table 3

Characteristic of Sample in Phase II: Low SIP Group

Characteristic	Sample (N = 12)
Age	18-24 years ($M = 20.25$)
Sex	6 male; 6 female
Place of birth	100%: US-born
Education/Occupation	92% were enrolled in a 4-year college or a community college
	8% were attending graduate school
Parental Occupation	42% were Entrepreneurs
	50% were Professionals (lawyer, engineer)
	8% were semi-skilled (e.g., post office employee)

Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews with participants. The length of each interview was from one to two and half hour long, with average of 1.8 hours. Interviews took place in a location convenient for the participants (e.g., university office, other place of their choice including libraries, coffee shops, and restaurants). In cases when participants were unwilling or unable to meet in person, interviews were conducted by phone. Eight out of 25 interviews were conducted by phone. Prior to beginning the interview, participants were given an informed consent form (see Appendix C), along with a brief introduction and explanation of the interview and the consent form. The participants then were asked to sign an informed consent form, acknowledging their willingness to participate in the research project. Following this, their permission was asked to audio record the interview. For the phone interviews, I read the information in the form to the participant, and obtained verbal consent. Consistent with grounded theory method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), I probed for clarification and explanation, and asked in number of areas to fill in the gaps in knowledge. Following the completion of each interview, memos were taken. These memos included general impressions, observations, and possible interpretations. In addition, suggestions for future interviews were noted.

Qualitative Interview Questions

Questions, derived from the research questions, were generated primarily from a preliminary pilot study with a group of Korean American young adults. I then shared the interview protocol with some Korean American young adults and researchers to verify whether the interview questions would tap into the construct and the phenomenon to be investigated. Specifically, I asked them to review the protocol and provide some general opinions and feedback on the questions (e.g., relevance, wording and ordering of questions). Based on their feedback, I revised

the protocol accordingly. This step was to ensure that the questions in the protocol are indeed useful to address the study's purpose and relevant to Korean American youth's SIP. The interview protocol included semi-structured open-ended questions (Appendix A) that allowed the researcher to flexibly follow the lead of the participants. Consistent with grounded theory methods, questions in the interview protocol were broad with probes to allow for elaboration and definition. Each interview was audio recorded, transcribed verbatim, and then analyzed using grounded theory methods.

Data Analysis

Grounded Theory Methods

I chose grounded theory for my primary means of data analysis for several reasons. First, it is useful in exploring and generating a descriptive and explanatory theory, based on participants' own voice, their own meanings, and perspectives (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Given that there is no empirical study that operationalized the construct of SIP or examined the processes involved in this phenomenon, grounded theory would serve as an effective analytic tool to conceptualize these youth's SIP by exploring the meanings that they attach to their perceptions and actions. Further, grounded theory method is consistent with this study's symbolic interactionism approach as it focuses on individual's subjective perceptions and meanings attached to their experiences (Blumer, 1969).

Whereas grounded theory was the primary analytic method for most of the interview data, due to the different nature of the research questions (e.g., normative versus comparative) different analytic methods were used as needed. In particular, a different method was used for research question II and III, primarily to assign the participants into high vs. low SIP group for the purpose of comparison.

Consistent with grounded theory method, data collection, transcription, data analysis occurred simultaneously. This helped me to gain insight about the process of interest so that I could probe for information during subsequent interviews to be more efficient in gaining the information relevant to that process. The following section describes step-by-step procedures that were taken to analyze interview data, using grounded theory.

There were two different phases of grounded theory analysis due to the different questions and the phenomenon of interest, which I will describe in detail in the following. In each phase, the analytic procedure to be utilized in this study follows grounded theory's three coding stages that help lead to a construction of theoretical models that can explain qualitative data (Charmaz, 2006; LaRossa, 2005). The process of coding was interactive and dynamic, involving moving back and forth between these coding stages as new information emerged, although I present each coding in a linear fashion. Analysis of question I focused on operationalizing the construct of sense of indebtedness toward parents as narrated by all participants. Thus, first stage of analysis applied to all participants.

Phase I Grounded Theory Analysis: Operationalization of SIP

The first phase of grounded theory analysis focused on operationalizing the construct of sense of indebtedness toward parents as narrated by all participants in order to understand the common phenomenon experienced by all participants.

Open coding. First, open coding identifies concepts in the data and attempts to clarify their dimensions and properties. This technique may allow me to stick to the original meaning-making of participants, in their own voice, staying true to the data. It involves grouping words, phrases, or sentences into what are called concepts, which serve as building blocks of grounded theories later

(Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In addition, during open coding, similar and dissimilar concepts are grouped into categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

First, I started by closely reading interview transcripts multiple times to identify concepts that emerged from the data (e.g., youth perceiving their parents' hardship, youth viewing as immigration as sacrifice, etc.). I read first 8 interviews with high SIP youth and developed an open codebook, which included existing codes (i.e., sensitizing concepts), from the immigration literature (e.g., parental sacrifice, child-centered immigration aspiration) as well as emergent codes. Sensitizing concepts (Patton, 2002; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998) are general and loosely defined concept that provides a reference point, which may serve to illuminate social processes of interest that may not otherwise be as apparent in the text. Then, I and three undergraduate research assistants open coded 10 subsequent interviews. After independently coding each of the interviews, we held group meetings to compare codes. We discussed each interview comparing the codes and interpretations until consensus was reached. The codebook was revised as needed after each meeting (e.g., to add emergent codes or clarify definitions of codes). Previously coded interviews were then recoded using the updated codebook.

In general, we paid attention to the ways that participants tried to make sense of their perceptions of and experiences with parents in the context of various meanings that they applied to interpret them. To identify concepts, we paid attention to what participants reported about their perceptions of parents, including parental actions and features, particularly paying attention to their meaning-making. Each concept identified was then grouped into categories to expose the thoughts and meanings within the passage (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). These dynamics were further broken down into subcategories. For example, in my study, codes, such as feeling grateful, feeling sympathetic for parents, feeling sorry for parents, and feeling pressured, (e.g., in response to their

perceptions of parents' hardships or repaying parents), can be grouped into a concept called "feelings related to SIP." Next, various concepts of "feelings related to SIP" can be grouped into either "positive feelings" or "not so positive feelings" (in terms of their implication for their relationship with parents).

Constant comparison. Part of the analysis procedure entailed grouping concepts with similar characteristics under a larger category. This was a critical component of data analysis and used extensively throughout analyses. Comparison includes processes of comparing data with data, data with category, category with category, and category with concept. In order to accurately group similar data together, we looked for similarities and differences between passages (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I followed Strauss and Corbin's (1998) suggestion to flip back and forth between reviewing the category's definition and the passage. This process ensured that the text was placed in the appropriate category. I also compared passages to ensure they represented the same concept of larger category. I compared data with data to find similarities and differences. For example, I compared interview statements and incidents within the same interview and compared statements and incidents in different interviews. I also compared youth's narratives of their perceptions and interpretations of parents and parental actions within the same interviews, for example, in different stage of their life, and tried to identify the factors that contributed to these differences in their perceptions.

Axial coding. The next step is axial coding. In essence, axial coding is about examining how categories are related with one another and development statements that show these relationships (LaRossa, 2005). This phase of analysis is helpful in giving the concepts further clarifications and specifications to categories being formed.

In this stage, I specifically looked for answers to questions such as why, where, when, how, and with what consequences (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In doing so, I related categories to subcategories and specified the properties and dimensions of a category (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). For example, I related the category of youth's perception of "parental sacrifice" to various subcategories of "*what* parental sacrifice entails" and "what causes youth's perception of parental sacrifice (or not)," "*when* do youth perceive parental sacrifice," "*how* youth's perception of parental sacrifice developed over time," and "what does the perception of parental sacrifice lead to." This allowed me to delineate relationship between different categories as well as dimensions and properties within each category. Finally, outcomes of actions/interactions were identified from the data.

Selective coding. Finally, selective coding is an integration process where the central storyline of the analysis is determined (LaRossa, 2005, p. 850). During this process, a central phenomenon is identified, which conceptualizes and explains "what this research is all about" (Strauss & Corbin, 2005, p. 146). In operationalizing SIP, central phenomena of KA youth's SIP was identified as (1) KA youth's perceptions of parental sacrifice and (2) KA youth's perceptions of parental child-centered intentions.

Phase II of Grounded theory analysis: Understanding differences between high vs. low SIP youth

The second phase of analysis aimed at understanding the differences between the two groups: high vs. low SIP. After the SIP was operationalized based on the analysis of the data from the whole sample, I conducted analysis separately for high vs. low SIP group in order to compare these two groups. Specific questions asked in the second phase were: "what makes these two groups different?" and "What are the processes that contributed to their SIP?" and "What are the effects of their SIP?"

Open coding. First, to compare high vs. low SIP group, all the categories and subcategories (e.g., perception of parental cost, perception of parental intention) generated from the open coding in Phase I of grounded theory analysis were reorganized by high vs. low SIP group. For example, I reassigned the text under the category “perceptions of parental cost related to immigration” into “perceptions of parental cost related to immigration-High SIP” and “perceptions of parental cost related to immigration-Low SIP.” I repeated this process for all the categories generated in the first stage of analysis. Through this process, all the open codes were grouped into high vs. low SIP. Then I read the data separately by the group (high vs. low SIP), comparing similarities and differences between the group on themes related to SIP. During this process, new codes emerged that captured the differences between two groups. For example, the code, “personalizing” emerged in which youth personalized the SIP-related concepts.

Axial coding. In this stage, I compared high vs. low SIP group based on 4 interrelating factors to understand the specific phenomena in each group (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I will use the example of “Personalization of SIP” to illustrate these four factors in my analysis. The first factor is facilitating conditions. An example condition that facilitated personalization of SIP was youth’s perception of whether parents’ action (e.g., immigration) was solely for them. The second factor is context. Youth’s personalization of SIP was based on the context of parents’ immigration. For example, specific context of parents’ immigration, with embedded idea of parents’ child-centered immigration aspiration and hardship as immigrants, played a role in their personalization of parental sacrifice and child-centered intention. The third factor is action/interactions, or participant’s routine or strategic responses to issues or events. For example, youth in response to their personalization of beliefs that their parents’ sacrifice was for them, attributed personal meaning to their SIP-related perceptions. Finally, the fourth factor is consequences, or outcome of

actions/interactions. For example, youth attribution of personal meaning to SIP-related perceptions often resulted in responses among them –for example, expressing feeling of gratitude toward their parents.

Selective coding. Finally, in selective coding, I integrated the relationship delineated through axial coding to identify a central phenomenon that explained how youth in high vs. low SIP group vary. A central phenomenon emerged in comparing high SIP vs. low SIP group was internalization of SIP, generating different responses among high vs. low SIP youth in response to their SIP.

Comparative Analysis

Final method of analyses was comparative analysis of high vs. low SIP group based on the informal hypotheses related to the facilitating factors of SIP, developed based on the existing literature and my informal pilot study. I attempted to verify these hypotheses in this process of comparison. Specifically, high vs. low SIP groups were compared on their narrative accounts related to each hypothesized source of SIP (e.g., culture, perceptions of parental hardship) and how they attribute their SIP to it.

Memo Writing

Memo-writing was salient part of data analysis as it prompted me to analyze the data and codes early in the research process, kept me involved in the analysis, and helped in the process of abstracting concepts from the data. Through writing memos, one “constructs analytic notes to explicate and fill out categories.” I wrote memos making comparison between data, between data and codes, and codes and categories. For instance, I used the memo to begin defining relationship between youth’s perceptions of parental sacrifice and perceptions of actual difficulties that their parents suffered. Strauss & Corbin (1998, p. 217) described memo as “specialized types of written

records—those that contain the products of analysis or directions for the analysis. They are meant to be analytical and conceptual rather than descriptive.” While writing memo, I asked questions including “What types of conceptual connections does the memo suggest?” (Charmaz, 2006, p.76). Memos were used in the process of interpreting the data and developing theories grounded in the data.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness of the data, or the degree to which findings are supported by evidence and can be trusted as accurate reflection of participants’ experiences (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), was pursued through several ways. First, triangulation of data collection was established by collecting data from multiple methods and sources (quantitative scale and interviews), from different research sites (Urbana-Champaign, Chicagoland, and nationwide via online survey), and different participants (e.g., undergraduate students, graduate students, and full-time employees). These together increased the credibility of my interpretation of the data. Investigator triangulation was also strengthened by having three research assistants participating in the process of cross-checking and verifying interpretations during the process of analyses. I also consulted with my advisor, other researchers, and Korean American youth who were not involved in this research but have personal experience and/or research knowledge in the subject investigated.

CHAPTER 4

NARRATING SENSE OF INDEBTEDNESS TOWARD PARENTS (NARRATIVE SIP)

Overview of Results

The purpose of this exploratory study was to examine 1.5 and second generation KA youth's sense of indebtedness toward their parents (SIP) and how it may affect their perceptions of and relationship with their parents. Data analyses revealed two processes of KA youth's sense of indebtedness toward their parents: Narrating sense of indebtedness toward their parents (Narrative SIP) and internalizing sense of indebtedness toward their parents (Internalized SIP). Narrative SIP is comprised of a set of specific beliefs or perceptions related to immigrant parents' sacrifice and hardship for the sake of children. These perceptions reflect the common immigrant discourse observed among immigrant population, particularly those from Asian and Latin American cultural background, as immigration is undertaken with an explicit intention of providing children a better future (Park, 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). The majority of KA youth in this study were able to relate these SIP-related perceptions to their own experiences and incorporate them in their own narrative accounts (Narrative SIP). However, only some youth (high SIP) internalized these perceptions, thus making them an integral part of their own beliefs (Internalized SIP). The salient difference between narrative vs. internalized SIP was their attribution of personal and positive meaning as well as significance to these SIP-related perceptions. In this chapter, I discuss the process of KA youth's narrative SIP to provide a broader picture that reflects the experience of the majority of youth in this study. In chapter 5, I will focus on the process of KA youth's internalization of SIP and discuss differences among the youth in terms of their SIP and its perceived effects in terms of youth's perceptions of and relationship with their parents. In Chapter

6, I then will discuss the effects of internalization of SIP, particularly in terms of how it may mediate the effects of immigration-related parent-child challenges and their outcome.

This chapter is divided into two sections. First I will start by operationalizing the construct of KA youth's sense of indebtedness toward their parents (SIP), followed by defining the process of narrative SIP. Second, I will discuss developmental processes that seemed to contribute to formation of narrative SIP among KA youth. These first two sections apply to the whole sample as these are common experiences shared by youth across the sample.

Operationalizing Narrative Sense of Indebtedness toward Parents (SIP)

What is KA youth's sense of indebtedness (SIP)? The existing literature suggests a common phenomenon among immigrants, particularly those from Latin American and Asian background, that children of immigrants describe feeling indebted to their parents due to their parents' child-oriented immigration aspiration (Park, 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). Existing literature however is in general anecdotal and descriptive rather than empirical. In this section, I aim to operationalize the concept of sense of indebtedness toward parents, as emerged in KA youth's narratives.

Following the grounded theory method, I identified categories and subcategories emerged from youth's narratives across the whole sample, aiming to identify the central phenomenon. Analyses focused on youth's narratives related to their responses that prompt them to describe and define their SIP. Particularly, following symbolic interactionism approach, I paid close attention to the meaning-making process of participants and their interpretations of symbols (e.g., parents' immigration, parents' work life), and how their interaction with their social environment affect their meaning-making process. In the following, I discuss the key concepts emerged as youth talked about their perceptions of SIP.

Perceptions Related to SIP

Two broad themes pertaining to youth's perceptions related to SIP emerged in their narrative accounts: 1) Parental sacrifice and 2) Parents' intentions.

Parental Sacrifice

Salient in KA youth's narratives pertaining to their SIP were their perceptions of parental sacrifice. On the questionnaire, KA youth were asked an open-ended question, "What is the first word that comes to your mind when you hear 'sacrifice made by parents'?" Their responses included: immigration, opportunity, money, workaholic, leaving Korea so my sister and I can have a better life, and me. As illustrated in these responses, many youth's idea of parental sacrifice was consistent with the existing immigration discourse regarding parents' child-centered immigration aspiration and parents' hardship as immigrants. They often initiated and described their perceptions of parental sacrifice without being probed on the questionnaire. Youth's ideas of parental sacrifice were described through highlighting parental cost related to migration and parental cost after migration.

Parental cost related to migration. Many of youth's perceptions of parental cost were pertaining to parents' immigration and what cost their parents by migrating to the U.S. Youth described their parents' experience of challenges related to migration. In their accounts of their parents' cost, many youth talked about their parents' giving up their families and familiar culture back in Korea. Sam for example said, "My parents were basically cut off from Korea and other Koreans." Ellen also stated with empathy:

[my mom] is the only one who came to the States, and she hasn't seen her family for over almost 18 years...and just thinking like, "Oh my god, she hasn't seen her sisters or brothers or her mother and father for over 18 years, how hard would that to be on your own and live in another country that you're not familiar with"

Youth's perceptions of parental cost appeared to be more strongly triggered if they believed that their parents' life condition could be much better if they stayed in Korea. For example, Sam described how his mother gave up a comfortable life by emigrating to the U.S.:

My moms' side, she has no brothers and sisters here in America. I went to Korea this past summer, and if you look at it, all her siblings are very affluent...and so my mom gave up a very comfortable life-style and that influenced how I look at my mom. She had to work a lot, something I'm pretty sure was it...So it's just a lot of sacrifice in that sense.

As evident in Sam's case, some youth's sense of parental cost were derived from their perceptions of parents' downward social mobility as they gave up their middle-class status and white collar jobs back in Korea and had to take undesirable jobs, which often happens particularly due to language barrier. Joanne described the cost that her parents paid by giving up their occupations as teachers and became a mail carrier and dry cleaner owners in the new country: "what my parents gave up in Korea...they gave up a nice middle-class life being teachers."

Parental cost after migration. Youth described parents' hardship that are related to challenges in adjusting to a new country, including language barrier, cultural differences, and a new environment without a support system such as family and friends. Moreover, their parents' status as immigrants itself often was perceived as a symbol of hardship or challenges that youth's parents persevered. For Ann, 20 year-old bio-chemical engineering student, her parents' status as immigrants meant more hardship compared to non-immigrant parents:

It was harder for [my parents] because they didn't speak English, and had to start their own business, they couldn't work for a company because their English was limited. My non-Korean friends, their parents don't really have their own businesses. They work for someone or work for a company, whereas my parents I feel they had to start from scratch.

KA youth often described hardships and struggles that their parents have experienced as immigrants as they talked about their parents' sacrifice, giving detailed accounts of their parents' hardship as immigrants. Many youth (some more than others) were able to provide detailed

descriptions of parents' initial experiences settling down in a new country describing different jobs that their parents had. It was common experience among these youth's parents to start with "humble beginning," often with jobs that were not desirable such as janitors and mechanics. 17 out of 25 participants had at least one parent who worked in a non-professional and physically demanding job. But regardless of the occupation of parents, many participants reported that at least one of their parents was "always working" "always tired" and "often not around" because of work. Particularly among youth whose parents had demanding work schedule (over 60 hours per week) and physically demanding work (e.g., dry cleaners, night shift nurse), physical fatigue and health-related struggles were commonly recalled by youth. Jason, a 24 year old sushi chef who had seen his mom work many hours as a primary breadwinner in a dry cleaner, partially due to his alcoholic father, said "tired all the time" was the first image that came to his mind when he thought of his mom.

For the majority of participants, their parents successfully established some financial security, with relatively lesser work hours and easier life compared to when they were younger. There were a few youth however whose parents were still working many hours and are engaged in physically demanding job. David, a 24 year old graduate student whose parents lost their dry cleaner business when he was young and have experienced financial downfall since then, described his parents working many hours at old age, with deteriorating health condition. A few other youth whose family's financial status had never gotten better also reported their parents' constant stress over money. Youth's accounts of parents' challenges as immigrants included discrimination or racism that their parents had encountered as a minority in a new country. Some of their parents' hardships involved even physical danger, especially as many of participants' parents' business were located in a poor, often crime-ridden neighbourhood. Three participants

talked about their parent being in a physical danger while at work, including being held at gun point in an armed robbery.

Their perceptions of their parents' hardship was also triggered by their parents' lack of self-enjoyment, a common perception reported by the majority of participants. Most participants described their parents as devoted breadwinners who spent most of time working for their children without any self-enjoyment or self-investment. Many agreed that sole focus of their parents' life was their children, their well-being and success. For example, Esther, a 25 year-old nursing student recounted: "My parents obviously worked many hours and they never spent more money on themselves than they did on their children. And I'm talking like, expenses like clothing or food or anything like that."

Child-centered Parental Intentions

Youth's understanding of parental cost was often accompanied by their perceptions that their parents' hardships were for their sake, specifically for their success and better life, which also reflects the common immigrant discourse of parents' child-centered immigration aspiration among KA immigrants (Park, 2005): "they sacrificed a lot of their stuff to come here and to make us have a good future," "when I think about immigration, my parents gave up a lot for our education here....," "they came here....to provide us better opportunities." Most youth agreed that their parents' hardships and busy work life involved them as recipients of the benefit, although there were individual variations as to how strongly they believed it. These individual variations – an important indicator of narrative vs. internalized SIP – will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Youth's perceptions of their parents' child-centeredness were also triggered by their parents' lack of self-enjoyment, a common perception reported by the majority of participants. In doing so, youth described their parents as hard-workers who focus on investing on their children,

concentrating all the resources on their children for their education and success at the cost of own happiness or pleasure. Many youth described their parents as people to whom spending money on themselves, going out by themselves for own enjoyment, or other simple self-indulgence that people in the U.S. engage in are something that are irrelevant in their lives. To the question about her perception of parental sacrifice, Ashley, a 19 year old pre-med student, said:

Ashley: It means sacrificing own happiness for me.

Researcher: Could you elaborate what you mean by that?

Ashley: Yeah, because like, in terms of happiness because of their thinking that their kids come first in terms rather than themselves and they always really think it.

Researcher: So what kind of things do you think they have put aside for the sake of you guys?

Ashley: Like [my parents] don't go out with each other, they don't treat themselves. Yeah, it's like, if we go somewhere it's like as a family. Like they like never go out together....And like in terms of their own happiness, my mom, like, she's not like other moms who goes out for like manicures or anything, like, she doesn't even comprehend that idea. It's always for like her kids and stuff, yeah.

This perception of parents' sacrifice of self-enjoyment was sometimes highlighted by their comparison with non-immigrant parents. For example, Ashley elaborated,

I guess like this one family that I babysat for, the [Caucasian] parents used to go out all the time...In terms of happiness because of their thinking that their kids come first rather than themselves and they always really think it. And I think they are more like self-centered in terms of like happiness of like everyone, that everyone should be happy, I guess.

Conclusion: Operationalizing Narrative Sense of Indebtedness Toward Parents

Grounded theory analyses revealed two key themes pertaining to SIP-related perceptions: parental sacrifice and child-centered parental intentions. Central to youth's idea of parental sacrifice was their perceptions of cost incurred by their parents, which included parents' act of migration itself and their life after migration. Moreover, KA youth associated their perceptions of parental sacrifice with the idea that parents' hardship was for the children, specifically to provide a better life for them. These themes that emerged in KA youth's narratives of their perceptions of SIP are consistent with common immigration discourse that communicates child-centered

immigration aspiration in which immigrants move to America to provide a better life for the children (Park, 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco). Based on the analyses, KA youth's SIP is operationally defined as "recognition of immigrant parents' child-centered immigration aspiration and their sacrifice for the better future of children," and narrative SIP as "incorporating KA immigration discourse of immigrant parents' child-centered immigration aspiration and their sacrifice for the better future of children into their own narratives." Most KA youth in this study narrated their SIP-related perceptions of their parents' sacrifice and parents' child-centered intentions, which suggests that it is a common phenomenon among KA youth to have an awareness or acknowledgement of their parents' immigration-related sacrifice and hardships, and associate with the Korean immigration discourse that highlights Korean immigrants' child-centered immigration aspiration. However, incorporating KA immigration discourse or narrating SIP-related perceptions did not necessarily mean that these youth personally believed them or viewed them as meaningful and significant to them: This is a process of internalizing SIP which I will describe in Chapter 5.

Developmental Processes of Narrative SIP

Most youth in the sample described the narrative SIP as something they have acquired and incorporated after adolescence. They reported experiencing a transformation in which they experienced changes in terms of their self-perceptions as well as their view of their parents and their family experiences as they entered emerging adulthood. While there were variations among participants in terms of degree (e.g., significant vs. subtle changes) and nature of transformation (e.g., change in view of parents from negative to positive vs. neutral or positive to more positive), the majority of participants reported some type of changes that involved interpretations of past family experiences and perceptions of their parents.

In this section, I examine a set of developmental processes involved in KA youth's development of narrative SIP: how youth have come to incorporate SIP-related perceptions. The developmental stage of emerging adulthood had significance in regards to formation of SIP-related beliefs as KA youth became more mature cognitively and came to have more independence from their parents. These processes were common among all participants across the sample.

In the analyses, I identified change processes that appeared to contribute to the development of narrative SIP that applied to youth across the whole sample. Analyses included identifying themes emerged from youth's narrative accounts of what were salient in their formation of SIP-related perceptions discussed earlier in this chapter. Three processes appeared to contribute to this transformation among these youth: Maturation, physical distance from parents, and specific personal experiences or source of transformation.

Maturation

Many youth reported that it was not until they got older, particularly during emerging adulthood that they came to understand their parents' sacrifice and hardship or develop appreciation for them. For example, Mary said, "I think if anything, I became more and more grateful as I got older." Jason added "I think as I got more mature I was able to see that [how much his parents have done for me]." The majority of participants reported that it was not until emerging adulthood that they became more aware of their parents' sacrifice and hardship for them. Eunice for example said:

I don't think back in high school I would have said, 'Yeah, my parents are sacrificing anything.'

Researcher: So how would you describe the change?

Eunice: I guess...I was just being more aware of the situation and what my parents are doing for us

A subgroup of youth, all girls, reported that they were somewhat conscious of their parents' sacrifice and hardship and that they were always grateful toward their parents. These girls did not experience significant transformation during emerging adulthood in terms of their view of their parents and past immigration-related family challenges, but they learned to sympathize with their parents for their hardship at early age. However, they reported that their understanding and meaning they attributed to parents' work and sacrifice became greater and more salient as they got older. Ellen, for example explained, "I think that [awareness of parents' sacrifice for her] was always been there." But she added "but as a younger kid, I probably would not have paid as much attention. I'm like growing up and becoming more aware."

Salient in the changes during emerging adulthood was their cognitive maturation, particularly their ability to take parents' perspective. Youth recounted their past experiences in a new light in which they expressed more understanding of parents' actions and intentions. In particular, youth were more inclined to re-evaluate their past family experiences through the perspective of their parents. Jason for example, described how he now understands his parents' intention behind their pressure for academic success. He said, "when I was young, I felt like my parents didn't care about me, but they just wanted to do well at school. I really thought that was it. But now I know that is not it. They were just pushing me so I could be more successful. Now I know they wanted me to have a good future."

With their increased ability to take their parents' perspectives, youth also reported that they became more able to sympathize with their parents. In Jason's word, "I realize she has her own feelings too, like before I used to think it was just all about me." As evident in his narrative account, acknowledging parents' feelings with increased ability to parents' perspectives helped youth to be able to relate to their parents in deeper and personal level.

Youth reported that when they were younger not only were they too cognitively immature to take parents' perspective but gaining understanding of their parents or their intentions was not important to them. In this aspect, SIP-related perceptions were not a meaningful concept when they were younger. David's narratives illustrated this:

Researcher: So if I asked you this [sense of indebtedness] 3 years ago back in your high school, would your response be different?

David: It would be similar, but then I would say because I knew it would be the right answer, you know what I'm saying? Two people can say the same thing but why they're motivated or their perspectives are different.

Researcher: So is it becoming more meaningful to you?

David: Yeah, definitely.

In sum, youth across the sample reported that as they became older, particularly as they entered emerging adulthood, they became more cognitively mature and able to – and willing to – take their parents' perspective. This seems to be a critical developmental process as in a way to equip the youth to be able to identify with SIP-related perceptions which highlight immigrant parents' intentions for the children and requires perspective-taking in order to view their parental actions through a lens of parental cost and sacrifice.

Physical Distance from Parents

An important developmental factor that appeared to contribute to the development of narrative SIP was youth's physical distance from parents. Physical distance from parents provided youth space where they were able to process their experiences and perceptions related to their parents without daily hassles involving their parents. Joshua explained this process clearly:

When I went to college, my first taste of true freedom...When you're away and you start to think about, I suppose your understanding of relationships and the way that things move, you're not in it, right, so you're not in the situation where you're emotionally invested and such. But now you're apart from it and you can think more logically...when you're in that situation you can't think as logically, but now that I'm away from that, from college especially in the past couple of years, I started to understand my parents' motives more and the way they think more and why they did things.

Moreover, their new independence seemed to help them appreciate their parents for what they used to do for them as they now have to take on more responsibilities for themselves. At the same time, their independence provided experiences that triggered their sense of parental sacrifice and gratitude toward their parents. For example, Eunice articulated:

In college years, because I'm living away from my parents, you know, that's like the first time I've moved away, I could kind of see what my parents did and how much effort and just little sacrifices they made, I could sense it more and be aware more than in high school years.

In sum, physical distance was an important developmental process in youth's development of narrative SIP. Physical distance provided space for the youth to be able to process their past experiences with their parents while avoiding source of parent-child conflicts, which was salient in the process of learning to take their parents' perspectives and identify with parents' intentions behind their actions. Moreover, their independence appeared to provide them with opportunities to appreciate their parents for what their parents used to do for them, triggering their perspective-taking.

Personal Experiences

Many youth reported specific personal experiences or a significant source of transformation through which they came to relate better to their parents or their parents' experiences or helped them to change their views on their parents and family experiences. This involved being able to relate to their parents in more personal level or learning to adopt a new perspective regarding their parents. For example, Ellen said:

When I got my first job and that's when I knew, like I experienced working, trying to make money for myself, and it was hard. And that's when I knew, "Oh wow, so this is what my mom goes through everyday, but 10 times worse because she works by herself," and I've helped her at her cleaners a lot of the times, so I know what you have to do or how hard it is. But my mom goes through that 12 hours a day for 6 days for almost a year.

Several participants considered their faith or religion as the most salient factor in their transformation in their perspective of parents. Their religious or spiritual transformation enabled them to perceive their parents through their newly found sympathetic and forgiving eyes, consistent with religious beliefs. For example, Susie described how her newly found faith brought changes in her perspectives by helping her process her past experiences and embrace her parents' limitations that used to be source of conflicts. She said:

I used to be very very selfish before. I think after I became Christian I'm learning more and more to become selfless, like trying to think less about myself and more about other people. I think after I became Christian, I'd spend a lot of time myself just thinking to myself, just reflecting on my life and I'd just try to process everything and then I think when I was younger, I used to think my parents are supposed to be perfect people that never made any mistakes in their lives or, you know, just things like that, and then I think especially now like I'm really starting to understand, wow, one time they were in college, one time they struggled with the same things that I did, and I really started to understand that they are just human, too. Like even though they are older than me and are my parents, they are not going to be perfect. I think I just really started to understand that.

Participants who viewed Christianity as an important source of their changes in regards to their perspective of their parents and family experiences reported that Christianity helped them to become more sympathetic toward their parents and be able to forgive parents and embrace their shortcomings.

Similarly, many youth reported some type of specific personal experiences that triggered more personal connection with their parents and provided an insight into their past experiences. For Jason, it was his mom's cancer that forced him to review his relationship with his parents. For some youth, it was their experience of applying for colleges through which they became more aware of financial burden that impinged on her parents. Through these specific experiences youth reported having come to relate to their parents or learn to take parents' perspective, particularly in terms of their sacrifice and hardship, while for some it was more of subtle changes that occurred over the years

In sum, many youth reported specific personal experiences or source of transformation through which they came to relate to their parents better or became more compelled to understand their parents and their perspectives. Through these processes, they became better equipped to identify with SIP-related perceptions and incorporate them into their narratives.

Conclusion: Developmental Processes of Narrative SIP

In summary, KA youth's development of narrative SIP occurred in the context where salient developmental changes take place. First, their cognitive maturation seemed to equip them to be more able and more willing to take their parents' perspectives, generating positive changes in their perceptions of their parents and parents' actions. Second, their physical distance and increased independence from their parents seemed to contribute to formation of SIP by creating a context in which they experienced less conflict with their parents due to decreased parental control and more appreciation for their parents. Finally, significant personal experiences such as own work experience or significant religious experiences seemed to play a role as kind of a turning point that triggered positive changes in their perceptions of their parents and parental features.

It was through the interplay of these factors that youth appeared to form their narrative SIP, including incorporating SIP-related perceptions to their family. In other words, through this processes, KA youth came to understand and identify with these SIP-related perceptions, and learned to incorporate them into their own story. However, this did not mean that they attributed significant personal meaning to these perceptions or personalized them, which happened in the process of internalization of SIP. I will discuss the process of KA youth's internalization of SIP in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

INTERNALIZING SENSE OF INDEBTEDNESS TOWARD PARENTS (INTERNALIZED SIP)

In this chapter, I will discuss the process of KA youth's internalization of SIP (Internalized SIP). While most KA youth expressed narrative SIP through which they incorporated SIP-related perceptions, it was clearly stronger and more personal for some than others. In my preliminary analysis, I identified the salient difference between the high and low youth as *internalization* of SIP. The definition of internalization of SIP that resulted from these analyses was "Taking in and making SIP an integral part of his or her own beliefs by attributing personal meaning and significance to these beliefs." I call these cases internalized SIP to differentiate them from narrative SIP that was reported by all KA youth.

In the first section of this chapter, I will examine factors that seemed to contribute to youth's internalization of SIP. In the second section, I will describe the process of internalization. The development of the concept of internalization, and its operationalization, were derived from systematic comparisons between youth assigned into two groups (high SIP and low SIP). These groups were based on the score of the preliminary SIP scale and their narrative accounts. First, I analyzed first 8 transcripts of participants who expressed high SIP based on both their preliminary SIP scale and their narrative accounts. Based on these analyses, I developed a preliminary operationalized definition of SIP by identifying key themes. Drawing from this definition, 12 items (e.g., global concepts of SIP, items related to cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains of SIP) from the preliminary SIP scale were selected to measure their level of SIP to recruit additional participants to obtain even number of youth in high vs. low SIP group. Through this process, 12 youth (6 male; 6 female) were assigned to low SIP group and 13 youth (4 male; 9

female) were assigned to high SIP group. These two high vs. low SIP groupings operationize the distinction between youth who did and did not internalize SIP.

Factors Contributing to Internalization of SIP

Two different methods were used in order to determine what factors might contribute to internalization. In addition to grounded theory analysis, I drew on the factors hypothesized in my literature review. High vs. low SIP groups were compared on their narrative descriptions related to each hypothesized source of SIP. In particular, I looked at how they talked about the particular hypothesized factors (e.g., culture, observation of parental hardship) and how they attribute their SIP to it. While I had hypotheses regarding what may contribute to individual variations regarding SIP, I was open to youth's own narratives regarding what may contribute to their SIP. No new contributing factor was identified in addition to the initial hypotheses proposed.

Culture

Hypothesis: High SIP youth will report stronger identification with Korean culture than lower SIP youth.

Youth's sense of connection with Korean culture appeared to be linked with individual variations of youth's SIP. As a group, KA youth in high SIP group were more likely than those in low SIP group to identify with Korean culture or report having had relatively high exposure to Korean culture. Overall, they were more likely than their counterparts to have had more Korean or Asian American peers and were more likely to have been exposed to Korean culture through multiple channels such as close interactions with relatives, who lived in close physical proximity, and Korean church, a salient source of cultural connection as reported by a majority of participants in this study. Moreover, they were more likely than the other group to report that their parents tried to instill Korean cultural values, particularly values related to family relations. Some

behaviors such as filial assistance and respect for elders were often cited by these high SIP youth as salient Korean culture that they relate to. Moreover, as a group, high SIP youth were more likely than low SIP youth to report meaningful or positive connection with Korean culture, especially cultural values related to family relations (e.g., family responsibilities and family bond).

Low SIP youth as a group, on the other hand, were less likely than high SIP group to have had close interactions with Korean culture, Korean peers, and other source of Korean culture, other than their parents, until later age (e.g., college year). Similar experience in which youth did not have much exposure to Korean culture was reported by several other youth in low SIP group. As a group, they showed less sense of personal connections with Korean culture, compared to high SIP youth. Also noticeable among some low SIP youth was their dislike and negative perceptions of Koreans or Korean culture.

For example, Sam grew up in an East Coast city whose population was predominantly Caucasian, and did not have much interaction with Koreans or Korean culture until he went to college. In addition, he reported his dislike of a few Korean or Asian peers that he met at his school growing up. He reported that he used to see himself as an American and had difficulty connecting with Korean culture or other Asian Americans. Similarly, Joshua expressed his sense of disconnection and dislike of Koreans growing up, partially due to his parents' own disconnection from Koreans or Korean culture in their attempt to assimilate into American society. Even as he became more exposed to Koreans and made Korean friends during college, he distanced himself from Asian culture by expressing his negative perceptions of Korean culture (e.g., "I think Koreans are way too much into money") and expressing strong desire to assimilate (e.g., "I want to be seen as an American"). As evident in these narratives, lacking in these youth's

narratives was their personal and/or positive identification with cultural values that was observed among many high SIP youth.

Interestingly, both Sam and Joshua expressed Narrative SIP, narrating some of the common SIP-related perceptions discussed in Chapter 4. When asked where his understandings of SIP-related perceptions were from, Sam attributed it to his recent exposure to Korean culture and Korean American peers that he met in college. He has started to identify with the SIP-related perceptions but has not internalized them, making these perceptions an integral part of his own.

In conclusion, as hypothesized, KA's cultural identification seemed to contribute to internalization of SIP. Specifically, through their cultural exposure, they appeared to become more aware of cultural aspects of SIP. Indeed, it was evident that KA youth viewed SIP as at least partially cultural (e.g., "I think culture has a lot to do with it," "It would be different if I weren't Korean"). Given that SIP-related perceptions pertain specific immigrant and cultural script that are different from or even contrast the mainstream American culture (e.g., filial obligation), the majority of KA youth perceived SIP to have elements of Korean culture. It seems natural that youth's sense of connection with Korean culture, particularly positive connection with cultural values pertaining to family relations and family values, such as filial piety and family interdependence, may encourage them to be more receptive of, and internalize these SIP-related beliefs.

Perception of Parental Hardship

Hypothesis: High SIP youth are more likely than low SIP youth to perceive that their parents suffered hardship for them; High SIP youth are more likely to be from entrepreneurial households compared to low SIP youth.

Youth's personal perception of parental hardship and difficulties appeared to contribute to internalization of SIP. As described earlier, one of the important components of youth's SIP was youth's perceptions of parents' sacrifice in which they believed that their parents suffered hardship for the sake of children. High SIP youth were more likely than low SIP youth to have observed parental hardship growing up. It is not surprising that the majority of high SIP group had at least one parent who had an entrepreneurial occupation (e.g., own a dry cleaner, jewellery business) that was physically demanding and challenging, while half of the youth in low SIP group had at least one of their parents engaged in a professional occupation (e.g., lawyer, engineer). Lisa's narrative illustrates the link between their perception of level of parental hardship and their sense of appreciation toward parents:

I think [knowing parents have gone through hardships] makes kids appreciate their parents more. Because I know like if my parents were really good parents to me and they loved me a lot and they were always there for me and at the same time they never struggled, they were always rich, then I don't think I would appreciate them as much, but because I know the hardships that they went through and even during and through those hardships they still try to be good parents, that makes me respect them and appreciate them more.

Similar accounts were given by many other youth in high SIP group: “for me I'm more grateful because I know that they've had such a hard life” (Grace), “because she went through all those hardships, but through all of the hardships she still tried to be the best mom to my brother and me” (Esther).

On the other hand, youth in low SIP group were more likely to have parents with jobs with regular fixed hours and perceive less parental hardship compared to high SIP youth. Ann, a 19 year old pre-med student whose parents were real estate agent, compared her parents' immigrant experience with others whom she perceived suffered more hardship—namely those in entrepreneurial families:

My friends tell me about how their parents came to the U.S. and their stories are a lot more heroic, or like more, you know, it sounds a lot more like they made a big sacrifice than what my parents did. Because they had a difficult time getting to the US, and like their parents still work as the typical cleaners and grocery store. So I know they are really grateful. I don't think I'm as grateful as they are, for their parents making sacrifices.

Similarly, Ashley stated, “[compared to other Korean immigrant families] I think it was easier for [my parents] because they had family here with them, and now like with their career occupations, they’ve been better off.”

It is noteworthy that youth's birth order appeared to play a role in shaping their SIP, particularly in terms of their first-hand exposure to parental hardship. Two youth, both in low SIP group, who were the youngest with a large age gap with their older sibling(s), reported that their perceptions of parental hardship was not as strong as their older siblings because of absence of first-hand observation of their parents' immigration struggles. For example, Kim compared herself with her older sisters who had seen their parents' hardship more closely as they financially struggled during their earlier stage of immigration.

In summary, analyses confirmed the hypothesis: youth's personal perceptions of parental hardship seemed to be a salient element in development of internalized SIP among KA youth. Given that youth's perception of parental sacrifice is a critical element of SIP, it is no surprise that youth's first-hand observation and exposure to parents' hardship contributed to individual variations related to youth's internalization of SIP, attributing personal and significant meaning to the SIP-related perceptions. It appears that observation of parental hardship provides a concrete reference point for youth to draw their perceptions of parental hardship and sacrifice and create personal meaning.

Interaction with SIP-fostering Agent

Hypothesis: KA youths who have a high level of interaction with SIP-fostering agents will report higher SIP than those who do not.

Positive interactions with SIP-fostering agents seemed to contribute to KA youth's internalization of SIP. Specifically, it was through instilling SIP-related beliefs and providing positive meanings for parents' hardships that these agents encouraged youth's internalization of SIP. These SIP-fostering agents are distinct from aforementioned cultural agents in a sense that the messages communicated through SIP-fostering agents were specifically related to SIP, including parents' hardship and sacrifice and child-centered intentions, sometimes accompanied by messages of children's obligation to their parents in response. Many high SIP youth reported that they were exposed to narratives that conveyed messages regarding parental sacrifice and child-centered goal of these parental sacrifices (e.g., better future of children). Various SIP-fostering agents were reported by youth including relatives, particularly grandparents who often provided caregiving when they were young due to both parents' busy work life, older sibling(s), Korean or Asian American peers, Korean church, and their parents.

In case of several youth, their grandparents communicated their parents' hardship and sacrifice, sometimes hinting at their obligation to repay their parents by helping their parents at home when they were young, or by financially repaying them when they become older. For example, Grace reported that her grandmother always told her that she should help out her mother given her physical toll working at a store for many hours. David and Mary stated that their grandmother used to tell them that they should secure a financially lucrative job and take care of their parents in the future. In case of Kim and Jason, their older siblings tried to help them understand parents' perspectives, sometimes reinforcing the ideas of parental sacrifice and youth's

responsibilities to relieve the parents' burden. For Mary, similar message was communicated through church pastors who used to speak about immigrant parents' sacrifice for children. In the case of Sam, David, and Jason, their Korean American peers played a positive role in a sense that they generated a consensual understanding or perceptions regarding parental sacrifice.

Differences between high vs. low SIP group's interactions with SIP-fostering agents were found in two ways: Level of interactions with SIP-fostering agents and the meanings invoked by these interactions. High SIP youth were more likely than low SIP youth to recall positive and personal messages communicated regarding SIP-related perceptions. Moreover, while youth in both high and low SIP group may be exposed to these narratives of parental sacrifice and parents' child-centered intentions, the personal messages communicated to high SIP youth appeared to be more positive affecting them more positively than low SIP youth.

The messages, as recalled by high SIP youth, tended to communicate more personal and positive meanings of parental actions (e.g., parents' work) than was to low SIP youth. Ellen for example described how hearing about her mom's sacrifice growing up affected her:

A lot of my mom's friends would tell me how much my mom gave up for me...just hearing it from another person's perspective who's not even related to us at all, it kind of gives me a different perspective and different feeling as to more like in a positive way, I guess. Because it's like "Oh, wow, she even sees that. That means like wow, then my mom must really given up a lot for me and has done a lot for me." Just hearing it from a different person is an overly great feeling because they acknowledged my mom's hard work, too.

Sometimes, these messages created positive meanings for challenges the youth experienced—particularly challenges generated by parents' immigration-related struggles such as parents' unavailability due to busy work life. Esther for example talked about her father trying to help her understand when she used to complain about lack of her mom's presence and care when she was young. She reported that he tried implementing positive messages about her mom's work by

saying that she was making sacrifice because she needed to work to earn money to provide for her and her brother.

Some high SIP youth reported some sense of pressure that was communicated through these SIP-related messages. For example, Mary, senior in Education major planning to be a teacher, described how her grandmother still reminds her of her obligation to financially support her parents who do not have secure retirement plan. She said, “[my grandma] always talks about how I should [financially] help out my parents in the future...but you know, teachers don’t make much money...it’s kind of little stressful to think about” but she quickly resolved by saying “but I really do want to help them. It’s out of my gratitude...they’ve given so much to me.” When asked whether she felt burdened by her parents’ need for financial help, she stressed positive aspects of her feelings: “I will be lying if I say I don’t feel any pressure...but my gratitude and love for them are definitely stronger [than the sense of pressure]” Similar cases of resolving pressure or negative feelings by highlighting positive feelings of gratitude or sympathy toward their parents were observed among high SIP youth.

Low SIP youth were less likely than high SIP youth to recall positive and personal messages with specific personal meaning and more likely to narrate a general and abstract narratives that they did not personally relate to: “I’m sure you have heard that, like parents came to the U.S. for better education,” “You know, you hear stuff like our parents sacrificed for kids to succeed.” They were also more likely than high SIP youth to report messages that came with explicit expectations regarding their obligations to their parents. This was especially the case when their parents were the source of SIP-related narratives, and especially when youth perceived that their parents’ message carried explicit expectations for them and pressure to meet these expectations.

For example, Kevin talked about how he grew up hearing about how much his parents have sacrificed for his sake, specifically for his success. The message was very clear: study hard and be successful. He said:

My mom told me, even when I was young. She does now even. She reminds me of her sacrifice and stuff...[the message was] to study hard, study hard do well here. The message was extremely clear... My parents have a very very high standard for education. One of the ways they got that message, communicated that message very clearly to me is by saying, “we came all the way over here for you.”...My grandparents as well. “Your parents came here for you, stuff like that. Study hard, study real hard.” Ah it sucks! The message is already drilled in. I hate it.

Strikingly similar accounts were recounted by Joshua. For example, Joshua talked about the pressure coming from his father who started working as a mechanic while attending a college and successfully obtained a professional occupation as an engineer. He expressed his interpretation of the message related to SIP quite differently from those with high SIP and those who received the message through different sources:

Joshua: Whenever he feels like, especially when he talks about study, he’s like “Back in days, I had a full-time job.” You know. I guess he uses this story kinda to motivate us. I guess he’s saying, ‘oh you have it easy. You guys study more, and also try to kind of encourage us to...as the first starts, I guess? ‘cause he keeps telling us like when he came to this country, we had nothing, and you know, I studied and built a life here so you can speak perfect English and have a better education here...Like during high school year, I don’t have time to work, class, and I am in bunch of clubs too. So and I say things like I don’t have time then he says “oh when I was at your age, I balanced full job and school too,” so if I can do it, you can do it”

Researcher: So when heard your dad saying that, how did you make sense of it at that time?

Joshua: He told me so many times, it’s just another story... I felt like he was lecturing us.

For these low SIP youth, SIP-related messages were experienced as pressure and caused distress, and did not communicate personal and positive meaning to them.

In sum, the analyses partially confirm the hypothesis: the level of KA youth’s interactions with SIP-fostering agents seemed to contribute to their internalization of SIP. However, equally important was the nature of message (positive vs. negative) that was communicated to the youth

through the agent. In other words, it was through communicating SIP-related perceptions and instilling personal and positive meanings related to these perceptions that youth's interactions with SIP-fostering agents became more effective in youth's internalization of SIP. In general, high SIP youth were more likely than low SIP youth to have more interactions and report more personal and positive meaning communicated through these interactions. Low SIP youth on the other hand were more likely than high SIP youth to report explicit expectations and pressure communicated through these interactions, particularly when the source was their parents.

Conclusion: Factors contributing to KA Youth's Internalization of SIP

Differences between low vs. high SIP youth were evident in their cultural exposure and/or identification, perceptions of parental hardships, and interactions with SIP-fostering agents. These factors are highly interrelated with each other, and created synergic effects in KA youth's SIP formation. Specifically, these factors together seemed to contribute to the level of internalization of SIP. As KA youth identified with cultural values, particularly family values relevant to SIP-related beliefs (e.g., filial piety), developed first-hand awareness of parental hardship by seeing their parents struggle to provide for them, and had personal and positive meaning ingrained regarding parents' sacrifice and positive parental intentions for them, they seemed to internalize SIP-related perceptions.

Process of Internalizing SIP

The most salient difference between high vs. low SIP youth was youth's level of internalization of SIP: High SIP youth were more inclined to internalize SIP and attribute positive and personal meanings to SIP-related perceptions compared to low SIP youth. Internalization of SIP was manifested through two ways: 1) youth personalized SIP-related perceptions by highlighting child-

centered parental intentions, 2) youth perceived SIP as a salient aspect of their relationship with their parents.

Personalization of SIP-Related Perceptions

One of the most salient features in KA youth's narratives that distinguished high SIP youth from low SIP youth was their personalization of SIP-related perceptions, in which youth highlighted that all parents' hardship and sacrifice was for them. Lisa's narrative illustrates a personalized perception of parental hardship: "Like when I see my parents working really hard, I'm like 'Oh, they're working hard,' and like for what?...obviously for me. And then sometimes I kind of feel bad because I wish I could take that burden away from them, you know." These high SIP youth were more inclined to view parents' immigration and life as immigrants through lens of parents' child-centered intentions. In doing so, they personalized their parents' immigrant experience, attributing personal meaning to parents' actions, becoming more attuned with their parents' experiences and hardships.

Interestingly, this tendency of emphasizing parents' child-centered intentions of immigration extended to other aspects of youth's understanding and interpretations of parental actions, beyond the immigration itself. Youth with high SIP often described challenges that one may encounter in non-immigrant context in their accounts of parental hardship that are linked to their perceptions of parental sacrifice. For example, for youth whose parents had treacherous marital relationships throughout their lives, parents' decision to stay or wait until the children get older was one of the symbols of their sacrifice and care for children. Similarly, for Ellen, 21 year old whose mother had to put up with tremendous stress related to in-laws even after the divorce with her father, her mom's ordeal with the in-laws was central to her idea of her mom's hardships.

It is noteworthy that whether their parents' hardships were pertaining to immigration or not, these perceived parental hardships were often linked to their perceptions of parental sacrifice.

On the other hand, low SIP youth were less likely than high SIP youth to emphasize their parents' child-centered intentions related to immigration or life after immigration, thus not seeing them as personally meaningful to them. For example, Joshua's account represents some of these youth's ambivalence about their role in their parents' immigrant story:

Sacrifice? Um...[long pause] they definitely tried to make better lives for us by working hard and like I guess not buying stuff they want so that we can have more. Honestly, they left Korea because they had no choice. So better life for them and also better life for their kids."

Similarly, Jessica offered:

I feel like [my mom] emigrated here to get married, so I don't feel like it was much of a sacrifice. They [both mom and dad] came here because they thought America was great and whatever...I'm not saying that it wasn't a sacrifice. I just don't think it really relates to me.

As evident in their narratives, both Joshua and Jessica did not believe that parents' immigration was specifically for them. While part of their narratives reflect the SIP-related perceptions (e.g., parents' work to provide for children, acknowledgement of parental sacrifice), they seemed to be ambivalent about making these perceptions as personal and meaningful beliefs to them. Jessica's statement "I'm not saying that it wasn't a sacrifice" reveals this sense of ambivalence and a gap between her own personal feelings and her narrative statement. Moreover, this illustrates her awareness of the common immigration discourse of parental sacrifice and her feeling of pressure that she needed to acknowledge her parents' sacrifice. In other words, there was a gap between youth's narrative SIP and the extent of how much they personally believed these SIP-related perceptions. This pattern was often observed among low SIP youth.

Emphasizing Salience of SIP in Relationship to One's Parents

High SIP youth's internalization of SIP and attribution of personal and positive meaning was evident as they perceived their SIP as a salient aspect of their relationship with their parents. I asked each participant whether SIP-related perceptions and feelings were important aspect of their relationships with their parents and whether it was meaningful to them. High SIP youth usually acknowledged that it was salient aspect of their relationship and that it was meaningful to them. Esther responded: "If it's like a reaction to my parents' sacrifice and love for me, if this is what [sense of indebtedness toward parents] is saying, and that I want to reflect their love and things like that they had to do for all the hardships as immigrants I would completely agree with that." Ann, after she reiterated immigration discourse in which she stated that her parents came to the U.S. for her and her sister to provide a better life, responded in a very different way to the question whether it is meaningful concept to her: "Not really. I mean, it's just like any other parents where they have to work to make money for their kids." Similarly Kevin responded to a question asking whether parental sacrifice is a word that he can personally relate to:

Kevin: I guess, sort of. Lots of it is, they've been telling us a lot about 'oh we made sacrifice for you so that you can do this and that...

Researcher: Do you personally believe it?

Kevin: Nah. No...I'm almost brainwashed.

This type of gap between youth's narration of their immigration discourse and their actual meaningfulness and personal significance of these narratives were common among these low SIP youth. In other words, youth's Narrative SIP did not reflect personal meaningfulness and significance of SIP-related perceptions to the youth.

In sum, by internalizing SIP, high SIP youth– not only did they incorporate the immigration discourse as observed among the majority of participants including low SIP youth – they internalized these beliefs, making them integral part of their own beliefs. Thus, the effects of

these “internalized” beliefs and perceptions would likely to be stronger than “narrated” ones as they “believe” and meaningfully and personally relate to these beliefs.

CHAPTER 6

EFFECTS OF INTERNALIZATION OF SENSE OF INDEBTEDNESS TOWARD PARENTS

I proposed that KA youth's SIP may help explain the existing paradox in KA families in terms of immigration-related parent-child challenges and their outcome. I was specifically interested in examining the effects of SIP in terms of mediating the effects of immigration-related parent-child challenges among these families. Would KA youth's SIP affect the outcome of their immigration-related parent-child challenges? Would there be differences between high vs. low SIP youth in terms of the mediating effects of SIP in terms of their experience of immigration-related family challenges and their outcome? My grounded theory analysis revealed that there are differences between these two groups of youth in terms of the effects of their SIP, specifically in regards to their perceptions of their parents and parental actions as well as their interpretations of immigration-related parent-child challenges or potential source of conflicts in parent-child relationships – suggesting difference in the effects of Narrative SIP vs. Internalized SIP.

In this section, I start by describing immigration-related family challenges to provide the family and relational context of these youth's narratives of SIP. I will then discuss findings on the effects of SIP as perceived by KA youth. In doing so, I will discuss differences among KA youth by comparing high SIP youth (Internalized SIP) and low SIP youth (Narrative SIP). Particularly, I will focus on how these youth differed as they talked about their family challenges or potential source of family conflicts.

Immigration-related Family Challenges in KA Families

KA youth across the sample shared many family challenges growing up. No significant group difference (high vs. low SIP) was found in the type of challenges reported by KA youth,

based on their narrative accounts. Both high and low SIP group had within group variations as to the extent of challenges and conflicts that they have experienced. Group difference was more evident in youth's perceptions and interpretations of these family features than the challenges themselves. Most commonly cited immigration-related family challenges included high parental control, high and explicit parental expectations for youth, parental unavailability, cultural conflicts.

Parental Control

Many youth narrated parents' tight control growing up. They complained that their parents were highly controlling and strict with little room for negotiation. Grace's statement "Usually it was either his way or no way. Like it's always his way, you know?" was echoed by many other participants. Parents' unwillingness to negotiate with youth also interfered with their communication growing up, regardless of language barriers between them. Many youth described communication difficulties growing up, and many of them attributed these to their parents' unwillingness to negotiate. Youth reported that they often received clear messages from their parents that there is no other way but following their parents' way. In many cases, youth described how their parents enforced their own will without proper explanation of their reasoning and no willingness to consider or understand the youth's perspective. In Jason's word "It was like you do what I tell you so because I'm your father." These cases were particularly around the issue of socialization with peers and important life decisions including future career and selection of the future spouse. For example, Susie described the disagreement she's having with her father who has been pushing her to be a pharmacist against her will:

We argue sometimes because he's like, for example, "you have to be a pharmacist," and I'm like, "I don't want to be a pharmacist," and he's like, "why do you not care about your life, if you care about your life, you want to be a pharmacist," so just little things like that

and we'll end up arguing because he thinks one way is best for me but I just want to live life my own way.

Many youth indicated that they felt that they had to comply with their parents in order to avoid negative consequences or maintain their relationship with their parents. Joshua for example described how he was required to come home by 9 pm during his Junior high and high school, which he describe as "ridiculous" because "none of my friends had curfew." Initially he described how he tried to test his limit by defying his parents' strict rule on curfew: "there were many times when I didn't want to accept it and that's when I rebelled obviously." But he later said, "It was frustrating but you get used to it. If you would try to rebel, they wouldn't even let me go out... I guess I just came to accept that. There's no point fighting it. They will take away more things..." For these youth, in order to maintain relationship with their parents they had to sacrifice their own interest or will because their parents were not willing to negotiate.

Kevin: This is the way it is.

Researcher: you're more accepting of their values than insisting your own.

Kevin: Well, I had that rebellion phase. This is the way I am, that's the way they are. So I have to try to love them the way they want to be loved...because it's not going to work that way, right?

David reported that he felt that he had to marry a Korean in order to keep his mom in his life because her expectation of him to marry a Korean is so strong that she would be disconnected from his life if he marries a non-Korean:

David: She'd be totally against it [marrying non-Korean]...for the rest of my life...

Researcher: So why can't you insist on what you want?

David: I can't abandon my mom. I still like her to be part of my life in the future, so...

Youth's sense of strong parental control was often accompanied by their parents' explicit expectations for them in terms of their decision-making and behaviours. Many youth, both in high and low SIP group, reported growing up with a keen sense of their parents' expectations for them. Many participants experienced explicit and high parental expectations for academic performance.

Parental Unavailability

The majority of youth in both high and low SIP groups reported parental absence or lack of availability while growing up. Many youth reported that they spent little time with their parents growing up due to their parents' busy work life. Many youth also reported their parents' failure to provide support when they were in need. For example, Susie described how her father was not available when she was having a hard time adjusting to a new environment after her family moved to a different state. In her case, the move was particularly difficult because she was separated from her close circle of friends and she found the new peers unwelcoming and even hostile toward her. Susie described her experience with her parents this way:

I'm not sure, I think they had their own worries, but they didn't really care. Oh, I don't know, they probably cared but I just felt very misunderstood by them, but I thought they would understand (voice wobbles), like it's really hard to change schools twice in one year, and when I would like hide in my room, and instead of my dad trying to comfort me he would come yell at me for crying, and that actually made it worse I think. It made me want to in a way like rebel against my parents because I felt like they didn't understand me. Yeah, I think I was just really really bitter towards them.

Similar account of lack of parental presence and support growing up was reported by KA youth across the sample.

Cultural Conflicts

Many youth, both high SIP and low SIP, reported cultural conflicts experienced growing up. Most of the conflicts between parents and children were around socialization with peers, such as curfew and sleepover. Many complained that their parents were unfairly strict and failed to explain the reason behind their actions. For example, Ashley expressed her frustration as she described her conflictual relations with parents during her adolescent years.

Yeah, because they don't understand why I want to go out. And they'd say that's [her parents not letting her to go out with friends] because of culture, like that's all they'd say (laughs). Yeah, they'd say 'we were just growing up with different values.'

It is noteworthy that, based on youth's account, it was not until later age, particularly late adolescence that many KA youth seemed to develop clearer perceptions of culture and cultural differences. Thus, their experiences of parental differences compared to their peers' parents were interpreted as personal difference rather than cultural ones. Thus, they see their parents as being "unfair, " "unreasonable, " and "ridiculously strict." These negative feelings may be triggered by a lack of reference group who share similar experiences as the majority of participants grew up surrounded by the middle class Caucasian culture. The majority grew up in a middle class White neighbourhood and went to schools where students were predominantly White. Given this fact, many of these youth's reference group during youth and adolescence was the middle class Caucasian families, where family experiences and parental features were likely to be different from their own.

Internalizing SIP: Perceived Effects of SIP

Based on my grounded theory analysis, it was evident that it was internalization of SIP that generated more positive effects, as evidenced by the fact that perceived positive effects of SIP were much stronger among youth who internalized SIP (High SIP youth) compared to their counterparts. The positive effects of internalized SIP can be summarized into three domains that are closely interrelated: Cognitive, affective, and behavioural. In order to illustrate differences between two groups, I will compare high SIP youth's narratives with that of low SIP youth in discussing each domain. In doing so, I will discuss how youth's internalization of SIP may help youth overcome immigration-related parent-child challenges.

Cognitive Domain

Analyses showed that youth's internalization of SIP seemed to help youth overcome past parent-child challenges by (1) offering positive interpretations of immigration-related family

challenges; and (2) fostering positive and sympathetic view of parents. As I discuss each theme, I will discuss the cases of high SIP youth as these themes are more prevalent and the effects of SIP seem to be stronger among these youth. I will then discuss the cases of low SIP youth to draw comparisons between high vs. low SIP youth.

Positive Interpretations of Immigration-related Parent-Child Challenges

Analyses revealed that youth's SIP may help them positively interpret their past parent-child challenges as it provides understandings of parental intentions and positive meanings to parents' actions. High SIP youth highlighted that all their parents' actions and decisions were for the children. As they revisited their past family experiences and made sense out of it, they often made positive interpretations of what they used to experience as challenges. In doing so, they often emphasized their parents' positive intentions behind their actions, even including the ones that were a source of challenges and conflicts with parents when they were young. Understanding his parents' positive intention toward him was important for Keith as he made sense of his past parent-child challenges in which he struggled with dad who was too busy to be there for him:

My dad wasn't able to spend a lot of time with me because he knew that for me to have a better future, a better life, to go to a better college, is that he would have to work a lot of hours, so he gave up a lot of time with me...It probably was a hard decision."

Grace who reported her distress during childhood and adolescence due to her parents' pressuring her to receive perfect grades and placing her in multiple extra-curricular activities that she was stressed about came to a conclusion regarding her parents' past actions and decisions:

Every thing that they've done has never been for themselves, like I could have gone to just a whatever high school, but they moved me [to the neighbourhood that has a better educational system]...and it was hard for them because they had to drive farther to work, but like they made it, because they knew it would strengthen me and my goals for the future. It was all about opportunities and they tried to make me to become better in academics, sports, like everything, you know.

She concluded that all her parents' actions and decisions, even those that stressed her when she was young, were solely for her sake. And she interpreted and accepted these as their way of supporting her. She said, "So, I'm very lucky to have very supportive parents because I know a lot of my friends they didn't have parents that supported them." In her mind, not only her parents' promoting her to be successful and providing opportunities but undesired pressure that used to cause conflicts with her parents were interpreted and accepted as a form of parental support.

In addition to interpreting past challenges in more positive light, high SIP youth described how their awareness of parental intentions helped them in their current relationship with their parents especially in the context of parent-child challenges. Esther for example said:

Like I know they're not perfect, like my dad...he's like, aw, he's so frustrating to me, and so I know they're not perfect, but I think that they're well—intentioned, you know, so I can honestly say that everything, the choices that they make, it's like filtered through their heart of wanting the best things for my brother and I.

Ester's narratives illustrate that for high SIP youth. These youth were still struggling with their parents' shortcomings and negative features that are potential source of parent-child conflicts. However, these youth were able to lift negative perceptions of their parents by highlighting their parents' intentions and attributing positive meanings. In this sense, their internalized SIP appeared to help them overcome parent-child challenges by helping them make positive interpretation of these experiences.

Some low SIP youth also reported positive changes in their interpretations of the parent-child challenges. However, the source of these changes was often not their SIP-related perceptions, as was in the case of high SIP youth. Instead of highlighting their understanding of parental intentions and positive meanings to parents' actions, they were more likely to highlight changes in themselves, for example, becoming more mature or tolerant with their parents. Their narratives were more self-focused than parents-focused in terms of their interpretation and the

source of changes were themselves (e.g., “I’ve come to become more patient with my parents as I became more mature”) rather than their parents (e.g., “My parents weren’t there because they were working so hard to provide me opportunities”). In other words, they were less likely than high SIP youth to attribute positive meaning to parental features that were source of parent-child conflicts and challenges. Changes in low SIP youth’s perceptions of their immigration-related parent-child challenges were less likely to involve positive meaning-making processes that were common among high SIP youth.

Positive View of Parents

High SIP youth reported that their SIP-related perceptions generated more positive perceptions of parents as they began to perceive their parents’ child-oriented intentions and came to appreciate their parents’ sacrifice and hardship, despite difficulties they faced during childhood and youth due to challenges pertaining to immigrant family context. For example, Lisa described a difficult childhood in which she was often lonely, barely saw her parents during the week, spent much of her childhood under the care of her grandparents who often neglected her, and suffered depression. Despite these, she maintained that she was grateful for her parents as she came to see their hardship and struggle as immigrants as a symbol of sacrifice for her, and viewed her parents as selfless givers. In her narrative account, she emphasized how her parents always put her and her well-being first in the midst of their own struggle due to financial and physical challenges.

As indicated in Lisa’s case, internalized SIP, through youth personalizing parents’ hardship and sacrifice, appeared to generate positive perceptions of their parents. Indeed, high SIP youth were more likely to express positive, sometimes glamorized, view of their parents, attributing more positive and personal meaning to the parental actions. They were more likely to interpret parental actions through the lens of sacrifice for the sake of children. Their perceptions of positive

parental features were often intertwined with SIP-related perceptions such as hardships they tolerated for the sake of their children. In doing so, they came to view their parents in more positive and sympathetic light.

High SIP youth's more positive perceptions of their parents sometimes seemed to accompany youth's increased willingness to accept their parents—including their shortcomings and what they perceived to be source of challenges. As they came to perceive their parents and their actions through the lens of positive meaning and intentions, they reported becoming more willing to accept their parents. Eunice, after narrating her previous struggle with her parents due to their lack of presence in her life said:

I think before the understanding [that her parents' busy work life was for her] I was very stubborn and like I just wanted to do what I wanted to do, and I just focused on my own self, like I didn't really think about my parents, what they're going through and stuff, but afterwards I'd say. I guess I'm more like understanding, more patient, I guess.

This patience involved youth coming to appreciate their parents' way of parenting that they used to have problem with. Matthew for example used to have problem with his father who he felt was distant and was not interested in his life other than his schooling:

That's all he cares about, that's all he talks about, never asks about like what's going on in church, or never asks about how I'm doing in general, but he would just talk about school, and so that like...very hurt by it because I didn't see, I didn't think that my dad loved me because all he talked about was school, academics

But he later expressed how he learned that his father loved him in his own way, through pressuring about schooling and working many hours to provide him. Matthew said, "knowing that they love us ultimately and even though we had a lot of hardship growing up, I realize that's how they show their love to us."

In coming to accept their parents and their way of parenting, common pattern among these youth was learning to appreciate parents' instrumental parenting as a symbol of parental affection and care, as illustrated in Ben's account:

I do feel that my parents show their love through their work...because I don't think it would be possible for someone to do all that for another person if they didn't love them...like I think it's the way they show how they feel about us.

As evident in this narrative, it was common among high SIP youth to appreciate and attribute special meaning to their parents' instrumental parenting, particularly as they came to see it as a symbol of their parents' sacrifice and affection for them.

Low SIP youth on the other hand did not express as much of positive perspective of their parents compared to high SIP youth. While some of them expressed positive changes regarding their understanding of their parents and interpretations of their parental features, the highly positive or glamorized view of parents were not usually expressed by low SIP youth. Compared to high SIP youth, low SIP youth were less likely to express positive perceptions of their parents. Low SIP youth also expressed their understanding of different parental features particularly through cultural lens. For example, Paul recalled his childhood marked by his parents' lack of presence said, "you know, how all Korean parents work all the time...my parents were like that. They had little time..." but he did not attribute positive meaning to his parents' actions. To him, his parents' work and hardship did not signify their love and care toward him as much as to many high SIP youth. This pattern was observed among other low SIP youth, and their narrative accounts pertaining to the challenging parental features were less likely to highlight positive interpretations of their parental actions or intentions.

Conclusion: Effects of Internalized SIP in Cognitive Domain

High SIP youth reported perceived effects of SIP in cognitive domain in response to their internalized SIP. Specifically, as high SIP youth internalized these SIP-related perceptions, it seemed to generate positive meaning to immigration-related parent-child challenges or source of parent-child conflicts and offered more positive view of their parents. In other words, these positive perceptions generated by high SIP youth's internalized SIP seemed to provide a positive interpretive frame through which they viewed and interpreted their parent-child challenges and parents, which may help youth overcome (potential) parent-child challenges. While low SIP youth were able to relate to some of these perception, they did not seem to generate significant changes in their perceptions, because to these youth SIP-perceptions were not integral and significant part of their own beliefs, thus not as of a powerful change agent as for the cases of high SIP youth.

Affective Domain

Perceptions of parental hardship and sacrifice generated affective responses among KA youth. I asked, often probing on their account of their parents' experiences as immigrants and their SIP-related perceptions, how they felt about their parents' experiences. Differences in narratives expressing affective response to their SIP were found between youth in high vs. low SIP group. In general, high SIP youth appeared to be more emotionally attuned with their parents and their parents' experiences (e.g., hardship, immigrant struggles) compared to low SIP youth, evidenced by expressions of stronger feelings of appreciation and sympathy toward their parents in response to perceived parental hardships and sacrifice.

Youth described that their internalized SIP generated positive feelings toward their parents, despite past parent-child challenges, particularly by providing positive meanings through personalizing parental sacrifice and positive parental intentions for them. Jason who had a

difficulty dealing with his parents for their strictness and control especially in terms of his schooling and social life stated, "Before I was just angry at them, but after I realized [their intentions], I appreciate them more. Like it made me feel like OK, they do care about me. It comforted me more than before. Definitely."

Similarly, Ellen made a meaningful statement marked by his feeling of gratitude and sympathy as he talks about his mom's "hard life."

I really appreciate my mom. She works 12 hours, 6 days a week in a cleaners, you know, eating dust, breathing dust, she put a roof over my head, put food on the table to try to get me what I want...and the thing that I really appreciate my mom for is of course her hard work, dedication.

As these high SIP youth became more emotionally attuned with their parents' hardships, many expressed mixed feelings of sadness and empathy for their hardship as well as gratitude for their parents' sacrifice. Eunice for example said "When I think about what they've sacrificed, it's not a good feeling. It's like I'm really thankful that my parents are like working so hard for us and I feel grateful, you know [but] at the same time, I feel bad and kinda like oh, they're going through a lot. Yeah, it's kind of mixed feelings." Jason also expressed how he felt bad about his parents' hard life as he revisited his adolescence in which he was distant and detached from his parents: "...I just feel awful as I think about how bad of a son I was...It must've been really hard [for my parents]."

As these high SIP youth become more emotionally attuned with their parents' feelings and hardship, they seemed to be more affected by their parents' well-being, personalizing parents' hardships. Lisa for instance expressed her strong personal concerns toward her parents who are financially struggling trying to pay their debt. Her narratives indicate that she strongly identifies with her parents' hardship as she personalized their experience:

I worry a lot about them because my parents are older now. And sometimes my mom's sick, and she still goes to work. I just feel really really bad seeing her to sometimes like struggle so much. And then here's my dad like he wouldn't get too much sleep because right after work, after he finishes his work, he goes help out my mom."

Narrative responses of youth with low SIP were different from that of youth in high SIP group. Low SIP youth were less likely than high SIP youth to elaborate much on their affective responses. Moreover, their affective expressions often did not carry much depth or sincerity in terms of their feelings of gratitude and sympathy toward their parents. Sam for example made one sentence statement, "I'm kind of grateful for my parents' sacrifice." Paul said, "I guess I'm grateful" but without making more passionate and sympathetic statements which were more common among youth in high SIP group. For low SIP youth, while many of them incorporated SIP-related perceptions such as parental sacrifice and their child-oriented intentions, their level of identification with these perceptions was not significant enough to create substantial effects in their feelings toward their parents. Ashley viewed her parents' immigrant hardship as part of an "inspiring" immigrant story rather than a personal story that involves her. In doing so, she distanced herself from parents' experiences rather than emotionally attuning herself with them. She said: "I guess that like I feel grateful, but more than that I respect more about them, that they did that [what they have done as immigrants]...it's also like kind of inspiring that they did that. I guess I'm really impressed by what they went through."

In sum, high SIP KA youth expressed affective responses to their internalized SIP-related perceptions. Specifically, these youth's internalization of SIP appeared to help them become more emotionally attuned with their parents. This happened as their internalized SIP triggered more positive feelings (e.g., gratitude and sympathy) toward their parents as youth personalized their parents' hardships and sacrifice and internalized their parents' positive intentions for them. As these youth became more emotionally attuned with their parents, they appeared to become more

interested in and concerned with their parents' well-being, which in turn appeared to be linked to their behavioral responses of SIP (I will discuss this in the next section). On the other hand, low SIP youth did not appear to be as highly emotionally attuned with their parents and parents' experiences as their counterparts, as evidenced by their rather generic, less elaborated, and less passionate narratives in their affective response to their narrative SIP.

Behavioral Domain

Youth's internalized perceptions that their parents have made sacrifice and bore significant toll to provide a better life for them generated behavioral responses among high SIP youth. During the interview, I probed on participants' SIP-related perceptions, exploring their responses to these perceptions as well as their accounts of their sense of family obligations (e.g., filial assistance), asking about their underlying motivations and meanings behind them. I also explored youth's motivations and meanings behind their reported interactions with their parents, particularly those that are indicative of tolerance for potential parent-child challenges or conflicts (e.g., compliance to parents, consideration of parents' wishes in decision-making).

Among high SIP youth, their internalized SIP often led to some type of behavioural responses or responses with behavioural implications, particularly in a way that they wanted to return the favour to their parents. Three themes emerged as youth talked about ways through which they planned to repay their parents: 1) financial assistance, 2) desire for success, 3) relational aspect of repayment. Underlying youth's desire to repay their parents was their will to make their parents' life easier and happier, derived from their gratitude for their parents' sacrifice, sympathy toward their parents for their hardships, and their desire to fulfil their parents' purpose for these sacrifice and hardship. While low SIP youth exhibited similar behaviors or willingness for some of these behaviors, particularly culturally or familiarly-prescribed behaviours (e.g.,

family obligations), differences were found in their motivations underlying these behaviours or behavioural plans and the degree of their commitment to carry them out.

Financial Assistance

Across the whole sample, many youth – both high SIP and low SIP – expressed their desire or willingness to support their parents financially in the future. Financial support of parents was the most common form of repayment that most participants talked about across the sample as well as the most common form of cultural obligation that youth identified with. This might be due to the fact that most of the youth were exposed to the cultural value of filial obligation growing up. Moreover, financial issues were viewed by the majority of participants as a critical issue in their family life that affected the well-being of parents and the whole family. The majority of participants across the whole sample recalled financial issues as the most common source of parental conflicts, and many of them grew up hearing about their parents emphasizing the importance of money. As Kevin put it, “Everything that my parents see through is always through monetary terms... it’s always about money, the way they see things.” David recalled, “that’s how I grew up, just like money worries...I don’t know, I think [my parents] made it seem like the whole family is run by [money]: if we have money, we’re happy; if we don’t, we’re sad.”

Youth also perceived money or monetary provision as an important aspect of parental cost or what they owed their parents. These perceptions were common across the sample regardless of their level of SIP. For example, Jessica in low SIP group, currently attending a private college, viewed money as what sums up parental cost that she owed: “it is money, it is money, because I’ve done so many things in my life that have cost my parents so much money, like I’ve been doing modelling school, I did piano for years...like they just spent so much money on me.” Susie in high SIP group also reported that money is the most significant aspect of sacrifice of her dad,

“Because [my dad] was always financially really stressed and always providing for us, I feel really really like indebted to him.” Both agreed on monetary provision as parents’ cost, although difference in their empathy toward their parents was evident in their narratives.

Differences between high SIP vs. low SIP youth were most evident in their motivation and meaning that they attributed to their desire or willingness to financially support their parents. In other words, while their exhibited or desired behaviors may seem similar, the processes leading to these behaviours were different among these youth.

First, in case of high SIP youth, their desire to financially support their parents was often derived from their positive feelings associated with their internalized SIP. For example, as they interpreted parents’ monetary cost as their sacrifice, they expressed a desire to return the favor through financial means. Jonathan, for example, made it clear that his desire to financially repay his parents was based on his perceptions of parental sacrifice and his appreciation for them:

Like I’m sure if they hadn’t spent so much money on us, there’re things they could have bought, nicer things for themselves, you know, and I’m sure they sacrificed a lot of things they could have had, so I want to be able to get them nice stuff one day like buy them a car or a house or whatever. Just to show my appreciation.

Similar desire to express their gratitude toward their parents by monetary compensation was reported by many other high SIP youth.

Second, underlying many of these high SIP youth’s desire to financially support their parents was their sympathy with their parents as they were emotionally attuned with their parents’ suffering. Perceiving money as an important aspect of their parents’ life, high SIP youth talked about how they wanted to financially provide their parents in the future to relieve their burden and suffering. For example, Susie said:

After I grow up, I want to make sure he can have...[enough money] because he’s always worrying about money, I want to enable him to not worry about money anymore. You know, like I want to provide for him and just make sure that he doesn’t have to struggle

financially. So I just want to provide for him that way and just offer him that kind of comfort and I guess that's my way of kind of trying to pay him back for providing for me financially and just trying hard...try to be a good dad to us.

Third, high SIP youth were more inclined to highlight personal meaning as they talked about their proposed action of financial assistance. Being aware of the cultural expectations for children to provide financial and physical assistance to their parents, some high SIP youth carefully differentiated their desire to repay their parents from culturally subscribed expectations. In doing so, they highlighted personal aspects of the common cultural practice of filial assistance and asserted that it had personal meaning and significance to them beyond cultural identification. For example, to the question whether her desire to financially and physically take care of her mom is related to her Korean cultural value, Ellen replied

It's also part of my culture. I learned to respect adults...the cultural part would be the respect...But I don't think being a good daughter and helping parents is anything to do with culture. I think that's a price to any daughters if they really struggle with seeing their mom work that hard.

Similarly, Ben said, "[my desire to financially support my parents] is just kind of personal thing I want to do. I don't want to do it because it's like cultural obligation."

Last, high SIP youth reported their commitment to their plan to repay their parents as this is the symbol of repayment for their parents rather than obligations to fulfil the existing expectations or needs of parents or culture. For example, while parents' financial struggle appeared to increase youth's awareness of their needs for financial support, high SIP youth expressed their desire to financially support their parents even if they did not need financial help. Esther for example said:

I don't feel like I need to [financially support them]...They have retirement plan and they would be fine. But out of my love for them, I would definitely financially support my parents, even though they don't need me to.

Esther's narrative account illustrates that for many high SIP youth, financial support of their parents symbolizes returning favor to their parents out of their appreciation for their parents for their sacrifice, rather than following culturally prescribed obligations or responding to their parental expectations and needs.

Narratives of low SIP youth reflected differences in terms of the motivation, meaning and the level of commitment to their plan to financially support their parents. First, low SIP youth were less likely to contribute their plan to financially support their parents to their positive feelings associated with SIP-related perceptions. Jessica's narrative illustrates this:

Researcher: Where do you think that idea of taking care of your parents come from?
Jessica: I don't know where it came from...I think that's just what I learned as I was growing up, that's just what kids are supposed to do.

As illustrated in Jessica's account, low SIP youth were less likely than high SIP youth to talk about personal meanings or significance of filial assistance but more likely to view it as an obligation that they often view as cultural.. Jessica for example said:

I think it's more of a cultural thing as a Korean, because you know how Koreans take care of their family? And in high school and junior high, I worked a lot in nursing homes, and they were mostly like white grandmas and grandpas, and people ask them "where are your kids and why don't they take care of you?" They said, "I don't want to interrupt my kids' lives" or "I don't want to be a burden to them" So I don't want my parents to be in a nursing home...And also [I want to take care of my parents] because my parents take care of their parents too."

Similar to Jessica, low SIP youth were more likely than youth in high SIP group to describe their understanding of cultural values and practices that emphasize filial assistance as they explain the reason for their willingness to support their parents financially or provide care for their parents in the future.

Finally, low SIP youth were less likely to be enthusiastic or committed to their proposed plan of financial support compared to high SIP youth, as indicated in their narratives. Although

many low SIP youth expressed that they would be willing to financially support their parents, what was lacking in their narratives, compared to high SIP youth, was their enthusiasm or voluntary wilfulness. This was the case especially among youth who perceived that their parents did not need or expect their help in the future. Kim's statement illustrates this type of response among these low SIP youth: "I don't really have so much burdens about financially support them. I don't think [my parents] really expect that." Among other low SIP youth who were more committed to financially support their parents, their plan to financially support their parents was often marked by "obligation," which they would not pursue unless it is needed by the recipients. David's accounts illustrate this: "If [my parents] didn't need help, then I probably wouldn't give them help." Thinking of the possibility that his parents may rely on him financially in the future, he expressed his feeling of pressure, "I don't know. It feels like I have less freedom. I have other people to worry about, like my parents in the future."

Desire for Success

Success, usually defined by Korean American youth as occupational and monetary success, was an important theme emerged in their narratives across the whole sample, particularly as they talked about parental expectations for them. Consistent with their SIP-related perceptions, in which youth were aware of their parents' immigration aspiration for children's better future, many viewed their parents' immigration and parental cost as an investment for a profitable outcome – namely their success. Most youth perceived that their own success was ultimate fulfillment of parents' intentions for them. Whether these youth shared with their parents' picture of success or not, most of them were keenly aware of parents' idea of success. For example, Kevin said, "I'm not interested in making a lot of money...but I know it's really important to my parents." The equation of success internalized by Eunice as she recalled her parents' messages

growing up was echoed by many participants across the sample: “I would try to get good grades because I know that they would lead me to a better college, then better college equals better future, better future equals better finances, you know...I guess it kind of grew on me.”

While for many KA youth, their desire for success was internalized as their own value, there were differences between high SIP vs. low SIP youth in terms of their motivations and meaning they attributed to their desire for success. In general, high SIP youth were more likely than low SIP youth to highlight their positive and voluntary aspects of desire for success as a way to repay their parents. They also were more likely than their counterparts to talk about their parents as part of their motivation for success. In response to their perceptions of parental investment, high SIP youth were more likely than low SIP youth to express positive desire to reciprocate, while for some low SIP youth, this was experienced as more coercive, resulting in a feeling of pressure and/or guilt when they felt they had failed to reciprocate.

High SIP youth were more inclined than low SIP youth to express their desire to succeed as a way to repay their parents and to please them. Some participants put value in success itself as they highlighted their own success as an important way to repay their parents for their sacrifice and hardship. As many high SIP youth attributed personal meaning to their parents’ sacrifice and hardship, they tended to internalize parents’ goals for them. Through this process, their success seemed to become a salient form of repayment. Eunice for example recalled:

My dad always said, “if you succeed in life, that’s like helping us.” So I guess just like looking at that and like learning that it’s like “oh if I succeed...and be better off later on in the future, then that’s like helping my parents too.

With the idea of success, there was an underlying idea of wanting to prove that their parents’ sacrifice and hardship was worth something. In this sense, a concept of investment often emerged in their idea of repay. These youth viewed their parents’ provision and support as an investment

for a profitable outcome, namely their success. In this aspect, their success became a salient form of repayment as it validates their parents' sacrifice and hardship. Ben's narrative illustrates this clearly: "If I succeed, it just affirms their decision to come to the U.S., to leave Korea...for me to succeed is just affirms that they made the right decision that all their hard work was worth something, or vice versa."

Some high SIP youth expressed how their perceptions of parental sacrifice and parental goal for them have provided motivation to work harder and succeed because of their desire to please their parents in response. Ellen for example expressed passionately her desire to succeed in order to repay her mom:

Ellen: A lot of my friends, you know they like to go out partying, drink, smoke, all that stuff...I'm not saying that I don't like to go out and hang out with my friends...but I often say no...

Researcher: And you said part of the motivation for you is your mom?

Ellen: Yeah exactly. My priority I guess is to become successful and because I know how much she dedicated and gave up for me in her life, my goal, my number one priority is to give everything back to her, like you know, put life into her again.

Low SIP youth were less likely than high SIP youth to attribute their desire to succeed to their parents and were more likely to report pressure related to parental expectations for success. Compared to high SIP youth, there was less positive motivation affected by internalization of parents' hardship and sacrifice for them. Rather, for low SIP youth, the desire for success is more likely to be derived from pressure – external or internal – than from positive motivation. Joshua described how his desire to succeed stems from this internal and external pressure related to his parents' expectations for him:

Joshua: I guess I kinda don't wanna like let them down for me. You do want to like fulfil their expectations and kinda want them to be proud of you and stuff...because they constantly compare you with others in the neighborhood and stuff. So you always feel pressured to you know be the good one in comparison. So that they won't be like, oh don't be like that one.

Furthermore, as aforementioned, low SIP youth were more likely than high SIP youth to report pressure and distress caused by parental expectations for academic success and achievement. Differences between high vs. low SIP youth in regards to their feeling of pressure and distress seem at least partially due to differences in positive meaning-making of parental expectations and parental intentions.

In sum, high SIP youth reported a desire to repay their parents as they internalized their parents' sacrifice and child-centered intentions. Underlying their desire to repay was their will to make their parents' life easier and happier, often derived from their sympathy and gratitude toward their parents for the hardships, as well as their desire to fulfil their parents' purpose behind their hardship and sacrifice. Low SIP youth exhibited similar behaviors or willingness for some of these behaviors but differences were found in their motivations and meaning underlying these behaviors as well as the degree of their commitment to carry them out.

Desire for Positive Relationship

Many high SIP youth reported the relational aspects of repayment for their parents. As these youth describe their understanding of parents' sacrifice for them and as they become more attuned with their parents' well being, they expressed more desire to please their parents. They talked about how their desire to please their parents, derived from their SIP related beliefs and feelings, were embedded in their interactions or desired interactions with their parents.

For some youth, this involved serving their parents more. Mary said, "I think I see myself trying to serve them more than I would have probably in the past. You know, like going out of my way doing things for them, you know, try and make their lives easier and stuff like that." Esther, who had developed sympathy over the years as she came to perceive her parents' hard work as a

symbol of sacrifice and affection for her, described how her behaviours such as obedience and taking family responsibilities were her way of repaying her parents:

I don't really say I'm thankful for them to them, I would just show them by obeying them, like simple things, like if they ask me to do something for them, I'll do it, you know? Just trying to make their life easier. Like I'll go home and no one does the dishes and I'll do the dishes, so and if my mom needs help at the store, I'll just go to the store and help her.

Some high SIP youth described that they were more willing to compromise with their parents, avoiding conflicts with them. High SIP youth were more likely than low SIP youth to attribute their willingness to comply with their parents to as a way to please them and maintain positive relationship with them. Eunice for example said:

I think that Asian parents do want a lot of respect from the children, so when they feel respected I think that makes them feel good, so, and then you know just obeying their rules and just going by their ways, I think, just would generally make them happy, so I think it makes the relationship, I guess better.

Ben, who was very independent from their parents growing up because he believed that he knew better than his parents due to their lack of knowledge in American culture and school system, said that it was still important to consider his parents' wishes when it came to important matters in his life, such as his career. He attributed his willingness to compromise to his perceptions of parental sacrifice and his desire to please them:

Ben: If they feel really strongly about something, I think I would listen to what they have to say. Also if it's something important, I will respect what they have to say.

Researcher: That desire that you want to listen and you want to make them happy, where do you think that's coming from?

Ben: Where is it coming from? I mean for me I know my parents, they pretty much gave me everything they have, and I want to do the same for them, make them happy.

Some high SIP youth reported positive outcome in terms of their relationship with their parents as a result of changes in their interactions with their parents, at least partially initiated by the changes derived from their internalized SIP. Jason whose rebellious adolescence was marked

by conflicts with his parents and disconnection from the family, described how his relationship with his parent had changed:

Researcher: Does your understanding of your mom's sacrifice, that you mentioned earlier, affect you in any ways in terms of your relationship with your mom?

Jason: Definitely. I mean, I've been better after all that [changes in terms of his view of his parents]. I treat her better now. Like me and her, we've been better ever since all that. After I realized everything, definitely, I'm more nice to her. And before I used to brush her off, whatever she says, I'm like, "whatever, whatever," and now I listen to everything she says...It's been awhile since we had a fight, so I guess it's pretty good.

On the other hand, youth with low SIP were more likely to report internal conflicts between perceived pressure and their desire to comply. Many described how they learned to obey their parents because that was what they learned or what they were "supposed to do." Some mentioned that they would comply with their parents because they were afraid of worse consequences, which sometimes resulted in distress and unresolved feelings toward their parents, such as frustration and helplessness. For example, Kevin described his continual struggle regarding his parents' extremely high expectations for him and high control over his life, including his decisions over his college major. As he described how he came to accept his parents as they were, it is evident that he had unresolved feelings toward his parents.

I would say there was a lot of internal conflict...I remember there were many times and things [that my parents want from me] are different [from what I want to do] and you have to accept it. And there were many times when I didn't want to accept it...If I had to choose, no [I won't accept their wish], but I really don't have a choice in this matter.

In sum, high SIP youth expressed relational aspects of repayment for their parents. Their positive internalization of parental sacrifice and positive parental intention for them, which seemed to generate positive feelings toward their parents, appeared to motivate them to please their parents and maintain positive relationship with them. Their relational aspects of repayment were manifested in several ways, including taking on family responsibilities, complying with their parents, and being more considerate of parental wishes – these behaviors were often based on

positive feelings of gratitude and sympathy toward their parents. Low SIP youth on the other hand expressed more internal conflicts and perceived pressure to comply against their will. Lacking in their narratives was their positive motivation to please their parents and maintain positive relationship out of positive sense of gratitude and sympathy toward their parents.

Conclusion: Effects of Internalized SIP in Behavioral Domain

Among high SIP youth, their SIP-related perceptions and affective responses to these perceptions were often linked to their desire to repay their parents. High SIP youth expressed their desire to repay their parents in different ways including financial assistance, own success, and relational aspects of repayment. These behaviors were often derived from their desire to please their parents and relieve their burden. Underlying their desire to repay was their will to make their parents' life easier and happier, often derived from SIP-related beliefs (e.g., parents' sacrifice for them) and feelings (e.g., gratitude and sympathy toward parents), as well as their desire to fulfill their parents' purpose for their hardship and sacrifice. Low SIP youth exhibited similar behaviors or willingness for some of these behaviors but differences were found in their motivations and meaning underlying them.

Conclusion: Effects of Internalization of SIP

In conclusion, youth's internalization of SIP appears to help youth overcome the experienced or potential immigration-related parent-child challenges as it seemed to affect cognitive, affective, and behavioural domains of youth's experiences with their parents. Cognitively, youth's internalized SIP appeared to facilitate positive interpretations of the parent-child challenges and promote positive views of their parents. In affective domain, youth's internalized SIP seemed to help youth become more emotionally attuned with their parents, through which they appeared to experience increased sympathy and appreciation toward parents,

thus becoming more concerned with their parents' well-being. Behaviorally, it may motivate youth to repay their parents through financially assisting them in the future, trying to make them proud through academic and/or professional success, and wanting to please their parents in their interactions with them— through this process, youth may become more aligned with parents' well-being and goals, potentially facilitating positive interactions with their parents. Together, through the interplay of these processes, KA youth's internalized SIP may help them overcome immigration-related parent-child challenges and promote positive relationships with their parents.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

By exploring 1.5 and second generation KA youth's sense of indebtedness toward their parents (SIP), this exploratory study builds upon what is currently known about the immigration discourse of Korean American immigrant parents' child-centered immigration aspiration and sacrifice to provide a better life for the children (cite). Using symbolic interactionism theory (Blumer, 1969; White & Klein, 2002), social exchange theory of indebtedness (Greenberg, 1980), and grounded theory methods (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), I examined the processes of these youth's SIP. The findings show that all KA youth in this study adopted narrative SIP, in which they came to incorporate SIP-related perceptions (i.e., the existing KA immigration discourse) into their own narratives, particularly as they enter emerging adulthood. The study also shows that high SIP youth came to develop internalized SIP through a complex interplay of contributing factors. The preliminary model of SIP (see Figure 1) is grounded in the data and reveals the ways in which KA youth develop narrative SIP and internalized SIP, as well as the ways in which youth's internalization of SIP may help them overcome immigration-related parent-child challenges by affecting them in three different domains: cognitive, affective, and behavioral.

In this chapter, I discuss the main findings and their contributions to the literature as well as practical implications of this work. The chapter concludes with limitations of this study, along with suggestions for future studies.

Narrating Sense of Indebtedness toward Parents

Korean Americans in general are relatively recent immigrants who migrated to the U.S. in order to pursue better educational opportunities for their children than those that were available in South Korea (Yoon, 1997; Zhou & Kim, 2006). While the majority of the adult Korean

immigrants were middle-class, well-educated, white-collar professionals prior to immigration, most begin their employment in the United States in less desirable, labor-intensive businesses such as dry cleaners. KA parents' child-centered immigration aspiration, social downward mobility, and hardship as immigrants, contribute to the prevalent KA immigration discourse (Park, 2005). Specifically this discourse dictates KA immigrant parents' sacrifice and hardship for the better future of their children..

Findings from this study suggest that the Korean ethnic community as a whole contributed to maintaining and reinforcing this KA immigration discourse. For example, youth in this study reported the message of parental sacrifice and hardship communicated through their ethnic church (e.g., using sermons). Moreover, they reported similar messages being communicated by others in the community, including their relatives and peers. Despite the prevalence of KA immigration discourse however, youth's narrative accounts indicated that for the majority, it was not until emerging adulthood that they came to adopt narrative SIP in which they came to identify with and incorporate this discourse into their own narratives. Developmental processes during emerging adulthood, including cognitive maturation and physical distance from parents, seemed to play an important role in KA youth's incorporation of narrative SIP. Also important in this process was the context of the college setting in which KA youth became immersed in a dense ethnic social network (Abelmann, 2009; Phinney, 2006).

Internalization of Sense of Indebtedness toward Parents

While most KA youth were able to express narrative SIP, only high SIP youth internalized SIP-related perceptions. Internalized SIP was defined as "taking in and making SIP an integral part of his or her own beliefs by attributing personal meaning and significance to these beliefs." Specifically, these youth internalized SIP by personalizing SIP-related perceptions and perceiving

SIP as a salient aspect of their relationship with their parents. Important in the process of KA youth's internalization of SIP was their attribution of meaning to the shared KA immigration discourse, or SIP-related perceptions. Specifically, they drew meaning from symbols that were salient in the specific context of the KA immigrant families. For example, parents' immigration and immigration-related challenges conveyed a specific cultural meaning as a symbol of parental sacrifice and devotion for the children. Moreover, youth's internalization of SIP occurred in a complex web of interactions with their environment (e.g., SIP-fostering agents, cultural agents, and entrepreneurial family context in which they observe parents' hardships) that seemed to implement positive meanings associated with SIP-related perceptions, triggering youth's internalization of SIP.

Among those who internalized SIP, the mechanism of indebtedness in the social exchange theory of indebtedness (Greenberg, 1980) appeared to be at work. Specifically, the mechanism of youth's indebtedness seemed to reflect their analysis of cost vs. benefit in the exchange between them and their parents. First, youth's perceptions of their parents' motives seemed to be linked to the magnitude of youth's sense of indebtedness. Youth who internalized SIP often highlighted that the sole purpose of parents' immigration or immigration-related hardship was to provide a better life for the children, describing their parents as selfless givers who invested everything on the children. Second, the magnitude of parental cost (e.g., perceptions of parental sacrifice and hardship) perceived by youth seemed to contribute to their sense of gratitude and debt toward their parents. Moreover, these perceptions of parents' motives and cost seemed to shape KA youth's meaning-making in ways that affect the magnitude and meaningfulness of the perceived "debt."

Positive effects of SIP on KA youth's perception of and relationships with their parents appeared more evident among the youth who internalized SIP, compared to those who did not.

Specifically, these positive effects were manifested in cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains. For example, youth's internalization of their parents' sacrifice and positive intentions for children seemed to facilitate youth's positive view of their parents and parental or family features that may be a source of challenges and conflicts for the youth, helped youth to be more emotionally attuned with their parents, and promoted more positive interaction with their parents. It is noteworthy that, particularly among youth who internalized SIP, indebtedness was interpreted as "gratitude" rather than "debt" that they were obliged to repay. Thus, desires to repay their parents were out of youth's gratitude for their parents' sacrifice and hardships for their children, rather than out of "obligations" to repay their "debt."

Not-Internalizing Sense of Indebtedness toward Parents

While many youth internalized SIP, low SIP youth did not. Having been exposed to a similar KA immigration discourse, and narrated this discourse, these youth did not internalize it. In general, they did not perceive significance of parental sacrifice and tended to downplay their parents' child-centeredness in terms their immigration and/or immigration-related hardship. This tendency suggests that, to these youth, their own hardship related to their parent-child challenges was greater than their parents' cost. In this aspect, the exchange of perceived cost and benefit did not seem to follow the tenets of exchange theory. For example, in contrast to high SIP youth, these youth's SIP-related perceptions did not necessarily lead to their desire to repay their parents. This gap between KA youth's awareness of and personal connection with the KA immigration discourse is consistent with Kang et al.'s (in press) finding that KA youth who refused to forgive their parents for previous conflicts and challenges were still aware of the cultural norm of understanding their parents and parent-child challenges. These two studies together seem to suggest the perceived cultural expectations among KA youth is to express narrative SIP – that is to

narrate parents' sacrifice and child-centered intentions. Moreover, this gap between perceived cultural expectations and their actual beliefs regarding KA immigration discourse may contribute to KA youth's experience of pressure and negative feelings associated with these perceived expectations, particularly in regards to their obligations to repay their parents, as suggested in the findings.

There were several factors that may have affected KA youth who did not internalize SIP in terms of their perceptions of their cost vs. benefit in the exchange, thus affecting the magnitude of their SIP. First, non-internalizing youth (low SIP youth) were less likely than their counterparts to perceive parental hardship. More youth from this group came from professional families as opposed to entrepreneurial families; thus, it is possible that having parents in white-collar occupations that do not require physically strenuous work life may have led youth to perceive less parental cost. Second, while U.S.-birth alone is not a sufficient indicator of acculturation, that everyone in non-internalizing group was born in the U.S. may potentially indicate these youth's cultural orientation toward a Western culture that emphasizes on independence and individualism. Thus, non-internalizing youth's Western cultural orientation may play a role in the lack of a personal connection to the SIP, with embedded Korean cultural value of that emphasize interdependence and collectivism. In addition, youth's Western cultural orientation may suggest that their perceived self-cost might be higher than those who identify more with Korean culture. For example, KA youth who strongly identify with Western culture that emphasizes independence from parents may perceive high self-cost in response to the idea of interdependence and filial obligation, cultural values embedded in SIP. This potential association between youth's Western cultural orientation and perception of higher self-cost may provide partial explanation to the finding that non-internalizing youth were more likely than their counterparts to report feeling

pressure in response to the culturally and familiarly-prescribed behaviours and/or their reported internal conflicts between their own desire and their parental expectations.

Finally, it may also be possible that these non-internalizing youth's perceived more challenges in their relationship with their parents than those who internalized SIP. In some cases, they perceived their parents' communication of their child-centered immigration aspiration and hardship for children as coercive and pressuring, which may contribute to their lack of positive meaning making of these messages.

KA youth's SIP should be also understood in the broader social context in which their lives are embedded, specifically, in the complex interplay of cultural and societal messages from mainstream American society and the Korean ethnic community. Salient in KA youth's meaning making process may be their reflection on the expectations from both mainstream and ethnic sociocultural contexts. As these youth explore the meaning of being members of both an ethnic group and the larger society, they may adapt what they perceive as positive and desirable of these two sets of values (Kibria, 2000; Phinney, 2006). In terms of their own ethnic culture, model minority ideology (Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & Lin, 1998) may encourage KA youth to identify with the Korean value of filial piety, presenting themselves as "grateful sons/daughters" who appreciate parents' "sacrifice" as immigrants, as evident by the finding that the all participants in this study were able to narrate SIP.

Lastly, it is possible that the youth who did not internalize SIP at the time of the interview may only internalize their narrated SIP-related perceptions at an older age. The finding that non-internalizing youth (low SIP youth) as a group were younger than their counterparts (high SIP youth) supports this speculation.

Contribution to the Immigration Literature

Findings from this study extend the work of the general immigration literature (Gibson & Bhachu, 1991; Park, 2005; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995) which suggests that children of immigrants, particularly those from Asian and Latin American backgrounds, are aware of parents' child-centered immigration aspiration and parental sacrifice (Fuligni, 2007; Gibson & Bhachu, 1991; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). Moreover, these studies suggest that children of immigrants feel a sense of obligation to their parents (e.g., academic motivation, family obligation) in response to this awareness. KA youth in this study reported a similar immigration discourse to that reported in the existing literature. The present study on children of Korean American immigrants contribute to the broader immigration literature by providing a more nuanced understanding of the experiences of children of immigrants in regards to this phenomenon. Specifically, it examines a process that has never been examined before – internalization of SIP as opposed to narration of SIP.

The findings suggest individual variations among children of immigrants in terms of their experiences related to the immigration discourse, as evidenced by heterogeneity of KA youth's subjective experiences in regards to their SIP. Specifically, non-internalizing KA youth seemed to experience a gap between what they narrated regarding SIP-related perceptions and how they felt about them. Moreover, the lack of positive and personal meaning attributed to the shared immigration discourse among these KA youth seemed to contribute to their feeling of pressure in response to their perceived parental and socio-cultural expectations. Further, youth's responses to the discourse may be shaped by their perceptions of cost and benefit of their parents and self, as discussed earlier. Finally, while the general immigration literature tends to highlight potentially

positive effects of these perceptions on youth (e.g., higher academic motivations; cite), this study also revealed potentially negative effects of these perceptions (e.g., higher pressure and distress).

The present study may also contribute to the general immigration literature by providing insight into the underlying motivations for common behaviors observed among these children of immigrants. For example, studies have shown that youth from Asian and Latin American backgrounds reported a stronger sense of obligation to support, assist, and respect the authority of the family than their peers from European backgrounds (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). What is unclear in the literature is the underlying motivation of these youth to engage in these behaviors. The present study suggests that motivations underlying these behaviors among children of immigrants may vary. For example, KA youth who internalized SIP often attributed their willingness to assume more family responsibilities to their desire to relieve their parents' burden, often based on their meaningful understanding of parental sacrifice and hardship. On the other hand, those who did not internalize SIP seemed to attribute their willingness to assume family responsibilities to their conformity of cultural or familial expectations, often out of felt coercive pressure from these expectations. This finding suggests the need for research to explore the motivations behind KA youth's SIP behaviours. Further, this may apply to children of immigrants from other ethnic background, providing helpful insight into their behaviors and motivations. This finding may apply to children of other immigrant groups, specifically those from other Asian or Latin American backgrounds, who may also be exposed to the similar discourse of parental sacrifice and child-centered intentions.

This study is not conclusive in terms of the outcome of parent-child challenges in KA families in a sense that these youth's journey in their relationship with their parents is still an ongoing process. Youth across the sample showed a mixed picture of positive and negative

experiences associated with dealing with parent-child challenges pertaining to the immigrant family context. One important finding of the study, however, is that the positive meaning making may function as a protective factor against parent-child challenges, evidenced by more positive perceived outcome in KA youths' perceptions of and relationships with their parents, compared to non-internalizing KA youth. This finding may apply to children of other immigrant groups, specifically those from other Asian or Latin American backgrounds, who may also be exposed to the similar discourse of parental sacrifice and child-centered intentions.

Practical Implications

This study revealed that SIP-related perceptions of parents' sacrifice and child-centered intentions are salient cultural discourses among KA youth. Moreover, it was evident that these perceptions are shared and encouraged among the Korean immigrant community as a whole. This finding may provide useful information to professionals or individuals who work with these youth and families. Such perceptions among KA youth are an important cultural language that professionals need to understand. For example, this understanding may potentially help professionals tailor culturally sensitive interventions.

The findings suggest that particularly among KA youth who positively internalized parents' hardship and sacrifice by attributing positive meanings to their parents' experiences, their SIP may play a role as a protective factor against parent-child challenges pertaining to the immigrant family context (e.g., parental unavailability, cultural conflicts). This seemed to occur specifically as youth's internalized SIP provided a positive interpretive frame through which they interpreted their parents' actions and parental features through a lens of parents' sacrifice and child-centered intentions. These findings together offer an alternative framework of resiliency among youth whose family life deviates from that of the "Normal American family" (Pyke, 2000)

due to various parent-child challenges (i.e., including parents' busy work life or cultural differences in parenting practice).

Limitations

The present findings must be interpreted with the study's limitations in mind. First, while the use of qualitative methods was beneficial for obtaining a rich and complex understanding of the experience of KA youth, methods utilized in this study may have created the potential for self-selection bias. Specifically, participants were not randomized (i.e., they *chose* to participate and self-identified with the study's criteria) and thus may have different perceptions and experiences of SIP from other populations of second generation Korean youth. Thus, further research is needed with a random sample to explore other variations of perceptions and experiences of SIP that may not have been captured in this study. Another limitation of this study is its lack of inclusion of KA youth at various points in the life stage. Only youth in emerging adulthood, a unique stage in terms of individual's experiences, were included in this study. Thus, it is unknown, for example, whether these youth who expressed a strong desire to repay their parents would pursue their plan as expressed once they have reached adulthood. Similarly, it is still unknown if the levels of internalization of SIP could change over time; for example, if a non-internalizing youth could come to internalize SIP over time.

Finally, because this study relied on retrospective reporting of childhood and adolescent experiences, there is a possibility that the reported experiences are biased or selective. This concern is somewhat moderated by the focus of this investigation on the analysis of narration, rather than the actual family relationships.

Future Directions

This study suggests the protective role of meaning-making among KA youth growing up in the family context with parent-child challenges pertaining to the immigrant family context. Similar family features that may be considered as risk factors, such as parents' unavailability, intergenerational value discrepancy, and financial struggles. It would be interesting to investigate whether similar phenomenon of meaning-making can be observed among low SES, non-immigrant Korean families. It might be also interesting to see if there are differences among immigrant families from different cultural backgrounds that do not share similar cultural or family values with immigrants from Asian or Hispanic backgrounds that focus on family interdependence and responsibilities. Specifically, this may allow delineation of different factors at work by looking at cultural factors and immigration-related factors separately.

Further, it would be interesting to compare these findings with findings from other immigrant population (e.g., Latin American, and Southeast Asian). For example, Latin American families may share similar perceptions related to parents' sacrifice and child-centered immigration-aspiration, yet there is often more emphasis on family obligation than for example, academic achievement, among Latin American families compared to Asian American families (Fuligni, 2007). Thus, while they may be exposed to similar narratives, their idealized outcomes may be different.

Finally, it would be beneficial to conduct a longitudinal study specifically to investigate the long-term outcome of youth's SIP. Given the limitation that only youth in emerging adulthood were included for this study, a longitudinal study would allow to investigate whether these youth who expressed strong desire to repay their parents would pursue their plan as expressed, as well as

whether youth who did not internalize at the time of this study would eventually internalize their SIP.

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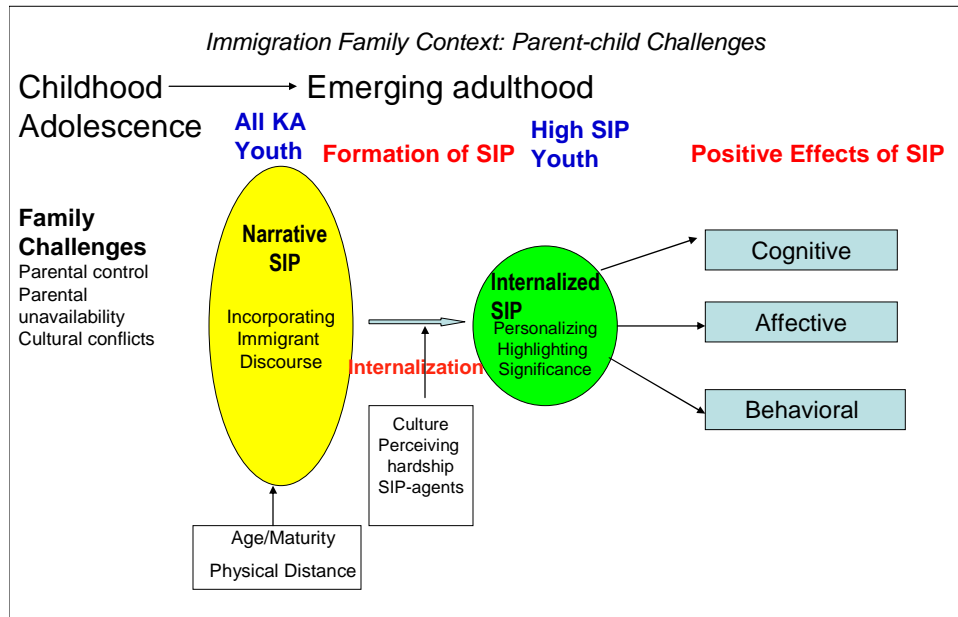
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FIGURE: SENSE OF INDEBTEDNESS TOWARD PARENTS MODEL

Sense of Indebtedness toward Parents (SIP)



APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interview Protocol

I. General overview of family context, immigration history, and general family life growing up.

Purpose is to get a general sense of their family environment growing up, family experiences, different sources that may have affected their parent-child relationships, and the ecological context in which their SIP may have formed. Also, this may provide a context in which participants' SIP narratives can emerge without me imposing on them.

1. Family immigration history:

When did your parents come to the US. Why did they come to the US? [probe: how do you know about it?] Any relatives?

[Probe: perception of parents' immigration aspiration; meaning-making of that knowledge]

2. Tell me about your family life growing up: tell me sort of a typical day as an adolescent, let's say about middle school. How was your typical day like during week days and weekend during your middle school?

[If bring up about family obligations such as working at family business and other responsibilities, elaborate on them]

Middle school

a. Peers (Asian/Korean vs. White or other ethnicities): "Who did you usually hang out with? What was their ethnicity?"

b. Neighborhood (e.g., White vs. ethnic enclave): "Could you describe your neighborhood where you grew up?"

c. Ethnic church/other ethnic organizations: "Did you involve in other organizations such as church or other places? How was it like? How much time did you spend? How actively were you involved?"

d. Primary caregiver (e.g., grandmother or mother): "Who was your primary caregiver? How was it like?"

e. Family obligation (level of obligations; involvement in chores, other tasks, translations, work at family business): “Could you describe what your responsibilities around house were like?”

[Probe: How do you feel about the amount of responsibilities that you have? How about compare to your friends? What make you feel that way?]

f. Primary language spoken at home: “Which language did you speak at home vs. outside of home” Which language did your parents speak to you?”

[Probe: level of communication; feelings regarding the level/efficiency of communication or language barriers; whether they felt understood by parents]

g. Family time: “Could you describe the time that you spent as a whole family? Time spent with your parents?”

[Probe: whether they had regular family time; how were experiences related to the family time (positive vs. negative; what type of activities involved, etc)]

h. Parents’ work: “What do you remember about your parents and their work? How many hours did they work? How was it like for them? How was it like for you? How did it affect you?”

[Probe: Parental involvement (e.g., school, family time)]

High school

After the respondent answer, move to high school year. (for adolescents, the present)

Ok. How about when you were in high school? (in terms of typical day during week days and weekend); any change from middle school years?

If they say something that indicates their relationships with their parents prior to Q4,, probe to get more information on that; in particular, ask about the nature of parent-child relationships; their perception of their parents

3. How would you describe your parents’? (Parenting style; autonomy-granting; expression of affection; level and style of communication, etc)

a. When you think of your parents, what’s the first thing that comes to your mind?
(expand)

b. How would you describe your relationships with your parents growing up?

[Probe: whether they felt their parents loved and cared, whether they felt close to their parents; whether they felt understood by parents; why they felt that way]

c. How would you describe the amount of conflicts/arguments you had with your parents?

[Probe: What contributed; cultural conflicts, etc]

d. Has your relationships with your parents changed over the years? ; How is it now?

[Probe: if so, how did it change; what are the factors surrounding the change?]

e. How do you feel about your relationships with your parents compared to other friends of yours. (Koreans and Americans)

f. How do you see your parents in your picture of your future? For example, what would be the living arrangement with your parents? Plan for financially assisting your parents? And what's your idea regarding how your general relationship with your parents will be like in the future (when you become an adult)?

[Probe for SIP, prompting them to explore and define SIP; Probe also for their emotional responses to their sense of filial obligation]

II. Current context for young adult

Purpose of this part is to examine their current context and also lay out a setting in which they can talk about SIP without being imposed by me.

1. Living situation (e.g., dorm with roommates, etc): "What is your living situation like?"

2. Peers: "Who do you usually hang out with?"

3. Financial support from parents: "How do you support yourself financially? "How about your tuition and living expenses?"

[Probe: how they feel about it-especially regarding their perception of and interaction with parents]

4. Work: "Have you ever had a job? Do you currently work?"

5. Romantic relationships (e.g., Korean vs. other ethnicity): "Are you dating anyone? What's his/her ethnicity?" (I will try to be careful not to be too intrusive)

6. Current major and plan for future occupation: "What's your major? Do you have in your mind what kind of occupation you want to pursue? What is it?"

[Probe: How did you come to choose your current major? How do you feel about it-whether feel forced or voluntary]

- a. If he/she brings up about parental influence, I'll elaborate on it: how did parents influence that decision; Explore cognitive-motivational and emotional-psychological experiences they had as they deal with the whole situation)
- b. If she doesn't bring up about parental influence, ask whether parents played any role in that decision; how parents responded to that decision, whether they experienced any conflicts in terms of that decision; what factors played role in their decision; what are emotional-psychological experiences they had as they deal with the whole situation.

If participants bring up SIP in any part of the interview and if I feel it'll be more effective to ask about it at that time rather than waiting until the next part of the interview, I may ask questions in part III at that time.

III. Explore SIP among Korean American (KA) adolescent and young adults:

If one brings up SIP related narratives in part I or II (i.e., my parents made sacrifice, my parents have gone through hardships for the sake of me, etc):

1. What is SIP? What are their SIP related experiences like?
 - a . Could you elaborate little bit on what you said (about SIP)?
 - b. Where do you think that (e.g., understanding of parental sacrifice; desire to repay; filial obligation) come from?
 - c. Could you tell me what it means to you?
 - d. Tell me how you express SIP? Is there any (particular) way that you express that you're feeling SIP?
[Probe: the youth's behaviors and other expressions in response to SIP]
 - e. Tell me more about that feeling of SIP. What kind of feelings/emotions do you experience as you feel SIP? (e.g., pressure, gratitude, etc)
[Explore and probe on different aspects of SIP (positive vs. negative feelings such as gratitude vs. guilt; break down the complexities of this construct)]

- f. Where do you think these feelings are coming from?
- g. All these feelings and your beliefs that you just talked about (summarize what they said), how would call that? (I'm trying to define SIP based on their words)
- h. How indebted do you feel toward your parents? On the scale of 1-7, (low to high) how would you rate? Why did you give that number? Describe in your words and explain what you mean.

2. What are sources of SIP?

Some of the questions may overlap with ones in A (what is SIP?).

- a. Where do you feel that these feelings/beliefs (e.g., SIP, perceived parental sacrifice) come from?
- b. Could you tell me how these feelings/beliefs were developed?
 - i) When did you start feeling that way?/ when do you remember started having that feelings? Could you describe the context of your life when that happened in more detail? (How old were you?; What was happening in your life; anything that triggered that feeling?)
i) is for me to get a sense of the context in which SIP was reinforced/formed and ii) is to ask about youth's own perception of what happened
 - ii) Were there particular things that you can think of that might have contributed to that feelings/ or that feelings/sense to be reinforced?
 - iii) Do you feel it (SIP) is more of a cultural thing that applies more to Koreans/or other Asians versus Americans?
[Probe: identification with Korean culture; e.g., how much do you enjoy Korean food and Korean pop culture]
[if they bring up about culture before I ask this question, then probe on what they say]
 - iv) Have there been any changes in terms of how you felt or relate to SIP? (For example, was it a consistent feeling that you've always felt since you first developed, or was it more of ups and downs in the process? In certain phase/context, you strongly felt that but at certain phase/context, you don't feel that way, or you started questioning that beliefs/feeling of SIP. For example, you used to feel your parents did so much for

you and you're indebted to your parents but that at some point, you started doubting that...)

[Probe: If you've experienced fluctuations in terms of how you felt SIP, could you describe more in detail?

What you've said was very helpful in understanding how your SIP (or whatever the word they used to define what they're feeling) has developed/ how you came to have SIP. Now I'd like to ask you how SIP affects you.

3. What are the implications of SIP?

a. How would you describe the effects of SIP in your life? Is there any?

[Probe: behavioral, cognitive, and affective responses]

b. Do you feel whether SIP affects you in your relationships with your parents?

[Probe: autonomy-pursuit; decision-making; perception of parents; interpretation of parental actions]

c. How does it affect you in your sense of who you are especially as a Korean American?

[Probe: meaning-making; identify-formation]

If one does NOT bring up SIP related narratives after part I and II:

A. I will go back to some questions in part I and II, and elaborate on experiences that might have invoked SIP in other participants. (e.g., parents' hardships as immigrants; perceived parental immigration aspiration)

e.g., You said earlier that your parents worked 70 hours a week and didn't get to really spend time with you and your family growing up. How do you make sense out of it? How do you feel about it?

When you said your parents came to the US for their children's education and better life, what does it mean to you personally? How do you relate to that?

B. If I still do not get any SIP-related narratives, then I'll ask the following:

a. When I say SIP, what is the first thing that comes to your mind?

- b. How indebted do you feel toward your parents? On the scale of 1-7, (low to high) what number would you give?
- c. Why did you give that number? Describe in your words and explain what you mean.

Through these questions, I will try to find out: 1) whether failure to bring up SIP narratives does mean that they do not feel SIP; and 2) What contribute to this (either no mention of SIP narratives or no feeling of SIP)

APPENDIX B: PRELIMINARY SENSE OF INDEBTEDNESS TOWARD PARENTS (SIP)
SCALE

What is the first word that comes to your mind when you hear “sacrifice made by parents”?

Below are statements that you may **agree or disagree with**. Please answer each statement by circling the answer which best describes you.

	Completely Disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Completely Agree
1) I owe my parents a lot for what they have sacrificed for me as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2) It is important for me to pay my parents back for what they have done for me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3) It is not my job to compensate my parents for their hardships as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4) I feel indebted to my parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

	Completely Disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Completely Agree
5) I feel pressured that I have to be a good son/daughter all the time	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6) I feel forced into having to conform into my parents' expectations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7) I am deeply grateful to my parents for their sacrifice for me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8) My parents show their love and care by their hard work as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9) It is completely my voluntary will (not forced obligation) that makes me want to repay my parents for their sacrifice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10) I feel that my parents expect too much from me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11) It is my deep sense of gratitude that makes me feel I want to do things that make my parents happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
12) It is the pressure (internal not from parents) that I feel that makes me feel I have to do things that make my parents happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
13) I feel loved as I think of all the hardships that my parents have endured as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14) I feel really guilty if I disappoint my parents or fail to meet their expectations for me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Completely Agree			
15) It cost my parents a lot to come to the U.S. and live as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
16) My parents often told me how much they have done for me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
17) I always hear from other people (e.g., Koreans) about how much sacrifice my parents have made for me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
18) My parents made a lot of sacrifices for me as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
19) My parents sacrificed more than typical White American parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
20) I have benefited from my parents' immigration and struggle as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
21) My parents' hard work as immigrants was for me rather than for themselves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
22) I feel that other people (e.g., other Koreans) think that I'm indebted to my parents for their hardships	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
23) I feel I'm responsible for the hardships my parents my parents have experienced as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
24) My parents expect me to pay them back	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

for what they have done for me									
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12 Items selected

	Completely Disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Completely Agree
1) I owe my parents a lot for what they have sacrificed for me as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
2) It is important for me to pay my parents back for what they have done for me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
3) It is not my job to compensate my parents for their hardships as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
4) I feel indebted to my parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
5) I am deeply grateful to my parents for their sacrifice for me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6) My parents show their love and care by their hard work as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7) I feel loved as I think of all the hardships that my parents have endured as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
8) It cost my parents a lot to come to the U.S. and live as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
9) My parents made a lot of sacrifices for me as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

10) My parents sacrificed more than typical White American parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
11) I have benefited from my parents' immigration and struggle as immigrants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
12) My parents' hard work as immigrants was for me rather than for themselves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

APPENDIX C: YOUTH INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Consent to Participate

Korean American Youth Study Participation

Who is conducting this study?

The present study is conducted as a dissertation research project by Hyeyoung Kang, a doctoral student in the Department of Human and Community Development at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. This study is under the supervision of Aaron Ebata, Associate Professor in the Department of Human and Community Development.

What is purpose of this study?

The main goal of this study is to learn about Korean American youth's experiences of growing up in Korean immigrant families and effects of these experiences on them. I am specifically interested in how they make a meaning out of these experiences and how these experiences affect their perceptions of and relationships with their parents.

What are the procedures?

You will meet me for an interview at a convenient time and location that we agree upon (e.g., my university office). If you are unable to meet me, we can also do the interview over the phone. Before the interview begins, I will ask for your permission to audio record the interview for the purpose of transcribing the interview later. I estimate that it will take approximately 1:30 hour to complete the interview. During the interview, I will ask you about your general life experiences (e.g., family, school, friends, church, etc), family experiences, perceptions of your parents and their experiences as immigrants.

What are my rights as a participant?

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this study is absolutely voluntary. If you do initially agree to participate, you may end your participation at any time throughout the research process with no penalty. You may skip any questions you do not wish to answer. Your decision to participate, decline, or withdraw from participation will not affect your grades at, status at, or future relations with the University of Illinois.

Confidentiality

To serve your best interest, all of the information that you share with me will be kept in strict privacy and confidence. Aside from me, access to interviews will only be given to my faculty advisor. My interview notes, audio recordings and interview transcripts will be kept in a locked file cabinet in a university office. Upon completion of the study, I will destroy audio recordings of all participants as an added security measure.

Anonymity

Your confidentiality is guaranteed. All identifying information in interview notes and interview transcripts will be immediately removed and replaced with pseudonyms (made-up information) or non-identifiable labels (e.g., participant1, participant2, etc.) Results of the study will be written and discussed without identifying you or your family.

The only time I that I would have to tell someone about information disclosed during an interview is if I am told about recent or current child abuse (I am mandated by law to report child abuse) or if I am told that someone is thinking about hurting or killing herself or others. In these situations, I will have to release the information to the appropriate authorities so that they may take immediate steps to help the person.

What are some benefits and risks of participating in this study?

By participating in this study, you may gain insight into your family experiences. The information will benefit other youths and their families who may have similar experiences in the future as what we learn from this study will help us and others to better understand experiences of Korean American youths. You will also be given \$15 check to thank you for participating. Payment will be provided for partial completion of the interview, if you choose to end the interview early.

The known risks involved in doing this study are minimal. You may experience some physical and/or emotional discomfort from sharing your family experiences with me. That is understandable. You are encouraged to let me know if you feel overwhelmed or just wish to take a break from the interview. We can reschedule or stop the interview at any time.

Who do I contact if I have a question or concerns?

Please read this form carefully. If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study, please contact **Hyeyoung Kang** at (626) 590-9642 or e-mail kang3@uiuc.edu. If you want to know

more about your rights as a human subject in UIUC-approved research, please contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) office at (217) 333-2670 or e-mail irb@uiuc.edu. You may call this number collect if you reside outside the local calling area. You will receive a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Your consent to participate in this research study means that you have read and understood the information given to you in this form. By giving consent, you are volunteering to participate in this research study and you are giving permission to the investigator to perform the procedures referred to; report research findings to scientific bodies and funding agencies; and to publish and present the findings in professional settings.

I have read and understood the content of this form and agree to participate in this study

Signature

Date

Korean American Youth Study Participation

Hi!

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Human and Community Development at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and I am conducting a study of lives of Korean American youths in Chicagoland and Champaign area. The main goal of this study is to learn about the experience of Korean American youth growing up in Korean immigrant families and how they make meaning out of these experiences.

I will meet with you to interview you at a time and place that is convenient to you. But, if you cannot meet with me, we can also do the interview over the phone. The interview will take approximately around an hour. In addition, you will be asked to fill out two short scales as part of this study. Each scale should not take more than about 5 minutes to complete. Your parent(s) has (have) given permission for you to participate, but you are free to decide whether or not you want to go ahead. If you want to stop participating at any time, just let me know. You may also skip a question if you are uncomfortable answering it. There is no risk from participating in this study other than those you might find in everyday life. Your decision to participate or not, or stop at any time, will not have any negative consequences. I will also ask to make audio recordings of the interview with you, but such recordings will not be shared with anyone other than my advisor, Dr. Reed Larson, without your permission. The information that you shared will be kept confidential. This means that you will not be identified by name in any sharing of this research results.

If you do decide to participate in this study, to thank you for your time and effort, you will be given one \$15 store gift card after the completion of the interview.

If you have any questions about this study, you can contact me at xxx (office number), or e-mail me at kang3@uiuc.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a participant, you can contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review board (IRB) at (217) 333-2670. You may call this number collect if you reside outside the local calling area. The IRB office may also be contacted by e-mail at irb@uiuc.edu. Please keep the second copy of this form for your records.

I choose to:

Participate_____

Not participate_____

Signature_____

Please print your full name:
