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Multigenerational Perspectives of Korean Immigrant Parents and Youth on Family Relationship, Values and Identity

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Multigenerational Perspectives of Korean Immigrant Parents and Youth on Family Relationship,
Values and Identity

by

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Abstract

Negotiation of intergenerational values in first generation immigrant families is the central focus of this study. In-depth interviews were conducted with twenty-two Korean-Canadian participants (six parents and sixteen young adults) in the Greater Toronto Area, followed by data analysis using the grounded theory methods (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The findings revealed four aspects by which participants effectuate values, and the activities that resolve the tensions embedded in value plurality. The negotiation process also addressed the issues of disconnect, disrespect, and disempowerment in the intergenerational relationship. The quality of parent-child relationship played a meaningful role in participants' development of values, self-efficacy, and affirmation of identities. Based on the findings of value proficiency and mutual recognition, recommendations are made for service providers to newcomer families, and for educators with particular interest in ethics, diversity and citizenship.

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List of Abbreviations

GTA	Greater Toronto Area
<i>NIV</i>	Negotiation of intergenerational values
<i>Pt</i>	Parents
<i>YA</i>	Young adults

Chapter One: **Introduction**

With immigration being the main source of population growth and labour renewal in Canada (Siemiatycki, 2012), there is a need to understand, and properly support, the various ways by which individuals and families adapt and integrate. Furthermore, the goal to activate the innovative potential of diversity has been of great interest in the fields of citizenship education, multicultural social cohesion, and competitive advantage of businesses alike (Hébert, 2005; Siemiatycki, 2012; Thomas & Ely, 1996). For families migrating as multi-generational units, there is a continued interest in the persistence of traditional values as part of Canadian diversity and how families might negotiate the co-existing plural ways of life. Given this backdrop, this study explores how first generation Korean Canadian youth and parents negotiate their intergenerational values as they adapt and mature in Canada – as individuals, as family, and as new Canadians.

This introductory chapter situates the study by briefly providing the background of the study, key theoretical concepts, the contexts and current realities of study participants, the research questions guiding this study, and the study's significance. Following this chapter, Chapter 2 presents the results of an extensive literature review that led to the conceptualisation of the framework for studying the negotiation of intergenerational values (NIV). Chapter 3 presents the research methodology, followed by the findings in Chapter 4 and the interpretations in Chapter 5.

1.1 Motivation for Inquiry

This study situates me as both a member of the Korean Canadian community in Toronto and as a researcher pursuing graduate studies at the University of Calgary. Following migration at the age

of eleven, I have grown through alternating seasons of connection to and distance from groups in my ethnocultural, linguistic community. The physical, social, and cultural distance I gained from my studies at the University of Calgary provided a useful space for critical reflection on the topics of values, family, and what it means to be a Korean Canadian. Given that my knowledge is limited largely to my own experiences, I am, and continue to be, motivated to learn how other Korean Canadian families evolve in their family norms and relationships, their sense of belonging in Canada and to its diverse groups.

1.2 Responsibility and Recognition in Family

There is a connection between the level of self-confidence I have as an adult, the esteem I have towards my parents, the scope of ownership I assume as a community member, and the respect I have for diversity in Canada. These have been reflexive processes – meaning, to the degree I had been accepted and given care and respect, I have been able to initiate and increasingly give acceptance, care, and respect towards others in existing and new settings. Two concepts are important for making sense of these evolving relationships: responsibility and recognition.

According to Gaudet's (2007) definition, responsibility, i.e., the ability to respond to others, is performed as a way of affirming one's own values. Having learned to answer for myself, my wilful choice to respond to others' needs (Funk & Kobayashi, 2009) becomes an extended expression of my individuality and adulthood. Furthermore, Honneth's (1999) theory of recognition helps to explain how such a sense of self-efficacy depends on the experiences of parental care, social acceptance within community, and institutionalised respect as a bearer of legal rights and duties. My own struggles for recognition through experiences of disrespect – be it due to gender, race, age, class – have been enriched by the growing understanding of my

values and processes of change. Indeed, there are relationships of recognition that foster a healthy sense of self, in which values are affirmed and negotiated in meaningful ways.

1.3 Values Negotiation

Discussions about values may be influenced by multiple sources of meaning – traditions from Korea, local immigrant Korean norms, mainstream Canadian culture, contemporary trends and pressures of today's generation (Wyn & White, 2000; White, Wyn & Albanese, 2011). In thinking about values as embedded in the intergenerational relationship, Appiah's (2006) work on cosmopolitanism helps to conceptualise values as a language of evaluation, integral to organising social life. The use of an everyday Korean term, *cheol* (철), represents such language of evaluation. According to late Nam-Deok Lee (2001), a well-known Korean etymologist, *cheol* – defined as 사리를 헤아릴 줄 아는 지각의 힘 [*the ability/power of conscious mind to give due consideration to matters of reason/principle*] – originated from its root homonym that means *a season, or the right time for*. Just as the seasons change, a person's consciousness also changes seasons. *Cheol* is now translated as discretion, prudence, good sense, wisdom, judgment, and reasonableness (from *Dong-A's Prime Korean-English Dictionary*, electronic software updated 02 October 2014), but still used in comments to either endorse or disapprove individual conduct and decisions. Imbued with existential questions, this Korean concept may provide cultural reference points for norms and social expectations.

Values, then, are treated not just as confined to the individual behaviour and experiences, but also as a discussed, negotiated social reality. The disagreements identified by Appiah (2006) arise as a result of differences in the vocabulary, interpretations, or weights given to values. Knowledge of such differences may help facilitate dialogue and negotiation. Here, Noddings'

(1994, 2002) work on moral conversations adds important principles of engagement that help create an effective dialogue over topics of moral relevance. Showing respect and positive regard towards the conversational partner, shared input and responsiveness, and valuing the partner above the topic of discussion, all come together to form conditional aspects so as to make conflicts constructive. This study aims to uncover strategies that resolve value disagreements, as well as yield positive outcomes in the family relationship and identity development.

1.4 Contexts of the Study Participants

Ethnic Koreans constitute an increasing proportion of Canadians, numbering over 168,000 in 2011 and having a strong presence in the Greater Toronto Area (Statistics Canada, 2013). My observations of families in the GTA agree with previous findings that many first generation Korean Canadian parents, highly educated but unable to find jobs in their training, are engaged in small businesses and rely on the strong ethnic network as main method of social and economic integration (Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2014). Stress can result from both the economic struggles and the adaptive pressures on family culture and relationship.

A robust community network exists in Toronto, where a wide spectrum of services and activities are provided for cultural, social, economic and civic activities - places to work/volunteer, build professional skills, exchange support, establish network, and more (Noh, Kim & Noh, 2012; IRPP, 2014). Family composition, religion, education, economic class and network may be some of the factors that influence how Korean Canadians access and contribute to these resources.

The participants in this study have migrated together as a minimum two-generation unit (i.e. parent and child). This indicates a certain level of commitment from both the parents and

children to make their new life in Canada, and to share the adaptation experience. This distinguishes the participants from temporary residents or youth who spend their schooling years away from parents. With the children having had at least one full year of public education in Korea, the participants are expected to share access to the language, norms, and values of the Korean culture. The study selects for such children who have become adults in Canada, able to reflect on the various traditions they bring to Canada and those discovered in Canada.

1.5 Research Questions

In seeking to understand how immigrant parents and youth negotiate their values, with relevance to family life and adaptation, the study addresses the following key research questions:

Intergenerational Relationships

How do the parent-child relationships evolve as the families resettle in Canada? What does family mean to the Korean Canadian immigrant parents and young people, including their perceived roles in maturation and adaptation?

Identities

How are cultural identities cultivated and maintained over the years in Canada? How do these intersect with adulthood and a sense of responsibility?

Values

How do participants negotiate values? What are the challenges that require negotiation? How are values interconnected with identity and family relationship?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The results of this study may have implications for at least four stakeholder groups. First, for educators especially involved in citizenship and ethics (including discipline-specific) education, findings may inform strategies to negotiate and activate the potential of diversity in problem solving. Second, for service providers and policy makers, a deeper understanding of the cultural adaptation process may help identify the mechanisms for better engagement and support of newcomer families. Third, the newcomer families may find useful ways of discussing their experiences, building their skills to create family dialogue and negotiate their evolving relationships. Both the parents and young people can benefit from being better informed of each others' perspectives, and recognising the value of what each contributes to the growing up and adapting processes. The multigenerational perspectives on topics of culture, family, adulthood, and integration will provide valuable insights into newcomers' participation in vibrant Canadian multiculturalism.

Chapter Two: **Literature Review**

The interrelatedness between values, identity, and parent-child relationship is the key focus of this literature review. This chapter discusses the three topics above as situated in terms of migration and adaptation as Korean Canadian families (2.1) and of young people's individuation and maturation (2.2). A discussion on the nature of values as relevant for the *negotiation of intergenerational values (NIV)* completes the conceptual framework for this study (2.3). The chapter concludes with an overview of the targeted themes under investigation (2.4).

2.1 Adaptation as Family: Contemporary and migration contexts

Immigration within contemporary contexts may intersect in interesting ways for Korean Canadian families. First, some social challenges are linked to unrecognised but pervasive expectations of assimilation in Canada (Carens, 2005; Li, 2003; Berry, 1997). Second, there is a socioeconomic trend shifting social responsibilities from the state to nuclear families, even as young people must navigate precarious employment and extended periods of academic commitment (Wyn, 2004; Lareau & Horvat, 1999; Lew, 2007). Although the Korean immigrants in Canada are expected to be heterogeneous in their characteristics, motives, and experiences, the demands of adaptation can be challenging to many newcomers alike (Lew, 2007). Family relationships may evolve to respond to these challenges, forming an important context for the ways in which families might adapt and negotiate their values in the process.

Specific to the Greater Toronto Area, newcomers from Korea are generally highly educated but engage in small business outside their original field of training, dependent on the ethnic networks in the locality (Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2014). The local ethnic networks (e.g. churches, community organisations) have traditionally been an important source

of information and support in a wide range of services, including resettlement, interpretation, employment, training, cultural engagement, language education, and counselling. The effectiveness of service organisations in supporting resettlement is evident in many facets. Their effectiveness in facilitating mainstream integration, on the other hand, is of considerable concern (IRPP, 2014), possibly for at least two reasons: the state of overall Korean integration in Canada, and the relationships among ethnic Koreans across the boundaries of mainstream sectors and ethnic communities. Both may affect how newcomers access resources for integration beyond the first resettlement tasks, and develop a sense of belonging in their new country of residence.

The different levels of integration between parents and youth – due, in part, to a combination of factors such as language, economic opportunities, and access to resources – have been often cited as the source of intergenerational conflict (Choi, He & Harachi, 2008; Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau & McCabe, 2009; Phinney, Chavira & Williamson, 2000). The degree of engagement with cultural norms is associated with the degree of adherence to cultural values, and the differences between cultural values are often insinuated as incompatible and competing in immigrant families. Such explanation is too simplistic for Korean families – immigrant and non-immigrant families are equally likely to experience parent-child conflicts, and communication skills seem more imperative than sharing same cultural norms or being devoid of value disagreements (Kwak, 2003; Kim, 2004). At the same time, biculturalism among youth has been a well-studied topic, where young people have been shown act as bridges for parents' integration in host society (Kobayashi, 2008; Schwartz & Unger, 2010). This indicates that cultural identification may not necessarily precede family harmony, but family relations can help evolve cultural adaptation. This idea is compatible with studies on transculturalism and value

translation, which find that cultural identities and values can be negotiated, explored, preserved, and adapted in creative ways (Hébert, 2005; Kobayashi & Funk, 2010).

2.2 Parenting and Recognition

Parenting strategies can play an important role in young people's agency in actively harnessing, or overcoming the constraints of, the individual/structural factors and the risks associated with existing patterns of inequity (White, Wyn & Albanese, 2011). Aunola, Stattin and Nurmi (2000) link the levels of parental authority and responsiveness to adaptive behaviour of children. Adaptive strategies are described in three stages: (a) Anticipation of either failure or success; (b) Orientation towards task by planning and effort; and (c) Evaluation of outcomes by causal attributions. Maladaptive strategies, on the other hand, include: (a) learned helplessness (self-handicapping); (b) lacking belief in personal control (distrust in own competence to handle situation); and (c) passivity and avoidance (such as, failure expectation, excuses, task-irrelevant behaviour). The influence of parental and children's values on specific parenting activities may thus have important implications for individual efficacy that extends beyond the family environment.

The interdependence between intersubjective relationship, identity, and self-determination is powerfully delineated by Honneth's (1999) theory of recognition. Parental response to the child's expressed needs, and the experienced recognition of child's autonomy, promote the development of positive relationship to self (i.e. self-confidence). Furthermore, social acceptance of a young person's particularities and legal protection of her rights can promote her self-esteem and self-respect. Forms of disrespect, on the other hand, not only cause injury to the identity and emotional life of the person being disrespected, but also create/reflect social relations that accept

or enable such injuries to continue. Whether it is control over one's own body, denied rights, or denigration of particular ways of life, the experience of disrespect challenges individuals and groups to struggle for recognition and establish social relations that promote healthy self-confidence, self-esteem, and self-respect.

2.3 Responsibility and Filial Piety: Maturation and relational values

As young people grow in their individuality and capacity for self-determination (ability to control and establish their own life), they may be more sensitive to parents' approval and respect for young people's expressed individuality and autonomy. Reasons for esteem (evaluation criteria) and standards of fairness may be challenged, making existing patterns and expectations (both familial and cultural) subject to critique. Changes to the family practices and values may be needed not only for individual well-being, but also for the relational integrity as young people grow. Balancing the issue of autonomy and interdependence has indeed been highlighted as a key concern for in immigrant families (Kwak, 2004).

As the young people mature, the parent-child relationship is expected to evolve from a greater degree of child's dependency on parents, into an adult-adult relationship, and further towards the adult children providing support for the elderly parents. This is a life cycle view of the intergenerational relationship that is deeply embedded in the notion of filial piety, particularly in – but not limited to – the Korean culture (Sung, 1990, 1994, 1995, 1998; Keller, 2006). The aim of this section is to examine how values and identity intersect with each of the three broad life cycle stages of intergenerational relationship.

Identity construction is one of the central issues in youth and adulthood, as is young people's moral development (also see Arnett, 1997; Schwartz, Côté & Arnett, 2005; Ghosh,

Lussier & Chambers, 2011; Auhagen, 2001; Bandura, 1991; Noddings, 2002; Tappan, 2010). By characterizing maturity with a combination of the desire for independence and concern for others, Gaudet (2007) shifts the attention away from conventional markers of adulthood towards the ethical experience of responsibility. Young people affirm their values in answering for themselves, as well as in assuming and acting on their responsibilities. Answering for oneself precedes the ability to respond to others, which is compatible with the notion of filial piety (receiving care as a child before being able to give care for elderly parents as adults).

What is unclear, however, is how parents and young people would both affirm their values in their responsibility towards each other (and themselves), and how this responsibility might prompt them to adapt and change their values. Even the traditional value of filial piety has been adapted in their actions and translated to different contexts by subsequent generations (Sung, 1997; Funk & Kobayashi, 2010). Literature informing the conceptualisation of values negotiation is discussed in the next section.

2.4 Negotiation of Values in Conversation

Across disciplines, values are commonly discussed as abstract, meaningful concepts with practical implications through a person's behaviour or institutionalized processes (Schwartz, 2007; Hébert & Wilkinson, 2011). It is useful for this study to adopt the view that values exist in subject-led processes rather than as independent, objective realities. Appiah (2006) provides the most suitable explanation for placing active subjects as more central to the study than the values themselves:

"What's an alternative to the Positivist picture of values? Values guide our acts, our thoughts, and our feelings. These are our responses to values.... perhaps the Positivist has the story exactly the wrong way around. Perhaps you want people to want each other to be kind because you recognize the value of kindness... your valuing it is a judgment that we all have a good reason to do or to think or to feel certain

things in certain contexts, and so, also, have reason to encourage these acts and thoughts and feelings in others... We go astray, similarly, when we think of a moral vocabulary as the possession of a solitary individual... Our language of values is one of the central ways we coordinate our lives with one another. We appeal to values when we are trying to get things done together" (pp. 25-28).

Given this approach, different characteristics of values identified in the literature inform the expected processes by which people actively engage in the language of values. Values can be discussed as topical content, and also made effective by performance, or application into practice (Hébert, Eyford & Jutras, 2005). Attention is given to interactional co-construction of shared ideals, used to exercise discretion in determining actions appropriate to situations (Hébert & Wilkinson, 2011). There are plural sources of meaning, possible actions, and relational contexts. In other words, disagreements with values do not necessarily sit in polar opposites – rather, the weighting of priorities, different interpretations of the vocabulary, and the presence or lack of particular vocabulary can cause disagreements to be negotiated (Appiah, 2006).

There are several embedded processes of parent-child relationship that may be relevant to value negotiation: communication (Kim, 2004; Kwak, 2003; Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009), decision-making authority or levels of control (Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999), conflict resolution (Choi, He & Harachi, 2008; Lim, Yeh, Liang, Lau & McCabe, 2009), roles and responsibilities (Auhagen, 2001; Sung, 1998). Furthermore, the skills involved in these processes extend their relevance beyond the home environment. Professional fields and leadership educators recognise the benefits of cultural diversity, as well as the necessary skills to yield such benefits by diversity management, conflict resolution, effective communication, and collaboration (Thomas & Ely, 1996; Ely, Meyerson & Davidson, 2006; Groysberg & Slind, 2009; Komives, Lucas & McMahon, 2007). Ability to hold discussions on differences – conflicts – is also linked to critical thinking and citizenship education (Pouwels, 2005; Wright, 2003).

The interactional quality of values negotiations may merit attention in this study, given that making conflicts constructive can require hard work, and that the manner of conversation also has implications for identity respect or abrasion (Noddings, 2002; Ely, Meyerson & Davidson, 2006). Generally, in an effective dialogue, all parties are expected to speak, listen, and respond to one another (Noddings, 2002; Groysberg & Slind, 2009): (i) Expressing themselves, creating opportunities for exploration, debate, feedback and correction; (ii) Listening, where partner's views are taken seriously, seeking and gaining understanding; (iii) Responsiveness to each other, with the characteristics of good intentions, respect, and care for the partner's well-being more than the topic of conversation. The conditions identified as necessary for fostering healthy engagement include: creating safety (from identity abrasions), seeking out other's experiences, investing in relationships, and modeling the principles they uphold for engagement. Particular ways of communication can impact the relational environment including trust, commitment to shared purpose, reactions to disagreements, and established messages about the organisational values. There may be varied strategies to create the conditions more conducive to constructive negotiation of values, which may further impact the quality of the family environment.

2.5 Summary

The literature review provides three important reference points for researching intergenerational value negotiation. First, there are objectives or consequences in values negotiation that is of meaningful relevance to the intergenerational relationship (meaning and impact of intergenerational values) in participant contexts. Secondly, values can be different, conflicting, or causing some levels of tension in the family relationship (cause for negotiation). Thirdly, there

are active processes in values negotiation, and also varying abilities in performing those processes (skills and processes). The following themes still require more understanding to build a theoretical model of *NIV*, and are thus important areas for analysis:

- Ways by which values are discussed, learned, changed, practiced as part of adaptation and maturation
- Nature of values in negotiation, the types of their differences and disagreements
- Link between intergenerational values, *NIV* skills, and the quality of the parent-child relationship
- Role of culture and familial resources in the above phenomena
- Impact of *NIV* on self-relation, as well as adaptive strategies

The design of this study on *NIV*, including its analytic framework, is discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Three: **Methodology**

This chapter outlines the methodology adopted for this qualitative study of the negotiation process of cultural values among Korean-Canadian families. More specifically, this chapter describes the rationale for choosing the qualitative paradigm and methodology, research tasks, participant demographics and profiles, and analytic procedures. Subsequent sections discuss the issues of ethics, trustworthiness and limitations of the study. A summary concludes the chapter.

3.1 Rational for Qualitative Research Methods

The paradigm undergirding this research study can be understood in its ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). *Ontology* deals with the nature of phenomenon under study, and what can be known about it. The *negotiation of intergenerational values* (NIV) among Korean immigrant families is considered to be a social process involving multi-dimensional processes, including the articulated meanings behind observable actions and described experiences. These cannot be understood separate from - and can be better understood with the information of - the political, economic, social, cultural, linguistic, and familial contexts of individual participants. *Epistemology* deals with the nature of the relationship between the investigator and what can be known. The knowledge of the NIV process can be co-created by the investigator and the participants, constructing and confirming the interpreted meanings and strategies of NIV. The researcher serves as the facilitator of multivoice reconstruction, who must also be reflective of her own voice and perspective (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Methodology deals with how the investigator can go about finding out what is believed possible to be known. In this way, choice of paradigm guides the investigator in choice of

methods as well as in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In-depth interviews and grounded theory analysis procedures are well-suited for the topic of this study, for multiple reasons. First, grounded theory methods allow for the discovery of connections and processes within a complex phenomenon, using the data to check and develop the conceptual relationships within the initial framework. The focus is on the development of a consensus construction that is more informed and sophisticated than any previous constructions (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Secondly, grounded theory places importance on providing contextual descriptions to account for variations within the studied phenomenon. For an under-researched population, this is especially important to build depth of interpretation and avoid over-generalisation. The grounded theory methods provide tools to give rigor, break through biases, provide the grounding, build the density, and develop the sensitivity and integration needed to generate a rich, tightly woven, explanatory theory that closely approximates the reality it represents (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Semi-structured interviewing and grounded theory procedures of analysis that have also been applied to other qualitative studies of Korean and Asian populations (Kim, 2004; Alama, 2010).

3.2 Instrumentation

Three categories of information are sought to build knowledge on the topic of NIV: (a) perceptual, (b) demographic, and (c) theoretical. Perceptual data include immigrant parents' and youth's perspectives, descriptions, and explanations on topics related to the research questions. Interviews were designed to gather the perceptual data, discussed below (3.2.1-3.2.2). Demographic information pertaining to participants is important for situating the findings in localised contexts. Socio-demographic Information Form (SIF) was designed to collect such

background information, as is typical of qualitative studies (Appendix I). This one-page instrument collects the following information about the participants: age, gender, length of residence in Canada, family makeup, migration history, educational and work history in Korea and Canada, languages spoken at home, and religion. Theoretical information is drawn from an ongoing literature review, discussed in Chapter 2, to provide conceptual tools for analysis.

3.2.1 Semi-structured Interviews

The strength of qualitative interviews is in their possibility of exploring views in depth, while granting the perspectives of research participants, the “culturally honored status of reality” (Miller & Glassner, 2004:127). Qualitative research interviews are one of the many forms of professional conversations, which include a “careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge” (Kvale, 1996:6). Such interviews enable the researcher to capture multiple perspectives from participants and to construct and depict, though partially, a manifold and controversial human world (Kvale, 1996; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Allowing for such range and complexity in the data is suitable for studying the multifaceted nature of the phenomenon under study, avoiding a reductionist approach by allowing for alternative stories from the perspective of the research participants.

In order to help focus the interviews, a preliminary set of interview questions was prepared (Appendix II). However, participants are given the flexibility to interpret, to clarify the questions, and to extend their responses beyond the general scope anticipated in the design process of the interview questions – Rendering these in-depth interviews to be semi-structured to help discover significant categories related to the studied phenomenon.

3.2.2 Group Interviews

As a distinct research method, group interviews are used in this study to augment the in-depth individual interview data and demographic information. Group interviews fit well with the purpose of second stage interviews and serve to:

- a) Elicit a range of opinions and ideas,
- b) Understand the differences in perspectives,
- c) Provide insight into specific factors that influence participant perspective, and
- d) Seek ideas that emerge from the group on the topic of discussion (Kreuger & Casey, 2000).

Group interviews can give participants more autonomy to shape the discussions, allowing open confirmation and refutation of meanings and opinions, as well as stronger self-clarification of their meanings in light of their differences and similarities. This is also expected to be useful for redistributing power where I am older than individual participants, by making my presence or role smaller in the interview process.

3.3 Procedures

This section outlines the activities that took place to conduct this research, from participant recruitment to data analysis.

3.3.1 Participant Recruitment and Selection

A one-page Information Sheet (Appendix III), which outlines the general details of the study and invites participation, was distributed to Korean community organisations and posted on one online Korean newspaper website in the Greater Toronto Area. A number of community leaders were invited to circulate the Information Sheet to interested persons, following an in-person

presentation of the study purpose and description. The community leaders forwarded the contact information of interested parents; the young people responded best to direct contact from me as the researcher through existing network and new contacts. Participants were not asked to identify other individuals for recruitment, but often invited a friend or colleague to meet with me and learn about the study. Referrals have proven to be the most effective method of recruiting participants in this study.

Potential research participants were contacted by email and/or telephone, during which in-person meetings with interested individuals were arranged to present detailed information about the study and participation. The Participant Consent Form (Appendix IV) was presented and explained, and completed before proceeding with the data gathering process (3.3.2). The following criteria were used to select the participants included in this study:

- a) At least two generations have migrated and resettled together in Canada, before the children were graduated from secondary schools,
- b) Children of the migrant family had minimum one full year each of formal schooling in Korea and Canada, and
- c) The family has resided in Canada at least 2 consecutive years in Canada.

3.3.2 Data Gathering Process

Upon receipt of the completed consent form, participants were provided with the Socio-demographic Information Form (SIF). The researcher checked for accurate understanding of the written information, and answered any questions from participants. The completion of SIF took approximately 10 to 20 minutes. The study then proceeded with the interviews. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 present a summary of participant profiles.

Table 3.1 Profiles of Young Adult Participants

Pseudo-nym	Age & Gender	Birth Order ¹	Employment Status	Highest Education	Accompanying Parent(s) & Employment in CAN	Highest Parent Education	Bi-lingual ²	Religion ³	Years in KOR	Years in CAN	Years in Other ⁴
Barney Stinson	25M	1st/2	In school; P/t work	Some college	Mother, self-employed	Unknown	Y - K/E	CHRS	16.5	9	N/A
Claudia Travel	24F	1st/2*	F/t work	University degree	Mother & Father, self-employed	Unknown	Y - K/E	CHRS	15	9	N/A
Coffee	26F	2nd/3*	F/t work	University degree	Mother, homemaking	University	Y - K/E	CHRS	15	11	N/A
Copilot	18M	2nd/2	In school	Some high school	Mother, P/t & Father, F/t work	University	Y - K/E	CHRS	14	4	N/A
Dragon-ball	21M	1st/3	In school	Some university	Mother, homemaking & Father, irregular work	High school	Y - K/E	CHRS	10.5	10.5	N/A
Esther	27F	1st/3	In school; P/t work	University degree	Mother, homemaking & Father, F/t work	University	Y - E/K	CHRS	9	18	N/A
Gom	25M	2nd/2	F/t work	University degree	Mother, homemaking	Master's	Y - E/K	BUDH	13	12	N/A
Greentea	21M	1st/2	In school; P/t work	High school diploma	Mother, P/t & Father, F/t work	University	Y - K/E	CHRS	17	4	N/A
Mong	25F	2nd/2*	In school	College diploma	Mother, P/t & Father, self-employed	University	Y - K/E	CHRS	13	12	N/A
Nathan	25M	1st/2*	P/t work	Some high school	Mother & Father, self-employed	High school	Y - K/E	CHRS	13	10	3
Navi	20F	2nd/2*	P/t work	Some university	Mother & Father, self-employed	High school	Y - K-E	CHRS	8	10.5	1.5

¹ '1st/3' = first born of three children in the family; * = Mixed gender among siblings

² E=English; K=Korean; "E/K" means English was used more often in the interview than Korean; "E-K" means English was used first but its usage was nearly equal to, interchangeable with, Korean.

³ BUDH = Buddhist; CHRS = Christian; CTHL = Catholic

⁴ Some families migrated elsewhere before resettling in Canada. Temporary trips or internship years are excluded.

Pseudo-nym	Age & Gender	Birth Order ¹	Employment Status	Highest Education	Accompanying Parent(s) & Employment in CAN	Highest Parent Education	Bi-lingual ²	Religion ³	Years in KOR	Years in CAN	Years in Other ⁴
Noodles	28M	2nd/2*	F/t work	Some university	Mother & Father, unknown	Master's	Y - E-K	CHRS	7	14	7
Rachel	24F	2nd/3	In school	Some postgraduate	Mother & Father, self-employed	University	Y - E/K	CHRS	10.5	14	N/A
Sinai	25M	1st/1	F/t work	University degree	Mother, homemaking	University	Y - K/E	CTHL	14.5	11	N/A
Sophia	24F	1st/3*	In school; P/t work	Some university	Mother & Father, self-employed	University	Y - K-E	CHRS	14	10.5	N/A
Victoria	28F	1st/2	F/t work	Master's degree	Mother & Father, self-employed	University	Y - E/K	CTHL	14	15	N/A

Table 3.2 Parent Participant Profiles

Pseudo-nym	Age & Gender	Spouse Co-migration	Highest Education	Occupation in CAN	Occupation in Korea	Years in CAN with Children (Total Yrs CAN)	Religion	Children's Grades at Migration
Amy	42F	Y	BSW	F/T Service organisation	Private tutor	2 (4)	CHRS	Grades 7 & 9
Blue	49M	Y	MEng	Self-employed	Researcher / Manager	9	N/A	Grades 3 & 5
Jenny	43F	N	PhD	F/T Service organisation	University instructor	6	CHRS	Grade 5?
Kiwi	46F	Y	MA	F/T Service organisation	Language instructor	4 (8)	CHRS	Middle and High schools
Mary	53F	Y	BSW	F/T Service organisation	Social worker	7	CHRS	Grade 12 & early college
Min	52F	Y	High school	Self-employed	Housewife	10.5	CHRS	Grades 2 & 7*

The first set of interviews were done individually (approximately 60 minutes), guided by the initial set of questions on the changes in family relationship, values, culture, adulthood, and adaptation experiences. Upon initial analysis of emergent themes, the focus of second stage interviews – on the Korean concept of *cheol* – was discussed with, and approved by, the supervisor. The meanings and uses of *cheol* by participants in this study are presented in Chapter 4.

The second stage interviews were conducted individually or as a group, approximately 60 minutes each. Seven young adults volunteered and participated in group interviews, three of which were female (one group) and four male (two groups). One participant in each group interview was a new recruit, invited by a returning participant in the group interview. A total of 30 unique interviews were conducted with 22 participants (Table 3.3). All interviews were conducted in the participants' languages of choice (English and/or Korean). All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Table 3.3 Number of Interviews and Participant Categories

Number of Participants	Gender Ratio	Number of Unique Interviews	Interview Types
16 Young Adults (ages 18-28)	8F:8M	21 interviews	14 individual interviews + 4 follow-up individual interviews + 3 group interviews
6 Parents (ages 42-53)	5F:1M	9 interviews	6 individual interviews + 3 follow-up individual interviews

3.3.3 Data Analysis

Three stages of coding in the grounded theory approach guided the analytic steps. In order to generate conceptual categories of information during the initial *open coding* stage, interview transcripts were labeled with *in vivo* conceptual codes in small segments first (words, phrases),

and then as larger chunks (responses to particular topics, characteristics of responses). These codes were grouped together and revised to merge similar concepts. A useful exercise in discovering categories was to organise appropriate codes to represent the properties (e.g. contextual fit) and dimensional scales (e.g. from unrealistic to well-adjusted) of a category (e.g. value aspects). The use of Atlas.ti helped the management of evolving list of codes, their revisions, as well as identifying their conceptual relationships (e.g. equals, causes, associations). As the codes evolved, the data were appropriately kept together with the codes to be placed appropriately within the developing theoretical model.

In the *axial coding* stage, the relationships between the categories were examined. Using the process framework provided by Strauss and Corbin (1990), categories were organised to represent each of the following: (a) **causal conditions** that lead to (b) the **phenomenon**, which formed the context for (d) the action/interaction **strategies**; and the (e) **intervening conditions** that explained variations in the action/interaction strategies to result in (f) specific **consequences**. This exercise identified areas where greater density of evidence was needed to define a category or conceptual relationships among categories. The analytic techniques in grounded theory helped test the provisional findings and accumulate analytic findings, e.g. comparing negative or contradictory patterns in the data; asking of questions to further examine the data; comparing the extremes of one dimension (Creswell, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008).

The *selective coding* involved developing an analytic story that coherently explains the key findings. Depending on which categories were selected to be the main phenomenon and main action/interaction strategy, the different sets of findings were highlighted or excluded from the overall theoretical model. Iterations of analytic story and process models of key categories

were presented to the supervisor for feedback, also involving peers and other professors on campus or at conferences. Once selective coding was finalised (presented below), data were reviewed to further develop and test the categories and relationships:

Overarching Conditions: Maturation and Adaptation

- Two-generation migration, undergoing simultaneous cultural adaptation and youth maturation into adulthood
- Socio-demographic factors, including: formal education from Korea and Canada, economic conditions, family arrangements, and community support

Phenomenon: Differences in Values, and Tensions in the Parent-Child Relationship

- Disagreements in the meaning, context, expression, or priority of values
- Unresolved disagreements negatively affecting the family relationship

Action/Interaction Strategy: Value Proficiency and Engagement in Dialogue

- Clarify the tensions, challenge the existing, assert new perspectives/strategies, apply in action
- Negotiation of intergenerational values in terms of what values mean, how values ought to be practiced, when values are applicable, and why particular values are important
- Personally meaningful dialogue, and practical implementation processes

Intervening Conditions: Resources for Skills and Content of NIV

- External and internal influences to expectations and interaction strategies
- Education, work experience, examples from parents, examples from community members, normative concepts

Impact/Consequences: Adaptive Outcome and Relational Welfare

- Individual well-being, healthy self-relation
- Constructive intergenerational relationship
- Adaptive strategies

3.3.4 Interpretation of Findings

Three levels of analyses helped move the study towards interpretations. The first level summarised the concepts that constituted the categories of findings. Example questions include: *What* concepts do participants use to describe their resettlement experiences, and meaning of life in Canada? *What* concepts do they use to explain their sense of *cheol* and meaning of family? *What* constitutes value-related experiences that require negotiation between parents and youth? *What* contextual conditions are associated with the way participants experienced changes in intergenerational relationship? What constitutes values in the participants' experiences?

The second level of analysis examined the strategies and qualities that characterised the way participants formed their responses to the interview questions. Examples questions included: *How* do participants employ value concepts in their responses to interview questions? *How* do participants interpret values from relational and institutional processes? *How* precise are participants in articulating their responses on various interview topics?

The final level of analysis aims to explain why certain patterns are observed in the findings, making sense of the theoretical model that results from the study: *Why* do immigrant families negotiate intergenerational values? *Why* do participants approach intergenerational values in particular ways? *Why* might values, and intergenerational values, be important to the participants?

Reflection on the findings for broader implications was also an important part of the study: *Why* might the unexpected findings and emerging concepts be significant? *How* might the study conclusions advantage or disadvantage certain stakeholders related to the study topic? *How* do the study findings affect the way the phenomena of values, identity, immigration, and intergenerational relationship are conceptualised?

3.4 Ethical Considerations

3.4.1 Informed Consent Protocol

The University of Calgary's Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board's approval for this study's proposal was granted on April 09, 2010. To assure fully informed participant consent, the consent forms were presented and reviewed with each interested participant before data collection. Time was taken to explain and answer questions regarding the details of the study and research participation. The participants' right to withdraw from the study is emphasized both verbally as well as in the written consent.

3.4.2 Privacy: Confidentiality and Anonymity

The confidentiality concern was that the participants were a part of various smaller circles within the broader Korean immigrant community in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). Great care was taken to ensure anonymity in the presentation of data, e.g. removing names of schools/degrees from profiles, keeping one name hidden when matching parent-child quotes. Each participant selected a pseudonym, modified by the researcher where necessary. Only the researcher has access to the raw data (i.e. interview recordings, original transcripts) that are kept in a password protected external drive.

In recruitment, participants were not asked to refer their own family members for participation in the study, since it may jeopardize confidentiality and the participants' ability to freely participate. Only in cases where I had contact information and access to parents and youth separately, I was able to invite members of the same family to participate.

For group interviews, participants were asked – both written in the consent form and verbally before the start of the interview – to not share their pseudonyms with other participants,

and also to agree to keep the information from the interview confidential. The participants verbally agreed to give me the right to change pseudonyms if I felt confidentiality was jeopardized.

3.4.3 Issues of Trustworthiness

Qualitative research can be evaluated in terms of trustworthiness as opposed to the terms of validity in quantitative studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). In order to examine the trustworthiness and rigour in both the study processes and its outcomes, four general categories are discussed below: (1) credibility, (2) transferability, (3) dependability and (4) confirmability (Shenton, 2004).

3.4.3.1 Credibility

Credibility deals with the question, “How congruent are the findings with reality?” (Merriam, 1998; quoted in Shenton, 2004). In this study, the credibility of data is first based on adopting well-established research methods, which enabled consistency and depth across participants while simultaneously giving participants considerable ownership of the interview data. This allowed identification of significant, unexpected themes to emerge and others to be de-emphasized (e.g. subculture identities). Credibility of data was also supported by further probing for clarification, iterative questions for each participant (e.g. related questions at different times of the interview and between two-stage interviews), and where applicable, triangulation between participants belonging to the same family. The use of different methods for data collection – a socio-demographic information form; individual interviews; and group interviews - provided a level of triangulation, compensating for the limitations of each method alone and exploiting their

respective benefits (Shenton, 2004). Second stage interviews helped elaborate the emergent theme of *cheol* and greatly enhance the researcher's ability to answer the research questions; however, more time in between interview stages or another stage of interviews may have been helpful for focused data generation. There was a resource constraint to gathering further interview data that would help create density in the newly identified themes or gaps in the developing theoretical model. Areas for further investigation are identified in Chapter 5.

Measures to ensure honesty also increase confidence in the credibility of the data and findings. The discussions over the informed consent protocol and Socio-demographic Information Form served to build participants' familiarity with me as a researcher and set a professional, collegial tone before proceeding with the interviews. During the interviews, the participants were reminded their rights to skip questions or discontinue participation should they have any hesitations. Care was taken to act as a good listener and demonstrate that the participants were not being judged based on their responses. In moments where participants asked if they were giving the 'right' answers, I took the opportunity to further explain the research process, the aims to understand the experiences from participant perspectives, the researcher's independence from any particular third party, and the view that the participants were the experts of their experience and knowledge about the topic.

The study employed several strategies to enhance credibility of the analysis. First, negative case analysis included comparing data that seemed to contradict, in order to draw conclusions that accounted for variations. Secondly, I sought to build thick descriptions (Shenton, 2004) of the phenomena during analysis by incorporating participants' background factors and other parts of the data to explain the findings under examination. Lastly, numerous debriefing sessions with my supervisor and peer scrutiny of the research project also served to increase

confidence in the analysis. I made five original presentations to different groups of peers and faculty members before the selection of central category and its corresponding theoretical model were finalised. The resulting discussions and the feedback I received helped critically re-assess the interpretations and the organisation of data presented.

The credibility of the researcher as a major instrument is as important as the methods of the study (Shenton, 2004). During the interview stages, I made an ongoing effort to critically reflect on my skills as an interviewer. For example, if my probing question was ‘leading’ a response, and the participant was passively responsive, I rephrased the question and excluded the previous response from analysis. The first few recordings helped me hear my habits in speech or responses, which I moderated in the subsequent interviews. My prior experiences in workshop facilitation and instructional training were extremely helpful in facilitating the interview conversations.

I maintained transparency with the research participants, supervisor, and colleagues, regarding my relevant background information and the research processes. My familiarity with the Korean language and immigration experience helped create a comfortable interview space for the participants; simultaneously, care was taken to avoid anyone’s reliance on the researcher to fill in unspoken meanings from participant perspectives. Recognising that my English is stronger than Korean, I sought the help from my parents, who have served the Korean community in Toronto for more than ten years, to accurately interpret research documents for participants. I consulted the Korean dictionaries and the participants themselves to clarify the meanings of Korean terms used by participants. To minimize meanings lost between translations, I have analysed and managed data in the original language spoken. Original quotes and my translations were presented side-by-side in this thesis for the readers’ examination.

3.4.3.2 Transferability

Transferability assesses the applicability of the study's findings to other settings (Shenton, 2004). This study first delineated the scope of the participant experiences, namely the multi-generation migration and Korean ethnic background. The demographic profiles in Tables 3.1 and 3.2 provided further details, which helped identify the variations within particular social experiences (e.g. different parenting approaches involving eldest children). The most important measure of increasing transferability in this study was using the grounded theory approach to draw conclusions that accounted for variations. For example, rather than attempting to verify whether formal education or social network were factors directly linked to successful negotiations, the analysis focused on the resourcefulness of participants to draw uniquely from a combination of background characteristics to improve their negotiation skills. The study thus provides concepts that could be applicable to studying other Korean Canadians, and also could be tested in different minority settings.

3.4.3.3 Dependability

Dependability of the research design allows future investigators to repeat the study. While this is not repetition in the sense of natural sciences – same procedures with exact same results in data – the methodological details in this chapter can be followed to recruit participants from the same population group (Korean Canadians in the GTA), gather the rich perceptive data on the same topics, analyse the data in similar procedures to answer research questions.

3.4.3.4 Confirmability

Confirmability deals with the concern for objectivity and efforts to reduce researcher bias (Shenton, 2004). There are strengths and weaknesses of being an insider and an outsider with the participant group. The bias concern was that I knew a few of the participants personally. As for other participants, even if I met them for the first time, I had some background information about which community organisations they belonged to, if any. Great care was taken to suspend any judgment I might have about the individuals, their families, and the organisations in which they participated, whether from my previous knowledge or my new interaction with them and the data.

While previous instructional and facilitation experience helped maintain respectful neutrality during the interview process, I observed there was a level of my own researcher reactivity to the data during early re-readings of complete transcriptions. Researching a topic that is close to (although different from) my own experience, and about a group of people whom I care about, it was important to step back from the data analysis so as to read other literature and carry out other work to help remove any possible emotional reactivity during the conceptualisation of the data. Presentation of the analysis to the supervisor, conference delegates, and colleagues helped assess the alignment between my analytic decisions and the purpose of this study (i.e. asking and answering the right questions). Several iterations of the analytic story (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) at later stages of the research endeavour (with months in between) were consistent, and accounted for the variations in the data. This gave me assurance that the resulting model of intergenerational values negotiation was fairly objective, grounded in data, and not reactionary to any particular experiences of participants or researcher opinions.

3.5 Summary

In-depth interviews and grounded theory approach were well-suited for the data generation and data analysis, respectively, in this explorative study on the negotiation of intergenerational values (*NIV*). Sixteen young adults and six parents from first generation Korean Canadian population completed the informed consent and interview procedures. Great care was given to ensure participant anonymity and the trustworthiness of the study. The major findings that contributed to the development of the *NIV* model are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter Four: **Findings**

Following the process framework of grounded theory, the presentation of findings begins with the key conditions (i.e., identifications, family roles and maturation) associated with resettlement and development (4.1-4.3) that situate the participant families' value negotiation experience. Relational disagreements (4.4) and value tensions (4.5) form the phenomena to which respond participants' negotiations of intergenerational values (4.6). Participants' resourcefulness with their background factors (4.7) accounts for the variance in the strategies of value negotiation, as well as their impact on the family experience (4.8). Each section allows for comparison between parental and young adult perspectives; all quotes are first presented in the language of the interview, be it Korean or English or both, along with the researcher's English translations as needed. This chapter concludes with a theoretical model of NIV, presented in chart format, flowing from this analysis (4.9).

4.1 Condition I: Identities and Culture

Identity, belonging, and values are central themes in participants' experience of integration and individuation. Terms commonly used by participants include: immigrant, parent, adult, Korean Canadian, citizen or community member. These depict particular positioning in relation to participants' local contexts, making sense of the scope of their life in Canada. To each identity term is associated a sense of purpose or reasonably expected responsibilities. For example, Blue and Kiwi share their view as parents:

우리 자식들한테 한거는 절대로 자기가 한국인이라는 사실을 잊어버려서는 안되고... 문화라던지 나름대로 생각 사상... 자기의 주체성.. 좋은말로 어디서 왔고... 없으면... 무인도에서 사는	Translation: One thing I emphasised to my children was to not forget that they are Korean... The culture, ideas, philosophies... Sense of self... If you don't know where you come from, it's as if you're a man on an
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사람밖에 안돼. 아무 생각없이 지가 뭐하는건지도 모르고... 지를 위해서 좋은건지 아님 그 사회를 위해서 좋은건지 그런 개념이 없다고... 한국인이라는 사실... 그게 절대적인건 아니지만 나름대로 본인 스스로... 일을 하면서... 뭔가를 해야된다는 그 목적의식이 뚜렷해지는거야... 자기가 왜 사는지 우리가 왜 숨을 쉬는지... '크게 뭐가 되겠다' 보다는 이 사회 구성원으로서 한자리를 잡을수 있도록 충분한 노력과 충분한 품성을 가지고 그러니까 사람이 나름대로 인간으로서 중요한 품성을 가지고 살수있도록.
(Blue, male, age 49, 9 yrs since migration with children)

island. No particular frame of mind, no idea what he's doing... whether it is good for himself or for society, no such concept... Korean identity... isn't an absolute, but it's a starting place for a clear sense of purpose, that he must work something... answering why one lives, why we breathe... Rather than 'making it big,' making ample effort and having the character to take his place as a member of this society. In other words, for a person to live with all the important qualities of being a human being.

저는 이민자로 살아간다는거는 캐나다 시민이 되려고 노력하는 일이라고 봐요... 시민권이 시민이 아니구... 왜냐면은 캐나다 시민이면 캐나다를 더 알고 할것이고... 다 알순 없죠. 근데 알고 선택을 하고... 캐나다 시민이 되려고 노력하는 과정이라고 난 얘기를 해요.
(Kiwi, female, age 46, 4 yrs since migration with children)

Translation: To me, living as an immigrant means... making an effort to become a citizen of Canada... Legal citizenship doesn't mean being a citizen... because a Canadian citizen will seek to know Canada better... You can't know everything, but choosing to know... endeavouring to be a citizen, that's what I tell others.

'Member of society' and 'citizen' are terms that provide a present context and direction for the project of becoming; identities as 'Korean' and 'immigrant' provide a starting point for the process of change. Moreover, from Blue's perspective, Korean identity is especially important for anchoring a sense of self in cultural history to enable critical evaluation of developmental directions and choices. The view of the past becomes an important lens for the view onto the future.

Young adults share similar perspectives as parents, but also add sensitivities to peer relations, self-awareness, and the parental role in immigration. Esther and Rachel share their perspectives:

[T]o be Canadian is to be able to embrace your citizenship... your life in Canada, yet at the same time...being able to identify yourself with your roots, too. So basically being able to adapt, being able to embrace both your roots and your life now... embrace yourself as you

embrace other students. We're all human beings with different background... (Esther, female, age 27, 18 yrs since migration with parents).

Young kids? [I'd] advise them to... define themselves, to know... what their values are. Don't try to be like everybody else, you don't - You are different... you are an immigrant family, you are Asian, you have your own culture, and you don't have to be like everybody else in your class. It's okay that you're different. I'd also advise them about the sacrifice that their parents have gone through... the hard work that they continue to do to provide for them. (Rachel, female, age 24; 14 years since migration with parents).

Acceptance of one's unique history and characteristics as Korean, and acceptance of the people and life in Canada, seem to be the first issues to settle in the experience of being a newcomer youth. The impact of social experiences of exclusion is discussed further below. What emerges as an interesting theme is the importance of **values** in defining one's identity. Esther and Gom explain how values and personal sense of self are integral to development and social integration:

If you don't have a good sense of who you are, then you could almost feel like you're ostracized... [T]he responsibility that the adults have towards the future generations, towards the children now, is to instill important values. 'Cause I think that oftentimes when you do face situations, without those core values, it's hard to tell. You don't have any absolutes, and when do you know when you're wrong and when you're right... [W]hat I think is important though is that you're encouraged to be open-minded and it always helps if there's an example to follow... somebody that you look up to and Oh, okay, so this is what a person who is mature looks like. Or, this is a person with a good attitude, a person who's teachable, and... who has important values but they're still flexible enough to learn from experiences and grow from it. (Esther)

This may not be necessarily because of what [Mom] told me... but yeah living lawfully and truthfully, making an honest living. Like not taking advantage of peoples and making a living with a sense of dignity... When I say dignity, I don't mean like having an established social status and you know, have people look up to you. Nothing like that. It's like when you look into a mirror, you won't be ashamed of yourself when you think about what you do. It's just pulling your own way into society I guess. (Gom, male, age 25, 12 yrs since migration with parent)

Values are central to the project of learning ways of life and being; there is a moral character to the responsibility young people have in their decisions and actions, as pertaining to their identities and navigation of new experiences in their surroundings. The high sense of moral agency in thinking about adaptation and integration is shared widely among the participants (11 of 16 YA; 4 of 6 Pt).

Even among these individuals, however, social experiences of exclusion can strongly challenge their sense of fit and belonging in their new home community (5 YA; 2 Pt). Victoria shares how friendship helped overcome the negative effects of bullying, and what that meant for her being Korean Canadian:

And once I got to university, people were just surprisingly open. I made a lot of friends who were born in Canada... Koreans, too. And I didn't have to worry about being accepted anymore... They didn't care about whether I'm Korean or not.... [I felt] what it means to be loved for who I am. ... I [used to be] embarrassed. Not embarrassed of my culture but embarrassed of being Korean. And I met a friend... [who] noticed that constantly I was looking down on my culture in a way... 'Why do you not even care about your Korean history, culture, you have to know - you're Korean... You have to be proud of it. Know where you come from and Korea's amazing country'... [Now] I'm really proud of my dark hair, I'm proud of being short and Korean. I'm proud of speaking my language, like everything about Korea I love... I'm just really thankful of [being] who I am. You know, thanks to my friend... And I'm proud of being Canadian and Korean, I love both cultures. There are certain things about both cultures that I am and I do reject, but you know, I'm just Victoria. And you know; I like that. (Victoria, female, age 28, 15 years since migration with parents)

A positive sense of self is, to cultural identifications, both distinct (in that individuals evaluate culture from Korea and Canada) and interdependent (freely rejecting Korean or Canadian association is not a viable option). Personal and institutional experiences of rejection from members of either Korean or Canadian group can be equally devastating (Mong, Blue). On the other hand, especially among young adults (9 of 16), a sense of pride and confidence are expressed in describing biculturalism – which includes fluency in Korean and English languages, positive relations with both the Korean and non-Korean communities in Canada, and the high regard for traditional values and cultural diversity. This trend further challenges the assimilationist preferences in Canada (Carens, 2005; Li, 2003), but is better explained by Hall's (1996) concept of using culture as resource in the process of change and identity negotiation:

[I]dentities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves (Hall, 1996: 4).

Such resourcefulness, however, depends on healthy relational experiences of acceptance (see Victoria's quote above). Comfort with the markers of distinction, i.e., race and language, by some participants (Esther, Gom, Greentea, Rachel) are contrasted by self-blame by other participants (Coffee, Dragonball, Mong) to explain the reasons of discrimination and bullying. Sophia and Victoria have experienced both. This finding challenges the emphasis on cultural identities as basic units of social cohesion, but is compatible with the study on the relational experiences as feedback to a sense of belonging (Migration Policy Institute, 2009).

4.2 Condition II: Change in responsibilities as family members

The most immediate change to family life brought on by migration is in the arrangement of family roles and responsibility tasks. These respond directly to the adaptive pressures especially relevant to the parents as providers for the family, as they meet challenges in language barrier, limited social network resources, economic stability and integration, and the experience of stress. Children's early participation in adult tasks can provide practical, material, and emotional support for the parents and siblings – with the eldest child of the family often taking on a substantial portion of these tasks (9 of 16 YA). In other words, in some families, young people experience a discrepancy between siblings in terms of available personal time away from family responsibilities (8 of 16 YA). Min's son and Claudia share on possible issues from that eldest role experience. Min's words are included to compare with her son's account:

사이 어색했던거같애... 거리감이 있었다면 또 그것도 아니야. 내 생각엔 ...나의 그 모든면을 못보여줘서. 그랬던거 같애... 지금 생각해보면은 ... 내가 엄마를 키웠어... 아빠하고는 내가 대화를 못해. 왜 못하냐면은... 아빠한테 너무 실수를 너무 많이했어. 아빠를 아빠 취급을 안하고 자격을

Translation: It was an awkward relationship with my parents... Were we distant, not really. Perhaps... it was because I couldn't show or express all different sides of me... Come to think of it... I raised my mother... I can't talk to my dad, because... I made a lot of mistakes. I didn't treat him like my dad, didn't approve

안했어. 아빠를 내가 자식처럼 했어

(Min's son, age 25, 10.5 yrs since migration with parents)

아들이... 이민 와서부터 부모역할을 했어... 나는 굉장히 의지가 되... 내가 막 고민이 있고 슬퍼도 남편이... 해소가 되 그렇게 모든 고민이. 거기다 다 풀고 ... 이제 그 역할을 아들이 해는 거야... 아들만 있으면 남편이 있는 것 마냥 환하고... 그냥 해주는거야... 얼마나 많은거를 지 혼자 할래면... 힘들겠어.

(Min, female, age 52, 10.5 years since migration with children)

요즘에 가장 큰 conflict 가 뭐냐면... 집안일을... 제가 엄마의 일을 하지 않으면은 엄마는 너무 피곤한데 왜 안하냐... in contrast, my brother, 집에서 그냥 먹기만 하고 나가요. They never tell anything to my brother... 정말 솔직히 말하면,... 정말 철이 들었으면은 그거를 하는게 당연해야되는데, 가끔은 ... 왜 우리엄마아빠는 혼자서 하지 못할까... 집을 하는것도 한국 커뮤니티를 가지 않으면은 ... 모든게 다 저한테 와요... 동생같은 경우는... 자긴 안해도 되는 사람이야. 누나가 있으니까... 왜냐면 제가 해왔고 ... 그리고 엄마아빠도 첫째가 하는게 훨씬 믿음, reliable 하다고 생각을 해요. 그래서 제가 일하고 있는데도 전화가 왔어요. 그게 너무 싫어서 더이상 하지 말라고... 지금은... '너가 이제 네 일이 있고... 너가 언젠가 떠나갈 사람이고, 너한테 더이상 depend 하지 않아야 될거라고, 그러시면서 영어를 다시 배우기 시작하셨어요.

(Claudia, female, 24 yr old, 9 years since migration with parents)

him, I treated him as if I were his parent.

Translation: My son... played the role of parents since migration... I can fully rely on him... My husband used to be where all my worries and hardships were resolved... Now my son was fulfilling that role... I'm just happy as long as my son's here, as when I'm with my husband... He takes on so much, he just does them...

Translation: The biggest conflict these days... I do most of the house work... If I don't do Mom's work, 'Mom is tired, why aren't you helping'... in contrast, my brother just eats at home and leaves... My parents never tell my brother to help... To be honest... if I have *cheol* I shouldn't be complaining, but sometimes... 'Why can't my parents do this on their own?'... House matters, too, if they don't go to the Korean community for support, things all come to me... My younger sibling... doesn't have to do any of this, because he has an older sister... I've done it til now... And my parents think the eldest is more reliable. So even when I'm at work, I get a call [to take care of family business matter]. I hate it, so I told them to stop... But now... 'You have your own career... You'll have to leave us one day, and we should no longer depend on you.' They said this and started learning English again [to make business-related phone calls on their own.]

The discrepancy between parental perception and youth experience is the first issue. In Min's case, she recognises her son's contribution to the family and how hard it must have been for him, but does not change her expectations or family arrangements. She also finds it hard to learn of her children's independent views or feelings because they do not tell her although, ironically, the

son feels his feedback and suggestions were not well-received. The gender role is also evident in some families' arrangement of their tasks (Claudia, Mong, Navi, Sophia), but is used only few times in explaining the different ways parents relate to their children. There is an issue when parental needs might be well-articulated and addressed, but the young person's needs are less often addressed or understood (Jenny). The discrepancy between young people's experiences (i.e., feeling unknown by the parent, giving up responsibilities at school while meeting family needs) and parental perception, based on lack of interpersonal conflict at home, is an area that requires more investigation and greater awareness by families.

4.3 Condition III: Learning values as part of becoming adults

Values are an eminent part of participants' family experience, especially regarding the children's maturation into adulthood. The strategies by which people learn values is of important relevance to the process of changing, or negotiating, values. They reveal the individual abilities demonstrated in effectuating and discussing values, as well as the role of interpersonal interaction in values negotiation. Mary and Kiwi share examples of intentional parenting for values development:

제일 중요하게 했던거는 이제 스스로 할수 있어다 된다는거... 고기 잡는 법을 가르쳐 준다 그러잖아요... 항상 아이들에게 얘기하는거는 이제 저희 집 가훈인데요. 항상 긍정적인 사고를 갖고 do your best. You can do it... 저도 이제 그런 생각을 갖고 생활을 하고 있고... 아무리 힘든것도 positive 하게 생각하면은 positive 한 result 를 꼭... 언제 되거든요... 원하는것을 하도록 해라... 본인의 성취감을 더 빨리 느낄수가 있구... 정말 뭔가 본인이 사회에 기여할수 있는... 한 일원으로써 생활... 저희 부모님의 영향이었던거 같아요... '내가 이런이런 생각들을 하고 있는데... 이런것들이 이제

Translation: One thing I emphasized was autonomy... Teach how to fish [rather than just give one], they say... I always tell my children our family motto: 'Be positive, do your best. You can do it'... I conduct my life with that mentality... Even in trying circumstances, positive thinking will eventually yield positive results... I also tell my kids to pursue their passions... so they could experience that sense of accomplishment... [and] the life of a contributing member of society... This is also attributed to my parents' influence... 'I'm thinking this and this... I'd like your input on

옳은지'... 자녀가 먼저 제안을 하는거죠... 같이 얘기하면서 서로 격려하면서... 추진할수 있도록 부모가 지원해주는거... 열심히 노력하는 엄마의 모습이 자기네들에게는 하나 model 이 되었다는거... 얼마나 아버지를 보면서... 열심히 할수 있었다는거... 얘기.. 하더라고요.

(Mary, female, age 53, 7 yrs since migration with children)

많이 이렇게 격려해줬어요 힘든거. 이런 경험은 너만 겪는게 아닌거구. 미리 겪는게 너무 좋은거다. 뭐든지 다 배울게 있으니까. 친구가 없는 상황두... 새로운 환경에 적응하는거... 결국에는 아이들이 배워가는 과정은요 여러 요소인거 같아요... 친구들을 통해서... 발언을 듣구... 내가 못느끼는걸 남이 느꼈을때... 인지하는것 처럼... 다양한 환경에 처해보는거, 다양한 사람을 만나보는거... 가르치는거는 반드시... 부모가 해야되는 역할인거 같애... 말로 가르칠수도 있지만 행동으로 가르쳐 주는게 제일 큰거 같아요. 예를 들면 내가... 우리 부모님에게 잘하는 모습을 보이고... 정돈된 생활을 하고... 남을 배려하는 모습을 보이면 그게 진짜 가르치는거죠... 내가 좋지 않은 모습을 보이는게 가장 안좋은 가르침이죠. 내가 나를 컨트롤 못하고. 이유없이 화를 내거나. 이렇게 보이지 않으면 사람들 욕을 하거나... 저는 실수할때는 굉장히 얘기해요. 엄마가 이렇게 했었구, 진짜 이거는 미안했구, 이건 옳마른 행동 아닌거 같은 엄마도 했다... 엄마 100 프로 잘못됐다고 얘기하면 그럴때 또 받아들이구... 자기두 엄마한테... 내 잘못이다 이렇게 얘기하기도 해요... (Kiwi)

whether I'm on the right track'... My children initiate this kind of conversation first, and parents are to participate in that discussion, encouraging them, supporting them to execute their plans... My children told me that they took me as a role model, in diligence and enthusiasm. That they were able to do the same, watching their mom and dad.

Translation: I encouraged my child a lot. 'This hardship, everyone experiences it. It is good to experience this now than later. There's something to learn in everything, this difficulty making new friends... adjusting to a new environment... In the end, children learn through many facets... Just like hearing a friend express what I had never felt, thereby recognising it... Being in diverse situations... meeting diverse kinds of people... Parents have a definite role in teaching... You could teach with words, but teaching by action is the biggest thing. For example, if I treat my parents well... live in an organised way... show consideration of others, that's real teaching... Giving bad examples is the worst kind of teaching. Lacking self-control, showing anger without reason. Criticizing others behind their back.... When I make a mistake, I make a point of admitting it [to the kids]. 'I did this, I'm really sorry about that, that wasn't the right behaviour'... When I tell my children I was 100% wrong, they accept that... They also tell me that certain things were their fault...

There is a focus on enabling the children and on managing one's own influence on them as a parent. Mary and Kiwi share authority by recognising young people's independent processes (e.g., thinking, experiences outside home) and welcoming their suggestions, but also use the parental position of influence at home to provide support and resources to the children. Both mothers take ownership of their expectations by articulating or explaining their views and ideals, and ensuring their actions match their words. This closely resembles an authoritative parenting

style (Aunola, Stattin & Nurmi, 2000) that is experienced and endorsed by young adults as well (7 of 16). For four parents (4 of 6), children's spoken, direct feedback on parental influence or behaviour are taken earnestly.

All young people describe ways by which they learn values from the parents or through their intergenerational relationship. Examples from Copilot, Navi, Barney, and Noodles are presented below:

아버지는 예의에 대해서 굉장히 중요하게 생각하세요...
 하시는 말씀이 기본적인 것만이라도 해라...
 인사하는거... 어른을 공경하는건가? ... 그런데 인사
 바르면 좋을거 같아요... 먼저 이렇게 하는게
 어려울때도 있잖아요... 상처도 받을수 있을거
 같아요... 재가 왜 나한테 인사 안하지?...
 친구간에서는 내가 모 잘못된일 있나? ...
 어른들에서는 예의없다 할것 같아요... 할아버지랑
 살때 밥먹고 제가 먼 제가 먼저 먹어가지고 그냥
 일어나서 나가버렸어요... 그걸로 처음으로
 지적받은거 같아요... 근데 아빠 하고 있을 또 그렇게
 하시는건 아니예요. 먼저 먹으라고. 근데 우리는
 기다리죠... [안하면] 아빠 기분을 좀 상하게 할수도
 있을거 같아요

(Copilot, male, 18 yr old, 4 years since migration with parents)

어렸을때는... 잘 몰랐는데 점점 크면서... 엄마아빠가
 여기 캐나다 왔다는걸 더 감사하게 되고 나를 위해서
 항상 열심히 하는것을 보면서 더 존경심이 더 키우게
 되고... 캐나다에 내가 왔으니까... 그런 의지도
 생기고... 공부 열심히 해야되겠다 생각했던 계기가...
 영주권이 첫번째 안되고 되게 경제적으로 힘들구 막
 아빠가 하던 일도 그만두고 이제 새로운 가게를
 해야되고... 엄마아빠가 열심히 일하시는거 보구...
 나두 열심히 해야되겠다, 어 그런것을 배웠지...
 부모님께서는 한국에 그냥 사실수 있었어. 아빠가...
 이렇게 회사에 다니시구 우리 집도 있었구... they
 left the comfort of their home just for me and my
 brother.

Translation: Dad is serious about courtesy (etiquette, politeness)... He says, 'Do at least the basics'... Proper greetings... perhaps that's showing respect for the elders?... But I do think it's good to properly greet others... It's sometimes hard to initiate gesture... It could also hurt personally [to not be greeted]... 'Is there a reason he's not greeting me?... Did I do something wrong to my friend?'... It would be rude towards elders to skip the formality... I left the dinner table early once in front of my grandfather... I was criticised for that... Dad doesn't require us to do it with him, encouraging us to eat first. But we still wait... [If we didn't] it might still hurt his feelings, too.

Translation: I didn't know when I was little, but growing up, I came to a greater appreciation of my parents coming to Canada. Watching them persevere for my sake, my respect for them has grown... and also my resolve, that since I have come to Canada, I must work hard in my studies. One incident that triggered that thought was when we didn't get permanent residence, financially it was difficult, and dad had to start a new business... Watching them still fighting on, I learned to do the same... My parents would've been fine living in Korea. Dad had his job and we had a house...

(Navi, female, age 20, 10.5 yrs since migration with parents)

I can keep my family and stuff like that 그러니까 가족을 먹여살리고 또 누구와의 도움없이도 살아갈수 있게 되는거 재정적으로. 절대 재정적으로 나머지는 자신감이 있는데 재정적으로는 항상 문제가 많다고 얘기를 해왔고 어 별어도 부족하다고 들어왔기 때문에 되게 그런 부분이 강하지.

(Barney, male, age 25, 9 yrs since migration with parents)

Translation: [Independence means] I can keep my family and stuff like that. In other words, I can support my family, can live without relying on anyone's help, financially. Absolutely financially. Everything else I have confidence, but I've always been told [by my parents] that I have a lot of problems financially. Even when I make my own income, I've been told it's not enough. So that part is strong [in my seeking independence].

My parents always taught me from when I was really young, like we all, each one of us have like a different cooking session... Even things like cooking, doing dishes, household chores, like I grew up watching that. Even like my parents' relationship with each other... It was their actions. Like they actually showed me as an example, 'This is what you do.' And that was embedded in me... It's not necessarily like, Sit down here, let me teach you about values. It's about everyday life, everyday living. (Noodles, male, age 28, 7 years since migration with parents)

Verbalised expectations, immediate feedback on child's behaviour (Copilot) or accomplishments (Barney), positive behavioural examples in dealing with challenges (Navi) or relationship-building (Noodles), and structured participation in responsibility tasks (Noodles) – all are also powerful motivators for interpreting and assessing the values espoused in parent actions. This is similarly observed in five more young adult participants. Known contextual details are also important in interpreting the conceptual language or behavioural example presented by parents. In other words, the value learning process is embedded in the relational history and context.

4.4 Phenomenon I: Experiences of disrespect, disempowerment, disconnect

All participants have a range of ideas about the parent-child relationship they either appreciate or desire to experience. Of particular interest are the relational experiences that denote intergenerational conflicts, and whether or how they relate to cultural pluralism. Important

triggers for struggle and relational conflict – experiences of disrespect, disempowerment, and disconnect – are presented below.

4.4.1 Disconnect and Disempowerment

Varying knowledge and experiences can shape conflicting expectations between parents and children, which is addressed in the examples throughout this chapter. The experience of disconnect, however, is more problematic in that there is a pattern of avoiding conversational engagements, which coincides the emotional and mental distance between family members (e.g. not feeling understood, lacking authentic knowledge or intimacy). Blue and Coffee describe their experiences:

거리감이 자꾸 벌어지는거. 부모생각하고 애들생각하고 자꾸 틀려진다고. 그래서 중요한게 뭐냐면은 대화가 필요하다... 수박겉핥기 식으로 너 밥먹었니 뭐했니 학교에서 공부했어... 좀더 깊이있는 여기 애들 미래의 문제라던지, 현재의 애의 어떤 기본적 상황들을 스스로 표현... 아 이녀석이 뭘 생각하고 있구나, 그걸 알게된다고... 애들이 얘기를 안하면 그것도 어쩔수 없지... 내가 저번 한번 얘기했는데... ‘그럼 아빠도 좋은쪽인데 네가 알아서 공부 해라’ 관심을 어느정도 있다고 생각하는데... 나나 지엄마를 보면 다 대학 물을 먹은 사람들이고 아빠도 회사 생활을 하면서 사회에 대해서 알고... 충분히 얘기해줄수 있는데... 지가 선택한 길은... 엄마아빠가 항상 존중하고. (Blue)

Translation: Growing distance. Parents’ thoughts and children’s views become increasingly different. So conversations become important... Not just scratching the surface with, ‘Did you eat, what did you do today, did you study’... Topics of depth like future direction issues, discussion of kids’ current circumstances... getting to know what’s on my child’s mind... Of course, I can’t do much about it if my children choose not to talk about these... I talked to my son once [about his university major]... ‘That seems like a good direction, pursue it.’ I have enough interest... His mother and I both have university degrees, and I’ve worked in corporate world enough to know a thing or two about society... I would be happy to offer advice or insight... His mother and I would respect his decisions.

되게 그런면에 대해서 답답했던 적이 있었어... 여기 나라에서 살면서 필요한건데... 왜 엄마는 그러시나... 하지말라고 그러면 아 난 이거 해야된다, 할거다 그냥 그런식으로만 말씀드리구... 못하게 하신적은 전혀 없어... 그래두 할거란걸 아니까... 솔직히 내가 이렇게 힘들다

Translation: I was frustrated about one thing... I’m doing what I need for life in Canada... Why doesn’t Mom understand... When she tells me not to do [for example, volunteer work], I just tell her I have to, and I will... She never stopped me... She knows I’ll do them anyway... To be honest, even if I tell them what troubles me,

말을 해두, 부모님이 뭔가를 해줄수 있는 상황은 아니잖아... Just, 'Pray'... Sometime I feel, Should I tell my mom?... 나의 일이나 그런거에 대해서... 엄마는 뭐 할수 있는 일이 아니니까 그냥 얘기를 안하게 되는거 같애
(Coffee, female, age 26, 11 yrs since migration with parents)

they're not in a place to be able to do anything about them... All they say is, 'Pray'... Sometimes I feel I should talk to Mom... about my work, career and things... But since Mom can't help, I just end up not telling her anything.

Lack of intimacy or open discussions about matters of personal importance is a frustrating experience for both the parents and young people (6 of 16 young adults; 2 of 6 parents). The persistence of the pattern of disconnect, however, was based on the negative expectation of unresponsiveness from desired conversational partner. The depreciating belief that immigrant parents have little to contribute to youth development (shared by 3 young adults and 2 parents; critiqued by Esther and Noodles) resemble observations made by Guo (2007) and the authors of Project Zero & Reggio Children (2001) that there is a cultural trend of devaluing parents as 'non-experts.' In contrast, many young adult participants (6 of 16) acknowledge the parents' ability to make valuable input for adaptive strategies despite limited knowledge of the new context.

4.4.2 Disrespect and Disempowerment

Another type of experience that challenges the family relationship, from parents' perspective, is the parental disrespect towards the child (Jenny, Amy). Greentea and Barney explain it as parental attempt to control; Claudia and Sophia describe it as deep shame put on them by their parents. Barney and Sophia are quoted below:

Comparison 이 들어가는 거지 첫째로 everybody graduates right around twenty-three, twenty-four... But I was just working... They think that I'm the failure of the immigrant society... 나가서 살더라도... 용돈을 좀 드린다던지 찾아뵙는다던지 그랬을때 철이 들었다고

Translation: Parents compare me to others, first by the expectation that everybody graduates right around 23-24... but I was just working... They think that I'm the failure of the immigrant society... Even if I move out... people say I have *cheol* if I send some money to parents and pay them a visit... If not, they start criticizing the

한거고.... [if not,] 부모를 욕하기 시작해... 그게 또 shame 이 되는거지... self-esteem 에도 있고... 돈을 벌어라 라고 항상 얘기는 하지만 진짜 얘기는 나한테 복종을 하라라는 거야... 너 어디가서 벌래 나 아니면 어떻게 살래 이렇게 되는거지. (Barney)

parents... that becomes shame... hurting self-esteem, too... My parents demand that I make more money, but the real message is, 'Obey, submit to me'... by using comments like, 'Where will you make money, how would you live without me?'

When she's like reminding me of applying to OSAP and other bursary stuff... I get kinda pissed sometimes... I know that it's common sense to give back, but still I have this kinda cynical view, 'Well, Mom, you're just reminding me of doing it, like the scholarship that YOU can use'... But I think I'm still not 철들었어 [of cheol], because I still think that I have my right to use my own money, you know... Whenever I'm complaining about my own freedom, she's bringing this issue back... 'Who's supporting you?'... I feel useless... 내가 돈을 잘 벌수 있는 사람이면 엄마가 분명히 일을 안하셔도 되잖아요 ... 그냥 편안히 좀 쉬고 낮잠도 자고 그럴수 있는 나이어야 된다고 말씀을 하세요... 저희를 blame 하는게 아니라 상황이 실제로, 엄마가 그러지 못하지 않느냐 라고 말을 하세요. 가끔씩 만약에 엄마랑 disagreement 가 있을때 엄마가 그얘길 꺼내시죠. 그때 아차, 싫은거죠

Translation (second half of quote): If I have the means, Mom for sure doesn't have to work... She tells me that she should be able to rest and take naps at her age... She says she's not blaming us [her children], but she's just stating the facts about her situation. So when we sometimes have disagreements, mom brings that up. That stops me dead in my tracks.

(Sophia, female, age 24, 10.5 yrs since migration with parents)

The use of cultural references (e.g. normative ideas of success and acts of filial piety) to cause shame – or identity abrasions (Ely, Meyerson & Davidson, 2006) – acts to actively silence the young person, hindering dialogue. The interpreted motives are dominance and control. Different forms of e.g. filial piety go unrecognised (e.g. Sophia makes herself available at home to share labour and emotional support, instead of moving out for her studies and personal time). There is a discrepancy between an idealized form of filial caregiving and the realistic expectations according to young people's circumstances. The normative expectations of successful adaptation had an unexpected significance in participant experiences, and adds to literature on what integration and adaptation mean to the Korean Canadians.

4.5 Phenomenon II: Plurality and tensions in values

Findings in how values actually differ (and thus may conflict) are pivotal for systematically analysing what must change as a result of negotiation. This section focuses on the intergenerational disagreements – whether with differing or shared values – that participants shared from first person experience. Four operative aspects of values are identified: **conceptual meaning, practical expression, contextual fit, and commitment level priority**. There are variations in each of these aspects (plurality), and tensions created by incompatible views or practices between family members concerning one or more value aspects. For the sake of clarity, activities and tensions related to each of the value aspects are presented in subsections below.

4.5.1 Meaning Conceptualisation

Young people independently interpret and make sense of values explained by parents. In other words, multiple ways of conceptualising the same values can exist, and it is also possible for one's interpretation to make no sense to another. Mong and Copilot exemplify such cases, respectively:

[부모님이 중요시 하신건] 공부를 잘하고 모 세상에서 인정받는 사람이 되기보다는 좋은 사람이 되는거. 참다운 사람이 되는거... 그 다른사람의 아픔과 어려움을 돌볼줄 아는 사람. 내가 가진것이 넉넉치 않은데도 다른사람을 돌볼수 있는 그런 마음의 여유, 그러구... 사람 respectful 하구, 어른을 공경할줄 알구. 가족을 소중하게 여기고... 그냥 부모님의 영향이 다 많이 커가주구 그게 당연한거라고 생각을 해서... 물론 똑똑하고 사회적으로 봤을때 정말 성공한 사람들이지만 그 그사람들의 뭐지 성품이나 이런것들이 정말 다른사람들한테 존경받을만한 그런것들이 아닌 사람들을 보았기 때문에 무조건 잘나고 성공하는게 다는 아니구나. 그것보다는 사람들한테 더 존경받고 인정받는

[My parents emphasized] becoming a good person, a true person. More than just doing well academically and earning social status... [To be a good person means] to be able to consider and care for others' pain and hardships. Even if I don't have much, the generosity of heart that is able to care for others... And knowing how to respect others and elders, cherishing family... This is how I think, given my parents' influence... I've seen that people can be smart and successful, but have character that is not respectable by others. Self-serving success isn't all there is. I think it could be more

사람이 더 중요할수도 있는거구나 라는 생각을 더 해.
(Mong, female, age 25, 12 yrs since migration with parents)

important to be a person who is worthy of others' respect and approval.

[부모님이 생각하시는 어른이라는건] 묵묵히 기다려줄수 있고, 그러니깐 생각적으로도 이제 많이 어른답고 그리고 사랑을 나눠줄수 있는 사람... 줄수 있는것 같지 않아요 아직. 부모님한테서만이 아니고 모 하나님한테도 있고 판 사람한테도 더 많이 받아야될거 같아요. 아직 근까 아직 사랑이란걸 몰라요. 이해가 안되요 머리로. 뭔진 약간 알겠는데 마음속으로도 안느껴지고 약간 머리로도 이해가 안되는...

Translation: To my parents, an adult is someone who can quietly wait (resilience, perseverance, tolerance, steadiness), who can think maturely and give love... I don't think I can give love yet. I think I need to receive a lot more, from parents, from God, from others. I just don't know what love is. I don't understand it. I can vaguely grasp the concept, but I can't feel it and it doesn't make sense to me...

(Copilot, male, age 18, 4 yrs since migration with parents)

Meaning conceptualisation enables self-assessment on one's identification with the discussed values. One must come to an independent conclusion, through experience and reflection, that the values in question are inherently good (Appiah, 2006). As seen in how children learn values from parents (section 4.3), discussion of meaning alone can be influential to negotiating shared values, but only to the extent the meaning can be understood by individual members.

4.5.2 Practical Expression

Values inform and are understood by the practical expressions (including, but not limited to, attitude, actions and words) that represent their meaning. Same value can be expressed differently, e.g. filial piety can be expressed in forgiveness, financial gift, or bringing family honour (Sophia, Claudia, Sinai). Same action can also be interpreted differently, and evaluated for alignment with the meaning of intended values. Nathan and Mary share their reflections on interpreting adult children's actions:

'내것먼저 챙기고' - 내가 옛날에 그렇게 생각했어... 내가 나아졌음 도와줄수 있다고 생각했는데... 나도 솔직히

Translation: 'Take care of my things first.' I used to think that... When I'm

내가 고치는게 제일 힘들어. 그래서 그냥 차라리 남을 도와줄려고, 우리 가족 하나하나씩 해줄려고... 그냥 같이 있어주고 싶고 그렇잖아... 시간을 보내는거 보면은 친구하곤 더 오래, 꼭 친구하고는 무슨 약속잡으면 무조건 나가야돼. 만약 가족하고 그런거 있으면은 더, 두번째야. 항상. 그까는 내가 항상 말하던게 항상 내가 가족이 중요하다고 그러는데 행동은 달라.

(Nathan, male, age 25, 10 yrs since migration with parents)

better, I can help others... To be honest, changing myself is the hardest. So why don't I rather help others now. I want to help my family little by little... Just want to be with them, you know... When I look at how I spend my time, I'm with friends longer, I never miss a plan with friends. Plans with my family, they're second priority. Always. So I always said family is important, but my actions spoke otherwise.

경제적으로는 대학가면서 다 독립을 했어요... 본인들이 뭐 OSAP 장학금 받아서 다 해결을 하고 본인이 다 갚아야 된다는거 알고 있고... 경우에 따라서는 이제 당장에 돈이 없을때가 있잖아요. 그러면은 저가 이제 돈을 주잖아요. 그러면은 그거는 자기가 부모님에게 갚아야 할 돈이라고 생각을 하고 있어요. 그리고 나중에 돈이 생기면은 갚아요... 저도 이제... 여기 문화를 알고 있지만 때로는 한국에서는 당연히 줄수 있잖아요... 이거는 부모님의 돈이기 때문에 부모님한테 드려야 된다 했을때 한편으로는 굉장히 기쁘면서도 아직도 한국적인 사고가 남아있어서 너무 이것을 부모님의 것과 자기것을 또 구분하는게 아닌가... (Mary)

Translation: My children were financially independent from their entry to university... They took care of their tuition by OSAP and scholarships, knowing it is their responsibility to pay back loans... Sometimes they might not have money for immediate needs... then I would give them some. They see that money as something they'd have to pay me back, and they do once they get money... I know the culture here, but sometimes I think how it's a given that parents give children money... When my children draw the line as, 'This is my parents' money, therefore I must give it back to them,' I am very pleased. But on the other hand, perhaps this is very Korean, I feel uneasy that they make things too distinctly separate between parents and their own.

Nathan shows the possibility of inconsistency between people's conceptual understanding of values and their practice. Nathan also exemplifies that individuals can address that inconsistency by adjusting their behaviour to align with their intended meaning. Even when the action aligns with its meaning, the same action can carry another meaning when viewed from another perspective. Even as Mary has taught and thinks positively of the respect for financial autonomy given to both the parents and children, there is a sense of contractual transaction that does not agree with Mary's view of family. How Mary reconciles the contrasting expressions of two similarly important values (individual autonomy and oneness of family) will determine how Mary receives children's expression of their values.

4.5.3 Contextualisation

Value expressions are especially subject to evaluation of their fit with the context, which also informs the interpretation of meaning. The difference in perception of the same context, or the lack of understanding in the new contexts, forms the most common source of disagreement among participants. Kiwi explains most clearly why particular actions would be judged differently according to the same value of *cheol* – in other words, how the meaning of *cheol* gains a greater level of clarity by its translated expression across different circumstances:

가정의 상황을 고려하는데... 선택이죠 돈을 벌러 나가는걸 선택하는 애도 있고. 아니면은 공부를 진짜 잘해서 장학금을 탈수 있는 노력을 하는것도 있고. 그럼 철든거고. 철이 안든거는 아무것도 안하는 거... 어려운 상황을 고려하지 않고 놀러다니거나 할일을 안하면... 만약에 집안이 넉넉한데 엄마, 지금 유럽여행 보내주세요 제가 이 경험을 하겠습니까 하는때는 철이 든 행동이지만, 집안이 지금 당장 먹을게 없는데 엄마 저 유럽여행 보내주세요... 그러면, 철이 안든거죠... 저두 처음에는 우리 애가 돈 벌겠다고 해서 너가 정신이 있냐고 처음에는 한거예요... 한국적인 사고방식이 이 시간은 네가 평생 처음으로 공부에만 몰두하고... 자신감을 확 얻을수 있는데 (Kiwi)

Translation: Considering family circumstances... it's making a choice. There are kids who choose to go make income, or do really well academically to earn scholarships. That's having *cheol*. Lacking *cheol* is choosing to do nothing... Pursuing entertainment without considering difficult circumstances, or not fulfilling one's responsibilities... On the other hand, the family finances have room, it would be of *cheol* to say, 'Send me to Europe, I will gain this [intended] experience'... At first, I thought my kid was out of her mind to want to work part-time... It is Korean mindset that this is the first period in life to focus solely in studies... building confidence [to succeed].

The discrepancy in generational expectations from section 4.4 can be easily linked to the issue of incongruent contextualisation. The appropriate expression of *cheol* should change across situations; and the perceived context may determine the coordination and prioritisation of multiple values (see section 4.5.4).

4.5.4 Commitment Priorisation

Coordination of multiple values is an inherent feature of identity development and parent-child relationship. Commitment levels to be exercised at particular times are justified by the context –

including one's independent views of the world, the scope of her responsibilities, individual identities and desired outcomes of her choices. Coffee and Sophia share their examples:

우리 부모님이 제일 가치있게 여기는게 내 생각에는 신앙심인거 같애... 물론 자기일도 열심히 함으로서 뭔가 이루는게 좋잖아. 근데 항상 부모님이 말하시는거는... 하나님이 first priority 가 돼야된다... 내가 가치있게 여기는게 솔직히... 하나님이 돼야된다구 생각하는데 또 한편으로는 나의 직업... 나의 미래... 이 모든것들을 하나님한테 맡겨야 된다고 생각하는데 조금 힘든거... 기도함으로써 너무 이렇게 걱정하지 말구 서둘르지 말고... 그런게 맡기는거잖아... 아무것도 안하는건 아니고. 내가 노력을 하면서 하나님께 맡기는 거야. 그러니까 노력을 하면서 걱정을 하고 불안해 하는건 아니잖아... 근데 그게 아작은 힘든거같애... Both side 가 있는거 같애. 엄마말이 맞다, 엄마말을 들어야 된다고는 생각하는데 안되는거야. 친구들이랑 만나면 놀러가고 싶고, 그리고 가요도 계속 듣고 싶고 그렇잖아... 그래서 싸우는거 같애. (Coffee)

Translation: What my parents value most, I think is 'faith'... Of course, diligently working to achieve something is good. But my parents always say... that God has to be my first priority... I do value faith in God, but it's hard to just trust God with my career, my future... By prayer, worrying less and being patient... that's trusting God... Now that I do nothing, but while working I trust God with it. Which is different from anxiety and worries.... I am conflicted over this. I think mom is right, that I must listen to her, but I don't seem able to. When I meet friends, I want to go play. I want to listen to secular music... I think that's where mom and I struggle.

제가 struggle 했던 이유중에 하나가... innovative 해지지 못하고 엄마아빠만의 방식으로만 살것 같은거... 근데 이 사회는 그거보다 더 넘어가는 걸 많이 contradict 되는 idea 를 많이 share 하잖아요... 엄마가 내가 지금 배우고 있는거를 못 이해한다는 느낌이 들잖아요. 내가 그 두려움이 있기 때문에 엄마를 이해하고 싶지 않구, 엄마의 생각에 반대하고 싶은게 많이 있는거 같애요... 엄마가 지금 나를 버려주고 있는데 내가 strong 하게 다른거에서 계속 먹어가지고 nutrition 을 먹어가지고 strong 딱 해졌을때, 내 엄마를 딱 잡아줄수 있는 사람이 된다는 생각이 딱 드니까... 내가 자꾸만 다른데로 가야되는거... [gain] work experience... networking... Basically, I can't devote my chunk of time to my mom only, right?... I have to be available for others... Not for their sakes, but for my sake. (Sophia)

Translation (first part of the quote): One of the reasons I struggled... the feeling I might not become innovative, just living by the way my parents lived... But this society shares many ideas that contradict and go beyond [my parents' hopes and views]... And feeling that Mom doesn't understand what I'm learning now [at university]. So out of that fear, I don't want to understand my mom, I want to oppose her thoughts... She's supporting me now, but when I have become strong by growing through other sources, I will be the person who strengthens her... So I must go...

Priorities become an issue of conflict especially when, for example, the demand for parents' priorities causes unresponsiveness and lack of support to young people's priority needs (see

section 4.4). Lack of regard for a person's decision-making authority can be linked to disrespect whereas a lack of shared understanding on each other's situations can be linked to disconnect.

4.6 Action/Interaction Strategy: Value proficiency in dialogue

There are at least four different activities identified that facilitate the negotiation of intergenerational values (NIV). They need not be in a particular sequence, but are presented in a general order: identification of tensions; challenge to the existing; development of alternatives; and application of agreements. The ability to articulate and align these value aspects (for internal coherence) is termed *value proficiency*, which is demonstrated in each of the following negotiation activities.

4.6.1 Articulating Values and Identifying Tensions

The articulation of the meaning, expression, context and/or priority of values is the first step to recognising there are tensions to be resolved. Esther discusses the possible conditions in which the cultural value of elder respect could work effectively for both the older and younger generations involved:

My dad, he was very strict about... showing respect to elders and preserving a Korean culture... respecting people, respecting elders um just from the fact that they are older and they have more experience. And also never jumping to conclusions about people... more traditional or conservative families where the elders, if they are unhappy with something... Basically the onus, it feels like, is on the younger, it's like the generation after that... 'Oh, what's wrong'... rather than them just telling you, 'This is my problem'... it can kind of have an impact on the way that you interact as an older generation with the younger generation... respecting your elders... Almost like as a right. And then there's also, of course, the other extreme, where the older generation feels powerless... they're old now, so they just kind of do whatever the younger kids say, they don't wanna push their buttons too much... But it really, communicating does so much... if you can just make that extra effort to find out how you respond best... it's worth it to have peace in the family. And not just peace, but have a more meaningful relationship, too. (Esther)

Upon giving a reason to consider ‘elder respect’ an inherently good concept, Esther describes situations where the concept can be misused or neglected. Particular role interpretation and behavioural expectations of elder respect can be just as problematic as the absence of elder respect. Issues of power and role perception can create an interactional environment that contradicts with the intended outcome of elder respect (i.e., meaningful relationship, peace), and there are practical skills required to effectuate elder respect (i.e., mutual effort, communication). Thus Esther further elaborates and situates the meaning and practice of elder respect in harmony with other values (e.g., shared responsibility, power, collaboration).

Participants articulate many values in explaining their perspectives of *cheol*, an important concept that emerged from participants’ evaluation of their own development and conduct of others. Based on participant data, *cheol* can be defined as an ability to discern and act in mature, wise ways in relation to oneself, to parents, to others and life circumstances. Participants used the term *cheol* to evaluate behaviours, attitudes, and decisions as fitting to the roles and life stages. Sinai provides a good example of identifying multiple roles simultaneously held by an individual, and tensions between the ethical criteria that would be used to judge the *cheol* of each role:

철이 든단 말을 할 때 정의를 이렇게 좀 약간 조심스럽게 해야 될거 같애... 사람이 진짜 되게 두 가지 면을 동시에 가질 수 있거든... 내 친구들한테만 잘 해주고 근데 가족을 생각 안 하면 그거는 철든 게 아니잖아. 남들이 봤을 때는 내가 아주 괜찮은 사람이고... 자기 가족한테 빵점짜리 아빠... 빵점짜리 남편일 수도 있는 거야... 자기가 옳다고 생각하는 걸 신념대로 한다는 게 되게 의외로 힘들다 ... 10 명이 이렇게 이렇게 하자 그러는 데... 튀기 싫어가지고 그냥 똑같이 묻어가는... 그건 철든게 아니잖아. 왜냐하면 그런 사람들이 크면은... 회사 내에서 무슨 부정부패같은 걸 저지를 때 그냥 자기가 짚리는 게

Translation: I must be careful in defining *cheol*... A person can have two opposing sides simultaneously... Being good to my friends, but disregarding my family, that’s not *cheol*... Others might think I’m a great person... But to my family I could be an inadequate dad... failing husband... Acting out of principle can be unexpectedly hard... Not wanting to stand against the grain when ten others might be persuading me to do it this way... That’s not *cheol*, either. Because when they grow... when they witness unethical, corruption in an

무서워서 아니면 자기가 회사에서 왕따... 그냥
 암묵적으로 동참할 수도 있는 거거든... 윤리적인 그런
 기관이 있어야지... 근데 그게 어쩔 땐 그게 conflict 가
 될 수도 있는 거 같애... 예를 들면... 얼마 전에...
 검사라는 사람... 회사를 관두고 나와가지고... 비리를
 폭로했어... 어떻게 보[면] 자기가 회사를 관둬가지고
 가족들 고생 시켰잖아... 자기 잘 난 맛에 철이 없는
 놈일까 아니면... 고생 시킨 대신에 그 올바른 일을
 위해서... 일하는 직원들이 받아야 될 돈을 딴 놈들이
 빼돌린거니까. 그건 윤리적으로 잘못된 일이지 엄청.
 (Sinai, male, age 25, 11 yrs since migration with
 parent)

organisation, they can passively participate
 in the deeds in fear of getting fired or
 ostracized in the company... One must have
 ethical agency... But it can cause conflict...
 For example, recently, a prosecutor left his
 company and exposed their illegal
 activities... In one sense, you could say he
 made his own family suffer... Would that
 be lacking *cheol*, would that be selfish
 pride... or having done the right thing
 though it caused suffering... It was ethically
 an huge injustice, stealing what should've
 been workers' salaries into someone else's
 pocket.

Based on a real event, Sinai recognises the difficulty of evaluating moral discretion when there are conflicting interests and consequences on the people for whom he is responsible. This is especially true given the standard of integrity in which a person must be of similar quality regardless of situations. Unless the expression of each *cheol* in each role can be re-examined, the prioritisation of duties to family and to colleagues remains a necessary task.

4.6.2 Challenging Existing Patterns, Asserting Alternatives

Forms of verbal feedback can signify to the partners in dialogue that there are gaps to address, or a need to adjust the existing patterns of the intergenerational relationship. Examples from parents are included in the next section (4.6.3); Victoria speaks about her attempts to bring her parents' perspective into alignment with hers, regarding the parents' differential treatment between their two, similarly-aged daughters:

No matter how hard I try to convince my parents that my sister and I are three years apart and we think the same and feel the same and she's just as responsible as I am, just as capable... because I'm the oldest one... my parents rely more on me. And they value my opinion a lot more. So my sister, however old she is... will always be the baby of the family. So if there's something that my dad or my mom would be concerned about, then they would always come and tell me and say, 'Well, you understand 'cause you're older.' (Victoria)

As Victoria asserts maturity and responsibility as criteria for adult roles in the family, parents have an opportunity to respond to her prompts. Victoria is challenging the conceptualisation of roles and expected purpose of the parent-child relationships, which will drastically change the way parents relate to each of their adult children. Eight young adult participants have similarly challenged the family patterns with alternative arrangements of relational values that undergird the parent-child relationship.

4.6.3 *Gathering Information, Revising Value Aspects*

In response to the identified conflict of expectations, partners in dialogue must seek new information to especially close the gap in knowledge of each other's contexts. Amy and Kiwi exemplify how parents might adopt alternative expressions and priorities of values they have for youth development:

조리.. 신는거. 학교에 저런걸 신고 가다니... 너무 난 이해할수 없는걸... 이제 막 잔소리 치고... 머리부터 발끝까지가 다 마음에 안드니까... 그냥 딱 그러더라고. '엄마 여기서 고등학교 안다녀봐서 몰라' 이렇게 얘기를 할때 제가 갑자기 딱 이렇게 뭘 얻어맞은거 같은 생각이 드는거예요 그래서... 좀 관심있게 봤어요 애들의 옷차림에 대해서. 정말 우리 딸은 너무 양호한 편이다... 그것도 이제 이해하게 된거죠. (Amy, female, age 42, 2 years since migration with children)

Translation: Wearing flip-flops to school... Impossible in my knowledge... I yelled at her... I wasn't pleased with anything on her from head to toe... Then she told me, 'Mom, you don't know what high school is like here.' It was as if my head was hit like a bell. So... I paid attention. To her peers, their dress code. My daughter was really modest in comparison... So I began to understand that, too.

애가 일해야되나 이렇게 생각했는데, 제 생각을 바꿨어요... 억지로 되는건 아니고, 일을 해보면 다른 동기로 정말 더 공부안하면은 이런 일밖에 못하겠구나를 느끼겠구나 하면서 제가 그걸 바꿨구... 해봐라... 기대치에 따라서 철이 들구 아닌게 다를수 있을거 같아요 (Kiwi)

Translation: Why would she have to work, I thought. But I changed my mind... I couldn't force the change, but I saw how experiencing [low skill employment] might motivate studies so she could pursue other work. So I said, 'Try it'... I think evaluation of *cheol* depends on levels of expectation.

Seeing from a new perspective coincided with a quick adjustment of parents' interpretive framework, regarding respectability or commitment to learning. Children's choices are not viewed as opposing learning, but rather prompt recognition of multiple aspects (e.g. friendship, work experience) contributing to the learning success. New priorities and new expressions are arranged – even if different from children's own reasoning – based on context and without undermining the value of learning.

4.6.4 Implementing New Strategies to Uphold Agreements

An unexpectedly important step in closing the negotiation process is to implement the newly agreed-upon arrangements in roles and responsibilities. In other words, it is possible to have discussions to uncover new insights and alternatives to expressing their shared values, without applying them to adjust expectations. Sophia expresses her frustration with the criticism she receives despite having communicated to her mother what is realistic and of priority:

난 그런게 되게 가끔씩 서러운거 같아요. 이쪽방향도 저쪽 방향도 아닌데, 계속 switch 하시면서... 분명히 몇개월 전에 이런거 이 issue 에 대해 말할때는 이렇게 이렇게 하자 그랬는데 막상 지금 엄마가 하는 말을, 엄마가 요구하는 상황을 보면서, '너는 왜 이렇게 안했냐 저렇게 안했냐' 라고... criticizing me about my past few months of like my life... I thought I was doing my best to fulfill the requirements that we talked about before... She's saying, 'Well you have to go beyond that'. (Sophia)

Translation: Sometimes I feel so unfairly treated, sorrowfully devastated. She keeps switching direction, and there are so many things I don't understand in our disputes. For sure a few months ago, we discussed an issue and decided on what we'll do. Then now Mom demands, 'Why didn't you do this and that'...

In contrast, Noodles describes how effective follow through from his father's actions helped him as a youth to uptake responsibility and respond to adult trust:

And then my dad told me, '너 이제 나이 들었으니까, 네가 이제 남자 될 나이니까 앞으로 내가 너한테 때리지 않을거라, 대신 내가 너한테 대화로 하겠다.' And he promised that, right? And

Translation (first part of quote): 'You are of age now, becoming a man. I will no longer discipline

since that day on, even though I did crazy things... They would just sit down and talk to me. [He didn't get angry] and that was kinda cool... because he trusted me now, that responsibility he put on my shoulders, they made me more mature really fast... you know what's funny, a year later I started my own company. (Noodles)

Both examples show how intergenerational values are applicable to the roles and responsibilities that structure the relationship. Upholding agreements, then, is in one way ensuring the alignment between the discussed values and the relational dynamics. An important issue is the manner of parent-child interaction. There can be a discrepancy between the explicitly discussed values of respect and family, while implicitly communicating by behavioural treatment (e.g. criticism) that one member's views and experience are not valued in family life. This finding supports the literature on the principles of conversational engagement (Noddings, 2002; Groysbeg & Slind, 2012). Encouraging participation, shared influence, acknowledging views and experiences, valuing person over topic are few ways of building a relational environment that is respectful, empowering, and mutual. In other words, negotiated agreements are not just about one member's performance of specifically requested behaviour, but rather about creating a shared family culture that promotes adaptive practice of values meant to be good for the individuals and the family.

4.7 Outcome: Changes in family relationship and responsibilities

As young people grow, their developing sense of self and recognition of parents prompt significant changes in how they relate to their parents. On the other hand, parents show there is a need for deliberation on the parents' part to also adapt their relationship to children as adults.

Amy and Rachel provide clues as to what might motivate parents to see from different perspectives when change is difficult:

아이한테 관계에서... 마음의 변화가 있었던건... 말없이 하던 아이가 언제부턴가 싫어란 말을... 나는 그걸 인정못하는거예요... 계속 야단치고 막 화내고 싸우고 며칠간 말하지 않고... 이런관계를 이렇게 살순 없잖아요... 타협점을 찾는데... 어느 날인가부터 그 싫어라고 말하는 개를 내가 그냥 받아들이고 있는거예요... 애도 그냥 조금 노력하고 나도 그냥 많이 봐주고... 처음에는 내가 뭐 하지마 그러면 바르르 그냥 싫어 내버려둬 내가 알아서 할게 엄마는 몰라. 이렇게 하다가 그냥 이제 조금... 엄마 입장에서 그럴수도 있겠다. 근데 다 못해줘 나는... 너도 노력하는건 알겠다. 그것만으로도 고맙다. 이렇게 되는거죠... 난 엄마가 우리 엄마인게 좋아... 내가 못하는 것들은 나도 알잖아요... 근데 그런 약점들을 아이들도 다 알고 있더라고요... 엄마를 굉장히 사랑하는걸 내가 막 느껴질때... 되게 좋아요... 그런면에서는 아이들하고 잘 교감하고 있다고 생각을 해요 (Amy)

Translation: My heart [feelings and thoughts] changed in my relationship with my child... She started to disagree with me, who used to comply... I had a hard time accepting that... Yelled at her, got angry, fought, didn't talk for days... But we can't live like that... looking for a compromise... Somehow I was simply embracing the daughter who was saying 'no' to me... She made some effort, and I accommodated a lot, too... At first, when I tell her not to do something, she used to be irritated and say, 'No, leave me alone, let me do it myself, you don't understand.' Then she started to say... 'I understand why you might feel this way, but just know I can't do all that.'... I also say, 'I understand you're making an effort, thank you for that'... 'I'm happy you are my mom'... Even I know what I can't do... I realised my kids also are fully aware of my weaknesses... When I feel how much they love me... I'm very happy... I think I'm connecting with them well in this regard.

I think because I try to show, you know, my appreciation and love and forgiveness through my actions and words, as well as my attitudes, I think he took note of that, although he was very very slow to warm up... When he doesn't understand where I'm coming from, he may give me advice that does not align with my values, that's going to cause conflict... disagreement. And if I don't communicate that with him, he may misunderstand me as disrespecting him, but it's yeah, difference of values... You negotiate to the point where, you know, you have heard each other. I don't think it comes to a point where he can totally understand mine and... I don't know how he could be so firm in his beliefs. But yeah, you deal with that through communicating, and just sometimes agreeing to disagree. (Rachel)

There is an intended quality of parent-child relationship sought in the value negotiation process.

Dialogue and constructive engagement over value differences show immediate consequences on enhancing the experience of mutual respect and intimacy – which address the problems of disconnect and disrespect. For families experiencing harmony and conflict alike, continued

engagement in conversations around values help created adaptability, resilience, and further cohesion within the family (12 YA; 4 Pt).

4.8 Intervening Conditions: Resources for value proficiency and mutual recognition

Each participant represents unique family circumstances as well as varied approaches to dialogue and value negotiation. This section focuses on participants' utilisation of their background conditions as resources to value proficiency and relational skills. The resources found in this study fall under the following categories: family patterns established by personal history and member characteristics; faith-based education or experience; formal education and professional experience; direct support received from the community; and cultural traditions. Select examples are presented below:

저두 기독교인이고... 삶의 목적... 이것을 제대로 가르치는게 제일 중요한 일 같거든요? ... 아이들이 그 런면에서... 확고한 어떤 믿음을 갖고 있다고 말할 수 있는게... 예전에는 저도 막연하게... 우선순위가 아니었던거 같아요. 근데 여기 살면서... 가장 중요한거를 가르쳐야 되겠구나 했고 아이들도 그거를 받아들인거 같아요... 결국 방향을 같이 간다는게 서로를 더 이해 하는게... 세대차이를 좀 극복할수 있다고 그럴까요. 각각 삶의 방향이 다를수 있으면 너무 힘들잖아요 의사소통하기에 (Kiwī)

Translation: As a Christian... it seems an important task for me to teach well the purpose in life... to be able to say that my children have firm beliefs in that regard... I had only thought vaguely about this before, and it wasn't my priority. But living here... I had to focus on what was most important. And the kids accepted that... Being able to walk a similar direction, to understand each other better... Overcoming generational gap, perhaps. It would be very difficult to communicate if we had very different orientations in life.

Vice-Principal 이 우리[아이]한테 encourage... 인격적으로 대화를 해줬었어요... 그래서 지금 우리 아이는 굉장히 잘 재밌게 다니고 있어요 학교를... 그 전도사님 좋아 했었어요... Nice 뭐 이런거 아니에요. 애들은 그 fair 라는 개념이 굉장히 중요시하는거 같애... 외식을 하면서 정을 쌓으래... 애가 굉장히 좋아해요... 집에선 안하던 이야기도 밖에 와선 해... 내가 했던 지금까지 방법들은... negotiation 하는게 아니고.... 사랑스러운 언어를

Translation: The Vice Principal encouraged my kid, treating him with respect as a person as they conversed... So now, my son is really enjoying going to school... And he liked his youth pastor... It wasn't about her being nice. Kids seem to care more about fairness... She advised me to dine out and build intimacy... My son likes that a lot... we talk about things we never would at home... She also told me that all the methods I used... were not

해서... 아이를 내 ... 하인으로 만드는 작업을 내가 했지 내가 nego 를 한건 아니래. 아이가 그거를 안데... 생각하니까 맞는 거 같애... 이번에 뭐하면은 iPod 사줄께. 그런거는 negotiation 이 아니라는 거예요... 그냥 마음 터놓고 그렇게 이제 아이가 받아드릴 수 있는... 정당한 그런 nego 를 하라는 거예요... (Jenny, female, age 43, 6 yrs since migration with child)

negotiation, but using sweet language to turn my child into my servant... and that my child knows that... I thought about it, she was right... 'If you do this, I'll buy you an iPod.' That's not negotiation... Rather, I should have an open, honest communication with him, negotiating fairly in a way my child can also appreciate...

이해할수 있을거 같애. 그때 상황... 모 돈때문에 했을수도 있고 또 자식 걱정은 다 똑같으니까. 내가 그때 잘 말했으면 뉘었을걸... 조곤조곤 설명을... 잘 했을수도 있었는데 화내면서 모라고 하니까... 내 감정을 잘 추스리지 못하고 인내심이 약간 없는 타입이라서 바로바로 화내는 스타일이라서... 아는 친구랑 얘기하다가 얘기하면서 내가 바보였구나 생각을 들었어. 진짜 어리구나 내가... 아빠랑 얘기하고 들어갔는데, 일주일 된가... 관계에 있어서는. 개인적으로 약간 용기가 있어야 할것 같애. 글케 얘기를 이끌어 나가야되때. 얘기하고 싶지만 차마 얘기 못하는게 그런것도 있으니까. (Dragonball, male, age 21, 10.5 yrs since migration with parents)

Translation: I think I can understand, their circumstances [at the time of conflict]... it could've been finances, but concern for children is the same [among parents]. It would've been so much better if I had just communicated well. Instead of blowing up emotions... I really couldn't manage my own emotions, lacked patience a little, got angry easily... I was talking with a friend and realized how foolish I was. I was so immature... I went back [home], talked with dad... When it comes to relationship, personally I think I need courage. You gotta lead the conversation. Often I have things I want to talk about but don't know how.

With my spiritual beliefs, I was able to understand what forgiveness is and what love is... I think my spiritual values help me to understand the family function and my dad better... I try to show, you know, my appreciation and love, and forgiveness through my actions and words, as well as my attitudes. I think he took note of that, although he was very, very slow to warm up. (Rachel)

These final examples demonstrate the integrated presence of value proficiency and the development of mutual recognition in ordinary social experiences. Ability to better negotiate values benefited particularly from the opportunities for better self-awareness and emotional management, for learning alternative strategies, and for clarifying the desired outcome of intergenerational engagements.

4.9 Summary and Resulting Model of NIV

In summary, the findings indicate that both parents and young people play an important role in their families' ability to learn and negotiate values based on multiple resources. One family member's demonstrated skills in articulating, practicing, and interpreting values in daily lives affect the same of another member. Participants critically evaluate the norms and values in their environments, making sense of their relationships to the people and the place of belonging. The changing internal and external contexts create opportunities for families to develop or adjust their understanding of family relationship and each other. Following the initial change in family roles and responsibilities as newcomers, the participants – especially young people – facilitate changes in the parent-child relationship towards what reflects an adult-adult relationship. Family relationships provide a meaningful experience both in the growing up and cultural adaptation processes.

The findings agree with Noddings (2002) that the quality of conversation is more important than its frequency. Successful engagements in values negotiation reflect the special characteristics delineated by Noddings' (2002, 1994) work on *moral conversations*: First, the adults show, not just have, respect and loving regard for children. For example, Gom's mother expressed her respect and trust for Gom's decision despite the decision being very different from her expectations and hopes. Secondly, the partners in dialogue are recognised as more important than the topic of conversation. For example, Amy showed how her response to the daughter's feedback to improve the relationship led to more satisfactory results than winning an argument. As individuals bring their unique contexts into the family discussion, learning about each other's perspectives and experiences helps adapt the meaning, expression and priority of intergenerational values. The following table presents the theoretical model of NIV:

Table 4.1 Final Conceptual Framework of NIV

Background Conditions	Phenomena	Action/Interaction Strategies	Intervening Conditions	Consequences
<p>Resettlement experience: Social, cultural and economic integration impacts family responsibilities, self-efficacy, and family interaction patterns.</p> <p>Growing up experience: Personal identities, interdependent family relationship, growing responsibilities into adulthood all bring attention to values.</p> <p>Cultural diversity: Norms and traditions provided resources for critique and also learning for meaningful integration and maturation.</p>	<p>Plurality in values: In terms of conceptual of meaning, practical expression, contextualisation and prioritisation of commitment levels.</p> <p>Relational tension: Existing family practices that are perceived as unfair, behaviours or attitudes that disrespect or disempower members, and disconnect in understanding or responsiveness to needs and concerns.</p>	<p>Value proficiency: Ability to make sense of values and align the conceptual meaning, practical expression, contextual fit, and priority.</p> <p>Mutual recognition: Ability to create conditions that allow members to participate as autonomous moral agents, who collaborate in negotiation.</p> <p>Steps: 1. Initiate conversations around relevant topics, involving feedback, questions, stories, thoughtful comments, discussions on decisions. Encourage participation. 2. Make sense of values as relevant to the family relationship. Examine roles that define the relationship. Critically evaluate the existing knowledge and practice of particular intergenerational values. 3. Indicate where value differences or tensions might be. Challenge existing patterns in relationship. Identify needs that require adjusted responsibilities. 4. Come to an agreement regarding the meaning, expression, contextual fit, and/or re-arranged priorities of values. Changes are aligned with new plans for family support and/or approach to relationship. 5. Implement actions or adjusted responsibilities that would reflect the new understanding and honour the agreement.</p>	<p>Resources for values as topical content:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education • Family experiences (conversations, behavioural examples, responsibilities) • Cultural norms, cross-cultural comparisons • Social network (role models, examples being evaluated) • Work experience • Opportunities to observe, reflect • Religion <p>Resources for NIV skills development:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parenting style • Personality • Socioeconomic status • Social support, advisory input • Work experience • Education • Family culture 	<p>Changes in the quality of relationship, responsibilities, and sense of identity</p> <p>Examples: Respect and openness in interaction.</p> <p>Fair distribution of duties.</p> <p>Shared authority.</p> <p>Mutuality in understanding.</p> <p>Recognition of individuality and adulthood.</p> <p>Empowerment of healthy self-relation.</p>

Chapter Five: **Interpretations and Conclusions**

As an explorative study of a complex phenomenon, the aim of this study was to develop a working framework that helps explain the key processes of intergenerational values negotiation. Of particular interest were such negotiations among Korean Canadian families with children aged 8-17 upon settlement in Canada, especially within the Greater Toronto Area. Upon review of the theoretical framework used in this study (5.1), answers to the main research questions (5.2), their implications (5.3), and future research recommendations (5.4) are summarized in this chapter. The thesis concludes with the author's reflection on the relevance of this research (5.5).

5.1 Review of Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework developed from a literature review was particularly useful in situating values negotiation as a response to the changes related to maturation and migration. Of this framework, the conditions of migration and contemporary urban contexts helped identify the adaptive pressures and resources that shaped participants' experiences – as immigrants and families of youth (Noh, Kim & Noh, 2012; Carens, 2005; White, Wyn & Albanese, 2011). Furthermore, the theoretical framework integrated the types of disagreements, logical dimensions, and translatability of values in order to distinguish between tensions, plurality, and proficiency in values (Hébert & Wilkinson, 2011; Appiah, 2006; Kobayashi & Funk, 2010). Of particular interest, the concepts of responsibility and forms of disrespect were useful for situating identity development as intersecting affirmation of values and interpersonal relationship (Gaudet, 2007; Honneth, 1995). Moreover, the characteristics of moral conversation and parenting styles were useful in analysing the connection between characteristics of parent-child interaction and its

consequences on adaptive individual development (Noddings, 2002; Aunola, Stattin & Nurmi, 2000).

Of considerable importance is Honneth's (1995) theory of recognition, as three of its features are critical to this study. First, this theory highlights the interrelatedness between parenting and the young people's self-determination. Second, the theoretical types of disrespect (i.e. physical, moral and evaluative) help identify the issues to which participants respond strongly: including the issues of control or autonomy, of rights to fair treatment, and of esteem and acceptance. Third, the notion of struggle for recognition highlights the role of active individual claims and responses in creating a relational environment conducive to healthy identities.

To the original theoretical framework, my study adds the experiences of disempowerment and disconnection between family members. Parents play a critical role for not only self-confidence, but also self-esteem, and self-respect. Spoken parental recognition of adulthood increases youth's self-esteem, as does parental encouragement on youth's self-confidence. Parents' deliberate involvement of children in family decision-making, and treating their input as equally valuable as that of adults, builds a sense of ownership and respect in the young people. Especially in terms of decision-making, learning to claim boundaries of respect with others (i.e., not being responsible for another person's own choices and emotions; not giving away authority over one's own decisions that have consequences only she will bear herself) may become easier with actual experiences of healthy respect from the parents.

My study also adds the dual impact of recognition on its giver and recipient alike. At times of recognising children's individuality and maturity, parents gain an opportunity to reflect on their role, values, and approach in relationship with their children. On the other hand, young

adults esteem the experience of internally motivated empathy and respect towards their parents. Positive regard for the parents, and responding to parental needs of care, go hand-in-hand with the self-respect, confidence, and moral agency of the young person. The ethical experience of recognition has potential for mutually constructive and positive impact. Negotiation of values, especially in relevance to negotiating the relationship between participants, may thus serve to facilitate meaningful establishment of mutual recognition.

5.2 Answering the Research Questions

The three main research questions set out in the introductory chapter are succinctly answered in the subsections below: first, regarding the negotiation of intergenerational values in first generation Korean Canadian families (5.2.1); secondly, on the interrelatedness between values, identities, and family relationships (5.2.2); and thirdly, on the significance of values negotiation for Korean Canadian families (5.2.3).

5.2.1 Negotiation of Intergenerational Values

The key findings in the *NIV* model have important implications for the meaning of *NIV*. First, the wide range of conversational types involved in *NIV* suggests that values and their negotiations are part of ordinary conversations at home, reflecting unique family cultures. Second, the varying levels of effectiveness in *NIV* suggest that *NIV* can be learned and developed as competencies. Third, the finding that relationship issues (i.e. recognition-disrespect, encouragement-disempowerment, intimacy-disconnect) are both the outcome of, and the intervening factor to, resolving value differences, suggests that negotiation of intergenerational values is primarily about building a healthy and meaningful relationship for all family members.

The four processes by which participants effectuate values (i.e. meaning conceptualisation, practical expression, contextualisation, and prioritisation) show how disagreements about values are not necessarily about accepting one value and rejecting another. Family relationships already accommodate and operate on a diverse set of co-existing values that create certain tensions and synergies. For example, autonomy and empathy may explain how the need to make one's own decisions freely may be challenged by the desire to respond to another's need when accommodating the restrictions put on autonomy. At the same time, young people who are confident in their autonomy value their sense of empathy and initiate caregiving actions that reflect one's own sense of dignity and individuality. Embedded in this intertwinement of autonomy and interdependence, *NIV* poses to be a mediating influence on the issue of value disagreements turning into interpersonal conflicts. Results from analysis suggest that the task of aligning the relational practice with their negotiated intergenerational values helps achieve participants' intended family relationship. Participants demonstrate their agency in using value proficiency to assert particular values and role conceptualisation, thereby redefining the existing parent-child relationships in the process.

5.2.2 Values, Identities, and Family Relationship

Values that characterise intergenerational relationship are of interest to both the parents and young people, because: (a) one's treatment of another, e.g. in terms of respect or disrespect, affects how the recipient experiences her own self-respect, esteem and confidence; and (b) identity is embedded in the relationship, desired identities must receive recognition and be enabled to exercise her own values in the relationship.

As children mature into adulthood, parents have the opportunity to verbally affirm adult identity that is significantly meaningful for the adult child. Along with parental behaviour and family task arrangements that support the spoken respect for the young person's adult status in the family, the adult-adult relationship reinforces the adult identity of the young person at home. On the other hand, the young persons also self-recognise their maturity, especially in their extension of adult self-awareness to empathy towards parents. Participant discussions on *cheol* provide the richest information on how identities and values change through growing up experiences – including, but not limited to: thoughtful parental involvement, critical reflection on ways of life, engagement in responsibility tasks, and deeper awareness and appreciation of parents and community members. Values help make sense of what it means to be an individual person, to be family, and to be a member of personally defined scopes of community. As individuals bear multiple and sometimes competing roles, negotiation of values may facilitate this reflexivity between identities and relationships, which can extend beyond family units to actively constructing what it means to be Canadian.

An unexpected, critical understanding gained on the topic of values by analysis on *cheol* is the harmonious emphasis placed on sometimes competing aspects, such as: For learning values, between events of significant transformation and regular practice; for evidence of *cheol*, between intellectual, practical capabilities and affective qualities; for the experience of shared values, the alignment between knowledge, feelings and practice. A deterministic approach would be inadequate in explaining the deeply personal experiences of values, identities, and relationships; nevertheless, deliberation in developing knowledge and practice of values negotiation is likely to enhance the ability to shape and direct such experiences.

5.2.3 Adaptation and Integration of Newcomer Families

The impact of relational experiences on identity, belonging, and self-efficacy challenges the simplistic casual explanation between cultural difference and barriers to family harmony or cultural adaptation. The Korean-Canadian cultural dichotomy is also challenged by the finding that immigrant parents and young people from Korea continue to share many values within the family, with unique distinctions between families. The finding that participants evaluate and draw from cultural resources to enhance *NIV* agrees with the literature that there are competencies that characterise the individual's relationship with cultural plurality (Lussier, 2011; Hébert, 2005; Hagan, Dinovitzer & Parker, 2003). Simultaneously, the finding that participants interpret cultural values from their direct relational experiences with members of representative communities – be they Korean or Canadian – highlights the receiving community's responsibility to examine its normative approaches to newcomers from personal to institutional levels. The proactive safeguard against exclusion or bullying, and facilitation of inclusion and acceptance, seem paramount in creating a sense of belonging and social cohesion. Participants articulated their cultural identities in varying terms of perceived values, race, history, and life prospects; but it was the participants' relationship to people in their environment and place of residence that intimately tied together with the empowering regard for oneself that extends one's responsibility towards the community. Cultural identities, then, becomes a high-stakes reality for newcomers and receiving communities alike, to actively participate in its meaning and benefits.

Effective negotiation of intergenerational values should challenge learned helplessness (Aunola, Stattin & Nurmi, 2000). Individuals must find creative ways to navigate their unique circumstances; family practices can hinder or empower this process, influenced by both the young people and their parents. An important goal adaptation, then, may be to promote family

resilience through the changes and disruptions caused by immigration and maturation – for a “non-adapting system is a maladaptive system” (Lesley Herstein, personal communication, November 10, 2014).

5.3 Recommendations

The results of this study lead to recommendations for several stakeholders. For newcomer families and individuals, the findings form a set of tools to help examine how individual family members are being empowered, encouraged, and challenged to live purposefully through their family practices and relational interaction. Examples of strategies have been presented for cross-cultural resourcefulness and engagement in parent-child dialogue for mutual recognition. The family must become an agile, adaptive system to the changes in the internal (e.g. maturation) and external environment, while rigorously upholding the qualities of respect, trust, and care.

Consequently, there is a need for service organisations to examine the role of normative expectations regarding the resettlement and adaptation process for individuals and families. The variance in meanings and strategies, the importance of family relationships, and any discrepancies between myths and realities should be made explicit systematically. Skills training in value proficiency may complement the services provided for improving communication and relationship building in families. Community organisations may be key sources of information and experiences for policy makers who are supporting forms of social integration and development that enhance the value of diversity in solving pressing challenges such as globalization, social cohesion, and sustainability.

For educators in various settings, the major implications flowing from this study are: (i) *value proficiency* and *negotiation* as the learning content in ethics, values, or citizenship

education, and (ii) *mutual recognition* as the key pedagogical principle in the classroom environment. Along with a practical method of analysing value conflicts or tensions, the relational implications of values should be examined in tandem. Engagement in discussions and shared endeavour in value negotiation may benefit from classroom norms that uphold recognition of all participants as autonomous, respectable contributors worthy and capable of care. The practical competencies of values negotiation uncovered in this research perhaps make better sense with the moral imagination articulated by educational philosopher, Nel Noddings (2007):

The purpose of strong critical thinking is not only or always to produce the best argument but to connect with others in a way that would make the world demonstrably better—less violent, less cruel, and less insensitive to the pain around us... to make it unthinkable for educated human beings to destroy one another or treat one another cruelly in the name of some great principle... I can demonstrate my commitment in the way that I teach... There are strategies that I will simply never use in my encounters with others, and there are conversations I will enter that bear little resemblance to [what is currently described as] critical thinking. (pp. 102, 104-105)

My hope as author is that the application of knowledge from this research will benefit the holistic well-being of individuals and communities, and their capability in developing innovative solutions to existing and new complex challenges at systemic levels.

5.4 Limitations and Future Research

The study's resulting model on the negotiation of intergenerational values (*NIV*) is specific to the perspectives of first generation Korean Canadian adults in the Greater Toronto Area. The concepts used to define the skills and processes of *NIV* may be translatable to other contexts; the model presented in this thesis may provide a useful starting framework for further studies with Korean Canadian and other ethnic newcomer families. This study does not include the experiences of newcomers who did not migrate as family.

The model does not capture the entirety of the complex interplay and breadth of factors that influence value negotiation. The scope of this thesis had to be kept tightly aligned to the grounded theory process framework, without which a linear presentation of data and findings would have been very difficult. It would be an interesting task to determine which factors – be they resources, types of experiences, or skills development opportunities – have the most impact on the *NIV* effectiveness. This would help prioritize the efforts in creating: support programs for newcomer families; educational strategies for diversity management and cross-cultural competencies; and/or working frameworks for community development adaptive to rapidly changing demographics.

The study included two pairs of siblings, and one set of parent and children from the same family. Comparing data between parent and children was much more revealing in terms of identifying different views on shared experiences. Measures to recruit members of the same family, although difficult because of the personal nature of the study topic and anonymity issues, may be well worth further studies on values. As well, interview protocols could be further developed to build greater density of data on the key categories of the working model of *NIV*.

5.5 Conclusion

This study of values as negotiated in first generation Korean Canadian families has been a fruitful and challenging endeavour. As a novice researcher, a community member, an educator involved in professional ethics education, and as an individual person, what I as the author have learned from the study participants and research process is much more than any preparation had warranted. The process-oriented nature of values has given insight to the art of becoming, being, and relating. There is also an optimistic view on facilitating dialogue over diversity and values,

in hopes of creating social cohesion and addressing problems of unprecedented complexity and scale. The concept of value proficiency calls for a re-examination of the discourse of blame and politics of difference. Interrelatedness between values, identities, and relationships brings renewed attention to the evolving forms of interdependence within the family unit. Engaging in dialogue about values and differences has intentions that are not morally neutral, and there is an expectation of alignment between the content and interactional process of value negotiation.

The Korean Canadian families contribute not only to the economy but also to the social fabric of this vibrant metropolitan area. They are in no way homogenous in their culture or socioeconomic status; their experiences are varied and even contradictory. The participants in this study represent adaptive resilience nonetheless, and their collaboration plays no trivial role in defining what it means to be a member of this multicultural community. The values negotiation model being presented in this thesis argues for a shared commitment to the mutually empowering relationships – investing into the well-being, maturation, and sustainability of individuals, families, and societies.

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Appendices

Appendix I. Sociodemographic Information Form

Information Sheet

Project Title: *Multi-generational Perspectives of Korean Immigrant Parents and Youth on Family Relationship, Values, and Identity*

Purpose: To study how changing family relationships, values and cultural identities are interrelated and integrated in the process of cultural adaptation.

Principal Researcher: Minha R. Ha **Supervisor:** Dr. Yvonne Hébert

Participants: Four families of the Korean Canadian community in GTA with following characteristics:

- You immigrated with immediate family;
- You were born and educated in Korea (as well as Canada, for youth); and
- You are either a parent or a youth of 15 years or older.

Participation: You would be invited to participate in

- Two 1-hr interviews
- One 15 min. questionnaire (Socio-Demographic Information Form)
- One 1-hour group interview

All activities are arranged according to participant and researcher availability during April-to-June 2010.

Guarantee: All first-hand information will be confidential, any excerpts presented anonymously.

Research findings: The results of this study will be used:

1. In the researcher's thesis project as part of a Master's degree in Education.
2. In articles, chapters in books, and/or creative writing pieces

As published material, findings of the study may be useful to inform educators, service providers, community leaders, and researchers. The findings may help build a deeper understanding of Korean parents, youth and their families. These may also give insight into issues and opportunities relevant to the Korean community and multicultural Canadian society at large.

All information contributed by you will add tremendous value to the project. Thank you in advance for your willingness to share your perspectives, thoughts, stories related to the topics of cultural identity, youth and parents, and values.

All activities are voluntary. You will be able to withdraw at any time. Your information will be confidential, your contributions anonymous. For further inquiries or concerns, please contact:

Ms. Minha R. Ha
Graduate Division of Educational Research
416-737-7765, mrha@ucalgary.ca

Appendix II. Individual Interview Questions

Family roles, sense of autonomy, interdependence/dependence, responsibility

- “Looking back, could you describe if and how the roles have changed within the family?”
- “How would you explain such changes (e.g. reasons, factors, events)?”
- “What does it mean for you to be or become an adult? How is this different in Korea and Canada?”
- “What are some of your parents' expectations on your role in the family?”

Parenting styles

- “As a parent, do you consider yourself to be strict, permissive, both, uninvolved?” OR “Is your parent strict, permissive, both, uninvolved?”
- “How involved are/were you in your children’s schooling?” OR “How involved were your parents in your schooling?”

Family and personal values

- “What did your parents emphasize in terms of values and expectations?”
- “What do you feel are the most important family values, personal values, and why?”
Probes: Priorities, positively regarded actions, important traits/attitudes to possess

Adulthood

- “What does it mean to be an adult?”
- “In what ways do you see yourself as an adult?”

Adaptation

- “What does it mean to be adapted?”
- “How do you usually deal with challenges? How about your family members?”
- “What is needed in terms of adaptation support? What would be most helpful for newcomers?”
- “What kind of support did you receive from your peers? How did it help you manage challenges in adaptation?”
- “What kind of support did your family receive from the community on resettlement?”

Cultural identifications, involvement

- “How would you describe your cultural identity? What does it mean to be Korean, Canadian, Korean-Canadian?”
- “Are you actively engaged with the Korean organisations in the community?”

Appendix III. Information Sheet

Information Sheet

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1. In the researcher's thesis project as part of a Master's degree in Education.
2. In articles, chapters in books, and/or creative writing pieces

As published material, findings of the study may be useful to inform educators, service providers, community leaders, and researchers. The findings may help build a deeper understanding of Korean parents, youth and their families. These may also give insight into issues and opportunities relevant to the Korean community and multicultural Canadian society at large.

All information contributed by you will add tremendous value to the project. Thank you in advance for your willingness to share your perspectives, thoughts, stories related to the topics of cultural identity, youth and parents, and values.

All activities are voluntary. You will be able to withdraw at any time. Your information will be confidential, your contributions anonymous. For further inquiries or concerns, please contact:

Ms. Minha R. Ha
Graduate Division of Educational Research
416-737-7765, mrha@ucalgary.ca

Appendix IV. Participant Consent Form

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Name of Researcher, Faculty, Department, Telephone & Email:

Miss Minha Ha, Faculty of Education, Graduate Division of Educational Research, University of Calgary
T: 416-737-7765 (cell), mrha@ucalgary.ca (email)

Supervisor:

Dr. Yvonne Hébert, Faculty of Education, University of Calgary,

Title of Project:

*Multi-generational Perspectives of Korean Immigrant Parents and Youth on
Family Relationship, Values, and Identity*

Sponsor: Queen Elizabeth II Graduate Scholarship**Consent Form: *For the use of adult participants 18 years of age and older***

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, is only part of the process of informed consent. If you want more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The University of Calgary Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

Purpose of the Study

Focusing on ethnic Korean parents and youth in Toronto, the study explores how the perception and experiences of familial relations are interconnected with identity and culture in their norms, expectations and values. The study seeks to develop a more nuanced understanding of immigrant family experiences in Canada. Of particular interest are participants' sense of agency, of self and of community, the influences of school and home, as well as the processes and concepts that empower individuals to cultivate challenges into opportunities for growth and development of strengths and resilience.

You have responded to the call for participation and have met the following qualifications, and are thus invited to participate in this study:

- (1) You were born in Korea
- (2) You were educated in Korea (as well as in Canada, if you are a youth)
- (3) You immigrated to Canada with your family

Appendix IV. Participant Consent Form (continued)

What Will You Be Asked To Do?

The first activity will involve completing this *Consent Form*, in which the details of your participation are explained and discussed.

Then the *Socio-demographic Information Form* (SIF) will be completed (about 15 minutes) to provide your background information. Once the SIF is complete, we can begin your prearranged individual or group interviews.

☐ *Interview – Individual*

☐ *Interview – Group (Males or Females; Parent; Young Adult)*

You will also be asked to participate in two types of interviews. For *individual* interviews, there will be two 1-hr interviews arranged to suit your schedule, ideally within a 5~6 week period. For *group* interviews, for ex., with mothers, fathers, or young males or females, a 1-hr session may be scheduled for one or two group categories, provided that other participants are available. The individual and group interviews will be digitally taped and held in quiet public places, such as available rooms in church or community centres or library.

Occasionally the researcher may contact you to confirm or clarify the information already provided by you. If you give the researcher permission to do so, please initial here _____.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected?

Socio-Demographic Information Form

This brief form was designed to obtain your background information such as age, gender, education, date of arrival in Canada. The information you provide will be used to help understand your research contribution. The information will be kept strictly confidential, separate from your other contributions (e.g. Interview data). The questionnaire will be available after the consent procedures, before the first recorded interview session.

Are there Risks or Benefits if You Participate?

There is no monetary remuneration for participation. Participating involves no foreseeable risks, whether physical, social or psychological. You will have the opportunity to tell your stories, reflect on your experiences, and share your thoughts, especially on the key topics of identities, culture, values and family relationship.

Appendix IV. Participant Consent Form (continued)

What Happens to the Information You Provide?

Uses

The information you provide will be used for analysis in the researcher's thesis project. The findings may be presented in refereed and/or non-refereed journal articles. Real names of persons or organisations will NOT be used in analysis or presentation of data. You will not be named in any reports. You will be represented by a pseudonym of your own choosing. Please choose a pseudonym and write it down here: _____.

Your pseudonym should not be shared with anyone. In case of your pseudonym being made known to others, the researcher reserves the right to change your pseudonym.

Quotes

Your participant family members will be referred to with generic identifiers. For example: 'M1' to indicate your mother, 'F2' to indicate the second friend mentioned by you, 'S (ii)' to indicate your second sibling, and so on. The identifiers will be created and modified appropriately by the researcher.

Anonymity

Participation is completely voluntary, anonymous and confidential. However, should you participate in a group interview, anonymity and confidentiality of that session cannot be guaranteed due to the group setting. There may be limitations to anonymity due to the small number of people participating in this project. You are free to discontinue participation at any time during the study. No one except the researcher and her supervisor will be allowed to see or hear the interview transcripts and interview tapes. Real names will be kept separate from the interview transcripts.

Data Storage

The SIF and interview transcript are kept in a locked cabinet only accessible to the researcher and her supervisor. All electronic files of SIF and interview transcripts will be password-secured and will similarly only be accessible to the researcher and her supervisor. The data will be stored for two years after this study and thesis are completed, at which time, the data will be permanently shredded/erased.

You may request to view your contributions at any time. If you wish to withdraw from participation, you can do so by contacting the researcher verbally or by email. Information collected up to the point of withdrawal will be retained and/or used for the purposes of the study.

Appendix IV. Participant Consent Form (continued)

Signatures (written consent)

Your signature on this form indicates that: 1) you understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) you agree to participate as a research subject.

In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. Should you become distressed as a result of participation, the researcher is responsible for providing you with a list of counselling resources. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Name: (please print) _____

Researcher's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Questions/Concerns

If you have any further questions or want clarification regarding this research and/or your participation, please contact:

Ms. Minha R. Ha
Graduate Division of Educational Research, University of Calgary
416-737-7765, mrha@ucalgary.ca

Or her supervisor,
Dr. Yvonne Hébert, Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Calgary

If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact the Senior Ethics Resource Officer, Research Services Office, University of Calgary at (403) 220-3782; email rburrows@ucalgary.ca.

A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference. The researcher has kept a copy of the consent form.