

PARENTAL ACADEMIC SOCIALIZATION, INTERGENERATIONAL
CULTURAL CONFLICT, AND DEPRESSIVE SYMPTOMS
IN KOREAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

by

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DEDICATION

This study is wholeheartedly dedicated to my parents, who have sacrificed so much for me and my sister. Thank you for being there for me in your own ways.

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I. PARENTAL ACADEMIC SOCIALIZATION, INTERGENERATIONAL CULTURAL CONFLICT, AND DEPRESSIVE SYMPTOMS IN KOREAN AMERICAN ADOLESCENTS

Depression generally arises as a potential psychological risk in early adolescence and peaks during mid-adolescence (Thapar et al., 2012). Asian American adolescents are more likely to suffer from depression than their White counterparts; moreover, among Asian Americans, Korean Americans have higher risks of depression than Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino adolescents with rates up to 40% (Yasui et al., 2018). Causes of depression might look drastically different for ethnic/racial minority youth compared to their White counterparts because they face different challenges that are specific to their culture and context. Thus, it is necessary to study what specific cultural factors affect the mental health of individuals from Korean American families.

The acculturation gap-distress theory posits that, when children and parents in immigrant families acculturate to the host culture at different rates and acquire different values and behaviors, this parent-child acculturation gap can contribute to conflicts between the parent and child over cultural values (i.e., intergenerational cultural conflict), and increase levels of youth mental distress (Kim et al., 2018; Lui, 2015). Moreover, qualitative research finds that high-achieving Asian American youth report more conflict with parents who have higher educational expectations and exercise more control in academic socialization, as compared to their White counterparts (Qin, 2008). Parents upholding these expectations have been described as having a strict “success frame” for their children’s academic achievement (Lee & Zhou, 2014). However, this frame dictates that a *good* education is necessary for success, even though success might look different

for each individual. Korean American adolescents might become pressured to the idea of becoming perfect students such as earning straight A's and earning a degree from an elite university. Students who feel as though they do not meet the requirements of this success frame feel like ethnic outsiders, resulting in alienation from their family and psychological maladjustment (Lee & Zhou, 2014). Therefore, it is crucial to include academic socialization when examining factors that might contribute to conflict within the Korean American family. Until now, no research has combined these two perspectives (e.g., acculturative-gap distress theory and success frame) to investigate whether academic socialization is a predictor of intergenerational cultural conflict, and in turn, the mental health of Korean American youth. By identifying predictors and mechanisms leading to depressive symptoms in Korean American adolescents, this study can inform preventive interventions aimed at promoting healthy family relationships and psychological well-being in Korean American youth.

Korean Americans

The number of individuals migrating from South Korea to the United States is increasing dramatically each year. The Korean population in America increased more than twenty times between 1970 and 2008, rising from 70 thousand to over 1.5 million people immigrants (Min & Kim, 2012). Notably, there are substantial differences in socioeconomic backgrounds that set Korean Americans apart from other Asian American groups. Korean Americans score highest among Asian immigrants as self-employed entrepreneurs and are well-known for being the most likely to establish a small business (Yoo, 2000). Most Korean Americans are from middle-class urban backgrounds, which is often attributed to their greater entrepreneurial success and economic mobility (Lew,

2004). Therefore, this group might have more access to educational resources such as home-tutoring and after-school activities than other Asian American groups.

Korean Americans bring their Korean culture, family traditions, values, and legacies to form integrated Korean and American cultures. The South Korean society has been influenced by Chinese Confucian teachings that individuals should have respect for age, social order, and value ideals of collectivism and interdependence. Confucian teachings also place heavy importance on children's education; many Korean immigrants choose U.S.-bound emigration as a vision of better educational opportunities for their children (Kim, 1978; Farver & Lee-Shin, 2000; Qin, 2008). Due to these circumstances, parents might place extra pressure on their children to do well in school. Thus, it is necessary to better understand how parental academic socialization might affect parent-child relationships and adolescent well-being in Korean American families.

Parental Academic Socialization

Academic socialization refers to the variety of parental beliefs and behaviors that influence children's school-related development (Taylor et al., 2004). Studies support that a child's home literacy environment is highly influential towards their academic outcomes (Taylor et al., 2004). For many racial/ethnic minorities, parents might understand they are already at a disadvantage at home due to language barriers. According to Yamamoto and Sonnenschein (2016), ethnic-minority families often provide unique academic socialization experiences using cultural beliefs and resources to promote their child's development. However, there are also Asian American academic socialization experiences that relate specifically to emotional disturbances and psychosocial issues in children (Kodama et al., 2001). For example, Asian American

students have commonly reported feeling like they cannot reach the high expectations of family, peers, and society. Asian American families are recognized to be immersed in an interdependent and collectivist context. Furthermore, Asian American parents tend to utilize a strict “success frame” as their primary lens when approaching their child’s academic success (Lee & Zhou, 2014). Although high educational expectations can lead to greater educational achievement in children, they can also create alienation between the parent and child (Qin, 2006). Louie (2004) states that high academic pressure can cause children to communicate less and utilize a form of “passive rebellion” to lessen emotional closeness with their parents. A consideration of three specific forms of academic socialization, including parental sacrifice, pressure to succeed, and academically oriented parental control, is warranted to identify how Korean immigrant parents academically socialize their children and how this might predict intergenerational cultural conflict and youth’s mental health.

Parental Sacrifice

Parents of ethnic minorities often stress the concept of parental sacrifice as a salient feature of their child’s academic socialization. Asian immigrant parents, in general, have moved to the U.S for their child’s educational opportunities, even if it requires sacrifices such as working overtime and facing the struggles of acculturating to a new host culture (Min & Kim, 2012). A qualitative study highlighted how an immigrant father felt “tired to death” due to extreme work hours but did not regret choosing to come to America for his children’s education (Qin, 2008). This mentality is mostly driven by the Asian culture of collectivism that contrasts widely with the American culture of individualism. No matter how small or large the sacrifice, parents hold the notion that

their full support is necessary to help their children achieve academic success. Regardless of their occupational achievement, Korean immigrant parents invest most of their life in their children and their educational outcomes- whether it be paying for private tutors or various financial systems of support for academic expenses (Dundes et al., 2009). This investment emphasizes how Asian immigrant parents are more likely to show instrumental support (e.g., providing housing, food, and education) than emotional support as the main expression of love towards their children (Oak & Martin, 2000; Wu & Chao, 2017). Hence, parents believe that their sacrifice and support are indispensable factors for their child's success (Kim & Park, 2006). Throughout their educational growth, Korean American children are frequently reminded and shown their parents' devotion and sacrifices towards their education (Dundes et al., 2009). However, there are mixed findings in past research on the effects of perceived parental sacrifice on adolescents. Some studies suggest that the burden of parental sacrifice negatively affects adolescents' mental health as they do not want to fail their parents (Dundes et al., 2009; Qin, 2008). In contrast, others suggest that parental sacrifice might serve as a factor that promotes a more harmonious parent-child relationship, as youth develop feelings of gratitude and a sense of indebtedness towards their parents (Kang, 2010). Wu and Chao (2011) discovered that parental devotion and sacrifice encompassed a protective function by reducing the associations of intergenerational cultural dissonance and youth behavioral problems in Chinese American families. Perhaps, parental sacrifice is perceived as a form of positive parental care, and adolescents feel appreciation and support. The connection between parental sacrifice and intergenerational cultural conflict is still unclear, given these mixed results. Thus, this study examines whether parental

sacrifice is a risk factor, or conversely a protective factor, of intergenerational relationships and adolescents' emotional adjustment.

Pressure to Succeed

A major source of stress that affects Asian American youth's mental health is parental pressure to succeed (Lee et al., 2009). Not being able to meet the expectations of succeeding academically or striving for certain career paths can lead to negative emotions and feelings (Oishi & Sullivan, 2005). Guilt and shame are examples of such feelings, and these are also predictors of depression (Cheah et al., 2016). An emphasis on education becomes ingrained in Asian American students from an early age as parents communicate strict guidelines for academic expectations (Kodama et al., 2001). As a result, it becomes common for Asian American students to carry out the duty to succeed at the cost of mental health. Dundes and colleagues (2009) found that Asian American students and their parents placed greater emphasis on family honor and institutional prestige as an important successful life factor in comparison to their White counterpart students and parents, who were more focused on happiness than success or reputation. Although Asian immigrant parents' overall goal is their children's success, children might perceive their support as an intense pressure to succeed and a lack of warmth. Specifically, Korean students report punishment, discipline, or lack of love from parents when they perform poorly in school or feel as though they could not meet their parents' expectations (Yang & Rettig, 2003; Zhou & Kim, 2006). Although most prior studies have focused on the direct link between parental pressure to succeed and Asian American adolescents' mental health, there is also evidence suggesting that pressure on academic success can result in unintended negative relational consequences such as

intergenerational cultural conflict (Kim et al., 2006; Zhou & Kim, 2006). As intergenerational cultural conflict has been identified in the literature as an antecedent of adolescents' mental health problems (e.g., Lui, 2015), this study examines whether intergenerational cultural conflict also serves as a mediator that links parental academic pressure to adolescents' depressive symptoms in Korean American adolescents.

Academically Oriented Parental Control

Parental academic control can be viewed as the behavioral control or the act of monitoring a parent has on their child's schoolwork-related behaviors. A high level of control can translate to high parental strictness, which can often lead to increased conflicts in families; this can become more prevalent during adolescence when a child is discovering their autonomy and the want for freedom (Qin, 2008). Spurred by the value of interdependence, Korean American parents show strong guidance and control in their child's life decisions including educational and social activities. Choi et al. (2020) found that academic control, such as school-related rules or monitoring, contributed to unintended lower academic performance and increased antisocial behaviors in Korean American youth. Even when faced with making important life decisions such as attending graduate school or career choices, most Asian Americans indicated that their parents were highly influential in their overall decision (Dundes et al., 2009). Although a certain amount of academically oriented parental control is necessary for a child's educational achievement, an excessive amount of control might lead to a problematic family dynamic and compromised youth development. Thus, this study investigates whether higher amounts of academically oriented parental control are related to more intergenerational

cultural conflict, and in turn, higher levels of depressive symptoms in Korean American adolescents.

Intergenerational Cultural Conflict and Depression

Although the family tends to immigrate at the same time, numerous cultural differences are found between parent and child (Chung, 2001). For example, children are often learning the English language faster, leading to language barriers that hinder family communication. One of the major conflicts between Asian immigrant youth and their parents is the youth's belief that their parents are stricter, harsher, and more controlling than typical American parents (Qin, 2008). Intergenerational cultural conflict has been found to weaken parent-child bonding, which in turn leads to increased problem behaviors and mental distress for the Southeastern Asian American youth (Choi et al., 2008). Choi et al. (2008) identified intergenerational cultural conflict as a salient factor to understanding the differences in acculturation levels among parent and child dyads. Increased dissonance might be the outcome of uneven acculturation levels between the parent and child. Similarly, Lui (2015) found that intergenerational cultural conflict was significantly correlated with internalizing problems such as depression in Asian and Latino American adolescents (Lui, 2015). Thus, intergenerational cultural conflict might arise from academic socialization practices that are demanding and high in control, leading Korean American adolescents to experience more psychological problems.

Gender

Gender might moderate the association between academic parental socialization and intergenerational cultural conflict, and then, intergenerational cultural conflict and depression among Korean American youth. That is, female and male adolescents might

adjust to conflict and issues differently within immigrant families. Although both Korean American sons and daughters are affected when faced with conflicts with their parents, previous research has found that daughters from immigrant families tend to be more vulnerable than sons (Qin, 2008). This might be due to women having greater differences in values and expectations across the heritage and host cultures than men (Qin, 2009). For example, past studies have shown that Korean immigrant parents treat boys and girls differently and assign different roles and chores. Girls were expected to focus on housework and childcare, while boys were expected to study well and participate in the workforce (Min & Kim, 2012). For this reason, adolescent girls might experience higher levels of conflict with their parents caused by cultural dissonance (Lui, 2015), and in turn, higher levels of depression than boys (Kim & Cain, 2008). Despite these known gender differences at the mean level, it is still unclear whether the mechanism of influence also differs between boys and girls; hence, this study focuses on exploring potential gender differences in the associations among parental academic socialization, intergenerational cultural conflict, and youth depression.

Current Study

Grounded in the acculturative-gap distress theory and incorporating the concept of the “success frame” in Asian American families, the current study aims to identify whether and how parental academic socialization plays a role in Korean American families’ intergenerational cultural conflict and adolescent psychological adjustment. Specifically, this study examines three forms of parental academic socialization (i.e., parental sacrifice, pressure to succeed, and academically oriented control) to investigate how youth’s perceptions of each behavior predict intergenerational cultural conflict, and

in turn, depressive symptoms in Korean American adolescents (See Figure 1 below). Several covariates that are potentially related to either academic socialization or youth development are controlled for, including age, nativity, parental education, and GPA. For example, there are significant positive associations between socioeconomic status and parental academic socialization in Chinese American families (Yamamoto et al., 2016). Older age and lower socioeconomic status are also salient factors of negative youth outcomes such as poor health (Currie & Stabile, 2002). Daughters are more likely to be vulnerable than sons when experiencing family-related stress (Qin, 2006). Nativity also differently relates to youth outcomes, such that those who are foreign-born are at higher risk for poorer well-being compared to those who are US-born or more acculturated (Hwang & Ting, 2008).

In answering the above-mentioned research questions, the following hypotheses are tested:

(H1) Pressure to succeed and academically oriented parental control will be positively associated with intergenerational cultural conflict.

(H2) Intergenerational cultural conflict will be positively associated with depressive symptoms.

(H3) Pressure to succeed and academically oriented parental control will be indirectly associated with depressive symptoms via intergenerational cultural conflict.

In addition to testing these a priori hypotheses, the relation between parental sacrifice and intergenerational cultural conflict will be explored as well. Finally, gender will be explored as a potential moderator for the associations between the three forms of

parental academic socialization and intergenerational cultural conflict, and then, between intergenerational cultural conflict and depression.

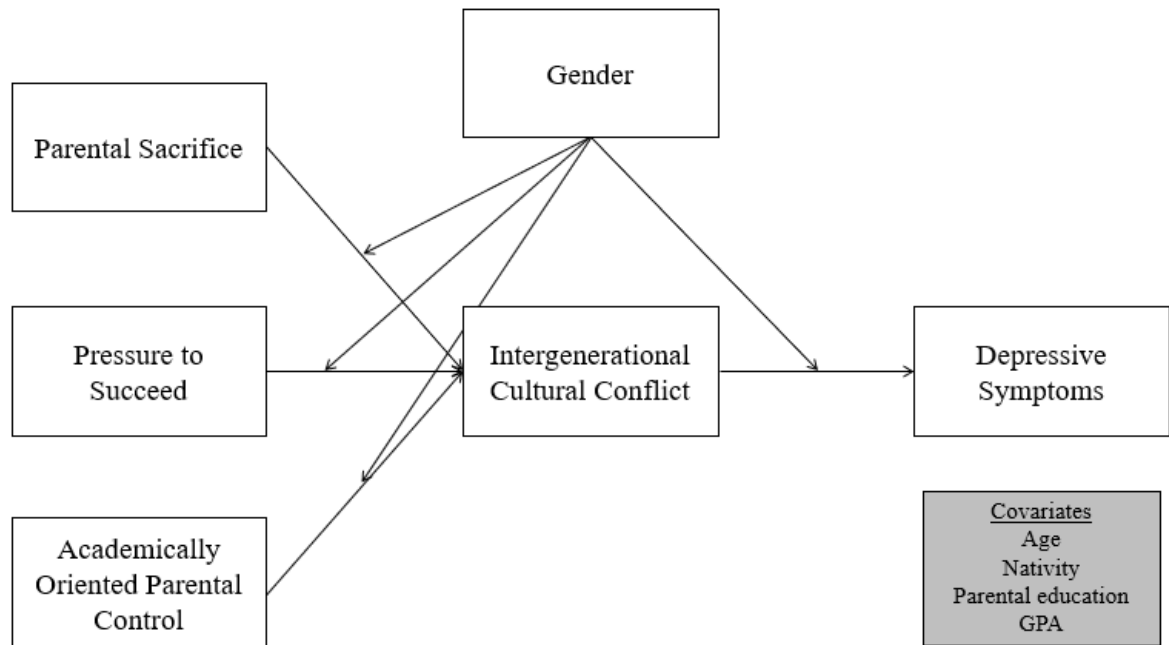


Figure 1. Proposed Conceptual Model.

II. METHOD

Participants

Data were drawn from the Midwest Longitudinal Study of Asian American Families (ML-SAAF), which investigated parental beliefs and behaviors, parent-child relations, and youth outcomes in Asian American families. Between 2014 and 2015, Wave 1 data were collected in the Chicago and surrounding Midwest areas interviewing Filipino American and Korean American youth and parents. Participants were recruited via phonebooks, school rosters, and church or temple rosters. Participants were adolescents between ages 12 and 17 attending middle or high school. Children had to have mothers of Korean heritage to be eligible for the study. This study specifically focused on Korean American youth utilizing survey data from 410 youth ($M_{\text{age}} = 14.76$, $SD = 1.91$; 48.30% female; 58.29% U.S. born). The median income of family households was in the \$50,000 to \$74,999 range and median parental education was a college graduate degree (BA, BS).

Procedure

The data used for this study were collected from interviews and self-administered surveys. Parental consent and adolescents' assent were collected after the study goals were explained to each participant. The University of Chicago's Institutional Review Board approved the ML-SAAF protocol (Choi et al., 2018). Participants were rewarded \$20 as an incentive for completing the surveys. More than half of the surveys were completed by trained bilingual interviewers in Chicago on the participants' behalf based on their oral responses, while the rest were self-administered. Questionnaires were presented in both paper-pencil and web formats. Most of the self-administered surveys

were completed online. On average, the youth survey and in-person interviews took around 40 minutes to complete. The questions were available in both English and Korean, so participants could choose which language they preferred. Korean-translated questions were used by 61 Korean youth (14.9%), whereas the remainder used the English survey (85.1%). A panel composed of Korean Americans with fluency in both languages reviewed the accuracy of translation of the questions. Invariance scale items were pretested, and items were further edited based on the pretest results.

Measures

Adolescents' self-reports for measures on parental sacrifice, pressure to succeed, academically oriented control, intergenerational cultural conflict, and depressive symptoms were used for analyses; past research signifies discrepancies between parental and youth reports of parental socialization, with youth's own reports being better predictors of youth outcomes (Fleming et al., 2016; Hou et al., 2020). Adolescents' demographic information including age, gender, nativity, and parental education, as well as their school performance (i.e., GPA) were included as covariates. Parental report of education was also included as a proxy for family socioeconomic status.

Parental Sacrifice

Parental sacrifice was measured using a set of two items assessing how adolescents viewed their parents' emphasis on their education. The items were originally derived from the Chinese Parent-Adolescent Relationship Scale (Qin) developed by Wu and Chao (2011) and Guan ideology by Chao (2000). This scale examined the level of perceived parents' efforts to make sacrifices and work hard for their children (e.g., "My parents work very hard to provide the best for my education" and "My parents do

everything for my education and make any sacrifices”). The items were rated on an ordinal Likert scale of not at all (1) to very well (5) when asked how well the following statements described their parents. The inter-item correlation between the two items was .56 suggesting good reliability. Due to high skewness and kurtosis, a composite score was created for analysis by log-transforming the mean of the two items; higher scores indicate adolescents having greater acknowledgment of their parents’ sacrifice towards their education.

Pressure to Succeed

Ten items were used to assess how adolescents perceived their mothers’ expectations and standards on their achievement (e.g., “My mother shows she loves me less if I perform poorly” and “My mother has higher expectations for my future than I have.”) This scale was adopted from the Korean American Families project (KAF) and the literature (Ahmad & Soenens, 2010; Frost & Marten, 1990; Silk et al., 2003). The adolescents were asked how well each of the items described their parents, and items were rated on an ordinal Likert scale of not at all (1) to very well (5). The Cronbach’s alpha for this scale was .87. A composite score was created for analysis by calculating the mean of the items; higher scores indicate adolescents perceiving greater pressure and expectations to succeed from their parents.

Academically Oriented Parent Control

Academically oriented parental control towards education was measured using eight questions (e.g., “Your parents make sure you do homework” and “Your parents involve you in after-school study programs or tutoring.”) The extent of control parents gave on their child’s academic life was also surveyed (e.g., “Your parents punish if your

grades are down” and “Your parents reward if your grades are up.”) This scale was created from ML-SAAF. The items were rated on an ordinal Likert scale of almost never (1) to almost always (5). The Cronbach’s alpha was .73. A composite score was created for analysis by calculating the mean of the items; higher scores indicate adolescents perceiving greater control on school-related matters from parents.

Intergenerational Cultural Conflict

Intergenerational cultural conflict was assessed by ten items that were adopted from the Asian American Family Conflicts Scale (FCS) (Lee et al., 2000). This scale assessed whether and how a child and their parents have disagreements in various situations (e.g., “Your parents tell you what to do with your life, but you want to make your own decisions.”). The items were rated on an ordinal Likert scale of almost never (1) to almost always (5). The Cronbach’s alpha for this scale was .87. A composite score was created for analysis by calculating the mean of the items; higher scores indicate adolescents having greater disagreements and intergenerational cultural conflicts with their parents.

Depressive Symptoms

Fourteen items from the Children’s Depressive Inventory (Angold et al., 1995) and the Seattle Personality Questionnaire for Children (Kusche et al., 1988) were used to measure youth depressive symptoms. Adolescents were asked to think about how often they had been experiencing each of the listed symptoms for the past two weeks “ (e.g., “I feel like crying all the time” and “I felt miserable and unhappy”).ı. The items were rated on an ordinal Likert scale of almost never (1) to almost always (5). The scales showed strong reliability as the Cronbach’s alpha was .93. Due to high skewness and kurtosis, a

composite score was created for analysis by taking the log of the average score of the items; higher scores indicate adolescents feeling greater depressive symptoms.

Covariates

Adolescents self-reported their age, gender (0 male, 1 female), and nativity (0 foreign, 1 U.S.-born). Their school performance was also measured by asking for a numeric conversion of their school grades. The scale ranged from 1 to 4 and averaged the adolescents' most recent grades in four main school subjects (English, math, social studies, and science) to calculate GPA. However, due to high negative skewness and kurtosis, the GPA variable was further log-transformed for further analysis. Parental education was measured on a five-point scale (1=did not graduate high school, 2=high school graduate or GED, 3=some college, 4=college graduate, 5=graduate degree).

Analytic Plan

All analyses were conducted using Mplus 8.1 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). First, bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics were examined. Next, path analysis within a structural equation modeling framework was conducted, where the three forms of parental academic socialization were separately specified to predict intergenerational cultural conflict, which in turn, was specified to predict depressive symptoms. Here, demographic variables (e.g., age, gender, nativity, parental education) and GPA were controlled for. A good model fit is indicated by RMSEA < .06 and CFI > .95 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). A statistically non-significant chi-square test is another measure of fit, although the test can widely depend on the size of the correlations and number of cases in the model (Kenny, 2015). To examine the moderating effect of gender, gender was used as a grouping variable to conduct a multigroup path analysis for adolescent boys and girls

separately. Using Wald tests, path coefficients were tested for equivalence one path at a time. A significant moderation of gender is found if a path coefficient cannot be constrained to equality across both groups due to a significant deterioration of model fit.

III. RESULTS

Bivariate Correlations and Descriptive Statistics

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics for study variables were examined, and the results are summarized in Table 1. Adolescents mostly perceived their parents' sacrifice to a very high degree ($M = 4.55$, $SD = .60$), perceived their parents' pressure to succeed to a moderate degree ($M = 2.44$, $SD = .79$), and perceived their parents' academic control to a moderate degree ($M = 2.91$, $SD = .78$). Descriptive statistics revealed that the level of intergenerational cultural conflict was perceived at a high rate ($M = 2.37$, $SD = 0.78$), and the level of depressive symptoms was reported at a lower but moderate rate ($M = 1.81$, $SD = 0.73$). For the bivariate correlations involving main study variables, parental sacrifice ($r = .28$, $p < .001$) and pressure to succeed ($r = .36$, $p < .001$) were significantly associated with academically oriented parental control. Pressure to succeed ($r = .62$, $p < .001$) and academically oriented parental control ($r = .27$, $p < .001$) were significantly associated with intergenerational cultural conflict. Pressure to succeed ($r = .26$, $p < .001$) and cultural conflict ($r = .33$, $p < .001$) were significantly associated with depressive symptoms. Before continuing onto advanced analysis, the linearity was checked for the relation between parental sacrifice and cultural conflict using SPSS statistical software (IBM Corp, 2019). Specifically, quadratic, and cubic terms were checked to ensure that parental sacrifice and intergenerational cultural conflict did not have a curvilinear relation. A simple regression was first run with linear ($\beta = .25$, $p = .38$) and quadratic ($\beta = -.32$, $p = .25$) terms of parental sacrifice on intergenerational cultural conflict, and the results included a non-significant association. Another simple regression was then run with linear ($\beta = -.19$, $p = .82$),

quadratic ($\beta = .88, p = .68$), and cubic ($\beta = -.78, p = .57$) terms of parental sacrifice on intergenerational cultural conflict, and the results were also nonsignificant.

Table 1. Zero-Order Bivariate Correlations and Descriptive Statistics Among Key Variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Age										
2. Gender	.01									
3. Nativity	-.21***	-.04								
4. Parental education	-.20***	-.01	-.09							
5. GPA [†]	-.13*	.16**	-.01	.23***						
6. Parental sacrifice [†]	.05	.02	.09	.08	.05					
7. Pressure to succeed	-.05	-.09	.11*	-.04	-.10	.03				
8. Academically oriented parental control	-.35***	-.01	.17***	.19***	.02	.28***	.36***			
9. Intergenerational cultural conflict	.02	-.05	.06	-.09	-.18***	-.07	.62***	.27***		
10. Depressive symptoms [†]	.24***	.05	.07	-.03	-.15**	-.09	.26***	.01	.33***	
<i>M (SD)</i>	14.76 (1.91)	0.47 (0.50)	0.58 (0.50)	3.60 (0.91)	3.85 (0.13)	4.55 (0.60)	2.44 (0.79)	2.91 (0.78)	2.37 (0.78)	1.81 (0.73)
Minimum	11	0	0	1	3.40	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum	19	1	1	5	4.00	5	5	5	5	5
<i>n</i>	407	408	408	392	390	408	408	408	408	402

Note. [†]Transformed variables were used to calculate correlation coefficients, whereas original data were used for descriptive statistics for ease of interpretation.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Path Analysis Model

In the path analytic model, parental sacrifice, pressure to succeed, and academically oriented control were specified to predict intergenerational cultural conflict, and in turn, depressive symptoms. The model fit the data well (CFI = 0.977, RMSEA = .047, p -value from χ^2 Test of Model Fit = .06). Table 2 includes estimates for the direct and indirect effects of predicting depressive symptoms via intergenerational cultural conflict. Below, standardized beta coefficients are utilized to interpret the overall model because they use standard deviations as their units and thus can be used to compare the strength of the effects of each individual independent variable.

Direct effects

Direct effects of the three parental socialization behaviors on intergenerational cultural conflict were statistically significant. Parental sacrifice inversely predicted intergenerational cultural conflict ($\beta = -.12, p < .001$), such that increases in parental sacrifice were associated with decreases in intergenerational cultural conflict. On the other hand, pressure to succeed ($\beta = .57, p < .001$) and academically oriented parental control ($\beta = .13, p < .001$) were found to be significant positive predictors of intergenerational cultural conflict, such that increases in pressure to succeed and parental control were associated with increases in intergenerational cultural conflict. In total, 42% of the variance of intergenerational cultural conflict was explained by the model and controlled covariates.

In turn, intergenerational cultural conflict was also a significant predictor of depressive symptoms ($\beta = .23, p < .001$). Furthermore, two of the parental academic socialization behaviors, parental sacrifice ($\beta = -.10, p < .05$) and pressure to succeed (β

= .13, $p < .05$), directly related to depressive symptoms. Increases in pressure to succeed were associated with increases in depressive symptoms. However, the opposite was true for parental sacrifice, such that increases in parental sacrifice were associated with decreases in depressive symptoms. The direct effect of academically oriented parental control on depressive symptoms was not statistically significant. In total, 22% of the variance of depressive symptoms was explained by the model.

Indirect effects

Significant indirect effects were found for specific paths. Specifically, increases in perceived parental sacrifice were associated with decreases in intergenerational cultural conflict, which in turn were associated with decreased levels of depressive symptoms ($\beta = -.03$, $p < .05$). In contrast, a significant indirect effect of pressure to succeed on depressive symptoms via intergenerational cultural conflict was found ($\beta = .13$, $p < .001$), such that increases in pressure to succeed were associated with increases in intergenerational cultural conflict, which in turn were associated with increased depressive symptoms. Finally, the indirect effect involving the third academic socialization behavior was also found to be significant ($\beta = .03$, $p < .05$), such that increased academically oriented parental control was associated with increases in intergenerational cultural conflict, which in turn was associated with increased depressive symptoms.

Moderation of gender

Wald tests were then used to examine whether the direct effects significantly differed between male and female Korean American adolescents. The MODEL TEST function in Mplus 8.1 was utilized to check for significant differences in the

unstandardized regression coefficients across the two groups. As shown in Table 2, there were no significant differences between the individuals in the two different genders for any pathways of the model. Direct effects across the two different groups are also reported below.

Table 2.

Direct and Indirect Effects Predicting Depressive Symptoms via Intergenerational Cultural Conflict and Wald Chi-Square Differences for Gender.

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	R^2	Wald χ^2 (1)	<i>p</i>	Boys <i>b</i>	Girls <i>b</i>
Intergenerational Cultural Conflict								
Parental Sacrifice	-.63**	.21	-.12**	.42	0.54	.46	-.49	-.82*
Pressure to Succeed	.57***	.04	.57***		0.73	.39	.60***	.53***
Academically-Oriented Parental Control	.13**	.05	.13**		2.60	.11	.06	-.02
Depressive Symptoms								
Parental Sacrifice	-.10*	.05	-.10*	.22	0.27	.61	-.12	-.07
Pressure to Succeed	.03*	.01	.13*		2.77	.10	.00	.05**
Academically-Oriented Parental Control	.00	.01	.00		1.67	.20	.01	-.02
Intergenerational Cultural Conflict	.05***	.01	.23***		1.09	.30	.06***	.03
Specific Indirect Effects								
Parental Sacrifice → Intergenerational Cultural Conflict → Depressive Symptoms	-.03*	.01	-.03*					
Pressure to Succeed → Intergenerational Cultural Conflict → Depressive Symptoms	.03***	.01	.13***					
Academically-Oriented Parental Control → Intergenerational Cultural Conflict → Depressive Symptoms	.01*	.00	.03*					

Note. Coefficients for covariates (age, gender, nativity, and GPA) are not shown. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

IV. DISCUSSION

Intergenerational cultural conflict has been found to be associated with depressive symptoms in Korean American families (Lui, 2015). Mixed findings have also shown intergenerational cultural conflict to be the result of certain cultural parental socialization behaviors (Kodama et al., 2001). The goal of the current study was to understand these mixed findings better and to consider whether parental academic socialization behaviors, such as parental sacrifice, pressure to succeed, and academically oriented parental control might indirectly relate to depressive symptoms via intergenerational cultural conflict in Korean American adolescents. This population has been known to be at greater risk of experiencing these internalizing symptoms at a greater rate (Yasui et al., 2018), especially when intergenerational cultural conflict is present (Lui, 2015).

Results highlighted that perceived parental sacrifice for a child's education was a promotive factor for lower levels of intergenerational cultural conflict. That is an adolescent who believes their parent works hard for their education might find themselves having less conflict with their parents. Previous research showed mixed results for the connection between parental sacrifice and intergenerational cultural conflict: some studies suggested that perceiving parental sacrifice was a burden (Dundes et al., 2009; Qin, 2008), whereas others documented its protective functions (Chao, 2011; Kang, 2010). Results from our study are in line with the latter group of studies and suggest that the idea of parental sacrifice might serve as a potentially helpful strategy for mitigating intergenerational cultural conflict. Sacrifice could be interpreted as parental devotion and a form of support, inducing feelings of indebtedness and gratitude (Kang, 2010). Kang (2010) found that a "sense of indebtedness toward parents" was a concept

that helped explain a positive change in Korean Americans' views of their parents' authoritarian parenting because it helped youth to recognize their immigrant parents' child-centered immigration aspirations and their sacrifice for the sake of their children. Results suggest that when Korean American adolescents perceive a great extent of sacrifice from their parents, it might be interpreted by the youth as love and support, which might be a protective factor for intergenerational cultural conflict.

In contrast, adolescents who perceived their parents to exert more pressure and control on their education experienced higher levels of intergenerational cultural conflict. The Korean culture places a very high value on education (Kim & Bang, 2017). Due to this value on education, many Korean immigrant parents might put intense pressure and monitoring on their children's academic attainment. However, adolescents might not agree with their parents' educational values. As the results highlight, adolescents' perceptions of academic pressure and control contribute to an increase in intergenerational cultural conflict within the family, threatening the traditional hierarchal relationship between parents and adolescents (Choi, 2002). Our results suggest that reducing excessive amounts of academic pressure and control might benefit Korean American families to reduce intergenerational cultural conflict.

Consistent with previous research (Choi et al., 2008), intergenerational cultural conflict, in turn, was a risk factor for depressive symptoms. Greater intergenerational cultural conflict continued to show as a negative antecedent for depressive symptoms within Korean American adolescents. Intergenerational cultural conflict arises with two disagreeing mindsets regarding culture and lifestyle. Therefore, results suggest that taking

action to prevent intergenerational cultural conflict would be beneficial whether that be in the form of interventions or finding resolutions to resolve the sources of family conflict.

Turning to adolescents' gender differences, gender was not a significant moderator when considering the above-mentioned associations. Unlike previous research suggesting immigrant daughters are more at risk than sons when facing family-related issues (Suárez-Orozco & Qin, 2006), this study could not conclude that gender played a differentiating role regarding these specific relations. Kim (2005) found that intergenerational cultural conflict in Korean American families might be more critical in father-daughter relationships than father-son relationships. Perhaps, the parent's gender should be examined as well with relations to the child's gender in future research.

Practical Implications

Adolescence is one of the most dynamic and influential periods of human development (Quas, 2014). Although adolescents need challenges to form their perspectives on life as future adults, high levels of family conflict and depressive symptoms can alter their trajectory toward more negative long-term outcomes. Thus, adolescence is the optimal time when interventions aimed at promoting healthy family relationships and mental health might be especially beneficial for at-risk adolescents. Findings from this study suggest that interventions aimed at reducing parent-child conflict should develop strategies to inform parents of the potential negative effects of extremely high expectations. It also is suggested that that practitioners work with parents and children to develop culturally-responsive alternatives to the academic socialization practices that are high in control and pressure. Our results also further suggest that the concept of sacrifice, more particularly adolescents' perceptions of parental sacrifice,

could be leveraged in interventions aiding Korean American families, as it could be utilized as a tool for resolving intergenerational cultural conflict. Furthermore, these interventions aimed at changing family practices and reducing parent-child conflict might be especially beneficial when they are family-centered, as focusing on the child or parents separately has been shown to be less effective (Kogan & Walsh, 2020).

Therefore, professionals should work collaboratively with families in developing plans that include all members during activities and lessons to foster conflict resolution strategies, such as empathy, communication, and impartiality (Van Lissa et al., 2017).

Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study was able to better illuminate the relations between Korean American adolescents perceived parental academic socialization behaviors, intergenerational cultural conflict, and adolescent depressive symptoms, the current findings are limited because they rely entirely on adolescents' self-reported measures, which might increase the potential for response bias and limit their validity. Another limitation of the current study is that the findings might not be generalizable to Korean Americans in other regions in the United States. The use of convenience sampling methods such as seeking out churches and schools might not be the most ideal method to represent the sample. Also, the findings of this study should be interpreted with caution when generalizing to the Asian American population as a whole because of between-group differences. Future studies should replicate this study with other Asian American ethnic groups, including the same or a similar set of demographic factors in their prediction models, to investigate whether consistent results are obtained regarding the effects of these demographic characteristics. Although a considerable amount of variance

of depressive symptoms was explained by the selected measures, consideration of other variables such as serious illnesses, substance (mis)use, and even biological components might enhance the understanding of other determinants of family conflict and mental health.

Conclusion

In conclusion, parental sacrifice is perceived as a nurturing and supporting behavior among adolescents, which is inversely related to intergenerational cultural conflict. In contrast, pressure to succeed and academically oriented parental control continue to be academic socialization practices that relate to negative family dynamics characterized by high levels of intergenerational cultural conflict. In turn, intergenerational cultural conflict continues to be a risk factor for depressive symptoms in Korean American adolescents. This study has identified parental academic socialization practices that serve as protective and risk factors for intergenerational cultural conflict in Korean American families and depressive symptoms in Korean American youth. Findings from this study inform culturally responsive family interventions to target harmful academic socialization practices and intergenerational cultural conflict to help youth and families in this population.

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