

부모의 양육효능감과 부모역할수행과의 관계 : 재미동포 한인 1세대 부모에 관한 연구

Parental Efficacy and Practices
among Korean Immigrant Families in the US

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Abstract

This study investigates the relationships between parental efficacy and parental practices among Korean immigrant parents in the US. Parental efficacy constitutes a special aspect of parental belief systems focusing on the beliefs that parents have the capabilities to manage the tasks of nurturing and socializing their children. Results showed that parental efficacy was positively related to the authoritative dimension of parental practices. However, there was no significant negative relationship between parental efficacy and the authoritarian dimension of parental practices. Interestingly, the authoritative and authoritarian dimensions of parental practices were highly correlated among Korean immigrant parents. This finding is in contrast to much of the research on Anglo American parenting that indicates that authoritarian practices are not compatible with authoritative practices. For Korean immigrant parents, authoritarian practices seem not to have detrimental connotation. Therefore, it can be assumed that Korean immigrant parents parental practices have different underlying mechanisms compared to Anglo American parents. We need to focus parenting research with a broader perspective on the sociological and historical context from which parental practices arise.

Key Words : 부모의 양육효능감(parental efficacy), 부모역할수행(parental practices), 재미동포 한인가정(Korean immigrant families in the US)

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I. INTRODUCTION

The limited interest among psychologists in the influence of explicit parenting behaviors or practices on child development has given way, in recent years, to a broader interest in the experience of parenting (Smetana, 1994). Researchers have discovered that parents, like their developing children, are individuals with goals, plans, ideas, motivations, and interests. In other words, researchers more have become interested in parents' thinking about parenting (Goodnow & Collins, 1990). Recently, parental efficacy has emerged as both a powerful direct predictor of positive parenting practices and a mediator of the effects of parenting quality (Coleman & Karraker, 1998). A positive sense of efficacy as a parent has been related to positive elements in both parenting behavior and child outcomes (Bugental & Johnston, 2000).

Parental efficacy constitutes a special aspect of parental belief systems focusing on the beliefs that parents have the capabilities to manage the tasks of nurturing and socializing their children (Coleman & Karraker, 1998; Teti & Gelfand, 1991). The self-efficacy construct, postulated by Bandura (1977), refers to the beliefs in one's ability to successfully perform a particular behavior. According to social learning theory (Bandura, 1989), expectations related to personal efficacy originate from four primary informational sources: personal accomplishment history (successes and failures), various experience, watching others engage in particular activities, verbal persuasion, and emotional arousal. Efficacious parents expe-

rience emotional and cognitive sense of personal empowerment in their parental role that facilitates the management of the multifaceted tasks of parenting and fosters enjoyment in the process (Wells-Parker, Miller, & Topping, 1990).

In an earlier study, Tulkin (1977) found differences in maternal behavior between working-class mothers and middle-class mothers. Tulkin argued that the working-class mothers, in contrast to middle-class mothers, felt that there was little they could do to influence the development of their children. Current research generally supports an association between high maternal efficacy and specific adaptive parenting skills, having demonstrated that low maternal efficacy is associated with the tendency to focus on relationship difficulties, negative affect, and use of coercive discipline (Bugental, Blue, & Cruzcosa, 1989; Bugental & Cortez, 1988).

Yet other studies have examined the association between parental efficacy and various aspects of parenting competencies with high-quality parenting and provision of supportive environments (Luster & Rhoades, 1993; Mash & Johnston, 1983; Teti & Gelfand, 1991) and an active (vs. passive) coping orientation to parenting (Wells-Parker, Miller, & Topping, 1990). Lower self-ratings of parental efficacy (skill and knowledge in parenting) have been associated with less effective parental practices in mothers; that is, less use of active direction, and greater likelihood of being abusive (Mash, Johnston, & Kovitz, 1983). Interestingly, Ohan, Leung and Johnston

(2000) found that parents of girls reported higher efficacy scores than parents of boys.

Some studies based on Korean samples showed relationships among mother's thinking style, parenting self-efficacy, and children's social competence (Moon, 2002), or the effects of parenting efficacy on parenting behavior (Shin & Chung, 1998). Moon (2002) found that children whose mothers felt more confidence in their parenting had a higher degree of social competence.

In particular, Teti and Gelfand (1991) found maternal efficacy operated as a mediator variable between psychosocial variables and maternal competence. Brody, Flor and Gibson (1999) also found that maternal efficacy beliefs were linked with parenting practices indirectly through developmental goals. Recently, one study examined parenting efficacy as a potential mediator of effect of competence-promoting and inhibiting parenting on toddlers' scores on mental scale of the Bayley Scales (Coleman, Trent, Bryan, King, Rogers, & Nazir, 2002).

Researchers have postulated (Baumrind, 1991; Schneewind, 1995) that parental efficacy impacts child development via parenting practices, distinguished from parenting style. Baumrind's (1966, 1991) seminal work on the classification of parenting styles has profoundly influenced research on parenting and its effects on children. The most important implication of the distinction between parenting style and parental practices is how each affects the outcomes of children. In Darling and Steinberg's model (1993), parental practices have direct effect on child development outcomes, whereas parenting style is concep-

tualized as a context that moderates the influence of parental practices on the child. They defines parenting style as a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and that create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviors are expressed. Parental practices are engendered as having direct effects on child's development outcomes (Brenner & Fox, 1998).

Contemporary American society views authoritative/democratic parenting style as being more humane, more socially acceptable and more effective both in the short run and in the long run (Holmbeck, Paikoff, & Brooks-Gunn, 1995; Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991). The relations between parental efficacy and practices of authoritative/democratic dimension of parenting style has not yet been examined for ethnic minority parents in general, and for Korean immigrants in particular. Until now, research on parenting in Korean immigrants has mainly focused on adolescents' academic achievement (e.g., Kim & Rohner, 2002; Kim-Park, 1994) or behavior problems (e.g., Shrake, 1996) as a function of perceived parenting style or attitude. There is virtually no attention to Korean immigrant parents' ideas or beliefs on their parenting roles and abilities.

As the primary socialization agents (Yi, 1993), Korean immigrant parents have considerable opportunity to influence their children. With the increased stress to the family and the individual including minority status in America, being a parent in a recent immigrant family entails an especially challenging commitment (Nah, 1993).

For Korean immigrant parents, the parenting role places continual heavy demands on coping efficacy. Studies showed that late immigrants (those who immigrated after the age of 14) experienced the greatest stress compared to early immigrants and later generation subjects. Given the fact that a great portion of Korean American families (96%) are headed by first-generation immigrants (Min, 1998), Korean immigrant parents seem to experience stressful circumstances.

Parents who have a firm belief in their parental efficacy are quite resourceful in promoting their children's competencies (Teti & Gelfand, 1991). Moreover, a strong sense of parental efficacy serves as a protective factor against emotional strain and despondency (Cutrona & Troutman, 1986). Ardelt and Eccles (2001) found that mothers' parental efficacy was a stronger predictor of children's self-efficacy and academic success in disadvantaged family and environmental contexts, such as Black single-parent households and Black families with a weak marriage, than in White families or Black families with a strong marriage. Parental efficacy is exceedingly critical with Korean immigrant parents under the stressful process of acculturation.

It is essential for researchers to discern both the processes that contribute to the development of parental efficacy and the time frame within which they occur. Preliminary evidence seems to suggest that parental efficacy arises, at least in part, from childhood experiences (Grusec, Hastings, & Mammone, 1994; Leerkes & Crockenberg, 1999). A second, very different approach to the question of how parental efficacy develops has

focused on elements of the macrosystem (Grusec, et al., 1994). Cultures and communities most certainly deliver numerous messages about parenting values as well as factual information relevant to the care and development of children. A third possible avenue of influence on the emergence of parental efficacy is the actual experiences of parents with children, encounters with both their own children and with the children of relatives and community members (Goodnow, 1985). Research presents numerous possible parental history antecedents as well as current personal, child, and contextual factors likely to influence the development and expression of specific self-efficacy beliefs. For Korean immigrant parents, the formative process of parental efficacy might be complex.

The extant parental efficacy literature reviewed herein has clearly demonstrated that parental efficacy can directly impact the quality of parenting. Parents whose perceptions of parental efficacy are high will be engaged in parental practices that are more involved, supervisory, and democratic, known as authoritative dimension of parenting style. If parental practices have a direct link to a child's behavior and long-term outcomes, investigating how parental efficacy influence parental practices could prove to be valuable. Early research on parenting centered on white, Protestant, middle-class families, who are considered typical of the dominant culture in the United States. Over the past decade, the research has been extended to other groups and through comparison studies, but there is much to learn about Korean immigrant families.

This study aims to identify patterns of parental efficacy and practices among Korean immigrant parents. Also, it investigates the relationships among parental efficacy, parental practices of authoritative dimension, and parental practices of authoritarian dimension of Korean immigrant parents. Specifically, this study raises the following questions.

Research Question 1.

Do the parental efficacy and parental practices (authoritative and authoritarian dimensions) among Korean immigrants significantly differ, dependent

upon participants' demographic characteristics (e.g., gender, income, education) ?

Research Question 2.

What are the significant relationships among age, length of residence in the US, parental efficacy and parental practices (authoritative and authoritarian dimensions) among Korean immigrants?

Research Question 3.

Does the parental efficacy significantly predict to parental practices (authoritative and authoritarian dimensions) with age and length of residence in the US controlled?

II. METHOD

1. Participant

The sample for this study consisted of 202 parents from Korean immigrant families living in the New York metropolitan area, the upstate New York area, and the Los Angeles area. Participants were recruited from several Korean churches and Korean American community organizations. Since almost 70% of the Korean American population identifies itself as Christian (Min, 1991), sampling from Korean churches has been common for Korean American studies. In this study, about 68% (135 out of 202) of the participants were of the Christian faith.

The data for this study were based on 202 Korean immigrant parents each of whom represents a Korean family. Two criteria for the selection of the respondents were used. One was

to select first-generation Korean immigrants who spent their adolescent periods in Korea (e.g., immigrating at least after age 14). The other criterion was related to children's age. Only Korean immigrant parents with children under 10 years of age were included in this study to reduce compounding effects of parental variables relating to children's developmental stages.

The average age reported was 36.80 years (SD = 4.86) and the average length in U.S. residence was 12.00 years (SD = 5.75). Eighty-eight participants (43.6%) reported that they had a college education and most participants (94.6%) were married. One parent per family was included in the study and 144 out of 202 participants (71.3%) were mothers. Considering all factors, the typical respondent was female, married with college education, employed, and reported an income of

approximately \$40,000. Over two thirds of parents (74.3% for participants, 75.2% for their spouses) identified themselves or their spouses as Koreans. Only one third of participants thought themselves as Korean-Americans.

2. Instruments

Participating parents were asked to provide descriptive information on their gender, age, marital status, level of education, employment status, occupation, number of children in the family, numbers and ages of children, family income, and length of residence in the United States, etc. In addition, the Parental Self-Agency Scale and the Child Rearing Practices Report were used for gathering adequate data.

1) The Parent Self-Agent Scale (PSAM)

This scale measures the extent to which a parent believes in his or her ability to act successfully in the parenting role (Dumka, Stoerzinger, Jackson, & Roosa, 1996). This scale consists of 10 questions. Here, this scale measures parental efficacy that shows a construct similar to parenting self-agency.

Item content was derived from a review of the literature and an examination of instruments purporting to measure constructs similar to parenting self-agency (e.g., Johnston & Mash, 1989). One item of the scale was taken from the parental efficacy subscale of the Parental Locus of Control Scale (PLOC; Campis, Lyman, & Prentice-Dunn, 1986), and one item was adapted from the PLOC.

For this study, a slightly modified version (5 point Likert-type scale) of the original scale was used.

2) The Child Rearing Practices Report

Parental practices were assessed with a questionnaire on two dimensions of child rearing practices. The parents completed questions about parental practices derived from Block's Child Rearing Practices Report (1981). In order to facilitate data collection, instead of using the 91 items of Q-sort format, 26 items of Likert-type scale was rated. Lin and Fu (1989) had modified the CRPR from a Q-sort format to a 5-point Likert-type scale (i.e., each item was rated on a scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree).

The questions consisted of the authoritative and authoritarian dimensions of parental practices. The authoritative scale with 14 items consisted of the factor; 5 items of encouragement of independence (e.g., I respect my child's opinions), 6 items of expression of affection (e.g., I am easygoing and relaxed with my child), and 3 items of rational guidance (e.g., I talk it over and reason with my child when he misbehaves). The Authoritarian scale with 12 items consists of the factors; 8 items of authoritarian control (e.g., I have strict, well-established rules for my child), 2 items of supervision of the child (e.g., I make sure I know where my child is and what he is doing at all times), and 2 items of control by anxiety (e.g., I control my child by warning him about the bad things that can happen to him).

Table 1. Instruments Summary.

Instrument	Reliability (α)	M	SD	Range
Parental efficacy	.72	35.98	4.90	26-46
Parental practices :				
Authoritative dimension	.84	57.21	6.29	37-70
Authoritarian dimension	.77	41.29	6.78	22-59

3. Data Collection and Analysis

For the participants living in the New York metropolitan or upstate New York areas, completing and returning the surveys were requested through mail or direct contact with the researcher after the face-to-face distribution of questionnaires. Participants living in Los Angeles were contacted via church leaders or Korean American preschool teachers and later mailed the questionnaires. Eight hundred and ten packets were distributed to the participants.

A total of 369 survey forms were returned to the researcher, yielding a return rate of 46%. The returned surveys with any missing data or those not meeting the criteria for this study were

excluded in data analysis. The final useable surveys were 202, 55% of the all returned surveys. For the participants with limited English skills, a Korean version of the questionnaire was used. To reduce nonequivalent measurements in the English and Korean versions, after the questionnaire was translated into Korean, the back translation technique was employed.

This study used SPSS 10.0 program for data analysis. First, descriptive statistics were calculated to define sample characteristics. To determine the differences of parental efficacy and practices among groups (by gender, education, income), t-tests and ANOVAs were performed. Then, a zero-order correlation matrix was calculated to assess the relationship among variables. Regression analysis employed, specifically, a hierarchical approach to first partial out the variance that demographic variables accounted for age and the length of residence in the US and then the predictive power of parental efficacy on parental practices (authoritative and authoritarian dimensions).

III. RESULTS

In addressing research question 1, gender differences across variables were first investigated using t-tests. There were no significant differences for parental efficacy and parental practices (authoritative and authoritarian dimensions) between Korean immigrant mothers and fathers. Separate sets of ANOVAs were conducted to

determine whether there were significant differences on the parental efficacy and parental practices (authoritative and authoritarian dimensions) depending on the participants' income and education level. Results showed that parental efficacy and parental practices (authoritative and authoritarian dimensions) did not vary significantly

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations of Variables by Gender.

Variable	Male		Female	
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
Parental efficacy	36.29	4.88	35.85	4.92
Parental practices :				
Authoritative dimension	57.24	6.72	57.20	6.12
Authoritarian dimension	40.86	6.96	41.46	6.72

by income and education.

To examine research question 2, correlation coefficients among variables were presented in Table 3. Age was positively related with length of residence in the US and authoritarian dimension of parental practices. In other words, the older participants were more likely to show high scores of the authoritarian dimension for parental practices.

Parental efficacy and practices were not related to length of residence in the US. Importantly, parental efficacy was positively related to authoritative dimension of parental practices ($r=.503, p<.001$), whereas, the authoritarian dimen-

Table 3. Correlation coefficients of variables.

	Age	Length of residence	Parental efficacy	Authoritative dimension
Age	1.000			
Length of residence	.324***	1.000		
Parental efficacy	-.033	-.126	1.000	
Authoritative dimension	.082	-.114	.503***	1.000
Authoritarian dimension	.244***	-.028	.065	.404***

*** $p<.001$

sion was not linked to parental efficacy. More interestingly, the authoritarian and authoritative dimensions of parental practices were highly correlated with each other among Korean immigrant parents ($r=.404, p<.001$).

To address research questions 3, separate sets of hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed. The effects of age and length of residence in the US were analyzed first in order to remove the variance explained by these variables. After controlling for the effects of demographic variables, parental efficacy accounted only for .3% of the variance in authoritarian dimension of parental practices. On the other hand, parental efficacy accounted for 24.1% of the variance in authoritative dimension of parental practices (see Table 4).

Table 4. Hierarchical regression analyses of age, length of residence in the US, and parental efficacy predicting authoritarian and authoritative dimensions of parental practices.

Variable	Authoritative dimension of parental practices		Authoritarian dimension of parental practices	
	Model 1 β	Model 2 β	Model 1 β	Model 2 β
Block 1 : Age	.134	.121	.298***	.297***
Length of residence in the US	-.151*	-.093	-.111	-.104
Block 2 : Parental efficacy		.494***		.059
R ²	.029	.270	.082	.085
R ² change	.029	.241	.082	.003

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

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study examined parental efficacy as well as authoritarian and authoritative dimensions of parental practices of Korean immigrant parents. Demographic factors such as education and income level have very limited relations with parental efficacy and parental practices. Parental efficacy was positively related to the authoritative dimension of parental practices. However, there was no negative relationship between parental efficacy and the authoritarian dimension of parental practices. Interestingly, the authoritative and authoritarian dimensions of parental practices were highly correlated among Korean immigrant parents ($p < .001$).

This finding is in contrast to much of the research on Anglo-American parenting which indicate that authoritarian practices are not compatible with authoritative practices (Baumrind, 1971; Lamborn et al, 1991). We need to consider cultural variation in parenting (Chao, 2001; Chun, 1998; Julian, McKenry, & McKelvey, 1994). For Korean immigrant parents, authoritarian dimension of parental practices such as authoritarian control and supervision seem not to have detrimental connotation. Therefore, it can be assumed that Korean immigrants' parental practices have different underlying mechanisms compared to Anglo American parents. Given the fact that most participants identified themselves as Koreans regardless of their length of residence in the US, their thoughts or ideas of parenting seemed to be still under the control of traditional Korean ideology. The results of this study indicated that Korean immigrant parents still possess

traditional Korean ideology and this affects their concept of parenting which might not necessarily be the same as that of Anglo-Americans.

This claim is in line with Chao's study (1994) which investigated Chinese immigrant parents concept of authoritarian parenting. Chao has argued that, for the Chinese, parental control is primarily motivated by their intense concern for their children to be successful. Extending research (Chao, 2001) on the consequences of parenting for Chinese Americans and European Americans showed authoritative parenting does not have as beneficial effects for Asian Americans as it does for European Americans. Although there is no study concerning motivations of parental control among Korean immigrant parents, Chao's argument may be suitable for interpreting parental practices among Korean immigrant parents.

The results of this study also suggest that Korean immigrant parenting may be better understood in the context of Korean traditional culture including Confucianism, and the influences of Taoism and Buddhism. Central Confucian principles include humanism, collectivity, self-discipline, order and hierarchy, wisdom of the elderly, moderation and harmony, and obligation. Several enduring parental thoughts and practices have been attributed to the influence of Confucianism, including parental control, obedience, discipline, emphasis on education, filial piety, respect for elders, reverence for tradition, and minimization of conflict (Lin & Fu, 1990). Several researchers (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990;

Rueschenberg & Buriel, 1989) propose that most US Asian groups focus on collective needs, interdependency, and conformity. Minimal research theoretically or empirically examines the relationship between ethnic identity and parenting.

It is better to balance psychological focus with a broader perspective on the sociological and historical context from which parental practices arise. From this perspective, practices can be seen as preparations for children's successful entry into society. This is to acknowledge that parents' understanding of society is essential to their beliefs and practices and gives them a definable goal beyond personal preference or children's well-being. Baldwin's early study (1955) proposed that parental practices be studied within a culture and examined as patterns that commonly occur in our culture. Bronfenbrenner (1958, 1961) also gave credit to the role of society in explaining why rearing practices had changed historically during the twentieth century. In their view, no practice should be studied apart from the social context for which it was designed. Parents were members of society who understood the culture and were preparing children for adaptive functioning in it. Parents' views of society are more than background and could tell us much about the choices parents make in parental practices. Strategies that parents adopt are conditioned by the kind of society they believe applies to their children's eventual social adaptation (Whiting, 1963). Youniss (1994) also suggested that parenting beliefs be influenced by the broader societal context.

Most importantly, the results in this study indicated that Korean immigrant parents did not

persist in traditional habits but instead adapted to the new democratic context. Upon arriving in the United States, Korean immigrants may adapt to cultural, economic, and social changes that can potentially create realignment of parental roles and responsibilities. Korean immigrant parents, no matter how traditional, are aware that Korean culture and custom cannot be sustained in America without alteration. Korean immigrant parents approach the task of parenting with sensitivity to the society around them and awareness of the society their children will enter. They appear to adopt practices that they think will best serve their children's future social adaptation.

What parents saw as worth promoting in their children differed from what had been fitting for themselves in Korea. Parents would make both purposive and unconscious adjustments in their parental practices, in mediating the influence of social change (i.e., immigration, cultural change) and consequently in better adapting them for the social conditions they may next meet as adults. Highly efficacious Korean immigrant parents realized that the goal of child rearing is to encourage the development of traits that enable children to be successful in society. It can be argued that Korean immigrant parents with high parental efficacy are capable of adapting to American social values and employing parental practices for their children's better outcome while retaining many internal characteristics that are cultural in nature. Therefore, their concepts about authoritarian dimension of parental practices may differ from Anglo-American parents.

Noting the limitations of this study and some

caveats about interpreting these findings seem warranted. It is important to point out that most of the results in this study cannot capture the diversity that exists within Korean immigrant populations, and thus, should not be taken as representative of all members of this group. This study employed a purposive sampling procedure for recruiting participants. In this type of study, participants are selected on some basis that produces biases of an unknown quality and quantity. The relatively low response rate (46%) for the surveys also raises compelling questions concerning the presence of a systematic bias in who chose to participate. Several biases may have existed in the sample that could detract from the external validity of the findings. With respect to measurement, this study was conducted using instruments normed on non-minority samples because of lack of availability of culturally sensitive instruments. Cultural equivalence has been often neglected in conducting research with culturally distinguished groups.

This study utilized data from Korean immigrant parents with children under 10 years old. Whether the patterns of parental efficacy and practices addressed can be generalized to adolescent is questionable. The findings of this study might tentatively be considered in the context of Korean immigrant parents with older children. In a future study, how Korean-speaking parents maintain parental efficacy and establish parental practices with their English-speaking children while they are growing up warrants investigation.

As a central preoccupation, employment of various research techniques such as indepth

qualitative study will promote the increased understanding of Korean immigrant families and parents. In this vein, the following are areas in need of future study : (a) studies using ethnographic methodologies in order to elucidate the definitions of parental efficacy among Korean immigrant parents; (b) observational studies of the parental practices of Korean immigrant families inclusive of all family members that play a parental role at various developmental stages; (c) longitudinal studies of parental efficacy, values, and practices as a function of the process of acculturation of each parental figure; and (d) community-based survey studies on the definition of parental efficacy, values, and practices as a function of the ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic composition of the neighborhood.

Also, it is necessary to conduct comparative studies (e.g., Korean immigrant parents vs. nonimmigrant Korean parents, Korean immigrant parents vs. Anglo-American parents) of parental efficacy and practices. In doing so, we may better understand the traditional cultural values and attitudes particular to each of the group under investigation, as well as the values, attitudes, and conventions of the cultural environments in which they currently reside.

In my conclusion, some of the sampling limitation involved in this study may be common to other studies on immigrant families. Such limits due to voluntary participation appear to be difficult to avoid. Despite the limitations, for the most part, this study contributes to the ongoing development of knowledge of Korean immigrant parents' experiences.

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요 약

부모의 양육효능감은 부모신념체계를 구성하는 한 부분으로서 부모의 역할을 수행하는 자신의 능력과 기대에 대한 믿음을 의미한다. 이는 부모역할수행에 직접적으로 영향을 미치며, 부모양육과 여러 변수간에 매개역할을 하는 것으로 밝혀졌다. 미국내 거주하는 202명의 한인 이민가정의 부모를 대상으로 한 본 연구결과에 의하면 부모의 양육효능감은 권위적/민주적 부모역할수행과 정적인 상관관계를 보이나 권위주의적 부모역할수행과는 유의미한 관련성을 보이지 않았다. 또한 권위적/민주적 부모역할수행과 권위주의적 부모역할수행이 긍정적인 상관관계를 나타냈다. 이는 지금까지 서구사회의 부모를 대상으로 한 연구결과와는 다른 것으로, 자녀에 대한 권위적 통제나 감독이 한인부모에게는 부정적인 개념이 아님을 시사한다. 결론적으로, 미국 부모의 양육을 기준으로 미국내 한인 부모의 자녀양육행동을 이해하는 것은 문제가 될 수 있으며 한인 부모의 경우 한국 문화적 맥락과 미국사회의 가치 체계 및 영향을 함께 고려해야 한다고 여겨진다.