The intergenerational relationship between Korean aging mothers and adult daughters

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The intergenerational relationship between Korean aging mothers and adult daughters

by

Sesong Jeon

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Human Development and Family Studies

Program of Study Committee:
Megan Gilligan, Major Professor
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The student author, whose presentation of the scholarship herein was approved by the program of study committee, is solely responsible for the content of this dissertation. The Graduate College will ensure this dissertation is globally accessible and will not permit alterations after a degree is conferred.

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

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ABSTRACT

To further the understanding of intergenerational relationships in adulthood, this dissertation focused on the experience of aging mothers and their adult daughters in Korea. This dissertation is comprised of two studies. The first study in Chapter 2 investigated the association between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being and the moderating impact of adult daughter’s parental status. The second study in Chapter 3 explored Korean working adult daughters’ perceptions of their current relationship with their aging mothers who provide grandchild care.

The Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (APIM) was employed in Chapter 2 to test regression and moderation analyses with dyadic data from aging mothers and their adult daughters. The key findings from Chapter 2 indicated that aging mothers and their adult daughters’ parent-child differentiation was positively associated with their own psychological well-being; however, there were no significant cross (partner) effects on psychological well-being. Furthermore, the association between differentiation and psychological well-being was stronger among aging mothers whose adult daughters had children compared to aging mothers whose adult daughters did not have children. In Chapter 3, interviews from working adult daughters whose mothers provide childcare were examined using a qualitative methodological approach. Findings from Chapter 3 indicated that working adult daughters reported three types of ambivalent feelings regarding their mothers’ childcare: 1) thankfulness and guilt toward their mothers, 2) dependence on their mothers and desired independence, and 3) closeness and disagreement with their mothers.

The two studies provide complementary insights into the relationship quality between aging mothers and their adult daughters in Korea. Overall, these chapters shed light on the
importance of the life course perspective—linked lives—in the intergenerational relationship. In addition, the importance of interactions between macro and micro factors on family processes were emphasized. This dissertation contributes to a growing body of research on the intergenerational relationship between aging mothers and their adult daughters in adulthood.
CHAPTER 1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Within families, the relationship between mothers and adult daughters is typically the strongest and most intimate (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Suitor, Gilligan, Peng, Jung, & Pillemer, 2015; Suitor & Pillemer, 2006). In the United States, the exploration of relational characteristics for the mother-adult daughter relationship has looked closely at three main dimensions (i.e., closeness, conflict, ambivalence); however, these dimensions have been given less consideration within the Korean context. Rather, literature has inclined to see the attachment between mothers and their daughters based on their intimacy (i.e., Im & Chun, 2009; Nam & Kwon, 2016). Child-oriented mothers in Korea who are intensively devoted to their children have a strong attachment to their married children (Im, 2004). Korean daughters raised with a westernized education learn the importance of independence (Kim & Ko, 2007); however, the daughters remain emotionally close to their parents after marriage (Kim & Choi, 2003). This emotional dynamic between adult daughters and their mothers has the potential to influence their psychological well-being.

Although family differentiation, which is the pattern of distance regulation between intimacy and individuality in the family (Anderson & Sabatteli, 1992), has received a great deal of attention as an important theme in parent-adult child relationships (Chun, 1998; Manzi, Vignoles, Regalia, & Scabini, 2006), studies exploring the relationship between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being have been overlooked in adulthood. In addition, studies examining the parental status of adult children as a predictor for psychological well-being have found inconsistent results (Kaufman & Ulhenberg, 1998; Suitor, Gilligan, & Pillemer, 2013; Suitor, Keeton, & Pillemer, 1995), indicating that more empirical research is needed. Since the cultural meanings and impact of parental status can
vary (Umberson, Pudrovská, & Reczek, 2010), it is necessary to study how parental status affects psychological well-being in Korea.

One way that Korean mothers invest in their daughters is through providing childcare (Lee & Bauer, 2013). Grandmothers overwhelmingly provide the majority of childcare and maternal grandmothers account for more than half of grandmothers providing childcare (56.8%) (Lee, Kwon, & Kim, 2015). Among dual-income families in Korea, the rate of cohabitation with husbands’ parents is twice as high as the rate of cohabiting with wives’ parents, yet the percentage of families obtaining childcare support from wives’ parents (12%) is higher than that of husbands’ parents (7.2%) (Kim & Hwang, 2010). These recent changes in Korean society indicate that the relational dynamics between working adult daughters and their mothers needs to be explored. Although research has shown that childcare can positively or negatively impact the intergenerational relationship between parents and their adult children (Baker & Silverstein, 2008; Kim & Jung, 2011; Kim & Seo, 2007), there is a lack of understanding which processes may affect working adult daughters’ perceptions of the current relationship they have with their mother.

Therefore, this dissertation aims to investigate the relational characteristics of Korean aging mothers and their adult daughters. The life course perspective was utilized as the framework for two studies to understand the Korean aging mother-adult daughter relationship. First, the concept of linked lives within the life course perspective was used to better understand the mother-daughter relationship and how both individuals influence each other across their lives (Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003). Second, the concept of historical time and place emphasizing the interactions between micro and macro factors within the life course perspective were applied to explore family processes in this dissertation (Bengtson &
Allen, 1993). Demographic shifts (i.e., increased rates of female labor force participation) or the cultural shift in the family system at the macro level (i.e., from patriarchal to bilateralization of kin relationships in Korea) may affect the dynamics of the mother-adult daughter relationship within the micro level. For the second study, the intergenerational solidarity model was applied to explore the perceptions of Korean working adult daughters who rely on their mothers for childcare. Although studies have demonstrated the positive role of solidarity between parents and their adult children in the context of providing childcare, six dimensions of solidarity (affectual, associational, consensual, functional, normative structural solidarity) may impact different way to the adult daughters’ perception.

The current dissertation examines three questions related to the intergenerational relationship between Korean aging mothers and adult daughters:

1. How does parent-child differentiation affect the psychological well-being of mother-adult daughter dyads?

2. How does an adult daughter’s parental status impact the association between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being?

3. How do Korean working adult daughters describe their current relationship with their mothers who provide supplementary grandchild care?

To address these three questions, this dissertation uses two different data sets from Korea. For the first study, dyadic data from 167 Korean aging mothers (\(M=59.61\) years old, \(SD=4.83\)) and their adult daughters (\(M=34.22\) years old, \(SD=4.83\)) were used to answer question 1 and question 2. This survey was conducted from 2014 to 2015 in Korea and included questions about triad family relationships (i.e., adult daughters, their mothers, and
their husbands). However, this dissertation focused only on the relationship between adult daughters and their mothers.

The first study examines the association between parent-child differentiation and the psychological well-being of aging mothers-adult daughters in Korea. Both mothers and their adult daughters were examined in the study by utilizing a dyadic approach, the Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (APIM). Furthermore, multiple group analysis was utilized to explore the role of the parental status of adult daughters in the association between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being.

The findings from the first study will contribute to expanding the literature on the relationship between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being in later life. Furthermore, by analyzing both parties’ psychological well-being, it is expected to contribute to a growing body of research on intergenerational relationships. In addition, as previous studies have shown inconsistent impacts of parental status, the findings from this dissertation will help to better understand the role of parental status in the relationship between parents and children.

For the second study, interview data were collected from twenty-four working adult daughters (ages 30-43) living in Korea who have at least one young child (0-5 years old) and rely on their mothers for child care. The interviews were conducted from 2016 to 2017 in Korea during the Universal Childcare Subsidy. Respondents were asked questions regarding relationship quality with their mothers, childcare supports in Korea, and childcare provided from their mothers.

The second study explores the association of working adult daughters’ experience with the relationship dynamics with their mothers who provide childcare. To better
understand working adult daughters’ perception of the relationship with their mothers, the intergenerational solidarity model and the life course perspective were used in this study. To analyze the data, a standard qualitative methodological approach involving a three-step coding process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) was performed by utilizing Max-QDA 12.0 qualitative software.

The findings of the second study will contribute to further understanding of Korean working adult daughters’ perceptions of their current relationship with their mothers who provide childcare by considering multiple processes (interpersonal, familial, and contextual) while utilizing the intergenerational solidarity model. Furthermore, this study is expected to contribute to expanding an emerging body of studies on supplementary grandchild care.

**Dissertation Organization**

The following chapters addressed the intergenerational relationship between Korean aging mothers and their adult daughters with two studies. In Chapter 2, study 1 explores the association between the parent-child differentiation and the psychological well-being of aging mother-adult daughter dyads. Furthermore, the impact of adult daughters’ parental status on the association between the parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being was tested. To conduct this study, IRB approval was obtained from the Iowa State University Institutional Review Board and the National Research Foundation of Korea, Ministry of Education (Academic Organization Support Program, 2014-2015, 2014S1A5B5A07040329) (Appendix A).

In Chapter 3, study 2 explored Korean working adult daughters’ perceptions of their current relationship with their mothers who provide childcare. To conduct this study, IRB approval was obtained from the Iowa State Institutional Review Board (Appendix G).
Chapter 4 includes synthesized findings from Chapters 2 and 3, general conclusions, and implications for future directions.

References


CHAPTER 2. PARENT-CHILD DIFFERENTIATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING BETWEEN KOREAN AGING MOTHERS AND ADULT DAUGHTERS

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Abstract

Although differentiation persists throughout life and is important for psychological adaptation, less is known about how parent-child differentiation in adulthood affects psychological well-being for both parents and adult children. Furthermore, empirical research has implicated that it is inconclusive as to whether parental status of adult children affects the parent-child relationship, hence, the parental status of adult daughters in current study is expected to moderate the association between parent-child differentiation and their psychological well-being. Therefore, data from 167 Korean aging mother-adult daughter pairs were used to examine 1) the relationship between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being and 2) the moderating effect of adult daughters’ parental status on the association between the parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being.

Results revealed that both adult daughters’ differentiation and mothers’ differentiation were positively associated with their own psychological well-being. However, there were no significant cross-interactional effects of differentiation on psychological well-being. There was a positive moderating effect of adult daughter’s parental status on the association between the differentiation and psychological well-being for aging mothers.
**Key words:** Differentiation, psychological well-being, parental status, Korean aging mothers-adult daughters

**Introduction**

The mother-daughter relationship has been described as the closest and strongest parent-child relationship among all family relations (Bojczyk, Lehan, McWey, Melson, & Kaufman, 2011; Fischer, 1991; Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Suitor, Gilligan, Peng, Jung, Pillemer, & Kaufman, 2015). Empirical studies have found that the mother-daughter relationship plays a pivotal role in maintaining women’s mental health over the lifespan (Besser & Priel, 2005; Birditt & Fingerman, 2013; McGraw & Walker, 2004). Scholars have studied parent-child relationships and their psychological well-being in adulthood (Fingerman, Pitzer, Lefkowitz, Birditt, & Mroczek, 2008; Gilligan, et al., 2017; Lang & Schütze, 2002; Onayli & Erdur-Baker, 2013; Pillemer, Munsch, Fuller-Rowell, Riffin, & Suitor, 2012; Ryan & Willits, 2007), but little is known about how parent-child differentiation in adulthood affects the psychological well-being of the aging mother and adult daughter relationship.

Family differentiation, which is defined as patterns of distance regulation between intimacy and individuality in the family (Anderson & Sabatteli, 1992), has not been widely applied in the study of adult families. Previous studies have mainly focused on families with adolescent children (i.e., Anderson & Sabatelli, 1992, Gavazzi, 1993, Manzi et al., 2006), emphasizing that the imbalance between connectedness and separateness leads to psychosocial maladjustment (Anderson & Sabatelli, 1992). Scholars have suggested that optimal family functioning is characterized by high connectedness and high separateness in adolescents (Anderson & Sabatelli, 1990; Cohen, Vasey, & Gavazzi, 2003; Gavazzi, 1993).

However, it is difficult to have balanced emotional regulation for Korean aging mothers and their adult daughters. In Korea, daughters raised with a westernized education
learn the importance of differentiation in order to be independent (Kim & Ko, 2005); however, even after marriage, daughters remain emotionally close to their parents (Kim & Choi, 2003). Furthermore, as daughters are establishing their own families, Korean aging mothers are also still attached to their adult daughters (Chung, Kim, Chung, & Son, 2016). These emotional dynamics between adult daughters and their mothers can influence psychological well-being for both. However, studies on the relationship between parent-adult children tend to overlook the importance of differentiation patterns. Therefore, it is necessary to study how parent-child differentiation affects the psychological well-being of mothers and adult daughters.

Furthermore, studies have shown mixed results when exploring the effect of parental status on an individual’s psychological well-being. Some studies have found that adult children have positive relationships with their parents when they become parents themselves (Spitze, Logan, Deane, & Zerger, 1994; Suitor, Keeton, & Pillemer, 1995; Umberson, 1992), while another study showed negative relationships when the adult children became parents (Kaufman & Ulhenberg, 1998). Furthermore, some studies did not find any relationships (Suitor, Gilligan, & Pillemer, 2013; Suitor & Pillemer, 2006). These inconsistent results imply that more empirical research is needed to better understand the role of parental status in the relationship quality between adult children and their parents. Therefore, this current study investigates the moderating role of the parental status of adult daughters in the association between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being.

To identify how the emotional dynamics between Korean aging mothers and their adult daughters affect their psychological well-being, the concepts of *linked lives* and *historical time and place* within the life course perspective will be utilized. This study will
examine 1) the influence of parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being on the parent-child relationship, and 2) the moderating role of adult daughters’ parental status on the association between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being.

**Theoretical Framework: Life-Course Perspective**

The life course perspective emphasizes the importance of interactions between individuals and contexts, the interdependence of various life events and paths, and the theoretical and empirical links between early and late events throughout the life cycle (Elder, 1994). Elder and Johnson (2002) suggested five principles related to human development and aging: human development as a lifelong process, human agency, historical time and place, timing in lives, and linked lives.

In this study the concept of *linked lives*, which is defined as viewing the family as a unit and emphasizes that the members within the family unit share and develop life opportunities, was utilized (Elder & Johnson, 2002). Many empirical studies have shown that the quality of parent-child relationships affects individuals’ well-being (Fingerman et al., 2011; Milkie, Bierman, & Schieman, 2008; Polenick et al., 2016; Umberson et al., 2010). Im (2004) found that child-oriented Korean aging mothers have a strong attachment to their married children because they have fewer interests that are as important to them. Korean married daughters are also emotionally close to their parents, with parents typically continuing to provide emotional support after marriage (Kim & Choi, 2003). This emotional bonding between adult daughters and their mothers may affect both parties’ psychological well-being. Unlike the independent relationships in Western cultures, the parent-child relationship in Korea is characterized by a predilection for children and a self-undifferentiated relationship (Choi, 1997). This ambiguous psychological boundary makes it
difficult to create independent boundaries between each member, especially for women who value relationships.

Furthermore, the concept of *historical time and place* from the life course perspective, which emphasizes the interplay of the *microsocial and macrosocial* influences on families, will be utilized in this study (Bengstone & Allen, 1993; Elder & Johnson, 2002). The current Korean family culture is shifting from the traditional patriarchal family system to bi-lateralization in kinship (Seong, 2006), so characteristics of matriarchal society are emerging (Im & Chun, 2009). Since the 1960s, a period of high economic growth in Korea, mothers have invested significantly in their daughters and reported receiving high satisfaction from their daughters’ achievements (Chung & Chin, 2008). The cultural shift in the family system might contribute to different values amongst the family relationships of mothers and their adult daughters, in turn, potentially affecting the relationship quality between mothers and their adult daughters.

**Parent-Child Differentiation and Psychological Well-Being**

**Definition of Differentiation.** Human behavior is controlled by two opposing life forces: a repulsive force and a connecting force (Bowen, 1978). A repulsive force is described as the desire to be independent from others, while a connecting force is described as a desire to be dependent on others’ will (Kerr & Bowen, 1988). These human forces and desires simultaneously occur throughout an individuals’ life. Bowen (1978) views a family as an emotional system that is regulated by the connecting and repulsive forces, and the family should be able to control and manage the distribution of these two forces. Bowen describes an emotional system as the product of an emotionally-driven relationship process that is present in all families (Kerr & Bowen, 1988).
Bowen (1978) used the term differentiation of self (self-differentiation) as a central concept that represented the emotional system of the parent-child relationship. The differentiation of self is defined as two aspects: 1) *intrapsychic differentiation* refers to the ability to separate feelings and thoughts and 2) *interpersonal differentiation* refers to the ability to distinguish experiences of individuals and others (Bowen 1976, 1978). When the self is not differentiated, maladaptive behaviors can occur (Bowen 1978). On the other hand, well-differentiated families or families with distinct boundaries, are ideal for emotional connectedness (Bowen, 1976; Minuchin, 1974)).

Some scholars have re-conceptualized differentiation to address the family system; this construct has been called *family differentiation* (Anderson, & Sabatelli, 1992; Gavazzi, Anderson, & Sabatelli, 1993). Family differentiation refers to the patterns of distance regulation between intimacy and individuality in the family (Anderson & Sabatteli, 1992). Intimacy (connectedness) refers to the ability to maintain emotional ties with meaningful others (mainly parents and their children), while individuality (separateness) is the ability to maintain a self that distinguishes one from others (Bowen 1978).

Manzi and colleagues (2006) explained two models of family differentiation. First, the one-dimensional model of family differentiation views separateness and connectedness within a single dimension. In this model, families are functioning well when they find a balanced and satisfactory point between separateness and connectedness. However, Anderson and Sabatelli (1990) pointed out the one-dimensional model made it hard to distinguish which levels of family differentiation belonged to either separateness or connectedness. Second, the two-dimensional model of family differentiation views separateness and connectedness as different dimensions. In this model, with high levels of
family differentiation, family members are able to control the distance between each other. Conversely, with low levels of family differentiation, family members fail to balance the distance between each other, resulting in being either extremely separated or connected (Anderson, & Sabatelli, 1992). Optimal family functioning is characterized by high separateness and high connectedness (Anderson & Sabatelli, 1990; Cohen, Vasey, & Gavazzi, 2003; Gavazzi, 1993). This study will apply the concept of family differentiation using the two-dimensional model to examine the relationship quality between adult daughters and their mothers.

**Differentiation between Mothers and Daughters in Korea.** Within the family system, mothers who invested in their children with very emotionally have been found to affect the level of the children’s differentiation (Bowen, 1978). A significant number of Korean aging mothers believe that being a mother means they will become one with their children (Kim et al., 2005), and their goal in life is closely connected to their children (Park, Kim, & Chung, 2004). The mothers view their daughters as an extension of themselves (Boyd, 1989; Kim, Park, & Kwon, 2005). Korean adult daughters also tend to be emotionally close to their mothers regardless of their marriage status (Kim & Choi, 2003). Their relationship confirms that interdependence and emotional ties are found more often in mother-daughter relationships than in other family relationships (Bojczyk et al., 2011; Fischer, 1991).

For well-balanced family differentiation, adult daughters need to separate from their mothers and mothers may need to separate from their adult daughters. If the daughters become increasingly too close with their mothers, the daughters’ lives are easily governed by their own or others' emotional responses (Song, 2003). This extreme intimacy impacts the
daughters’ ability to separate from their mothers (Choi, 2010), and, in turn, a daughters’ incomplete differentiation from their mothers has been associated with negative psychological well-being (Choi, 2010). Furthermore, mothers in Korea who have been dedicated to their children throughout childhood and adulthood tended to show constant attachment to their married children because they did not have alternative interests (Im, 2004). This type of close mother-adult daughter relationship indicates the need to separate well from each other in order to achieve balanced family differentiation.

**Differentiation and Psychological Well-Being.** Although the concept of differentiation persists throughout life and is important for psychological adaptation (Bowen, 1978), very few studies have focused on older generations (Kim-Appel, Appel, Newman, & Parr, 2007). Colarusso (2005) emphasized that development does not end in adolescence, but instead, is a continuous dynamic process (biological, environmental, and intrapsychic) that lasts a lifetime. To date, most studies on differentiation have focused on individual psychological well-being in adolescence and early adulthood (Aryamanesh, Fallahchai, Zarei, & Haghighi, 2012; Dwairy & Achoui, 2010; Manzi et al., 2006; Murdock & Gore, 2004). For example, a high level of differentiation is related to low negative psychological well-being (Elieson, & Rubin, 2001; Kim-Appel et al., 2007; Murdock & Gore, 2004; Peleg-Popko, 2002; Peleg, & Yitzhak, 2011; Tuason & Friedlander, 2000) and high psychological adjustment (Aryamanesh et al., 2012; Lampis, 2016; Skowron & Friedlander, 1998; Skowron, Stanley, & Shapiro, 2009; Skowron, Wester, & Azen, 2004). Therefore, the current study expands to include mothers’ perspectives on parent-child differentiation in adulthood by examining how mother-adult daughter differentiation influences their psychological well-being.
Furthermore, less is known about how mother-daughter differentiation in adulthood affects psychological well-being for both individuals. It is important to explore this in Korean culture, as research has shown that aging parents can over-control their adult children (Moon & Bahn, 2016). Or, other research has found that the adult daughters in Korea are is too emotionally close to her biological parents (Choi, 2010). This ambiguous psychological boundary might make them difficult to become appropriately independent in adulthood, which may impact the psychological well-being. Thus, a dyadic approach is needed to better understand their relationships, as they are linked inextricably (Schaffer, 1999). Few studies have focused on the relationship between differentiation and psychological well-being within the mother-adult daughter relationship (Choi, 2010; Kim, 2013).

To date, two studies have explored intergenerational self-differentiation in the mother-daughter relationship. The first study by Kim (2013), examined the intergenerational transmission of self-differentiation among 132 female college students and mothers. The second study by Choi (2010), investigated the relationship between mother-daughter differentiation, anxiety level, and parental role satisfaction of 382 married women. Kim (2013)’s study examines only one-way relationship from mothers to daughters and does not consider the influence of daughters toward mothers. Choi (2010)’s study connected mother-daughter differentiation and parental role satisfaction, although it did not assess psychological well-being. To fill the gap, the current study utilized a dyadic approach to better understand intergenerational relationships between mothers and daughters in adulthood through how mother-daughter differentiation impact mother-daughter psychological well-being.
**Parental Status and Psychological Well-being**

Parental status of adult daughters may moderate the association between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being. A longstanding question in intergenerational relationships is whether adult children become closer to their parents when they become parents themselves. Previous studies on parental status and relationship quality have found inconsistent results. Some studies found that adult children felt closer to their parents when they became parents themselves (Spitze et al., 1994; Umberson, 1992). Suitor et al. (1995) explained that having similar parental status creates a more positive relationship quality due to high chance of having similar experiences and points of view. However, other studies did not find any positive relationship between relationship quality and children’s parental status (Suitor & Pillemer, 2006; Suitor et al., 2013). Another study found that adult children reported parental status as negatively related to parent-child relationship (Kaufman & Ulhenberg, 1998). Thus more empirical studies are needed to provide a clearer picture of the relationship between parental status and psychological well-being.

These inconsistent findings imply that the meaning of parental status may vary across culture or society (Umberson et al., 2010). In Korea, becoming a parent has been demanded both at the individual level (i.e., pursuit of happiness) and social level (i.e., creating members of society), but in recent years the percentage of people who prefer a family without children has been increasing (Choi, Sung, & Lee, 2014). This parental status is one of the social structural characteristics that can impact the relationship quality between older parents and their adult children. Therefore, this current study will explore the moderating effect of adult daughters’ parental status on the association between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being.
Research Questions and Hypotheses

Guided by the life course perspective, the current study examined how parent-child differentiation affects the psychological well-being of both aging mothers and their adult daughters by considering the daughters’ parental status. Additionally, the concepts of linked lives and historical time and place from the life course perspective will provide a guideline to explain interdependent relationships between mothers and their adult daughters within the Korean context. The two research questions and hypotheses that were examined are as follows:

Question 1. Does the parent-child differentiation between the Korean aging mothers and their adult daughters affect the psychological well-being of both individuals?

Hypothesis 1.1. Highly differentiated adult daughters will experience greater psychological well-being (actor effect).

Hypothesis 1.2. Highly differentiated mothers will experience greater psychological well-being (actor effect).

Hypothesis 1.3. Highly differentiated adult daughters are associated with mothers having greater psychological well-being (partner effect).

Hypothesis 1.4. Highly differentiated mothers will be associated with adult daughters’ greater psychological well-being (partner effect).

Question 2. How does adult daughters’ parental status impact the association between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being?

Hypothesis 2.1. Having children will be associated with positive differentiation and greater psychological well-being.
Method

Procedures and Data Collection

Data came from the Study on Mother and Daughter Differentiation, Solidarity, and Relationship Satisfaction between Mother-in-law and Son-in-law Project. The project was funded by the National Research Foundation of Korea, Ministry of Education, an academic organization support program (2014S1A5B5A07040329). Convenience sampling was used for the project and recruitment strategies were: (a) posting on websites, flyers at coffee shops, subway, and bus stations, and (b) contacting clients of family counseling centers, senior welfare centers, and healthy family support centers. One hundred and sixty-seven families were surveyed from December 2014 to February 2015. Although three persons (adult daughters, their mothers, and adult daughters’ husbands) in a family unit participated for the project, only data from adult daughters and their mothers were used for this dissertation. Each participant received $15 as compensation for taking this survey.

Initially 180 families participated, and 167 of those completed this study. However, 13 families were excluded: 7 families who live in different provinces (e.g., mothers who live in different provinces and briefly visited their adult daughters’ home on the survey date were excluded); and 6 families whose adult daughters are already grandmothers.

Sample

Dyad data from 167 Korean aging mothers and their adult daughters living in Daegu and Gyeong-buk province, in the southern part of Korea, were used for this study (mothers’ age were $M=59.61$, $SD=4.83$; adult daughters’ age were $M=34.22$, $SD=4.83$). More than half (64%) of mothers completed middle (30%) and high school (34%). A plurality of adult daughters completed four-year university degrees (49%). Thirty-seven percent of mothers and 63% of adult daughters had a job. Mothers’ average household income per month, at
2,995,500 won ($2,668.36), was less than adult daughters’ at 4,739,329 won ($4,221.74). Approximately 35% of aging mothers reported good health status. The number of adult daughters who lived with their mothers was 18 (10.8%) and 9 (5.4%) adult daughters lived with their mothers-in-law. Twenty-five percent of adult daughters had no children and around 60% of adult daughters reported having a child in adolescence or younger. The demographic information of the mothers and their adult daughters are summarized in Table 2.1.

Measures

**Psychological Well-Being.** To measure the degree of psychological well-being for mothers and their adult daughters, Ryff’s 18-item scale, which was translated into Korean, was utilized (An, Han, & Cha, 2004). The Psychological Well-Being Scale (Ryff, 1989), a theoretically-grounded instrument specifically focused on measuring multiple facets of psychological well-being, was used as an indicator of individuals’ quality of life. These facets include the 6 following subscales: 1) autonomy (i.e., “I have confidence in my opinions, even if they are contrary to the general consensus,” Cronbach’s $\alpha = .61$ for adult daughters, $\alpha = .67$ for mothers); 2) self-acceptance (i.e., “I like most aspects of my personality,” $\alpha = .71$ for adult daughters, $\alpha = .78$ for mothers); 3) personal growth (i.e., “For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing and growth,” $\alpha = .48$ for adult daughters, $\alpha = .57$ for mothers); 4) purpose in life (i.e., “Some people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them,” $\alpha = .53$ for adult daughters, $\alpha = .48$ for mothers); 5) environmental mastery (i.e., “In general, I feel I am in charge of the situation in which I live,” $\alpha = .50$ for adult daughters, $\alpha = .46$ for mothers); 6) positive relationship with others (i.e., “People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others,” $\alpha = .68$ for adult daughters, $\alpha = .60$ for mothers). Each subscale has 3 items with values ranging
from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). A higher score indicates greater well-being for each subscale.

The inter-item correlations of the original scale from Ryff and Keyes (1995) ranged from 0.33 to 0.52. These are quite low, which would mean that internal validity would be compromised. Although the ranges of inter-item correlations (0.48-0.71 for adult daughters and 0.46-0.78 for aging mothers) were higher than Ryff and Keyes’ (1995) scale, the item-parceling score was used by creating a latent variable for better analysis. Item parcels, breaking down multiple item scales into two or more groups, are preferred when the sample size is relatively small to get fewer parameters (Bagozzi & Edwards, 1998; Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). Item parcels enable researchers to (1) reduce sampling errors, (2) have more stable parameter estimates with a more parsimonious model, and (3) have better model fit (Bagozzi & Edwards, 1998; MacCallum, Widaman, Zhang, & Hong, 1999).

To create item parcels, exploratory factor analysis with a single factor extraction based on principal axis using SPSS 24.0, was utilized initially. Second, items were rank-ordered based on the factor loadings from the highest to lowest scores. Here, to have a more parsimonious model by considering 6 dimensions of psychological well-being, the domain-representative approach was utilized. As Little and colleagues (2002) suggested, each parcel includes multiple facets divided into item sets (i.e., first parcel with autonomy 1, self-acceptance 1, personal growth 1, purpose in life 1, environmental mastery 1, and positive relationship with others 1; second parcel with autonomy 2, self-acceptance 2, personal growth 2, purpose in life 2, environmental mastery 2, and positive relationship with others 2; and third parcel with autonomy 3, self-acceptance 3, personal growth 3, purpose in life 3,
environmental mastery 3, and positive relationship with others 3). Finally, the three parcels were created with average loadings of each set of items (Wei, Russell, & Zakalik, 2005). Higher scores indicate greater psychological well-being. The specific description of this scale is provided in Appendix B.

**Parent-Child Differentiation.** To measure the degree of mother-daughter differentiation, the Parent-Child Differentiation Scale (Chun, 1996) was utilized. A Korean researcher, Chun (1996), created this scale in English and translated it into Korean. The Korean version of the scale was applied to Korean aging mothers and their adult daughters for the current study. Chun (1996) used two dimensions (intimacy and individuation), each of which has 10 items (i.e., “I am satisfied with the current relationship with my mother/daughter,” “My mother/daughter does things that embarrassed me”) ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). While a higher score of intimacy indicates higher connectedness between generations, a lower score of intimacy reflects disengagement or cutoff between them. While a higher score of individuation implies higher separateness between generations, a lower score of individuation reflects enmeshed or fusion status between generations (Bowen, 1978; Chun, 1998; Minuchin, 1974). To find the level of differentiation between parent-child, Chun (1998) computed the total scores (ranging from 10 to 50) from the two subscales and multiplied those scores (ranging from 100 to 2500). If someone received a total score of 30 from the intimacy scale and a total score of 30 from the individuation scale, then the level of differentiation is computed by multiplying those two values, resulting in a differentiation score of 900.

However, multiplying those two total scores led to the issue of non-normality. Item parcels were created to address this issue for the analysis. First, to create item parcels in this
study, an “a priori questionnaire construction” approach based on the nature of the scales was used (Little et al., 2002). The parent-child differentiation scale included both positively- and negatively-worded items. As recommended by Little et al. (1995), negatively-worded items were reverse-coded. Then, exploratory factor analysis with a single-factor extraction was utilized. Next, items were rank-ordered based on the factor loadings from highest to lowest scores. Finally, three parcels with average loadings of each set of items were created (Wei, Russell, & Zakalik, 2005).

Higher scores indicate higher differentiation of parent-child relationships. In other words, higher scores imply that well-differentiated parent/child dyads have a flexible and complementary relationship while lower scores reflect that poorly-differentiated parent/child dyads have rigid or too close relationship. The Cronbach’s α values of intimacy and individuation were 0.92 and 0.82 for adult daughters and 0.90 and 0.79 for mothers, respectively. The specific description of this scale is provided in Appendix B.

**Parental Status.** The adult daughter’s parental status was coded as 1 if they have their own children and 0 if not. The number of adult daughters with children was 125 and with no children was 42.

**Control Variables.** Although this study focuses on the effects of family differentiation between mothers and their adult daughters, several variables also may impact psychological well-being for both. These included age of mothers, age of adult daughters, level of education of mothers, level of education of adult daughters, and mothers’ health status. Ages of both daughters and their mothers were included as a continuous variable. The level of education of adult daughters and their mothers were coded as 1 (none), 2 (elementary school), 3 (middle school), 4 (high school), 5 (two-year junior college), 6 (four-year
university), and 7 (graduate school or more). Mothers’ health status was coded as 1 (very poor), 2 (poor), 3 (adequate), 4 (good), and 5 (very good). The following control variables were included as predictors of psychological well-being: (1) adult daughter’s age and level of education were used for adult daughters’ psychological well-being; (2) aging mother’s age, level of education, and health status were used for aging mothers’ psychological well-being.

**Statistical Analyses**

To examine whether mother-daughter differentiation and psychological well-being are associated with each other, the Actor Partner Interdependence Model (APIM) was applied using the statistical program *Mplus* version 8.0. APIM analysis has the advantage of not only considering the data collected in pairs from people who are dependent, but also analyzing interdependencies between them (Cook & Kenny, 2005). Figure 1 shows the conceptual framework for APIM to clarify the relationship between mother-daughter differentiation and psychological well-being. To find the role of parental status in the association between mother-daughter differentiation and psychological well-being, the adult daughter’s parental status was used as a moderator. The moderating effect of parental status on the relationship between differentiation and psychological well-being was applied to multiple group analysis in M-Plus.

The current study had no missing values on the main measurements (psychological well-being, parent-child differentiation, and parental status), while some control variables included missing values (i.e., 2 missing values on age of mothers, and 1 missing value on mother’s health status). To handle the missing values, Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML; Muthén & Muthén, 2012) estimation allowing all available information to estimate without deleting missing values (Duncan, Duncan, & Strycker, 2013) was utilized for this study.
Results

Descriptive Analyses

Descriptive statistics for the means, standard deviations, ranges, and Cronbach’s alphas are provided in Appendix B. According to the differentiation scale mean, adult daughters and their mothers have similar emotions on intimacy and individuation. Pearson correlation coefficients between the variables used in this study are provided in Appendix C. The differentiation scores of adult daughters and their mothers were significantly associated with psychological well-being for both.

Measurement Model

All latent variables for this study were tested in the measurement model, allowing all variables to have free correlations. The measurement model resulted in a good fit to the data with $\chi^2 (88, N=167) =110.42, p<.05$, CFI=0.98, TLI=0.98, RMSEA=.04 (95% confidence interval [CI]: .00, .06), and SRMR=.033. The correlations among variables are presented in Appendix C. Table 2.2 shows the comparison of fit between a measurement model, a free model as a causal model, and the constrained models (partially constrained model and fully constrained model) reflecting the same structure between mothers and their adult daughters. In the partially constrained model, the paths with each parceled item were constrained. In the fully constrained model, the paths with each parceled items, the paths of actor effect, and the paths of partner effect were constrained.

Actor-Partner Interdependence Model

The results of the final Actor-Partner Interdependence Model are summarized in the Table 2.3 and Appendix D. In addition, the full table with control variables is provided in the Appendix E. The fully constrained model produced a good fit to the data, scaled $\chi^2 (99, N=167)=126.46, p<.05$, CFI=0.98, TLI=0.98, RMSEA=.04 (CI: .01, .06), and SRMR=.06.
The results showed that adult-daughters’ parent-child differentiation was positively associated with their own psychological well-being ($\beta=.37$, $SE=.07$, $p<.001$) and mothers’ parent-child differentiation also was positively associated with their own psychological well-being ($\beta=.43$, $SE=.07$, $p<.001$). However, there were no significant partner effects of parent-child differentiation on psychological well-being ($\beta=-.02$, $SE=.07$, $p>.05$ for aging mothers; $\beta=-.02$, $SE=.07$, $p>.05$ for adult daughters). Although this final model focused on the relationship between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being, some control variables were still significant predictors for psychological well-being; aging mothers’ age ($\beta=.19$, $SE=.08$, $p<.05$), adult daughters’ age ($\beta=.20$, $SE=.07$, $p<.01$), and aging mothers’ health status ($\beta=.41$, $SE=.07$, $p<.001$) positively predicted their psychological well-being (Appendix E).

**Moderating Effect**

To test the effect of adult daughters’ parental status on the association between differentiation and psychological well-being, a multiple-group analysis was conducted using the constrained models. Both constrained models provided a good fit to the data: the partially constrained model scaled $\chi^2(204, N=167)=247.08$ (141.56 for the group who adult daughters have no children; 105.52 for the group who adult daughters have children), $p<.05$, CFI=0.97, TLI=0.97, RMSEA=.05 (CI: .02, .07), and SRMR=.08; The fully constrained model scaled $\chi^2(210, N=167)=251.15$ (143.45 for the group who adult daughters have no children; 107.70 for the group who adult daughters have children), $p<.05$, CFI=0.97, TLI=0.97, RMSEA=.05 (CI: .02, .07), and SRMR=.08.

With regard to hypothesis 2.1, the results are presented in Table 2.4. In the partially constrained model, there was a moderating effect between aging mothers’ differentiation and their own psychological well-being. In other words, for adult daughters there was no
significant difference between adult daughters who have children ($\beta=.29$, $SE=.12$, $p<.05$) and childless adult daughters ($\beta=.55$, $SE=.22$, $p<.05$). Regardless of adult daughters’ parental status, well-differentiated adult daughters had greater psychological well-being. However, aging mothers showed a significant difference based on the adult daughter’s parental status. Aging mothers whose adult daughters have children have well-differentiated relationships with their adult daughters, resulting in greater psychological well-being ($\beta=.46$, $SE=.12$, $p<.001$). Conversely, aging mothers with childless adult daughters have no significant relationship between differentiation and psychological well-being ($\beta=.20$, $SE=.25$, $p>.05$).

However, the fully constrained model indicated there were no moderating effects between differentiation and psychological well-being. Regardless of an adult daughter’s parental status, well-differentiated adult daughters and aging mothers had greater psychological well-being. For the groups of adult daughters who have children, highly differentiated aging mothers and their adult daughters had greater own psychological well-being. ($\beta=.35$, $SE=.07$, $p<.001$, and $\beta=.42$, $SE=.08$, $p<.001$, respectively); for the groups of adult daughters who do not have children, well-differentiated aging mothers and adult daughters also had greater psychological well-being ($\beta=.34$, $SE=.08$, $p<.001$, $\beta=.41$, $SE=.09$, $p<.001$, respectively).

**Discussion**

The mother-daughter relationship affects women’s overall development and psychological well-being throughout their life (Birditt & Fingerman, 2013; McGraw & Walker, 2004). However, there is a lack of research on how parent-child differentiation in later life affects their current psychological well-being for both. To fill the gap, the present study explored how parent-child differentiation of mother-adult daughter dyads affects their psychological well-being while considering the role of parental status.
The results of the APIM analysis are as follows. (1) The first two hypotheses were supported (e.g., each mother and daughters’ parent-child differentiation is positively related to their own psychological well-being). (2) The second two hypotheses were not supported (e.g., each mother’s and daughter’s parent-child differentiation is not positively associated with the others’ psychological well-being). (3) The third hypothesis was partially supported (e.g., only aging mothers whose adult daughters with their children have well-differentiated relationships resulting in greater psychological well-being compared to aging mothers with childless adult daughters).

These findings provide three implications. First, the result that mothers’ parent-child differentiation influenced their own psychological well-being supports Bowen’s argument that differentiation can be an important indicator of older adults’ psychological adjustment (Bowen, 1978). On the other hand, it is not surprising to find that the adult daughters’ parent-child differentiation affects their own psychological well-being. The result confirms previous studies highlighting the importance of family of origin after marriage. Globally, adult children’s level of differentiation from parents has been significant predictors for their psychological well-being. For example, differentiation from family of origin influenced adult children’s marital stability (Lee & Lee, 2011) or marital adjustment (Costa-Ramalho, Marques-Pinto, & Riberio, 2017; Sabatelli & Bartle-Haring, 2003). Healthier family of origin experience predicted higher relationship satisfaction (Martinso, Holman, Larson, & Jackson, 2010) while, poor differentiation from family of origin predicted adult children’s depression (Lee & Chung, 2014).

Second, contrary to the hypotheses, parent-child differentiation did not affect the partner’s psychological well-being. Parent-child differentiation might not be a significant
predictor of the partner’s psychological well-being in adulthood. In Korea, the collectivist culture encourages an individual to pursue homogeneity as a family member and makes it difficult to be a well-differentiated member of the family (Lee, 2000). It may be more difficult for women who highly value relationships, leading to them being more influenced by others’ feedback (Weiten, Dunn, & Hammer, 2014). However, this cultural context might not affect married daughters and their mothers who had already entered adulthood; thus, the importance of parent-child differentiation for them might not impact dramatically like during adolescence. As another possible interpretation, educational attainment discrepancies between mothers and their adult daughters, might impact the results. While aging mothers had less education, most adult daughters were highly educated in this study. Obtaining an education was less important for this generation of mothers, as they were under a patriarchal family system (Han & Yoon, 2004). Therefore, this generation of mothers were more focused on their children. With this generation of mothers, Jeon and Jin (2008) found that mothers reported feeling satisfied through their child’s achievements. However, in Korean culture today, adult daughters have been taught to value independence and, in turn, to be more focused on their jobs and family (Kim & Jo, 2005). Thus, they might not consider their original family’s (i.e., mother’s) psychological well-being.

Third, adult daughters’ parental status moderated the association between the aging mothers’ parent-child differentiation and their psychological well-being. Although this result does not show fully linked lives between aging mothers and their adult daughters, it is partially supported by the linked lives perspective. Being a parent of adult daughters might allow their aging mothers to have positive psychological well-being due to the similar experience of being a parent. This finding implies a link between the level of parent-child
differentiation and the possibility of providing supplementary grandchild care in Korea. The current study did not distinguish whether the aging mothers actually were raising their grandchildren; however, it is more likely that the mothers provide childcare when their adult daughters have children. According to Lee (2012), married adult daughters received childcare support from their parents when they have high parent-child differentiation. In Korea, married women whose mothers provide childcare are more emotionally inclined to their mothers (Kim & Seo, 2007); thus it may impact the mothers’ reports of increased psychological well-being.

However, caution is needed in interpreting these findings. Since the number of adult daughter-aging mother dyads whose adult daughters who have children (N = 125 pairs) was three times that of the group without children (N = 42 pairs), it is necessary to consider errors that may occur in small samples.

**Limitations and Future Directions**

First, follow-up research is needed for a broader range of groups (i.e., low-income families) and regions (i.e., large cities, rural areas). This study was conducted with middle class adult daughter-aging mother dyads living in Daegu and Gyeong-buk province in the southern part of Korea. It is necessary to consider various demographic characteristics in the future. In addition, considering that the psychological adaptation of older adults achieved through lifelong interaction with important others (Bowen, 1985), it may be necessary to expand additional to family ties (i.e., older couples, grandparents-grandchildren). Furthermore, various ages of mother-adult child dyads should be explored. The findings of this study that parent-child differentiation did not affect each other's psychological well-being could reflect that the characteristics of a Korean family, which are influenced by family members, are changing compared to the past. To examine the changing relationship in
quality between mothers and their adult daughters, for example, (1) the differentiation between the mother-daughter relationship in adulthood and the aging mother-adult daughter relationship in later life dyads would be compared, or (2) longitudinal study of parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being could be applied. Furthermore, other factors should be considered that may affect a partner's psychological well-being.

Although the current study took into account some of the control variables (i.e., age, education level, and health status), other plausible variables (i.e., geographical proximity, co-residence, mother-child relationship in childhood, etc.) were not included. As a control variable, this current study did not include adult daughter’s health status because the original survey did not ask them this question. Although mother’s health status was used as a predictor for only mothers’ psychological well-being, the same variables for dyad data would be better to interpret the results.

Second, the findings should be interpreted with caution due to low reliability on some subscales of psychological well-being. Although this current study applied item-parceling with domain-representative approach to make better model, the concerns regarding the meaning of each subscale may remain. As a further analysis, the relationship between parent-child differentiation and every single dimension of psychological well-being was explored. Among the 6 subscales, the “Purpose in life” subscale showed only significant results with good model fit. (Appendix F). Interestingly, there was a partner effect in the multi-group analysis. This result implies more empirical studies would be needed with various ways to test Ryff’s psychological well-being scale. Theoretically speaking, for example, “Autonomy” and “Relationships with others” are related to intergenerational relationships. Using those
two subscales, a secondary factor analysis could be one way to use the psychological well-being scale, and should be considered in future research.

Finally, adult children’s parental status deserves further attention. Adult daughters who do not have children might have different perspectives on parenthood when compared to their mothers. This difference in perspectives between them might affect parent-child differentiation and their psychological well-being. Umberson et al. (2010) emphasized that the absence of children is not the same experience for all individuals and that the context of childlessness is important. In Korea, unlike past generations where childbirth has been regarded as a natural process after marriage, the percentage of adult children who prefer to not have children is increasing (Choi, Sung, & Lee, 2014). Future studies should consider this trend to explore the relationship between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being.

Despite these limitations, this study contributes to expanding upon literature about the relationship between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being in adulthood specifically focusing on adult daughters and their aging mothers. This current study analyzed the interdependency by examining the dyadic relationship between aging mothers and their adult daughters, which has less been explored to date in Korea. In addition, the concept of “linked lives” in Life Course Perspective was empirically studied through parental status of adult daughters. Furthermore, the different role of parental status between adult daughters and aging mothers provides insights for researchers and family therapy practitioners or increasing older adults’ psychological well-being.

References


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Tables and Figures

Table 2.1. Demographics Characteristics of the Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Adult-Daughters (n = 167)</th>
<th>Mothers (n = 167)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N (%)</td>
<td>N (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>Current working</td>
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<td>Adult daughter’s Parental Status</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having Children</td>
<td>42 (25.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.1 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Adult-Daughters (n = 167)</th>
<th>Mothers (n = 167)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult daughters’ Co-residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>38 (22.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse &amp; Children</td>
<td>100 (59.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with Mother-in-law</td>
<td>9 (5.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living with Mother</td>
<td>18 (10.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2 (1.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult daughters’ Family Life Cycle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No children</td>
<td>42 (25.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First child is born</td>
<td>36 (21.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldest child is between 2 and 6</td>
<td>31 (18.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldest child is in elementary school</td>
<td>33 (19.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldest is an adolescent</td>
<td>20 (12.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldest child leaves home</td>
<td>5 (3.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Numbers of Living with Mother-in-law=9 (Spouse & Mother-in-law=1; Spouse, Children, & Mother-in-law=2; Spouse, Mother-in-law, & Father-in-law=1; Spouse, Children, Mother-in-law, & Father-in-law=5).
Numbers of Living with Mother=18 (Spouse, Children, & Mother=6; Spouse, Mother, & Father=2; Spouse, Children, Mother, & Father=6; Spouse, Children, Mother, & Siblings=1; Spouse, Mother, Father, & Siblings=1; Children, Mother, Father, & Siblings=1; Spouse, Children, Mother, Father, & Others=1)
Numbers of Other=2 (Spouse & Siblings=1; Spouse, Children, & Siblings=1)
Table 2.2.
Comparison of Fit among Models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Models</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>$Df$</th>
<th>RMSEA</th>
<th>CI</th>
<th>CFI</th>
<th>TLI</th>
<th>$\Delta \chi^2$</th>
<th>$\Delta df$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Measurement Model</td>
<td>110.416</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>.000-.060</td>
<td>.987</td>
<td>.980</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Model</td>
<td>113.723</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>.000-.058</td>
<td>.986</td>
<td>.981</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constrained Model (A)</td>
<td>124.214</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>.013-.061</td>
<td>.982</td>
<td>.977</td>
<td>10.491</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constrained Model (B)</td>
<td>126.457</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>.040</td>
<td>.010-.060</td>
<td>.983</td>
<td>.978</td>
<td>12.734</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. $\chi^2$ = Chi-Square; $Df$ = Degree of Freedom; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation; CI = Confidence Interval of the RMSEA value; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis index; $\Delta \chi^2$ = change in chi-square from the immediately preceding model; $\Delta df$ = change in degrees of freedom from the immediately preceding model.

Constrained Model (A): In the constrained model (A), the paths with every parceled items were constrained. (the $\Delta \chi^2$ was significant; $\Delta \chi^2 = 10.491 > 9.488$ when $df = 4$)

Constrained Model (B): In the constrained model (B), the paths with every parceled items, the path of actor effects, and the path of partner effects were constrained. (the $\Delta \chi^2$ was significant; $\Delta \chi^2 = 12.734 > 12.592$ when $df = 6$)
Table 2.3.
Results of Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (Fully Constrained Model)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Adult Daughters</th>
<th></th>
<th>Aging Mothers</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>β</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Effect</td>
<td>.43***</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.37***</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner Effect</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 2.4.
Summary of Moderating Effect on Psychological Well-Being

**Partially Constrained Model**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Adult Daughters</th>
<th></th>
<th>Aging Mothers</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>β</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 1 (N=167 pairs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Effect</td>
<td>.35**</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.41***</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner Effect</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 2 (N=125 pairs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Effect</td>
<td>.29*</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.46***</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner Effect</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 3 (N=42 pairs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Effect</td>
<td>.55*</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner Effect</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fully Constrained Model**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Adult Daughters</th>
<th></th>
<th>Aging Mothers</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>β</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 1 (N=167 pairs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Effect</td>
<td>.43***</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.37***</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner Effect</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 2 (N=125 pairs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Effect</td>
<td>.42***</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.35***</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner Effect</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model 3 (N=42 pairs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Effect</td>
<td>.41***</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.34***</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner Effect</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Model 1=overall group; Model 2=group who adult daughters have children; Model 3=group who adult daughters have no children.

*p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.
Figure 2.1. Conceptual Model: Actor-Partner Interdependence Model

Note. P-C Differentiation = Parent-Child Differentiation
CHAPTER 3. THE ROLE OF MATERNAL GRANDMOTHERS’ CHILDCARE PROVISION FOR KOREAN WORKING ADULT DAUGHTERS

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Modified from a paper to be submitted to Journal of Family Issues

Abstract

Although the Korean government has invested in childcare services for dual-income families (Korean Statistics Information Service, 2017) such as Universal Childcare Subsidy, maternal grandmothers are increasingly involved in the childcare for their adult daughters. The implications of this trend are explored in the current study. To date, literature has documented grandparents’ experience providing childcare for their adult children, but less attention has been directed toward understanding adult daughters’ perspectives of their mothers’ childcare provision.

To fill this gap, this study utilized the intergenerational solidarity model and life course perspective to explore the meaning of experiences of 24 working adult daughters in Korea (ages 30-43) whose mothers provide childcare. Overall, the findings indicated that adult daughters had ambivalent feelings regarding their mothers’ childcare provision. The following themes emerged from the data; 1) gratitude vs. guilt; 2) dependence vs. independence, and 3) closeness vs. disagreement. Based on these findings, several implications are discussed.

Keywords: childcare, working adult daughter, intergenerational solidarity model, ambivalence
Introduction

Childcare provided by grandparents is a global phenomenon, and it contributes to a growing body of literature on intergenerational relationships (Cong & Silverstein, 2011; Lee & Bauer, 2010; Thomese & Liefbro, 2013). Recently, the new words "halma" (grandmother + mommy) and "halpa" (grandfather + daddy) have emerged in Korea, which refers to grandparents who provide childcare for their working adult children. These terms indicate the increase of social interest in childcare by grandparents and the preference of private childcare by blood relations rather than public care systems (Kim & Jeong, 2006). The Korean government has invested in childcare services by increasing the number of childcare institutions and giving incentives for dual-income families (Korean Statistics Information Service, 2017). However, the infrastructure for childcare services in Korea is insufficient, and the quality of institutional services is not in line with expectations (Lee & Shin, 2013). Due to the Korean government’s policy failures, childcare by grandparents is increasing (Kim, 2015).

In Korea, grandmothers provide the majority of grandchild care, and maternal grandmothers account for more than half of grandmothers’ childcare (56.8%) (Lee, Kwon, & Kim, 2015). In fact, maternal grandparents provide childcare at a higher rate than paternal grandparents despite the fact that the rate of cohabitation with husbands’ parents is twice as high as the rate of cohabitating with wives’ parents (Kim & Hwang, 2010). The implication that maternal grandmothers are increasingly involved in the childcare of adult daughters reflects the strong emotional bond between them within a relationship-oriented Korean culture (Joo, Kang, & Choi, 2018). The implications of these circumstances are explored in the current study.
Childcare can positively or negatively impact the intergenerational relationship between parents and their adult children (Baker & Silverstein, 2008; Kim & Jung, 2011; Kim & Seo, 2007). However, there is a lack of understanding regarding what processes may affect working adult daughters’ perceptions of the current relationships they have with their mother. Recent studies on grandchild care have focused on either the psychological well-being of grandparents who provide primary childcare (Kang, 2011; Kelley, Whitley, & Campos, 2013; Yang, Chung, & Kim, 2008), or examine grandmothers’ childcare without differentiating between parents and parents-in-law (Kim, Lee, & Lee, 2010; Lee, 2013). Furthermore, few studies have explored adult children’s perspective when grandparents provided childcare in Korea (Kim et al., 2010; Lee, 2013). Studies that have considered Korean adult daughters’ perspectives took place before the Universal Childcare Subsidy was enacted in 2013. Previous studies implied that the childcare policy for dual-income families should be changed (Kim et al., 2010; Lee, 2013). Therefore, there is limited information to understand how this reform impacted how Korean adult daughters perceived their mothers’ provision of childcare. In order to fill the gap, this study investigates whether the current reformed policy on childcare in Korea impacts the relationship quality between working adult daughters and their mothers who provide childcare.

Guided by the life course perspective and the intergenerational solidarity model, the current study examines how working adult daughters’ experience their current relationship with their mothers who provide supplementary grandchild care.

Theoretical Framework: Life Course Perspective

The life course perspective emphasizes interactions between individuals and contexts, the interdependence of various events, and the connection of individuals’ experiences across the life course (Elder, 1994). This perspective is utilized to explain how working adult
daughters perceive the relationship with their mothers who provide childcare. First, the concept of *linked lives* within the life course perspective will be applied to understand the mother-daughter relationship. *Linked lives* is defined as a unit of family members composed of a set of mutually interlocking lives whose members share and develop life opportunities in their families over time (Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003). Korean working adult daughters tend to depend on their parents despite parents-in-law living closer to them (Kim, 2009; Lee, Lee, & Kim, 2010). Korean aging mothers also view providing childcare as an investment in their daughters (Lee & Bauer, 2013). Although both mothers and their working adult daughters might have different motivations for childcare, they are linked through the experience of childcare and, which may lead to spending more time together. This, in turn, may impact the adult daughters’ perceptions of the relationship quality with their mothers who provide childcare because they are influencing each other.

Second, relationship quality between mothers and their daughters in adulthood will be considered in the Korean context. The life course perspective focuses on the importance of interactions that occur within the *macro and micro levels* in family studies (Bengtson & Allen, 1993). The social structural shift in workforce participation rate of the daughters’ generation is nearly double that of the mothers’ generation. This shows the drastic change in the workforce at the macro level in a Korean family. In Korea, the rate of female labor force participation increased from 26.8% in 1960 to 52.7% in 2017 (Kang, 2007; Korean Statistics Information Service, 2018). This may contribute to a different perspective of the workforce and the meaning of childcare between mothers and their adult daughters.

Furthermore, mothers and their daughters are living in a society that has become more contemporary. The mothers have lived through both traditional values and the new Western
values, whereas the daughters have mostly experienced Western values. This suggests that mothers and daughters have experienced different roles in the family. Mothers have lived through both the traditional values and the new Western values after the Korean War (Yun, 2017). Most older Korean mothers believe that being a mother means they will become one with their children (Kim, Park, & Kwon, 2005), and their goal in life is closely connected with their children (Park, Kim, & Chung, 2004). On the other hand, younger Korean mothers have known only the post-war values influenced by urbanization and industrialization (Paik, 2013). Therefore, Korean daughters who were raised using a westernized education system have learned the importance of differentiation and independence (Kim & Ko, 2005). Korean society is highly influenced by the individualistic culture; however, the high percentage of childcare by grandparents indicates that Korea is still a collectivist culture (Song, 2017). Thus, the shift in cultural values in Korea may affect the dynamics of the relationship between working adult daughters and mothers who provide childcare.

**Grandparents Providing Childcare**

Studies on childcare by grandparents indicate that the role of grandparents is important worldwide (Chen, Liu, & Mair, 2011; Geurts et al., 2015; Livingston & Parker, 2010). Baker and Silverstein (2012) use two basic typologies as primary grandchild care and supplementary grandchild care. First, primary grandchild care is provided by grandparents who are fully dedicated to their grandchildren when adult children are unable to care for their children due to divorce, death, etc. (Minkler & Roe, 1993). Most research on primary grandchild care has focused on grandparents as ‘child savers’ (Timonen & Arber, 2012). Second, supplementary grandchild care is provided by grandparents who allow working mothers to participate in the labor force (Arpino, Pronzato, & Tavares, 2010; Arpino, Pronzato, & Tavares, 2014; Gray, 2005). More recently, researchers studied grandparents as
‘mother savers’ (Timonen & Arber, 2012) which is common in Asian families (Chen & Liu, 2012; Cong & Silverstein, 2014; Lee & Bauer, 2013) and increasing in Europe (Di Gessa et al., 2016).

To date, research on grandparent childcare has focused on: 1) psychological well-being of grandparents and 2) factors associated with psychological well-being of grandparents. The first of these aspects heavily focuses on the psychological experience of grandparents as a primary caregiver. Many grandparents report negative feelings such as stress (Kelley, Whitley, & Campos, 2013; Smith, Palmieri, Hancock, & Richardson, 2008; Sprang, Choi, Eslinger, & Whitt-Woosley, 2015), depression (Baker & Silverstein, 2008; Musil et al., 2009), and caregiver burden (Dong, Chang, & Bergren, 2014) due to childcare. However, scholars also found that providing childcare contributed to a positive experience: lower depression and anxiety (Goodfellow & Laverty, 2003), greater well-being (Chen & Silverstein, 2000), and higher life satisfaction (Lou, 2010; Wheelock & Jones, 2002).

Although great attention has been directed toward understanding the psychological experience of grandparents as a primary caregiver, they did not explore adult children’s perspective and supplementary caregiving.

The second aspect scholars have explored is factors associated with psychological well-being (Blustein, Chan, & Guanais, 2004; Doley, Bell, Watt, & Simpson, 2015; Jang & Tang, 2016; Neely-Barnes, Graff, & Washington, 2010; Sands, & Goldberg - Glen, 2000; Sands, Goldberg-Glen, & Thornton, 2005). Many studies shed light on the importance of social support on the grandparents’ psychological well-being; a lack of social support predicted higher depression (Jang & Tang, 2016) and lower well-being (Doley et al., 2015). Several studies on informal support implicated that the relationship between grandparents
and their adult children impacts the relationship quality between grandparents and their grandchildren (Dunifon, Kopko, Chase-Lansdale, & Wakschlag, 2016; Dunifon, Ziol-Guest, & Kopko, 2014). However, less attention has been given to what factors between adult children and their parents affect both parties’ psychological well-being.

**Korean Context.** Similar to global studies on the provision of childcare, Korean researchers have conducted studies on primary grandchild care (Chang, Son, & Lim, 2009; Choi, 2002; Hwang & Chung, 2014; Kim & Kim, 2004; Kim, Kim, & Jung, 2008; Kim & Yoon, 2015; Seo & Kim, 2009). Recently, more attention has been given to studies on families whose grandparents provide supplementary grandchild care (Choi, 2017; Chung & Choi, 2017; Kim, 2018; Kim, Song, & Lee, 2015; Lee, 2013). Furthermore, the national child care survey (Lee et al., 2010) reported that parents preferred grandparents as the most appropriate caretaker, except for themselves, when the child is an infant or preschooler. Additionally, empirical studies found that grandparents tend to provide more childcare when their adult children were in the workforce (Bae, Roh, & Kweon, 2008; Kang, 2011) and when their grandchildren were young (Sung, & Chah, 2001).

First, most supplementary grandchild care studies have focused on psychological well-being of grandparents (An & Kim, 2014; Kang, Choi, & Chung, 2016; Kim & Chung, 2011). The studies have focused on: 1) grandparents’ psychological well-being due to childcare (Choi, 2014; Paik, 2018; Shin, 2017; Yang, 2016), 2) factors impacting psychological well-being (Jeon & Koh, 2016; Kim, 2012; Moon, 2015; Won, 2011), and 3) research to identify the relationship between the psychological factors (Cho, 2012; Kang, 2011; Kim, 2011; Shin & Lee, 2016). Those studies mainly reported a negative experience for grandparents (i.e., increased burden of care, increased stress and conflict, high depression,
low life satisfaction, etc.). A handful of studies have focused on the role of adult children in grandparental stress (Kim, 2011; Kim, 2012). However, prior to emphasizing the role of adult children in decreasing grandparental stress, adult children’s perspectives on grandchild care need to be understood because it can enhance the positive experiences of supplementary childcare in dual-income families (Kim, 2015).

Second, a considerable number of studies have utilized quantitative methodologies to understand grandparents’ childcare experience such as parenting efficacy (i.e., Jeon & Koh, 2016; Kim, 2011), psychological well-being (i.e., Kang, Choi, & Chung, 2016; Kim, 2012) and relationship quality with adult children (i.e., Choi, 2017). Several studies have utilized panel data to better understand this topic (Kim, 2016; Moon, 2015; Shin, 2017; Won, 2011; Yang, 2016). Qualitative research has been relatively under-utilized, with most of the research focusing on grandparents’ childcare experience (An & Kim, 2014; Kim & Chung, 2011; Lee, 2014). As measuring with questions or scales limits the participants’ ability to share their unique experience, this study utilizes a qualitative approach to deepen the fields’ understanding of working adult daughters’ childcare experience.

Additionally, few studies have examined the relationship quality from the point of view of the adult children. Lee (2013) has expanded the understanding of intergenerational childcare provision by exploring the perspectives of grandparents and working-women. However, the study did not specify the participants (working adult daughter or daughter-in-law vs. maternal grandmother or paternal grandmother). Furthermore, Kim et al. (2010) solely focused on the experience of the adult-daughters who received childcare from their mothers, including both working and non-working women in the study. The inclusion of both working and non-working women meant that they were not able to explain the specific
dynamics between working-women and their mothers who provided childcare. Thus, the present study will focus on the relationship between working adult daughters and their mothers.

Overall, the majority of literature exploring childcare by grandparents focuses on grandparents’ perspective while utilizing a quantitative approach. Relatively little research has been done on the psychological experience of adult children. The dynamics of working adult children and grandparents have a major influence on their family relations (Joo, Kang, & Choi, 2018). To better understand the childcare experience of adult children, this study will encompass the interactions and dynamics between working adult children and grandparent.

**Intergenerational Solidarity Model**

The intergenerational solidarity model introduced by Bengtson (1975, 2001) has served as a key framework to explore parent-child relationships worldwide (Hirayama et al, 2017; Hwang, Silverstein, & Brown, 2018; Santoro, 2014). Bengtson and Roberts (1991) explained that intergenerational relations can be assessed through six dimensions: (1) affectual solidarity (e.g., positive or negative emotions), (2) associational solidarity (e.g., frequency and pattern of interactions), (3) consensual solidarity (e.g., agreement on values), (4) functional solidarity (e.g., exchange of support/resources), (5) normative solidarity (e.g., feelings of family obligation), and (6) structural solidarity (e.g., geographic factors). Scholars have explained how each dimension of solidarity links the relationship between parents with children.

In regards to parent-child relations, supplemental grandparent childcare has been a relevant topic in the intergenerational solidarity model, but less is known about perceptions of working adult children when compared to grandparents’ perspectives. Previous studies
have found that grandparents who provide childcare tend to live closer or live with their adult children (Connidis, 2010), indicating structural solidarity. Wood and Liossis (2007) reported that frequent contact (associational solidarity) between grandmothers and adult children increases grandmothers’ feelings related to life satisfaction. Furthermore, higher emotional bonding (affectual solidarity) between grandmothers and adult children has been found to predict higher compensation for grandmothers providing childcare (Hayslip & Kaminski, 2005; Kim, 2012; Pruchno & McKenney, 2002) and an increase a sense of connectedness between grandmothers and grandchildren (Chan & Elder, 2000). Grandmothers felt higher role satisfaction when they had higher agreement on childcare values (consensual solidarity) with their adult children (Goodfellow & Laverty, 2003; Kang, Choi, & Chung, 2016).

Overall, the majority of studies utilizing the solidarity model have focused on how solidarity between older parents and adult children has impacted the parents’ psychological well-being.

Although studies have demonstrated the positive role of solidarity between parents and their adult children in the context of providing childcare, childcare may also produce conflict. For example, frequent contact (associational solidarity) has been shown to provide opportunities for positive experiences (Silverstein & Ruiz, 2006), however, frequent contact has also been shown to create opportunities for conflict (Van Gaalen & Dykstra, 2006). Studies have found that parents and their adult children experience conflict due to disagreement on parenting values (consensual solidarity) (Bowers & Myers, 1999; Chen et al., 2011; Cong & Silverstein, 2012; Geurts, Poortman, & Van Tilburg, 2012; Musil et al, 2006).

Furthermore, Bengtson et al. (2002) suggested that affectual solidarity can lead to conflict or ambivalence. Scholars have found that grandparents who provided childcare
experienced both positive emotions (i.e., happiness, reward, proudness, etc.) (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Cox, 2009; Kim & Chung, 2011) and negative emotions (i.e., lack of leisure time, stress, tiresome, etc.) (Backhouse & Graham, 2012; Goodfellow, 2003) at the same time. Few studies have explored adult children’s feelings of ambivalence when grandparents provided childcare in Korea. Lee (2013) explored the relationship quality between grandparents and adult children. The findings indicated that grandparents felt ambivalence, while on the other hand, adult children felt satisfied (Lee, 2013). Kim et al. (2010) also found that adult children reported feeling ambivalent towards grandparents, with working-women reporting higher ambivalence than non-working women. However, those two studies lacked consideration of the reformed childcare policy in Korea, which may contribute to the relationship quality between grandparents and their adult children.

In 2013, because of the growth of dual-income families, the Korean government implemented a free childcare policy as part of a policy effort to prevent the absence of childcare. The Universal Childcare Subsidy allows all households to have full-day center-based care or home childcare allowance for children with 0-5 years old regardless of income status (Lee, 2016; Lee, 2019). Both studies (Kim et al., 2010; Lee, 2013) collected data before a Universal Childcare Subsidy on childcare in Korea was implemented (2007-2008). Thus, it is necessary to investigate whether the current policy on childcare impacts the relationship quality between grandparents and their adult children; therefore, the data for the current research were collected in 2016-2017.

With a limited number of studies exploring how childcare is involved in the complicated relationship contexts between parents and their adult children, the current
research uses the intergenerational solidarity model to further explore the perceptions of working adult daughters in Korea.

To sum up, the current study utilizes the life course perspective and intergenerational solidarity model in order to investigate how working adult daughters perceive their relationship with their mothers who provide childcare in Korea. This study will utilize a standard qualitative methodological approach to explore the participants’ language, experience, explanation, interpretation, memory, thought, opinion, etc. (Holstein & Gubrium, 2005). Investigating the perception of adult daughters who are balancing the relationship between western and traditional Korean values will advance the field of intergenerational relationship research. The research question is as follows: How do Korean working adult daughters describe their current relationship with their mothers who provide supplementary grandchild care?

**Method**

**Participants**

Twenty-four working adult daughters (ages 30-43) living in Korea 1) who have at least one young child (0-5 years old) under the Universal Childcare Subsidy and 2) who rely on their mothers for child care were the targeted study population for in-depth interviews.

The average age of the working adult daughters was 35.63 years and their mothers’ mean age was 62.42 years. Total income in the household ranged from KRW 3,500,000 ($3,136) to KRW 11,750,000 ($105,277). Their jobs were varied, for example: nurse, social worker, teacher, businessman, police officer, trade officer, and child psychologist. Table 3.1 provides further demographic information of respondents.
Data Collection

Procedure. With approval from Institutional Review Board at Iowa State University in 2015, participants were recruited in Korea. To find participants who fit the selection criteria, multiple recruitment strategies were used such as flyers, informal talks, and website for advertising. A snowball sample technique was mainly utilized. The first interviewee was introduced by a Korean professional colleague from Kyungpook National University, Daegu, in South Korea. Some of the interviewees introduced participants who have the same occupation with them; however, working women with various types of occupation were selected to reduce sampling bias.

For the interview, they were contacted via e-mail, text message, or phone and asked to participate in an interview about their relationship with their mothers. The interviews were voluntary, and no compensation for their participation in this study was offered. After recruitment, semistructured interviews were conducted between 2016 and 2017 in Korea (summer 2016, winter 2016, and summer 2017). The interviews lasted 1-2 hours (average 90 minutes) and were audio recorded. Participants selected the location and time of the interview. They decided upon a private room at the library, coffee shop, or their homes. Before the interview, the study procedures were provided with participants and then informed consent form was obtained from the participants.

Reflexive Statement. As a researcher, I was able to develop this study with my certifications from Korea as a Mental Health Counselor, Counseling Specialist, Health Family Worker, Youth Counselor, and Social Worker. I have experience conducting surveys on intergenerational relationships within one family unit (mother/mother-in-law, adult daughter, and husband/son-in-law). This enabled me to design the interview protocol. My practitioner training as a counselor at developmental counseling institution in Korea during
2009-2013 enabled me to conduct interview with working adult daughters. As a bilingual speaker, I was able to analyze the interview data including transcribing, translation, and back translation.

**Privacy and Confidentiality.** Names and identifying details were changed to conceal the identity of all participants in any final manuscript or presentation of the material.

**Analysis**

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in this current study. The open-ended questions focused on the interpersonal, familial, and contextual process of Korean working adult daughters’ perception of the relationship with their mothers who provide childcare. The questions respondents were asked are as follows: warm-up and informational questions (e.g., age, income, and date of birth etc.); relationship with mothers (e.g., past & current relationship with mother, parenting style, and the importance of mother); childcare supports from other family members (e.g., husband, siblings, and family-in-law); childcare in Korea (e.g., maternity leave, compensation of childcare, and intention of later birth based on mothers’ help).

To analyze the data, Max-QDA 12.0 qualitative software was utilized. Before using the Max-QDA program, the data were reorganized: (1) the voice recorded data were transcribed into Korean using MS Word; and (2) the document was translated into English again. To check for reliability, two senior female undergraduate research assistants who are native Korean speakers at Iowa State University (majoring in Human Development and Family Studies and in Hospitality Management) translated 24 cases into English. They also back-translated some cases. If we had different translations, we discussed them until achieving consensus.
After these initial processes, the translated interview data were imported into the Max-QDA package. Next, we followed a standard qualitative methodological approach involving a three-step coding process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Before the coding process, we read each transcript several times to ensure complete understanding. First, “line-by-line” coding was performed to encapsulate scattered data. Some content was highlighted with different colors and memos were created in MAX-QDA. Second, “focused” coding was utilized to create related categories by linking initial line-by-line codes. Whenever I found a new concept or meaningful words, the memos were revisited during the coding process. Finally, themes from the related categories (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) were created. We used the “immersion/crystallization” method, which is a consensus approach for discussing discrepancies in codes until consensus is reached (Borkan, 1999).

**Findings**

The working adult daughters described their current relationship with their mothers who provided childcare with specific personal events. The current study found the six aspects of the intergenerational solidarity model. The results indicated that several dimensions were interconnected. The three emergent themes are as follows; (1) gratitude vs. guilt, (2) dependence vs. independence, and (3) closeness vs. disagreement.

**Gratitude vs. Guilt**

Adult daughters’ relationship satisfaction with their mothers, mainly expressed as gratitude to their mothers, was due to help with childcare. Nineteen adult daughters out of 24 were satisfied with their current relationship with their mothers and felt thankfulness. For example, Joo-young, who could resume her work after her delivery, appreciated her mother’s childcare support:
I appreciate my mother’s sacrifice. If there was no sacrifice from my mom, I could not work. It means that I might not have any financial ability. Therefore, her sacrifice is also helpful for my financial status. Of course, the government supports my baby for $150 per month. To my knowledge, it will continue only 2 years. I don’t think it’s helpful. Actually, it is my social right due to paying tax. Rather than the help, my mother supports me a lot. It is a great thing that there was no cut off time in my career and it’s all due to my mom.

Joo-young expressed her gratitude by providing her mother with monthly compensation to her mother as financial support, as she stated, “to show appreciation, I usually give her about $500 per month. If I receive a higher salary, I wish to give her more.”

Similarly, adult daughters felt gratitude to their mothers due to increased understanding of the mothers after childbirth (N=15). Seo-Jin, who has two little girls, expressed that she could understand her mother better after having children and tried to do many things to compensate for her mother’s efforts:

From the birth of first child and until now, our relationship is good. Since I gave birth to my baby, I could understand more about mom and thanks to mom more than before. So, I try to do many things with mom, like cook or travel together or eat outside. We often spend time together.

Furthermore, the adult daughters felt gratitude to their mothers because they perceived positive relationship quality between their mothers and other family members (N=12). They described that the relationship between not only their husbands and their mothers, but also their children and their mothers, were good. Their perceived positive relationships were connected with adult daughters’ thankfulness toward their mothers. For
example, Seo-jin provided the following description of the relationship between her husband and her mother: “My mother and husband get along very well. Even better than me. If my mother has a conflict with me, she always talks about it with my husband.[…] It’s really good to see them get along well. I appreciate my mom for this.” Yoon-a also positively described the relationship between her mother and her daughter:

When my mother and I are together, my daughter goes to my mother. I do not feel bad at all, but thankful. If the person who raises my child does not get along well, I will feel worried. However, since my mom and my daughter get along very well, I feel thankful for my mom.

In contrast, adult daughters who reported negative relationships with their mothers described a difficult time to communicate ($N=3$). Often these adult daughters described issues in their relationships with their mothers since childhood. These daughters described their inevitable relationship with their mothers due to the lack of alternatives of childcare. For example, Dan-i, who asks her mother to provide childcare as needed instead of on a regular schedule, was not satisfied with the relationship with her mother:

I don’t have good memories with my mother when I was young. No happy, warm and exciting memory with my mom.[…] From here, I think she reminds me of…when I was young. It makes me upset that I got shortage of parenting.[…] I do not leave my child to her always, but she cares for my child only when I have conference for which I need to travel or if there is an emergency at work. I seldom ask her to take care of my children.

Despite these negative mother-adult daughter relationships, some adult daughters indicated that they hoped the support from their mothers would continue until their children
grew up ($N=3$). For example, Ji-min, who lives with her mother during weekdays, described her situation:

It seems to be a relatively smooth relationship, but I also want to settle it down and complete our relationship as soon as possible. My second child is now five years old, and I think I should keep this relationship with my mother until the child is in the second or third grade of elementary school.

Meanwhile, the adult daughters’ gratitude toward their mothers was associated with feelings of guilt ($N=16$). There are three main sources of guilt. First, the lack of personal time for their mothers due to providing childcare made the adult daughters feel guilty ($N=7$). For example, Young-mi, who has a 2-year old son with special needs on linguistic development, appreciated her mother who not only takes the son to the speech therapy center but also feeds him, even on weekends. However, she felt sorry for her mother because of the mother’s lack of leisure time. Similarly, Na-ra, whose mother takes care of her daughter for 11 hours a day, shared similar feelings:

I feel great gratitude to my mom, but probably she might not be satisfied with our relationship because she cannot have her free time much. I feel sorry for my mom. She had a hard time raising us (3 children), and now she is doing parenting again because of my child. Although I got allowance from government, it’s not enough. I hope to implement a policy for supporting grandparents who are taking care of grandkids like my mom. She is getting old, and she should have her own time, but she cannot. So, I feel so sorry and sad.

Second, adult daughters felt guilty for their mothers’ health deterioration due to childcare ($N=6$). Se-ri, whose mother takes care of her two little daughters, felt gratitude for
her mother who provides frequent additional childcare during her busy time. At the same
time, she expressed feeling guilty:

[…] Thankfully, I could extend my work due to my mom’s support. Unfortunately, I
have to do extra work frequently. Even I got universal childcare subsidy, I don’t think
it works well. I prefer my mom to take care of my baby because my mom can help me
whenever I have extra work. I believe that the government should make better work
environment first rather than giving us small amount of money. […] My mom is about
70 years old but still carries babies on her back and it harms her lower back which
needs care. So, I feel sorry for her condition in her lower back which is damaged by
caring for my babies. I think it's my fault.

Third, adult daughters felt guilty because they did not express gratitude towards their
mothers (N=3). Seo-jin, who had already received childcare for her first daughter from her
mother, felt continuous gratitude towards her mother who is taking care of her second
daughter. However, she was sorry for not expressing thankfulness to her mother when she
reflected on her behavior so far. Min-a, who is living with her mother, also felt guilty for
failing to express her appreciation despite her gratefulness for her mothers’ help:

[…] My mother has taken care of my two children. I couldn’t get free childcare service
for my first child but now my second child got the benefits. Well… That’s better to
have it rather than nothing. I much more appreciate my mother. Best of all, I appreciate
my mother who is waiting for me after I get tired of coming back from work. She
prepared my meals. […] I wish I could express my gratitude to my mom more often.
Even though I am consciously aware of it, I am sorry for my mom.
She shed tears during the interview and continued to express her guilt toward her mother.

In sum, adult daughters generally appreciated their mothers and reported maintaining a satisfactory relationship with their mothers. However, at the same time the adult daughters reported feeling guilt toward their mothers. The mixed relational satisfaction with their mother fits well with the concept of affectional solidarity; however, gratitude and guilt did not perfectly match any dimensions of solidarity. The emerged theme might reflect a different type of solidarity. In addition, the adult daughters mentioned childcare policy when they described the current relationship with their mothers. Few adult daughters were satisfied with current childcare policy.

**Dependence vs. Independence**

Participants expressed feelings of dependence on their mothers, however, they also desired independence. Adult daughters expressed dependence on their mothers when describing the importance of their mothers in their lives. The adult daughters were particularly dependent on childcare, and many daughters said that they would not be able to care for their children without their mothers’ help (N=15). There were even adult daughters who expressed that their mothers were more important persons than their husbands (N=9). For example, Seung-hye, whose husband did not live at home half of the weekdays due to his work, explained the importance of her mother: “Right now, my mother is playing more roles on childcare than my husband, and I am relying more on her. I do not think I can survive without my mom right now. I do not know how to raise a child without her… To express my thankfulness to my mom, I gave a little money but she denied it. Thus, I just provided some groceries with her when I stayed at my mom’s home.” Adult daughters often described that the dependence on their mothers is connected with their full-time careers (N=10). Se-ri, who
is a director of the kindergarten, stated her ability to work full-time came from relying on her mother’s support:

If my mom were not with me, my life wouldn’t exist either. I also could not study. I currently completed a doctoral course and finished my master’s degree after I got married. If my mom doesn’t support me in child-rearing, I won’t be able to complete all studies…. To express my gratitude toward her, I give allowance to her every month… but it’s not a big amount though.

Furthermore, some adult daughters showed high emotional dependence on their mothers (N=9). For example, Seung-hye, who is 35 years old, expressed her emotional reliance on her mother:

I do not think I can survive without my mom right now. […] I used to tell my mom everything that I experienced. My mom listens to me well. She said, ‘Don't be so upset about it. You can see it in another way’. She is acting as a counselor for me. She supports me emotionally. Without my mom, it would be too hard to live. Another example, Seo-jin, who has experienced high dependence on her mother since before her marriage, described life-long emotional reliance on her mother:

I grew up under my mother’s rule, and I never got out of that frame. […] In my college life, I tried to escape from my mom’s guideline, but it did not work that long. […]Until now, if I have to decide on something, I asked her to go outside serving dinner to get advice. Sometimes we spent a whole day together… after dinner we had a tea time or watched new movie. She wanted to pay for them, however, I paid all expenses…because I got a lot of advice from her. I rely on my mom regarding a lot in
making a decision. She makes me happy to solve some issue. I just have lived in her guidelines, and I do not have any complaints.

Another adult daughter, Dan-i, stated her financial dependence on her mother. Although she does not have a good relationship with her mother, she is relying on her mother’s financial wealth:

My father has a public employee pension, and my mom has some fortune as well. I do not think I have to worry about my mother’s future life. In fact, I am getting help from them. To be honest, the house I’m living in is my mom’s house. Even I tried to pay for it, they didn’t want to do that. Now, I am just giving them a small amount of allowance.

In addition, adult daughters’ dependence on their mothers was described in contrast to their complaints about the current childcare policies, which led to their preference for their mothers (N=12). For example, Seung-eun, who has a boy five years old, relied on her mother’s childcare:

I did not feel that I got much help even if I got support from the government for the cost of daycare education or full-day care. I can ask for my mom at any time I want…but if I use childcare service, I need to follow the application process first, and I do not even know whether the care provider is a trustworthy person or not. So, I prefer my mom. It’s better to pay her not childcare center. I hope the government can give benefit to the household where the grandparents are taking care of grandchildren.

Similarly, Young-mi whose mother provides childcare 12 hours a day, depends on her mother:
I want to ask my mom to support the childcare, even if the government gives me a childcare allowance or provides free childcare service. I cannot believe childcare workers because many accidents happen at the childcare center. It seems hard to find a reliable person. So, I am paying to my mother by month rather than paying to staff in childcare center. In addition, the small amount of childcare allowance is useless to help for working mothers. I believe they need babysitters to fill the time gap between my leaving work time and daycare closing time.

In contrast, despite the high reliance on their mothers, the adult daughters also prioritized independence for themselves or their families (N=15). Adult daughters described independence in three ways: 1) appropriately compensating the mothers for childcare (N=6); 2) planning future children without relying on their mothers (N=5); 3) feeling free from taking care of their mothers (N=4).

First, adult daughters felt ambivalence when they compensated their mothers for childcare to save money for their family. For example, Joo-young, whose mother is taking care of her daughter all day, is skeptical about compensation for her mother although she depends entirely on her mother’s childcare. She thought it would be more important to make her family independent than to give a small amount of money for her mother:

All child-care is only from my mom not from other people. She takes care of my daughter about 10 hours per day. […] However, it is not much helpful for recovering my mom’s expenses with a small amount of pocket money, I believe it is not necessary to give her. As off-spring’ perspective, my husband and I must maintain our family budget stable through financial activities.
Similarly, Jeong-a, whose mother is taking care of her two sons, stated she was satisfied with the current childcare expenses, unlike her sisters who were reluctant to pay more for their mothers. She even assumed that the amount would satisfy her mother, and did not want to pay more in order to keep her family financially stable.

Next, adult daughters currently rely on their mothers’ childcare, but the adult daughters’ personal lives are more important for a birth plan. Many adult daughters (N=17) stated that their current mother's help affected their birth plans. Several adult daughters claimed that if they could not depend on their mothers’ childcare, they would not have more children (N=9). Other adult daughters acknowledged the dependence on their mothers’ help to decide the future birth plan, but they thought their decisions were more important (N=12). For example, Yoon-a, whose mother is taking care of her daughter 12 hours per day, stated that her mother's care for her child would have a major impact when planning for a second baby. However, she hoped to be able to take care of her future child by herself. Some adult daughters thought that they would not have any children even if they currently depend on their mothers’ help because their personal lives are more important (N=6). For example, Tae-ri, living with her mother, relies on her mother’s help for two sons and has no more birth plans because of her life and economic reasons:

My mom took care of my first child and she told me she would take care of the second child as well, that’s why I had the second baby. […] Even if my mom says she will take care of next baby, I would not plan for the baby. Because raising a child is costly and I feel I might lose my own life, and I do not want it.

Finally, adult daughters highly depend on their mothers’ help, but they do not desire to take care of their mothers as they view this as a burden (N=6). For example, Ji-min, who
lives with her mother during the weekdays, said she could not do anything without her mother, but it also felt like taking care of her mother is a burden:

My mom is a significant person to me because I can't do anything without my mom now. On the other hand, there are parts where my mom is a burden for me. She is not ready for her retirement, so I think I should do it for her. Frankly speaking, it is hard to take care of just myself. I don’t want to take care of my mother.

Some adult daughters transferred responsibility of caring for mothers to their siblings. For example, Tae-ri whose mother is taking care of her two children but also helping with housework, described her opinion:

Even though I live with my mother and depend on my mother a lot now, I do not think I should take care of her. My brother does not necessarily have to be with my parents, but I think he will be more responsible to my mother. In sum, adult daughters felt dependence (childcare, emotional, and financial) on their mothers and desired independence (compensation, birth plan, and burden of caring). The “dependence” linked with functional solidarity and the “independence” connected with normative solidarity. Adult daughters who received childcare, emotional, or financial support from their mothers tended to provide support such as money, groceries, serving meals to their mothers. In addition, adult daughters who desired independence from their mothers recognized their family obligation, but hoped to be free from the obligation of caring for their aging mother. Furthermore, when the adult daughters described dependence, they preferred their mothers providing childcare rather than support from the current policy.

Closeness vs. Disagreement

This study found that respondents felt not only closeness to but also disagreement with their mothers. Most respondents (N=19) were 1) living in close proximity at most 30 minutes
driving, 2) almost daily communicating with their mothers, 3) talking about mainly childcare, and 4) felt closeness by frequent interactions with their mothers. Interestingly, only five respondents had close geographic proximity with their parents-in-law, but they reported relatively less contact with their parents-in-law compared to their mothers. For example, even Hye-jin lives within 10 minutes by car from both her mother’s home and mother-in-law’s, she has not often contacted her mother-in-law. She described her contact frequency to her mother-in-law:

On average, 5-6 days per week I meet my mom, until Saturday. I call and text to mom every day. […] I meet my mother-in-law about 1-2 times a month. My husband sent many pictures of my child to her, but I did not. I do not have much to say if I make a call. I do not want more contacts with her at this time.

Some adult daughters felt more intimacy with their mothers by moving closer to their mothers’ home (N=8). For example, Seo-jin, who moved to nearby her mother’s home, described her closeness with her mother:

We meet every day because we are living in the same apartment as the upper and lower level. As I moved to the apartment where my mom lives in, I could do more things with my mother such as cooking, trips, and eating out. I often call and message to mom; even there is nothing special to talk. I am satisfied with communication with my mom. In addition, my daughter’s daycare center is very close from here. It’s free. I am satisfied with it. When my first daughter was young, the government didn’t provide it.

In contrast, three adult daughters were living together with their mothers, and two families were living together on weekdays and separated on weekends. Although some adult daughters who were living together with their mothers, they reported having low
communication frequency and satisfaction. For example, Ye-seo, who lives with her mother during weekdays, shared her closeness with her mother:

My mom stays at my home for weekdays and goes back to her home on weekends. […]

I do not contact her a lot. If I do, I just ask her to take care of my husband and child well. […] My husband may feel uncomfortable with my mom during weekdays.

When communicating about childcare, some adult daughters and their mothers had the same opinions on childcare (N=7). Adult daughters’ values on childcare were indirectly described through the interaction between their mothers and their children. Respondents were satisfied with their mothers providing childcare because they had similar parenting views. For example, Seung-hye, who is an elementary teacher, thought that she had congruent values on her childcare style with her mother:

I used to be in touch with my mom a lot until my child got used to the daycare center, […] I usually talk a lot with my mom about the child. […] Thankfully, my mom helps me to keep my parenting style. My daughter loves to watch a You-Tube channel, so I requested my mom just to show her the channel only two times a day for 30 minutes. Then, my mom followed the rule. She watched my acting and applied to do the same way what I did.

In contrast, other adult daughters in frequent contact with their mothers felt inconvenience due to disagreements regarding parenting styles (N=10). For example, Na-young, shared her experience:

I see my mother almost every day. I often talk (childcare) on the phone […] When my mom comes, she stays nearly all day. I was dissatisfied with my mom's hygiene idea. I used something to wipe the floor, and she washed my child’s hands with it, or when she
used my child's cup again and again, and then I nagged her, she said, "It's okay. That won't kill your child," but I didn't like it.[ ...] but she ignored it, and I scolded her.

In sum, adult daughters felt not only closeness to but also disagreement with their mothers. The “closeness” linked structural, associational, and consensual solidarity, whereas the “disagreement” connected with consensual solidarity. Generally, the adult daughters tended to have a good relationship with their mothers when they had close proximity, frequent contact, and similar values. However, the closeness did not guarantee positive relationships with their mothers. The respondents did not mention much about current childcare policy, unlike the other two themes.

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to elucidate the experiences of Korean working adult daughters who are supported by childcare from their mothers. Findings provide a further understanding of how working adult daughters perceived the relationship with their mothers who provide childcare.

First, the three themes in this study explained the ambivalence of the adult daughters. All six aspects of the intergenerational solidarity model regarding the relationship between adult daughters and their mothers were found during the data analysis. Adult daughters presented both dependence on their mothers’ assistance (i.e., childcare, emotional, and financial reliance; functional solidarity) and independence (i.e., compensation as related to functional solidarity and the burden of care for mothers as related to normative solidarity).

Furthermore, they felt not only closeness with their mothers (associational solidarity, structural solidarity, consensual solidarity), but also disagreement with their mothers (consensual solidarity). However, the three emerged themes were not exactly matched to the six dimensions of the Intergenerational Solidarity Model. For example, “gratitude” and
“guilt” did not fit well with any dimensions of the model. Bengtson and colleagues (2002) suggested that the intergenerational solidarity-conflict model can cover the concept of ambivalence. Bengtson et al. (2002) assumed that a high score on solidarity would suggest an absence of or a low level of conflict. However, the current study did not fit well with this structure; hence, this empirical study suggests that the Intergenerational solidarity-conflict-ambivalence model would be better to explain intergenerational relationships in adulthood.

Although previous studies also found the adult daughters’ ambivalent feelings toward their mothers in relation to family-provided childcare (Kim et al. 2010; Lee, 2013), they did not link the cause of ambivalence to intergenerational solidarity. Theoretically, the various dimensions of intergenerational solidarity measuring the behavioral consequences of intergenerational relationships (i.e., contact, resource exchange, the degree of agreement, etc.) are different from the ambivalence measuring the perception of relationship quality (Lüscher, 2011). However, since the behavior of the intergenerational relationship and the quality of relationship are highly related to each other (Lee & Lee, 2018), the current research extends the previous studies.

Second, the three themes reflect both psychological ambivalence and sociological ambivalence. According to Lüscher and Pillemer (1998), intergenerational ambivalence consists of psychological ambivalence and sociological ambivalence. The psychological ambivalence means that individuals experience conflicting emotions, positive and negative, at the same time. The sociological ambivalence reflects having more to do with the incompatibility of the demands expected in specific social roles. The emergent three themes indicate adult daughters’ individual conflicting emotions toward their mothers as psychological ambivalence. For example, many adult daughters were experiencing both
gratitude and guilt while being supported by their mothers. This is a conflicting emotion within the individual; however, the cause of these emotions is relevant to the normative role given to the adult daughters. When parents and children have different norms, parents and children experience psychological ambivalence (Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998). Affection and conflict between parents and children can be more intense in a strong familial culture (Silverstein et al, 2010).

In Korea, although strong Confucian values remain (Kim et al, 2010), family functions are rapidly changing. In other words, traditional family norms (i.e., filial piety, the idea that a married daughter was no longer a member of their own family) and modern family norms (i.e., personalization, egalitarianism) coexist (Lee & Lee, 2018). From a traditional point of view, childcare from mothers would be unnecessary for married adult daughters, however they depend on the help of their mothers in the real world. From another traditional perspective, adult daughters should take care of their aging mothers, but rather they currently receive help from their mothers. The adult daughters who have those two traditional family norms may experience a sense of guilt toward their mothers who provide childcare. Meanwhile, adult daughters feel a sense of gratitude to their mothers because they can build their careers and keep their personal lives due to their mothers’ support. Adult daughters may feel a sense of ambivalence because they try to balance the collective desires of family well-being and personal needs (e.g., autonomy) (Weigert, 1991). This supports the view that psychological ambivalence is likely to arise in the presence of social ambivalence (Connidis & McMullin, 2002).

Third, the adult daughters’ ambivalence reflects the lack of exit options. Most of the participants felt emotionally closer to their mothers after the first childbirth, and they felt
even closer when the mothers started providing childcare. This confirms the findings of Kaufman and Ulhenberg (1998) that adult daughters felt much closer to their mothers when they frequently visited or called them. However, more frequent visits or calls did not guarantee a good relationship. Adult daughters had a high level of contact with their mothers, however lacked exit options in two respects: geographic proximity and dependence on childcare. First, most of the adult daughters, except for five, lived in close proximity to their mothers (within 30 minutes driving distance). Adult daughters were able to experience closer contact because they lived nearby; however, the proximity increased interference of mothers into their adult daughters’ parenting. These discrepancies in opinions caused the ambivalence feelings for the adult daughters. Second, adult daughters lacked other alternatives for childcare in addition to their mother. The absence of nearby family members (i.e., siblings, parents-in-law) who could provide childcare forced the adult daughters to rely on their mothers. As adult daughters have been dependent entirely on their mothers for childcare, they expect to negotiate with their mothers on compensation. In this process, the ambivalence of the adult daughters increased because of the idea of securing the independence of their home economics and the guilt of not giving more money to their mothers. Those findings support the fact that reduced exit options contribute to negative ambivalence in close relationships (Smelser, 1998; van Gaalen, Dykstr, & Dykstra, 2010).

Lastly, the ambivalent feeling of adult daughters in Korea consistently existed despite the reform of the childcare policy in 2013. The reformed childcare policy plays a role as a macro factor impacting the relationship quality between working adult daughters and their mothers. Some adult daughters welcomed the policy. Generally, adult daughters who had stable jobs with good childcare benefits, such as long maternity leave, tended to have no
complaints about the current childcare policy. In addition, in the case of adult daughters who did not experience benefits when their first child was born but their second child is under the policy, they were satisfied with the current childcare policy. However, most of them pointed out the ineffectiveness of the policy (i.e., absence of trustworthy persons, low quality of childcare centers, too small amount of benefits). This perceived ineffectiveness became an excuse to receive their mother’s childcare support. The main reason why the adult daughters relied on their mothers was that their mothers were more reliable than other providers in childcare centers. They felt gratitude for their mothers’ childcare support, but felt guilt as well. In addition, the adult daughters’ working climate was related to the ineffectiveness of the childcare policy. The adult daughters explained that it is more important to lessen working hours or have flexible working time rather than implementing childcare policy. Due to long working hours and rigid working time, the adult daughters had to ask their mothers to take care of their children for a longer period of time. This increased their feelings of guilt toward their mothers. Furthermore, the current childcare policy did not influence the adult daughters’ birth plan. Rather, the decision to rely on their mothers for childcare was the more practical option for them.

The adult daughters reported the same preference of informal childcare system rather than formal childcare system when the children are younger regardless of the change of childcare policy (Kim & Jeong, 2006). Within this cultural context, this study along with previous empirical studies found that adult daughters felt both gratitude and guilt toward their mothers who provided childcare (Kim et al, 2010; Lee, 2013). This raises the need to examine the effectiveness of current government policies more closely. The government needs to reconsider the fact that adult daughters are being helped by their mothers despite the
feelings of guilt. It may reflect that adult daughters distrust the aid from others or public
service. In addition, the government should examine the real needs of dual income families
when establishing policies. For example, working adult daughters depend on their mothers to
fill the childcare deficit caused by the gap between their commuting time to work and their
children’s commuting time to the childcare center. This is not a problem that can be solved
by subsidy or childcare allowance. Not only improving the quality of public childcare service
but also diversification of services to reflect the needs of dual-income families will be
required.

Limitations and Future Directions

Limitations of this study should be considered for future research. First, this study
investigated the intergenerational relationship experiences with working adult daughters in
depth, however a significant limitation is not examining the perspectives of adult daughters’
mothers. According to the intergenerational stake hypothesis (Bengtson & Kyupers, 1971),
parents may be expected to feel less ambivalence than their children because the parents
perceive parent-child relationships more positively than their children. Previous studies have
supported this hypothesis that adult daughters who have a higher intergenerational
dependency tend to feel a higher sense of ambivalence toward their mothers while mothers
tend to feel a higher sense of positive emotions toward their adult daughters (Fingerman,
2001; Fingerman et al., 2008). However, it is necessary to conduct further empirical research
to see if this finding is replicable in other cultures. The dyad relationship would be a
comprehensive study to understand older mother-adult daughter relationship quality.

Second, future research should consider family dynamics, outside of the mother-
daughter ties, that could impact adult daughters’ emotions. For example, adult daughters can
feel a different kind of ambivalence under dynamics between mothers and their husbands.
This study could see an indirect relationship between mothers and their sons-in-law through adult daughters, however, it did not explore the real dynamics between mothers-in-law and sons-in-law. Sons-in-law may feel gratitude toward their mothers-in-law due to the dependency of childcare and can feel discomfort toward them due to too much interruption of mothers-in-law. These dynamics within the close family of adult daughters may influence adult daughters’ relationship quality with their mothers.

Finally, future studies should examine the relationship between adult daughters and their mothers from various socio-economic backgrounds. This study’s sample is largely comprised of working women in their 30s with a high level of education. This highly educated sample might cause selection bias. Eighteen mothers of the adult daughters in this study were from the Baby boomer cohort in Korea (1955-1963), which is considered a powerful middle-class force in their peak income period. Their relationship ties may have different dynamics compared to ties with disadvantaged demographics.

Despite the limitations, this current study contributes to expanding the limited research on the relationship dynamics between Korean working adult daughters and their mothers who provide childcare through applying the intergenerational solidarity model. Furthermore, the current study contributes to further understanding of how the components of the macro level (i.e., Korean current childcare policy reformed in 2013) affect the relationship quality between grandparents and their adult children.

References


Kataoka-Yahiro, M. R., Ceria, C., & Yoder, M. (2004). Grandparent caregiving role in Filipino American families. Journal of Cultural Diversity, 11(3), 110. Retrieved from https://web.b.ebscohost.com/abstract?direct=true&profile=ehost&scope=site&authtype=crawler&jrnl=10715568&AN=14978012&h=XfH6QrepzOH16N7YLVw4CLKylqag%2bDk4kWh1A%2fMprPwDyP%2f1SKA6g9MOJdiKLjWaDkdXROkUmuoTjKBy470u9g%3d%3d&crl=c&resultNs=AdminWebAuth&resultLocal=ErrCrINotAuth&crlhashurl=login.aspx%3fdirect%3dtrue%26profile%3dhost%26scope%3dsite%26authtype%3dcrawler%26jrnl%3d10715568%26AN%3d14978012


Table 3.1.
Sample Socio-Demographic Characteristics

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<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Level of Education</th>
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Note. ABD (All But Dissertation); 1000KRW (Korean Currency) ≈ $1
CHAPTER 4. GENERAL CONCLUSION

The overall purpose of this dissertation was to explore the intergenerational relationship between aging mothers and their adult daughters in Korea. This dissertation examined two studies with different data and approaches. For the first study, dyadic data of aging mothers and their adult daughters were utilized through quantitative analysis based on the Actor Partner Interdependence Model (APIM) (Cook & Kenny, 2005). For the second study, interviews from working adult daughters in Korea whose mothers provide childcare were analyzed by utilizing a standard qualitative methodological approach involving a three-step coding process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The two studies provide complementary insights into the relationship quality between mothers and their adult daughters in later life.

In Chapter 2, the study explored how parent-child differentiation affects the psychological well-being of mother-adult daughter dyads. In addition, the study investigated how adult daughters’ parental status impacts the association between parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being. In Chapter 3, the study explored how interpersonal, familial, and contextual processes contributes to Korean working adult daughters’ perception of their current relationship with their mothers who provide supplementary grandchild care. Findings from these two studies, general conclusions, and suggestions for future study were provided in this chapter.

Summary of Results

In Chapter 2, the findings revealed that each parties’ parent-child differentiation was positively associated with their own psychological well-being. Contrary to the hypothesis, there were no significant partner effects of parent-child differentiation on psychological well-being. Furthermore, aging mothers whose adult daughters with their children have well-
differentiated relationships resulting in greater psychological well-being compared to aging mothers with childless adult daughters.

Chapter 3 explored the working adult daughters’ experiences with their mothers who provide childcare. Findings from interviews revealed that adult daughters had three ambivalent feelings regarding their mothers’ childcare provision. First, the respondents felt both gratitude and guilt toward their mothers. Second, participants expressed feelings of dependence on their mothers, but also desired independence. Lastly, adult daughters felt not only closeness to but also disagreement with their mothers.

**General Conclusions and Implications**

First, the current two studies imply that the variable of parent-child differentiation and the three emerged themes might be connected. Emotional distance regulation between mothers and their adult daughters is related to the theme of dependence and independence. For example, adult daughters who are highly differentiated from their mothers are likely to have a balance between feelings of dependence and independence toward their mothers. Those connections indicate the importance of mental health within intergenerational relationships.

Second, as presented in Chapters 2 and 3, the findings support the *linked lives* perspective (Elder & Johnson, 2002) between aging mothers and their adult daughters. In Chapter 2, the adult daughter’s parental status influenced the aging mother’s psychological well-being. This implies the existence of a link between the parent-child differentiation and the possibility of raising grandchildren. When considering that married adult daughters received childcare support from their parents when they have high parent-child differentiation (Lee, 2012), the aging mother’s psychological well-being may be influenced by their adult daughters’ parental status. In particular, in Chapter 3, the three emerged themes
supported the *linked lives* perspective. The adult daughters felt ambivalence toward their mothers who provided support and this indicates they are influencing each other. Those two findings provide further understanding of the intergenerational relationship between mothers and their adult daughters in later life.

Third, the findings from Chapter 2 and 3 demonstrate the importance of interactions that occur within the *macro* and *micro levels* in family studies as a part of the life course perspective (Bengtson & Allen, 1993). In Chapter 2, contrary to the hypothesis, the parent-child differentiation did not affect the partner’s psychological well-being. Although the collectivist culture in Korea makes it difficult for individuals to be a well-differentiated member from the family, this cultural context might not be applied to families in adulthood. Furthermore, in Chapter 3, the ambivalent feeling of adult daughters in Korea consistently existed despite the reform of the childcare policy in 2013. In other words, all the adult daughters were receiving universal childcare subsidy, but it was not enough to meet the needs of working adult daughters. Those two findings imply that more empirical studies should be explored under both macro and micro level in the family studies.

Lastly, the notable findings from Chapters 2 and 3 contribute to a growing body of research on the intergenerational relationship (Cong & Silverstein, 2011; Lee & Bauer, 2010; Thomese & Liefbror, 2013). In Chapter 2, the result that mothers’ parent-child differentiation influenced their own psychological well-being empirically supported Bowen (1978)’s argument that differentiation can be an important indicator for an older adult’s psychological adjustment. Chapter 3 extended previous studies on childcare provision (Goodfellow & Laverty, 2003; Hayslip & Kaminski, 2005; Kang, Choi, & Chung, 2016; Kim, 2012; Pruchno & McKenney, 2002; Wood & Liossis, 2007) by combining multiple intergenerational
solidarities. All six aspects of intergenerational solidarity on the relationship between adult daughters and their mothers were found during the data analysis, but three themes emerged through interconnected dimensions.

**Limitations and Future Directions**

As stated throughout this dissertation, these analyses have limitations, and they should be considered for future research. First, this dissertation drew on two different samples—167 pairs of aging mothers and their adult daughters for study 1 and 24 working adult daughters for study 2—and each offers unique insights. However, the data could not give further implications by combining the two samples. If the sample of study 2 had come from study 1, the findings may have provided rich information. For example, in Chapter 2, the possibility of raising grandchildren was announced for the interpretation in the discussion. If the sample was matched with study 2 in the chapter, empirical findings could be presented. Therefore, consistent data for sequential analysis would be advantageous to find the relationship between variables in the model.

Second, a broader range of demographic groups should be explored in future studies for replicability. The participants from the two studies lived in the southern part of Korea and their socioeconomic status was middle class. In Chapter 3, most participants were in their 30’s with a high level of education. These similar demographic backgrounds could control for the influences that might come from a different population. Due to the demographic background of the participants in the study, the results cannot be generalized. Future research should build on the intergenerational relationships by comparing with disadvantaged demographics (i.e., rural area, low-income family).

Third, a larger sample size would lead to more power to observe the influence of a larger number of variables in the model. In Chapter 2, the current study did not include other
possible predictors in the model due to parsimoniousness. There were no significant partner effects of parent-child differentiation on psychological well-being, however future studies with a larger sample size may have different results. In addition, the issue of small sample size existed in moderating effects on parent-child differentiation and psychological well-being. If there was a larger sample size, it might have a significant moderating effect for both groups.

Fourth, dyadic relationships would provide a comprehensive study for better understanding of intergenerational relationship quality. Although study 1 in Chapter 2 considered both parties’ perspectives, study 2 in Chapter 3 was still limited in not examining the perspective of older mothers. Previous studies indicated that grandparents felt ambivalence when they provide childcare (Lee, 2013). However, the current study could not consider the older mothers’ perspective. To provide a deeper understanding of the experience of childcare between mothers and their adult daughters, the mothers’ experience also should be included.

Finally, the results from this dissertation provide several practical applications for policymakers and practitioners. First, this study aimed to better understand the relationship quality between aging mothers and their adult daughters in Korea. The findings, which were quite unique in the Korean context (i.e., effect of parental status, ambivalence of gratitude and guilt), may be helpful to understand relational dynamics for family scholars. For example, the different role of parental status between adult daughters and aging mothers provides insights for researchers and family therapy practitioners for increasing older adults’ psychological well-being.
In addition, this study provides more information in regards to the current childcare policy in Korea. The Korean government has provided childcare incentives to families with children aged 0-5 years since 2013. The number of daycare centers in 2016 (total $N = 41,084$, including national, public, social welfare law, corporate groups, private, family, parental cooperation, and workplace daycare centers) and kindergartens (total $N = 8,987$, including national, public, and private) increased 9.25% and 9.33%, respectively, compared to daycare centers in 2010 (total $N = 38,021$) and kindergartens (total $N = 8,388$) (Statistics, 2017). However, the results in Chapter 3 indicate that the infrastructure for childcare support in Korea was insufficient and the quality of institutional services was not in line with expectations of adult working daughters. This information will be useful to revise the childcare policy.

Finally, this study has shed light on the importance of family dynamics. In Chapter 3, relationships outside of the mother-daughter ties (i.e., husband, family-in-law, children) indirectly impacted working adult daughters’ experiences with psychological ambivalence. For example, the working adult daughters have a good relationship with their aging mothers who were doing well with their sons-in-law or grandchildren. This family dynamic would be a good source to understand intergenerational relationships. Family therapists or practitioners can apply this information when working with adult daughters and aging mothers to establish healthy relationships.

References


APPENDIX A. STUDY 1, INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Date: 2/28/2018
To: Sesong Jeon
136 University Village Apt B
Ames, IA 50010

CC: Dr. Megan Gilligan
1358 Palmer

From: Office for Responsible Research

Project Title: The Study on Mother and Daughter Differentiation, Solidarity, and Relationship Satisfaction between Mother-in-Law and Son-in-Law: A Comparative Study on Mother-in-Law ans Son-In-Law

An administrator for the ISU Institutional Review Board (IRB) has reviewed the project noted above and determined that the project:

☐ Does not meet the definition of research according to federal regulations.

☒ Is research that does not involve human subjects according to federal regulations.

Accordingly, this project does not need IRB approval and you may proceed at any time. We do, however, urge you to protect the rights of your participants in the same ways you would if IRB approval were required. For example, best practices include informing participants that involvement in the project is voluntary and maintaining confidentiality as appropriate.

If you modify the project, we recommend communicating with the IRB staff to ensure that the modifications do not change this determination such that IRB approval is required.
## APPENDIX B. STUDY 1, MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATION, RANGES, AND CRONBACH’S ALPHAS

Means, Standard Deviation, Ranges, and Cronbach’s Alphas

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APPENDIX C. STUDY 1, SUMMARY OF CORRELATIONS

Summary of Correlations

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 contrat. *p < .05 **p < .01.

1. Daughter’s Differentiation Item Parcel 1; 2. Daughter’s Differentiation Item Parcel 2; 3. Daughter’s Differentiation Item Parcel 3; 4. Mother’s Differentiation Item Parcel 1; 5. Mother’s Differentiation Item Parcel 2; 6. Mother’s Differentiation Item Parcel 3; 7. Daughter’s Psychological Well-Being Item Parcel 1; 8. Daughter’s Psychological Well-Being Item Parcel 2; 9. Daughter’s Psychological Well-Being Item Parcel 3; 10. Mother’s Psychological Well-Being Item Parcel 1; 11. Mother’s Psychological Well-Being Item Parcel 2; 12. Mother’s Psychological Well-Being Item Parcel 3; 13. Daughter’s Age; 14. Mother’s level of education; 15. Mother’s Age; 16. Mother’s Level of education; 17. Mother’s health status; 18. Daughter’s Parental Status (1= adult daughters who have children, 0= adult daughters who have no children)
APPENDIX D. STUDY 1, FULLY CONSTRAINED MODEL

Fully Constrained Model

*Note.* P-C Differentiation = Parent-Child Differentiation
APPENDIX E. STUDY 1, SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Results of Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (Fully Constrained Model)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect</th>
<th>Adult Daughters</th>
<th>Aging Mothers</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
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<tr>
<td>Actor Effect</td>
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*p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.

Summary of Moderating Effect on Psychological Well-Being (Partially Constrained Model)

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<td>Model 1 ($N=167$ pairs)</td>
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<tr>
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Model 2 ($N=125$ pairs)

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<td>.09</td>
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<tr>
<td>Level of Education</td>
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Model 3 ($N=42$ pairs)

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Note. Model 1=overall group; Model 2=group who adult daughters have children; Model 3=group who adult daughters have no children.

*p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.
Summary of Moderating Effect on Psychological Well-Being (Fully Constrained Model)

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Note. Model 1=overall group; Model 2=group who adult daughters have children; Model 3=group who adult daughters have no children.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.
### APPENDIX F. STUDY 1, RESULT OF POST ANALYSIS

Results of Post Analysis

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<th>CI</th>
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*Note. DV = Dependent Variable*
Results of Actor-Partner Interdependence Model (DV: Purpose in Life)

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<th>Adult Daughters</th>
<th>Aging Mothers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>β</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Effect</td>
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<td>.09</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partner Effect</td>
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<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-.05</td>
<td>.08</td>
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<td>Level of Education</td>
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Note. *p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.
DV =Dependent Variable

Summary of Moderating Effect (DV: Purpose in Life)

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<th>Effect</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Model 1 (N=167 pairs)</td>
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<td>.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health Status</td>
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<td>-</td>
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</table>

Model 2 (N=125 pairs)

| Actor Effect            | .12  | .14 | .37*  | .18 |
| Partner Effect          | .45** | .14 | -.00  | .17 |
| Age                     | .07  | .10 | .24   | .13 |
| Level of Education      | .13  | .10 | .26*  | .12 |
| Health Status           |   -  |   - | .35** | .12 |

Model 3 (N=42 pairs)

| Actor Effect            | .91*** | .24 | .12  | .34 |
| Partner Effect          | -.20   | .28 | 15   | .33 |
| Age                     | -.05   | .19 | 24   | .25 |
| Level of Education      | .12   | .17 | .12  | .23 |
| Health Status           |   -   |   - | .37  | .23 |

Note. Model 1=overall group; Model 2=group who adult daughters have children; Model 3=group who adult daughters have no children
*p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.
DV =Dependent Variable
APPENDIX G. STUDY 2, INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Institutional Review Board
Office for Responsible Research
1138 Pearson Hall
Ames, Iowa 50011-3209
Tel 515.294.4266
Fax 515.294.4297

Date: 3/3/2016
To: Dr. Seong Jeon
136 University Village Apt B
Ames, IA 50010

CC: Dr. Megan Gilligan
1356 Palmer

From: Office for Responsible Research

Title: Korean women's experiences in family relationships

IRB ID: 15-667

Approval Date: 3/3/2016
Date for Continuing Review: 2/15/2017

Submission Type: New
Review Type: Full Committee

The project referenced above has received approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Iowa State University according to the dates shown above. Please refer to the IRB ID number shown above in all correspondence regarding this study.

To ensure compliance with federal regulations (45 CFR 46 & 21 CFR 50), please be sure to:

- Use only the approved study materials in your research, including the recruitment materials and informed consent documents that have the IRB approval stamp.
- Retain signed informed consent documents for 3 years after the close of the study, when documented consent is required.
- Obtain IRB approval prior to implementing any changes to the study by submitting a Modification Form for Non-Exempt Research or Amendment for Personnel Changes form, as necessary.
- Immediately inform the IRB of (1) all serious and/or unexpected adverse experiences involving risks to subjects or others; and (2) any other unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others.
- Stop all research activity if IRB approval lapses, unless continuation is necessary to prevent harm to research participants. Research activity can resume once IRB approval is reestablished.
- Complete a new continuing review form at least three to four weeks prior to the date for continuing review as noted above to provide sufficient time for the IRB to review and approve continuation of the study. We will send a courtesy reminder as this date approaches.

Please be aware that IRB approval means that you have met the requirements of federal regulations and ISU policies governing human subjects research. Approval from other entities may also be needed. For example, access to data from private records (e.g., student, medical, or employment records, etc.) that are protected by FERPA, HIPAA, or other confidentiality policies requires permission from the holders of those records. Similarly, for research conducted in institutions other than ISU (e.g., schools, other colleges or universities, medical facilities, companies, etc.), investigators must obtain permission from the institution(s) as required by their policies. IRB approval in no way implies or guarantees that permission from these other entities will be granted.

Upon completion of the project, please submit a Project Closure Form to the Office for Responsible Research, 1138 Pearson Hall, to officially close the project.

Please don't hesitate to contact us if you have questions or concerns at 515-294-4566 or IRB@iastate.edu.
## APPENDIX H. STUDY 2, INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas to Explore</th>
<th>Key Questions</th>
<th>Probes</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| **You and your mother** | Tell me your mother's current work, economic, and health status, and her ability to provide childcare. | • What is your mother's current work status? Does it impact her ability to provide childcare? If so, tell me more about this.  
  • Describe the extent to which your mother provides childcare. Are you satisfied with it? How long (per year, month, day, etc.) does she take care of your children? Is there anything that you dislike about her childcare? If so, tell me about this.  
  • Tell me about your mother's health status. List your mother's current health problems. Does it impact her ability to provide childcare? If so, tell me more about this.  
  • What is your mother's economic status? Do you worry about her preparation for later life? Does her economic status impact her ability to provide childcare? If so, tell me more about this. |
| Describe your past relationship with your mother. | • Describe the happiest and worst moment with your mother.  
  • What is your mother's parenting style? Did your mother treat you and your siblings differently? If yes, tell me more about this. |
| **Describe your current relationship with your mother.** |  |  
  • How often do you communicate with your mother by phone, e-mail, or letter? How satisfied are you with the frequency of your contact with your mother?  
  • How important is your mother to you relative to others in your life? You can rate this on a scale of 1-10 if you want. Describe the reason. |
| **Describe the relationship between your mother and your husband.** |  |  
  • Describe your mother's first impression about your husband. Has her opinion about your husband changed since then? If it is different, describe more about this. How well does your mother get along with your husband in general?  
  • Describe your opinion about how your mother takes care of your child. How well does your mother get along with your children in general? |
| **Describe the relationship between your mother and your children.** |  |  
  • What is your current relationship with your husband? How important is your husband to you relative to others in your life? You can rate this on a scale of 1-10 if you want. Describe the reason. Also, you can compare it to your mother's score. Describe the reason.  
  • Do you think your husband gets along with your children in general? How much time does your husband spend looking after your children? Is there anything that you dislike about his childcare? If so, tell me about this. Describe your husband's opinion of your mother's childcare. |
| **Your mother and others** | Describe the relationship between your mother and your husband. |  
  • Describe your mother's first impression about your husband. Has her opinion about your husband changed since then? If it is different, describe more about this. How well does your mother get along with your husband in general?  
  • Describe your opinion about how your mother takes care of your child. How well does your mother get along with your children in general? |
| **Describe the extent that your husband participates in childcare.** |  |  
  • What is your current relationship with your husband? How important is your husband to you relative to others in your life? You can rate this on a scale of 1-10 if you want. Describe the reason. Also, you can compare it to your mother's score. Describe the reason.  
  • Do you think your husband gets along with your children in general? How much time does your husband spend looking after your children? Is there anything that you dislike about his childcare? If so, tell me about this. Describe your husband's opinion of your mother's childcare. |
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<th>Areas to Explore</th>
<th>Key Questions</th>
<th>Probes</th>
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<tr>
<td>You and your siblings</td>
<td>Describe your relationship with your siblings.</td>
<td>• How many siblings do you have? How far away do your siblings live? How often do you communicate with your siblings by phone, e-mail, or letter? Tell me more about your current relationship with your siblings.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Describe the extent that your siblings participate in childcare.</td>
<td>• Do your siblings participate in childcare? If yes, how often do they do so? How satisfied are you with it?</td>
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<tr>
<td>You and your family-in-law</td>
<td>Describe your relationship with your family-in-law.</td>
<td>• How often do you see your family-in-law? How far away do your family-in-law live? How satisfied are you with the frequency of your contact with your family-in-law? Tell me more about your current relationship with your family-in-law.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Describe the extent that your family-in-law participates in childcare.</td>
<td>• Do your family-in-law participate in childcare? If yes, how often do they do so? How satisfied are you with it? If your mother and your husband’s parents can provide childcare, whose help do you prefer and why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contextual Process</td>
<td>Childcare in Korea</td>
<td>• What are the maternity benefits at your work? What do you think about the childcare options for young children in Korea? If you are not satisfied with that, what changes should be made to the maternity and childcare system in Korea?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Describe your opinion regarding maternity benefits and childcare policy in Korea.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tell me about your intention about having more children.</td>
<td>• Do you agree that your mother’s childcare would influence your desire to have more children? If yes, tell me about this. If not, what other factors could impact your desire to have more children?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compensating the childcare provider</td>
<td>Describe what you do to compensate your mother for providing childcare</td>
<td>• Do you provide monetary compensation to your mother for providing childcare? If yes, how much do you pay her? How satisfied are you with the amount? If you could afford to pay any amount, how much would be perfect?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender preferences and expectations</td>
<td>Tell me about gender preference in Korea.</td>
<td>• Do you have any gender preference for your offspring? If yes, tell me more. Did your mother have a preference for male offspring? If yes, tell me more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tell me about filial responsibility of daughters in Korea.</td>
<td>• Tell me about daughters’ filial responsibility in Korea to their parents &amp; parents-in-law. What is your husband's perspective on daughters’ filial responsibility to their parents &amp; parents-in-law?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>