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ABSTRACT

Formal mental health services offered in traditional Western settings may be neither appropriate for nor accessible to Korean Americans who are adjusting to divorce. This paper presents an overview of current research on postdivorce adjustment and single parenting in the United States, examines various cultural differences (e.g., African, Asian, European, Hispanic) in response to divorce, and explores Korean cultural issues that affect work with single-parent Korean American families. Effective interventions for work with this population must include consideration of issues related to culturally-based shame, Eastern perspectives regarding the limits of self-disclosure, a hierarchical social structure, the acculturation process, and linguistic differences. Drawing on Koreans' preferences for group identity and desire for their children to reach high levels of educational achievement, implications for treatment in school, church, and community settings are explored. Finally, a treatment model is presented that integrates family therapy and identification with "an extended family" to address these issues in a multiple-family group format designed to facilitate a postdivorce adjustment and effective single-parenting. (Contains 48 references.) (Author)

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POSTDIVORCE ADJUSTMENT AND SINGLE PARENTING:
EXPLORING THE IMPACT OF CULTURE
FOR KOREAN FAMILIES

A Doctoral Research Paper

Presented to

the Faculty of the Rosemead School of Psychology

Biola University

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In Partial Fulfillment

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Doctor of Psychology

by

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August, 2002

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ABSTRACT

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Formal mental health services offered in traditional Western settings may be neither appropriate for nor accessible to Korean Americans who are adjusting to divorce. This paper presents an overview of current research on postdivorce adjustment and single parenting in the United States, examines various cultural differences (e.g., African, Asian, European, Hispanic) in response to divorce, and explores Korean cultural issues that affect work with single-parent Korean American families. Effective interventions for work with this population must include consideration of issues related to culturally-based shame, Eastern perspectives regarding the limits of self-disclosure, a hierarchical social structure, the acculturation process, and linguistic differences. Drawing on Koreans' preference for group identity and desire for their children to reach high levels of educational achievement, implications for treatment in school, church, and community settings are explored. Finally, a treatment model is presented that integrates family therapy and identification with "an extended family" to address these issues in a multiple-family group format designed to facilitate postdivorce adjustment and effective single-parenting.

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by

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Introduction

That divorce impacts parents and their children has been well established by the literature. The degree of success parents achieve in adjusting to subsequent changes in social, financial, and relational status will affect their ability to function as single parents; which, in turn, will affect the degree of success their children will experience in adapting to the changes as well. This paper will present the methodological considerations inherent in studies of divorce, a brief review of the literature on the process of divorce adjustment and single parenting, and explore the impact of culture on the ability to adapt to ensuing changes. A brief overview of Asian and Korean cultures will be presented before reviewing specific studies on divorce in these cultures. Finally, implications for treatment and suggestions for future research in work with single parents in the Korean American community will be offered.

Methodological Considerations

Various methodological considerations should be addressed when reviewing literature on divorce adjustment and single parenting. The terms, instruments, and sampling procedures used in the research will be discussed.

Definition of Terms

An important consideration in reviewing the literature is the definition of terms. Throughout the research, definitions of terms may vary slightly; however, these differences do not significantly impact the studies and their findings.

African American or Black. For the purposes of this paper, these terms are used interchangeably to refer to Americans "of African and especially of Black African descent" (Merriam-Webster, 2002).

Asian American. For the purposes of this paper, this term is used to refer to Americans of Chinese, Japanese, or Korean descent.

Culture. This term refers to "the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group" (Merriam-Webster, 2002).

Divorce adjustment. From a family systems perspective, King (1998) has defined divorce adjustment as the family's successful coping with the structural changes of divorce and the establishment of a structure that is growth-enhancing for all family members. Fine, McKenry, and Chung (1992) expanded the definition of divorce adjustment to include the ability to function adequately in various life domains (e.g., work, family, interpersonal relationships) and to be relatively free of physical or mental disorders.

Ethnicity. This term refers to a set of distinctive traits "of or relating to large groups of people classed according to common racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic, or cultural origin or background" (Merriam-Webster, 2002).

European American or Anglo American. For the purposes of this paper, these terms are used to refer to Americans of European, White, or Caucasian

descent.

Hispanic American. For the purposes of this paper, this term refers to Americans of South American, Central American, Cuban, and Puerto Rican descent (Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

Korean or Korean culture. This term refers to values and characteristics that are shared by persons who have remained in Korea and by those who have immigrated to the U.S.

Korean American. This term refers to Americans of Korean descent and includes both Korean immigrants and their descendants.

Shame. This term refers to the emotional response to “the human need to cover that which is exposed” and “is closely related to the ethical values or moral standards of a given culture” (Lee, 1999, p. 182).

Instruments

Researchers used a variety of instruments in the assessment of postdivorce adjustment and single parenting. Although many used semi-structured interviews and/or questionnaires that the researchers developed for the purpose of their own studies, the following instruments were the most frequently utilized in the studies reviewed in this paper. Less frequently used instruments will be included within the discussion of the respective studies in which they were utilized.

Since these instruments have been normed on predominantly European American and/or African American populations, the use of these instruments for other ethnic groups may be questionable. In particular, Pederson (1977) warns against the use of “Western psychometric methods and assumptions in

attempts to bend Asian data according to Western constructs” and adds that “measured validity” is not available for most Asian theories of psychology (p. 367).

Child Behavior Checklist. The Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991) is a 118-item questionnaire designed to assess behavioral and social competencies and emotional problems of children in two age groups (2-3 years and 4-16 years of age). Mothers, fathers, and alternative caregivers complete the age-appropriate version of the checklist, each item of which is scored on a 3-point scale. The CBCL provides normed scores for nine problem-behavior scales (e.g., social withdrawal, depression, sleep problems, aggression, destructiveness) and two pathology factors (externalizing and internalizing). Higher scores indicate higher frequencies that reflect greater prosocial skills or greater maladjustment. The mean test-retest reliability has been reported at .87.

Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale. The Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CED-S; Radloff, 1977) was designed to measure the respondent’s current level of depressive symptomatology. It has been shown to accurately discriminate among severe levels of depression in inpatient populations, as well as between the general population samples and depressed psychiatric samples. It is also considered to be valid and reliable across various races and ages.

Children’s Report of Parent Behavior Inventory. The Children’s Report of Parent Behavior Inventory (CRPBI; Schaefer, 1965) is a 192-item self-report questionnaire completed by children (ages 9 years and older) who rate the similarity between items and their parents’ actual behaviors on a 3-point scale

(like, somewhat like, not like). The CRPBI yields 18 scale scores that measure the following dimensions of parental style: acceptance-rejection, psychological control-psychological autonomy, and firm control-lax control. Factor analytic studies have established the independence and replicability of both the major dimensions and the individual scales.

Symptom Check List 90–Revised. The Symptom Check List 90–Revised (SCL-90-R; Derogatis, 1983) was designed to assess symptoms of psychological distress. It consists of 90 items that are scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 5 (extremely). Its nine subscales include the following categories of psychological symptoms: somatization, depression, anxiety, anger-hostility, phobic anxiety, interpersonal sensitivity, obsessive-compulsive, paranoid ideation, and psychoticism. The SCL-90-R has acceptable internal reliability coefficients (Cronbach’s alpha) ranging from .77 to .90.

Samples and Procedures

Certain methodological issues are of concern regarding samples and procedures in the research reviewed. The most noticeable issue in study design is that of sampling. The diversity of the U.S. population has steadily increased over the last several decades, and studies conducted even a few years ago may no longer be relevant in today’s society. Even as various ethnic groups within the U.S. grow in numbers, they will no doubt be impacted by the culture of their neighbors, retaining some cultural distinctives and blurring the lines between others. Therefore, caution must be used and a temporal perspective maintained when interpreting results from studies related to issues of ethnic diversity.

Finally, samples also varied on a number of other demographic and potentially

confounding factors such as age of participants, time since divorce, and ages and number of children.

As with most psychological research, the studies were correlational by design. Cause and effect can only be inferred from the findings of studies on postdivorce adjustment and single parenting issues. Furthermore, the tendency for researchers to use different instruments and to explore the impact of different variables in their studies precludes specific comparison between study results. Researchers also tended to use data collected via questionnaires and semistructured interviews and/or data from other studies to evaluate factors in postdivorce adjustment of parents and their children. Since these measures have not been normed, their findings cannot be quantified and compared to a standard.

Review of the Literature

Divorce has consequences for the adults whose marriage is coming to an end as well as for their children. The process of marital dissolution frequently causes considerable disturbances in daily life that require psychological adjustments for every member of the family. The outcome, however, yields variable results. Families and individuals respond in highly diverse ways to this major change in family structure, and how people respond to divorce has become an extensive focus for study, particularly during the past decade as the divorce rate has risen to an all-time high of approximately 50% (Amato, 2000).

The implications for American society in general, and for family treatment in particular, are far-reaching. To examine the full impact of divorce

on adults and children would be beyond the scope of this paper since its primary focus is on the impact of culture for Koreans in adjusting to divorce and single parenting. However, a brief overview of the general impact divorce has on parents and their children in terms of divorce adjustment and single parenting is expedient prior to addressing various cultural issues that may come into play for many Americans.

Parents and Divorce

Although some families may actually benefit from the divorce, most persons' experience is not a positive one from the start. Some may experience only temporary decrements to their well-being, whereas others may never fully recover from the impact of divorce. In general, divorced persons experience lower levels of psychological well-being and are at higher risk for health problems than are married persons (Amato, 2000). Several issues are addressed in this brief overview including marital conflict and commitment, general postdivorce adjustment, and attachment to the ex-spouse.

Marital conflict and commitment. To understand why high conflict marriages would end in divorce does not seem difficult, especially if partners in these marriages have a low level of commitment to one another. Marital dissolution would be less stressful than remaining in a painful marriage to which one is not committed. However, the low conflict marriage that ends in divorce may be more difficult to explain. Toward that end, Booth and Amato (2001) compared characteristics of parents in (a) low-conflict marriages ending in divorce, (b) high-conflict marriages ending in divorce, (c) low-conflict marriages that remained intact, and (d) high-conflict marriages that remained intact. Data

from a previous study (Booth, Amato, Johnson, & Edwards, 1998) were used to examine marital instability among a national sample of 2,033 married persons who were under the age of 55 years. According to national census data, the 1980 sample was representative of the U.S. population in regard to age, race, household size, presence of children, and region. Subsequent samples were slightly less representative (< 3% within-categories discrepancies) in respect to African Americans, younger respondents, male respondents, renters, households where husbands had not attended college, southern residents, and persons from metropolitan areas.

Participants had been interviewed by telephone in 1980, 1983, 1988, 1992, and 1997 for previous studies. A parental interview conducted in 1980 provided information regarding quality of marriage and level of marital conflict. A random sample of 629 offspring (ages 19-47 years; $M = 23$ years) were also interviewed in 1992 and 1997. The parents of 85 of these offspring had divorced between 1980 and 1997, and parents of 544 of them had remained married. Offspring interviews provided information regarding the children's psychological well-being, kin support, friend support, quality of intimate relationships, parent-child relations, and educational achievement (Booth et al., 1998).

In an attempt to understand the particular attributes of persons in relatively low-conflict marriages that end in divorce, Booth and Amato (2001) examined data from 1,395 parents: 100 who were in low-conflict marriages that ended in divorce, 115 who were in high-conflict marriages that ended in divorce, 730 who were in low-conflict marriages that remained intact, and 450 who were

in high-conflict marriages that remained intact. The researchers explored the degree of marital conflict (fundamental disagreements, frequent quarrels, likelihood of violence) and indicators of moral and structural commitment (home ownership, number of friends, church attendance, positive attitudes toward divorce, premarital cohabitation, prior divorce, willingness to make risky decisions, years of marriage, wives' participation in the labor force).

Parents who were in low-conflict marriages that ended in divorce were less involved in their communities, less likely to own their homes, moved more frequently, had fewer friends, and attended church less often than did those in the other three groups. Although members of this group were not more likely to have experienced their own parents' divorce, they had more favorable attitudes toward divorce, were more likely to have cohabited prior to marriage, scored higher in regard to questions about risk-taking, had not been married as long and/or more than once, and had working wives (Booth & Amato, 2001).

Parental postdivorce adjustment. Wang and Amato (2000) explored factors predictive of adjustment to marital disruption in a sample of 208 divorced individuals who had divorced between 1980 and 1997 and who had participated in the 17-year-long study of marital instability mentioned in the above section (Booth et al., 1998). Data included responses to nine items of the original questionnaire: degree of happiness with the divorce, divorce as a good or bad idea, affect on social situation, affect on financial situation, affect on peace of mind, wondering about ex-spouse, thinking about ex-spouse, acceptance of divorce, ability to get over the divorce.

Factor analysis indicated that two factors accounted for 56% of the variance: therefore, (a) general divorce adjustment and (b) attachment to the ex-spouse were identified as the dependent variables. The alpha reliability was .77 for general divorce adjustment and .76 for attachment to the ex-spouse; however, the correlation between the two variables was moderate ($r = -.42$, $p < .001$). Additional data regarding respondents' appraisal of quality of life was compared to that of respondents to the original study who had remained married, and results of this analysis suggest that divorced individuals see their lives more negatively in general than do married persons ($t = 6.45$, $p < .001$; Wang & Amato, 2000).

Additional data analysis was conducted to determine the impact of the independent variables: stressors, personal resources, social resources, views of divorce, and demographic variables. Findings revealed that stressors seem to negatively affect postdivorce adjustment only when individuals are younger and/or unemployed, and that positive attitudes toward divorce (e.g., being the initiator, perceiving positive outcomes) and social resources (e.g., new intimate relationship, having children in the household) contribute to better adjustment (Wang & Amato, 2000).

Some factors that affect parents' ability to adjust to changes that follow divorce are the level of interpersonal conflict that was occurring prior to marital dissolution; degree of happiness with the divorce; thinking of divorce as a good or bad idea; effects on social and financial situations; current peace of mind; continued attachment to the ex-spouse; and ability to accept the divorce and move on with life. Adults who have a positive view of divorce and who

experience little impact on their financial and social resources generally will do better with postdivorce adjustment. Lower levels of predivorce conflict, lower commitment to partner and community, and a positive view of divorce were also associated with successful postdivorce adjustment. The process may be more difficult for those who did not want the divorce, are experiencing financial and social deficits, and those who remain emotionally attached to their ex-spouses.

Children's Postdivorce Adjustment

Amato's (2000) view of postdivorce adjustment posits that children experience stress due to loss of parental support, loss of contact with one parent, continuing interparental conflict, and economic decline. Moderating factors are the use of active coping skills, social support, access to therapeutic interventions, blaming themselves for the divorce, and the conditions of child custody. Other factors also impact postdivorce adjustment such as the degree of marital conflict before divorce, gender, parental acceptance and discipline, and transmission of emotions between parents and children.

Impact of marital conflict and divorce. In an article referenced in the above section about parental characteristics, Booth and Amato (2001) also reported their findings regarding the effects of high-conflict and low-conflict marriages on the postdivorce well-being of children. The researchers conducted a confirmatory factor analysis of 12 measures. Marital conflict was negatively related with psychological well-being ($\beta = -.025$, $p < .01$), kin support ($\beta = -.197$, $p < .05$), and parent-child relations ($\beta = -.033$, $p < .001$). Divorce was negatively related with parent-child relations ($\beta = -.216$, $p < .001$). Marital conflict and

divorce together revealed significant associations between conflict and psychological well-being ($\beta = -.024, p < .05$), conflict and kin support ($\beta = -.192, p < .05$), conflict and parent-child relations ($\beta = -.023, p < .001$), and divorce and parent-child relations ($\beta = -.186, p < .001$).

The interaction between parental conflict and divorce was significant for psychological well-being, friend support, and intimate relations, but only marginally significant for kin support. If marital conflict had been low, divorce was associated with a relatively low level of well-being. However, if marital conflict had been high, divorce was associated with a relatively high level of well-being. Although marital disruption was associated with slightly lower psychological well-being, the regression lines of marital conflict and marital status (divorced vs. nondivorced) crossed nearly midway (55% below and 45% above a conflict score of 5.3), suggesting that divorce was more beneficial than detrimental to offspring at some point (Booth & Amato, 2001).

Divorce and children's self-esteem. Bynum and Durm (1996) explored the relationship between divorce and self-esteem in children. Participants ($N = 192$) were selected from a 9th-grade class in northern Alabama. Their ages ranged from 13 to 18 years ($M = 14.6$ years). Ninety-two percent were Caucasian, 6% were Black, and 2% were classified as Other. Of the surveys completed, 120 were included in the statistical analyses. Half the participants were living with divorced parents, and half were living with both parents. Each group was comprised of 30 girls, 27 boys, and 3 who did not specify their genders.

The researchers assessed self-esteem using the Culture-free Self-esteem Inventory, Form B (CSI; Battle, 1992). The CSI is a questionnaire designed to

assesses the self-esteem of children in general, social, academic, and parent-related domains. Its includes items regarding age, gender, race, and type of parental living arrangements, as well as more in-depth questions for those who are not living with their parents (e.g., why and how long they have not been living with both parents). Results revealed significant differences ($t = -2.43$, $p < .01$) between self-esteem scores in the divorced-families group ($M = 19.4$, $SD = 4.2$) and those in the intact-families group ($M = 21.1$, $SD = 3.3$). However, no significant relationship was found between self-esteem scores and length of time since divorce ($M = 88.5$ months, $SD = 51.5$ months, Range = 15-180 months). Although students' self-esteem scores in the divorced-families group were primarily classified as intermediate to high, students in the intact-families group had high to very high scores. In general, those living with both parents scored significantly higher on the measure of self-esteem than did those living in divorced parents' homes even though scores of both groups tended to be high.

Gender differences. Simons, Lin, Gordon, Conger, and Lorenz (1999) studied the association between children's tendencies to externalize or internalize problems in two-parent and single-parent families. The researchers examined the extent to which inconsistency in maternal monitoring and discipline explains variability on the two dimensions, as well as the effect of custodial parents' psychological adjustment, nonresidential parents' involvement, parental conflict, and reduced family income for children of divorced parents.

Participants were 534 White families (328 two-parent and 206 single-parent families) from small communities in Iowa. The mothers who participated in the study had similar levels of education (13.40 years for married mothers and 13.36 years for single mothers) and were similar in age ($M = 39.8$ and 38.3 years, respectively). Of the target children in both groups, 53% were female. The children were also similar in age (14.6 years and 14.3 years, respectively) for the two-parent and single-parent groups (Simons et al., 1999).

Families were visited twice at their homes, with the second visit occurring within 2 weeks of the first. During the first visit, each of 4 family members completed a set of questionnaires that focused on family processes, individual characteristics, and economic circumstances. The families were videotaped during the second visit as they engaged in several structured interactional tasks. Each family member then completed an additional questionnaire about significant life events, attitudes toward sexuality, and personal characteristics. The videos were coded by observers using the Iowa Family Interaction Rating Scales (Melby et al., 1990), which focus on the quality of behavioral exchanges between family members (Simons et al., 1999).

Mothers' self-reports, adolescent reports, and observer ratings were used to assess maternal parenting on four dimensions: (a) monitoring, (b) consistency in discipline, (c) hostility, and (d) harsh punishment. Maternal depression was measured by 13 items from the depression subscale of the SCL-90-R. Adolescent depression was measured by 12 items (excluding the loss of interest in sex) of the same instrument. Mothers' antisocial behavior was assessed by two self-report measures, and quality of paternal parenting was measured by a 14-item

adolescent-report scale previously designed by the authors. Simons et al. (1999) assessed parental conflict using a 22-item measure of predivorce and postdivorce conflict, and adolescent conduct problems were measured by an inventory adapted from the National Youth Survey (Elliott, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985).

Hierarchical regression analysis revealed that although the quality of maternal parenting appears to mediate children's adjustment to divorce for both boys and girls, there are significant differences in other factors that contribute to externalizing and internalizing behaviors. Fathers' continued involvement in parenting their sons was associated with decreased likelihood of conduct problems ($\beta = -.18$), and mothers' depression increased the incidence of their sons' externalizing behaviors ($\beta = .16$). Findings revealed three factors that appear to contribute to boys' tendency for internalizing behaviors: quality of maternal parenting ($\beta = -.27$), maternal depression ($\beta = .23$), and predivorce parental conflict ($\beta = .19$; Simons et al., 1999).

Although fathers' continued involvement seems to be of significant benefit to their sons in the ability to refrain from engaging in externalizing behaviors, different factors seem to be of greater significance in girls' adjustment to divorce. Results of the analysis suggest that postdivorce conflict increases the risk for girls' externalizing behavior ($\beta = .14$), perhaps as an expression of emotional distress. When their mothers' are depressed and exhibit poor parenting skills, girls are more likely to become depressed as well ($\beta = .14$). If their mothers adjust well to the divorce, girls are usually able to adjust well. In general, divorce appears to be more emotionally disturbing for boys than for

girls, particularly in regard to their fathers' absence (Simons et al., 1999).

Acceptance and discipline in single-parent mothering. Wolchik, Wilcox, Tein, and Sandler (2000) explored the potential mediating impact of two maternal dimensions (acceptance and consistency of discipline) on divorce stressors in children's psychological adjustment. Participants were 678 Arizona children (94% were 8-12 years old, $M = 10.2$ years, $SD = 1.5$ years) whose parents had divorced within the past 2 years. Forty-eight percent of the children were female, 87% were Caucasian, 8% were Hispanic, 2% were Black, and 3% were of another ethnic background. Mothers' average age was 36 years ($SD = 5.1$ years), and their yearly income was between \$20,000 and \$25,000. Twenty-four percent had completed college, 50% had attended college classes or completed technical school, 21% were high school graduates, and 5% had not completed high school.

Ten items from the Acceptance subscale and eight items from the Consistency of Discipline subscale (Teleki, Powell, & Dodder's [1982] adaptation of the CRPBI) were used to evaluate child and mother reports of mothering during the previous month. The Divorce Events Schedule for Children (Sandler, Wolchik, Braver, & Fogas, 1986) was used to identify relevant stressors. Externalizing behaviors were measured by scores on the Cook's Hostility Scale (an adaptation of the CBCL; Cook, 1985) or the Youth Self-Report Externalizing Behavior Problems subscale of the CBCL. Internalizing behavior problems were measured by mothers' responses to the Internalizing subscale of the CBCL as well as children's responses to the Child Depression Inventory (CDI; Kovacs, 1981) and the Revised Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale (RCMAS; Reynolds & Richmond, 1978). The CDI has been shown to reliably discriminate between

depressed and nondepressed children, with an alpha of .82 in this study. The RCMAS has also shown adequate internal consistency, reliability, and construct validity, with an alpha of .84 for this study (Wolchik et al., 2000).

Findings revealed significant correlations between acceptance and consistency of discipline according to mother reports ($r = .29$) and to child reports ($r = .23$). Furthermore, mother and child reports of acceptance ($r = .23$) were also significantly correlated. Mother reports indicated a significant relation between acceptance and consistency of discipline and both internalizing and externalizing problems (-.23 to -.31), as were child reports for these same variables (-.16 to -.26). Internalizing and externalizing problems were correlated ($r = .57$), and both measures of adjustment problems were related to divorce stressors (.31 to .35; Wolchik et al., 2000).

In summary, Wolchik et al. (2000) found that although inconsistent discipline frequently occurs in mothering following divorce, acceptance and consistency in discipline have direct benefits as well as the potential to buffer stressors and assist in healthier adjustment for children. Assessing these dimensions of the mother-child relationship can help identify children who may be at risk for adjustment problems. Furthermore, they suggest that coping skills are needed in addition to more effective parenting in order to deal with the stressors following divorce.

Transmission of emotions in single-parent families. Larson and Gillman (1999) hold the view that parent-child relationships in single-parent families tend to be more egalitarian than hierarchical (with paternal dominance) and that the adjustment of the children is dependent on the adjustment of their single parent

(see also Amato, 1993). The researchers hypothesized that heavy reliance on only one parent to meet the family's needs would result in a predictable transmission of negative emotions from mothers to their children.

To gain a better understanding of the family's emotional processes, Larson and Gillman (1999) explored the transmission of emotions between 100 single mothers and their adolescents (53 girls, 47 boys). Thirty-seven families were from rural areas (or towns with populations less than 5,000), 25 families were from mid-size towns (fewer than 50,000 people), and 38 families were from small cities (more than 50,000 people), all in the state of Illinois. Seventy-nine percent of the families were European American, 17% were African American or biracial, 2% were Hispanic, and 2% were Native American. Eighty-one percent were single-parent families as a result of divorce, and 93% of the mothers were employed (median hours = 40 per week; range = 4-60) and reported an average income of \$25,000 per year (range = \$3,900-\$70,000). The mothers' ages ranged from 29 to 57 years ($M = 42.7$ years, $SD = 5.5$ years), and the adolescents' ages ranged from 11 to 19 years ($M = 14.6$ years, $SD = 2.1$ years). Thirty-eight percent of the target children were the only child in the household.

Participants received watches with alarms that sounded randomly at 1- to 3-hour intervals (concurrently with the other family member's alarm) over a period of 6 to 7 days. At the signal, participants were to complete a self-report indicating what they were doing at the time and how they were feeling. Data included 3,799 maternal reports (93% response rate) and 3,228 adolescent reports (84% response rate). Immediate experience was measured on two

dimensions: emotion (calmness, happiness, anxiety, and anger) and situation. Moderator variables included mother's average anxiety and anger (based on all of her self-reports), mother's stress (as measured by an inventory of negative life events), mother's social support (as measured by appraisal support and belonging support subscales of the Interpersonal Support Evaluation List developed by Cohen and Hoberman [1983] and revised by Cohen, Mermelstein, Kamarck, and Hoberman [1985]), mother's time alone (based on her self-reports), and mother's parenting style (as measured by the adolescent's and mother's responses to shortened subscales of the CRPBI; Larson & Gillman, 1999).

Larson and Gillman (1999) chose a subset of the data that included 651 "contact occasions" when emotional transmission was possible. Although positive emotions (calmness and happiness) were not significantly predictable, there was a significant transmission of negative emotions (anxiety and anger) from mother to adolescent ($\beta = .178$, $SE = .037$, $p < .001$ and $\beta = .077$, $SE = .038$, $p < .001$, respectively). Although mothers frequently experienced negative emotions at work and brought these feelings home with them, they rarely transmitted these feelings to their children. The source of the transmitted anxiety and anger, however, originated at home in mothers' negative reactions to their children.

Analyses of potential moderators of emotional transmission revealed that mothers' greater stress increased the likelihood of transmitting anxiety to their adolescents ($\beta = .078$, $SE = .033$, $p < .05$). However, anger seemed to be more frequently transmitted when mothers' stress level was low ($\beta = -.082$,

$SE = .031, p < .05$). Although social support did not significantly moderate the transmission of negative emotions, time alone moderated the transmission of both anxiety and anger ($\beta = -.077, SE = .031, p < .05$ and $\beta = -.089, SE = .034, p < .05$, respectively). Mothers' acceptance (as perceived by the mothers) and mothers' use of psychological control (as perceived by the adolescents) were significant moderators of transmission of anger and anxiety, respectively. When mothers reported high acceptance of their adolescents, they were more likely to transmit anger to them ($\beta = .233, SE = .0350, p < .001$). When adolescents reported an above average level of psychological control, transmission of anxiety was significant ($\beta = .166, SE = .055, p < .005$). In summary, results of this study suggest that single mothers often transmit negative emotions to their adolescents, that those negative emotions originate at home, and that mothers' time alone is a good moderator of emotional transmission (Larson & Gillman, 1999).

Divorce Within Non-Asian Cultures

A number of studies have been conducted that explore the impact of culture on postdivorce adjustment and single parenting among different ethnic groups the United States. Although few have employed Asian samples, many studies have been conducted with African and European Americans, and some have been done with Hispanic American families. Before addressing issues relevant to divorce among Asian Americans, studies conducted with non-Asian peoples in the U.S. will be reviewed.

Divorce among African Americans. Fine et al. (1992) explored differences in divorce adjustment among Black and White single parents. They

hypothesized that Black single parents would report better adjustment than would White single parents in the areas of depression, health, substance abuse, and satisfaction. Utilizing data from the National Survey of Families and Households (Sweet, Bumpass, & Call, 1988), the researchers selected a sample of 641 single parents (129 Black women, 5 Black men, 444 White women, and 63 White men). Demographic variables were similar except that White respondents generally had higher incomes, more education, and fewer children than did Black respondents.

Self-report items provided information on divorce adjustment: One item measured of life satisfaction, six items measured parental satisfaction, one item measured health, five items measured work satisfaction, and five items measured housework satisfaction. Depression was assessed by 12 items from the CES-D. One item asked about substance abuse (alcohol or drugs) in the home. The final nine items assessed quality of life since the marital separation: housing, social life, leisure time, career opportunities, overall happiness, sex life, finance, parenting, and childcare (Fine et al., 1992).

Analyses revealed a significant effect for race, $F(7, 208) = 2.12, p < .05$, and for race X gender, $F(7, 208) = 2.22, p < .04$. Race and gender had a significant interaction effect on housework satisfaction, $F(1, 214) = 5.33, p < .025$, and work satisfaction, $F(1, 214) = 5.50, p < .025$. Black respondents reported being more satisfied as parents than did White respondents, $F(1, 214) = 3.23, p < .07$, as well as moderately more likely to report being well adjusted. Substance abuse reports were analyzed separately for men and women, and White women were more likely to report drugs or alcohol in the home than

were Black women ($\chi^2 = 2.75, p < .10$). In summary, findings of this study suggest that race is a relevant factor in divorce adjustment, with Black persons generally adjusting better than White persons (Fine et al., 1992).

Using the same data source (from Sweet et al., 1988), McKenry and Fine (1993) explored the differences between Black and White mothers in terms of parental behavior, involvement, expectations, satisfaction, and perception of their children's well-being following divorce. The researchers selected a sample of 573 mothers (129 Black, 444 White) who had become single as a result of divorce and hypothesized that Black single mothers would demonstrate more authoritarian parenting, greater involvement, and higher expectations than would White single mothers. White mothers generally had higher incomes, more education, and fewer children than did the Black mothers, which is consistent with national demographics. Mothers' self-reports provided data for the analyses.

McKenry and Fine (1993) found no main effect for race with parental involvement and satisfaction. However, results revealed significant effects for race with parental expectations, $F(12, 550) = 2.54, p = .01$. A series of one-way analyses of covariance revealed significant effects for race with independence, $F(1, 564) = 9.72, p = .01$; temper control, $F(1, 564) = 4.32, p = .05$; and doing as asked, $F(1, 564) = 7.13, p < .01$. These findings suggest that Black single mothers had higher expectations than did White single mothers on these items. Black respondents also reported a more positive quality of life for their children than did White respondents, $F(1, 550) = 11.13, p < .01$.

Although McKenry and Fine (1993) found no racial differences in parents' behavior and involvement with their children, Black single mothers reported higher expectations regarding their children's independence and temper control, as well as for having their children obey parental instructions. Black and White mothers' responses indicate that one group is neither more nor less satisfied with parenting, but Black mothers reported that their children had higher quality of life than White mothers reported in regard to their children. Black mothers also tended to be more authoritarian in their parenting, which is consistent with Black community's need to prepare their children for the stressors of mainstream life.

Shaw, Winslow, and Flanagan (1999) conducted a prospective study of the impact of marital structure and family processes on boys' behavioral adjustment among African American and European American families. Using a sample of predominantly low-income, urban, and ethnically diverse families, the researchers compared the effects of ethnicity on child adjustment of boys from always two-parent, to-be-divorced, already-divorced, and always single-parent families. The researchers expected that children in predivorce and postdivorce environments would demonstrate greater behavior problems than would children from two-parent families and that behavior problems would be more prominent among European American than among African American boys. They further postulated that to-be-divorced families would demonstrate higher levels of parental conflict, marital dissatisfaction, and parental rejection than would always two-parent families, which would account for the behavior problems.

Shaw et al. (1999) selected a sample of 310 boys (ages 6-17 months) from the Pittsburgh metropolitan area through the Allegheny County Women, Infants, and Children Program (WIC), which provides nutritional assistance to low income families. All boys had at least one sibling living in the home. When the target children became 18 months old, their mothers ages ranged from 17 to 43 years ($M = 28$ years). Fifty-four percent were European American, 40 % were African American, and 6 % were of other ethnicities (e.g., Hispanic American, Asian American, biracial). Average per capita family income was \$242 per month (i.e., approximately \$11,616 per year for a family of four).

When the boys were 18 and 24 months old, their mothers completed demographic forms and a series of questionnaires at the beginning of two 2-hour laboratory assessments in which mothers and their sons participated in a number of parent-child interaction tasks. When the boys were 24 months of age, a combined home-laboratory visit was conducted that lasted 3 1/2 hours. When the boys were 60 months old, two separate home visits were conducted (one with mother and one with father) with the target child and his nearest age sibling (Shaw et al., 1999).

To assess the impact of marital structure and family processes, Shaw et al. (1999) used the CBCL, the Toddler Behavior Checklist (TBC; Larzelere, Martin, & Amberson, 1989), the Marital Adjustment Test (Locke & Wallace, 1959); the Child-Rearing Disagreements Scale (CRD; Jouriles et al., 1991), the Verbal Aggression scale of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS; Strauss, 1979), and the Early Parenting Coding System (EPCS; Winslow, Shaw, Bruns, & Kiebler, 1995).

Shaw et al. (1999) assessed behavioral and emotional problems with the CBCL and the TBC. The TBC is similar to the CBCL, but was designed for a younger age range (9 months-4 years vs. 2 years-19 years). The researchers focused on two scales of the TBC, the oppositional and physical aggression factors, whose Cronbach's alphas are .91 and .83, respectively. To measure maternal satisfaction in marital/significant other relationships, the researchers used the Marital Adjustment Test, which has successfully discriminated between harmonious and disturbed marriages, as well as been predictive of child behavior problems. The CTS Verbal Aggression scale was used to assess verbal strategies for resolving family disputes. Finally, the EPCS provided observer ratings of videotaped mother-child interactions as measures of maternal rejecting parenting at the molecular (verbal/physical approval and critical statement) and global (hostility, warmth, and punitiveness) levels. For the molecular codes, Cohen's κ coefficients were .85 and .75, respectively, and the global code coefficients were .84, .81, and .89, respectively.

At each assessment, more always two-parent families were European Americans than were African Americans (64-65% vs. 15-17%), and more always single families were African Americans than were European Americans (32% vs. 4-5%). Fifty-three percent of the African American mothers who were married to their children's fathers when the children were 18 months old divorced or separated by the time their children were 5 years of age, and 19% of the European American parents divorced or separated when their children were between 18 and 60 months of age (Shaw et al., 1999).

At 24 months of age, children in to-be-divorced families had higher CBCL scores for Externalizing problems, $t(155) = 1.80, p < .05$, and Internalizing problems, $t(155) = 1.80, p < .05$, than did children from always two-parent families. At 42 months of age, children from to-be-divorced families ($n = 9$) continued to score higher on Internalizing problems than did those from always two-parent families, $t(14) = 2.09, p < .05$. At that same age, boys from already-divorced families had higher Externalizing scores than did boys from always two-parent families, $t(159) = 1.82, p < .05$. However, no significant differences were found between boys from to-be-divorced and already-divorced families (Shaw et al., 1999).

Shaw et al. (1999) compared single-parent families to other marital groups and found that boys from always single families had significantly higher Externalizing and Internalizing scores than did boys from always two-parent families at 24 months, $t(172) = 1.82, p < .05$ for Externalizing, $t(172) = 3.21, p < .01$ for Internalizing; at 42 months, $t(167) = 2.66, p < .01$ for Externalizing, $t(102) = 2.86, p < .01$ for Internalizing. According to both mothers and secondary caregivers, at 60 months these boys continued to score higher than did boys in other groups, $t(164) = 2.46, p < .01$ for Externalizing, $t(164) = 2.03, p < .05$ for Internalizing. According to alternative caregivers at 60 months, the pattern continued, $t(92) = 2.17, p < .05$ for Externalizing, $t(92) = 2.02, p < .05$ for Internalizing.

At age 24 months, boys from always single-parent families also had greater rates of both Externalizing and Internalizing problems than did boys from recently divorced families, Externalizing, $t(70) = 1.69, p < .05$, Internalizing,

$t(40) = 2.18, p < .05$. However, always single and already divorced families did not differ significantly on child adjustment at older ages, nor were there significant differences between always single and to-be-divorced families on behavior problems between the ages of 18 and 42 months (Shaw et al., 1999).

Always two-parent families and to-be-divorced families showed a significant ethnicity by family structure interaction at age 24 months for Externalizing, $F(1, 147) = 4.82, p < .05$, two-tailed. Furthermore, European American boys from to-be-divorced families scored significantly higher than did European American boys from always two-parent families, $t(120) = 2.77, p < .01$. However, African Americans showed no significant differences between to-be-divorced and always two-parent families on Externalizing at age 24 months (Shaw et al., 1999).

When interaction involving ethnicity and family structure were computed at age 24 months, an interaction was also found with respect to rejecting parenting, $F(1, 143) = 11.16, p < .01$, two-tailed. Results of t tests performed separately by ethnicity revealed that to-be-divorced African American mothers were significantly more rejecting than were always two-parent African American mothers, $t(11) = 3.09, p < .01$. However, this did not appear to be the case in regard to European Americans. Furthermore, to-be-divorced African American mothers were significantly more rejecting than were to-be-divorced European American mothers, and more rejecting than both European American and African American always two-parent mothers (Shaw et al., 1999).

McKelvey and McKenry (2000) studied cultural variations between the well-being of Black mothers and White mothers following marital dissolution. Black families have often been characterized as engaging multiple family members in the process of childrearing and commonly consenting to interfamilial adoptions. In the Africentric context, motherhood is highly regarded and viewed as a woman's primary role, and African American families are thought to be more child-centered than nuclear. Based on this perspective, the researchers hypothesized that Black and White divorced and separated mothers would differ significantly on several dimensions: depressive symptomatology, overall happiness, self-esteem, personal mastery, informal social support, formal social support, economic well-being, entry into dating, parental satisfaction, parental distress, quality of relationship with the former spouse, and conflict with the former spouse.

Data for this study (McKelvey & McKenry, 2000) were derived from the National Survey of Families and Households (Sweet et al., 1988). The selected sample consisted of 897 mothers (235 Black, 662 White) who were divorced or separated and had at least one biological or adopted child (birth to 18 years of age) currently residing in the household. The mothers ranged in age from 19 to 59 years ($M = 35.27$ years). Black mothers had been divorced or separated significantly longer than were White mothers (7 years vs. 5 years; $t = 4.49$, $p < .0001$) and had significantly more children in the household ($t = 3.42$, $p < .001$). More Black mothers (40%) than White mothers (22%) were separated ($\chi^2 = 10.33$, $p < .0001$). The mean educational level for all mothers in the study was 12.5 years (range = 4-20 years), with Black mothers having significantly less

education than did White mothers ($t = 1.99, p < .05$). The total income for Black mothers was also significantly lower than that of White mothers ($t = 4.46, p < .0001$).

Depression was measured with a 12-item version of the CES-D, and self-esteem was assessed by responses to three statements that were scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale. Conflict with former spouse was measured by responses to one question scored on a 3-point scale. Overall happiness, informal support, and formal support were measured by answers to one question each that were scored on a 7-point scale. Personal mastery, parental distress, parental satisfaction, quality of relationship with former spouse, and entry into dating were measured by answers to one question each that were scored on a 5-point scale (McKelvey & McKenry, 2000).

Univariate correlations suggested some interesting cultural variations that offer some support to the hypothesis that White mothers have greater difficulty adjusting to marital dissolution. With the inclusion of control variables (time since separation/divorce and socioeconomic status), psychosocial well-being factors discriminated between the Black and White mothers (Wilks $\Lambda = .82, F = 15.64, p < .0001$), accounting for 19% of the variance in the dependent variable. Univariate tests indicated the individual significance of informal support ($F = 39.98, p < .001$), formal support ($F = 21.51, p < .001$), entry into dating ($F = 11.52, p < .01$), economic well-being ($F = 10.38, p < .01$), personal mastery ($F = 9.21, p < .05$), and personal satisfaction ($F = 5.76, p < .05$). although Black mothers evidenced higher personal mastery, greater economic well-

being, and more formal support, they received less informal support and began dating later than did the White mothers (McKelvey & McKenry, 2000).

The results of the McKelvey and McKenry (2000) study offer support for the belief that African American culture provides greater psychosocial resources for Black women, perhaps making them more independent and self-reliant than White women. It is interesting to note that Black women also sought formal support more frequently from their ministers than did White women, a characteristic that appears to be reflective of the degree of importance of placed on spirituality in the African American community.

Divorce among Hispanic Americans. Lindahl and Malik (1999) explored ethnic differences in children's responses to marital conflict, triadic family processes, and children's adjustment in Hispanic American, European American, and biethnic families. The researchers hypothesized that Hispanic American and European American families would both reveal an increasing tendency for boys externalizing behavior with greater marital conflict. Higher levels of marital conflict were also expected to be associated with disrupted family processes (i.e., less cohesiveness, imbalanced subsystem relations, lax or inconsistent parenting) for all. However, ethnicity was expected to moderate the relation between family processes and boys' externalizing behavior.

Lindahl and Malik (1999) recruited 113 intact families of low to moderate income from a heavily Hispanic elementary school in Miami, Florida. Fifty families (each with a boy between the ages of 7 and 11 years) were Hispanic Americans, 32 were European Americans, and 31 were biethnic (1 parent of Hispanic origin, 1 of European origin). Although the sample represented

Hispanic groups from the South and Central Americas, the majority (53%) were of Cuban origin. Eighty-five of the mothers (75%) were married to their son's biological father, 21 mothers had remarried, and 7 were unmarried but cohabitating with male partners. Mothers with spouses or partners had been together for an average of 9.9 years ($SD = 4.94$ years). Their sons ages ranged from 7.6 years to 11.4 years ($M = 8.9$ years, $SD = 1.4$ years). The average family income was \$43,000, and the parents had an average of 14.7 years of education (i.e., approximately 2 years of college).

Participants completed three self-report questionnaires: the O'Leary-Porter Scale (OPS; Porter & O'Leary, 1980), the Conflict Over Childrearing (CCR) subscale of the Marital Satisfaction Inventory (Snyder, 1981), and the CBCL. The OPS is a 20-item questionnaire that measures overt hostility between spouses. Ten items assess the frequency and content of conflict, the frequency of problem resolution in the child's presence, and expressions of hostility between parents in the child's presence. Items are rated on a scale from 1 (often) to 5 (never). The OPS has adequate test-retest reliability ($r = .90$) and internal consistency ($\alpha = .86$). Although the OPS was designed for intact families, it has been also found to predict child adjustment in single-parent families. The CCR requires true or false answers to assess the degree to which childrearing conflicts contribute to marital discord, the amount of disagreement regarding discipline, and perceptions about fairness in sharing childrearing responsibilities and disinterest in the children. The CBCL was used to assess externalizing (aggressive and delinquent) behaviors (Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

A multiethnic team of research assistants rated videotaped family interactions on three dimensions (cohesiveness, coalition formation, and parenting style) using the researchers' own System of Coding Interactions and Family Functioning (SCIFF; Lindahl & Malik, 1996, 1999). The SCIFF uses a 5-point Likert scale that ranges from 1 (very low; personal distance, aloofness, etc.) to 5 (high; function as a family unit, close to each other, etc.). Results of the SCIFF as a measure of cohesion have been shown to be highly correlated with parents' self-reports ($r = .50$), and interrater reliabilities for all three domains have proven to be high as well ($r_s = .91, .78, \text{ and } .83$ for cohesiveness, coalition formation, and parenting style, respectively).

For the sample in general, externalizing behavior was positively related to two types of marital conflict: overt conflict and conflict over childrearing ($r = .30$ and $.28$, respectively for mothers, $p < .01$; $r = .37$ and $.40$, respectively for fathers, $p < .001$). Although conflict over childrearing was associated with mothers' reports of externalizing behavior in all three groups, a significant association was found only with fathers' reports in the European American and Hispanic American groups. For both mothers and fathers in all groups, overt marital conflict was positively related to boys' externalizing behavior (Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

The sample in general demonstrated negative correlations between marital conflict and family cohesiveness ($r = -.37$, $p < .001$). However, the interaction between marital conflict and ethnicity was not significant, suggesting that ethnicity does not mediate the relation between marital conflict and family cohesiveness (Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

A significant effect for coalition formation (balanced, disengaged, or marital-attacking) was found, $F(4, 202) = 7.35, p < .001$, with significant effects for overt conflict, $F(2, 103) = 7.01, p < .01$, and conflict over childrearing, $F(2, 103) = 15.24, p < .001$. Post-hoc comparisons indicated that parents in families with balanced subsystem interactions reported less overt marital conflict and conflict over childrearing than did those with a marital-attacking coalition ($p < .001$ and $p < .01$ for men and women, respectively). Fathers in the balanced group reported less conflict over childrearing than did those in the disengaged group ($p < .001$). Ethnicity did not moderate the relation between marital conflict and coalition formation, and hostile marital coalitions as well as disengaged and weak subsystem alliances were associated with greater levels of marital conflict than were balanced alliances for all ethnic groups (Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

A significant main effect for parenting style (democratic, hierarchical, lax/inconsistent) was found, $F(4, 202) = 8.98, p < .001$. Follow-up analyses revealed significant effects for overt conflict, $F(2, 103) = 3.94, p < .05$, and conflict over childrearing, $F(2, 103) = 19.95, p < .001$. Post-hoc comparisons indicated that parents from democratic families reported less overt conflict ($p < .01$ and $p < .05$ for men and women, respectively) and conflict over childrearing ($p < .001$ and $p < .01$ for men and women, respectively) than did those with a lax or inconsistent parenting style. Fathers in families with a hierarchical parenting subsystem reported more overt conflict ($p < .05$) and conflict over childrearing ($p < .01$) than did those from families with a democratic parenting style. They also reported less conflict over childrearing

than did fathers from lax or inconsistent families ($p < .01$). Ethnicity did not moderate the relation between marital conflict and parenting style. Lax and inconsistent parenting was associated with greater marital conflict than was democratic parenting. Furthermore, fathers with a hierarchical parenting style were also associated with increased levels of marital conflict (Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

In general, family cohesiveness was negatively related to boys' externalizing behavior ($r = -.60$ and $-.63$ according to parents' reports, $p < .01$). The interaction between cohesiveness and ethnicity was significant according to fathers' reports, $\Delta R^2 = .08$, $df = 2$, $N = 106$, $\Delta F = 2.78$, $p < .05$, but not mothers' reports. After partialling out income, family cohesion and fathers' reports of boys' externalizing behavior were negatively related for the Hispanic American group, $r(48) = -.70$, $p < .001$, and for the European American and biethnic groups, $r(30) = -.45$ and $r(29) = -.44$, respectively, $p < .05$. Although a lack of family connectedness was related to boys' externalizing behavior for all groups, this relation was significantly stronger for Hispanic Americans than for other families (Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

An overall effect for coalition formation was apparent, $F(4, 195) = 10.19$, $p < .001$. However, the interaction between ethnicity and coalition formation was not significant, suggesting that ethnicity does not moderate the relation between coalition formation and externalizing behavior (Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

A significant overall effect for parenting style, $F(4, 203) = 10.36$, $p < .001$, and a significant interaction between ethnicity and parenting style were found, $F(8, 203) = 2.14$, $p < .05$, suggesting that ethnicity moderates the relation between

parenting style and externalizing behavior. Post-hoc comparisons revealed that hierarchical parenting was associated with greater externalizing behavior than was democratic parenting for parents in both European American ($p < .001$) and biethnic families ($p < .01$). For all three ethnic groups, lax and inconsistent parenting was associated with greater behavior problems than was democratic parenting ($p < .01$). Hispanic American fathers with lax and inconsistent parenting were also associated with greater externalizing behavior problems than those with a hierarchical parenting style ($p < .05$; Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

In summary, marital conflict was related to boys externalizing behavior for mothers and fathers in all three ethnic groups. Conflict over childrearing was related to maternal reports of externalizing behavior in all groups, but only to paternal reports in the European American and Hispanic American groups. Although a negative correlation was found between marital conflict and family process variables (cohesiveness, coalition formation, and parenting style), ethnicity did not mediate between these variables. Family cohesion and externalizing behaviors were negatively related for all groups; however, the relationship was stronger for Hispanic American fathers than for fathers in the other two groups or for mothers in all ethnic groups. Ethnicity did not moderate the relation between coalition formation and externalizing behaviors, but it did moderate the relation between parenting style and externalizing behaviors. In European American and biethnic families, hierarchical parenting was associated with greater externalizing behaviors than was democratic parenting, and lax parenting by Hispanic American fathers was associated with greater externalizing than was hierarchical parenting (Lindahl & Malik, 1999).

Wagner (1993) compared the psychosocial adjustment of Mexican-American mothers to that of Anglo mothers during the first year of single parenthood by examining difference in demographic characteristics and psychosocial stressors among a sample of 232 women who had been single parents for at least 2 years. The sample consisted of 135 Mexican Americans and 97 Anglo Americans, each of whom had two or more children living in the household. Although some respondents were widowed (6.2% of Mexican Americans, 2.1% of Anglo Americans) or had never been married (31% of Mexican Americans, 19.8% of Anglo Americans), the majority were divorced (40.3% of Mexican Americans, 64.6% of Anglo Americans) or separated (22.5% of Mexican Americans, 13.5% of Anglo Americans).

Bilingual interviewers met with participants, asking questions in the mothers' preferred language (Spanish or English) about the first 12 months after she became a single mother. The Mexican American mothers were slightly younger than the Anglo American mothers (31.5 years vs. 33.7 years). The average length of single parenthood was 8.9 years and 8.3 years for the two groups, respectively. Questions covered a variety of potential problems that resulted from changes in the following: relationships with family, friends, and children; physical and mental health; economic circumstances; transportation; housing; and childcare. A global assessment of changes was conducted by utilizing an inventory of 59 major events common to this population (Wagner, 1993).

Results showed that most women were unemployed when they became single parents (63.6% of Mexican Americans, 67.6% of Anglo Americans).

However, more Mexican Americans (54%) than Anglo Americans (27%) reported no particular job skills ($\chi^2 = 8.73$, $df = 2$, $p = .003$). This pattern held true even when controlling for educational level. Although both groups cited Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) as a major source of income, Mexican American women relied more heavily on earned income than did Anglo American women (43% vs. 29%). However, more Anglo Americans relied on other sources (primarily the father of their children) than did Mexican Americans (primarily their own parents; $\chi^2 = 4.47$, $p = .03$). During the year prior to becoming single parents, 70% of the Anglo Americans had reported incomes of \$10,000 or more, whereas 78% of the Mexican Americans had reported incomes less than \$10,000. However, the Anglo Americans' decrease in income as a group (more than half lost \$10,000 or more) exceeded that of the Mexican Americans (16.7% lost \$10,000 or more; Wagner, 1993).

Wagner (1993) also found ethnic differences in relocation patterns and availability of a support system. Most of the Mexican Americans (73.2%) remained close to their relatives, relocating within San Jose, whereas most of the Anglo American women (60.5%) had just moved to San Jose ($\chi^2 = 28.25$, $df = 2$, $p = .00$). In addition to diminished support systems, Anglo American women reported stressors related to income, employment, legal issues, and health problems. Mexican Americans reported a higher frequency of stressors related to living in shared dwellings or to language difficulties. Anglo Americans, nevertheless, experienced more stressors than did the Mexican Americans ($F = 1.35$, $T = -4.71$, pooled variance, $p = .00$), a pattern which held true even when controlling for level of education.

In summary, findings of the Wagner (1993) study showed that the Mexican American women were younger and more disadvantaged in regard to education, job skills, number of children, and financial resources than were the Anglo American women when they became single parents. However, the change in financial status was less significant for the Mexican Americans, and they maintained greater social support from family and friends than did the Anglo Americans. Although Mexican Americans have significant educational and financial disadvantages as an ethnic group, they also have significant social advantages in their cultural lifestyle.

Korean Culture

Korean culture offers a particular set of challenges (many of which are shared by other Asian cultures) in divorce adjustment and parenting. Characteristics of Western and Eastern cultures, however, may limit many aspects of postdivorce adjustment and single parenting to apples-to-oranges comparisons. Differing philosophical assumptions underly these theoretical issues. As Pedersen (1977) stated,

Western theories, such as psychoanalysis, rational-emotive therapy, reality therapy, Gestalt therapy, Rogerian theory, and existential psychology, stress the individual, achievement motivation, rationally defined evidence, the scientific method, and direct self-disclosure. Asian theories, in contrast, emphasize corporate welfare, experiential evidence, intuitive logic, religiophilosophical methods, and subtle indirection in personal relationships. Extreme care should be used in comparing Asian and Western theories of psychology. (p. 367)

With this caveat explicitly stated, some specific characteristics of Korean culture are presented here.

Although Korean culture, like other cultures, has continued to evolve over time, it continues to carry the sense of shame as one of its major components. In addition to the divisions of traditional and modern Korean culture, Lee (1999) divides traditional Korean culture into two subcategories: (a) Taoist and (b) face-saving. In a Taoist culture that is based on Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, "the sense of shame basically emerges from consciousness of the failure to fulfill self-realization. Perfect realization of oneself is unimaginable. Therefore, man is destined to feel shame until the end of his life" (p. 185). To further explicate the Confucian precursors to modern Korean culture, Lee adds,

Confucianism propounds five cardinal morals in human relationships: righteousness between king and subjects; love between parents and children; distinction between husband and wife; trust between friends; and order between senior and junior. These five virtues have come to be criteria in evaluating human behavior. Accordingly, the most shameful behavior in Confucian culture is the violation of these five mores. (p. 186)

These values, however, were to hold greater mutuality than they did in actual practice, and the principles deteriorated into favoritism of the strong over the weak. The sense of shame then resulted from the moral coercion of Korean society rather than from individual conscience. In response to this "collective shame," Koreans developed a face-saving culture that places supreme importance on how others regard one's behavior. This approach ignores the

inner life of the individual in favor of the outer world (society). "Saving one's face," "losing one's face," and "maintaining one's face" express the concept of shame as a mask behind which persons must hide (Lee, 1999).

Family shame. As the center point of Korean society, the family is especially vulnerable to the sense of shame. The family context contains the two highest sources of shame: a child's lack of respect for his parents and a wife's disobedience to her husband. Nowhere was this played out more profoundly than in Japanese families under Confucianism when parents would go so far as to kill themselves if a scandal involved one of their children (Lee, 1999).

The advent of modern Korean culture was brought about by major structural changes that followed Korea's emancipation from Japan in 1945. Although scientific knowledge challenged the traditional value system, shame remains a predominant factor. Individual performance and achievement (particularly in education) are held as high cultural values; therefore, to fail in this area also brings shame to the family. The inferiority complex, closely related to shame, is used by the powerful to suppress others (Lee, 1999).

The sense of shame and the cultural mandate to save face for the family, therefore, carries profound implications for divorce in Korean culture. Men are valued above women, and husbands place loyalty to their parents above loyalty to their wives. Furthermore, a wife without children holds a lower status than one who is fertile, and sons are favored above daughters. The sense of shame, the need to save face, and the hierarchical structure contribute to the Korean cultural response to divorce. Before reviewing specific literature on divorce in Korean culture, literature on divorce in other Asian cultures that share many of

the same cultural values will be presented.

Postdivorce interventions in Asian cultures. King (1998) explicated the cultural challenge in working with post-separation and postdivorce families in an Asian culture. Others (e.g., Rice & Rice, Emery & Dillon, as cited in King) have delineated developmental tasks of family members in a postdivorce family: renegotiating boundaries of identity, intimacy, and power. Family members need to reconfirm their sense of self-efficacy in performing family roles and tasks (identity), to reach an optimal level of involvement and contact between parents and with their children (intimacy), and to redivide parental responsibilities and establish new co-parental roles (power). King proposes that the ideal situation would required parents that "are affectionate and effective in child discipline" and children that "are assertive but self disciplined" (p. 79).

Using Mckay, Gonzales, Stone, Ryland, and Kohner's (as cited in King, 1998) definition of the multiple family group, King discusses the use of this approach to treatment with post-separation and postdivorce families in Hong Kong. Groups (a) consist of parents, children, and a facilitator; (b) are problem-focused; and (c) are oriented to interactions both within and between families. Interventions include professional help and mutual aid that is guided by the systemic perspective of the large group and its multiple subsystems (i.e., the various individual and family units within the larger system).

Through presentation of excerpts from group sessions, King (1998) highlights interventions (e.g., group discussion, experiential exercises, games) that facilitate boundary renegotiation. In the process, the author brings out several salient themes in Asian culture. In a divorced Asian family, the son will

voluntarily take up his father's role in comforting and caring for his mother who shares the "very traditional belief that a woman should depend on her son if she has no husband" (p. 80). These parentified boys often order their siblings to obey their mothers, and the boundary between mother and son becomes very enmeshed. Furthermore, mothers are often overly committed to their other children as well and lack adequate differentiation. This situation is also complicated by the co-creation of the mother-child enmeshment. Over control may also be an issue for many parents who need to acquire alternative parenting skills that encourage development of their children's self-discipline.

Divorce in Korean culture. Only one study was found that addressed current issues of divorce among Korean Americans. Chang (1999) examined self-reported reasons for divorce, levels of psychological distress, and factors that contribute to postdivorce adjustment among Korean immigrant women living in Southern California. She compared data collected from 156 women (25-60 years of age). Seventy-three participants had been divorced for less than 10 years, and 83 participants (matched with the divorced group for age and time in the U.S.) were married.

Chang (1999) collected data via self-administered questionnaires and semi-structured interview in the participant's preferred language (Korean or English). The SCL-90-R was used as a measure of psychological distress, and self-esteem was measured by the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1962). Life satisfaction was assessed by three items scored on a 5-point scale, and gender role attitudes were assessed with Peplau, Hill, and Rubin's Sex Role Traditionalism Scale (as cited in Chang). Additional open- and close-ended

questions were used to obtain information regarding background, reasons for divorce, initiator status, social support, attraction within marriage, barriers to divorce, alternatives to marriage, help-seeking behaviors, areas of difficulty, and coping strategies.

Respondents had been in the U.S. an average of 14.7 years. The majority of them were well educated: 9.7% had graduate or professional degrees, 33.3% had completed college, 27.8% had completed 2 years of college, and 19.4% had at least a high school diploma. Only 7% indicated that they had ended their education with elementary school or middle school. Most of the women reported the status of their physical health to be good to very good (38.3%) or fair (43.8%), whereas only 17.8% indicated that they were in poor health (Chang, 1999).

Most women in the divorced group (87.8%) had children ($M = 1.8$ children). Their children's ages ranged from 1 year to 38 years, and 69% of the children were 18 years of age or younger. Slightly more than 56% of the respondents reported that they were living with their children, whereas 19.2% were living with other relatives, and 20.5% were living alone (Chang, 1999).

More than half the respondents indicated that religion is very important to them. Most (68.5%) consider themselves Protestant, 17.8% are Catholic, and 1.4% are Buddhist. Although most (40.3%) reported that they speak English fairly well (and 17.8% speak it very well), 37.5% indicated that they have poor English language skills. A majority of the respondents (76.7%) indicated that they were working at least part-time; however, 48.6% were earning less than \$19,999 per year. Although the divorced women in this sample were well

educated and most were currently employed, their annual income was relatively low, and only 6.8% reported receiving alimony from their ex-husbands. Most had children living at home, were highly religious and Protestant, had good physical health, and had adequate English language skills (Chang, 1999).

The women in this sample had been divorced an average of 4.6 years (range = less than 1 year - 10 years) following marriages that had lasted an average of 8.9 years (range = less than 2 years - 15 years). The average ages at which they separated and divorced were 37.1 years and 38.1 years, respectively. Respondents took an average of 3.1 years to think about separation or divorce prior to taking action. Responses to questions about the initiation of the divorce revealed that 50.7% had suggested the idea themselves, whereas 37% indicated that it had been the husband's idea, and 11% stated that the idea was mutual. The women cited the husband's negative behavior (e.g., physical abuse, gambling, drinking) and financial irresponsibility or incapability as their primary reasons for seeking divorce. They were less likely to report affective or abstract reasons for divorce (Chang, 1999).

Sixty-one percent of the participants reported that neither parent lived in Southern California, 45.2% had no siblings, and 58% had no other relatives who lived nearby. However, 92.9% reported that they have friends in the area, and 89% reported having more than one friend in whom they could confide.

Although the needs for financial, childcare, and emotional support among this population are great, few of them receive the help they need. Financial support was the most frequently indicated (63%) need; however, only

33% are receiving this type of assistance. Help with childcare is virtually nonexistent, whereas the need for emotional support is being met for 84% of the respondents (Chang, 1999).

Chang (1999) compared the psychological distress of divorced and married persons (as indicated by the Global Severity Index [GSI] of the SCL-R-90) and found significant differences between the two groups. The divorced respondents reported more distress in the areas of somatization, obsessive-compulsive behaviors, depression, anxiety, hostility, and paranoid ideations. Conversely, the married respondents reported more distress in the areas of phobic anxiety and interpersonal sensitivity. Although the divorced respondents had higher mean GSI scores than did the married persons (.85 and .78, respectively), the difference was not significant. On the psychoticism dimension, mean T scores were the same for both groups. These findings indicate that both divorced and married Korean women exhibited signs of poor mental health.

A comparison of GSI scores revealed that divorced women who have children had higher levels of stress than those who do not have children ($t = 1.99$, $df = 71$, $p = .05$). However, the perceived availability of social support (e.g., listening, consoling, caregiving, appreciation, financial support) appeared to moderate the effects of stress on all dimensions to a significant degree. Furthermore, social support appeared to enhance self-esteem ($r = .39$, $p = .001$), and the number of friends in whom one can confide was also positively correlated with self-esteem ($r = .28$, $p = .02$; Chang, 1999).

Although most respondents (78.8-93.9%) were aware of the availability of various social services, the reported utilization of these resources was much lower. The most frequently used services were Medi-Cal (45.5%) and AFDC (36.4%). Twenty-eight percent used the Korean Family Service Center, 15% used the Asian Pacific Legal Center, 10.6% used community mental health centers, and 10.6% participated in support groups for singles. One reason cited for low utilization of services was that 24% of respondents lacked knowledge in how to use these resources. Most respondents (62.5%) sought help before the separation; however, 47.8% and 50% did so during the separation and after divorce, respectively. The most frequently used sources of assistance were less formal (e.g., friends, family, ministers), with only 27.4% seeking help from mental health professionals and 70% turning to volunteers at social service agencies (Chang, 1999).

Child rearing, financial, and emotional problems were the most frequently indicated problems (33.3%, 27.4%, and 23.8%, respectively) for divorced Korean women in this study (Chang, 1999). Although they were likely to apply for and receive financial benefits from the government, they relied on religion, prayer, and more informal resources (e.g., talking to, seeking help from family and friends). They also tried to cope by solving the problems by themselves.

Self-reported health, reasons for divorce, perceived availability of social support, and time since divorce were significant predictors of psychological distress, accounting for 42% of the variance. Twenty-one percent of the variance was accounted for by perceived physical health; those who believed themselves

to be in good health had lower levels of distress. Thirteen percent of the variance was accounted for by reasons for the divorce; those who reported that they had divorced because of the husband's negative behaviors (abuse, infidelity, characterological deficiency) had greater levels of distress. Perceived availability of social support and time since divorce accounted for 6.6% and 4.5% of the variance, respectively (Chang, 1999).

Findings of Chang's (1999) study revealed that self-reported health, income, and perceived availability of social support were significant predictors of self-esteem, accounting for 37% of the variance. Self-reported health was the most significant predictor (19%), whereas income and perceived availability of social support accounted for 16.3% and 5.4% of the variance, respectively. Income and self-reported health (17% and 9% of the variance, respectively) accounted for 24% of the total variance in life satisfaction.

Koreans and mental health services. Several researchers (Kitano & Maki, 1996; Nah, 1993; Pai, 1988; Sue, 1989) have noted the underutilization of mental health services and the tendency for those who do seek professional help to terminate counseling prematurely. Differences between Eastern and Western cultural values and personality theories have been identified as barriers to psychological treatment for many Korean Americans. Furthermore, that one must reveal personal intimate details is difficult for many Asians to accept because to do so is to focus more on negative characteristics is to expose oneself and one's family to shame.

Sue (1989) explicated the need for therapeutic intervention with Asian Americans that addresses issues of the minority identity development model

(MID) developed by Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (as cited in Sue). Noting the high drop-out rate of Asian American clients, Sue posits that the difficulty lies in the mental health professional's inability to accurately assess the client's cultural identity. He presents the stages of MID (conformity, dissonance, resistance and immersion, introspection, synergetic articulation and awareness) and offers suggestions for specific interventions to facilitate the client's growth in each area.

Sue (1989) suggested that the conformity stage is not the actual beginning of ethnic identity for Asian Americans. Instead, he proposed that the first stage begins at a point where traditional Asian values interact with dominant cultural values, and the therapist must consider a prior stage in which the immigrants may have a very positive image of themselves prior to coming to the U.S. The attitudes and behaviors that describe Asian Americans at the conformity stage (e.g., denial of minority problems, strong dependence and identification with the dominate culture) suggest that these clients are unlikely to seek counseling related to cultural identity, but are more likely to be influenced by and seek counselors of the dominate group. At this point, the client's negative feelings about his or her own culture may produce feelings that members of the minority group are less competent and capable.

At the dissonance stage, clients may be preoccupied by questions concerning self-concept, identity, and self-esteem, and may perceive personal problems to be related to cultural identity. Individuals in the resistance and immersion stage are may view all psychological problems (personal and social) as products of oppression and racism. Clients in the introspection stage tend to

prefer a counselor from their own cultural group or one who shares a similar world view. Clients in the fifth stage of identity development have the internal skills and knowledge to exercise a desired level of personal freedom. Although discrimination and oppression may remain a painful part of life for them, they have greater access to psychological resources and can actively engage in the process of counseling (Sue, 1989).

In an effort to understand perceived problems and identify factors in effective service delivery, Nah (1993) conducted interviews with 90 Korean families that had been in the U.S. less than 10 years. Common problems cited by the respondents were problems in the areas of language, employment, health, interpersonal relationships, alienation, and loneliness. The language barrier and underemployment contribute a great deal to parents' inability to provide educational help and guidance for their children and, in turn, generate intense feelings of parental inadequacy and anxiety. Parents also fear their children will lose their ethnic identity and traditional values and that the drug and sex culture of America will contaminate their children. The children's growing self-assertion and self-reliance increase parental anxiety, causing parents to overreact to American influence.

Nah (1993) cited Koreans' needs for family and individual counseling, day and after-school child care, youth programs, and parenting education. These services are most effective when delivered in the ethnic community, by bicultural and bilingual workers, and with the assistance of professionals in the larger community. In this context, Korean immigrants can learn new perspectives while retaining their own cultural heritage. Ethnic churches, in

particular, are vital resources that could be further utilized to provide services that are desperately needed.

Conclusions

In reviewing the literature on postdivorce adjustment and single parenting, it is apparent that marital dissolution impacts the lives of both adults and children. Although the outcome may be positive for some families, this is rarely the case at first. Adults who initiated their divorces, have adequate financial and social resources, and become involved in another intimate relationship soon after separation from their spouses seem to fare better and in less time than those who do not have these factors as part of their divorce experience. The process may be more difficult for those who did not want the divorce, are experiencing financial and social deficits, and those who remain emotionally attached to their ex-spouses (Wang & Amato, 2000).

The level of interpersonal conflict that was occurring prior to marital dissolution, degree of happiness with the divorce, thinking of divorce as a good or bad idea, effects on social and financial situations, current peace of mind, continued attachment to the ex-spouse, and ability to accept the divorce and move on with life have also been shown to affect adults' ability to adjust to changes that follow divorce (Booth & Amato, 2001; Wang & Amato, 2000). Generally, a positive view of divorce and the lower the impact on financial and social resources, the better adults will do in postdivorce adjustment. Lower levels of predivorce conflict, lower commitment to partner and community, and

a positive view of divorce were also associated with successful postdivorce adjustment.

Children's postdivorce adjustment depends, in large part, on how well their parents are adjusting. If parents maintain a working relationship as co-parents, keep conflict to a minimum, and allow their children equal access to one another, their children generally fare better than those whose parents do not do so (Amato, 2000). Children from single-parent families may exhibit lower levels of self-esteem following their parents' divorce than do children from two-parent families (Bynum & Durm, 1996), and boys seem to be affected emotionally by divorce to a greater degree than are girls, particularly in regard to their fathers' absence (Simons et al., 1999). Since most children live with their mothers following their parents' divorce, mothers' parenting style can also influence children's postdivorce adjustment, particularly in regard to their maternal acceptance and consistency of discipline (Wolchik et al., 2000). Furthermore, mothers also frequently transmit their negative emotions to their children (Larson & Gillman, 1999).

Cultural factors also have been shown to have a profound impact on the outcome of marital dissolution. African American culture may provide greater psychosocial and spiritual resources for women, which may account for their increased sense of independence and self-reliance when compared to European American women (McKelvey & McKenry, 2000). Although Hispanic Americans often have more economic and educational disadvantages and tend to have more patriarchal family structures than do European Americans, their ethnic

community also provides significant social advantages that assist with postdivorce adjustment and single parenting (Wagner, 1993).

Asian Americans, and Korean Americans in particular, have several challenges as well. They are frequently bound by the culturally-based sense of shame and the hierarchical social structure that favors the strong over the weak (see King, 1998; Lee, 1999; Pederson, 1977). As a rapidly growing population within the U.S., they are struggling with acculturation and linguistic difficulties that impede their ability to seek and receive the assistance they need in adjusting to the changes brought about by divorce (Chang, 1999; Kitano & Maki, 1996; Nah, 1993; Pai, 1988; Sue, 1989). A number of intervention strategies to help this underserved population will now be presented.

Implications for Treatment

Although Korean American divorcees and their children are under great pressures caused by the effects of divorce, the issue of shame, which is a major characteristic of Korean culture (Lee, 1999), often prevents them from seeking the assistance they so desperately need. The tendency to withdraw and hide their pain is apparent from their reluctance to seek help from professionals in the mental health field. Among Asian Americans who do receive services, the drop-out rate is high, which has been well documented in the literature (Sue, 1989).

Furthermore, despite their need, many Korean Americans do not utilize mental health services because of language and acculturation difficulties (Chang, 1999; Sue, 1989). According to Sue's model of minority identity development, only during the last stage (introspection) do Asian Americans begin to utilize

psychological resources. However, persons in this stage need counselors from their own cultural group or those who share a similar worldview. Therefore, it is imperative that mental health agencies offer bilingual and bicultural services. However, the mental health field has not caught up with the demands of the market, and Korean American mental health professionals are in short supply. In developing an effective treatment model, the training of competent, culturally-sensitive mental health professionals is also of paramount importance.

Since Korean Americans are comfortable with a collective identity, a group setting may be more acceptable than individual treatment and, therefore, more effective (King, 1998). Schools could establish single parenting classes in cooperation with a local mental health agency. Stress management classes would enhance coping skills and may be crucial in helping parents deal with the enormous pressures they encounter as single parents.

Because many single Korean American parents are unlikely to seek mental health services on their own, there is great need to develop a treatment model that is culturally relevant, acceptable, and accessible. Many fail to utilize the resources that are currently available because they lack adequate English language skills, are unaware of services, and/or do not have sufficient time or mobility in doing so (Chang, 1999; Nah, 1993). Furthermore, to openly disclose that one is divorced carries great risk of shame. However, childrearing, financial, and emotional issues are the most frequently stated problems among single-parent Korean American families (Chang), and they need knowing individuals who understand the Korean culture to reach out to them. In order to

provide assistance to this underserved population, the following proposals are offered for the development of a comprehensive treatment model.

School-based programs. Several researchers (Emery et al.; Kalter & Schreier; Lee, Picard, & Blain; as cited in Amato, 2000) have documented the benefits of school-based support programs for children of divorced parents. Since Korean American parents place great priority on their children's education, school-based programs can be a highly effective means of intervention that would bypass some of the culturally-based shame issues and avoid the consequences of the inordinately high drop-out rate among Asian Americans who seek psychological assistance (Sue, 1989). Since single parents are already struggling with the shame of perceived personal failure in marriage, to succeed as a parent becomes a matter of paramount importance. Therefore, schoolteachers have enormous power in the single-parent family and are in a position to assess children who are at risk for emotional or behavioral problems. If a teacher thinks that mental health services are necessary for the child, he or she already has authority with the parent and can refer the family to an appropriate mental health agency.

Many single Korean American parents work long hours for low pay, which can leave them short on both time and patience (Chang, 1999). In addition, the language barrier often limits their ability to assist their sons and daughters with their studies (Nah, 1993). Therefore, after-school programs that provided homework assistance and childcare would also be an essential component of treatment.

Church-based programs. Religion is highly important in Korean families, yet many Korean Americans are not geographically close to their extended families (Chang, 1999). Furthermore, intervention strategies that reflect the systemic perspective of the extended family are also consistent with the Korean American culture's collective identity (King, 1998). In this sense, churches can also be meaningful sources of nurturance for Korean American families by providing treatment for both divorce prevention and divorce recovery. Since the shame of these parents may preclude them finding necessary resources, having programs available in their churches could also bypass their reluctance to seek help. As with schoolteachers, ministers, Sunday School teachers, and youth pastors are in an excellent position to assess needs and provide interventions to make referrals to mental health agencies.

Single Korean American parents are often more willing to invest time in parenting classes than in mental health support groups because they tend to minimize personal needs in favor of their children. By focusing on parenting issues rather than directly on divorce issues, parenting seminars and classes conducted by mental health professionals will also help lessen the stigma associated with receiving psychological assistance. In addition, multiple family groups that include several single parents and their children provide the opportunity for mutual assistance and support (King, 1998). In this way, the church can function as an extended family for single parents and their children.

Community-based programs. Chang (1999) noted Korean Americans' underutilization of formal resources (e.g., government services, psychological treatment) in favor of informal sources (e.g., friends, family, ministers,

volunteers at social service agencies). This is due, not only to culturally-based shame issues, but to the fact that Korean American families have significant disadvantages in accessing community resources because of language and acculturation difficulties. This cultural dilemma necessitates an adaptation of how and where formal services are offered. Services (e.g., daycare, after-school programs, youth programs, parenting education) provided by bilingual and bicultural workers within the Korean American community itself, supported by the assistance of professionals in the larger community context, have proven to be highly effective in reaching this underserved population (Nah, 1993).

As an important adjunct, single parent conferences can help single Korean American parents connect with the mental health network, health services, educational programs, and social services in their communities. Instead of waiting for the family to come to them, agencies can bring these services to these parents in a conference format. At the conference, social workers could be available to assist single parents in accessing government assistance programs (e.g., Medi-Cal, CalWORKS, AFDC) to help meet parenting, financial, physical, and social needs. Since many single-parent Korean American families do not have health insurance, pro bono medical screening offered by professionals (e.g., physicians, dentists, optometrist, pediatricians, psychiatrists) could help identify current problems as well as risk factors that may otherwise go unnoticed.

Many single Korean American parents hide their family secrets (e.g., separation, divorce) to avoid bringing shame to their own parents. Therefore, they often do not seek help from their families, but turn to their peers for

assistance with emotional and financial issues. Participation in a conference can help create a network wherein these single-parent families can find a place for sharing that may boost their motivation to break out of denial and to meet the challenge of adjustment.

In addition to serving Korean-speaking parents, the conference could also provide programs in English for the children. Bilingual mental health workers and teachers can help parents and their children connect with one another by addressing intergenerational conflicts and acting as positive role models. As children and adolescents share their life experience with one another, they can be empowered to acknowledge their reality and to find better solutions for their future.

Government programs. The government could also provide mediation and education for parents as part of the legal process of divorce. This would be particularly helpful for Korean Americans who may tend to get caught up in their emotions and disregard further connections with one another following their divorce. Mandated programs could serve to encourage parents to focus on their responsibilities to their children despite their interpersonal conflicts.

Without government enforcement, Korean American parents (particularly fathers) may not take responsibility for their children since the Korean culture has double standards for men and women. Single Korean American mothers tend to have a sacrificial approach to parenting and have highly enmeshed relationships with their children, whereas single Korean American fathers tend to be detached from their children. Single Korean American fathers frequently remarry quickly, avoid involvement in issues regarding custody, and fail to

provide child support. Without legal intervention, their families may have no recourse.

Preparation for remarriage. Step-parenting issues need to be addressed before individuals enter into a blended family. Korean culture affords unequal status for men and women. Single Korean American fathers have a greater chance to marry younger or never-married women, whereas single Korean American mothers often are left with less desirable marriage candidates (e.g., older, less educated, financially unstable, additional children and in-laws). As a result, remarriage may not guarantee women a better quality of life and may actually add to their emotional and financial burdens. The hierarchical structure of Korean culture places the value of men over that of women and the value of in-laws over that of spouses. This structure is most apparent for Korean American women who work outside the home. They are required to continue all household duties along with their full-time jobs. Division of household labor is highly uncommon. In support of this hypothesis, Chang (1999) found no difference in the stress level between married or divorced Korean women because of the double standard for men and women. If gender roles and household responsibilities are not renegotiated prior to remarriage, children and their mothers may experience enormous negative impact on their physical, psychological, and financial well-being. Premarital counseling may be essential in preventing further harm for these families.

Remarriage is also likely to disturb the pattern of enmeshment that is frequently established between mother and child (usually between mother and older son) in single-parent Korean American families. Although this enmeshed

dyad is dysfunctional, it is a practical outcome of divorce for single-parent Korean American families. The Korean culture either promotes or is silent about a mother meeting her emotional needs through attachments with her son (or older daughter if there is no son). King (1998) warned about the effects on the parentified child's adult life. If the pattern has not been broken, the dysfunction will be passed to the next generation. Therefore, recreating a new, healthier family system that allows greater differentiation between single parents and their children will help ensure a better outcome for all family members.

Job training programs. As Amato (2000) stated, "The quality of parental functioning is one of the best predictors of children's behavior and well-being" (p. 1280). In order to help prevent children's misbehavior and acting out, single parents need to function at their maximum level. One means by which this may be accomplished is through obtaining better paying jobs and acquiring degrees or licenses that can ensure better employment opportunities. In addition to helping with children's behavior, single Korean American mothers' education and employment status are the most significant factors for postdivorce adjustment in general (Chang, 1999).

Although many single Korean American parents have achieved high levels of education, their education often does not lead to appropriate employment opportunities because they lack adequate English language skills. Vocational rehabilitation programs that include the acquisition of relevant languages skills can improve self-esteem and facilitate healthy postdivorce adjustment. Having access to better employment opportunities would, in turn, enhance the quality of life for single-parent families.

An Example of A Culturally Relevant Intervention: The Integrated Multiple-Family Group

As an experiment, this author began an intervention program for single-parent Korean American families 7 years ago. The program began in a spacious suburban home offered as a meeting place. Along with divorced male and female co-leaders, a multiple family group was formed that consisted of 11 adults and 10 children. The group met for two semesters (4-5 months) that coincided with the children's school schedule. Each semester included a 3-day retreat to a country resort where parents could enjoy nature and spend family time with their children. During the summer break, members of the group participated in a 3-day summer camp in Yosemite National Park. Since the group included multiple families, it functioned as an extended family.

Interfamilial and interpersonal interactions were spontaneous and natural as members exchanged resources and offered support. During holidays (e.g., Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Eve, New Year's Day), the group enjoyed festive gatherings. Cultural and intergenerational values were transmitted without resistance from the children within the group, thereby strengthening the family bond and facilitating the establishment and maintenance of appropriate boundaries.

Since this group was formed, one child has graduated from college, and another is ready to begin. Both of these children are now role models as successful children from single-parent Korean American families. To promote the importance of education, the group created a scholarship fund for college freshmen and committed to support students until they graduate.

Over the past 7 years, a total of 25 families have been involved. Among these parents, three remarriages have taken place, all of which are doing well. In preparation for remarriage, premarital counseling was strongly recommended, and compliance has been high. None of the group members have been in the welfare system, and only one family received regular child support. However, all parents have full-time jobs and have been able to maintain an optimal level of health even though the majority do not have health insurance.

One year after the group began, the members stated their desire to have an open conference for the single-parent Korean American families. The 2-day conference was held at a country resort with 100 participants (adults and children). A psychiatrist and a few medical doctors provided pro bono services, and several mental health professionals served as leaders for the children and adolescents. The conference program focused on spirituality, single-parenting, psychological, and physical issues. However, members derived the most benefit from information, experiences, and support that they exchanged among themselves. In this setting, they did not need to worry about shame because they shared similar issues.

The conference has continued as a yearly event, and at this writing, plans are underway for the 6th annual single parent conference. The conference format will be marked by the inclusion of representatives from government services agencies, more Korean American mental health professionals, legal services providers, and more physicians who will bring pro bono services to the conference site to increase accessibility and better serve this growing population.

Suggestions for Future Research

A number of issues are apparent in planning for areas of future research with single Korean American parents and their children. With the ever-increasing diversity of American culture and the rise in the divorce rate, there is a clear need for more research that reflects the impact of culture on divorce adjustment and single parenting. A primary issue is that of studying an increasingly diverse population. Most research regarding racial and ethnic differences has been conducted in rural areas and small cities of the Midwest where the value system is highly conservative. Study samples have typically included a higher percentage of Whites and Blacks than is currently representative of the U.S. population. Most Asian immigrants tend to live in the larger metropolitan areas such as New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Therefore, research is needed to reflect more urban and multiethnic populations.

There is a lack of quantitative research in multicultural settings that reflects a multicultural theoretical framework. Current sampling procedures may fail to include Asians who are likely to avoid participation in research due to the issue of shame. Furthermore, there is a dearth of relevant measurement tools due to cultural and linguistic differences. The majority of instruments in current use were developed in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s when the U.S. population was less diverse than it presently is. Furthermore, these instruments may not be culturally relevant. For example, since Korean Americans tend to somatize problems to disguise relational or emotional problems, self-report questionnaires and surveys may not reflect the true picture.

Since Korean single parents and their children tend to hide family shame and refrain from disclosing negative traits and conditions, more qualitative measures also may be in order. However, caution should be exercised because the face-saving cultural perspective may distort findings that are derived from interviews and observations. Because speaking one's opinion freely or disclosing family member's faults or misbehavior is considered rude or disrespectful, Korean Americans tend to conform to perceived social norms and may still attempt to hide their true emotions and living conditions. More discrete measures need to be developed in the form of projective measures where the socially desirable response may be less obvious and the outcome less easily manipulated by the participants.

The impact of the acculturation process regarding traditional gender roles, the divorce rate among Korean Americans, and postdivorce adjustment is not clearly understood. Traditional Korean culture generally adheres to a paternally-oriented hierarchy, yet Korean Americans are being influenced by Western culture and the value it places on more egalitarian relationships between men and women. Therefore, studies are needed to help elucidate the impact of level of acculturation on divorce adjustment for parents and their children.

Coming from a patriarchal society, single Korean American fathers are undergoing significant changes in regard to their traditional roles within the family. In particular, the familial role of the single Korean American father is uncertain. Since many sons take over the paternal role in their fathers' absence, longitudinal studies are needed that examine the effects of mother-son

enmeshment for the next generation. Comparative research is also needed to determine differential impact of men's negative behaviors (e.g., affairs, abuse, addictions) on children in intact and divorced families.

Finally, there is a need for outcome research that compares various divorce adjustment strategies among single-parent Korean American families. In particular, outcome studies are needed to evaluate and compare school-based, church-based, and community-based programs; remarriage versus remaining single; and job training programs. Data must be collected to help understand the effectiveness of these interventions as well as the functioning and impact of multiple family groups as described in this paper. Within the underserved population of Korean Americans, the need is great for empirically-validated interventions that could increase the quality of life for these single parents and their children. With their numbers increasing daily, effective interventions will, no doubt, improve the well-being of the general U.S. population as well.

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