

COMPARISON OF MOTIVATIONS FOR PARENT CARE BETWEEN KOREANS AND AMERICANS: A CROSS-CULTURAL APPROACH

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This study compares filial motivations of Koreans with those of Americans and identifies cross-culturally equivalent, as well as country-specific types of filial motivations. Both groups cited "affection/love," "repayment/reciprocity," and "filial responsibility/obligation" as major forms of motivation. Despite cultural differences, there are similarities between the two groups in the relative emphasis on these qualitative dimensions of parent care. In other kinds of motivation, the two groups are dissimilar. For the Koreans, filial respect, family harmony, and filial sacrifice emerge as outstanding forms of motivation. These forms are not cited by the Americans. The reciprocity of the parent-child relationship, the influence of cultural traditions, and related issues are discussed in relation to filial motivation.

INTRODUCTION

Parent care has emerged as an increasingly important issue for many caregiving children and families (Talbot 1990; Hokenstad 1988; Hess and Waring 1978), and the pressure to understand filial obligations has been mounting among peoples in East Asia—Koreans along with the Japanese and Chinese—as well as other peoples around the world (Campbell and Kurokawa 1991; Freed 1990; Sung 1990; Pak 1985; Ping 1991; Aimei 1988; Brody 1985; Kosberg 1986). This growing concern necessitates a critical review of the willingness of adult children to care for elderly parents.

In order to improve the well-being of the elderly, different cultures have made varying efforts to develop services for them. In this process, the instrumental and quantitative aspects of parent care have been emphasized in Korea, as well as in other countries, including the United States, e.g., discount services, old-age allowances, transportation, health examination, employment, continuing education, etc. However, the affective and qualitative aspects of parent care have not received due attention (Manchini and Blieszner 1989, 276; Brody 1985, 21; Pak 1985; Sung 1990).

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These dimensions may be intangible but they touch our hearts and reflect values. Furthermore, they influence the definition of the needs of the elderly and the ways in which these needs should be met. Thus, the importance of the qualitative aspects needs to be stressed in addition to the quantitative aspects.

Research in Korea, focused on the changing forms of parent care in smaller families within the country, has not yet reached other cultures. In the United States as well, researchers tend to focus on parent care in their own culture. Some, who are aware of such problems in other cultures, have tended either to overemphasize values and attitudes toward parent care in certain cultures or to understate significant cultural differences (Holmes 1987; Binstock 1986; Palmore 1986; Streib 1987; Campbell and Brody 1985; Gelfand 1988).

The present study compares two sets of data on filial motivations by focusing on the meanings of the motivations and the cultural traits associated with them, viz., 1) Koreans and 2) Americans who have cared for their elderly parents and relatives. From this comparison, the study identifies and describes forms of filial motivation which are cross-culturally equivalent and other forms which are country-specific.

FILIAL MOTIVATION

Motivation for parent care is considered to be central in the determination of filial behavior (Cofer 1977, 288-289). Such behavior is referred to as "moral or pro-social behavior" because it is guided by one's sense of moral obligation, i.e., what one ought to do rightly and selflessly to help aged parents (Kunda and Schwartz 1983; Hoffman 1976). Hence the components of filial motivation can be conceptualized as virtues. The motivation reflects the adult children's willingness to care for their aged parents. The willingness in turn reflects the values prevailing in a society (Super 1985). The values influence the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action, and are indispensable to the interpretation of concrete behavior (Barrow 1979, 393-395; Clark and Anderson 1967). And these values comprise an important dimension of culture, which greatly determines variation in the aging process (Palmore 1989).

CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON: DATA, APPROACH, AND ANALYSIS

It may not be possible to generalize ethnocentric explanations based on one culture to all cultures (Palmore 1989; Slomczyński 1989). Hence,

dimensions of parent care have to be appropriately identified within and across cultural contexts, taking into account differing cultural perspectives (Nydegger 1983).

The reason for choosing filial persons from Korea and the United States is to explore the extent of the cultural differences in filial motivation. Reviewing the way value is assigned to elderly people by Americans in their Western culture through the eyes of a non-Westerner in East Asian culture, reveals salient differences. Thus, we can find out what we need to learn from each other in terms of important kinds of filial motivation missing in our respective cultures.

American Data

The American study was conducted by Horowitz and associates (1978, 1983) in New York City. The sample consisted of 203 primary caregivers caring for their older relatives who were receiving home or day-care services from three agencies for seniors. Through interviews, motivation responses of the caregivers were elicited again focusing on the same open-ended question asking: "Why do you provide the help that you do?" The three most frequently mentioned motivation responses were "obligation," "affection," and "reciprocity" (Table 3). The majority (65%) of the caregivers, whose average age was 51, were adult offsprings of the older persons (9%, spouses; 26%, siblings, nieces or nephews). The majority provided care while maintaining separate households; 27 percent involved joint living arrangement. The elderly in need of care tended to be female (80%), widowed (67%), over 75 years of age (66%), and moderately impaired. The caregivers provided services such as telephone contact, face-to-face interaction, household help, personal care, shopping, meal preparation, health care, financial assistance, financial management, emotional support, assistance in transportation, and linkage with formal services.

Korean Data

Korean data was collected by Sung (1991). The sample consisted of 226 primary caregivers caring for their older parents who were receiving rehabilitation, counseling, and homemaking services from three social welfare centers for the aged in Seoul, the Metropolis of Korea. Through interviews, the motivation of the caregivers was elicited by focusing on one open-ended question asking: "Why do you provide the care for your elderly parent?" The six most frequently mentioned motivation responses were "love," "desire to repay," "respect for parent," "filial responsibility," "family

harmony," and "filial sacrifice" (Table 3). In addition to these data, responses to other questions yielded the following information. The majority (93%) of the caregivers, whose average age was 47, were adult offsprings (sons, 12%; daughters-in-law, 74%; daughters, 11%) of elderly persons. They tended to be female (86%), married (82%), and involved in joint living arrangements (82%). The old parents who were served tended to be female (67%); 65 years or older (77%); widows (66%); members of the caregivers' family (93%), and tended to have health and social problems. The caregivers provided services such as personal care, house-keeping, meals, medicine/drugs, cleaning/laundry, bath, pocket money, company on outings, and a link to formal services.

Thus, both sets of data are regarding the filial motivation of adult caregivers of elderly persons who were receiving supportive services from agencies for the aged in the metropolitan area of respective countries.

A selection of different societies in the United States and Korea poses the analytical problem of how a meaningful comparison can be presented. Streib (1987) has met this challenge by selecting an abstract scheme with a basic orientation to certain values and by focusing on cross-cultural subsets for limited comparability. Also, Smelser (1976, 177), and Dogan and Pelassey (1984) have suggested that, for the analysis of dissimilar systems, an abstract and inclusive set of comparative categories needs to be adopted.

The two studies are comparable in terms of conceptual equivalence in questions which had been designed to tap the same conscious expression of filial motivation and abstract values generally common to mankind. An inclusive set of categories of filial motivation was adopted to account for various subdimensions of the filial motivation. Care and services provided were similar; the parent group in each Metropolis was receiving similar formal and informal services from three typical agencies for the aged and a fairly large number of caregivers of different ages and sexes. Verba (1971, 315) has indicated the importance of the functional equivalence of items for comparison in a cross-national study. In both studies, equivalent subgroups of motivated adult children performed the equivalent function of eldercare needed by elderly parents and relatives.

There were some noticeable differences (Table 1 & Table 2): 82% of the Koreans lived with their parents whereas only 27% of the Americans did so; the former had a tradition of filial piety whereas the latter did not. And, the American parents and children are older than the Korean counterparts. This may reflect the longer life span of the former.

The outstanding filial motivations of the Koreans are love, repayment, respect, responsibility, harmony, and sacrifice, whereas for the Americans,

TABLE 1. MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF CAREGIVING ADULT CHILDREN

Korean (172 cases)				American (203 cases)			
sex	age	relation.	cohabitat.	sex	age	relation.	cohabitat.
female	50	daughters- in-law	82%	female	51	daughters	27%

TABLE 2. MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF CARE-RECEIVING ELDERLY PARENTS

Korean (172 cases)			American (203 cases)		
sex	age	relationship	sex	age	relationship
female	59+	parents of the	female	75+	parents of the
67%	79%	caregivers	80%	66%	caregivers

they are obligation, affection, and repayment (Table 3). Given these motivations, one can easily notice that the Americans' do not include "respect," "family harmony," and "sacrifice." Thus, those motivations which are common to both parties are "affection/love," "responsibility/obligation" and "repayment/reciprocity."

These findings reflect a similarity in terms of the common human nature and a difference in terms of the cultural orientation.

The types of filial motivations and the ranking of these are quite similar to those shown in Table 4 (see boxed data), which are based on data from 1,818 adult children originally reported by the author (Sung 1995). Thus, the replication of the same motivation types and the same ranking of them seems indicate the reliability and content validity of the filial piety measures.

TABLE 3. FILIAL MOTIVATIONS COMPARISON BETWEEN THE AMERICANS AND THE KOREANS

Type of Motivation	Americans (a) N=203 Rank (%)	Koreans (b)* N=226 Rank (%)
Responsibility/Obligation	1 (58%)	4 (65%)
Affection/Love	2 (51%)	1 (80%)
Repayment/Reciprocity	3 (17%)	2 (75%)
Respect for Parent	-	3 (74%)
Family Harmony	-	5 (58%)
Filial Sacrific	-	6 (24%)

(a) Based on data from A. Horowitz and L. W. Shindelman (1983).

(b) Based on data from Sung (1991).

(%) Percent of the caregivers who indicated

* Only items cited by more than 17% of the respondents are shown.

TABLE 4. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF 13 ITEMS OF MOTIVATION FOR FILIAL PIETY

Items of Filial Piety	* Mean	Mode	+ S.D.	Rank	Rank in Compar.
Love/Affection	4.70	5	.65	1	1
Repayment	4.39	4	.84	2	2
Family Harmony	4.37	4	.86	3	5
Respect	4.34	4	.88	4	3
Responsibility	3.84	4	1.01	5	4
Sacrifice	3.72	4	1.01	6	6
Compensation	3.67	3	1.09	7	
Neighbor. Harmony	3.54	3	1.03	8	
Sympathy	2.84	3	1.23	9	
Religious Teaching	2.84	3	1.35	9	
Family Continuity	2.81	3	1.18	11	
Family Face Saving	2.23	2	1.12	12	
Inheritance	1.60	1	.94	13	

* Motivations are rated on a frequency scale of 1 = completely of no importance to 5 = great deal of importance.

+ Ranking based on the sizes of mean scores

MOTIVATIONS COMMON TO BOTH GROUPS

It is significant that both Americans and Koreans cited affection/love, repayment/reciprocity, and filial responsibility/obligation as top-priority motivations for parent care. In terms of the percent (frequency) with which they were cited, differences exist between the two parties; more Korean caregivers cited all three types of motivation than did the Americans (Table 3). Thus, the two parties appear apart in terms of percent size with which affection/love and repayment/reciprocity are cited respectively. However, the rankings of both kinds of motivation are close (2,3 vs.1,2). One would also notice a gap between the two groups in terms of the rankings of responsibility/obligation. However, in terms of percent size, they seem fairly close to each other (58%:63%). Thus, adult children in both cultures retain essential humane qualities: affection, desire to repay, and sense of responsibility toward their parents.

Affection/Love for Parents

Caring, altruism, and compassion are the dimensions of love (Fromm 1956, 26-27; Rubin 1973, 212-217). And, to give and to receive love are the

most basic human needs (Montagu 1975). Hence, love has been conceptualized as a virtue in Judeo-Christian ethics (Aquinas 1981; Pieper 1966, xi). The characteristic of Christian love is giving of the self to the welfare of another (Aquinas 1981, 1314-1335). A traditional Jew relates himself to others through the values of love and consideration for people (Novick 1981, 332).

In the East, the ideal of filial piety was derived from the intrinsic love of human beings. The central idea of Confucian ethics is "Jen" (the core of morality and humanity itself), and the greatest exercise of Jen is in loving relatives" (Legge 1960). Hence, filial affection for parents is the working of jen (Book of Mencius, VII, B15).

Affection is an important variable in assessing human relations. There is some evidence to suggest that the impact of caregiving tends to be perceived as relatively less stressful where a strong bond of affection exists within the caregiving dyad (Horowitz and Doborof 1978; Kulys and Tobin 1978). The practice of love by parents and adult offsprings is reciprocal. The more one party practices love, the more likely it is the other one will.

While affective relations of this nature are normal, caregiving can still take place in their absence. Jarret (1985) insists that there has been a deemphasis on viewing families as systems of rights and obligations among Americans and an overemphasis on affection. Affection may dissipate under the strain of caregiving. Thus, Nydegger(1986) reminds us that no society relies solely on affection and the elderly have a vested interest in filial obligations.

Repayment of Debt/Reciprocity

Parents meet the fundamental welfare needs of their children: food, shelter, clothing, affection, caring, health, education, and so forth. It is natural then for the "child" to desire to repay what they owe their parents for all these benefits.

Confucius says, "The body with its limbs and hair and skin comes to a person from father and mother, and it is on no account to be spoiled or injured" (Hsiao Ching 1987, 1: 111). This precept is almost the equivalent of what Aristotle and Aquinas have stated, as cited by Sidgwick (1983, 441): "Life itself is the first and most important gift that the child is given." Therefore, the duties of adult children can be conceptualized as duties to repay debts or to express gratitude (Blustein 1982, 166). However, as Buddhism teaches, "it would be impossible for a son to repay his parents sufficiently for the great indebtedness of gratitude he owes to them even if he could bathe the bodies of his parents in sweet-smelling ointments for a

hundred years, serve as an ideal son, gain a throne for them, and give them all the luxuries of the world" (Teaching of Buddha 1984, 430-431).

Hume was emphatic on the subject of filial ingratitude, saying, "Of all the crimes that human creatures are capable, the most horrid and unnatural is ingratitude, especially when it is committed against parents" (Sidgwick 1983).

Parental behavior patterns are variously labelled as acceptance, affection, love, nurturance, support, and warmth. These patterns are consistently related to a variety of socially desirable and pro-social effects in the lives of children (Rollins and Thomas 1979) including their desire and behavior to repay their debt to their parents. Such qualities are reflected in the following expression of an adult daughter taking care of her frail mother: "I am a mother to my mother. She is like one of my children in need of love and tender affection, and I have watched with joy as she emerged from the grave condition..." (Stroud 1986). Thus, the system of repayment resembles a mutual exchange, wherein the child depends on parents and, later, the aged parent depends on his or her child, in a full cycle of reciprocity.

Responsibility for Parent/Filial Obligation

Filial obligation is entailed in the altruistic relationship between parent and child (Raphael 1955, 123). Confucius says, "Parent care should not be a tiresome obligation; the son and his wife will do it with an appearance of pleasure to make their parents feel at ease" (Li Chi 1879, 1: 451). This passage exhorts the virtue of fulfilling one's filial obligation. The obligation is the key component of filial piety which is conceived as a natural and automatic sense of obligation to care for parents. This value of filial piety is deeply embedded in the culture of Korea and remains the social norm for Koreans.

The ethic of filial obligation is embedded in the Judeo-Christian moral vision as well. What the Bible teaches is firm. "Honor thy father and mother that your days may be long" (Exodus 20: 12). The word "honor" means to hold in high regard or esteem, and the injunction places filial morality beyond wavering sentiment of love (Post 1989). According to the rabbinic codes, filial honor is to be translated into practice through maintenance and personal service (Finkel 1982, 122). In the Jewish tradition, 'benign neglect' or 'indifference' is comparable to irresponsible and inhumane behavior (Blech 1981, 8).

In both America and Korea, the major provider of parent care is the family (Kim et al., 1986; Sung, 1990; Shanas, 1979; Brody, 1985). In Korea,

elderly parents live with their married sons in most households. (The president of Korea also has his mother living with him.) Most Koreans accept a demented parent as a natural phenomenon and do not send the parent to a mental hospital although the health insurance policy covers such a condition. In American society, however, shared living arrangements between parents and adult children has never been a preferred cultural pattern (Mindel, 1979). Though Christianity has fostered the ideal of filial responsibility in America, the values of individualism and the child-centered ethics appear to be major cultural values, and these collide with the concept of filial responsibility (Rosow, 1962).

This cultural difference has been depicted by Donow (1990), who has presented a contrast between Gene Garrison, an American, and Akiko, a Japanese woman, in "The Twilight Years." Gene has a choice and he walks away from his father who needs dedicated care. Akiko, confronted with a similar situation, never sees it in terms of choice. She cannot give up her family nor does she turn her back on her father-in-law. If this contrast reflects reality, Kosberg's (1986) advice would be valuable: "We in the West need the contributions of those in the East to counteract the excessive individualism and the neglect of obligations among and between generations."

MOTIVATIONS ONLY OF KOREANS

Respect for Parents

Among the Koreans, respect for parent was cited most frequently. In fact, the point most stressed in filial piety has been respect for one's parents, i.e., "treating the parent with deference and courtesy and showing earnest and sincere consideration for the parent" (Sung 1990).

What the Book of Rites (Li Chi) outlined still influences the Koreans. "Filial piety nowadays means to support one's parents. But dogs and horses are nourished, too. If care for parents is not accompanied by respect, what is the difference between them and the animals?" (Li Chi 1879, 11: 227). Hence, parent care should consist not only of material support but also of reverence and spiritual consolation. Furthermore, the Confucius said, "Treat with reverence the elders in your own family, so that the elders in other families shall be similarly treated" (Li Chi 1984, II: 304-319). In Buddhism, Buddha's blessing abides in the home where parents are held in respect and esteem (Teachings of Buddha 1966, 432). Although the power of the elderly has softened in Korea, respect for the elderly remains a social norm. Concern for politeness and deference toward elders is a traditional characteristic of the

Koreans. These characteristics are reflected in their behavioral culture: using honorific language in speaking to the elderly, giving the best seat to the elderly, serving the elderly first, allowing the elderly to go through a door first, catering to the tastes of elders in cooking, visiting parents for birthdays and holidays, bowing to the elderly, celebrating the sixtieth birthday, and sponsoring society-wide efforts to respect elderly people.

In Judeo-Christian culture, respect for parents has also been the social ethic. The Bible teaches, "Each person shall revere his mother and his father" (Leviticus 19:3). In this passage, 'revere' seems to go beyond 'honor' in so far as it nearly deifies parents (Post 1989). Furthermore, the rabbinic codes requires an attitude of respect even when parents are not present (Finkel 1982, 123). And, the mitzvah of the Torah, "Thou shalt rise before old age and honor the presence of the aged (Leviticus 19:32), is interpreted to mean that the mere fact of having achieved old age confers great status upon the individual.

While Judeo-Christian ethics teaches the individual to honor his parents, this religious principle probably has had less impact in the Western world than one might expect (Cox 1990). In the West, evidence concerning respect for the elderly and for age itself is very scanty; the few indices available suggest little community respect in the absence of wealth or prestige (Nydegger 1983). In fact, historical studies agree that the pervasive view in Western Europe disvalued old age and was not tolerant of old people (Hendricks and Hendricks 1977-1978; Kastenbaum and Ross 1975).

To most Americans, as Palmore (1989) states, the idea of filial piety would seem alien. Yet it appears, as he stresses, that respect for the elderly is the key element in maintaining the status and integration of the elderly in modern industrial societies.

Family Harmony

Family harmony is maintained to the extent that all members of the family agree in feeling, action, and interest with regard to parent care, and adhere to certain rules or agreements that prescribe the duties and range of parent care in the family. This motivation is clearly family-oriented.

Confucian teachings stress the importance of harmonious relations between all members of a family and society; "Jen" (the core of morality and humanity itself) is evaluated according to how well it serves to enhance interpersonal adjustment (Pedersen 1983).

Korean society has laid special emphasis on the integrity of household relations, in which the relationship between parents and children assumes

the top priority. Without the attainment of this state, it would be difficult for them to perform their filial roles.

For centuries, the Koreans had to depend upon a unified family system in order to withstand foreign aggression and internal troubles (Cho 1986). Even today, they tend to agree with the expression, "There is nothing but family that a person can trust" (Lee 1984). This tendency toward exclusive and egocentric familism seems to have been strengthened rather than weakened through the rapid industrialization in recent years (Cho 1986). This reminds us of Wertheimer's comment on the American scene: "Probably the least discussed and most badly treated matter in the literature of moral philosophy is the one that matters most in most people's lives: family relationships (Post 1986)."

Sacrifice for Parents

Sacrifice motivation is manifested in the child-parent relationship through the willingness of the adult child to endure hardships when necessary for the welfare of the parents. A good example is being willing to help the parent with a long-term problem. This ethic is grounded on sacrifice which transcends self-interest (Chi 1988).

Stories of filial persons in East Asian countries invariably describe of how filial children have made sacrifices (Twenty-four Stories of Filial Piety 1956; Sung 1990; Palmore and Maeda 1985). For the sake of their parents, they have endured discomfort, troubles, and suffering. But the sacrifice, made for the parent, is not one-sided. The sacrifice of children, as compared to the many things the parents have dedicated to them, is a small thing.

Many Koreans provide parent care even in the midst of poverty. The extent of their filial duty often exceeds their physical and financial capabilities. The critical factor here is sacrifice, which transcends the threshold of ordinary behavior.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Several types of filial motivation were compared by focusing on two cross-cultural subgroups of adult caregivers for limited comparability. Hence the findings would not be generalized for use in situations beyond the subcultural context.

Given this limitation, the study of various forms of filial motivation has broadened our understanding of the qualitative aspects of parent care. Ultimately, the qualitative aspects, which reflect filial morality, are likely to

determine our attitude toward the elderly and the ways in which we choose the method and extent of the services for them.

The six types of filial motivation, expressing the general characteristic of filial motivation, are not simply ideal but are true in the real empirical world. Findings on affection, repayment, responsibility, respect, family harmony, and sacrifice in the child-parent relationship have practical implications for all other familial relationships. In our societies, where materialism is stressed, there should be more regard for these qualitative aspects.

It is significant that both Koreans and Americans have cited "affection/love," "repayment/reciprocity," and "responsibility/ obligation" as primary motivations for parent care. There are degrees of similarities between the two countries in the major filial motivations and in the relative emphasis on these motivations despite the fact that the countries have different cultural origins, social structures, and levels of economic affluence. However, more Koreans cited these forms of motivation as important than did the Americans (Table 1). Beyond these three fundamental and essential forms of motivation, what better motivations should one ask from adult children? Other motivations may well be considered to be secondary to these three in terms of significance, criticality, and urgency. In other types of filial motivations, however, the two groups varied. For the Koreans, filial respect, family harmony, and filial sacrifice have emerged as other important motivations. These have not been identified among the Americans. Thus, we have observed cross-culturally equivalent filial motivations as well as country-specific ones.

Filial motivation is a relative concept. One can be sure that the Americans must have the basic human feeling of respect for parents, the desire to harmonize family relations, and the willingness to make sacrifices for their parents as well. There have been numerous reports that peoples in the West do have these qualities. However, these qualitative dimensions possibly underlying their filial motivation have not been expressed. The differences between the comparison groups would probably be a matter of a "more or less" expressive tendency, or a matter more of degree than of direction.

Filial motivation reflects the ideal of reciprocity. The teaching of Yi T'oegye (1501-1570), a towering figure in Korean Neo-Confucianism, reflects this very ideal: the duty of reciprocity toward one's parents. His philosophy can be found in his devotion to "reverence," by which he meant the practice of mutual respect and love (Park 1983; Che 1985). He emphasized the importance of practicing this ideal in the conduct of daily family living. Blenkner (1965) describes an equally rich conception of this

process in which the parent-child relationship evolves into a reciprocal relationship, where the rights, limitations, and needs of both individuals are respected. That a child takes good care of his or her parent and the parent treats the child with commiseration is innate and automatic in the relationship of the two.

In our "ageing" societies, however, the pressure to discern filial obligation has been mounting and this necessitates moral development. Effective moral development depends upon the kind of relationship with adults which provides children with good role models for identification. Hence the socialization for the young will have important consequences. Rawls (1971) explained this in terms of psychological principle: "The child's love of the parents is a new desire brought about by his recognizing their evident love of him and his benefiting from the actions in which their love is expressed." In fact, an association has been found between the filial motivation of the adult children and their parent care (Sung 1990). So it would appear that the higher the level of moral reasoning, the more moral the behavior to be expected.

In both countries, the family is the primary source of care and support for the elderly. Despite this similarity, a fundamental difference exists between the two cultures; family patterns of caregiving are different. The majority of Korean elderly live with their adult children, whereas the majority of American elderly live separately from their children. In the United States, the caretakers tend to be daughters, whereas mostly daughters-in-law are responsible for the care of their parent-in-law in Korea. Family members living together usually form a unified whole and share various roles and obligations of at-home care for aged parents. Compared to the Americans, the Koreans tend to be more embedded in a net of extremely close emotional relationships with their family members (Kim et al. 1986; Roland 1988). Nestling in such a net, they practice filial piety, the kernel of which is reflected in the five forms of motivation including 'respect for parent,' 'family harmony,' and 'filial sacrifice'—the three forms of motivation which the Americans miss. This cultural orientation would make the Koreans more supportive of elderly persons (Kalton 1987).

Korea, in the process of social change, is caught in the dynamic interplay between industrialization and cultural traditions (Hong 1980). How the interplay will affect the status and well-being of the elderly is a critical issue. Despite this concern, the deep values of filial piety and familism are still being preserved even while their manifestation is being changed. The slowness of these values to change have guaranteed that, in caring of elderly parents, modern Korean families are different from their

counterparts in the West (Kalton 1987).

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