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EXPLORING ADJUSTMENT TO RETIREMENT:
LEISURE IN THE LIVES OF FIRST-GENERATION
KOREAN IMMIGRANT MEN IN THE UNITED STATES

BY
WONOCK CHUNG

DISSERTATION

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Laura L. Payne, Chair
Professor Monika Stodolska
Associate Professor Toni Liechty
Associate Professor Jon Welty Peachey
Associate Professor Andiara Schwingel

ABSTRACT

This study explores the role of leisure during the retirement transition and the nature of this experience among first-generation Korean immigrant men. Situating the study within social constructivism as an overarching paradigm, hermeneutic phenomenology was utilized as guiding approach to explore and understand the leisure experiences of older Korean immigrant men in their retirement transition while considering their immigration experience, cultural background, and social context in which they live. A total of 19 older Korean immigrant men from across the U.S., including Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York participated in a semi-structured interview. The questions in the interviews were informed by the theoretical frameworks guiding this study (i.e., Continuity Theory and Leisure Innovation Theory) and literature on Korean immigrants, retirement, leisure, and older men. Participants shared the breadth of their lived experiences that resulted in thick descriptions of their life as immigrant men, their values, retirement experiences, and how their involvement in leisure activities evolved over time. Findings highlight the complex interactions between cultural values, immigrant experiences, and leisure behavior which yielded important theoretical and practical implications for promoting retirement lifestyles that may help older immigrant adults stay active and healthy, and hence, experience successful aging.

Keywords: Older adults; Korean immigrants; baby boomers; retirement; leisure; Continuity Theory; Leisure Innovation Theory; successful aging

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Significance of the Study	4
1.2 Study Purpose and Research Questions	6
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RELEVANT THEORIES	8
2.1 The Cultural Context of First-Generation Korean Immigrants.....	8
2.2 Leisure and Older Adults	14
2.2.1 Leisure Patterns of Older Adults	15
2.2.2 Leisure and Health.....	20
2.2.3 Leisure Constraints.....	22
2.3 Leisure and Successful Aging.....	24
2.3.1 Retirement Transition.....	28
2.3.2 Continuity Theory	32
2.3.3 Leisure Innovation Theory	35
2.3.4 Significance of the Study	36
CHAPTER 3: METHOD	38
3.1 Qualitative Paradigm.....	38
3.2 Researcher’s Positionality	40
3.3 Methodological Approach.....	41
3.3.1 Participants	44
3.3.2 Data Collection.....	46
3.3.3 Research Procedures.....	48
3.3.4 Data Analysis Strategy	50
3.4 Ensuring the Quality of Research	51
CHAPTER 4: CONTEXT.....	53
4.1 Immigration to the United States	53
4.1.1 Settling in for the “American Dream”	53
4.1.2 Challenges as Immigrant Men.....	59
4.1.3 Career Paths.....	66
CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS	71
5.1 Perceptions of Retirement.....	71
5.1.1 “There Is No Use in Being Lazy, It’s Better to Get a Part-Time Job”	72
5.1.2 “Retirement Happens Organically. How You Accept It Depends on Whether You Are Ready or Not”	75
5.1.3 “I Couldn’t Wait to Retire. I Can Try New Things Now!”	79
5.2 Leisure in the Lives of First-Generation Korean Immigrant Men	81
5.2.1 Definitions of and Attitudes toward Leisure	81
5.2.2 Religious Activities and the Korean Immigrant Community	85
5.2.3 Leisure Activities in the Early Years of Immigration	87

5.2.4 Golf, Soccer, and Fishing as Lifelong Leisure Activities	92
5.2.5 Cultural Difference and Leisure Activities	99
5.2.6 Retirement as an Opportunity for Leisure Innovation.....	103
5.2.7 Leisure Needs and the Lack of Opportunities for Leisure	106
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	111
6.1 Discussion	111
6.1.1 Summary of the Findings	111
6.1.2 Older Korean Immigrant Men’s Definitions of and Attitudes toward Leisure	112
6.1.3 Life after 30 Years: Identity as Immigrant Men	114
6.1.4 Retirement and Leisure for First-Generation Korean Immigrant Men	118
6.1.5 Leisure in the Lives of First-Generation Korean Immigrant Men	123
6.2 Theoretical Implications.....	127
6.2.1 Continuity Theory	127
6.2.2 Leisure Innovation Theory	128
6.3 Practical Implications.....	130
6.4 Limitations and Directions for Future Research	131
6.5 Conclusion	131
REFERENCES.....	133
APPENDIX A: INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL.....	170
APPENDIX B: RESEARCH PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT FLYER (ENGLISH)	171
APPENDIX C: RESEARCH PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT FLYER (KOREAN)	172
APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH).....	173
APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (KOREAN).....	175
APPENDIX F: WAIVER OF DOCUMENTATION OF INFORMED CONSENT.....	179
APPENDIX G: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH)	180
APPENDIX H: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE (KOREAN).....	182
APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH)	185
APPENDIX J: INTERVIEW GUIDE (KOREAN)	190
APPENDIX K: CERTIFICATE OF TRANSLATION.....	197

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Populations are rapidly growing older in countries throughout the world. The development of medical technology and lower birth rates in recent years have both contributed to the trend of an aging society (Tamir, 2019; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019a). This upward-sloping trend is likely to continue and a recent study by Hughes and Hekimi (2017) predicted that there would be more "supercentenarians" (i.e., those who live over 120 years of age) in the coming years. North American and East Asian countries, where older adults comprise the most rapidly growing segment of the population, have acknowledged the need for adequate measures to address issues such as the capacity to serve aging populations at community and state levels (Kinsella & Phillips, 2005; MacNeil & Gould, 2012). Similarly, the United Nations (UN) has recognized the global trends in population aging, calling for more appropriate policy priorities that facilitate the well-being of the growing older adult population around the world (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019b).

The United States is amongst many nations that are headed in the same direction as one in every five residents is expected to be retirement age by the year 2030 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018a). The youngest cohort of the baby boom generation (i.e., individuals born in 1964) is now on the verge of the retirement stage, a life transition that is associated with financial, social, and psychological challenges and consequences (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2016; Edmund, 2016; Van Orgden & Conwell, 2011). On top of this, the aging trend in the U.S. is unique in its own right as the country is a heterogeneous society, in which various nationalities, cultures, and ethnicities comprise its demographics. Approximately 44.7 million immigrants

account for nearly 13.7% of the U.S. population, and nearly 31.1% of immigrants are over the age of 55 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018b).

As a growing number of baby boomers have reached or are nearing the retirement age (i.e., as early as the age of 62), successful adaptation to retirement is more salient than ever. For many, retirement means the transition from middle to older adulthood which may come with both losses (e.g., role loss due to leaving full-time work) and opportunities (Genoe et al., 2018; Kleiber & Linde, 2014). Thus, successfully handling the losses and pursuing opportunities during this transition is the very first step towards successful aging (Nimrod, 2007). For instance, older adults in retirement transition tend to have more time and interest in leisure activities than when they worked full-time (Liechty et al., 2016). Likewise, scholars have further explored how leisure activities can play an important role during the transition to retirement, suggesting that leisure can provide older adults with a sense of structure and meaning to life in free time that otherwise might have remained idle and help with developing new identities (Lee et al., 2018; Liechty et al., 2016). Furthermore, leisure has been found to contribute to achieving a high level of life satisfaction, which indicates a successful adaptation to retirement (Nimrod, 2007). For example, Liechty et al. (2016) depicted how the increased freedom after retirement led to both appreciation for spontaneity and a desire for some level of structure. Similarly, Lee et al. (2018) found that leisure attitudes and leisure self-efficacy are important resources for maintaining a sense of coherence, which is essential to cope well with the transition to retirement.

However, recent discourse in leisure and aging calls for research beyond a simple activity-wellbeing relationship. For instance, Adams et al. (2011) found that positive effects of leisure activity are dependent upon individual characteristics (e.g., gender, age, life situation, and perceptions about the activity) and other factors such as choice, motivation, meaning and

perceived quality of the experience. To date, studies that explore aging and gender have focused more often on older women, and limited research has focused specifically on the leisure lifestyles of older men (Broughton et al., 2017; Liechty et al., 2016). When considered, men tend to display different and even contradicting preferences at times regarding leisure activity patterns and the meanings they attach to the activity (Genoe & Singleton, 2006; Liechty & Genoe, 2013; Wilson & Cordier, 2013).

Furthermore, the topics of leisure among immigrants and leisure among older adults have mostly been explored separately, and they rarely have been considered together. Only a few studies have explored the experience of aging and leisure among older immigrants living in the U.S., and they have mainly centered around the topic of acculturation (Kim, 2000; Kim & Chen, 2011; Kim et al., 2002; Kim et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2016; Kim et al., 2019; Parikh et al., 2009; Park & Roh, 2015). For example, Kim (2000) found that participation in leisure among older Korean immigrants was positively related to the levels of acculturation and life satisfaction. Similarly, Parikh et al. (2008) suggested that older Chinese immigrants who reported a higher level of acculturation tended to participate more in leisure-time physical activities. Kim et al. (2019) explored leisure constraints among older Korean immigrants, suggesting that acculturation challenges contributed to leisure constraints. Meanwhile, Kim et al. (2016) demonstrated that older Korean immigrants gained psychological and social benefits by engaging in leisure, which subsequently helped them cope with acculturative stress.

Overall, the literature on aging and leisure among older immigrants has generally focused on women (Choi et al., 2008; Choi et al., 2011; Chung, 2008; Yang et al., 2007) and no studies have taken an in-depth look at leisure experiences of older immigrant men. Nevertheless, it could be assumed that older immigrant men's leisure experiences might be different from those of older

immigrant women, younger generation immigrants, and the majority of non-immigrant men, given older Korean immigrant men's strong ethnic attachment to the native culture (e.g., Confucian Patriarchy; see Han & Ling, 1988 for more details). For example, studies have articulated that Korean immigrant men tend to have more difficulty culturally adjusting in the U.S. than women (Espiritu, 1997; Min, 1998, 2001) and are often dissatisfied with "downward mobility despite their college-educated, middle class, and professional origins" (Kim, 2006, p. 523). Thus, previous findings on leisure opportunities, constraints, and benefits may be different when the role of leisure is considered in the context of older Korean men who are in their transition to retirement.

1.1 Significance of the study

Taken together, more research is needed into leisure during the transition to retirement and the gendered nature of this experience among immigrants. To bridge these existing gaps, first-generation Korean immigrant men are the focus of this dissertation. Specifically, I will investigate the leisure experiences of first-generation Korean American men during their transition to retirement, while considering the social and cultural context in which they live. Older Korean immigrant men are an interesting and valuable population to examine for several reasons.

First, older Korean immigrants are one of the fastest-growing ethnic groups in the U.S. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abandoned the quota system that had previously restricted the number of Asians entering the U.S. Ever since then, a large number of South Koreans have been immigrating to the U.S., putting Korea in the top 10 countries of origin of immigrants to the United States (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017). As of 2019, the number of Korean immigrants was nearly 1.9 million representing approximately 4.2% of the

total immigrants in the U.S. and nearly 9% of total Asian immigrants (American Immigration Council, 2021; Budiman, 2020; Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). In particular, as of 2017, the number of Korean immigrants who are 65 and over comprises 18% of the total Korean immigrants in the U.S. (O'Connor & Betalova, 2019), which indicates that older Korean immigrants are one of the fastest-growing groups within immigrant populations. Most Korean immigrants were voluntary immigrants, who most likely came to the U.S. after the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, unlike their Southeast Asian counterparts who came as refugees and obtained political asylum (Mui, 2000).

Second, older Korean immigrant men are more likely to retain their cultural traits than their younger counterparts (Kim et al., 2015). Confucianism has a strong cultural influence in South Korea, which promoted a dominant position for men, thereby contributing to the establishment of an extreme form of patriarchy (Min, 2001). Thus, Korean immigrants' cultural identities often run counter to American value systems that stress democratic relations, individualism, and emotional expressiveness (Russell et al., 2010). Likewise, before older Korean men immigrated to the U.S., they were generally the primary breadwinners, had all the decision-making power in the family, and exercised authority over their significant others. However, Korean men's role as breadwinners and their social status was often significantly devalued following immigration to the U.S. (Min, 2001). Problems (e.g., marital conflicts, domestic violence, communication breakdowns with their adult children) arose when they resisted modifying a rigid form of patriarchal ideology brought from Korea and became socially segregated from mainstream society (Min, 2001).

Finally, many older Korean immigrant men tend to self-identify in terms of their foreign origin, establish ethnic boundaries, and exclude others who do not belong to the group (Mui,

2000). Often, in a society in which racial differences are widely acknowledged, in-group members' self-identification and out-group acknowledgment of intergroup distinctions are highlighted. However, when intergroup interaction is limited by a particular constraint (e.g., language barriers, cultural norms, and a lack of leisure opportunities), it contributes to the respective ignorance of one another, which then encourages stereotyping (Sanders, 2002). Therefore, rather than blending into the American society, older Korean immigrant men are inclined to retain their value-system that has been developed upon the Confucian ideology and stay within the ethnic boundaries that they have established (Lim, 1997; Min, 2001).

1.2 Study purpose and research questions

Nonetheless, there is a dearth of research on leisure lifestyles and well-being among older Korean immigrant men. Retirement has rarely been discussed as a context even though it may affect the relationship between leisure and older Korean immigrant men's well-being. Despite many views that retirement is a "crisis" and a disruptive role loss that challenges personal well-being in later life (Lo & Brown, 1999; van Solinge & Henkens, 2008), others have claimed it as an opportunity to maintain social contacts and lifestyle patterns (Broughton et al., 2017; Quick & Moen, 1998; Wang, 2007). In his longitudinal study on aging and adaptation, Atchley (1999) demonstrated that continuity is evident in that "an overwhelming majority were well adjusted to retirement, had carried over occupational identities, and had high self-esteem" (p.5). He posited that the continuity of general patterns of thought, behavior, and relationships is an adaptive strategy that helps older adults adapt to changing circumstances (Atchley, 1999). If relevant, issues related to older Korean immigrant men's strong ethnic attachment may have to do less with acculturation factors and more with continuity as an adaptive strategy in later life. Thus, it is important to explore how continuity theory might be applicable for older Korean immigrant men

in the context of their leisure lifestyle. For instance, could it be that their cultural values are maintained and reinforced by participating in a leisure activity that they only do with other fellow Koreans (thus leading to successful adaptation to retirement)? Or could it be that their leisure patterns are shaped by cultural values to help them maintain their ideas about the self (i.e., personal agency, emotional resilience, and personal goals) and their lifestyle? Furthermore, as retirement is also viewed as an opportunity for adopting new leisure activities (Jaumot-Pascual et al, 2016; Principi et al., 2018) it is worthwhile to discern if any leisure innovation takes place among Korean immigrant men in their retirement transition. Early studies have articulated that leisure innovation is more common than previously assumed, and contributes to increased life satisfaction (Liechty et al., 2012; Nimrod, 2008b). Furthermore, scholars have called for a further refinement and testing of the theory on a broader population (Nimrod, 2016; Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007). Therefore, adopting leisure innovation theory along with continuity theory as guiding frameworks will offer insights to better understand the nature and meaning of older Korean immigrant men's leisure experiences during the transition to retirement.

Specifically, the following research questions will be addressed:

- (1) What are older Korean immigrant men's perceptions of leisure in terms of their attitudes toward leisure and what leisure means to them?
- (2) What is the role of leisure in their experiences of the transition to retirement?
- (3) How, if at all, do their leisure activity patterns changes across the transition to retirement?
- (4) How do their cultural values and experience as members of the Korean immigrant community shape their attitudes toward leisure and leisure opportunities during their retirement experience?

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RELEVANT THEORIES

My research is on older Korean immigrant men's leisure experiences during the transition to retirement. To better understand human behavior, we must understand the cultural context in which the behavior occurs (Brady et al., 2018). Thus, this chapter begins by examining the cultural context of first-generation Korean Americans. Then, leisure patterns of older adults in general and the relationship between leisure and successful aging are discussed.

2.1 The cultural context of first-generation Korean immigrants

In examining the cultural context of older Korean immigrants, the concepts of high and low context culture (Hall, 1976) and the collectivism-individualism dimensions (Hofstede, 1997) are used as conceptual frameworks. Hall (1976) introduced high and low context cultures to understand different cultural orientations, assuming that people's communication styles characterize cultures. For instance, people from different countries communicate in slightly different manners. People communicate with one another by using several modalities (e.g., gestures, relations, body language, verbal or non-verbal messages), which could be measured to represent the level of "contexting" (Ramos, 2014). Thus, based on the degree of varying communication modes being used, cultures are placed within a continuum that indicates high context cultures on one end and low context cultures on the other.

High context cultures are characterized by indirect, ambiguous, harmonious, reserved, and understated communication styles (Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1988). High context cultures tend to be relational, collectivistic, intuitive, and contemplative, emphasizing interpersonal relationships (Ramos, 2014). They are cultures in which people are deeply involved with one another and emphasize the harmony and well-being of the group over individual

achievement (Hall, 1976). As a result of intimate relationships among people, a hierarchical social structure is prevalent, individuals are encouraged to keep their inner-feelings under strong self-control, and information is shared through simple messages with deep meaning (Kim et al, 1998). In contrast, low context cultures are characterized by explicit and direct verbal communications with fewer relational cues when interpreting messages (Ramos, 2014). Low context cultures tend to value individual needs and goals over the needs of the group (Triandis et al., 1988). People in low context cultures are highly individualized as social hierarchy imposes less on individuals' lives.

Hofstede (1997) extended Hall's concept with an introduction of the collectivism-individualism dimension. Based on the belief that cultural orientations (i.e., individualism and collectivism) infuse and influence the value system of its members and how values drive people's behavior, it explains how cultures are placed within the dimension based on the degree to which people are integrated into groups. By definition, individualism characterizes cultures in which "the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him/herself and his/her immediate family" (Hofstede, 2011, p.11). In cultures where individualism is dominant, the needs, goals, and values of the groups do not exert a strong influence on the individuals' behavior (Hofstede, 1980). On the other hand, collectivism is a characteristic of cultures in which "people are born into strong, cohesive in-groups, often extended families or clans that protect them in exchange for loyalty" (Hofstede, 2011, p.11). According to Hofstede (1983), Korea has a relatively low individualism score, whereas the United States has the highest individualism score. Similarly, Kim et al., (1998) demonstrated that Koreans, compared to the North Americans, are more socially oriented, less confrontational, and more complacent to the rules imposed by the authorities. Such cultural orientation (i.e., collectivism, high context

culture) of Korean descents have formed unique values specific to Koreans (Kim et al., 2006): *Haan* (한, resentment), *Jeong* (정, the interpersonal bond of trust), *Noon-chi* (눈치, implicit social cues). First, *Haan* is a multifaceted cultural construct rich with symbolism and emotion-laden (Kim et al., 2006). The closest it can get in English terms are ‘suppressed anger,’ ‘unexpressed grievance,’ ‘resentment,’ ‘indignation,’ ‘despair,’ or ‘holding a grudge.’ Traditional Korean society discouraged the overt expression of emotion, especially anger. Over time, suppressed anger accumulated and eventually transformed into what is now called *Haan*. However, there is also a positive dimension and consequences of *Haan*, including perseverance in the face of setbacks and challenges (Kim, 1996). *Haan*, though bitter, generates an impetus to do better and to succeed in achieving a goal, even if it takes years (Kim et al., 2006). It also connotes historical and collective elements. Koreans have suffered from persecution and victimization after the relentless invasion by neighboring nations. Furthermore, the geographical location of South Korea served as a strategic point during the war against communism in the 1940s and 1950s. At an individual level, this resulted in pain, sorrow, injustice, grievances, and suppressed anger. Consequently, Koreans labeled themselves as ‘the people of *Haan*’ at a collective level. Nonetheless, Korean older adults, in general, would agree that *haan* is what has led to the remarkable development in South Korea that has taken place over a comparably short amount of time.

Second, *Jeong* refers to an emotional bond among people, encompassing ‘empathy,’ ‘affection,’ ‘closeness,’ ‘tenderness,’ ‘pathos,’ ‘compassion,’ ‘sentiment,’ ‘trust,’ ‘bonding,’ and ‘love’ (Kim et al., 2006). It is an affection toward one another but never sexualized nor eroticized. *Jeong* cannot be experienced instantly but instead grows over time. *Jeong* reinforces people’s belief about ‘we’ rather than ‘I,’ ‘ours’ rather than ‘mine’ (Kim, 1994). It shares some

meaning with the term ‘love.’ However, they are different in their nuance and quality. “Love can be described as hot, fiery, dynamic, intense, mercurial, pleasurable, unpredictable, and powerful” (Kim et al., 2006, p.153) whereas “*Jeong* is quiet, gentle, nurturing, caring, giving, trusting, loyal, considerate, devoted, dependable, and sacrificial” (Kim et al., 2006, p.153). ‘Camaraderie’ and ‘soulmate’ comes the closest to capturing the essence of an interpersonal bond with deep *Jeong*.

Third, *Noon-chi* refers to an intuitive capacity to grasp the implicit social cues and act upon them. A word-to-word translation is ‘an eye measurement’ or ‘measuring with the eyes.’ Historically, Koreans were stuck in a situation where they had to have the *noon-chi* to survive between strong and aggressive neighboring nations. *Noon-chi* is also a byproduct of a hierarchical and collectivistic society. The cohesiveness of individuals and prioritizing the group over the self is valued and emphasized (Oyserman, 1993). *Noon-chi* becomes especially salient in a collectivistic, hierarchical society because observing the proper protocol and manners in interpersonal interactions is required. Thus, *noon-chi* is subtly embedded in Korean social circles regardless of its situational or geographic location.

These core cultural values derived from collectivistic, high context culture, and the Confucian traditions are what undergird the Korean family structures, family roles, and relative processes at a group level. The Confucian traditions emphasized age and gender by assigning privileges and responsibility to elders and males. Women are disciplined under the doctrine of three obediences: To obey her father before marriage, her husband after marriage, and her son after her husband’s death (Chan & Leong, 1994). Consequently, the traditional Korean family structure is hierarchical and patriarchal with a well-defined marital role (Uba, 1994). The husband has the dominant authority over his wife and children, whereas the wife serves as a

nurturing caretaker rather than going out for work (Choi, 1997). Communication among family members is unidirectional, from parents to children (Choi et al., 2021; Kim, 2008; Uba, 1994).

As the first-generation Korean immigrants came to the U.S., they experienced a rapid change in their familial role structures (Rhee, 1997). The new world imposed challenges (e.g., gender and generational conflicts among family members) on Korean immigrant families compounded by cultural differences and economic necessity (Choi, 1997). For example, insufficient income earned by husbands forced wives to seek employment immediately after they arrived in the United States. Thus, what used to be a family system with one breadwinner had to change into a two-income family for the survival and economic improvement of the family. As soon as married women entered the labor force, new considerations had to be made in the daily management of the household, particularly in terms of childcare and everyday household chores (Kim, 1992). Lamphere (1986) revealed that increased labor participation of married women resulted in women's more significant role in decision-making while men had to be more involved in housework and childcare. However, such changes in familial roles that are seemingly in conflict with the traditional ideals resulted in conflicts and compromises between Korean husbands and wives. For example, studies have provided substantial evidence that women still bear the primary responsibility for household tasks and childcare regardless of their employment status (Hardesty & Bokermeier, 1989; Kamo, 1988; Ross, 1987). Married women experienced severe role conflicts as working mothers, which made them suffer from stress, role strain, and other forms of depression. Nonetheless, there is no supporting evidence that first-generation Korean immigrant men changed their traditional beliefs of rigid marital roles even after they immigrated to a society where equality between men and women is highly valued (Rhee, 1997).

Although many Korean immigrant men came to the United States in search of better occupational opportunities, many confronted a situation in which they were not able to find jobs commensurate with their education because of the language barrier (Kim & Hurh, 1987). Most first-generation immigrants settled in metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles, New York, and Atlanta, where they developed a cohesive Korean community that provided a familiar social setting that enabled them to socialize and communicate in their preferred language and to participate in ethnic social and religious services. As members of the Korean community, they shared *jeong* with one another, building a strong bond as an immigrant group. However, such a strong cohesive Korean community could be a byproduct of *Noon-chi*. The first-generation Korean immigrants moved to the United States (i.e., individualistic, low context culture). Social norms and traditions of the new world were new to Korean immigrants. What they used to think were appropriate and polite behaviors were sometimes not the case in the United States. They had to be dependent on their *noon-chi* constantly when they interacted with people other than Koreans. Thus, it was much more comfortable to form a social circle with others who share traditional Korean values. With limited opportunity to improve their English proficiency, most well-educated Korean immigrants¹ worked as unskilled laborers in liquor stores, grocery markets, dry cleaning businesses, and gas stations (Yu, 1993). Thus, first-generation Korean immigrant men have had unique challenges that ultimately evolved as *haan*, such as degraded social status² and role conflict based on a patriarchal tradition and from the discrepancy between their old and new cultural value systems. Many also started small family-owned businesses in high-risk inner-city neighborhoods. Unfortunately, extended work hours due to owning a

¹ Nearly two-thirds of the first-generation Korean immigrant men held white-collar jobs prior to immigration (Hurh & Kim, 1984).

² This explains part of the first-generation Korean parents' obsession with their children's English education, for example, not allowing their children to speak Korean at home.

business, lack of English proficiency, and the consequent erosion of self-esteem contributed significantly to emotional difficulties and stress for many first-generation Korean immigrant men (Min, 1984; Yoon 1995).

The kinship patterns of first-generation Korean immigrants had undergone a tremendous change in the process of immigration. They encountered new social circumstances, and many of their beliefs, values, cultural symbols and behavior patterns had to change. However, the change does not mean that the first-generation Korean immigrants became thoroughly assimilated into American culture. Instead, each family member actively reconstructed and redefined family life based on their interpretation of the new world in which they lived (Foner, 1997; Kibria, 1993). For older Korean immigrant men, they have been living in a society with opposite value dimensions. These opposing values affected many aspects of their lives, including engagement in leisure activities.

2.2 Leisure and older adults

As described in the introduction, the older adult population is expected to grow exponentially in the coming years. In the United States, people generally retire in their 50s and 60s, implying that they spend nearly 20 years or more as an older adult (Der Ananian & Janke, 2010). In this study, “older adulthood” and “later life” refer to a life stage characterized by retirement, widowhood, changes in health, and more free time to pursue leisure activities. In response to the trend of the aging society, researchers in gerontology and leisure studies have focused on leisure involvement and leisure constraints among older adults with theoretical and practical implications.

2.2.1 Leisure patterns of older adults

Studies on leisure patterns of older adults are diverse and even contradictory at times in that their findings point to different directions depending on how studies were conducted (i.e., cross-sectional or longitudinal), and what factors were taken into consideration in relation to older adults' leisure engagement (e.g., age and health status, educational and income levels, retirement, marital status, gender, and race).

Most studies suggested that older adults' leisure participation in activities is stable throughout their late adulthood, though the type of activities may vary (Bielak et al., 2012; Lee & King, 2003). For example, Lee and King (2003) conducted a longitudinal study and found that leisure types and patterns among older adults remained stable even with physical activity interventions in place. Likewise, the PATH Through Life Project conducted by Bielak et al. (2012) reported stability in leisure participation in later life. However, some scholars argued that the stability of leisure patterns among older adults declines after they become old-old (i.e., over age 75), since people in this age group may be more vulnerable than others to health-related constraints (Ihle et al., 2017). However, other researchers contradicted the idea of stable leisure patterns in later life, arguing that leisure involvement gradually decreases with age (Bijnen et al., 1998; Milanović et al., 2013; Armstrong & Morgan, 1998; Shaw & Spokane, 2008; Shaw, et al., 2010). Findings from the Nottingham Longitudinal Study of Activity and Ageing (NLSAA) by Armstrong and Morgan (1998) indicated that participation in leisure activities, regardless of its type, progressively declined over time for both men and women. Moreover, a cross-sectional study by Milanović et al. (2013) evaluated a total of 1288 participants' level of physical activity. A key finding of this study is that physical activity levels for both men and women decreased due to the aging process (e.g., the reduction of muscle strength, flexibility, agility, and

endurance). Similarly, Shaw et al. (2010) conducted a longitudinal study between the years 1986 – 2002 that revealed decreased rates of leisure-time physical activity among older adults. Although longitudinal studies, mostly quantitative, did not specify the reasons for such decline, it might be explained by the numerous constraints associated with age (e.g., chronic illness, low self-efficacy, social isolation, availability of activities, mobility). However, scholars also suggested a different perspective on the reduced leisure participation among older adults; it is only the time spent in vigorous-intensity activities that declined in later life (Smith et al., 2015). Arguably, sedentary leisure activities are more common among older adults, and the time spent watching television, reading, or listening to radio increases with age (Gauthier & Smeeding, 2003). Likewise, Rosenkoetter et al. (2001) found that sedentary activities (e.g., watching television and reading) increase among retirees. Earlier studies also suggested that older adults become more self-reflecting as their engagement in leisure activities decreases with age (Frazier, 2002). However, more recent studies indicated that some older adults seek new leisure pursuits during later life around the transition to retirement, often leading to increased life satisfaction (Liechty et al., 2012; Nimrod, 2008a; Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007). Regardless of the various findings, age and health status are indeed associated with changes in leisure participation among older adults.

Literature also documented how several sociodemographic characteristics, including gender, income, education, and race, may influence leisure patterns throughout the life span. First, studies have demonstrated that older men and women display different patterns of leisure. For example, men were more involved in physically active leisure (Armstrong & Morgan, 1998; Janke et al., 2006), while women engaged more in informal and social leisure activities (Lee & King, 2003; Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007). Finkel et al. (2018) conducted a 17-year longitudinal

study examining gender related changes in participation in cognitive, social, and physical leisure activities among older adults. The results of the study indicated stability in social activities among women and a decline in men, an increase in cognitive and sedentary activities among women, and a decrease in physical activities for both men and women; however, all three types of activities declined significantly after the age of 70 years. Furthermore, research on older women indicated that leisure settings served as an arena for empowerment and self-expression, facilitated the development of their social network, and made them feel worthwhile (Hutchinson & Wexler, 2007; Son et al., 2007; Yarnal et al., 2011). By contrast, Genoe and Singleton (2006) suggested that men's leisure may be influenced by hegemonic masculinity, which leads to the rejection of characteristics considered feminine. A study by Liechty and Genoe (2013) indicated that older men's leisure choices were primarily affected by their desire to maintain physical strength and contribute to the community through work-related skills, supporting the notion of hegemonic masculinity.

Income and educational levels might also influence leisure patterns for older adults. Gidlow et al. (2006) conducted a systematic review of the relationship between socioeconomic status and physical activity. Twenty-eight cross-sectional and five longitudinal studies were reviewed and revealed that those with higher education and income levels were more involved in leisure-time activity than those who belonged to the lower strata. Similarly, Droomers et al. (2001) assessed longitudinal data on socioeconomic status and decreased leisure-time physical activity among older adults, concluding that participants with lower educational levels were less likely to participate in leisure. Considering the strong linear relationship between education and income (Morgan & David, 1963), those with higher levels of education are likely to have greater

flexibility of the labor force (e.g., early retirement), and thus, have more opportunity and time to engage in leisure (Der Ananian & Janke, 2010).

Race and ethnicity are also associated with leisure patterns across the lifespan. Earlier studies identified differences among ethnic minority groups in their recreational sport participation patterns and preferences (Gobster, 1998; Grey, 1992; Taylor & Toohey, 1996). Floyd et al. (2014) demonstrated that the relationship between race and leisure preferences might vary depending on an individual's membership in a particular social class. Furthermore, studies demonstrated that ethnic and racial background significantly influence the leisure behavior of minorities (Coakley, 2017; Henderson & Ainsworth, 2001; Hutchinson, 1987; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004). Nonetheless, the samples used in most of the studies on leisure patterns of older adults have been predominantly white, middle-class, non-Hispanic Americans (Lee & King, 2003; Liechty et al., 2019). As documented in several studies on the leisure behavior of Korean immigrants (Kim, 2011; Kim et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2018; Yang et al., 2007), the leisure patterns of older Korean immigrants may be quite different as a new cultural environment might have influenced their leisure choices and opportunities over their life course. Earlier studies have focused on the relationship between acculturation and leisure participation. For instance, Kim (2011) demonstrated that more participation in leisure activities contributed to higher level of acculturation. However, this finding is somewhat contradictory to a similar study conducted on Korean immigrant women, which suggested that the level of acculturation is not associated with the amount of leisure-time physical activity (Yang et al., 2007). Meanwhile, Kim et al. (2015) asserted that older Korean immigrants gain a sense of social, cultural, and psychological benefits thorough various culturally meaningful activities. These findings align with Iwasaki and Bartlett's study (2006) which suggests that culturally meaningful activities could be used as a

coping strategy to deal with challenges as immigrants. In fact scholars in leisure studies have emphasized the potential role leisure activity may play in facilitating acculturation among immigrants (Ito et al., 2011; Yu & Berryman 1996). However, Kim et al. (2018) also demonstrated that Korean immigrants utilized leisure activities as a means for continuity and ethnic preservation than for cultural integration. As the previous literature on older Korean immigrant men and their engagement in leisure points to various directions, more research is needed to understand better what effects race and ethnicity may have on older adults' leisure behaviors

Several researchers have focused on the relationship between marital status and older adults' participation in leisure activities. The findings are diverse in that married, widowed, single, or divorced elders have different interests and leisure values. For example, being married yields opportunities for couples to participate in leisure together, which often revolves around family-oriented activities (Pinquart & Schindler, 2009). However, Shiovitz-Ezra and Leitsch (2010) suggested that only a supportive relationship will lead to favorable outcomes (e.g., better quality of social relationships, less likely to be lonely) for couples. For those whose spouse is not supportive, leisure was more likely to be a means to spend time away from one another, where one spouse gained social support from other people or groups instead (Shiovitz-Ezra & Leitsch, 2010). Meanwhile, other researchers examined widowhood in later life and its relation to leisure patterns. For instance, Janke et al. (2008) found that most widowed women reduced their participation in leisure, though maintaining or even increasing the activity levels were found to contribute to their well-being.

Lastly, the transition to retirement may influence leisure pursuits in different ways. Gauthier and Smeeding (2003) found that participation in active leisure increased after

retirement until the age of 75, when activity level started to decrease. In contrast, Nimrod (2008b) suggested that retirees could decrease their overall involvement in leisure activities as they transition into retirement. Overall, the retirement transition yielded increased freedom in the daily schedules of older adults, which led to both appreciations for spontaneity and a desire for a sense of structure in daily lives (Liechty et al., 2017).

2.2.2 Leisure and health

Studies in various disciplines demonstrated that involvement in leisure activities significantly contributes to the physical, psychological, social, and spiritual well-being of older adults (Gibson & Singleton, 2012; Payne et al., 2010). Raza et al. (2020) conducted a meta-analysis on 59 studies from 1990 to 2019 and concluded that leisure-time physical activity is associated with a lower risk for morbidity. Likewise, Acree et al. (2006) indicated that those who regularly participated in physically active leisure had a higher health-related quality of life. Orsega-Smith et al. (2004) illustrated that older adults who visited parks regularly had lower systolic blood pressure, lower stress levels, lower body mass index, and perceived themselves as having higher levels of physical health than those who did not visit parks.

Other researchers have demonstrated that leisure participation contributes to preserving cognitive function among older adults and those with dementia (Iwasaki et al., 2014; Wang et al., 2011a). It is because leisure activities often require cognitive skills (i.e., memory, planning, comprehension) that is intellectually and cognitively stimulating. Thus, participation in leisure activities enables older adults to improve and maintain the functional skills needed to survive (Coyle et al., 2010). Furthermore, Rovio et al. (2005) demonstrated that engaging in physical activity may reduce the risk or delay the onset of impaired cognitive functioning such as Alzheimer's disease and dementia.

Numerous studies have focused on leisure and socio-emotional health. Often, later life is marked with life events such as retirement, widowhood, and development of chronic conditions that require some degree of resiliency. Research suggests that leisure can contribute to older adults' adaptation to these age-related changes (Stevens-Ratchford, 2014). For example, a study by Shannon and Shaw (2005) showed that leisure was an essential coping strategy for negative emotions such as anxiety, stress, fear, anger, guilt, and feelings of uselessness among women who were diagnosed with breast cancer. Meanwhile, Broughton et al. (2017) explored how a regular coffee gathering among retired older men may serve as an emotional outlet and enhanced a sense of belonging through the promotion of social engagement and connectedness. Similarly, Chung et al., (2022) explored older adults' long-term involvement in a group fitness program offered by a local parks and recreation agency. They found that the key ingredients that contributed to enduring involvement included the instructor's effort in building a community where its members felt welcomed and cared for along with an opportunity for social interaction.

As it is implied, not only is socio-emotional well-being an outcome of leisure, but it is also interconnected with other health outcomes such as on-going participation in physical activities and spiritual well-being. For instance, social support and friendship among older women were also found to play a significant role in their decision to join and continue their participation in a team sport (Choi et al., 2018). Another study by Sasidharan et al. (2006) highlighted the importance of social support in increasing participation in recreation and other physically active leisure, which was associated with better subjective well-being among older adults. In a study of Brazilian dance and music groups, de Araujo and da Rocha (2019) found that culturally meaningful leisure provided an opportunity for older adults to escape the earlier impositions of family obligations and an arena to revive the past. Meanwhile, Lawler-Row and

Elliott (2009) examined the role of spiritual activities in the health and well-being of older adults. The key findings of this study indicated that overall spiritual well-being extended to psychological and physiological well-being, even when age, gender, healthy behaviors, and social support were also included in the equation. Overall, the literature on leisure and health among older adults illustrates that various leisure activities help older adults maintain their cognitive function, provide an arena for developing strong social ties that leads to better physical and mental health than those who do not participate.

2.2.3 Leisure constraints

As implied in the previous sections, leisure participation is fundamentally and particularly crucial for successful aging among older adults. Developing and supporting opportunities for various activities (e.g., cultural, mental, physical, social, and spiritual) enable older adults to reach the optimal levels of health and well-being in later life (Meisner et al., 2019).

Despite the many benefits of leisure, numerous constraints to leisure participation among older adults have been documented (Nimrod & Shrira, 2016). By definition, leisure constraints refer to the factors that limit the formation of leisure preferences and inhibit older adults from participating or enjoying leisure (Hinch et al., 2005; Jackson, 2005). Crawford et al. (1991) developed a hierarchical model of leisure constraints that classified leisure constraints into three levels: intrapersonal constraints (e.g., low motivation, low self-confidence), interpersonal constraints (e.g., lack of spousal support, social isolation), and structural constraints (e.g., lack of transportation, availability of activities). Regardless of the types of constraints, research has demonstrated that leisure constraints increase with age, and their impact on older adults becomes more intense (McGuire & Norman, 2005).

One commonly mentioned constraint is the perceptions of aging and experiences of ageism (Massie & Meisner, 2019). For example, older adults, who believe that poor health and age-related degeneration are inevitable outcomes of aging that cannot be negotiated, are far less likely to engage in physically active leisure and recreation (Breda & Watts, 2017; Meisner et al., 2013). Furthermore, negative stereotypes associated with aging significantly challenge older adults' leisure motivations, preferences, and participation in later life (Dionigi et al., 2013; Meisner et al., 2013; Wolff et al., 2014). When such beliefs about aging are internalized, it can lead to self-stereotyping (Levy, 2009) that brings about a negative view of self, abilities, and contributions. Ageism further encompasses intrapersonal and structural constraints. For example, Massie and Meisner (2019) depicted that older adults were treated differently by others in leisure settings. The negative beliefs about aging and the actions rooted in such beliefs by others (e.g., instructors, trainers, employees, younger adults) resulted in age-based discrimination. It further developed as structural constraints, for instance, a lack of adequate opportunities in communities to support older adults' desire for an active lifestyle.

Research also suggested that both men and women experience leisure constraints related to gender socialization and stereotypes (Shaw & Henderson, 2005). Ageism positioned women as fragile, and studies reported that women still face constraints to participation in competitive sport despite the emphasis on increasing physical activity among older women (Dionigi & O'Flynn, 2007). A study conducted in the aquatic activities among older women illustrated how, for many participants, their awareness of the aging body mediated their motivation to participate in aquatic activities, even as they acknowledged that physical activity was beneficial (Evans et al., 2012). Women also reported intrapersonal and structural constraints such as lack of opportunities, lack of time due to family commitments, lack of a partner with whom to

participate, and lack of financial resources (Dong & Chick, 2012; Wood & Danylchuk, 2012; Kennelly et al., 2013). Meanwhile, older men may experience leisure constraints by hegemonic masculinity (Genoe & Singleton, 2006). For example, they may be pressured to adhere to a rigid definition of masculinity, which may inhibit their leisure choices. Joseph (2012) suggested that leisure based on alcohol was a common choice among older Caribbean-Canadian men to mask the effects of old age while embracing and challenging dominant gender stereotypes.

Nonetheless, Kleiber et al. (2008) suggested that constraints do not necessarily have to be perceived negatively as constraints and may actually serve to help older adults narrow down the leisure choices to a more manageable size and focus on remaining activities. In support of Kleiber et al.'s (2008) claim, Liechty and Genoe (2013) articulated that older men viewed leisure constraints as merely factors to be negotiated and a reflection of personal priorities. In a similar vein, other studies focused on constraint negotiation, emphasizing that it is particularly important for older adults who use leisure as a means to optimize their well-being in later life. Extending Crawford and Godbey's (1987) hierarchical model of leisure constraints, Crawford et al. (1991) claimed that leisure participation among older adults is heavily dependent on the negotiation process through multiple factors with the hierarchy. While some older adults are likely to experience leisure constraints, engaging in valued leisure activities can facilitate healthy and successful aging.

2.3 Leisure and successful aging

Rowe and Kahn (1987, 1997) proposed that three principal components contribute to successful aging: low risk of disease and disease-related disability, maintenance of high mental and physical function, and continued engagement with life. Similarly, Torres (1999) defined successful aging as (1) maximizing self-potential and retaining a high level of physical, social,

and psychological well-being; (2) being capable of adapting to changes that may occur in later life; (3) having capabilities similar to those of younger people; and (4) successfully managing the structure of life to remain productive.

Ever since the introduction of the concept, research on successful aging has expanded beyond these proposed concepts, forming new models depicting processes that lead to successful aging. For example, factors that influence successful aging include being married, having paid jobs, volunteering, practicing healthy behaviors, having adequate social support, and strong religious beliefs (Pruchno et al., 2010). Bowling and Iliffe (2006) found that, compared to those who were not married, respondents who were currently married had higher successful aging scores. The relationship between workforce participation and successful aging is somewhat contradictory. Some studies revealed that work is associated with greater well-being for older adults (Ross & Mirowsky, 1995), while other studies found no association (Ross & Drentea, 1998). Meanwhile, a large body of literature provides firm evidence that volunteering positively influences physical and psychological well-being (Chen, 2016; Guiney & Machado, 2017).

Leisure and its relation to successful aging have been examined extensively. Activities ranging from sedentary leisure pursuits (e.g., reading, playing music, religious services) to active leisure (e.g., exercise, competitive sports) were examined to explore how these activities influence variables such as life satisfaction, physical and mental health, depression, and subjective well-being (Glass et al., 2006; Jang et al., 2004; Litwin, 2000; Janke et al., 2008). Moreover, while the traditional view of retirement (Rowe & Kahn, 1998) failed to embrace the effective adaptations among people who experience physical, cognitive, or social difficulties, Hutchinson and Nimrod (2012) demonstrated how older adults with chronic conditions may utilize leisure as a resource for successful aging. The role of leisure in achieving successful aging

was first defined in the Activity Theory (Havighurst, 1963). It views maintaining a high level of involvement in activities to be vital for preserving psychological well-being in later life.

Havighurst (1963) argued that “successful aging means the maintenance, as far and as long as possible, of activities and attitudes of middle age...people should find substitutes for the activities which they had to give up” (e.g., work, p.309). Thus, the central premise of the Activity Theory is that active in leisure activities involvement generates happiness, and numerous studies have supported this for decades (Steinkamp & Kelly, 1987).

Furthermore, a large body of literature focused on leisure-time physical activity (LTPA) and successful aging. LTPA can provide a means to improve each element of successful aging. LTPA alone is related to reduced incidence and symptoms of chronic illness and contributes to maintaining high mental and physical functioning (Boisvert-Vigneault et al., 2016; Payne et al., 2006). Heo and colleagues (2013) found that physically active leisure enhances well-being of older adults and provides a means by which to maintain a healthy lifestyle.

Despite its prevalence in the gerontology literature, the concept of successful aging has received some criticism that it places too much emphasis on individual action, ignoring the social determinants of health, and that it may be interpreted as overly exclusive in its implications for those with disabilities or chronic conditions (Dillaway & Byrnes, 2009; Rubinstein & de Medeiros, 2015). I agree with recent scholars who suggest that societal and community factors (in addition to individual behavior) must be considered in understanding successful aging, and therefore, I espouse the view that there are diverse ways for older adults to age well through meaningful engagement in various life domains.

Although Rowe and Kahn (1997) did not explicitly highlight social factors as an element of successful aging in the initial model, they later expanded the engagement component to

emphasize the importance of social relationships and meaningful activities (Rowe & Kahn, 1998). Scholars from leisure studies and kinesiology have argued that LTPA represents a meaningful activity and have provided extensive evidence that LTPA can be a significant means of facilitating social relationships in later life (Chodzko-Zajko et al., 2009; Iwamasa & Iwasaki, 2011; Parslow et al., 2011). For example, in an extensive review, Ten Bruggencate et al. (2018) found that participating in LTPA satisfies the social needs of older adults. More specifically, the exchange of social support within active LTPA settings is associated with reduced stress, improved self-esteem and a sense of community among older adults (Choi et al., 2018; Chung et al., 2022; Dionigi & Lyons, 2010; Henderson et al., 2012; Liechty et al., 2019). Furthermore, findings from previous studies suggest that social support also plays a significant role in shaping recommended levels of LTPA for older adults, enabling them to become and remain physically and socially active (Cardenas et al., 2009; Orsega-Smith et al., 2007).

However, it should not be assumed that these findings on successful aging are universal. For decades, gerontologists largely failed to embrace the idea that successful aging is bound to be socially and culturally determined (Torres, 2002) with very few exceptions. For instance, the Project AGE back in the 1980s explored “how different kinds of communities shape the experience of aging and pathways to well-being for their older members” (Fry et al., 1997; p. 100). As Torres (2002) put it, American older adults considered being self-sufficient and having the ability to live alone as important indicators of successful aging. However, Burton et al. (1992) criticized cross-cultural gerontological research for their cultural insensitiveness; studies reduced cultural background to a mere variable that simply differentiated the aging population without seriously taking into consideration the cultural values that are likely to account for the results that studies have obtained.

Considering all these together, the initial definition of successful aging might still be valid. However, a further endeavor to discover how and what leads to successful aging among different groups of people seems plausible. A comprehensive review of the social gerontology literature on successful aging by Martinson and Berridge (2015) alluded that there is a “lack of cultural breadth of successful aging models” (p. 61). Therefore, we should endeavor to capture better the subjective meanings of successful aging from diverse cultural perspectives.

2.3.1 Retirement transition

Retiring from work is a major life event that characterizes old age (Nimrod, 2008b). A successful adaptation to retirement is a priori to successful aging (Nimrod, 2007). Many Baby Boomers are in the retirement transition, and the issue of successful adjustment is more salient than ever. Retirement from work is a common life-event transition in late adulthood (Walsh et al., 2019). While retirement could be defined merely as an event in which an individual withdraws from the workforce and stops receiving full-time, work-related wages (Pinquart & Schindler, 2007), it is often more complicated than merely leaving the workforce per se. In their comprehensive review on retirement, Wang et al. (2011a) exemplified retirement as a heterogeneous and complex experience associated with psychological, social, and individual factors that contribute to both positive and negative appraisals of retirement. Thus, the heterogeneity among Baby Boomers should be recognized.

Earlier studies viewed retirement as an event that represents a significant life crisis that challenges a person’s pattern of life that has been established and reinforced for decades (Long, 1987). In fact, until the 1960s, studies on retirement typically viewed retirement as a crisis that challenged a person’s well-being (van Solinge & Henkens, 2008). However, more recent studies acknowledged that retirement could be an opportunity that benefits older adults in later life

(Wang, 2007). In other words, as Atchley (1982) puts it, retirement can be understood as recovering from lifetime of labor. However, retirement is not a binary concept that can be affirmatively defined either as a crisis or opportunity. Rather, it would be more appropriate to argue that retirement may be beneficial even though researchers still view retirement as a challenge (Wang & Shultz, 2010). For some people, retirement may be an experience that is associated with loss of meaning and purpose, but for others, it might be an opportunity for a new beginning (Gee & Baille, 1999). Nevertheless, retirement is assumed to be disruptive to one's sense of self and likely to require behavioral and psychological adjustments (Kleiber, 1999).

That said, retirement is a continuing process rather than an isolated event that happens and ceases all at once. Minkler (1981) suggested that the retirement process begins by thoroughly planning out a post-work life. In support of this perspective, Atchley (2000) provided six descriptive phases of retirement that depicted a transitional process that a person goes through once they exit the workforce for good: (1) pre-retirement; (2) retirement; (3) disenchantment; (4) re-orientation; (5) retirement routine; and (6) termination of retirement. Although it is debatable whether these phases could be applied to everyone, it provides a good outline of what one can encounter as they enter the phases of retirement.

According to Wang (2007), the three most commonly used theoretical perspectives in retirement research are life course perspective, role theory, and continuity theory, even though they only explain a subset of retirement experiences. Another way to view retirement is through a resource perspective, which focuses on the availability of one's resources. Hobfoll (2002) broadly defined resources as the total capability an individual possesses to fulfill his or her valued needs. Wang (2007) provided a more detailed definition of resources, including the individual's physical resources (McArdle et al., 2002), cognitive resources (Park, 2000),

motivational resources (Bandura, 1997), financial resources (Hobfoll, 2002), social resources (Kim & Feldman, 2000), and emotional resources (Wang et al., 2011b). Simply put, the resource perspective anticipates that people's appraisals of retirement become positive as resources increase.

However, retirement is depicted quite differently for older immigrants. Previous studies highlighted the differences between native-born Americans and immigrants in the level of retirement resources as some immigrants tend to have substantially fewer resources and are less prepared for retirement than their counterparts (Borjas, 2009; Cobb-Clark & Hildebrand, 2006; Osili & Paulson, 2009). Heim et al. (2012) claimed that reasons for such disparity are that many immigrants are self-employed and do not have an adequate retirement plan or because they work for employers who do not offer retirement plans. Previous studies conducted in the 70s and 80s revealed that about one-third of the Korean immigrant families run a small business (Bonacich et al., 1977; Kim, 1981; Kim & Wong, 1977; Light, 1980). Min (1984) found that disadvantages (e.g., language barrier, ignorance of American customs, discrimination) in the American job market and Korean immigrants' inability to find desirable white-collar jobs primarily contributed to starting their own business as a means to achieve economic and upward social mobility. Likewise, another body of literature has highlighted the issue of poverty among older immigrants, specifically of how older immigrants tend to suffer from poverty more than their native-born counterparts (O'Brien et al., 2010; Phua et al., 2007). Such economic hardship not only affects older immigrants' preparation for retirement, but it is also a significant predictor for social isolation and can affect a sense of belonging in the community (Stewart et al., 2009). For example, Lee et al. (2014) provided evidence that social exclusion among older Korean immigrants contributed to their incidence of living in poverty.

Meanwhile, previous studies have examined the relationship between retirement and health status (Choi et al., 2014; Dave et al., 2008; McGarry, 2004; Szinovacz & Davey, 2004). McGarry (2004) revealed how older employees with low health status were less likely to continue working than those in good health. Contradictory findings were reported among women. For example, Szinovacz and Davey (2004) argued that depressive symptoms triggered retirement for women, while Choi, et al. (2014) claimed that retirement improved psychological health for women. Unfortunately, not much attention has been paid to the immigrant population, with a few exceptions of studies conducted in the Northern and Western European contexts (Heisig et al., 2018; White, 2006). Nevertheless, as Treas and Gubernskaya (2015) argued, it is evident that “older immigrants are disadvantaged compared to the native-born. Their jobs may not have provided for retirement. Many do not benefit from public programs. Policies create inequality even within the immigrant population” (p.109).

After retirement, individuals face the challenge of using and reallocating additional free time in satisfying directions that previously would have been spent for work (Weiss, 2005). Van Solinge and Henkens (2008) claimed that the adjustment during the transition into retirement involves coping with role loss and developing a satisfactory post-retirement lifestyle. Thus, successfully coping with imposed challenges may be considered a critical factor in a successful adaptation to retirement (Nimrod, 2008a). Since individuals already anticipate retirement, the adaptation process is likely to be triggered long before the actual event (Damman et al., 2013). Early anticipation prompts expectations or anxiety toward retirement, which can contribute significantly to the way people perceive and react to the adaptive challenges imposed by retirement (Henning et al., 2016).

Some retirees react to post-retirement challenges by extending their workforce participation (e.g., seeking part-time jobs). Kim and Feldman (2000) argued that this might help prevent negative consequences of retiring, such as the loss of social or financial resources. However, Hawkins and Moody (2010) suggested that many Baby Boomers expect to work at least part-time during their retirement years because of the financial instability after the 2008 recession. Meanwhile, some studies confirmed that retirement increases the likelihood of participating in volunteer activity (Bradley, 1999; Dulin, 2017; Narushima, 2005). However, previous engagement with volunteering is far more predictive of participation in volunteer activity than the retirement status by itself (Tang, 2016).

Overall, most retirees are found to devote their discretionary time to fulfill their leisure interests (Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Retirees often increase their frequency of participation in informal social activities as they near retirement (Janke et al., 2006). Atchley (1971) suggested that engagement in leisure activities are another way to adapt to the post-retirement lifestyle.

2.3.2 Continuity theory

None of the negative effects I expected materialized because these women carried their occupational identities with them into retirement and continued to derive self-esteem from them...In 1968, I conducted a similar study with a sample of more than 4,000 retired teachers and telephone company employees of both genders and again found that an overwhelming majority were well adjusted to retirement, had carried over occupational identities, and had high self-esteem (Atchley, 1999, pp. ix-x)

Continuity theory by Atchley (1999) posits that adaptation to aging involves the preservation and maintenance of previous patterns of ideas and actions as they transition across significant life changes in later life. It assumes that the fundamental objective of adult development is adaptive change rather than homeostatic equilibrium. Thus, continuity theory is about adaptation, which presumes that individual choices are made to adapt to changing circumstances (Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007). Furthermore, the theory assumes that individuals' longstanding patterns of thought and behavior are a result of selective investments of time and energy. As Atchley (1999) put it, "people develop ideas, relationships, environments, and patterns of activity based on their personal constructs of desired developmental direction and of available opportunity" (p. 6).

With several assumptions in place, continuity theory proposes that individuals tend to maintain stability in the same roles they had engaged in throughout their life course, even when their aging process narrows down the availability of these roles. Atchley (1989) suggested that individuals are "both predisposed and motivated toward inner psychological continuity as well as outward continuity of social behavior and circumstances" (p. 183). Thus, continuity is an adaptive strategy used during changing circumstances that can preserve longstanding psychological and social patterns (e.g., attitudes, opinions, personality, preferences, and behavior).

That said, continuity theory discerns four dimensions of individuals over time: internal patterns (e.g., idea patterns about self and identity), external patterns (e.g., lifestyle), developmental goals (e.g., personal goals), and adaptive capacity (e.g., decision-making ability derived from a lifetime of learning). Internal pattern refers to individuals' unique ideas, mental skills, and information stored in their mind. These ideas develop into a schema such as self-

concept, personal goals, worldview, philosophy of life, moral framework, attitudes, values, beliefs, knowledge, skills, temperament, preferences, and coping strategies (Atchley, 1999). External patterns encompass constructs such as social roles, activities, relationships, living environments, and geographic locations. These constructs evolve through priority setting and selective investment throughout adulthood, which results in unique and well-mapped external life situations or lifestyles that distinguish individuals from each other (Atchley, 1999). Developmental goals help individuals identify the values that they want to actualize. These values define the ideal self and ideal lifestyle that will be utilized as a benchmark for assessing the results of adaptation later on (Atchley, 1999). Adaptive capacity is an individuals' ability to maintain internal continuity in the face of discontinuity. Adults become more confident about what produces effective decisions that lead to greater satisfaction in life as they continue to evolve. Thus, individuals acquire a sense of personal agency as they face the consequences following the decision making about self-concept, life course, and lifestyle (Atchley, 1999). According to Atchley (1999), "the heart of continuity theory is the presumption that people are motivated to continue to use the adaptive strategies they have developed throughout adulthood to diagnose situations, chart future courses, and adapt to change" (p.9). However, it should be noted that internal and external continuity in adapting to change does not necessarily lead to successful results, though it is the case for most instances (Atchley, 1989).

Perhaps, men tend to deal with their changing circumstances from retirement by emphasizing the aspects of their lives that represent continuity and arguably, leisure pursuits could provide continuity during retirement transition (Long, 1987). Specifically, leisure pursuits during the retirement transition may compensate for declining social circles and role loss men experience when they leave full-time work (Carpenter & Patterson, 2004; Earl et al., 2015;

Nimrod, 2007; Liechty et al., 2017). Thus, continuing familiar leisure activities and/or starting new activities could offer continuity through the experience of retirement.

2.3.3 Leisure innovation theory

It is generally assumed that North American retirees would not make drastic changes in their patterns of leisure after retirement (Atchley, 1989; Nimrod et al., 2008; Peppers, 1976). Rather, scholars argued it is more common for retirees to increase the time spent in the activities they engaged in previously (Atchley, 1993; Long, 1987). However, Nimrod's (2008b) study sample of older adults demonstrated leisure innovation is possible as she found people do add new activities to their leisure repertoire after retirement (Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007). Likewise, a large body of literature has articulated that the retirement transition yielded increased free time and therefore it potentially provided an opportunity to engage in new leisure activities (Kloep & Hendry, 2006; Liechty et al., 2012).

Furthermore, earlier theories of aging such as continuity theory and activity theory were not specifically designed to comprehend leisure meanings or behavior (Genoe et al., 2019; Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007). Meanwhile, leisure innovation theory "provides leisure researchers with a way to consider leisure in later life that may lead to greater insight into the meanings and experiences of leisure" (Genoe et al., 2019, p. 3). Thus, considered together, perhaps continuity theory and innovation theory are salient to understand the meaning of the study participants' leisure experiences during their transition to retirement.

According to Nimrod and Kleiber (2007), leisure innovation theory is founded upon four premises. First, motivation for innovation in leisure activities is often intrinsic or a combination of both intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic motivation could derive from an individual's curiosity about, or their long-harbored interest in the activity (Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007). Factors that

contribute to their extrinsic motivation may be a life event such as retirement itself and availability of leisure resources (e.g., wide variety of leisure programs; Nimrod, 2008b, Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007). Second, adopting new activities in later life allows for personal growth, renewal, and rejuvenation that may be consistent of their earlier interests (i.e., self-preservation innovation) or an individual may engage in a completely new activity for reinvention of self (i.e., self-reinvention innovation). Third, individuals have a preference for the type of innovation to which they are attracted that is consistent to their long-held internal constructs of self. In other words, some may seek a new way to reinvent themselves while others may find new ways to preserve their self-identity. Lastly, innovation in leisure activities is likely to have a positive influence on older adults' wellbeing, though it may be subtle. Leisure innovation, in other words, posits that "well-being is enhanced by a willingness to change, by new experiences, and by finding special meaning in that experience" (Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007, p.18).

The leisure innovation theory is consistent with continuity theory (Atchley, 1989) in that leisure innovation functions as a means to preserve an individual's sense of continuity or to reinvent oneself with a continuous endeavor for personal growth. Thus, these two theories of aging should allow a deeper understanding of the leisure experiences of first-generation Korean immigrant men in retirement transition. Moreover, a more recent study on retirees' leisure innovation called for future research that focuses on contextual and cultural factors (Nimrod, 2016).

2.3.4 Significance of the study

It is well documented that leisure enhances quality of life among older adults as they face later life transitions such as retirement (Gibson, 2006; Nimrod & Janke, 2012). For instance, Liechty and Genoe (2013) found that for older Canadian men, leisure provided opportunities for

gaining and maintaining a sense of purpose and giving back to the community, which helped them mitigate the loss of status associated with retirement. Moreover, leisure settings often provide a space to celebrate and preserve ethnic culture for immigrants (Kim et al., 2002; Stodolska & Santos, 2006). Despite the benefits of leisure among older adults and immigrants, we know very little about older Korean immigrant men who have experienced unique challenges (e.g., role conflict based on patriarchal traditions, the discrepancy between their old and new cultural value systems) adapting to their new environments. Thus, exploring the role of leisure in the retirement transition of older Korean immigrant men will contribute to existing knowledge within the field of gerontology and leisure studies by uncovering the complexity associated with their leisure engagement. Furthermore, the results of the current study should offer theoretical insights for both Continuity Theory and Leisure Innovation Theory. Regardless of how the results of the study turn out, whether findings are consistent or inconsistent with the theories, findings will offer important insights into the roles of leisure in the retirement transition of older Korean immigrant men. In addition, the study will inform practitioners who are at the forefront in terms of planning, implementing, and managing retirement preparation programs and or leisure programs that aim to improve the well-being of older adults by ensuring that they are culturally appropriate.

CHAPTER 3: METHOD

The purpose of this study was to explore the leisure experiences of first-generation Korean immigrant men who are in their transition to retirement while considering their immigration experience, cultural background, and the social context in which they live. Specifically, the following research questions were addressed: (1) What are older Korean immigrant men's perceptions of leisure in terms of their attitudes toward leisure and what leisure means to them?; (2) What is the role of leisure in their experiences of the transition to retirement?; (3) How, if at all, do their leisure activity patterns change from pre to post-retirement?; and (4) How do their cultural values and experience as members of the Korean immigrant community shape their attitudes toward leisure and leisure opportunities during their retirement experience? I expected to gain a better understanding of the nature and meaning of older Korean immigrant men's leisure experiences during the transition to retirement by delving into the intersection of older adults, immigrants, leisure, and retirement.

3.1 Qualitative paradigm

The world in which we immediately live, that in which we strive, succeed, and are defeated is pre-eminently a qualitative world. What we act for, suffer, and enjoy are things in their qualitative determinations. This world forms the field of characteristic modes of thinking, characteristic in that thought is definitely regulated by qualitative considerations (Dewey, 1931, p. 93)

I accept as true that how individuals experience the world influences the way they think about it. As individuals perceive an object or a phenomenon, it is brought to a conscious level

(i.e., conscious thought), which is influenced by the world in which they live and, therefore, is qualitative in nature (Salvin-Baden & Major, 2013). I do not believe that there is an objective 'truth' nor 'reality' of older Korean immigrant men. Rather, I hoped to gain an in-depth understanding of their varying experiences and toof a small group of Korean immigrant men and see if my interpretation of their worlds could identify specific patterns or commonalities.

To do so, knowledge was gained through recognizing varying viewpoints that arose from interactions with multiple participants who have unique backgrounds of their own. In particular, I acknowledged that the knowledge uncovered would be contextual (i.e., Ontology). Moreover, knowledge was co-constructed by the researcher and the participants, which made it imperative that I establish fair, respectful, and trusting rapport with potential participants (i.e., Axiology). I aligned myself with how Denzin and Lincoln (2008) described a qualitative researcher:

"Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3). Thus, research in this subject area called for close interaction between the researcher and older Korean immigrant men in various phases of retirement, with knowledge co-constructed from the relationships developed during the research process (i.e., Epistemology).

I situated this study within social constructivism as an overarching paradigm. Social constructivism is based on the constructivist's belief that "all knowledge is a compilation of human made constructions" (Raskin, 2002, p. 4). In other words, traditional constructivism or constructivists believe that individuals gain knowledge and make sense of their experiences by inventing concepts, models, and schemes that are also modified with new experiences (Schwandt, 2000). A leap from constructivism to social constructivism relates to acknowledging the social process that takes place during an individual's internalization of experiences and ideas

(Creswell, 2018). The social world is understood and explained by the perspectives of the actors directly involved in the social process (Burrell & Morgan, 1989). Individuals develop objective meanings of their experiences, which are negotiated through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms that individuals live by (Creswell, 2018). Hence, multiple realities of older Korean immigrant men were unveiled, given that reality is an individual's mental construction. Most importantly, it was essential to recognize the participants' historical background and cultural settings. These shaped their interpretation of their experiences, and thus, a qualitative approach to this study was most appropriate as a qualitative approach is most adequate to explore the stories and experiences of a specific group or population being studied (Creswell, 2018).

3.2 Researcher's positionality

For this study, I established my positionality as a heterosexual Korean man pursuing a doctoral degree in a US institution and a son of my parents who belong to the Baby Boom generation and are in their retirement phases. Although I am an international student, I spent my younger years, mainly my middle and early high school years, in California, as my father was a visiting scholar in the area at that time. Those years were when our family interacted with Korean immigrant families a lot, some of whom we still exchange phone calls and text messages. Before conducting this research, my father came to see me in Illinois after visiting his friends in California, who retired a few years ago. I still remember a conversation with my father during his visit. He said, "my friends are all retired, and I just realized that I only have three years left before I retire. I am not sure what to do after it really happens." He was always a huge advocate of active leisure throughout his life, but it struck me as a surprise when he did not mention a bit about how excited he was to pursue leisure time after his retirement. Then, I wondered if it

would be the same for others who are around the age of my father. I immediately called my Korean American friend's father, whom I have known for nearly 20 years and who is now retired and living in the Bay Area. It was a casual but informative conversation. He mentioned that he sure does participate more in various recreational activities than before, but also made a joke about how his English proficiency was deteriorating as he was not in a setting anymore where he has to communicate in English. The conversation ultimately led to my interest in learning more about older immigrant men's leisure experiences as they transition to retirement.

Thus, I conducted this study to understand how older Korean immigrant men shape their retirement experiences and how they perceive their leisure involvement during this process. My positionality as a Korean man and my experience of having resided both in the United States and Korea put me very close to the research. Therefore, my experience was utilized to build rapport with participants. In addition, I was about the age of these older Korean immigrants' adult children, which mitigated any intimidation or discomfort that pursuing a "doctoral" degree might pose, as I was able to have them feel like they were talking to their children, rather than to a researcher or an interviewer per se.

3.3 Methodological approach

As a researcher, my role was to make sense of the meanings older Korean immigrant men have about their experiences. Espousing social constructivism, I strongly valued the participants' perspectives of the situation being studied and the subjective meanings they attached to their experiences. A phenomenological approach was adopted to understand the leisure behavior of older Korean immigrant men during their transition to retirement. More specifically, a phenomenological approach was utilized to understand the lived experiences of older Korean immigrant men who are in their transition to retirement. The social constructivist worldview is

compatible with the phenomenological approach in that individuals describe their experiences (Moustakas, 1994). In phenomenological research, the mental structure of day-to-day experiences is explored to understand how the everyday world of the participants is constituted intersubjectively (Schwandt, 2000). A focus is on providing an in-depth description of what participants have in common, as they are situated in a phenomenon (Creswell, 2018). As van Manen (1990) asserted, a phenomenological approach is used to capture multiple realities of individuals and condense them into a common theme or a pattern that is described as a phenomenon. For this study, leisure experience relative to retirement in later adulthood was a phenomenon that was in the center of the inquiry. Moreover, the historical and cultural context that older Korean immigrant men are situated in added a unique palette of experiences that were contextualized into what was being studied. Therefore, the description of older Korean immigrant men's lived experiences consisted of "what" they experienced and "how" they experienced it (Moustakas, 1994) as well as how their interpretation of the experiences were shaped by the social and cultural context of their lives.

Researchers have provided different types of phenomenology, for example, hermeneutical and transcendental phenomenology, just to name a few (Heidegger, 1962; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990). Regardless of the types and variations, phenomenology draws heavily on the work of Edmund Husserl (1859-1938). Strict followers of Husserl's work, specifically those in favor of the transcendental approach, argue that phenomenological research should be a pure description rather than interpretation (hermeneutics) that falls outside the bounds of phenomenological research. In other words, researchers who strictly adhere to Husserl's phenomenological approach "maintain that the object of phenomenological description is fully achieved 'solely' through a direct grasping (intuiting) of the essential structure of

phenomena as they appear in consciousness" (van Manen, 1990, p. 26). Therefore, what is emphasized in transcendental phenomenology is "bracketing," which suggests researchers leave out and be free of their experiences to avoid value-laden perspective or any judgments of the researcher about what is real (Brown, et al., 2006; Moustakas, 1994).

However, researchers such as Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) disagreed with Husserl's stance on phenomenology and developed hermeneutic phenomenology. Heidegger (1962) argued that an individual's background influenced the way he or she saw the world, and thus it is important that a researcher take this background influence into account. Central to Heidegger's hermeneutical approach, therefore, is that "the researcher's interpretations move from seeking to understand a particular component of experience to developing a sense of the whole, and then back again to examining a further component, in an iterative cycle" (Salvin-Baden & Major, 2013, p.218). Therefore, the hermeneutical approach recognizes the historicity of human understanding, a belief that ideas are nested in historical, linguistic, and cultural horizons of meaning. In addition, this approach developed from a sense that meaning should be mediated and understood by the researcher; thus, subjective interpretation of the researcher is valued.

An assumption of this study was that historical and cultural backgrounds influence how older Korean immigrant men shape their knowledge about and perception of leisure experience during their transition to retirement. Thus, hermeneutic phenomenology was utilized as my guiding approach (van Manen, 1990). My positionality also situated me as a researcher who is very close to the topic, and thus, "bracketing" was unlikely to be possible. Rather, I used my previous knowledge as a resource to be more reflective and comprehensive in interpreting and describing what participants had to say about their lived experiences and how they perceived the world in which they were situated.

Interviews were conducted and served two purposes in the hermeneutic phenomenological approach: (1) they were used as a means to explore and collect experiential narrative material that was utilized as a resource for a better understanding of human phenomena, and (2) they were used as a vehicle to develop and build rapport with an interviewee to get at the deeper meaning of an experience in their words (van Manen, 1990). Avoided were the skimpy interview materials that lack enough concreteness, which might make the researcher indulge in over-interpretation and an over-reliance on personal opinions and personal experiences or excess amount of poorly managed interview materials that lead to confusion. Most importantly, it was my belief the researcher should not get carried away with interviews that deviate from the topics of interest (van Manen, 1990). Thus, I constructed semi-structured interviews based on the responsive interviewing model (Rubin & Rubin, 2012), following the guidelines of hermeneutic phenomenology (van Manen, 1990). The questions in the semi-structured interviews were informed by the theoretical frameworks guiding this study (Atchley, 1999; Nimrod, 2007; Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007; see Chapter II for more details) and previous literature on Korean immigrants, retirement, leisure, and older men.

3.3.1 Participants

A total of 19 Korean immigrant men were recruited from across the U.S., including Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York. Their birth years ranged from 1952 to 1962, which made the range of the ages approximately from 59 to 69 years old at the time of the interview. Quite a few participants identified themselves as semi-retired ($n = 9$), followed by those who declared they were fully retired ($n = 5$). Participants who said they were still working full-time were generally younger ($n = 4$) with one exception. In terms of the retirement year, the majority of participants were anticipating to fully retire in three years ($n = 13$), and only five had

fully retired at the time of the interview. More than half of participants acquired Bachelor’s degree in Korea before their immigration ($n = 11$) and two participants had a Master’s or higher degree acquired in Korea and Mexico ($n = 2$). There was also a participant with a high school diploma while another participant dropped out of high school. Five participants sought a degree in higher education in the U.S., but only two acquired their degree (one at the Master’s level and the other at Associate level). The majority of the participants were small business owners ($n = 14$). Ten participants also reported that they had income level above \$100,000, six participants above \$50,000, and only two reported below \$50,000. Overall, participants are diverse group of individuals with varying income and educational levels. See Table 1 for their most recent occupations .

Table 1. Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Birth Year	Year of Immigration	Income Level in 2020	Education	Work Status	Retirement Year	Most Recent Occupation
Park	1952	1982	\$200,000 or more	Bachelor’s (Korea)	Semi-Retired	2018	Laundromat (Owner)
Byun	1954	1980	\$125,000 - \$149,999	Bachelor’s (Korea) Some Master’s (U.S)	Semi-Retired	2024	Cleaning Services (Owner)
Jeong	1954	1981	\$125,000 - \$149,999	Some Bachelor’s (U.S)	Retired	2018	Laundromat (Owner)
Rhee	1954	2005	\$100,000 - \$124,999	Bachelor’s (Korea)	Semi-Retired	2024	Freelance Real Estate Agent
Yoon	1954	1981	N/A	Bachelor’s (Korea)	Retired	2018	Public Servant
Ahn	1954	1983	\$10,000 - \$24,999	Associate (U.S)	Retired	2020	Laundromat (Owner)
Baek	1954	1979	\$75,000 - \$99,999	Bachelor’s (Korea)	Semi-Retired	2024	Motel (Owner)

Table 1. Participant Demographics (cont.)

Kwon	1955	1981	\$75,000 - \$99,999	Bachelor's (Korea)	Retired	2017	Clothing Store (Owner)
Kang	1955	1989	\$100,000 - \$124,999	Highschool (Korea)	Semi- Retired	2024	Window/glass installations (Owner)
Yang	1955	1981	\$150,000 - \$174,999	Master's or higher (U.S)	Full- time	2024	Office Worker
Hahn	1957	1985	\$125,000 - \$149,999	Bachelor's (Korea)	Semi- Retired	2024	Restaurant (Owner)
Son	1958	1983	\$125,000 - \$149,999	Highschool (Korea)	Semi- Retired	2024	Laundromat (Owner)
Hwang	1959	2000	\$25,000- \$49,999	Bachelor's (Korea)	Semi- Retired	2024	Retail Store (Owner)
Kim	1959	1996	\$25,000- \$49,999	Some Bachelor's (U.S)	Retired	2017	Cleaning Services (Owner)
Shin	1960	2002	\$100,000 - \$124,999	Bachelor's (Korea)	Semi- Retired	2024	Freelance Real Estate Agent
Kwan	1960	2001	\$50,000 -\$74,999	Master's or higher (Mexico)	Full- time	2024	Retail Store (Owner)
Seo	1961	1988	\$50,000 -\$74,999	Bachelor's (Korea)	Full- time	2024	Convenient Store (Owner)
Bae	1962	1989	\$50,000 -\$74,999	Some Highschool (Korea)	Full- time	2024	Chef
Cho	1962	2007	\$100,000 - \$124,999	Bachelor's (Korea)	Full- time	2024	Auto Showroom Installations (Owner)

3.3.2 Data collection

To be eligible to take part in the study, participants had to be older Korean immigrant men who (1) have had a full-time job in the United States for more than 10 years; (2) belonged to the Baby Boom generation (i.e., individuals born between the years 1946-1964); and (3) were

preparing for or have recently retired from full-time work in the United States (i.e., three or more years pre- and post-retirement). Participants were recruited using purposive and snowball sampling techniques until new codes were not added anymore, which implied data saturation (Fusch & Ness, 2015; Guest et al., 2006). After the interviews were conducted, participants were assigned a pseudonym.

Participants were asked to engage in a semi-structured personal interview. A semi-structured interview is a form of social interaction based on a conversation (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Rubin & Rubin, 2012) and is more conversational than a structured interview (Carless & Douglas, 2013). Participants, therefore, were granted more control over the interview and the direction it took. Furthermore, a semi-structured interview procedure enabled the researcher to cover core topics while having the flexibility to explore additional related areas of interest (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). By encouraging participants to construct the stories of their leisure experiences relative to their transition to retirement extensively and broadly, participants guided the data collection process and freely discussed the topics they deemed meaningful (Henderson, 2006).

Recruitment. Purposive and snowball sampling was suitable for achieving the representativeness of the research context and capturing heterogeneity in the population being studied (Creswell, 2002). The initial recruitment started by distributing recruitment flyers via email to several Korean American churches located in Chicago and Urbana-Champaign area. However, due to the COVID-19 Pandemic, participants were reluctant to meet in person. Thus, for further recruitment, I stated the interview would be either on zoom or a phone call. Upon completing the interview, participants were asked if they knew of anyone else who might qualify and be interested in the study. If so, I asked the participants whether they would be comfortable

with passing along my contact information to their contact. The first four participants introduced me to at least one new participant. Another recruitment strategy was to contact families I have known for many years in different cities (e.g., New York, California, Atlanta) throughout the United States. They served as key informants who then introduced me to many different participants in their areas.

3.3.3 Research procedures

Interviews were conducted using either the video interview using software such as Skype or Zoom, or telephone interview based on participants' preference. Once participants declared their willingness to participate, they were asked to choose a preferred mode of interview. Each interview lasted between 60 to 100 minutes. All interviews were conducted in Korean, even though participants were given a choice to be interviewed either in Korean or English. Interviews began by defining the term "leisure" as it connotes a slightly different meaning in Korean language. For example, in Korean language, the term "leisure (레저)" is used interchangeably with "recreational sport," mostly referring to water sport in particular. The equivalent term for leisure in Korean is *yeonga* (여가). Therefore, relevant questions were asked, for example, "is there a difference between how people perceive leisure in the United States and Korea? If so, how is it different?" "How would you define the term leisure?" The following main questions were discussed in chronological order: from the time of their immigration to the United States, their life as immigrant men and their career paths, their life during their transition to retirement, their perceptions and attitudes toward leisure, and their changes and stability in their leisure patterns over the years. These topics enabled me to explore and discern their lives as immigrant men in the United States and the role of leisure in the context of retirement transition. Table 1

depicts how the interview questions connect with the research questions (See appendix A for an English version and B for a Korean version of the interview guide).

Table 2. Example Interview Questions

Research Questions	Interview Questions
<p>What are older Korean immigrant men’s perceptions of leisure in terms of their attitudes toward leisure and what leisure means to them?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Is there a difference between how people perceive leisure in the United States and Korea? ▪ If you think there is, how is it different?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What did you do during your free time or during the weekend/holidays? ▪ What, if any, leisure activities have you participated in?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How did you start/ were you introduced to the activity?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Why did you continue? ▪ Why did you stop?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What did you get out of doing the activity?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How would you define the term “leisure”?
	<p>What is the role of leisure in their experiences of the transition to retirement?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How long have you been participating in the activity(ies)? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tell me about your involvement in leisure during your time of retirement. 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Why do these activities matter to you? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ In what ways, if any, have these activities affected your health and well-being? 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ How have these activities affected your overall lifestyle? 	
<p>How if at all, do their leisure activity patterns change from pre to post-retirement?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Please describe what your life was like after you settled in the United States.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What is the life motto that you live by?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What do you think is the difference between the United States and Korea after you have lived in both countries for quite a while?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tell me briefly about your life before, during, and after retirement.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tell me about your involvement in leisure during your time of retirement

Table 2. Example Interview Questions (cont.)

<p>How do their cultural values and experience as members of the Korean immigrant community shape their attitudes toward leisure and leisure opportunities during their retirement experience?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Please describe what your life was like after you settled in the United States.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What is the life motto that you live by?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ What do you think is the difference between the United States and Korea after you have lived in both countries for quite a while?
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tell me briefly about your life before, during, and after retirement.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tell me about your involvement in leisure during your time of retirement

3.3.4 Data analysis strategy

The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Any identifiable information in the transcripts was removed or altered (e.g., the creation of pseudonyms) to limit the possibility of identification of participants. The interview data were analyzed in their original language, which is Korean. Only the concepts, categories, and themes that emerged after the initial analysis were translated into English by the researcher whose native language is Korean. This was done to secure the necessary rigor in the qualitative study and to prevent the loss of information or nuance (Chen & Boore, 2010). The recorded interviews and transcripts were kept in a secured and password protected U of I Box folder, only accessible to the researcher.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was utilized as a strategy to analyze and interpret the data to understand the meanings and the knowledge that older Korean immigrant men have about the world in which they live, Developed by Smith and his colleagues (1995), IPA acknowledges that the researcher's engagement with the data has an interpretative element. This analysis strategy was suitable for understanding how individuals perceive the circumstances they are situated in and how their perceptions lead to the shaping of meanings and knowledge

that becomes their lived experience (Smith & Osborn, 2008). As Smith et al. (2009) described, IPA is an iterative and inductive process.

The analysis involved both hand-coding and computer-assisted coding with NVivo 12 software. First, I began by reading and re-reading while taking notes on each transcript. Once I gained an overall familiarity with the transcript, key points were identified through a detailed line-by-line coding. These key points were then clustered into groups reflecting emergent themes and all transcripts were recoded accordingly to these themes. I further refined the groupings that resulted in the identification of the main themes and subthemes with the selection of representative quotes. Main themes and subthemes were then labeled using participants' own words. Finally, transcripts were recoded according to the list of main themes and subthemes, which formed the basis of the thematic account provided in this study. Furthermore, I felt the in-depth background and contextual information that participants shared were so rich and informed the findings. Hence, these are presented as a separate chapter prior to the findings.

3.4 Ensuring the quality of research

The research needs to be as trustworthy as possible, and the final report of a study should be evaluated based on the procedures used to generate the findings. There are four aspects of trustworthiness that qualitative researchers must adhere to, including credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Thus, to ensure the quality of research, this study strictly adhered to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility refers to the notion that findings or study results should be convincing and believable (Beck, 1993). Findings represented some sense of reality, not of the researcher's, but of the participants' reality. To ensure credibility, an interpretation and a structure of the themes

were discussed by the researcher and participants over the phone for verification after the initial data analysis was complete. Transferability suggests that findings may have applicable meanings in similar situations elsewhere. I aimed to secure transferability by providing a thick description by elaborating carefully on the research processes, including the context of the study, data collection, the analysis, and the production of the final report to allow others to replicate the study in similar settings. Dependability implies that findings will endure over time, that the researcher should document the research context and any changes that occur while the research is ongoing. To ensure dependability, a code-recode strategy was utilized (Chilsa & Preece, 2005). This strategy involved coding the same data twice, giving a one or two-week period between each coding. Then, the results from each coding were compared to see if the results were similar or different. Lastly, confirmability requires the researcher to remain neutral during data analysis and interpretation. Again, while verification of my interpretation with participants by presenting them the findings ensured the credibility of the study, it also contributed to securing confirmability. This approach also allowed participants' voices in the findings and provided the opportunity to correct any possible misinterpretations on the part of the researcher. Throughout the process, debriefing took place with my advisor for the study.

CHAPTER 4: CONTEXT

Participants shared the breadth of their lived experiences that resulted in thick descriptions of their life as immigrant men, their values, retirement, and how their involvement in leisure activities evolved over time. Nearly all participants emigrated to the United States to pursue the “American Dream,” but described their early years as “miserable” due to unforeseen circumstances and challenges. Such hardships led to a breakdown of the past norms associated with Korean culture, but also reinforced other values that they had overlooked. These men’s stories of their immigration experience and career paths offer important insights that help contextualize the study findings. Their stories serve as the foundation for the findings and help the reader better understand their values, opinions, and behaviors regarding retirement and leisure.

4.1 Immigration to the United States

4.1.1 Settling in for the “American Dream”

Participants sought a new life in the United States for mainly three reasons: (1) they wanted to pursue a degree in higher education or obtain work experience as they thought they would be better off in Korea with a degree or experience acquired from the United States, (2) they had family or relatives already living in the United States and were invited for immigration, or (3) they wanted to provide a better educational environment for their children.

Those who came to the United States to pursue a degree (i.e., Bachelor’s, Master’s, or MBA) often mentioned that they initially had no intention of settling in the United States. Rather, it was always their intention to go back to Korea with a degree in hand, but they ended up becoming a permanent resident for various reasons. For example, Byun said:

When I came to the United States in 1979 to do an MBA degree, I never had thought I would be living here. For the first several years, it was always my intention to go back after I finish my MBA program.

Another participant, Hahn, who came to the United States in 1985, stated:

I was working at a hotel back in South Korea. Around that time, the 1988 Summer Olympics triggered a boom in the hospitality industry. We had no majors like hospitality and tourism management or culinary arts back in the days...So, the government encouraged anyone who was working in the industry to go abroad for training. That's how I came to the United States in the first place.

Similarly, Bae who identified himself as a lifelong Itamae (i.e., a skilled sushi chef) said:

I am a lifelong Itame. I was working as a sushi chef back in South Korea. I had never thought about coming to the U.S., but then one of my cousins said he needed a sushi chef for his new restaurant in Manhattan. So, that was certainly an opportunity for me to work in a restaurant in New York, which I thought would help my career once I came back to Korea afterwards.

In general, these participants who came to the United States to seek a degree or experience often had positive impression of American society and explained how quickly they assimilated to the norms and culture of the United States. For example, Park described his first impression of the United States when he immigrated in the 1980s:

To me, there was more good than bad...Of course, I have been through all sorts of troubles as an immigrant...But regardless of what I have been through, I was able to see how people in America came together for the greater good. The society was very

dynamic and open to new ideas. I truly agreed with the term, *Pax Americana* that I came across in a history textbook as a high school student.

Hahn also shared his experience as being a chef apprentice in the United States and how it was different than what he had experienced in Korea:

A kitchen was perceived as a domain only for women back in Korea. Nobody ever imagined a man wearing an apron. It was almost considered as taboo. Now, when I came here as a trainee, I was so busy that I had to commute in an apron, but nobody really cared...I really liked that. To me, I felt like everyone was so accepting of a man being in a kitchen.

Yang further elaborated on the difference of the social structure in both countries:

In my opinion, Korean society is very hierarchical...Here in the United States, I come home right away after work. You can say 'no' to your boss and saying 'no' does not necessarily get you in trouble. But in Korea, say for example, if your boss asked you to drink after work or go hiking with him on Sunday, you have no other choice but to say 'yes,' right? Otherwise, it will affect your performance evaluation at your work. Here in the United States, people respect your privacy. It's very individualistic and that's what I loved the most about this country.

Similarly, Kim explained:

When I was working in Korea, I was part of the sales team, and it was 365 days of drinking with my colleagues and potential clients. I don't remember going home before 10 pm. Though it might have been physically exhausting working in the United States, I was much better mentally because I didn't have to drink as much anymore.

Jeong talked about how every occupation seemed to be considered honorable in the United States:

There is a subtle discrimination and stigma toward certain occupations in Korea. That's why everybody wants a white-collar job. It's the only way to prove yourself to your parents, peers, and the society. In contrast, no job is better than the other here. As long as you work hard to feed your family and make a living, everyone respects you for that. Who cares if you have a bachelor's degree or not? As it's stated in the Declaration of Independence, all men are created equal.

These impressions, perceptions and experiences were critical in making the decision to permanently settle into the United States. For example, Byun talked about how he no longer was comfortable with cultural norms of South Korea and decided to stay in the United States:

...But when I visited Korea in between my course of the degree, I felt like a stranger. I just got used to my life here so much that whenever I got back in Korea, it was challenging to follow the custom, you know, how you have to dress up everywhere and how you have to be so conscious about what other people might think of your social status and all of that. So, at certain point, I changed my plan so that I can live here.

Similarly, Jeong mentioned:

I worked part-time at a small retail store when I stopped studying because of my English. Well, it's very unusual to drop out of school and work part-time... a path that I would have never been able to take in Korea because it would hurt my reputation. I liked here because nobody really cared about what I do... I had that freedom to do whatever it was I needed to do. Even today as a small retail store owner, I hear customers in suits and ties complaining about their work life and how they admire mine. Those kind words...I

would never get that back in Korea. I never was and I never will be considered successful there.

Bae articulated:

For the first three months, it was a nightmare because I couldn't speak English at all. So, I told my cousin that I am going back, and he asked me to stay for another three months until he was able to get a new sushi chef. But, the next three months pretty much made me stay because I ended up making some friends (i.e., English speakers) at work who were very understanding and respected my pursuit. I started speaking English a little better as I hung out with them more. My work became so much fun, having these friends around. It also helped me understand American culture. The more I knew, the more I wanted to stay here.

Another group of participants explained about immigration invitation by their family or relatives who were already living in the United States. Hwang stated:

I came to visit my sister back in 1998 and she asked if I had ever thought about moving here. Her business was thriving, and you know, the Korean economy was going through difficult times because of the IMF crisis in 1997. So, I thought I would be much better off here...so I ended up moving.

Similarly, Yoon whose uncle was working as a professor in the United States in the 1970s said, "I had always perceived the United States as a prosperous country. I always admired a life here. So, when my uncle invited my mom for immigration, I asked him if I could also come along and here I am." A few participants reported that their wives were U.S. citizens (i.e., Korean Americans) so they moved here as soon as they got married. For example, Kwon explained, "As soon as I got discharged from the military, I married my wife and moved to the United States

right after the wedding because she was already an American citizen.” When asked why he decided to move to the U.S. instead of staying in South Korea, Kwon elaborated, “I had a gut feeling that I would have more opportunities in the United States. That is why I did not hesitate to stay in Korea but left right away with my wife.”

There were also instances in which participants came to the United States temporarily for several years as expatriates but decided to stay because they wanted to provide a better life for their children. Kim who first came to New York in 1996 mentioned:

One day when I got back from work before I came to the United States, I saw my children coming back after they have made their rounds in five different crammers (i.e., private test preparation centers) after school. They were only in middle school, and I certainly wanted them to have a better life, you know?

When he was asked what he meant by “better life,” he replied, “a life where you have the freedom...it was just too competitive to a point it was hard for me to watch my kids struggling in that competitive pool.” Similarly, Shin who was a deputy branch manager at a bank in South Korea explained:

I had always wanted to give my kids an opportunity to study abroad, but it was impossible with the salary I was getting. One day, I was reading a newspaper and saw a job advertisement from one of the Korean American banks that they were looking for someone who was willing to work in the United States. I thought to myself maybe that was my one last chance. So, I applied and got accepted. I was fortunate because not only was I able to bring my kids here (United States), but I was able to continue my career as a banker.

There was one participant who said he decided to emigrate because his child had a disability. Kwan shared his story in sorrow:

Our child came to us when I was working as an instructor at a university. I was happy...but my wife's delivery prolonged more than anyone ever expected...something went wrong, and our child was born with cerebral palsy. Unfortunately, there was a strong stigma toward people with disabilities in Korea, so I had no other choice but to leave...so I came to the United States where I thought it would be more accepting of the situation our family was in.

Although each participant had different reasons for their immigration, they came to the United States full of hope that their lives would be better. During this time of their immigration experience, they explained that they had no idea of what was coming their way which made their lives difficult in the earlier years.

4.1.2 Challenges as immigrant men

As they started to become assimilated to the new norms and culture, they soon realized the reality they had to face. The most prevalent challenges they navigated were: (1) their lack of English proficiency (2) degraded social status, (3) cultural differences and breakdown of their Korean norms, (4) racism, and (5) their status of residence. Of all these challenges, participants emphasized their lack of English proficiency as the most significant challenge that affected the other challenges.

When asked what their challenges were as an immigrant man, the very first one that came up most often was their lack of English proficiency. For example, Bae answered:

I know I should have been better with English, but I wasn't. Say, for example, if someone spoke about 100 words, I probably understood 50 words of what the person said, and I'd

say I spoke less than 10 words in return. So, it was never really a conversation and whenever I came down to a situation to be alone with someone that only spoke English, oh boy, I was nervous! I only hung out with other Koreans most of the time for that reason.

Likewise, Cho expressed his frustration of not being able to speak English fluently. “The most stressful thing was not being able to express myself in the way I wanted to. The meanings I wanted to convey, the message I wanted to deliver, and the jokes I wanted to make...”

Many participants further explained how they had to take jobs below their expectation because of the language barrier. For example, Kwon said, “I and my wife were accountants back in Korea. When we came here, we were not able to pick up the same job we used to have because our English was not good enough.” Similarly, Rhee mentioned:

I would say more than seven out of ten Korean immigrants come here with at least a bachelor’s degree. Yet, most of us ended up working in occupations like shoe shining and dry cleaning...you know those jobs that do not require any English proficiency. It’s funny that part of our education in Korea was at least twelve years of English, but it didn’t work out in reality.

Jeong also talked about how he felt bad for himself for working as a retail store owner:

Although it is very accepting here, the fact that I am just a retail store owner hurts my ego. I’ve always thought I would get a better job with the bachelor’s degree. My family back in Korea would never consider me as a successful business owner. I am just a failure who never got a white-collar job and ran away to the United States.

Furthermore, while participants reported that they acclimated to some aspects of the new culture quickly, they also reported some challenges assimilating to American life. In some instances,

participants mentioned cultural differences and the breakdown of their past norms, which prevented them from fully assimilating to the U.S. culture. For example, Seo, who mentioned that he really liked the climate of the United States in which everyone has the rights to freedom of speech, ironically explained:

One of the challenges that I had to accept eventually was the culture where there is no clear boundary between the older and the younger (people). I was surprised when my co-worker's son addressed him with 'hey.' You would never see a kid calling his dad 'hey' in Korea. It's just unacceptable...you know? Everything was so different and difficult to understand...relationships, behaviors...everything.

Hwang who also spoke in favor of American culture talked about some of the differences that he found challenging:

American society is less hierarchical indeed...but if we were to look at it from a different angle, I guess people here are very individualistic. Well, from a business owner's perspective, it was hard to deal with... I mean my employees would never go beyond what's expected of them. But the way I was trained, I expect them to have a sense of ownership to some extent, but I guess that's not how things work around here.

Likewise, Rhee recalled his very first business meeting:

As you might already know, it is not odd to say things like 'you look a bit tired' in Korea to greet a person... it's part of my effort showing that I am paying attention, right? So, during my very first business meeting here, I said 'hey, you must be very busy. Your hair is turning gray' and the person got really mad at me for saying that. I later on learned that it is not polite to make comments about a person's appearance... This, I considered a cultural difference that I found a bit perplexing at first.

Ahn also mentioned the norms and culture that he had hard time accepting:

There were things that I had hard time accepting especially with the norms and culture among younger generation of people...LGBTQ was something that I had never seen or heard before I came here...it is probably my upbringing or maybe because I am one of the older generation, but frankly speaking, it took me a while to accept them, though I would never be able to fully understand.

It was evident by what these older men shared that Confucianism was deeply rooted in the minds of these older Korean immigrant men, which obviously led to some of the challenges living in the United States. Participants mentioned about how their beliefs based on Confucianism had to be compromised after coming to the United States. For example, Park mentioned:

Back then (i.e., 1980s in Korea), it was unusual for women to work. It wasn't like today. Based on what I learned from my parents, I was trapped in the idea of the man being the breadwinner and woman being the homemaker. I was afraid that people, especially within the Korean community, would think that our family was in a bad situation if my wife worked. But after realizing that we wouldn't survive with what I was earning, I had to accept the fact that my idea and the past belief is not working here.

Son also said:

No matter how you view it, men are physically stronger than women and therefore, I had always thought that I should be the provider and the protector of my family. But it was constant dilemma of wanting to be the provider. I told my wife to take care of the kids and one day, I found out that my wife was working part time without my knowledge. She was hiding it because she knew it would hurt my self-esteem. That night, we

cried...quietly, so our kids wouldn't wake up. I was grateful, but sorrowful at the same time.

Seo argued that being the head of the household was a matter of pride:

...For example, if my wife becomes the breadwinner because I am incapable of making a living, which means I am a worthless human-being who cannot even fulfill my only duty as a husband and a father. It's a matter of pride, you know? I don't necessarily have the mentality of 'women should do this and cannot do that.' It's more related to my self-esteem. I think that leads to my goal of not relying on my children financially when I get older.

Overall, this group of participants described the changes in their gender role within the family after immigration, which often led to the loss of self-esteem and pride in being the head of the household.

Several participants also mentioned racism as something they perceived as a challenge, though quite a few said it was very subtle and hard to explain. Most of the time, participants said it was not a particular case that others would also consider it as racism, but it was more of how they felt discriminated against on various occasions. For instance, Park described his experience and how it felt like he was discriminated against just by the way he spoke English and how he looked:

I was not able to get a full-time job because of my English. So, I went into maybe four to five convenient stores asking to hire me for part-time jobs. You know what they said? They would never say I can't get the job because I don't speak English well enough. Instead, they would say it's because I am not a permanent resident here. But that to me was very racist. I could tell they didn't hire me because of my English proficiency and

my appearance as an Asian man, but was not able to report it anywhere because there was no way to prove it.

Kwon also recalled the earlier years when he was trying to open his own business:

I was trying to lease a space in a high-class department store for my new business, but the leasing office refused because I was Asian...well they didn't actually say it was because I was Asian, but it was pretty obvious, you know?

Byun who owned a cleaning services business also spoke about a subtle discrimination that he felt in business meetings:

...So the nature of my business required a lot of business meetings to earn a contract. My clients were predominantly white and, in those meetings, I somewhat felt like I was looked down upon. I couldn't tell what exactly it was, but it was certainly there. Well, it is certainly much better now, but when I just got it started in the early 1990s, I spent nights crying behind closed doors.

Kang also talked about similar occasions:

Part of my business was aggressively scheduling meetings with potential clients. I would go in, but all I could say in English was introducing myself. I would just sit there and smile the entire time. That was all I could do. Not all clients were rude, but sometimes I knew they were making racist jokes and treated me with no respect. Yet, I just had to let it pass by because my English was not good enough to gently make a point and I had a family to feed...our life was dependent on whether I got the contract or not.

As it is depicted by the participant's experiences, lack of English proficiency itself was a challenge for them to settle in, but at the same time, further challenges derived by their inability to speak English fluently.

Quite a few participants also touched on their status of residence in the earlier years and how they had to go through difficult times as undocumented immigrants. For example, Son elaborated:

My visa was expiring soon, so it was either I go back to Korea or get a job that would sponsor my visa... One day my employer said, 'stay with me and I will sponsor you for a visa.' I trusted him so I stayed, but he never sponsored me. As soon as my visa expired, he threatened me that he would report me to the authority if I don't listen to him. So, I worked there as a part-timer for four years afterwards with half of the salary everyone else was getting.

Kwan also spoke about some of the difficulties he had to go through due to uncertain status of residence:

Going back (to Korea) was not an option for me... back then, the authority would allow me to stay if I started a business here. Well, it was just extending my stay rather than getting a green card or any sort. I had no other option, you know...I invested my 20 years of savings just to stay here. Unfortunately, the business I started only lasted about five years. I got a job after that, and finally got a green card after 13 years. Those 13 years were gloomy days of my life with unforeseeable future.

Overall, uncertainty with their status of residence and other challenges subsequent to language barriers made their road to "American Dream" a much more difficult path that they had imagined.

4.1.3 Career paths

Participants had career paths that evolved in a somewhat similar manner. Most participants started as a part-timer and then later started a small business. Kang shared an interesting story of how he got his very first part-time job:

I used to work as a refrigeration technician back in Korea. You know, developing new refrigeration technology for better efficiency of the freezers and refrigerators. So, I submitted my resume everywhere that would value my experience, but the economy wasn't so great, and no one would hire me. I only brought 3,000 U.S. dollars in cash and I was running out... And there was a friend I got to know on my flight here and he was working a day job. One day, he asked me if I wanted to come along because he was going near Venice Beach and he said he would give me a ride back home after he got off work. So, I went with him and while he was working, I was enjoying the views...almost like a tourist (laughter). And then this guy came up saying that my friend got injured while working and asked if I could fill in his spot. I was jobless so why not, right? It was a window and glass installations and I worked for the day. I guess the business owner liked me and he first offered me a part-time job there.

At his first part-time job, Kang saved up enough money to later take over the business, which was a window and glass installations business. While working as a part-timer, he learned the needed skills to compete in the market. "I wanted to buy a suit (laughter). That was a good motivation, you know? I worked for five years there, saved up, and later took over the business." Hahn also started as a part-time apprentice of a sushi chef at a Japanese restaurant located in the New York suburbs:

Then, it was too late for me to go back to Korea. My visa already expired, so I was technically undocumented. That time of my life was daunting...well, I was fortunate to meet the owner of a Japanese restaurant in the suburbs... he was really nice and said he would take care of my visa, but I barely got paid for the first several years. The owner allowed me to stay at his basement, but I cried a lot. I stayed there as an apprentice for about five years and eventually moved to Manhattan to open a restaurant with five other guys. All six of us invested what we had to open the restaurant.

Son who started working as a part-timer at his brother's tailoring and alterations business further explained the process he had to go through to open a laundromat business:

In order to start a laundromat business, California required a permit. My brother was running a tailoring and alterations business in downtown Los Angeles, and one day, he said it was time for me to stop working for him and told me that he would support me to attend a laundromat service school where they train you for several months to obtain the permit. Oh yeah, it was six months of ironing shirts and pants, and never-ending tests in English! I really studied hard to pass the test because I knew that was the only chance for me to start my own business...I eventually got a part-time job (as a launderer) at this one place, and they paid me \$75 per week. I really worked hard...I got a raise a few months later, then was promoted as a full-time employee and my paycheck was around \$1,500 a month. I was paying \$500 for the rent and had a wife and a child to feed. So, it took me a while to save up to open my own business.

However, opening a business of their own was not always an easy path. Ahn talked about how he was scammed while trying to start his own business:

I was a part-time construction worker and part-time cashier at a grocery store. I dedicated my youth just to own a business. When I saved up enough to own one, I was scammed and lost all my savings. So, it was total of 15 years in Manhattan as a part-timer to finally start my own laundromat.

It was rarely a case in which participants started their own business as soon as they emigrated. Rather, the majority of participants started as a part-timer, or in other instances, they started working for a company or at relative's business. Regardless of their first job, they saved up and later broke away to open a small business of their own.

Nevertheless, while many had to save up for several years to start a business, there were a few instances in which participants started their own business as soon as they emigrated. Hwang, for instance, took over a grocery store as soon as he got here:

My sister's business was thriving, so I thought about starting one too. My wife was working so we were comparably better off than other immigrant families...I also had experience of running a fashion retailing business when I was in Korea, so I was confident to open a business right away. I took over a clothes store from a person I knew.

Baek who also had an experience in operating a business in Korea said:

...When I got here, I opened up a liquor store and expanded. I guess my experience of running a business back in Korea somewhat helped...I owned two liquor stores for almost 20 years, sold them in 2017, and bought a motel afterwards.

Participants who were able to start their own business right away often mentioned how their experience of running a business in the past gave them a sense of confidence in their new environment. In other cases, their wives were already U.S. citizens, or they had relatives who

were already running a business in the United States, which presumably lowered the perceived barrier to open up a business.

It should also be noted that those who came to the United States to seek a degree in higher education ($n = 4$) were not able to finish their degree due to unforeseen circumstances and ended up working. For example, Kim who came to the United States to study interior design mentioned:

I was working in the architecture industry back in Korea, but I quit and came to the United States to study interior design. But I had to stop because I was getting older, and I just couldn't afford everything as being a husband and a father of two kids...I stopped studying and came down to Atlanta to help my brother-in-law get the cleaning services business up and running.

Similarly, Jeong who was majoring in accounting stated:

I came to the United States in 1986 to study. I majored in accounting as it was an area of study that I was already familiar with. Everything was fine, but it was my English that got in the way. My English was okay to finish my studies and get a degree, but I wasn't sure if my English was good enough to get a job even if I had the degree in accounting. So, I just stopped when I was just semester away to finish, got a part-time job, saved up, and later started a business that doesn't require whole lot of interaction with people.

Another participant, Byun who got his first job at General Motors after quitting his MBA degree program said:

As an immigrant, working at General Motors was like being in a tunnel with no end in sight...there was not a lot of opportunities for me to get promoted and I didn't want my

life to continue like that. So, I quit my job at General Motors after eight years and started a restaurant in New York.

Overall, regardless of where their starting point was, all participants started their own business at some point. Common businesses they worked for or owned include laundromat, restaurant, retail store, liquor store, or cleaning services.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

As the data analysis progressed, certain leisure activities (i.e., golf and fishing) were more commonly reported than the others among these first-generation Korean immigrant men, though the meaning of these activities changed over time as they aged. However, what became apparent from mid-life to older adulthood was the relevance of the Continuity Theory (Atchley, 2000) and the opportunity for Leisure Innovation (Nimrod, 2008) after retirement. Their involvement in and plans for new leisure activities were depicted as one of their adaptive strategies during their transition to retirement (Atchley, 1971). Furthermore, participants expressed their needs for more resources and opportunities to engage in new leisure activities for healthy aging after retirement. Findings are largely divided into two sections; the first section depicts their retirement experience, and the second section illustrates leisure experiences of the participants throughout their life course, particularly in relation to their immigration and retirement experience.

5.1 Perceptions of retirement

Participants were either retirees or expected to retire soon at the time of the interview. Several sub-themes emerged under the main theme. When participants were prompted to discuss their thoughts on retirement, more than half of the participants had negative perceptions of retirement, other participants had mixed feelings, and some were very excited to be a retiree. For instance, those who had negative perceptions of retirement considered a retirement lifestyle as being lazy and work as a means to maintain their long-held social identity. Participants who had mixed feelings and attitudes toward retirement believed retirement is an unavoidable life event that is dependent upon how well prepared a person is for retirement. In fact, those who seemed

excited to retire perceived themselves as financially well prepared and knew exactly what they wanted to do after retirement. Regardless of their perceptions and attitudes toward retirement, the term “semi-retirement” repeatedly came up, and almost all participants discussed work as a means to maintaining healthy lifestyle and a few further even described work as leisure.

5.1.1. “There is no use in being lazy, it’s better to get a part-time job”

This group of participants had a negative perception of retirement. They described retirement as a stressful life event in which their life long social identity and family role as a provider is being taken away. For example, Bae who said he refused to retire said:

I feel like I aged a lot when I think about retirement. I’ve worked my entire life and work is something that wakes me up in the morning. But there are moments when I realize that I reached an age to retire...that is depressing... Instead of retiring, I am thinking of opening a restaurant once the pandemic is over... I have talked to my friends who retired a few years ago and they all say they don’t have anything to do and that their life is boring... Same thing every day, over and over again. A friend of mine even told me that the days when he made money were the good days. His wife tells him to stop binge watching television and go exercise and he said that made him feel a little sad because he feels like his wife thinks he is lazy...and I totally get what he is saying, you know? So, my plan is to stay as long as possible in the workforce. I don’t want to be miserable like my friends are.

Kwan also shared a similar opinion:

Do I need to retire to enjoy my life? I don’t think so. Leisure is valuable only when you also have some obligations and responsibilities. It is like an occasional getaway from the responsibilities you have, but if you are not obligated to do anything, what’s the point of

leisure? Working is the essence of life...like seasoning or salt that adds flavor to your entrée. So, I don't agree with the idea of retirement, even though I almost got to that point of having to retire. What else is there to do? I would rather work a part-time job rather than watching television all day.

Kang described his perception of work and explained how he does not agree with the idea of retirement:

I've worked my entire life and my work just became part of who I am. Retirement means nothing but letting that go. So, really, what's in it for me? If I were to weigh between working and retiring, I think being in the workforce provides more benefits. It's not like I am financially unstable and therefore I have to work, but more or so because working gives a sense of security. Who knows? My children might reach out for help and I think I should be there to provide the safety net for them. And it's not like I am getting laid off or anything. I have a business of my own and it's systematized pretty well so I don't have to work all day long. It's a fixed income, so why would I ever fully retire? ...I would say I am semi-retired and I would love to stay that way as long as possible.

Park perceived retirement in relation to his life coming to an end:

The first thing that comes to my mind when I think about retirement is death. Not only am I dead in terms of socially being pulled out of the workforce, but I have arrived at an age that makes me think about dying. Questions that I often ask myself nowadays is about how to die well. I guess the fear that I get from this question made me not want to fully retire, but rather gradually reduce my business operation to give myself some more time to think about it. Honestly, I am not ready to fully retire.

Seo discussed what happy life means to him and how retirement does not fit into his definition of a happy life:

At the end of the day, we all live to figure out how to live well. At this age, I constantly contemplate about the things that make me happy and other things that stress me out. You know, I don't have much to live (laughter), so I have to make well-thought-out choices. With retirement though, I don't think it is going to make me happy at all. I have seen many of my friends who retired and went back to work again. The problem, in my opinion, is that many people do not have any plans for or have no idea how to spend their free time after retirement and I am just like anyone else... So, considering the life stage I am at, I don't necessarily think that retirement would make me happy.

Shin also mentioned financial concerns that leads to his negative perception of retirement:

To me, retirement is a time when you don't work at all, get relaxed, be lazy, and eat whatever you want. In other words, you have to be financially prepared to retire. But no matter how much you save up for retirement, it's never enough. I am assuming that most people in my age would probably agree with me. I think I would be very insecure if I were to let go of everything... Of course, working in this age is stressful, but I also think that being in the workforce makes me feel secure, and stay young and active. Once you let that tension go, you age more quickly. It is important to have that tension, a sense of purpose, a sense of self-worth...that's what keeps us healthy. So, in my opinion, retirement does more harm than good to a person.

Byun described his feelings toward retirement and explained how he was being pushed to retire because of the pandemic:

I know I've reached the age, but I am not ready to fully retire...it's the pandemic that is forcing me to retire for good. It is just my opinion, but I think work is a means to stay healthy. As long as I am physically capable, I would like to work. It is not just about maintaining my physical health, but to be mentally strong and healthy. It's the work that I do that explains who I am. I am not sure if I would be able to accept myself as a retiree.

Rhee further refused to acknowledge the concept of retirement applied to him:

There is no retirement in life. Maybe there could be a financial retirement, but work is way to stay active and healthy for people in my age. Work at my age fits into my definition of leisure. If I could, I am going to work until I turn 80 years old. It's not just about being financially stable. You know, during the COVID-19, I had to stay at home most of the time and I feel like my health is declining quickly. There is not much to do if I don't work. The pandemic reinforced my belief about work as leisure.

In general, this group of participants perceived retirement as a life stage they want to avoid as retiring meant losing their social identity and the role they held for a long time. In other words, even though participants discussed how their past beliefs about their role as the head of the household had been compromised in the earlier years, they were still deeply rooted in the idea of Confucianism and they viewed retirement as a life event that could take away everything they have achieved and provided for their family.

5.1.2 "Retirement happens organically. How you accept it depends on whether you are ready or not"

Another group of participants had somewhat mixed feelings and attitudes toward retirement. Their perceptions of retirement were complex in that they were not necessarily in

favor of, or against retirement, but viewed it as an inevitable life event that is dependent upon how well a person is prepared to retire. For example, Cho argued:

I think what retirement means would be different to each person. To me, retirement is not a matter of being negative or positive. Frankly speaking, I don't really get the concept of retirement or have a clear definition of what it is. Wouldn't it happen naturally as you age? Well, hear me out. My mom, she is in Korea right now and she just turned 86. Do you know what she has been doing after her retirement? She helps children commute to school in the morning and works at a food service at an elementary school. Do we call that a retirement or retirement lifestyle? But she's still working. She does get paid a little, but strictly speaking, it's not really an economic activity. She is already financially well off, you know? I think about my retirement and work...hmm, I don't know. To me, everything you do would be considered as leisure once you fully retire.

Similarly, Jeong described his perception about retirement in a mixed way:

I think I am against the idea of retirement...or maybe not. Well, I don't know, I've retired three years ago and it is certainly better in a sense that I don't have to deal with the things that stress me out, but I don't move around as much anymore. I was already an inactive person while I was still working and now, I am stuck to the couch. Well, people say it's bad that I don't do anything, but I had worked so hard my entire life and I am finally taking a break on my couch (laughter). So...retirement... you get the opportunity to enjoy your life, but if you don't have any plans, then it becomes a bit concerning.

Another participant, Kim, accepted retirement as something that ought to happen sooner or later.

It's too bad that I've reached an age of retirement. There must be pros and cons...the pros, I would say I can focus more on my life and the cons, it is a sign that I am old. In

my mind, I am still young, but it's sad that I have been socially admitted as an older adult. But, hey, it's happening no matter what, and the bright side is that I will have more time to enjoy my life.

In addition, Kim shared his perspective on how work may function as leisure:

Work and life balance is a popular concept among the younger generation, right? Well, I think the concept also applies to people like us who are in the retirement transition. I think working in our age is not just about making a living, but more so of developing ourselves to be a better person. It also gives you a sense of structure in one's life. Without a job, a person loses an opportunity for critical thinking and simplifies everything too much...work is like a leisure for people our age...it helps us break through the monotony and rejuvenate ourselves.

Yang explained his definition of retirement while describing how he felt very close to the retirement phase of his life:

I feel like I am very close now, seeing several of my friends retire. How do I feel about retirement? Well, a human being is a social animal... so we live by what's defined by the society. The society has agreed and institutionalized the retirement age at 67, so people like us who are getting weaker everyday could live more relaxed life. Whether you want it or not, it's happening and what it implies is that we need to be ready to live a relaxed life. If you are not ready, then a life after retirement will be miserable. So, I am diligently preparing for my retirement so I can argue that retirement is a time I am rewarded for my life-long hard work.

Hahn talked about how a person perceives retirement depends on where he or she is situated in:

I guess it depends on the situation a person is in. People say we now live in the era of 100-year life. Well, can you afford to live the next 40 to 50 years without working? Then, retirement would be very enjoyable...thinking about retirement with financial freedom makes me really happy. As of now, I am semi-retired due to the pandemic, and I am saying “semi-retired” because, unfortunately, I am not yet prepared to fully retire. I know money is not everything, but all of my friends who have retired recently have been telling me that I need a bit more than just to get by. I also want to stay as a provider for my children, if they ever needed help...it is my priority to be, first, financially independent even if I fully retired and, second, have enough money to enjoy leisure after my retirement. So, at this point of my life, I think it makes the best sense to stay semi-retired for a while.

Yoon shared his experience of how his positive perception turned to being negative after being forced to retire due to the pandemic:

I had to retire unexpectedly last year due to COVID-19. Well, I've always looked forward to retiring, but I didn't think it was going to happen so soon. Not to mention that I didn't have any plans for my retirement, and I suddenly lost all my social connections. Leisure? There is no leisure because of COVID-19. This is not the retirement lifestyle I had imagined. I would go to the grocery store from time to time with my wife, but that's about it. Living about a year as retiree, I think I was more healthy when I was still working. I had daily routines...getting up in the morning and having somewhere to go is something I never thought I would have valued so much. Of course, I've always wanted to retire, but not this way.

Overall, participants who had mixed feelings were soon-to-be retirees or those who retired recently and mostly argued that whether the retirement transition would be good or bad depends on how well prepared a person is for retirement. Furthermore, this group of participants claimed that working at their age is more than just work. They viewed work as leisure and considered that that work promotes a healthier lifestyle by providing structure to life and opportunities for social interaction. In their words, leisure activities would not be as rewarding if they were not working at all because the joy of leisure comes from the feeling of getting away from their work.

5.1.3 “I couldn’t wait to retire. I can try new things now!”

A few participants had positive views of retirement and considered it as a time to get rewarded for their hard work. For example, Ahn argued:

I think retirement is necessary for people of my age. I have tried my best and worked really hard to support my children my entire life. Retirement, in my opinion, is then a time when I can get rewarded for my devotion. Well, the pandemic has moved up my schedule a little, but that’s fine. I’ve always wanted to retire. But I still want to work part time, because I feel like a person could end up being lazy if there is nothing to do after retirement. So, I certainly think that it would be best if I could semi-retire rather than fully retiring... For me, work is important because it gives me a sense of belonging, and it also allows me to reflect on the past. I believe work after retirement is one of the ways to promote and maintain healthy life.

Son also shared his positive view on retirement:

I am super positive about retirement. Everyone should retire when they are still healthy. I’ve worked very hard to make a living for my family and my life was dedicated to fulfilling the needs of my family. I want to retire when I am still healthy so I can do what

I want. Well, it makes me sad that retirement is also about a time when my children are leaving to live their life, but everyone has to go separate ways at a certain point. It is sad...but, it also means I will be free of the responsibilities to my children and could turn that energy for giving back to the community. So, I am waiting on my retirement with a joyful mind...I can't wait to retire!

Kwon further explained his motivation behind making the decision to retire:

Everyone has been telling me that it's best to postpone my retirement, which I disagree. Work involves too much stress, and to me, retirement would give me a sense of freedom. I get why my peers do not want to retire... it's better to go out and work than staying home doing nothing. But for me, work is a constant battle with the customers. I have to smile all the time... I have to curry favor with my customers... you know, I feel like I am walking on eggshells all the time. So, I wanted to be free of the stresses I get from work and have some more free time for leisure. Some of my friends are semi-retired, but that's not an option for me. I want to be fully retired. Never going back to work again. Never.

Hwang also related retirement to the sense of freedom that Kwon discussed:

Retirement means freedom. It's a reward given to a person who has worked hard throughout one's life and it also allows the sense of freedom...being free from all of the obligations and responsibilities a person had. Retirement also means hope for me. A hope that I can try new things that I was not able to do before. I just have so many other things I want to do so I am selling my business for good. A few of my friends consider their business operation a source of fixed income, but that's not truly a retirement I desire.

Although this group of participants were comparably small in numbers, they expressed their excitement for new opportunities after retirement. These participants were proud of their life-

long dedication to their family and were happy that they were at a life transition that absolves them from family obligations and responsibilities. What needs to be noted is that they seemingly had plans for leisure after retirement.

In this section, participants provided varying perspectives on retirement and work. However, across all groups of participants, work was commonly stated as another form of leisure or a means to (1) maintain their social identity and family role and (2) promote and maintain a healthy lifestyle after retirement. Furthermore, at the time of the interviews, the pandemic was present, and a few participants mentioned how they were forced to retire due to the pandemic. Whether they already held a negative perception or mixed feelings about retirement, being forced to retire because of the pandemic did not allow them enough time or autonomy to prepare for the retirement; thus, reinforcing the negative perception they already had or confirming the negative connotations around the term retirement.

5.2 Leisure in the lives of first-generation Korean immigrant men

5.2.1 Definitions of and attitudes toward leisure

The term *leisure* (레저) defined by the study participants was somewhat distinct relative to the conventional definition of leisure widely used in North America. When participants were asked, “how would you define the term leisure?” or “what comes to your mind when you hear the term leisure?” most participants associated the term with physical activities, sports, and water sports and activities. For example, Yoon mentioned, “I am a very active person, so leisure means something very active. For me, its soccer, but other people might think of different activities like wakeboarding or scuba diving.” Kim also commented, “I guess it (leisure) refers to a hobby. Golf and fishing for me, maybe. But the term really makes me think of water activities like fishing in general.” In a similar account, Yang said, “Leisure means exercise and physical

activities. I used to play tennis when I was younger and it's a lot of golf now. So, leisure is something that I enjoy doing." Kang described the term *leisure* as a source of vitality:

Leisure is a reward in return for hard work. It's a source of energy, you know, keeps me alive and vibrant. It's a way for me to get rid of all the stress I get from work. The first thing that comes to my mind when I think about the term *leisure* is water ski. Something that I've always wanted to do but never had the chance to. My leisure is soccer, something that was immediately available.

Some participants related the term *leisure* to traveling. For example, Baek said, "*Leisure* encompasses a lot of activities like sports, but for me, it's traveling with my family. You know, going on a vacation at a resort for two nights and three days or longer." Park also said, "I like golf, but my kind of leisure is traveling. Getting away from your ordinary routine is the joy of life."

What needs to be noted is that there is a term in Korean, *yeoga* (여가), which is another translated term of *leisure*. When participants were given the term *yeoga*, they began to associate it more with the use of free time for leisure activities other than aforementioned physical activities. For example, Cho provided a thoughtful description of how *leisure* and *yeoga* is different:

Leisure and *yeoga* are two different concepts. *Yeoga* describes the use of free time while *leisure* refers to certain activities or to describe an engagement in activities. So, *yeoga* equals free time or something a person would do during his or her free time, almost like a hobby, whereas, *leisure* is more like recreation that points to activities themselves like golf, fishing, tennis, hiking or cycling.

Likewise, Kim claimed, “*leisure* refers to those activities that involve physical activities, while *yeoga* is associated with free time, or sedentary activities.” Yoon also said, “*yeoga* is somewhat different than *leisure*. It’s a spare time I could use to...maybe watch a movie or something. But I was so busy working that I didn’t really have the chance to think about or engage in *yeoga*.” Yang considered *leisure* and *yeoga* as almost identical, but explained a difference in their nuance. “I think they are pretty much the same concept, except that *yeoga* is more like taking a break and relaxing...something sedentary.” Jeong also provided his own definitions of *leisure* and *yeoga*:

Leisure in general should be those activities like hiking or anything that is physically active. But because I have arthritis, I prefer my leisure to be less active. Let’s see...I consider traveling as leisure...like enjoying Mother Nature. So, for me, *leisure* is an involvement in something I want to do, while *yeoga* is the wise use of free time to relax.

Bae provided an example of his engagement in *leisure activity* and *yeoga*. “So, *leisure* are those activities that I do as part of exercise to keep myself healthy while *yeoga* is like going out with my wife for a walk or have a family dinner.” Rhee further explained, “*leisure* means exercise and *yeoga* is about finding happiness...it is relaxed and composed as opposed to rushed and tense.” The description of *yeoga* by most of the participants aligns well with Seo’s explanation. “*Yeoga* is having the time to take a nap or socialize with your friends. It’s pretty much about having a good time by your own will.” Furthermore, Baek shared his engagement in volunteering as part of his *yeoga*. “During my *yeoga* time, I do volunteer work with the local Korean American association. It’s my use of personal time to give back to the community, which I find it very rewarding.” This was the case for Kwon as well. “*Leisure* makes me think of golf or going out for fishing on the river bank. But I think about volunteering when I think about *yeoga*...you

know, using my free time for something that's rewarding." Thus, *yeoga*, according to the participants of this study, was associated with the concept of time. Park further provided an explanation that reinforces the general idea of *yeoga*:

...So when you combine a certain activity with *yeoga*, then it becomes a complete leisure... utilizing your free time for an activity that you like. As first-generation immigrants, we might have had time for leisure, but not *yeoga*. For me, *yeoga* is having enough free time to do leisure without having to worry about anything else.

In general, participants concluded that leisure is a narrower term that falls within the umbrella of the term *yeoga*. Hahn, for example, said, "they are not identical but playing golf could be considered as *yeoga* because I play golf during my free time. But, I wouldn't consider watching TV as *leisure*...it's *yeoga* because it is not an exercise, but something I would do to relax." Ahn provided a similar comparison:

Yeoga is having a lot of free time to do whatever you find rewarding other than work and *leisure* is something you would do as you get a chance. With that being said, wouldn't the concept of *yeoga* encompass *leisure*? That's how I view them.

Rhee further clarified the idea of how *leisure* is a sub-concept of *yeoga*:

Let me put it this way. Swimming is *leisure*, but would you say elite swimmers swim when they have a day off? It is very likely that they would do something else. So, *leisure* could be a hobby for some, but to others, it is an occupation. *Yeoga* is definitely a broader concept because it's something you enjoy doing when you have a spare time. When *leisure* is discussed as an occupation, then it's completely a different matter of subject.

Given that this study was designed to get at participants' leisure experience, participants were informed that *leisure* and *yeoga* would be used interchangeably during the interview, so that they

could share their experience of both the active and sedentary activities that they engage during their free time.

5.2.2 Religious activities and the Korean immigrant community

Before getting into the sections on their involvement in leisure activities throughout the life course, it is important to touch on their involvement in religious activities. Although not all participants identified themselves as a devotee to a religion, it was clear that these religious communities were the root of the Korean community where participants met new friends, socialized, and exchanged information. In other words, the religious communities were a major pathway to being involved in leisure activities with others or volunteering. For example, Jeong shared how he was introduced to the sport of golf:

I have group of friends whom I play golf with almost every weekend. I met them at the church and at our church, we are divided into groups of six to eight couples based on where we live. Basically, the groups are set up to worship and study the bible together. When I first moved here, I was assigned to one of the groups and each family took turns to invite all other members to their homes, studied bible together, had dinner, and while we were on it, kids played together. The older kids usually take care of the younger ones. So, we built relationships over time. And after a couple of weeks, I was invited to their ‘golf gang’ and that’s how I got started. It was my first time, so those that had been playing for a while gave me one-point lessons.

Cho also mentioned how his golf group developed from his involvement in the religious communities:

My golf group members consist of people from different churches. I have a total of twenty something members in my group. This is a group I started with my friend who

goes to the same church as I do, and one day my friend brought his friend who went to a different church. Then, he brought a person from his church and so on. Although we all went to different churches, everyone knew each other through a mutual friend, and I think this is another Korean immigrant community of its own.

Ahn also talked about his involvement in volunteering and other leisure activities with people through his church:

I haven't been to church for the Mass in a while because of the pandemic, but I still participate in volunteering activities at the church. Before the pandemic, I also had a group of friends whom I met at church and we used to play golf together a lot. We also went on a road trip together once or twice a year...we played golf or went out for winter bass fishing. It was a lot of fun.

Hahn further spoke about how his involvement in volunteering at his church extends to social gatherings:

It's not like we say goodbye after volunteering activity. We would sometimes meet up for dinner at a restaurant and then off to someone's house for a couple of rounds of drinks. And as we have fun drinking, we would plan a trip together on the fly and we bring all our family on those trips. So, it becomes like a huge family vacation.

Kang shared about how local Korean churches established soccer teams to invite more people to come to their church in the 1980s:

...We are seeing fewer Korean churches nowadays, but back then, we had tons of Korean churches throughout the community. It was more than just a religious community, you know. It's where Koreans were gathering. And these churches were making soccer teams to attract people to come to their church...competing for more members to be part of

their church. If you think about it, most of us...the immigrants were not well off financially back then. But soccer, all you need is a ball, people, and a field. The entry barrier was low, and a lot of people... I would say almost everyone in the area started playing soccer ever since then.

Hwang was one of the beneficiaries who was introduced to the sport of soccer through church as Kang described above:

My soccer team members all went to the same church, so I thought I might give it a try. Before then, I was an atheist. What I realized when I began to go to church every weekend was that the church was serving as the center of the Korean immigrant community. People sought and shared information about business trends, real estate, education for their children and many more. It was also a place where people gathered and socialized. The community really helped other Korean immigrants who were new to the area, and I am one of the many immigrants who has benefited as such.

As described by many of the participants, religious communities were the nexus for leisure engagement which expanded their membership to the broader Korean immigrant community.

5.2.3 Leisure activities in the early years of immigration

As depicted in the above section on their immigration experience, many participants mentioned they did not have a lot of time for leisure in the early years of their life in the United States. Yoon, who reported that he was having depression symptoms after being forced to retire because of COVID-19, said, "I used to do Judo, but soon realized that I don't have time for it anymore because I had to work. I've always wanted to go back to it again, but I am too old now..." It was only after several years of working when participants finally found some time for leisure activities. For example, Kang said:

...I was too busy working. Settling in and making a stable income was my priority. It was only after seven or eight years that I got to take the weekends off. I usually slept in until late afternoon, but one day, I wanted my weekends to be meaningful. So, I joined one of the local Korean soccer teams to make some friends and that's how my kids fell in love with soccer too. Back then, there were not a lot of Koreans in the area, so everyone pretty much knew each other. On the weekends, everyone would bring their family, and everyone brought something to eat. It was like a potluck...dads playing soccer, moms socializing, and kids playing around. There were hundreds of people on the weekends, and I am not exaggerating at all. It was almost like a festival, and I am pretty sure everyone looked forward to the weekends just as much as I did.

Similarly, Son mentioned:

I am certain that almost all immigrants at the time were in a similar situation. We had invested all of our time working...including the weekends. We were all here for the American Dream and it was only achievable with hard work. So, leisure? That didn't apply to us until we became sort of stable. I think it took me 10 years, if not more, to finally turn to leisure activities...for me it was soccer. I was reading *byeorook-shijhang* (i.e., translated as 'flea market' in English; a local Korean informational paper where people put up advertisements) and I saw an ad looking to recruit founding members of a soccer team. So, that was the start. Yeah, it was the good ole' days. It wasn't just about playing soccer. Everyone would bring their family and we would do barbecues, and if any of the kids had a birthday on the week, we would throw a party together. It was the only pleasure in my life at the time. It's a bummer we don't do that anymore... our kids

are all grown-ups now and they are just too busy or tired to join us for these sorts of events on the weekends

Ahn also talked about how he had to give up the leisure activities he used to do back in Korea and spent the first several years working:

I was very active. I used to play some hockey and Taekwondo back in Korea. But when I got here, I was just too busy and by the time I got home, I was just too exhausted. I had to wait until my business became a bit more stable...

Kwon shared his involvement in a religious community in which he considered as his only leisure activity in the early years of immigration:

I don't think I had much time for leisure activities. Well, if religious activity is also a leisure, then, that's what I did. There was a group at my church which consisted of peers who were around my age, and we would meet up every other weekend after church to grab something to eat. We then went to a park nearby and chatted about things all day long. That was my only leisure that helped me relieve all the stress I got from work.

Park, although very busy, shared his experience of playing tennis after he took off from work:

I used to work 100 hours per week and I believe it was pretty much the same for all other Korean immigrants at the time. It was miserable, but I still wanted to do something other than work. So, late at night, I would find a nearby tennis court that had its lights on, go there and play about half an hour and come back home. Those 30 minutes every night really helped me survive at the time.

Participants also spoke about how their initial motivation for playing golf was to build a network for their businesses. For example, Ahn further explained how he got into playing golf as he thought it would help his business:

About five years after, I felt like my business operation was much more stable, so I started playing golf. It was an expensive sport, but my brother told me that it would be helpful for building a network for my business.

Likewise, Bae who worked at a restaurant mentioned:

My boss recommended me to play golf saying that it would help me connect with the clients. He knew that I had a plan to open up a restaurant and it made sense. These clients he was referring to were potential investors. So, I just got used golf clubs and went to the driving range. Well, it wasn't fun at all. I felt like golf was just another part of my job to play golf.

Hahn also said he started playing golf mainly for a business purpose:

I started playing in 1981 and played once a week with my clients and business partners. Frankly speaking, playing golf at the time was too much for me. I was paying for myself and the clients' greens fee and the dinner afterwards. I just didn't have enough money to afford everything, but had to play anyway if I wanted my business to thrive. So, it was a do-or-die sort of situation.

Cho mentioned golf in a similar manner:

Golf was a prestigious sport that not anybody can play back in Korea. It was still expensive to play, but the entry barrier was much lower here. And before I started my own business, I was an expat for Hyundai's branch in North America and whenever managers visited from Korea, it was required to play golf with them. So, I really did not have any choice but to play. Also, to be very honest, playing golf was something I could brag about if I were to go back to Korea, so I guess that was the motivation of how I started playing golf.

For other participants, leisure in the early years could be characterized by their effort to provide their children with educational experiences. For example, Kwon mentioned traveling, which he was not able to do until he turned 40 years old:

One day, I thought to myself, ‘what is the point of life if all I do is working?’ I just couldn’t find a time to spend with my wife and kids. So, I promised to myself that I would be a better husband and a better dad, and part of the effort was to set aside time for traveling. I’ve always thought it was my job as a parent to broaden my children’s worldview. So, we went on a trip to Japan and Korea, and to this day, my children tell me that it was an experience of a lifetime. So, I am glad I did that because that’s something I can’t do anymore as my kids are all grown-up and they are all married now.

Rhee also stated how family responsibilities such as providing children with daily necessities prevented him from engaging in leisure activities:

...It wasn’t until our kids got to middle school. Traveling was way out of our family’s option and leisure was too much to hope for going back and forth between work and giving kids rides to school and to their extracurricular activities. When I finally was released from some of my duties as a father, I picked up golf. When the kids grew up a little, I also took them on a trip, but it was mostly for educational purposes. One of their assignments was to present what they did over the summer and I wanted to provide my kids an experience they can share with their friends at school. So, I took them to Korea where their identities are rooted. It was like a heritage trip. But frankly speaking, I didn’t want to go (laughter). It was all for the kids.

In comparison, Byun, instead of giving up leisure completely, took his children into nature to do outdoor activities:

Of course, I was busy working, but my priority was to be a good father. And being a good parent is not just about feeding them. I thought it was important to spend a lot of quality time with my children. So, I took my kids out for fishing and camping trips to a nearby river whenever I could. It served two ends, you know? I liked fishing and my kids loved camping. I would just sit at the riverbank with my fishing rod while watching my kids play around.

While many of these men were busy working in the early years, a few participants incorporated time for family leisure as part of their children's education.

5.2.4 Golf, soccer, and fishing as life-long leisure activities

Considering the types of leisure activities these men engaged in over their life course, golf, soccer, and fishing were brought up as activities they have continuously engaged in for several reasons: (1) were age appropriate, (2) helped them maintain their social identity, and (3) provided social benefits they needed. Interestingly, the meaning of these activities changed over time and ultimately, helped their transition to retirement. Jeong, for instance, gave an in-depth explanation of his involvement in golf:

I have been playing golf for nearly 40 years now. My co-workers then all went to a local Korean church, and they asked me to join. So, I went with them every weekend and at that time, golf was very popular. After church, everyone except for me would go to the local golf club to play. Back then, it was a sport that only those with high social status could play and a sport that symbolizes your social status. If you played golf, it was much easier to make friends who could potentially be your business partner. So, my co-workers urged me to play saying that it would help me tremendously if I later opened my business. From what I remember, they said important conversations happen on the golf

field. So, I thought of golf as an opportunity and an investment. That's how I got started. Then, as time went on, it became part of my routine. Our golf group has a scheduled golf meet every Wednesday and this is the day I get to hang out and socialize with a bunch of my friends. I also play more than just on Wednesday, if any of my friends are available to play on other days. What's funny is that we rarely talk about business now...we are just out there to enjoy the view, to walk to fulfill 10,000 steps that we have to walk every day and it's great. We call the golf course the green carpet and being out in the vast of green spaces clears my mind and adds positivity. Without golf, I would have ended up either being a miserable workaholic or a lazy, useless, retired old man stuck in the couch. I am really glad I started playing earlier.

In a similar account, Baek mentioned what golf means to him as a retiree:

...I started playing golf because golf was a thing among Korean immigrants. But hey, it really helped me build my social network overtime and that's how I stay connected with others even now. After 18 holes, we would go to a restaurant, have a couple of beers and that's all leisure, right? Well, we don't get to do it as much because of COVID-19, but I can tell you that golf is all about staying connected at this age. As I am nearing retirement, I think about what else I can do, but I doubt that there is a perfect alternative.

Kim also spoke about how golf helps him maintain his sense of being:

Golf is one of the popular sports many retirees play...Golf used to be a symbol of wealth, but I don't think that's the case for people at my age... I consider myself as almost like an athlete, practicing golf every day. I watch the game on TV, if I am not out on the field or at a driving range. It's good that I am immersed into something especially during the time when many people feel the futility of life. My mind is occupied, and I have goals to

achieve. Having that sense of purpose is what keeps people healthy... this conversation reminds me of a quote from a doctor named Kenneth Cole. He said, 'we do not stop exercising because we grow old – we grow old because we stop exercising.' So, yeah, it's important that we continually get exercise to stay healthy both mentally and physically.

Baek also talked about how golf is age appropriate and helps him maintain his health:

I have diabetes...it is just in the family history. So, I try to get at least 40,000 to 50,000 steps a week and golf helps a lot. I would never get those steps by walking around the neighborhood and the park nearby. And walking is boring. I also used to play soccer, tennis, and bowling, but you know, I am old. My joints are not what they used to be, and I should be careful about getting injured. In that account, golf, I think is a perfect sport for people at my age.

Park who used to play tennis shared his experience of quitting tennis and switching over to golf.

...I don't play tennis anymore. It's a lot of running down the court and physically very challenging at this age. Back in the days, a lot of people, including myself, played tennis, but gradually switched over to golf. It's just the environment we are put into. There is a trend. Plus, not many people at my age play tennis, so I wouldn't really have anyone to play with. Everyone is playing golf and you have to go with the flow or you will be isolated otherwise.

In a similar account, Yang said:

I used to play tennis a lot, but once I reached 45, tennis was too tough. One day, after five sets, I felt like I was biting off more than I can chew. You know, it wasn't it for me anymore. In comparison, golf is much more...I would say static. You don't have to run

around and it's a lot of walking. So, golf is really something a person at my age can do to stay healthy.

Bae who mentioned earlier that golf felt like another part of his job shared how he fell in love with golf:

...But I ended up playing golf for nearly 27 years now. It wasn't fun in the beginning, but all of my friends were all starting to play around the same time, so we would play together time to time. I still hated playing with my clients but playing with my friends was a lot of fun. We would make a bet over a dinner or a drink afterwards and oh boy, that really gets your blood pumping. We still do it today and everyone is so much better than before which makes it very competitive...I think my retirement would have been very dull if I didn't play.

Hahn also stated:

I did start playing golf for a business purpose, but it's more for my mental and physical health now. Golf is just a means to gather around and socialize. We would have a cup of coffee, go for a drink or sometimes go play billiards afterwards. So, it was gradually replacing my work. Well, COVID-19 got in the way, but I am hoping for the best.

Participants often started playing golf either as part of their effort in building a social network for their businesses or as a symbol to represent their social status when they were much younger.

However, as they neared retirement, golf was discussed as an age-appropriate leisure activity that enabled them to socialize and helped them maintain their physical health.

Aside from golf, soccer was a leisure activity that many participants reported playing to this day. For example Kang explained how modified rules allowed them to play until now.

I am aware that many people stopped playing soccer as they aged and what used to be a festival alike has decreased in its size. I think there are only about four teams around the area now, but we've modified the rules to minimize injuries...no contact, with reduced game time.

Kang also explained how it's more than just playing soccer:

...Almost everyone on our team is retired or semi-retired. So, after the game, we would go to Carl's Jr. for a cup of coffee or go play billiards, and then a dinner and a couple of beers. It pretty much takes up whole day. While we looked forward to the weekends to relieve stress when we were still working, I think we look forward to the weekends now for the social happening after the game.

Yoon shared what soccer means to him which aligns with Kang's point on the value of social gathering after the match:

Only thing I look forward to now is soccer on the weekends. Everything stopped because of COVID-19 and only thing that's still happening is soccer. I've played throughout my life, but I have never valued it this much up until now. It's the only chance I get to hang out with my friends...I think my depressive symptoms would have worsened if I didn't have this.

Although playing soccer was not as big as it used to be, it was still a leisure activity that participants enjoyed to this day that enabled them to socialize during the transition to retirement.

What needs to be noted is that golf and soccer are sport activities that have specific meanings to Korean immigrants. For example, Baek shared his perspective on golf:

Koreans just love golf. Koreans' love of the sport is a world class affection. I wouldn't necessarily say it's good or bad, but I think it's in the culture. People want to brag about

their social status. That's why Koreans are so obsessed with what car they drive, what brands they wear, and I think, playing golf is one way to express that. People seem to have pride in themselves playing golf, you know? And it's also in the culture in a sense that... if my friend buys a house, then I must buy a house, and if my friend's kid go to Harvard, then my kid also should go to Harvard.

Similarly, Kang expressed his thoughts about golf and soccer:

I think Koreans are very passionate about golf and soccer. These are the sports that are in our hearts. Not only are they something we love to play, but these are the sports that gave Koreans a pride. Remember when Seri Park won the LPGA in 1998? And the 2002 World Cup? As an immigrant from a country that used to be a developing country, these are the sports that gave us catharsis and a courage that we can do it too. We just cannot get away from these two sports. It's been around all along for me too.

Thus, participants' perspectives, thoughts, and attitudes toward soccer and golf provided an explanation as to why these two activities are prevalent among Korean immigrants.

In other cases, fishing was brought up as a life-long activity that helped them stay connected to the nature. For example, Cho mentioned:

Fishing is something I have started very early in my life. I started before I even came to the United States. I went out on a fishing trip at least once a month. When I first came here as an expat, it was a lot of golf, but fishing was my true getaway. It was much easier to go fishing and gears were way cheaper too. Have you ever gone out for fishing? You sit at the riverbank alone, it's the calmest place you could ever be at. The warm breeze and smells of nature really calms your mind. At the time, I lived two hours away from the Hudson River, so I invited a few of my friends whenever I went fishing. Those friends

are the ones whom I go on a fishing trip with to this day. As I am interviewing today, I realized that leisure activities really provide a person with social benefits outside of the work setting. I think I should plan out my leisure well to stay connected once I am fully retired.

Byun also spoke about his life-long engagement in fishing and how his participation pattern and the meaning of the activity changed over time as he neared retirement:

Since I have more time as I am semi-retired, I and my wife would just load up our car with golf clubs, and fishing and camping gears and go on a road trip. I think that's good thing about being a retiree. You can just leave whenever you want...the meanings of these activities changed, of course. Fishing and camping were something that brought us together as a family when our children were young. Now, it's something that bonds me and my wife together during the retirement transition which could have been very depressing.

Byun further shared his duty as a founding member of an online Korean fishing community and how the role served him in a positive way during retirement transition:

My friends and I made an online Korean fishing group about 10 years ago to bring people who have similar interests together around the area. I never thought that it would grow so big, but it did. Managing the group forum and events is another job of its own and I think it's good that the community work keeps me busy. It's an outlet that helps me maintain my routine. At our age, especially, if you are retiring, it is really important to have something to do every day.

Cho, who was a friend of Byun, added an explanation of what fishing means to him:

Fishing is something that brings us together and keep us active. Retirees do not have much to do and often become very lethargic. I've seen friends who became so lethargic and depressed that they gave up on everything. Some of them even reached a point where they suffer from social anxiety disorder. They avoid my calls, but I understand.

Retirement is a tough time to be in... I am glad I am involved in the fishing group with Byun because it gives me a work to do and something to look forward to. It also forces me to socialize with others even if I didn't want to (laughter). Staying connected at this age is important, you know?

Fishing was discussed as family leisure during their working years, but it evolved to be more of an activity that participants do with their significant others or an activity in which they hung out with their friends as they neared retirement. Furthermore, their engagement and contributions to the fishing community functioned as a means to keep them busy during their retirement transition.

In general, golf, soccer, and fishing were the most common activities that participants reported to have engaged throughout their lives. Interestingly as depicted above, their meanings and patterns of engaging in each activity changed overtime as they neared retirement.

5.2.5 Cultural difference and leisure activities

Participants of the study reported that they engaged in leisure activities with fellow Koreans most of the time. It was rarely the case in which participants engaged in leisure activities with people other than Koreans. When they were asked why this was the case, many mentioned cultural difference and how it made them uncomfortable. What is particular about the findings of this study is that the discomfort from cultural differences has persisted into the retirement years. Ahn, for example, stated:

Every leisure activity I do, it's 99.9% with Koreans. It's not like I don't like other people, but because I feel more comfortable being around other Koreans. It's probably the case for all Korean immigrants, but we form our own social circle because of the language in the first place. So there, you already lose the opportunity to learn other cultures and so did I...I've lived here almost 40 years and I still don't fully understand how things are done around here. Such cultural difference comes to me as a huge barrier to hang out with other Americans. I can still communicate in English, but I have to constantly think about how they would perceive what I say and if anything I say is rude. And also, the small talk. I just don't have much to say, but I always worry if they would think I am angry or if I don't like them. It's always on my nerves and that kind of interaction is very exhausting. So, I just prefer to hang out with Koreans, you know.

Bae also shared his experience of playing golf with Koreans and Americans:

It's all with my Korean friends now, but I used to play with the clients who only spoke English as well. Although it's the same golf I was playing, it was very different. When I played with the clients, I felt like it was an extension of my work. I wasn't comfortable speaking English, but I wasn't also familiar with their culture. I was the one that was obligated to entertain them, so it wasn't the pressure I get from playing golf, but a pressure to make sure I made their experience pleasurable. And I don't have that pressure with my friends.

Bae's comment clearly demonstrates how the meanings of golf changed over time in a way that golf is not work-like anymore. Byun also talked about how he tried to hang out with Americans, but it did not work out as well as he would have liked:

When I was much younger, I played racquetball or tennis to hang out with people other than Koreans. I wanted to learn more about their life and culture, and we had fun indeed. But deep down, we knew there was a difference that we would never be able to overcome. Our upbringing was just too different. I believe they felt more comfortable around people like themselves as much as I felt more comfortable with Koreans. It's not like we intentionally team up with people alike and reject others, but it's more of human's instinct to feel more comfortable around those who are alike.

Cho also said he plays golf with non-Koreans, but was somewhat pessimistic that such interaction would develop any further because he did not want to say anything that would be perceived as rude or inappropriate in American culture:

Golf is booming now because of the pandemic. The golf club I go to is so crowded compared to last year. Because it is so busy, the front desk would pair us up with another couple when I go with a friend or with my wife to play. I guess that's the only time I get to hang out with foreigners, but the conversations that take place out in the field are so timid that we would just focus on hitting the golf balls. It's almost like saying 'how are you?' to greet a person. You are not really interested in how they are actually doing, right? (laughter). Part of it may be because we perceive them as more different than ourselves. Not that I don't respect them or anything...I would say, because I respect them, I don't want to be rude, and I just save my words to minimize any possibilities of offending them in any way. It should be the same for all Koreans...because English is not my first language, there are occasions when I say things in an unintended way. So it's a courtesy conversation most of the time on the field and I doubt that anyone develops a friendship over that.

Bae further elaborated on how leisure activities can become almost like work when he is around people other than Koreans:

There are times when I am forced to do certain activities with other foreigners. Say, for example, I go on a tour and I am paired up with people who don't speak English at all. I am fine with casual conversation, but it is hard to go beyond that. There is no common interest and I really don't have anything to say. Who knows what their interests are? So, what might be a social gathering for Americans, it becomes almost like a work... I have to pay attention to what they are saying and have to look out for what I say in English. It's exhausting and I don't think anybody would like to be exhausted after doing what they like to do.

However, there were instances in which participants were interacting with non-Koreans in a leisure setting. For example, Byun shared his involvement in the online fishing community and how it led to impromptu meet ups:

... we have around 3,000 members on our online fishing group. As one of the founding members, I would occasionally contact other non-Korean fishing community members and exchange information on good fishing spots. Usually what happens is, we go to a fishing spot and there are bunch of other white folks at the spot, but it's usually the people I've already made connections with online. Although we may be culturally different, fishing unites us all. At the end of the day, we would brag about what we caught with other groups and share cooking recipes. These guys, all they know is how to grill the fish, so they love when we show them how to prepare fish for sushi and cook a spicy fish soup.

Overall, participants were not intentionally rejecting others (i.e., people other than Koreans), but reported that they just felt more comfortable being around people like themselves who understood their culture. It was also a common case that participants did not want to be rude by saying or doing things that might be unacceptable in other cultures. However, as Byun's fishing experience implies, leisure setting served as a place in which different people came together to share and appreciate other cultures.

5.2.6 Retirement as an opportunity for leisure innovation

As participants shared their retirement experience, many mentioned they have more time for leisure activities, which allowed them an opportunity to engage in new activities they did not have the chance to before retirement. For example, Ahn shared:

The laundromat business just does not allow you a lot of time for leisure. Playing golf and going on a fishing trip was only on a very few occasions. Maybe twice a year or so. But after retirement, not only do I have more time for golf and fishing, but carpentry has become my thing. I have always wanted to do woodworking, but I was just too exhausted after work. So, as soon as I retired, I got into carpentry, watched a lot of YouTube videos, bought all the gears I need and made the table and the bookshelf at home. I guess that's the joy of retirement, right?

Hahn mentioned that he recently started learning to play drums:

I owned several restaurants, Korean and Japanese. Running a couple of restaurants didn't allow me a lot of free time, but I've always wanted to play drums. Also, I was staying home most of the time after retirement, demotivated to do anything and I was very lethargic. So, I thought to myself maybe I should start something. I already knew how to read basic drum notation, so I got on to it right away. You know, you just can't play golf

all day long every day. Leisure can certainly replace my time that I spent working but I needed a variety. So, I added the drums. I think I would have suffered from depression if I didn't start it.

Jeong also got into gardening as he was nearing retirement:

Now that I have more time, what I recently started is gardening. I have a flower bed and a vegetable garden. I must have aged to say these things, but when you reach about my age you will understand and value the preciousness of life. It's thrilling to see flowers bloom and see vegetables that you've harvested on the dinner table. It's very rewarding and I am always excited to wake up in the morning to see how much they grew overnight.

However, adding a new activity after retirement was sometimes limited due to COVID-19. For example, Yoon started learning Spanish, but he was forced to stop because of the pandemic:

It's really depressing that I was forced to retire because of COVID-19. My plan was to work for a few more years. With all the unexpected time, I wanted to learn something, so I went to a local community center to learn Spanish. Unfortunately, they shut down soon after the outbreak...I've tried online sources, but studying by myself is not working for me. If my retirement went as I planned it to be, I would have done so much more. There were things I wanted to do once I am fully retired.

Nevertheless, participants were hopeful that things will turn to normal soon with the availability of the vaccine. Hwang, for example, provided a list of things he wanted to during his retirement and was hopeful that he would soon be able to do some of the activities on his bucket list:

I felt like I was always running out of time. Now, that I am retired, I want to travel, read books, and meet more people with ease in mind. In my opinion, retirement is an opportunity for new experience or learning something you've never had the chance to. In

that sense, my dream is to make 365 friends and meet one person a day, visiting their places here and there. I like hanging out with people. It's always exciting to share and get to know their perspectives on things. Well, the pandemic has made everything very difficult, but once everyone gets vaccinated, we should be able to go back to what it used to be and resume what we stopped doing.

Some participants also viewed retirement as an opportunity to give back to the community. For example, Hahn shared his experience volunteering:

...I think I have done enough for my family. As I have more time now, I spend a lot of time at church and I was given an opportunity to volunteer, which I found it very rewarding. As I age, I feel like it is my one final duty from God to give back to the community. Maybe that is what retirement is meant for. Volunteer works are something someone has to do if I don't. In my 30s, 40s, and 50s, I had other responsibilities. And if I think about those times, I got a lot of help along the way. Now as a retiree, it's time for me to help those in need.

Byun also considered volunteering as a leisure activity and mentioned that he is planning on it:

...I think it's very important at this age that we engage in meaningful activities.

Retirement is about utilizing the free time that was given to you wisely. In that sense, I consider volunteering a meaningful leisure activity and I plan on allocating some of my time for giving back to the community. I just haven't figured out how I should go about it yet. Reflecting on the past, many people helped me all along. I remember not paying anything at the hospital when we delivered our first child because we were at the federal poverty threshold. Now that I am much better off, I think it's time for me to give back to the community. It means a lot to realize that I am now in the position to contribute.

In general, participants agreed that retirement gave them a lot of free time for new activities. Participants also agreed that leisure activities, to some extent, replaced the times that would otherwise have been occupied with their work and that it would be wise to fill in the free times with a variety of meaningful leisure activities to enrich their lives.

5.2.7 Leisure needs and the lack of opportunities for leisure

While participants most commonly brought up traveling as part of their retirement plan, they were also interested in starting new leisure activities or getting back to the activities they had to give up because of their work and family responsibilities. However, limited choices were discussed as a common challenge. Specifically, participants mentioned that most of the available programs offered from nearby recreation and community centers lacked in variety or were therapeutic in nature. Byun, for example, said:

Oil painting was my hobby when I was in high school. It's definitely something I want to get back to. I think I have a knack for those type of activities. Photography is another thing I would like to learn. I go on fishing trips a lot, and it would be great if I had a skill to take some good outdoor landscape photos. I can just get the things I need and learn from YouTube, but it would be great if community centers provided some of the programs where people can also socialize...it's much easier to interact with people who have similar interests.

Shin, who is into marathon running, also highlighted the importance of socialization:

My first goal after retirement is to run a full marathon. I have been running by myself, but it would be so much more fun if I ran with others...I mean, if you think about it, older people need someone to talk to. Once you retire, you rarely get to meet new people and your children are busy with their lives. So, I think it would be great if community centers

provided more opportunities for people like us to gather and socialize. In my opinion, leisure activity is a great means to bring people in who have similar interests and the problem is we don't know how to get together unless someone takes a lead. I think the community centers or recreation centers could provide that for people at my age.

Participants' viewed community centers and local parks and recreation centers as a potential nexus for older adults who wish to connect with others during their retirement transition.

Furthermore, participants shared their thoughts on the current programs and explained what their actual needs are. Kim, for instance, explained how difficult it was to find a sport program for older adults:

I went around local recreation centers and all they had was pickleball. They should provide more than that. I am still healthy, you know? I feel like I am still in my forties and all I see is a pickleball for people at my age...that makes me sad. I want to play team sports like basketball or soccer...of course, rules need be modified so it suits the physical abilities of people at my age. I assume there are quite a few people who would join if it was available.

In a similar account, Hwang said:

The only reason I am stuck with soccer is because I can't find anything else. I want to participate in recreational sports programs, but all I see is either pickleball or water therapy pool sessions. One thing about sports is that it's hard to gather people unless there is a platform that provides it. Local leagues and clubs are all for kids. Nothing is available for older people.

A few others wished for more educational programs that provided learning opportunities.

For example, Yang mentioned:

I hope community centers provided more educational programs where we can learn things taught at universities. A lot of us don't have learning experiences in higher education and sometimes, I feel like I am falling behind... We spent our whole life supporting our children so that they can go to a good school and get a decent job. But sometimes, I have hard time having a conversation with my children because we lived in two different worlds. That's why I started reading a lot of books and it's interesting how I am realizing there is so much to learn in this world.

Son also wished for programs where he can gain basic knowledge on gardening:

Gardening is something I want to do, but I just don't have enough knowledge about it. It would be great if there is a program where I can learn the basic stuff for gardening. I sometimes imagine a community garden where members of the community grow their own vegetables or flowers and sell whatever we harvested at a farmer's market. It will be a lot of fun.

Similarly, Jeong said he would definitely join a carpentry program, or a group guitar lesson if they were targeted to people at his age:

I hope there was a program for woodworking or a group guitar lesson for older people like me. I looked it up on google and found a few, but they all seemed like it was for younger people. I don't know, it would be somewhat embarrassing to show up to a program or a class and realize that I am the only older person in the room.

In addition, Kwon said he was interested in Yoga, but explained why he was hesitant to attend a class:

My wife is a yogi and she attends yoga classes at YMCA. When she's in the class, I work out at the fitness area. When I am finished, I watch the class and it's a lot of women. I've

practiced it at home with my wife occasionally and it's a good exercise. I would love to do it but imagining myself being in the Yoga session at YMCA, it's too intimidating. I wish there was like a couple yoga where couples come in so half of the room is filled with men. I would be much more comfortable if I am not the only man in the room.

Overall, it was clear that participants of the study wanted more variety of leisure activities they can participate. Social aspects of the activities was also very important as they perceived social interaction as a way to stay connected and maintain their mental well-being. Furthermore, they viewed and relied on local community and recreational centers as a hub or a platform where people with similar interests could gather and engage in leisure activities together.

Altogether, the findings revealed participants' various perceptions of retirement and what leisure meant to them during their retirement transition. Semi-retirement lifestyle was valued regardless of their perceptions toward retirement (i.e., negative, mixed, positive). Work was not just a means of acquiring money, but an activity that helped them stay active and healthy. However, they understood that they will have to move toward complete withdrawal from work sooner or later as they aged. Thus, having a 'well-thought-out plan' that is filled with leisure was particularly important. In addition, their leisure throughout the life course often revolved around their religious communities, which extended to the Korean immigrant community. The social circle they developed within the religious community often got them involved in various of leisure activities including, but not limited to, golf, soccer, traveling, fishing, and volunteering. However, the patterns and meanings of these activities changed overtime as they neared retirement in a way that helped them maintain their continuity in the retirement transition. Furthermore, while participants viewed retirement as an opportunity for more involvement in

various leisure activities, they also discussed their leisure needs, but how the lack of opportunities prevented them from participation in leisure.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Discussion

6.1.1 *Summary of the findings*

This study explored the lived experience of first-generation Korean immigrant men's retirement experience relative to their leisure behavior. All participants openly shared their experiences of immigration, retirement, and leisure with a conversational tone in answering the interview questions. The conversations and exchange of ideas during the interview process generated in-depth insights that led to the development of themes relevant to the research questions. Research questions included the following:

- (1) What are older Korean immigrant men's perceptions of leisure in terms of their attitudes toward leisure and what leisure means to them?
- (2) What is the role of leisure in their experiences of the transition to retirement?
- (3) How, if at all, do their leisure activity patterns changes across the transition to retirement?
- (4) How do their cultural values and experience as members of the Korean immigrant community shape their attitudes toward leisure and leisure opportunities during their retirement experience?

Their immigration experience and career paths allowed me as a researcher to further interpret their lived experiences in-depth. As the data analysis progressed, several themes emerged. The emergent themes include (1) definitions and attitudes of older Korean immigrant men toward leisure; (2) work as leisure; (3) leisure as a lifelong activity with changes in its patterns and meanings; (4) religious activities and the Korean immigrant community as the nexus of leisure

engagement; and (5) their leisure needs during their retirement transition. Following this section are the interpretations of the data, and an in-depth explanation of how the emergent themes come together as the lived experience of first-generation Korean immigrant men in retirement transition.

6.1.2 Older Korean immigrant men's definitions of and attitudes toward leisure

My positionality as a Korean man pursuing a doctoral degree in a US institution allowed me to be proficient in both English and Korean. During my duration of training as a doctoral student, I noticed a subtle difference in the way the term “leisure” was being used in the United States compared to how the term is used in South Korea. According to Stebbins (2017), leisure is defined as free time away from work obligations and the way the given free time is spent. Thus, leisure behavior “is about how the free time is spent,” which could be depicted as an individual’s pursuits in structured or non-structured activities that participants perceive as ‘leisurely’ (Iso-Ahola, 1986)

In comparison, in South Korea, leisure generally is not understood as a concept that is associated with free time, but rather a category that represents various physically activities. Arguably, the term leisure is rarely used alone but it is either used together with another word that represents the type of activity, or as a compound word. For instance, *leisure sport* (레저스포츠) or *leports* (레포츠; *leisure+sport*) refers to outdoor activities in general and they are divided into largely three subcategories: (1) *water leports* (수상레저) which include, but not limited to activities such as scuba diving, rafting, wakeboarding, and windsurfing; (2) *ground leports* (육상레저) that include tracking, climbing, bungee jumping, horse riding, golf, and mount biking, (3) *air leports* (항공레저) that include paragliding, base jumping, skydiving, and drone racing.

The study participants' definitions of leisure reflected the differences of the term's nuance. When they were asked how they would define the term leisure, they responded with the type of leisure activities such as golf, fishing, and traveling, rather than associating the term with the concept of utilizing free time for leisure activities. It was only when the term *yeoga* (여가; a translated term of leisure) was presented to the participants when they began to discuss what is similar to the widely used concept of leisure in North America. In other words, while *leisure* referred to the types of leisure activities, *yeoga* was about finding happiness by utilizing free time wisely for first-generation Korean immigrant men. Furthermore, while the term *leisure* often encompassed physically active leisure, participants related *yeoga* more with social activities, relaxation, or other sedentary activities such as having a dinner with family, reading a book or taking a break. In support of the finding, Lee et al. (2001) demonstrated a significant difference in the definitions and meaning of leisure between Americans and Koreans.

Previous research on the meaning of leisure were conducted by asking people how they define leisure (e.g., Neulinger, 1981; Roadburg, 1981; Young & Willmott, 1973). Furthermore, similar studies have been conducted in the Chinese language from a cross-cultural perspective (Gui et al., 2019; Liu et al., 2008). These studies have illuminated factors such as pleasure, relaxation, the absence of obligations, and the absence of pressures that represented the state of mind or the subjective experiences of leisure, rather than the activity itself. Thus, as *yeoga* represented more of the meaning of the activity and *leisure* pointed to the types of activities for these Korean immigrant men, the use of the terms should be carefully considered. What needs to be noted about such finding is that not only does it diversify the concept of leisure, but it also expands our scope of understanding how leisure might be perceived differently in its nuance when cultural background is considered. In other words, based on the population of interest for

research on minorities, the design of the survey questionnaire and interview guides need to be carefully constructed in a way that is culturally appropriate.

6.1.3 Life after 30 years: Identity as immigrant men

The Immigration Act of 1965 and the rapid Korean economic development in the 1980s provide a context for the participants' immigration to the United States. The South Korea's fast-growing economy in the 1980s gave a rise a new middle, working class, who aspired upward social mobility (Koo, 1991). In fact, the study participants largely belonged to the middle class in South Korea and their desire for economic success was stronger than ever. Many participants already had families and relatives who immigrated to the U.S. prior to their arrival, and therefore, they had already been exposed to what it was like to live in the U.S. Thus, their stories of immigration support previous studies in that most of them sought economic success, which was a particular reason for their immigration (Min, 1990; Park, 1997; Yoon, 1995). The same motivation applied to those participants who did not initially intend to immigrate. Whether it was seeking a degree from the United States or providing a better educational environment for their children, these were all part of their effort for upward social mobility by jumping on the bandwagon to come to the United States.

The findings also suggested that participants mostly held a positive view of the United States before immigration. Earlier studies claimed the U.S. military rule after the defeat of Japan in 1945 left a lasting impact on the Korean society, in that, many Koreans were influenced by strong economic, political, and cultural ideals of the United States (Koo, 2019; Park, 1997). Perhaps, participants grew up in the era in which severe tension between North and South Korea brought about political instability, and therefore, it is comprehensible that participants perceived immigration to the U.S. as an opportunity to seek a better life.

However, while they emigrated full of hope for pursuing the ‘American Dream,’ they did not know what challenges awaited them. As Park (1997) portrayed in her book titled, *The Korean American Dream: Immigrants and Small Business in New York City*, “they heard about only the good aspects of American economic life. The dollar was very strong against the Korean *won*, and the annual income of Americans was at least 10 times that of Koreans until the early 1980s” (p. 12). Unfortunately, the reality was nothing like these participants had imagined prior to immigration. Some of the unforeseen circumstances and challenges described by the study participants include their lack of English proficiency, degraded social status, cultural difference and breakdown of the past norms, racism, and their status of residence. These challenges also have been depicted by the earlier studies of Korean Americans (Lee, 2007; Min, 1990, 2001; Park, 1997). Often, due to these challenges, opening a small business was almost a rite of passage for many participants. This was also the case for many Korean immigrants as documented in previous literature (Min, 1984; Park, 1997; Yoon, 1995). Min (1990) stated in his research article that, “Korean immigrants are engaged in low level, blue collar businesses, and thus most Korean entrepreneurs face the problem of status inconsistency” (p.436).

In line with the current study, previous research findings immigrant leisure experiences have demonstrated that that their immigration experience and cultural background seemed to have posed significant leisure constraints in the early years of immigration (Juniu, 2000; Stodolska, 1998, 2000; Stodolska et al., 2020). Specifically, some participants’ context of arrival as undocumented or temporary status contributed significantly to their leisure constraints. For instance, they had to devote much of their time to work, hoping that their employers would sponsor them for immigration visa – this was necessary for them to survive as immigrants which allowed them little time for leisure. Based on the similar notion that social contexts of

immigrants need to be considered, Stodolska et al. (2020) also emphasized the importance of taking into account the context of arrival in exploring leisure constraints among immigrant populations. Furthermore, many study participants, as small business owners, seemed to have held themselves to a higher standard of work ethic, claiming that it was their responsibility to support their families. While many scholars have indicated that one of the main avenues for upward economic mobility for immigrants was by running a small business (Portes, 1981; Portes & Bach, 1985; Sanders & Nee, 1987), Min (1990) also argued that Korean immigrants were “successful in labor intensive small businesses mainly because they worked long hours (p. 437).” Nevertheless, some reported that their self-esteem lowered as the reality of their situation forced their wives to be working mothers. This implies the changes in the gender role within the family after immigration and how such changes affected their long-held beliefs and cultural values (Hyun, 2001; Min, 2001; Park & Chesla, 2007). Considering the situational context they were in, participants perceived leisure as an extravagance that only the wealthy could experience. They did not have enough time for much leisure during their early working years. It was only after several years of business when they finally took several days off to go on a family trip or enjoy the weekends to play soccer. In some instances, participants played golf, but it was mostly part of building a business network. In support of these findings, Stodolska and Alexandris (2004) demonstrated that Korean immigrants engaged in leisure only after they became economically stable, and golf in particular, was a means for building a business network. Also, the motivation for occasional family trips was to provide their children educational experiences, rather than leisure for themselves. This finding supports previous studies that East Asian parents, based on the Confucian ideology, place a high value on education and believe that parental effort

is the most essential factor in their children's academic success (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 1995; Kim et al., 2018).

Although their leisure engagement in the early years may have revolved around their businesses or children rather than themselves, they found some time for leisure participation nonetheless, which could be explained under the notion of Crawford et al.'s (1991) hierarchical model of leisure constraints. For instance, participants wanted to engage in leisure activities during their working years. However, they felt obligated to work hard to settle in, which in turn, made them consider leisure as an extravagance (i.e., intrapersonal constraint). This is consistent with the study by Anttila et al. (2009) on time famine among Finnish employees. It was not the occupation itself that gave employees the feeling of lack of time, but rather the expectations and standards concerning lifestyle (i.e., intrapersonal constraint). Furthermore, these men hardly found any time for leisure activities, which was the most powerful deterrent to participation (i.e., structural constraint). Thus, it led to non-participation in many individual leisure pursuits. However, constraints were less of an issue when they went on a family trip, played soccer or golf on the weekends for mainly educational (i.e., for their children) and business purposes, thus leading to some participation in leisure. In conclusion, their leisure experiences during their working years support Crawford et al. (1991)'s notion that "social class may have a more powerful influence on leisure participation and nonparticipation than is currently accepted...the experience of constraints is related to a hierarchy of social privilege" (p. 317).

Furthermore, what has not been discussed as much in the recent studies on Korean Americans is how first-generation Korean immigrant men are living today, many years after they came to the US. Even many years and sometimes decades after they immigrated to the US, many participants were still operating businesses that previously categorized them as blue-collar

workers (i.e., laundromats, cleaning services, restaurants), but they were much better off financially after a few decades. As they were nearing retirement, they became successful entrepreneurs owning several laundromats, cleaning services, or restaurants in the area. Thus, their attitudes toward leisure changed overtime, as they came to appreciate the true value of leisure as they neared the retirement transition. A unique contribution of the current study is that participants' challenges as immigrants persisted 30 years after immigration. This is somewhat contradictory to the previous notion that leisure constraints are experienced based on where they are in terms of their life stages (Stodolska, 2000). Moreover, the finding of the study about how participants prefer to hang out with fellow Koreans contrasts with the idea that leisure constraints among immigrants diminishes with increasing assimilation level (Stodolska, 1998). Rather, this finding supports a more recent study which suggested that older Korean immigrants' acculturation strategy (i.e., a strong adherence to ethnic culture) may make them more isolated and vulnerable to lingual and cultural barriers in the mainstream society (Rhee, 2019).

6.1.4 Retirement and leisure for first-generation Korean immigrant men

Interestingly, both the patterns and perceptions of retirement were unique for the study participants. In particular, participants' retirement experiences were different than someone who worked for a company as they were mostly small business owners who had the choice of when and how to retire. One might have assumed that the study participants would most likely want to retire as soon as possible given all the difficulties they navigated during their working years as immigrant men. However, this was not the case for the most participants, which was surprising. The term "semi-retirement" repeatedly came up, implying their willingness to work beyond the age of 65-67. It is plausible that they are not bound by the traditional retirement age of 65-67 as they are business owners and therefore the conventional concept of retirement does not apply to

the study participants. In fact, there is a dearth of conceptual and empirical retirement research on small business owners (Alterman et al., 2020). The difference between employees of a company and small business owners is that, often, employees of a large business or an organization are provided with opportunities such as monetary incentives to retire as they near retirement age. Employees are provided with a variety of retirement assistance in the form of financial planning consultation or seminars (Alterman et al., 2020; Lusardi & Mitchell, 2011; Taylor et al., 1997). Thus, such organizational conditions facilitate a culture that encourages retirement around a certain time period. However, for the study participants, they were not encouraged or forced to retire, but rather had volition of when and how to retire. This is well depicted in the conceptual model of small business owners' retirement process by Alterman et al (2020), which considers antecedents (i.e., psychological ownership, business-related family conflict, potential successor, presence of business partners, and business financial value) that lead to various retirement options such as family succession, retire from management while maintaining ownership, independent sale, and liquidation. According to Alterman et al. (2020), such a process yields two major outcomes, one being psychosocial well-being and the other being financial well-being. Although the findings did not address all of the components depicted in Alterman et al.'s (2020) conceptual model, it was evident that most participants fell in either of two categories: (1) partially retired but maintained ownership, or (2) the sale of the business to another entity.

For those who were partially retired, they are established entrepreneurs who have successfully set up a business operation, they have a "cash cow" in hand, and therefore, do not have a solid reason to leave the workforce completely. In other words, the option to partially retire provided participants bridge employment that helped them maintain certain levels of work

engagement as they move toward complete withdrawal from work (Shultz, 2003) while gaining financial benefits. This finding is consistent with a study on partial retirement that revealed that workers who said they would never fully retire were mostly business owners (Kim & DeVaney, 2003).

What is particular about this study is that the findings revealed why it was important for them to maintain certain levels of work engagement. It was important for them to maintain their social identity as a primary breadwinner. Participants felt the bridge employment, or the status, as they called it “semi-retired,” helped them maintain their self-worth, especially as a husband, a father, and a member of society. I believe this is the case for Korean immigrant men largely due to their beliefs and attitudes toward their lives. It is so deeply rooted in their long-held work ethic – very similar to the Protestant work ethic³ – and cultural beliefs that work is a large part of their identity. One of the firmly held beliefs among Koreans is that one should be able to earn his own bread. This implies the value Korean immigrant men place on work. This also aligns with the value Americans place on education and career status. People work relentlessly to achieve their career goals and often find it hard to leave their careers behind (Tacchino, 2013). Almost all participants who fully retired after they sold their business also expressed their willingness to work at least a part-time job for the very same reasons that semi-retired participants mentioned.

Participants also found joy in remaining capable to support their adult children, if they ever needed help financially. A study on Chinese, Maghrebi and Filipino immigrant population in Italy (Albertini, 2018) found that immigrants viewed financial support for adult children as an efficient investment strategy for their integration and success in the society. This may be the case for study participants, but arguably, participants might have considered fulfilling their duty as

³ Large proportion of Korean immigrants to the United States in the 1970s and 1980s were Christians prior to their immigration even though Korea never has been a major Protestant country (Min,1992)

parents most satisfying considering their long-held Confucian ideals. The parental obligation for their children is a self-imposed duty (Daniels, 1983), thus, morally required, but something that many cannot fulfill in the retirement phase of their lives. It is often the case in which adult children support aged parents based on filial piety (Wang, 1999). Therefore, wanting to remain capable of supporting their children could be another reason for participants wanting to stay in the workforce.

Most importantly, work gave them a sense of structure to their lives, which they deemed extremely important. For these men in the retirement transition, work was considered as leisure which helped them stay active and healthy. This confirms the ‘spillover’ hypothesis⁴ that retirees’ experiences on the job carry over into the nonwork arena (Staines, 1980). Participants talked about the importance of work and life balance. In their words, they needed to work to appreciate the true value of leisure. Without work, leisure was just another form of means to kill some time meaninglessly. One of the commonly used idioms (i.e., idiom; 노는 것도 하루 이틀이지, 사람 구실은 해야지) among Koreans are that enjoyment of leisure lasts only a day or two if they are not making any contributions to the group an individual belongs (e.g., family, group, community, society). This is consistent with the study on phased retirement (Tacchino, 2013), in that, participants chose to opt in for “semi-retirement” or “phased retirement” for a better work-life balance as there is a growing notion that “work keeps life interesting and fresh” (p.45).

The question then is what the role of leisure might be during their transition to retirement, given the values Korean immigrant men attach to work. Notably, leisure was a way for them to

⁴ The ‘spillover’ hypothesis is directly in contention with ‘compensation’ hypothesis, which argues that retirees are likely to compensate for work deficiencies with their choices of leisure and family activities (Staines, 1980).

replace their work as they were heading toward complete withdrawal from their work. Often, participants feared the retirement lifestyle and mentioned that a person should have a well-thought-out plan for retirement and leisure was a crucial part of their ‘well-thought-out plan.’ Thus, as previous studies have articulated, retirement was a ‘crisis’ that is associated with disruptive role loss challenging personal well-being in later life (Lo & Brown, 1999; van Solinge & Henkens, 2008). However, while their work was the main route to connect with others and maintain their social identity, they certainly saw that leisure activities replaced their work role and provided them with a sense of continuity. In fact, previous studies found leisure to be related to both personal identities and social relationships as they transition to retirement (Kelly, 1987; Kelly et al., 1987). Thus, the socialization aspect of a leisure activity was particularly important for older adults in retirement transition if it were to replace the benefits they gained from working.

As leisure provided some continuity when these men faced role loss due to retirement or semi-retirement from work, another important role leisure served was providing them with a sense of structure and a purpose. As it was described in the previous section, work during their retirement transition was considered leisure because it gave them something to do every day, which they said helped keep them active and healthy. Thus, this finding is consistent with existing research in that having a sense of structure and a purpose seemed directly associated with their well-being (Goodman et al., 2017; Liechty & Genoe, 2013; Netz et al., 2005; Rowe & Kahn, 1987, 1997).

Furthermore, leisure was a source for confirming their self-worth. Those who actively engaged in volunteer work as part of their leisure found their self-worth through giving back to the community. This is similar to the findings of Liechty and Genoe (2013) in that older men

were different compared to older women in that they generally expressed that “giving back” to the community by utilizing work-related abilities and skills contributed to increased self-confidence. Volunteering was also important as it aligned with the altruistic values of Confucian ideologies. This finding aligns well with the results of previous studies on the positive effects of volunteering on older adults’ well-being and their motivation to volunteer (Morrow-Howell et al., 2003; Okun et al., 1998).

6.1.5 Leisure in the lives of first-generation Korean immigrant men

Participants’ perceptions of leisure and their leisure pattern varied over time, and these changes could be partially explained by the Confucian ideology (Chao, 1994; Chao & Tseng, 1995) and Korean cultural values that are deeply rooted in them (Kim et al., 2006). Specifically, participants’ expressed their *haan* (恨, resentment) as they went through the struggle as immigrant men (i.e., breakdown of the past belief and norm, degraded social status, racism, language barrier). Nevertheless, the *haan* they accumulated over time also motivated them to do better and succeed in achieving their goals (Kim et al., 2006). The lack of time among immigrants have been widely documented (Chavez, 2012; Stodolska, 2015, 2020) and this was the case for this group of study participants in that they considered leisure as an extravagance in the earlier years of immigration. Furthermore, participants’ collectivistic orientation and their adherence to Confucian values may have constrained their engagement in leisure. In fact, studies have suggested that Confucian ideology represented by the strict social hierarchy and a strong focus on education might have hindered one’s individual leisure pursuits (Schutte & Ciarlante, 1998; Stodolska, 2015; Stodolska & Yi, 2003; Walker et al., 2007). Interestingly, their *haan* may explain how they were able to give up the leisure part of their lives for work in the early years. They were working hard, not just to better themselves as businessmen, but to provide better lives

for their family members. Such perseverance in the face of challenges might also be based on the importance the Confucian ideology places on family (Chao, 1994), thus, even the occasional leisure activities were often for the purpose of providing educational experiences for their children (e.g., traveling, camping, fishing; Chao & Tseng, 1995), rather than as leisure for themselves.

Golf was also an activity that participants engaged in during their earlier years. Yet, many stated that they did not start playing because they wanted to, but because everyone around them was playing, and therefore playing golf was necessary to build a network for their businesses to thrive. In their study of leisure patterns among immigrants, Stodolska and Alexandris (2004) also found that playing golf helped Koreans forge social connections that benefitted their business. However, participants did not explicitly mention that they played soccer to build a network for their business. Rather, soccer enabled them to connect with other Korean immigrant families and be part of the Korean immigrant community where they gained useful information (e.g., information about good school districts, obtaining immigrant visa, jobs, etc.). Thus, playing golf and soccer in the early years of immigration could be explained as a direct result of the *Noon-chi* (눈치, implicit social cues) culture to survive in the new environment. Although they were living in the United States, they mainly belonged to the Korean immigrant community where the hierarchical and collectivistic nature still remained. Thus, if one had the *Noon-chi*, playing golf was necessary to survive and make their way into the social circles within the Korean immigrant society. Furthermore, they relied on one another to make their way into the mainstream society of America by sharing information critical to their survival as immigrants. Thus, again, if one had *Noon-chi*, it was obvious to connect with the Korean immigrant community. This finding

supports Kim et al's. (2006) claim that "*noon-chi* may serve as useful tools in building relationships with community members and gaining access to Korean organizations" (p.154).

However, as they neared retirement, their perceptions of leisure and the meanings of their involvement in these activities changed. They became truly appreciative of the value of leisure in their pathway to successful aging. Particularly, what used to be for their family members and to be in the inner circle of the Korean immigrant community was now for their mental and physical well-being. Leisure was not an extravagance anymore, but something that could provide them a continuity in their lives and enrich their retirement lifestyle (Havighurst, 1963). Leisure perhaps was perceived as a key to successful aging as the study participants were navigating around the retirement transition. This supports Nimrod's (2007) contention that coping with challenges in retirement transition contributes to successful aging. As a matter of fact, leisure facilitated continued and meaningful engagement with life, which is an important aspect to successful aging (Rowe & Kahn 1987, 1997). Furthermore, participants provided their perceptions of leisure that support two bodies of literature on retirement and leisure; (1) retirement as the time to engage more in the activities they have been engaging in (Long, 1987; Earl et al., 2015), and (2) retirement as an opportunity to engage in new leisure activities (Jaumot-Pascual et al., 2016; Principi et al., 2018).

However, some leisure constraints (e.g., language barrier, cultural differences) seem to have persisted throughout the lives of these older Korean immigrant men in a way that directly contradict the previous notion about how leisure and recreation can facilitate intergroup contacts (Kim et al., 2014; Stodolska, 2015; Stodolska & Alexandris, 2004; Tirone & Goodberry, 2011). Other leisure constraints, for example, the lack of program variety from the local parks and recreation centers and community centers supports previous literature on immigrants and

their limited access to, and the lack of quality recreation opportunities that meets the interests and needs of minority groups (Casper & Harrolle, 2013; Stodolska, 2015).

Applying the Crawford et al.'s (1991) hierarchical model of leisure constraints, it seems participants are at a crossroads of participation and non-participation, which has important implications. Their interpersonal and intrapersonal constraints have been negotiated and it seems mainly the structural constraint remains to be removed, which could be addressed at an organizational level by offering a wider variety of leisure programs. It is also important to note that Korean churches served as a primary nexus for leisure engagement that helped them build social ties with others throughout their lives. This finding supports previous studies on the role of Korean churches among first-generation Korean immigrants in the 1970s to 1990s (Min, 1992). Many attended ethnic churches in the United States, and they were “the most important ethnic organizations for Korean immigrants, which helped them to maintain social interactions and cultural traditions” (Min, 1992, p.1370). In addition, the social ties built upon church membership provided small business owners “with financial assistance, training, business advice, and information about business opportunities” (Yoon, 1995, p. 315). Those who found their self-worth through volunteering also sought opportunities through church, as their social network evolved around the ethnic churches they attended. This aligns with previous literature in that churches facilitate volunteer and political participation among first generation immigrants (Mora, 2012; Son, 2018).

6.2 Theoretical implications

6.2.1 Continuity theory

Overall, findings were consistent with the tenets of Atchley's (1999) Continuity Theory in that participants were striving to maintain their internal and external patterns with developmental goals in mind. They increased their adaptive capacity by utilizing both work and leisure. Participants' occupational identities were carried over into their retirement transition and they continued to derive self-esteem from them (i.e., maintaining internal patterns). Specifically, they viewed work as leisure, which was the primary means to maintain their identity and self-esteem, while viewing leisure as a bridge between pre- and post- retirement life, which will gradually replace their work (Atchley, 1971). In fact, even though participants placed a strong emphasis on the importance of staying in the workforce, financial gain was not the main reason. Work was considered very 'leisurely' and they acknowledged that this, too, will and should be replaced by other leisure pursuits for successful adaptation to retirement.

Participants also viewed leisure activities as a means to maintain and continue their external patterns. It was implied from their responses that they were constantly attempting to maintain continuity by gradually replacing work with leisure activities. They found leisure activities (e.g., golf, soccer, volunteer) to be helpful in this account, as leisure activities helped them stay connected and maintain social relationships during their transition to retirement. As such, this finding aligns well with existing literature in that leisure activities provided a sense of continuity during the retirement transition process when their work activities were likely to change significantly (Earl et al., 2015).

As participants articulated the roles of leisure during their transition to retirement, it was clear that their developmental goals related to successful aging. As Park asserted, life after

retirement is all about how to ‘die well,’ highlighting the value and the importance of a ‘well-thought-out plan’ that is filled with leisure activities to enrich their retirement lifestyle. Perhaps, participants’ responses in this account implied that their defined ideal self and lifestyle (i.e., developmental goals) would be utilized as a benchmark for assessing the results of adaptation (Atchley, 1999).

In addition, participants’ desire for an encore career, or bridge employment was part of their effort in increasing their adaptive capacity to maintain their internal continuity in the face of discontinuity (i.e., retirement). This is consistent with Atchley (1999)’s notion that participants were confident about what produces effective decisions that lead to greater satisfaction in their lives as they continue to evolve. Previous studies also have articulated the usefulness of continuity theory in examining how bridge employment contributes to greater retirement satisfaction and overall life satisfaction (Kim & Feldman, 2000; Dingemans & Henkens, 2014).

6.2.2 Leisure innovation theory

Findings partially supported Nimrod’s Leisure Innovation Theory (2008) as some participants only expressed their interest to add new activities to their leisure repertoire after retirement. Given that many of them were still semi-retired or not quite retired, they have not yet added any new activities, but rather considered full retirement as an opportunity to add new leisure activities. Thus, it was not quite possible to discern whether leisure innovation contributed to their successful adaptation to retirement per se. Nevertheless, participants acknowledged that they will have more free time in the near future, and therefore considered leisure or *yeoga* as means to use the free time wisely, possibly by adding new leisure activities. This partially confirms the notion that leisure innovation may be more common than it was previously assumed (Nimrod, 2008; Nimrod et al., 2009). This notion contradicts the previous

finding by Jaumot-Pasucual et al. (2016), which suggested that women tended to be more innovative in terms of adding new activities to their leisure repertoires, while men tended to stick to their life-long leisure activities even after retirement. The current study's participants were generally open to the idea of adding new leisure repertoire, however, removal of the structural constraints (i.e., providing more appealing leisure programs and opportunities) seems to be needed for leisure innovation to happen.

Participants' interest in adding new activities were based on both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in that (1) they shared how they had interest in activities that they were not able to engage because they were busy working, and (2) they accepted leisure as the primary adaptive strategy in their retirement transition. What became apparent was their desire for continuity, which led to their interest in both self-preservation innovation and self-reinvention innovation (Nimrod & Kleiber, 2007), though the type of activities they wanted to start were under the influence of their long-held internal constructs of self. For instance, some wanted to reinvent oneself by giving back to the community while others wanted to preserve one's internal and external patterns by engaging in social activities such as family gatherings, playing golf and soccer with their friends, or going on a trip with their wives along with other couples. While the study participants expressed their desire for both Self-Preservation Innovation (SPI) and Self-Reinvention Innovation, they were more likely to lean towards SPI. This finding supports Nimrod's study (2016) in that SPI activities were far more common than SRI activities and that it might be the case in which only SPI promotes well-being as it is more closely geared towards internal continuity (Atchley, 1999; Baltes & Carstensen, 1996).

6.3 Practical Implications

There were only a few cases in which participants interacted with people other than Koreans. This finding is somewhat contradictory to one of the Stodolska and Alexandris (2004)'s finding on how active leisure pursuits may play a role in facilitating inter-group contacts and breaking barriers between immigrants, other ethnic minority groups, and mainstream Americans. However, for this particular group of study participants, such phenomena could be explained from the perspective Hall (1976)'s high and low context culture as they were often afraid of how different communication styles might offend others. Furthermore, it seems like more systematic approach is needed in order for leisure setting to be a place for inter-group interactions. This is also reflected in the study participants' response on what they perceived as constraints and what their needs are. They hoped local parks and recreation centers, community centers, or other non-profit organizations provided more variety of leisure programs where they can meet people with similar interests, rather than programs for a specific ethnic group. They were also healthy older adults, who sought recreational sport programs beyond widely offered pickleball. In fact, Massie and Misner (2019) demonstrated how ageism might indirectly hinder older adults' participation in leisure-time physical activity (LTPA) because of the hasty assumptions on which the programming is based. Hence, sport-for-development programs among older adults are another area of study to further prepare our society to meet the needs of the growing older population. Furthermore, drawing from the findings of the current study, organizations and practitioners who design and implement leisure programs should consider implementing the following strategies that are consistent with what Stodolska (2015) had suggested: (1) provide a wider variety of recreational sport programs, (2) leisure settings could be a place in which positive inter-group contacts could be fostered, (3) and it might be helpful to provide parks and recreation staff

members an educational seminar that helps them understand different cultures and communication styles as part of their diversity and inclusion effort.

6.4 Limitations and directions for future research

A major limitation of the study is that the first-generation Korean immigrants interviewed were largely individuals with high socioeconomic status. It would be necessary to conduct a similar study with those who belong to lower socioeconomic groups as their retirement transition and patterns of leisure are likely to be vastly different. Another limitation is that the study was conducted on Korean immigrants, thus, implications from the findings are not applicable to other ethnic minorities. For a broader perspective on ethnic minorities and their leisure behavior, the retirement transitions of other ethnic minority groups should be explored. Given that the current study identified the importance of leisure during transition to retirement as well as their leisure needs, it would be interesting to see more evaluative research on current leisure programs offered at parks and recreation centers. Furthermore, a quantitative study on a bigger scale based on the findings of the study could provide insights into program development targeting diverse groups of older adults in the United States.

6.5 Conclusion

This study was proposed and designed considering the growing population of older adults and the lack of leisure and retirement studies on the immigrant population in the United States. Findings of this study support previous research in Asian American studies, leisure studies, and retirement studies, and also provide valuable insight from Korean immigrant men's lives. The study also highlights the complex interactions between cultural values, immigrant experiences, and leisure behavior. Specifically, (1) leisure as adaptive strategies during retirement transition, and (2) factors that need to be considered for designing future leisure programs to facilitate

desired outcomes for older Korean men are highlighted. Furthermore, this study contributes to existing literature by applying Continuity Theory and Leisure Innovation Theory to Korean immigrant men's leisure and retirement experiences, which broadens our understanding and application of the theories that were often limited to an older white, female population. Some new findings of the study also suggested the next steps going forward as a field of study and as an industry. As life expectancy is increasing with the development of technology and medical care, there are more young-older adults (i.e., those who are around the retirement age of 65) who are healthy, which was also the case for participants. Therefore, findings of this study present important theoretical and practical implications for promoting retirement lifestyle that may help them stay active and healthy, thus, experience successful aging.

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APPENDIX A: INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL



OFFICE OF THE VICE CHANCELLOR FOR RESEARCH & INNOVATION

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
805 W. Pennsylvania Ave., MC-095
Urbana, IL 61801-4822

Notice of Exempt Determination: Amendment 01

April 7, 2021

Principal Investigator	Laura Payne
CC	Wonock Chung
Protocol Title	<i>Exploring adjustment to retirement: Leisure in the lives of the first-generation Korean immigrant men living in the United States</i>
Protocol Number	21579
Funding Source	Unfunded
Review Category	Exempt 2(i)
Amendment	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Expand recruitment from exclusively midwest to across the U.S.• Adding income survey to demographic questionnaire
Determination Date	April 7, 2021(Amendment)
Closure Date	February 14, 2026

This letter authorizes the use of human subjects in the above protocol. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS) has reviewed your application and determined the criteria for exemption have been met.

The Principal Investigator of this study is responsible for:

- Conducting research in a manner consistent with the requirements of the University and federal regulations found at 45 CFR 46.
- Requesting approval from the IRB prior to implementing major modifications.
- Notifying OPRS of any problems involving human subjects, including unanticipated events, participant complaints, or protocol deviations.
- Notifying OPRS of the completion of the study.

Changes to an **exempt** protocol are only required if substantive modifications are requested and/or the changes requested may affect the exempt status.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

IORG0000014 • FWA #00008584
217.333.2670 • irb@illinois.edu • oprs.research.illinois.edu

APPENDIX B: RESEARCH PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT FLYER (ENGLISH)

Recruitment Material – Flyer

PLEASE PARTICIPATE IN A STUDY ABOUT RECREATION AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES & KOREAN IMMIGRANT BABY BOOMERS IN RETIREMENT!

We would like to better understand the nature and meaning of older Korean American men's experiences of recreation and leisure activities during the transition to retirement.

If you are a **Korean man** who is

- ∴ aged **56 – 74** (born between the years 1946 – 1964)
- ∴ has had a **full-time job** in the US for more than 10 years
- ∴ planning to **retire in 3 years** or have **retired no more than 3 years ago**
- ∴ and enjoy doing recreation and leisure activities

please consider volunteering to participate in this study!

We would love to hear your stories of immigration, retirement, and recreation and leisure activities that you enjoy. We will do 1:1 interview that will last about an hour.

If you would like to participate in this study or ask questions, please contact:

Wonock Chung
wonockc2@illinois.edu
773-707-7477

Researcher

Wonock Chung, Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Principal Investigator

Laura L. Payne, Ph.D., Professor
Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism
University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign

APPENDIX C: RESEARCH PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT FLYER (KOREAN)

Translated Recruitment Material

은퇴하신 베이비 부머 세대의 성인들을 대상으로 레저와 레크리에이션과 관련된 인터뷰에 응하실 분들을 모집합니다!

저희 연구팀은 은퇴 시기의 성인 남성들이 어떠한 레저/여가 활동을 즐기시는지, 또 이러한 여가 활동들이 해당 성인 남성들에게 어떤 의미를 갖는지 등을 알아보고자 합니다.

다음 조건들에 해당하시는 분들을 모집하고 있습니다.

- ❖ **56~74 세** (1946 년 ~ 1964 년 생)의 **남성**
- ❖ 미국에서 **10 년 이상 정규직** 근무 경험 있으신 분
- ❖ **3 년 후 은퇴 예정**이시거나 **최근 3 년 이내에 은퇴**하신 분
- ❖ 여가 활동을 즐기시는 분

저희 연구팀은 귀하의 이민 경험, 은퇴, 및 여가 활동에 대한 소중한 이야기를 듣고자 합니다. 인터뷰는 1:1 인터뷰 (온라인, 오프라인 선택 가능)로 진행될 예정이며 한 시간 정도 소요될 예정입니다.

이 연구에 참여하고 싶으시거나 질문이 있으시면 다음으로 연락 주십시오:

정원옥
wonockc2@illinois.edu
773-707-7477

연구원

정원옥, 박사후보생
레크리에이션, 스포츠 및 관광 학과
일리노이 대학교 어바나 샴페인

책임연구원

Laura Payne, Ph.D., 교수
레크리에이션, 스포츠 및 관광 학과
일리노이 대학교 어바나 샴페인

APPENDIX D: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH)



Social Behavioral Research Consent Form

Exploring adjustment to retirement: Leisure in the lives of the first-generation Korean immigrant men living in the United States

You are being asked to participate in a voluntary research study. The purpose of this study is to better understand the nature and meaning of older Korean American men's leisure experiences during the transition to retirement. If you decide to be part of this research, you have the option to participate via (1) Zoom or Skype interview; (2) Telephone interview; or (3) Face-to-Face interview. Your participation will last approximately 50-80 minutes.

Due to the COVID-19, risks related to this research include contracting COVID-19. Given that there is a greater risk of severe illness from COVID-19 among older adults, we encourage you to participate by Zoom, Skype, or telephone. Although benefits related to this research may be indirect to the participant, it will help the researchers and practitioners better understand how to improve existing leisure and recreation programs and design and implement future leisure programs targeting aging and recently retired individuals.

Principal Investigator Name and Title: Dr. Laura L. Payne
Department and Institution: Department of Recreation, Sport & Tourism, the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign
Contact Information: 104 Huff Hall, 1206 South 4th Street, Champaign, IL 61820, USA. Tel: +1 217-244-7038. E-mail: lpayne@illinois.edu

Why am I being asked?

You are being asked to participate in a research study about leisure and Korean American Baby Boomers in retirement. The purpose of this research is to better understand the nature and meaning of older Korean American men's leisure experiences during the transition to retirement. You have been asked to participate in this research because you meet the following participation criteria:

- 1) The potential participant must be a Korean immigrant man who has had a full-time job in the United States for more than 10 years
- 2) The potential participant must be individuals born between the years 1946 – 1964
- 3) The potential participant must be individuals planning to retire in three years or have retired no more than three years ago from full-time work in the United States
- 4) The potential participant must be individuals living in the United States

Approximately 15 - 20 participants will be involved in this research conducted by researchers at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision to participate will not affect your current or future dealings with the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting that relationship.

What procedures are involved?

The study procedures include one of the following: (1) Zoom or Skype interview; (2) Telephone interview; or (3) Face-to-Face interview. If you choose to do a face-to-face interview, the interview will take place at an outdoor location of your choice to minimize the risk of contracting COVID-19. We encourage you to participate either by Zoom, Skype, or telephone. The researcher will share with you further instructions on how to access the online meeting room on Zoom or Skype. You only need to do

one interview with to participate in the research study. The interview will last approximately 50-80 minutes.

What are the potential risks and discomforts?

Given that there is a greater risk of severe illness from COVID-19 among older adults, we encourage you to participate by Zoom, Skype, or telephone.

Are there benefits to participating in the research?

Although benefits related to this research may be indirect to the participant, it will help the researchers and practitioners better understand how to improve existing leisure and recreation programs and design and implement future leisure programs targeting aging and recently retired individuals. populations in the United States.

Will my study-related information be kept confidential?

Faculty, staff, students, and others with permission or authority to see your study information will maintain confidentiality to the extent permitted and required by laws and university policies. The names or personal identifiers of participants will be removed and replaced with pseudonyms. None of your identifiable information will be published or presented.

Will I be reimbursed for any expenses or paid for my participation in this research?

You will not be offered payment for being in this study.

Can I withdraw or be removed from the study?

If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time. The researchers also have the right to stop your participation in this study without your consent if they believe it is in your best interests, you were to object to any future changes that may be made in the study plan.

Will data collected from me be used for any other research?

Your de-identified information could be used for future research without additional informed consent.

Whom should I contact if I have questions?

Contact the researcher Wonock Chung at +1 773-707-7477 or wonockc2@illinois.edu if you have any questions about this study or your part in it or if you have concerns or complaints about the research.

What are my rights as a research subject?

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Office for the Protection of Research Subjects at 217-333-2670 or irb@illinois.edu.

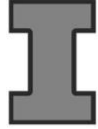
Please make sure you have read all the information, asked any questions, and have received answers to your satisfaction. You will be given a copy of this form for you to keep.

Please answer the following statements:

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| I understand this letter and voluntarily agree to participate | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| I give permission for the interview to be video/audio recorded | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| All my questions about participating in the research have been answered | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| I agree to participate in this research. | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |

APPENDIX E: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (KOREAN)

Translated Informed Consent Form



연구대상자용 연구 설명문 및 동의서

Exploring adjustment to retirement: Leisure in the lives of the first-generation Korean immigrant men living in the United States

미국 내 은퇴자들의 노후생활 적응에 관한 연구: 한인 이민 1 세대 남성의 여가활동을 중심으로

본 연구는 한국계 이민 1 세대 남성들을 중심으로 만 56 세 이상의 성인들이 은퇴 후 노후생활에 적응하는 데 있어 여가활동이 갖는 의미를 모색하는 연구입니다. 이 연구는 자발적으로 참여 의사를 밝히신 분에 한하여 수행될 것입니다. 귀하는 본 연구에 참여할 것인지를 결정하기 전에, 설명서와 동의서를 신중하게 읽어보셔야 합니다.

연구는 대략 50 분에서 80 분 정도 소요될 예정이며, 연구에 참여하실 분들은 다음의 방법으로 연구에 참여하실 수 있습니다:

- (1) Zoom 또는 Skype 인터뷰
- (2) 전화 인터뷰
- (3) 대면 인터뷰

현재 코로나바이러스 (COVID-19)로 인해 많은 활동이 제한되고 있습니다. 특히 만 56 세 이상의 성인의 경우 코로나바이러스에 감염될 시 중증에 걸리기 쉬운 고위험군으로, 본 연구팀은 가급적 Zoom, Skype 또는 전화 인터뷰를 권장합니다.

본 연구와 관련된 혜택이 연구 참가자에게는 간접적일 수 있지만, 귀하의 소중한 의견을 통해 미국 내 고령 이민자들을 대상으로 한 기존 여가 프로그램을 평가 및 개선하고, 더 나아가 향후 미국 내 은퇴자들을 대상으로 하는 여가 프로그램을 개발 및 제공하는데 많은 도움이 될 것입니다.

책임연구원: Dr. Laura L. Payne

연구 수행기관: Department of Recreation, Sport & Tourism, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign

연락처 정보:

104 Huff Hall, 1206 South 4th Street, Champaign, IL 61820, USA.

Tel: +1 217-333-4410. **E-mail:** lpayne@illinois.edu

연구 참여 대상

본 연구팀은 귀하께서 미국 내 한인 베이붐 세대와 여가에 관한 연구에 참여해 주실 것을 요청합니다. 이 연구의 목적은 만 56 세 이상의 한인 남성이 은퇴로 전환하는 동안 여가 경험의 본질과 의미를 더 잘 이해하는 것입니다. 귀하께서는 다음 참여 기준을 충족하기에 본 연구에 참여 요청을 받으셨습니다:

- 1) 미국에서 10 년 이상 사업체 운영 또는 정규직 근무 경험 있으신 분
- 2) 만 56-75 세 (1946 년 -1964 년 생)의 남성
- 3) 은퇴하셨거나, 향후 수 년 이내에 은퇴를 하실 예정인 분
- 4) 미국 내 거주 중이신 분

약 15-20 명의 참가자가 이 연구에 참여할 것입니다. 이 연구에 대한 귀하의 참여는 자발적으로 이루어집니다. 참여 여부에 대한 귀하의 결정은 귀하와 University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 사이의 관계에 어떠한 영향을 미치지 않습니다. 연구에 참여하기로 결정한 이후에도 언제든지 연구 참여 의사를 철회하실 수 있습니다.

연구 방법 및 절차

연구 방법은 연구자와 참여자가 인터뷰를 하는 방식으로 진행되며, 연구 절차에는 다음 중 하나가 포함됩니다:

- (1) Zoom 또는 Skype interview
- (2) 전화 인터뷰
- (3) 대면 인터뷰

연구 참여자께서는 위 세 가지 중 하나의 절차로 인터뷰에 응해주시면 됩니다. 연구자와 직접 만나 대면 인터뷰를 하실 경우, 코로나바이러스에 노출될 위험을 최소화하기 위해 야외 장소에서 인터뷰가 진행됩니다. 본 연구팀은 귀하께서 Zoom, Skype 또는 전화로 참여할 것을 권장합니다. Zoom 또는 Skype 로 인터뷰에 응하실 경우, 본 연구팀은 귀하께 온라인으로 인터뷰에 응하실 수 있는 방법에 대한 추가 지침을 귀하와 공유할 것입니다. 귀하는 본 연구를 위해 약 50-80 분 동안 진행될 한 번의 인터뷰에 응하시도록 요청받을 것입니다.

부작용 또는 위험요소

만 56 세 이상의 성인의 경우 코로나바이러스에 감염될 시 중증에 걸리기 쉬운 고위험군으로, 본 연구팀은 가급적 Zoom, Skype 또는 전화 인터뷰를 권장합니다.

연구 참여에 따른 혜택

귀하가 이 연구에 참여하는 데 있어서 직접적인 이득은 없습니다. 그러나 귀하의 소중한 의견은 연구자와 실무자들이 향후 기존 여가 프로그램을 개선하고 미국 내 고령 이민자 인구를 대상으로 하는 프로그램을 개발하고 제공하는데 큰 도움이 될 것입니다.

연구에 참여하지 않을 시 불이익

귀하는 본 연구에 참여하지 않을 자유와 권리가 있습니다. 또한, 귀하가 본 연구에 참여하지 않아도 귀하에게는 어떠한 불이익도 없습니다.

개인 정보와 비밀 보장

본 연구팀이 귀하에게서 직접적으로 수집하는 개인 정보는 없습니다. 다만 인터뷰 도중 언급되는 개인 정보 및 개인 식별 가능 정보는 모두 제거되고 가명으로 대체됩니다. 본 연구를 수행하는 교수진, 교직원, 및 학생은 법률 및 대학 정책에서 허용하고 요구하는 범위까지 기밀을 유지합니다. 또한 연구를 수행하는 관계자들은 연구 대상자의 비밀 보장을 침해하지 않고 관련 규정이 정하는 범위 안에서 본 연구의 실시 절차와 자료의 신뢰성을 검증하기 위해 연구 결과를 직접 열람할 수 있습니다. 귀하의 익명화된 정보는 추가적인 사전 동의 없이 향후 연구에 사용될 수 있습니다. 귀하가 본 동의서에 동의하는 것은 이러한 사항에 대하여 사전에 알고 있었으며 이를 허용한다는 의사로 간주될 것입니다.

연구 참여 도중 중도탈락

연구에 참여하기로 결정한 경우 언제든지 동의를 철회하고 참여를 중단할 수 있습니다. 연구원 또한 귀하께 최선의 경우라고 간주할 경우 귀하의 동의 없이 본 연구에 대한 귀하의 참여를 중단할 권리가 있습니다. 귀하는 연구 계획에 적용될 수 있는 향후 변경 사항에 대해서도 반대할 수 있습니다.

연구 문의

이 연구 또는 연구 참여에 대한 질문이 있거나 연구에 대한 우려 또는 불만 사항이 있는 경우 정원옥 연구원에게 문의하십시오.

정원옥 연구원

전화번호: +1 773-707-7477

E-mail: wonockc2@illinois.edu

연구 참여자로서 귀하의 권리에 대해 문의사항이 있으면 University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 연구 윤리 위원회로 연락하십시오.

University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign 연구 윤리 위원회

전화번호: +1 217-333-2670

E-mail: irb@illinois.edu

모든 정보와 관련 사항을 읽고 숙지하였으며, 궁금한 사항에 대해 연구자에게 질문을 하고 만족스러운 답변을 받았는지 확인하십시오. 본 연구 설명문 및 동의서를 귀하께서 보관할 수 있도록 사본이 제공됩니다.

다음 해당사항에 체크하여 주십시오:

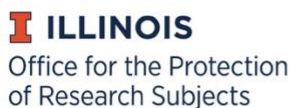
나는 연구 설명문을 이해했으며 자발적으로 연구 참여에 동의합니다. Yes No

인터뷰가 비디오/오디오 녹음이 되도록 허용합니다. Yes No

연구 참여와 관련된 모든 질문에 대한 답변을 받았습니다. Yes No

이 연구에 참여하는데 동의합니다. Yes No

APPENDIX F: WAIVER OF DOCUMENTATION OF INFORMED CONSENT



Waiver of Documentation of Informed Consent

For Requesting a Waiver of the Documentation of Informed Consent
 All forms must be typewritten and submitted via email to irb@illinois.edu.

Section 1. PROTOCOL INFORMATION

1A. Primary Investigator: Dr. Laura Payne
1B. Protocol Number:
1C. Project Title: Exploring adjustment to retirement: Leisure in the lives of the first-generation Korean immigrant men living in the United States
1D. Is this research regulated by the US Food and Drug Administration? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No

Section 2. REQUEST FOR WAIVER OF DOCUMENTATION

A consent procedure which does not document obtained consent through a physical signature may be approved by the IRB under certain conditions. To request IRB approval of a consent procedure which does not document consent through a physical signature, provide a response to **only one** of the following. Note that the IRB may require the investigator to provide subjects with a written statement regarding the research, even though the documentation requirement may be waived.

2A. The only record linking the subject and the research would be the consent document and the principal risk would be potential harm resulting from a breach of confidentiality. Each subject will be asked whether the subject wants documentation linking the subject with the research, and the subject's wishes will govern. (Note: A waiver of documentation of informed consent is not permissible under this category if the research is subject to FDA regulations.)

2B. The research presents no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects and involves no procedures for which written consent is normally required outside the consent.
 Due to the COVID-19 Pandemic, prospective participants will be encouraged to participate online using software such as Zoom or Skype or via telephone calls. We do provide an option for a face-to-face interview if only participants prefer it this way and if it is safe to do so. If an outside appropriately distanced interview (with masks worn) is allowed we still wish to request a waiver of documentation of informed consent to minimize any contact between the researcher and the participant. Thus, we request a waiver of documentation for informed consent.

If the participant has a smart phone or computer and can access an online consent form, they will be provided with a web link that directs them to the informed consent form. They will be asked to a check box to indicate that they have read and understood the consent form, permit to record the conversation and that their questions have been answered (using their phone, tablet, or PC). If they don't have a smartphone or tablet to access the consent form, an informed consent form will be read to them and they will have a chance to ask questions and when their questions are answered they will be asked to give verbal consent. They will also be offered a copy of the consent form to be mailed or emailed to them.

2C. The subjects or legally authorized representatives are members of a distinct cultural group or community in which signing forms is not the norm, the research presents no more than minimal risk of harm to subjects, and there is an appropriate alternative mechanism for documenting that informed consent was obtained.

APPENDIX G: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH)

Demographic Questionnaire

1. What year were you born?

2. What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?
 - a. Some High School
 - b. High School
 - c. Associate Degree, Trade/Tech School
 - d. Bachelor's Degree
 - e. Master's Degree or higher

3. What was your total household income in 2020?
 - a. Less than \$9,999
 - b. \$10,000 - \$24,999
 - c. \$25,000 - 49,999
 - d. \$50,000 - \$74,999
 - e. \$75,000 - \$99,999
 - f. \$100,000 - \$124,999
 - g. \$125,000 - \$149,999
 - h. \$150,000 - \$174,999
 - i. \$175,000 - \$199,999
 - j. \$200,000 or more

4. What is your marital status?
 - a. Never married
 - b. Married
 - c. Divorced
 - d. Widowed
 - e. Living with a partner

5. If you answered **b, c, d** or **e** on question #3, what is your spouse/partner's ethnicity?

6. How many child(ren) do you have?
 - 5-1. What are the ages of your child(ren)?

 - 5-2. Besides yourself, who else lives in your residence?

7. What is your current work status?
- a. Work full-time
 - b. Work part-time
 - c. Seeking opportunities
 - d. Retired
 - e. Volunteering
 - f. Prefer not to say
8. Year of retirement:
If you are retired, what year did you retire? _____
If you are planning to retire, around what date do you plan to retire? _____
9. What year did you immigrate to the U.S?
10. What part of Korea did you live in before you immigrated to the United States?
- a. Chungcheongbuk-do
 - b. Chungcheongnam-do
 - c. Gangwon-do
 - d. Gyeonggi-do
 - e. Gyeongsangbuk-do
 - f. Gyeongsangnam-do
 - g. Jeollabuk-do
 - h. Jeollanam-do
 - i. Jeju Special Self-governing Province
 - j. Seoul
11. Which languages are you capable of speaking fluently? (Check all that apply)
- a. English
 - b. French
 - c. Korean
 - d. Mandarin
 - e. Cantonese
 - f. Portuguese
 - g. Spanish
 - h. Other _____
12. What is the primary language spoken at home?

APPENDIX H: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE (KOREAN)

Translated Demographic Information Questionnaire

1. 귀하는 몇 년도에 태어나셨습니까?

2. 귀하의 최종 학력은 어떻게 되십니까?
 - a. 고등학교 중퇴
 - b. 고등학교 졸업
 - c. 전문 대학/기술 학교 학위
 - d. 4년제 대학 학사 학위
 - e. 석사 학위 이상

3. 현재 귀하의 가계 연 소득은 어떻게 되십니까?
 - a. \$9,999 미만
 - b. \$10,000 - \$24,999
 - c. \$25,000 - \$49,999
 - d. \$50,000 - \$74,999
 - e. \$75,000 - \$99,999
 - f. \$100,000 - \$124,999
 - g. \$125,000 - \$ 149,999
 - h. \$150,000 - \$174,999
 - i. \$175,000 - \$199,999
 - j. \$ 200,000 이상

4. 귀하의 결혼 여부는 어떻게 되십니까?
 - a. 미혼
 - b. 기혼
 - c. 이혼
 - d. 사별
 - e. 파트너와 함께 생활

5. 질문 #3 에서 **b, c, d** 또는 **e** 라고 응답하셨을 경우 배우자/파트너의 인종은 무엇입니까?

Translated Demographic Information Questionnaire

6. 귀하의 자녀는 몇 명입니까?

5-1. 자녀(들)의 나이는 어떻게 됩니까?

5-2. 당신 외에 누가 당신의 집에 살고 있습니까?

7. 현재 근무 상태는 무엇입니까?

- | | |
|------------|---------------|
| a. 풀 타임 근무 | d. 은퇴 |
| b. 파트타임 근무 | e. 봉사활동 참여 |
| c. 구직 중 | f. 대답하길 원치 않음 |

8. 은퇴 연도:

만약 은퇴하셨다면 몇 년도에 은퇴 했습니까? _____

은퇴 하실 계획이라면 언제쯤 은퇴 할 계획이십니까? _____

9. 몇 년도에 미국으로 이민 오셨습니까?

10. 미국으로 이주하기 전에 한국의 어느 지역에 거주하셨습니다?

- a. 충청북도
- b. 충청남도
- c. 강원도
- d. 경기도
- e. 경상북도
- f. 경상남도

Translated Demographic Information Questionnaire

- g. 전라북도
- h. 전라남도
- i. 제주 특별 자치도
- j. 서울

11. 유창하게 구사할 수 있는 언어는 무엇입니까? (해당되는 모든 언어를 선택하십시오)

- a. 영어
- b. 프랑스어
- c. 한국어
- d. 북경어 (표준 중국어)
- e. 광둥어
- f. 포르투갈어
- g. 스페인어
- h. 이 외 다른 언어 _____

12. 집에서 주로 사용하는 언어는 무엇입니까?

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH)

Interview Guide

I. Introduction

Thank you for your participation in this interview today. My name is Wonock Chung, and I am a doctoral student at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I study roles of leisure, recreation, and sport in improving health and well-being among older adults, particularly of, but not limited to, immigrant populations in the United States. Today, I am interested in hearing your story, including parts of the past as you remember them and the future as you imagine it. But before we get into the details, I would like to go over a few things with you.

1. Purpose

Through our conversation, I hope to gain a better understanding of your involvement in leisure activities and retirement experience as a member of the Korean immigrant community. Although there is no time limit for this interview, it may last between about 50 – 80 minutes, depending on where our conversation takes us.

2. Informed Consent

Informed consent in a separate document will be explained thoroughly, and any question from the participant will be answered.

3. Demographic Questionnaire.

Your background information is essential in better understanding your involvement in leisure activities and your retirement experience. Please take about 5 minutes to fill in the demographic questionnaire.

4. Audio Recording

With your permission, I would like to audio record our conversation to make sure I do not miss anything important. The recorded audio will be transcribed, and any identifiable information will be removed to protect your privacy and identity. The audio files will be deleted after the transcription, and the transcripts will be deleted after three years.

II. Introductory Questions [5-10 minutes]

[General Rapport Building Questions]

1. How long have you lived in the United States?
2. What brought you here to the United States?
3. Is (city of residence) where you settled when you came to the United States?
4. What is an average day like for you?

Now that we talked about _____, we will begin our interview by defining the term “leisure” together to make sure we are on the same page when we talk about your involvement in leisure along the way.

1. Is there a difference between how people perceive leisure in the United States and Korea?
And if you think there is, how is it different?
2. How would you define the term “leisure”?

I agree with your definition. Just to share with you my definition of leisure, it is the activities you choose to do during your free time, whether active or sedentary. In other words, leisure activities are any personally meaningful and enjoyable activity you freely choose to do.

1. Do you agree with my definition? If not, why not?
2. What do you think needs to be revised?

Now that we reached a consensus on the definition of leisure, we will talk about your life chronologically from the time of your immigration to the United States, your life as an immigrant, and your life during your transition to retirement and the present.

As you know, COVID-19 has changed our lives in many ways. For example, I do not hang out with people like I used to, and we wear masks, sometimes have our groceries delivered and keep a 6-foot safe distance. That said, how has COVID-19 impacted your life?

1. *[if leisure does not come up, then ask]* What are some of the leisure activities you enjoyed before COVID-19, and how long have you been participating in it/them?
2. To what extent are you still doing those activities? How were you able to continue any of these activities during the pandemic? Why do you continue to do these activities through the pandemic?
3. *[if they are not continuing, then ask]*
 - 4-1. What, if any, are you doing instead since the pandemic began?
 - 4-2. You said you stopped doing X and X, the activities you really enjoy. What are some reasons why you did not do any other activities even though you were not able to continue what you have been doing?

III. Main Questions

We talked about the impact of COVID-19 on our lives and how it shapes our leisure activities. Now, let’s talk more about your life before the pandemic.

You mentioned _____ as some of the activities that you enjoy or started after the COVID-19.

- 1) *[if the participant mentioned mostly active leisure, then ask]* The activities you mentioned, to me, seems mostly like recreational sports or physical activities. That said,
 - a. How long have you been participating in the activity(ies)?
 - b. Why do these activities matter to you?
 - c. In what ways have these activities affected your health and well-being?
- 2) *[if the participant mentioned mostly sedentary activities, then ask]* The activities you mentioned to me is somewhat soothing and relaxing (or they are the activities I also enjoy doing). That said,

- a. How long have you been doing the activity(ies)?
 - b. Why do these activities matter to you?
 - c. In what ways have these activities affected your health and well-being?
- 3) Imagine what your life would be like without these activities. How would it affect your life if you could not do these activities?
- 4) How have these activities affected your overall lifestyle?

1. Moving to the United States

- a. Please tell me about your immigration. You can tell me about it as if you are telling a story. Consider who, what, when, where, and why, starting from your life right before your immigration.

[probing questions]

- i. When did you immigrate to the United States?
- ii. Why did you decide to immigrate to the United States?
- iii. What was your job before and after you moved?
- iv. Did you move with your family?
- v. What did you know about the United States back then? What was your view of the country?
- vi. What did you think was the difference between the U.S. and Korea?
- vii. How culturally familiar were you with the country?
- viii. What leisure activities, if any, did you do?
 - 1. *If yes, then ask:* Why did you participate in the activity?
 - 2. *If no, then ask:* Why did you not participate in the activity?
- ix. Please describe your career path, particularly before and after your immigration.

2. Life as an immigrant

- a. Where did you settle in the United States and why?
- b. Please describe what your life was like after you settled.

[Probing questions]

- i. Now that you had immigrated, was your life as you imagined before you moved? How so?
- ii. What were some of the things you saw as an advantage/merit/benefit after moving to the United States?
- iii. What were some of the things you saw as a disadvantage/demerit/challenge after moving to the United States?
- iv. You said your job after you moved was _____. What were the reasons for getting that particular job?
- v. How has your view of the U.S. changed after you moved?
 - 1. You mentioned _____ as a difference between the United States and Korea. Did this stay the same even after you moved? Why or why not?

- c. What do you think is the difference between the United States and Korea after you have lived in both countries for quite a while?

[Probing questions]

- i. What cultural differences are there between the United States and Korea?
- ii. Do any of what you mentioned come to you as a challenge? How?
- iii. How did you cope with the challenge?

- d. Tell me, what is the life motto that you live by?

[Probing questions]

- i. Based on your life motto, what are some of the values that guide your life?
- ii. How have those values helped you as an immigrant man? How? If not, why not?

- e. What did you do during your free time or during the weekend/holidays? What, if any, leisure activities have you participated in?

[Probing questions]

- i. How did you start/were you introduced to the activity?
- ii. Why did you continue? What did you get out of doing X?
- iii. Why did you stop?
- iv. Were there any activities you wanted to do but you were not able to do? If so, what are they, and why were you not able to do them?

3. Life during the transition to retirement

- a. Tell me briefly about your life before, during, and after retirement.

[Probing questions]

- i. When did you realize that it was time for you to retire? What led you to retire when you did? How did you feel about it?
- ii. What did you think of this life transition of yours?

- b. Tell me about your involvement in leisure during your time of retirement.

[Probing questions]

- i. You told me that you did (leisure activities) during the working years. Do you still participate in them?
 1. Why do you continue to do it?
 2. What would have your life been like without it?
 3. How, if at all, did it help you during your retirement transition?
- ii. *If the answer is 'no' to question i., then ask:* Then, what leisure activities did you participate in during this time of your retirement transition?
 1. Did you pick up these activities earlier in your life? Or are they the activities you just started around the time of retirement transition?

2. How did you first get involved in these activities?
3. With whom do you do these activities? With whom do you hang out within these leisure settings?
4. What are the reasons you hang out with them? What are the benefits?
5. What were some of the benefits and challenges of participating in these leisure activities during this time? Why do you continue? Why did you stop?

4. The present

- a. Please tell me about the things you enjoy doing nowadays.

[Probing questions]

- i. Why does that matter to you?

- b. How did you imagine your post-retirement would be like when you were younger?

[Probing questions]

- i. Now that you retired, is your life as you imagined it in the past? Why or why not?

- c. You told me that you are doing X(leisure activities). To what extent do you plan to continue these activities in the future? Why or why not?

- d. Do you plan on doing any other activities (Y) other than X(leisure activities)?

[Probing questions]

- i. Why do you plan to do Y?
- ii. Why haven't you tried Y yet?
- iii. Are you going to stop X once you start Y? Why or why not?

- e. *If not planning on starting new activities, then ask:* If you are given an opportunity and all the necessary support to learn and participate in any activities of your choice, would you do it? If so, what are the activities that you hope to do and in what way (the mode of support)?

IV. Wrap-up

I very much enjoyed our conversation. I hope our conversation was also an opportunity for you to reflect on your past. I just have one last question for you. Now that we have gone over your involvement and retirement experience as a Korean immigrant man, do you have a message that you want to pass on to your descendants? If not, do you have anything else you want to add?

Well, thank you so much for the interview today and if you ever have a question after today, please feel free to contact me through the information stated in the copy of the informed consent form.

APPENDIX J: INTERVIEW GUIDE (KOREAN)

Translated Interview Guide

인터뷰 가이드

I. 개요

인터뷰에 참여해 주셔서 감사합니다. 제 이름은 정원옥입니다. 현재 일리노이 대학교 어바나 샴페인 캠퍼스에서 박사 과정을 밟고 있습니다. 저는 만 56 세 이상의 성인, 특히 미국 이민자 인구의 건강과 삶의 질을 높이는 데 있어서 여가, 레크리에이션, 그리고 스포츠의 역할에 대해 연구하고 있습니다. 오늘 저는 귀하께서 기억하시는 과거와 상상하시는 미래를 포함한 귀하의 이야기를 듣고자 인터뷰 요청을 드렸습니다. 본격적으로 인터뷰를 시작하기 전에 몇 가지 사항을 짚고 넘어가겠습니다.

1. 연구 목적

오늘의 대화를 통해 한국 이민자로서 귀하의 여가 활동과 은퇴 경험에 대한 이해도를 높이하고자 합니다. 이 인터뷰에는 시간제한이 없지만 경우에 따라 약 50 ~ 80 분 정도 소요될 예정입니다.

2. 연구 동의

연구 설명문 및 동의서에 대한 연구 참여자의 설명 및 질문에 대해 답변

3. 인적 사항 설문

귀하의 배경 정보는 귀하의 여가활동과 은퇴 경험을 더 잘 이해하는데 필수적입니다. 약 5 분간 인적 사항 설문지를 작성해 주시기 바랍니다.

II. 도입부 질문 [5-10 분]

[상호 간 래포 구축을 위한 일반적인 질문]

1. 미국에서 얼마나 오래 살았습니까?
2. 무엇 때문에 미국으로 이민을 오시게 되셨습니까?
3. (거주 도시)가 미국에 처음 이민 오셨을 때 정착 한 곳입니까?
4. 귀하는 보통 하루를 어떻게 보내십니까?

Translated Interview Guide

귀하께서 _____ 에 대해 이야기하셨는데 그렇다면 “레저”라는 용어를 함께 정의해보도록 하겠습니다.

1. “레저”라는 단어의 뜻을 인식하는 데 있어 미국 사람과 한국 사람 간에 차이가 있다고 생각합니까? 있다고 생각하신다면 어떻게 다릅니까?
2. “레저”라는 단어를 어떻게 정의하시겠습니까?

저 또한 귀하의 정의에 동의합니다. 레저에 대해 제가 생각하는 정의를 말씀드리자면 레저는 활동적이든 그렇지 않든 자유 시간에 개인이 선택하여 하는 활동입니다. 즉 개인이 자유롭게 선택하여 하는 의미 있고 즐거운 활동을 말합니다.

1. 저의 정의에 동의하십니까? 동의하시지 않으시면 어떤 이유로 동의하지 않으십니까?
2. 어떤 부분을 수정해야 한다고 생각하십니까?

이제 레저의 정의에 대한 합의에 도달했으므로 지금부터 순서대로 귀하께서 미국에 막 이민 오셨을 때의 삶, 이민자로서의 삶, 은퇴와 현재의 삶에 대해 이야기할 것입니다.

아시다시피 코로나바이러스는 우리의 삶을 여러 면에서 변화 시켰습니다. 예를 들어, 저는 예전처럼 사람들과 어울리지 않고, 어디를 가던 마스크를 쓰고, 때로는 식료품을 배달시키고, 사회적 거리 두기를 실천합니다. 코로나바이러스가 귀하의 삶에는 어떤 영향을 미쳤습니까?

1. [여가 활동에 대한 언급이 없으면 물어보십시오] 코로나 19 팬데믹 이전에 즐겼던 여가 활동은 무엇이며, 하신지는 얼마나 되었습니까?
2. 지금도 그 (여가활동)을 하고 계십니까? 팬데믹 기간 동안 이 (여가활동)을 어떻게 계속할 수 있었습니까? 팬데믹 때문에 활동에 많은 제한을 받음에도 불구하고 이 (여가활동)을 계속하시는 이유는 무엇입니까?
3. [여가활동을 계속하지 않는 경우 질문하십시오]
 - 4-1. 팬데믹이 시작된 이후로 대신 어떤 여가활동을 하고 계십니까?
 - 4-2. 귀하께서 정말 좋아하는 활동인 X와 Y를 그만두었다고 하셨습니다. 이 활동 이외에 다른 여가활동을 하지 않은 이유는 무엇입니까?

III. 주요 질문 [40-60 분]

우리는 코로나바이러스가 우리의 삶과 여가 활동에 미치는 영향에 대해 이야기했습니다. 이제 팬데믹 이전의 삶에 대해 더 이야기해 봅시다.

코로나 이후에도 꾸준히 하시거나 새로 시작한 여가 활동의 일부로 _____를 언급하셨습니다.

- 1) [참가자가 언급한 여가 활동이 대부분 활동적인 여가일 경우 물어보십시오] 당신이 언급한 활동은 대부분 스포츠 체육활동 또는 신체 활동으로 사료됩니다. 그렇다면,
 - a. 이 여가 활동을 하신지 얼마나 되셨습니까?
 - b. 이 여가 활동이 귀하에게 왜 중요합니까?
 - c. 이 여가 활동이 귀하의 건강과 삶의 질에 어떤 영향을 미쳤습니까?
- 2) [참가자가 언급한 여가 활동이 대부분 정적인 여가일 경우 물어보십시오] 당신이 언급한 활동은 대부분 다소 정적인 활동으로 사료됩니다. 그렇다면,
 - a. 이 여가 활동을 하신지 얼마나 되셨습니까?
 - b. 이 여가 활동이 귀하에게 왜 중요합니까?
 - c. 이 여가 활동이 귀하의 건강과 삶의 질에 어떠한 영향을 미쳤습니까?
- 3) 이러한 여가 활동이 없었다면 당신의 삶이 어땠을지 상상해보십시오. 이러한 활동을 할 수 없다면 삶에 어떤 영향을 미치겠습니까?
- 4) 이러한 여가 활동이 귀하의 전반적인 생활 방식에 어떤 영향을 미쳤습니까?

1. 미국으로 이주하였던 시기

- 1) 귀하의 이민에 대해 조금 더 자세히 이야기해 주십시오. 마치 스토리텔링을 하는 것처럼 육하원칙에 입각하여 저에게 이야기해 주시면 됩니다. 이민 직전의 삶에서 시작하십시오.

[후속 질문]

- i. 언제 미국으로 이민 오셨습니까?
- ii. 미국으로 이민하기로 결정한 이유는 무엇입니까?
- iii. 이민 전후의 직업은 무엇입니까?

Translated Interview Guide

- iv. 가족과 함께 이민 오셨습니까?
- v. 그 당시 미국에 대해 무엇을 알고 계셨습니까? 미국에 대한 당신의 견해는 어땠습니까?
- vi. 미국과 한국의 차이점은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?
- vii. 그 당시 미국에 대해 문화적으로 얼마나 친숙했습니까?
- viii. 그 당시에는 어떤 여가 활동을 하셨습니까?
 - a. 여가 활동을 했을 경우: 그 여가 활동을 하신 이유는 무엇입니까?
 - b. 여가 활동을 하지 않았을 경우: 여가 활동을 하지 않으신 이유는 무엇입니까?
- ix. 이민 전후의 직업적 경력에 대해 이야기해 주십시오.

2. 이민자로서의 삶

- 1) 미국에 처음 이민 오셨을 때 어디에 정착했고 그곳에 정착하신 이유는 무엇입니까?
- 2) 정착 후의 삶이 어땠는지 이야기해 주십시오.

[후속 질문]

- i. 이민을 오시고 난 후를 되짚어 보았을 때 이민 전에 상상했던 삶과 어땠습니까?
 - ii. 미국으로 이민 후 장점/좋았던 점/ 혜택이라고 생각되었던 것은 무엇입니까?
 - iii. 미국으로 이민 후 단점/ 나빴던 점/ 불이익이라고 생각되었던 것은 무엇입니까?
 - iv. 이민 후 직업이 _____이라고 말씀하셨습니다. 그 직업을 얻은 이유는 무엇입니까?
 - v. 이민 후 미국에 대한 견해가 어떻게 바뀌었습니까?
 - a. 미국과 한국의 차이로 _____를 언급하셨습니다. 이민 후에도 그 생각이 동일하게 유지되었습니까? 그렇거나 그렇지 않다면 그 이유는 무엇입니까?
- 3) 미국과 한국에서 꽤 오랫동안 사시면서 느끼는 미국과 한국의 차이점은 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

[후속 질문]

- i. 미국과 한국 사이에는 어떤 문화적 차이가 있습니까?
 - ii. 귀하께서 언급하신 차이점 중 어떤 부분이 귀하께 어려운 부분으로 다가왔습니까?
 - iii. 그런 어려운 부분을 어떻게 이겨내셨습니까?
- 4) 귀하의 삶의 모토는 무엇입니까?

[후속 질문]

- i. 삶의 모토를 말씀해 주셨는데, 귀하께서 중요하게 여기시는 가치는 무엇입니까?
 - ii. 이러한 가치가 이민자로서 당신에게 어떻게 도움이 되었습니까? 또는 도움이 되지 않았습니까? 왜 그렇다고 생각하십니까?
- 5) 이 시기에 귀하께서는 자유시간 또는 주말/공휴일에 무엇을 하며 시간을 보내셨습니까? 여가 활동을 하셨다면 무엇을 하셨습니까?

[후속 질문]

- i. 이 여가 활동을 어떤 이유로 시작하셨습니까?
- ii. 이 여가 활동을 왜 계속하셨습니까? 이 여가 활동을 하시면서 무엇을 얻으셨습니까?
- iii. 왜 그만두셨습니까?
- iv. 이 당시에 하고 싶었지만 할 수 없었던 여가 활동이 있었습니까? 그렇다면 그 활동들은 무엇이며 왜 할 수 없었습니까?

3. 은퇴 시기의 삶

- 1) 귀하의 퇴직 전, 퇴직 중, 퇴직 후의 삶에 대해 간략히 말씀해 주십시오.

[후속 질문]

- i. 은퇴할 때가 되었다는 것을 언제, 어떻게 알게 되셨습니까? 궁극적으로 은퇴를 결심하시게 된 계기는 무엇입니까? 은퇴에 대해 어떤 생각과 감정을 가지셨습니까?
 - ii. 은퇴 시기의 삶에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까?
- 2) 은퇴 시기에 하셨던 여가활동에 대해 말씀해 주십시오.

[후속 질문]

Translated Interview Guide

- i. 일하시는 동안 (여가 활동) 을 하셨다고 말씀해 주셨습니다. 여전히 그 여가 활동을 하고 계십니까?
 - a. 왜 그 여가 활동을 계속하십니까?
 - b. 그 여가 활동이 없었다면 귀하의 삶은 어땠을 것 같습니까?
 - c. 은퇴 시기에 그 여가 활동이 도움이 되었습니까? 어떻게 도움이 되었습니까?
- ii. *i. 질문에 '아니오'라고 대답 한 경우 다음 질문을 합니다:* 그러면 은퇴 시기에 어떤 여가 활동을 하셨습니까?
 - a. 이러한 여가 활동은 일찍이부터 시작하셨습니까? 아니면 은퇴 시기에 막 시작하신 여가 활동입니까?
 - b. 이 여가 활동을 처음에 어떻게 시작하시게 되셨습니까?
 - c. 이 여가 활동을 누구와 같이 합니까? 이 여가 활동을 하면서 다른 누군가와 어울리십니까?
 - d. 그들과 어울리시는 이유는 무엇입니까? 이점은 무엇입니까?
 - e. 은퇴 시기 동안 이러한 여가 활동에 참여함으로써 얻은 이점과 어려움은 무엇이 있습니까? 이 여가 활동을 왜 계속하십니까? 왜 그만두셨습니까?

4. 현재의 삶

1) 요즘 즐겨 하시는 여가 활동에 대해 이야기해 주십시오.

[후속 질문]

- i. 그 여가 활동이 당신에게 어떤 의미를 갖고 있으며 왜 중요한가요?

2) 귀하께서 지금보다 더 젊으셨을 때 은퇴 후의 삶이 어땠을 것이라고 상상하셨습니까?

[후속 질문]

- i. 은퇴하신 후를 생각해 보시면 그 당시 상상했던 삶을 살고 계십니까? 그 이유는 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

3) 귀하께서는 (여가활동)을 하신다고 말씀해 주셨습니다. 앞으로 이러한 활동을 어느 정도까지 계속하실 계획입니까? 그 이유는 무엇입니까?

Translated Interview Guide

4) 귀하께서는 (여가활동) 이외의 다른 활동을 하실 계획이 있습니까?

[후속 질문]

- i. 왜 그 활동을 하실 계획이십니까?
- ii. 왜 여태껏 그 활동을 시도하지 않으셨습니까?
- iii. 그 활동을 시작하시면 (여가활동)을 멈추실 예정입니까? 그 이유는 무엇입니까?

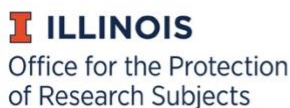
5) 새로운 활동을 시작할 계획이 없다고 응답할 경우 다음과 같이 질문하십시오:
만약 귀하께 귀하께서 선택하신 어떤 여가 활동을 배우고 참여하는 데 필요한 모든 지원과 기회가 주어진다면 그 여가 활동을 하시겠습니까? 만약 그렇다면 귀하께서 하고 싶은 여가 활동은 무엇이며 어떤 방식으로 지원받으시길 원하십니까?

IV. 요약 및 정리 [5-10 분]

저는 오늘 귀하의 이야기를 너무나 흥미롭게 들었습니다. 오늘의 대화가 귀하께서도 즐거우셨기를 바라며 귀하의 과거를 되돌아볼 수 있는 기회가 되었기를 바랍니다. 인터뷰를 끝내기 전 마지막 질문이 하나 있습니다. 한국 이민자로서의 삶과 은퇴 경험을 살펴보았으니 이제 후손에게 전해주고 싶은 메시지가 있습니까? 또는 오늘의 인터뷰 내용에 추가로 하고 싶은 말씀이 있으십니까?

오늘 인터뷰에 응해주셔서 감사합니다. 오늘 이후에도 질문이 있으시면 연구 동의서 사본에 기재된 정보를 통해 저에게 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

APPENDIX K: CERTIFICATE OF TRANSLATION



Certificate of Translation

For Verifying the Translation of Research Documents

All forms must be typewritten, signed, and submitted via email to irb@illinois.edu.

<p>When to use this form: If research is conducted in a language other than English, submit this form with translated materials to indicate the credentials of the translator. The Certificate of Translation is required to verify that the translations are accurate. Those who translate the material are to provide a brief description of their qualifications, skills or experience for serving in this role and sign the certificate of translation form.</p>
<p>Please note the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> For research conducted in languages other than English, the University of Illinois IRB must have all versions of the research material (e.g. consents, recruitment, instruments, etc.) in both English and the language in which research is being conducted. It is acceptable for an investigator listed as research personnel to translate the research material if they are qualified. Researchers may wish to delay the initial translation until after the IRB has reviewed and approved the English versions. Doing so may help researchers avoid multiple translations. If the non-English documents are submitted to the IRB after initial approval, please submit an Amendment Form along with the translated material and a copy of the certificate of translation.

Section 1. PROTOCOL INFORMATION

1A. Principal Investigator: Dr. Laura Payne
1B. Protocol Number:
1C. Project Title: Exploring adjustment to retirement: Leisure in the lives of the first-generation Korean immigrant men living in the United States

Section 2. TRANSLATOR

2A. Translator's Name: Wonock Chung
2B. Translator Email Address: wonockc2@illinois.edu
2C. Translator's Qualifications: Fluent both in Korean (Native Language) and English (IBT TOEFL:114)
2D. Language of translation: English-Korean
2E. List of document(s) translated: Social Behavioral Research Consent Form, demographic questionnaire, interview guide, recruitment flyer
2F. Date(s) of translation(s): 12/07/2020
2G. The translator declares that they are fluent in and understand the English language and the language of translation. The non-English documents for this study are a true and accurate translation of the English documents. By signing below, I, the translator, agree with this statement.
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%; border-top: 1px solid black; text-align: center;"> </div> <div style="width: 45%; text-align: center;"> <u>01/11/21</u> Date </div> </div>
<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> Translator Signature Date </div>