

Intergenerational Conflict Experienced by Elderly Parents on Their Children in South Korea

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ABSTRACT

Most of the studies have been mainly dealt with intergenerational conflict only from the perspective of the non-elderly. This has led to the development and reproduction of theories that explain conflict only from the perspective of the younger generation. The perspective of the older generation, another subject of conflict, is being overlooked. This study aimed to examine intergenerational conflict experienced by aged Korean parents and its impact. This study was conducted to interviewed and conducted a qualitative analysis of five people aged 65 years old or above with adult children. The results of the study revealed the following themes which were “children who take parents for granted,” “incomprehensible differences,” and “presence that they do not want to lose” were proposed. While the participants experienced difficulties due to intergenerational conflict, they do not want to manifest the conflict to the outside because the person in the conflict is their own child. By examining intergenerational conflict from seniors’ viewpoint, this study contributed to filling the gap in the existing literature, which mainly addresses the viewpoint of adult children. This study can be a reference material for developing programs to resolve intergenerational conflict between children and their aged parents.

Keywords: Intergenerational conflict, aged parents, adult children, qualitative research, Korea.

1. INTRODUCTION

Korean society today is experiencing intense intergenerational conflict, which means collective tension, strain, and antagonism between older and younger generations over what constitutes the fair distribution of public resources across age groups (Silversten, 2007). This conflict was not considered a serious problem up till recently, but the generational clash is becoming a reality due to various social and economic problems facing Korean society. To avoid intergenerational conflict resulting in mutual alienation, it is highlighted as a pressing social issue (Um, 2015) and efforts toward its resolution are gaining significance.

Rapid social change is a major factor causing intergenerational conflict in Korean society. Considering that intergenerational conflict occurs because the differences between generations have grown too substantial and amicable relationships are difficult to maintain (Bengtson et al., 1983), it is only natural that such differences become more intense in a society characterized by rapid and far-reaching transformation. Thus, it is not difficult to comprehend why intergenerational conflict has rapidly emerged as an acute problem in Korean society, which has been progressing through a whirlpool of drastic societal shifts.

Korean society lacks an understanding of how conflict is expressed and how it relates to the lives of the conflicting parties. This study aims to understand such struggles from the perspective of those belonging to an older generation, which has not been examined in extant literature. Research on intergenerational conflict has been conducted continuously since the early 1970s. However, most studies tend to be limited to identifying the distinguishing features of each generation by age group, using quantitative data to classify differences in perspectives, values, consciousness, attitudes. Even in this case, simple intergenerational differences often developed into conflict. However, intergenerational differences can be distinguished into simple differences and “differences that lead to conflict” (Cho & Choi, 2003; Son and Gwak 2018); in the case of the latter, they may remain potential differences that are not manifested (Park, 2001). Hence, it is necessary for research on intergenerational conflict to focus on revealing the differences that do lead to conflict and the circumstances and conditions of the features that are activated. Previous studies, especially those up to the 1990s, are limited because

they do not investigate these aspects in depth.

Research on intergenerational conflict that began to emerge in the late 1990s took a major step forward. This was particularly true for intergenerational conflict that dealt with friction or maladjustment with peripheral generation members (e.g., parents, grandparents, and teachers) around adolescent groups (Chong, 2009). Moreover, studies on intergenerational conflict between adults, albeit meager, also started to appear at the same time (Cho et al., 1996). There are many ongoing studies of the integration of low fertility and aging issues that have recently been raised; for example, youth–senior professional issues, senior support issue, and pension and health insurance and other social security issues, as well as studies on intergenerational differences and value conflict (Eun, 2019; Park & Chung, 2020).

These studies undoubtedly contribute to solving the issue by addressing the problems stemming from intergenerational conflict and suggesting methods for improvement. However, these studies are criticized for approaching intergenerational conflict solely from the perspective of adult children. Indeed, the primary focus of the research on intergenerational conflict has been restricted to the differences in intergenerational consciousness and economic and social pressures faced by the supporting agents. Even then, there was also a strong tendency to address the matter from a macroscopic viewpoint, which may be because society has a great interest in the social cost of low fertility and aging. As a result, theories that explain conflict only from the standpoint of the younger generation were developed and reproduced. Theories that view conflict from the older generation’s perspective have hardly been developed. This has resulted in the absence of in-depth research on the difficulties faced by seniors—who are the other affected party of the conflict relationship with adult children—their experience of conflict and the impact of difficulties on their lives.

However, the older generation experiences various difficulties in their conflict with other generations. These include not only difficulties related to being dependent but also the challenges experienced as a member of society who has lived through the past and is now living in the present. In particular, these experiences can have a bigger impact on the lives of Korea’s aged generation, which has regarded filial piety as the norm of life, unlike in the West, where each generation lives an independent life. When intergenerational conflict occurs in the family or the older generation experiences significant intergenerational differences with the younger generation, this can produce a sense of isolation and affect subjective well-being and life satisfaction, resulting in depression in older adults (Polenick et al., 2016; Li, Jiang, & Zhang, 2019; Fu & Ji, 2020; Kim 2021). Severe conflict can result in elder abuse, which sometimes leads to death by suicide among older adults (Seo & Lee, 2015). Thus, there is an urgent need for research on the difficulties that older adults experience because of intergenerational conflict and the impact of such difficulties on their lives.

Based on an awareness of these problems, this study aims to review the details of intergenerational conflict, the difficulties those involved in the conflict experience, and how these are resolved at a microscopic level. In line with this, the study was conducted to use a qualitative research method that interviews the elderly who have experienced or are experiencing intergenerational conflict about their experience and analyzes the contents of interviews.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1. Selection of research participants and method of data collection

Participants included five individuals who were over the age of 65 years with adult children over the age of 20 years. Older adults who did not live with their children were selected for this study because intergenerational differences may vary according to cohabitation status. The number of older adults who do not cohabit with adult children is increasing in modern society. However, their relationships with adult children have a critical effect on seniors even if they do not live with their adult children. In-depth interviews were conducted over the course of approximately four months, from September to December of 2021. One or two interview sessions were conducted on average per participant; the interviews took approximately 1 hour 30 minutes to 2 hours per session.

The data collection process in qualitative research must meet ethical standards with regard to research participants. Therefore, the researcher asked every research participant for prior consent while collecting data; and when the participant consented to participate, they were asked to fill out a research participation consent form. Further, the researcher sought to maintain strict confidentiality in presenting the research findings.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Participant	Gender	Age	Number of children	Job before retirement
1	female	73	1 son & 1 daughter	Waitress in restaurant
2	female	79	1 son & 2 daughters	Food seller
3	female	80	1 son & 2 daughters	Cleaning women
4	male	83	3 sons	Trade agent
5	male	76	1 son & 2 daughters	Public official

2.2. Data analysis and severity

The researcher selected the qualitative research method to examine the experience of intergenerational conflict with adult children from older parents' perspective. Because no past study has explored intergenerational conflict based on aged parents' experience, it is necessary to first review their concrete experiential world (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Data was collected through constant comparative analysis, a method used in grounded theory involving constantly identifying and shaping the central topic and the meaning of themes derived from the data; it is useful for discovering topics (Padgett, 1998). Further, when analyzing data, the researcher strove to base interpretations on the specific experiences of the participants, without overly abstracting from a hermeneutical viewpoint. The themes postulated through this process are proposed in the results along with relevant quotations from the participants.

2.3. Reliability and validity of the study

The researcher used the following strategies to ensure the reliability and validity of the qualitative research. First, a peer support group was organized, comprising one professor from the Department of Social Welfare with experience in qualitative research and one field practice professional (in the area of older adults) with a master's degree. Second, cross-checking was carried out. To exclude arbitrary interpretation in analyzing and describing the original data, the data were cross-checked with the research participants. The third strategy was pluralization. The researcher not only included in-depth interviews in the analysis but also studied press releases related to intergenerational conflict and engaged in situational analysis of a social worker to diversify the sources of data.

3. RESULT

3.1. Children who take their parents for granted

In present-day Korean society, the older generation of people has lived by devoting themselves to child-rearing rather than preparing for their later years. In fact, the research participants were found to be devoted to their children even when they were not very wealthy and felt regretful about not being able to do more for them. However, the participants recognized that their children take this for granted with a mindset of "that's natural when one has a child" (Participant 4). Consequently, sadness and distress were sometimes expressed, constituting a passive intergenerational conflict. A passive intergenerational conflict signifies the act of older parents burying conflict in their heart rather than openly displaying it because the other party involved is their own children. This pattern has been conceptualized as the topic "children who take their parents for granted," with "unconditional giving" and "blaming bad things on parents" as subtopics.

Table 2: Intergenerational Conflict Experiences of Participants

Sub-themes	Themes clusters
Unconditional giving	Children who take their parents for granted
Taking good things for granted and blaming parents for bad things	Incomprehensible differences
Differences in ways of thinking	Presence that they do not want to lose

Rude behavior	
Feeling sorrow from disregard	
Distrust in their children	

3.1.1. Unconditional giving

Unconditional giving refers to the diverse forms of support older parents provide to their adult children without expecting anything in return. It was observed that while the research participants provided economic support for children, as well as support for the care of grandchildren and assistance with housework, there was not much reciprocal support provided by children to their parents.

“I receive basic livelihood security benefits and our church also gives about 100,000 won to us North Korean defectors. I spend half of it and save half and then give it to my children when they need money. Even when my daughter doesn’t ask for it, I tell her to use it because you don’t have much use for money anyway when you’re old.” (Participant 2)

“My children used credit cards. Gee... I had to pay for their debts... I couldn’t nag because they’re my own children... It racked my heart... I’ve paid off all the debt now. When you have credit debts, you can’t function as a human being... I settled it for my daughter, but my son still gives me a headache.” (Participant 3)

“Because my daughter is working with my son-in-law right now, I go to care for my grandchildren and do the cleaning. I go and clean up everything. At first, I went every other day. That didn’t work for me, so I told them I’ll go twice a week from now on. When I go twice a week, these days, I clean up everything for them.” (Participant 2)

“My wife nearly raised my daughter’s son by herself. Gosh, the kid got sick so often that I told them to pick him up, but they wouldn’t because of their work. So, we raised him until they had their second child.” (Participant 5)

The participants gave unconditionally to their adult children, even in their older years, just because they were their children; however, parents also need help sometimes. Above all, the participants yearned for intimate relationships with their children. Even when children could not afford material assistance for their parents, the parents desired understanding or emotional exchange for the challenging situations they were going through. The participants wanted their children to understand their wishes and what they were experiencing, but it was too much to ask for. Although the participants said they understood their children who led busy lives in modern society, they had trouble hiding their feelings of hurt and disappointment.

“Our generation poured everything and went all out for our children. I had not one but three (children). Also, we sent them to study abroad... People envy us, saying ‘Wow, you were even able to send them to study abroad,’ but they don’t know about the sorts of difficulties involved. We weren’t that economically stable... Nonetheless, it’s not easy to explain every little thing to the kids. I did try expressing it in a subtle way, hoping they would recognize my efforts even by chance... Anyway, they have their own lives as well, so even at times when I wished they would help out just a bit... they ignored it.” (Participant 4)

“Although I have a daughter who lives nearby, she doesn’t visit me often because she’s busy making ends meet. Well... I have to go to see her, and she only calls when she needs me... She calls me once a few months whenever she needs me... And that’s only because I keep visiting her... If I didn’t visit her and just stayed here all the time, she wouldn’t even know if I was dead or alive... ” (Participant 2)

“My eldest daughter doesn’t even call me on my birthday. When my wife calls her after holding out a few times, she would only talk on the phone then, but otherwise, she doesn’t call at all. No matter how good you are to them, it only lasts that moment. We sent tuition when our grandson entered college, but that only has a temporary effect and doesn’t last at all. (omitted) Right now, we don’t get to see them at all because of COVID-19. I think it has been about three years now since I have seen them.” (Participant 5)

3.1.2. Taking good things for granted and blaming parents for bad things

The older parents who participated in this study believed that their children’s tendency to take their devotion for granted also serves as a trigger for intergenerational conflict. However, because the participants

experienced how easy it is for their children to blame them for the bad things in life, they strove to understand this in terms of changing times. Their feelings of hurt at times, however, turned into conflict situations as well.

“The tendency to take things for granted... Of course, it can get tiring to always hold a grudge about it in my heart. I do think my children act like it’s only natural to do things for one’s child when you have one, and they do seem to take it for granted. It’s probably a given, and certainly, I may be the only one thinking this, but it’s definitely a process of life you go through after being born. So, I do live with some acceptance of this, but still.” (Participant 4)

“They don’t consider the money earned by their parents as money and don’t even realize who put food on the table... They act like that—yelling they’ll go and make money. (omitted) They compare well-off children with their own family and blame their parents—‘Why are those parents so well-off when my mom’s family is so poor...’ Conflicts increased as my children began to hold this stance.” (Participant 2)

It is not easy to define “what the role of the parents is.” By the same token, it will also be difficult to define the “role of children.” Therefore, although the parents were providing support for their children with devotion, as a result of different generational standards, conflict arose because of relative inadequacy as a result of parents and children having established different baselines.

3.2. Incomprehensible differences

Intergenerational conflict is caused by a lack of understanding between people of different generations. In particular, it may be natural for Korean society to have intergenerational differences because of rapid social changes. However, it may not be easy for the concerned parties who must confront these differences. Differences that were challenging to understand also manifested in the participants’ lives in interacting with their children’s generation. Because everything that a person experiences becomes their “existing life” and the “truth,” it is difficult to realize that it may not be true for other people (Kim, 2009). The researcher proposed the topic “incomprehensible differences” to address the conflicts that manifested as a result of the difference between intergenerational values and actions and aimed to examine this in detail through the subcategories “differences in ways of thinking” and “impolite behaviors.”

3.2.1. Differences in ways of thinking

The participants talked about the many aspects they find incomprehensible concerning the thoughts and behaviors of the younger generation. Mostly, they expressed discomfort at the free-spirited attire of the younger generation. There was a discrepancy in the thinking of the younger generation—dressing according to their convenience and satisfaction—and that of the participants, who viewed attire as a courtesy to others.

“In our days, you dressed for others so that others feel comfortable and have a good opinion of you when they see you. If you were only trying to make yourself comfortable... you wouldn’t need to dress like that. (omitted) I find it very uncomfortable that the youth nowadays think it’s okay to wear whatever they feel comfortable in.” (Participant 4)

“When they wear skinny pants, their butts stick out, gosh... Phew... Their outfits get even more outrageous in the summer. They wear short skirts. We say that they look like Korean geisha in the old times. Some women only wear a vest... How can women do that, my goodness... Why do they go around dressed like that these days?” (Participant 2)

Further, some participants expressed the challenge of understanding their daughters-in-law, whose thinking centered on their own parents, whose behaviors were carefree.

“I said, ‘You guys will go back and live in the U.S. in a little while... So, why don’t you stay a few more days at our (in-laws’) house?’ My daughter-in-law, who just got married to my son, replied, ‘That would keep me from going more often to my parents’ house.’ When I said that I would still want them to spend more time at our place, she argued and asked why she should do that.” (Participant 4)

“I saw my daughter-in-law smoke (cigarettes) even while carrying her child on her back. (omitted) I wanted to order a *mal* (a Korean unit of measure equal to 18 liters) of Korean rice cake for our grandchild’s 100th-day celebration party, but she wouldn’t come back from the beauty salon... I live putting up with stuff like that. No matter how carefree you are, ugh...” (Participant 1)

The participants were frustrated every time they had these experiences, but they made no effort to bridge

the gap. This suggests that based on their judgment, these aspects of the intergenerational gap cannot be bridged by their own efforts.

3.2.2. Rude behavior

The participants believed that those of their children's generation often behave in ways that are convenient for them. While the participants showed the intention of understanding and putting up with the differences in thinking between their own generation and that of their children, it was clear that conflict was expressed when it came to their children's rude behavior.

"My daughter only cares about herself. She is locked inside her own little world. She doesn't know what's on my mind. When I say something, she says she'll take care of it. Even on holidays, she only comes after I set the table all by myself. My daughter just eats and doesn't even budge when I do the dishes." (Participant 1)

However, Participant 4 believed that she could certainly accept that her children's generation may reject her opinions. However, she pointed out that rude behavior demonstrated during the process of rejection is what may trigger conflict.

"She protested and asked why she should do that. She told me that I'm patriarchal. She would say two sentences when I say one sentence. How can a person who just got married speak like that to her father-in-law? Even if I didn't express myself adequately, it would've been better if she gave some other excuse... She talks in a straightforward way. I was so shocked that I became speechless." (Participant 4)

3.3. Presence that they do not want to lose

No one wants their presence to vanish. They desire to be recognized as living human beings through proper interaction and do not want to be disregarded by others with whom they share their life. However, intergenerational conflict grew when the participants experienced their presence being rejected by none other than their own children when they aged. To express this issue, the researcher proposed the topic "presence that they don't want to lose," with the subcategories of "feeling sorrow from disregard" and "distrust in their children."

3.3.1. Feeling sorrow from disregard

"To disregard" means to make light of or not recognize the value of something. The participants experienced numerous psychological difficulties when they were disregarded by their children who were the object of their devotion. The participants tried to be understanding of their adult children's difficulty to read their parents' minds in today's fast-paced society and with the challenges of everyday life. However, they expressed that they could not conceal the anger and sorrow they feel every time such situations actually unfolded.

"When we were living in the U.S., the children were dressing up to go out for dinner. My wife and I did not know about it, so I sat still and then asked them where they were going. I sensed that something out of the ordinary was going on. I heard (my son say), 'We're going to some restaurant to eat out.' (Shouting) 'Why are you doing that without even letting me know?' (omitted) I felt like they don't even need permission from me, their father. I think he (my son) would've thought, 'Even if I didn't tell him, he could've just followed us. Why does he need to make a fuss about it?'" (Participant 4)

"You can't stop them from doing what they want to do. Now, they don't even care about doing the right thing. They just go around as they please. When I tell them to watch out for coronavirus, they say that if you catch it, you'll live if you were destined to live a long life and die if you were destined to live a short life. Well... They got upset with me that I keep telling them to get vaccinated." (Participant 3)

"My eldest child brought his wife-to-be, but they had already decided all by themselves to live in the U.S. once they got married. Basically, the opinion of their parents doesn't matter to them. It's not like they won't get married anyways, so I said nothing, but still..." (Participant 4)

Although these experiences were very difficult psychologically for the research participants, they did not want to express it to their children. This is because the experience of disregard is often perceived through trivial incidents, in general. Of course, they did occasionally have outbursts of anger they could not hold back, but "in the moment, [they] regretted" (Participant 4) right away as they did not want their children to see them angry over trivial matters. As parents, the participants were expressing their sorrow about feeling hurt that their children had

disregarded them.

“When you get old, you are pretty simple—I mean, you become simple. You become angry at the slightest slip. It was a simple incident, but I myself (with emphasis) felt extremely uncomfortable. The feeling even progressed to the thought that I’m being disregarded. No matter who you are and the kind of society you live in, you couldn’t bear the thought of being disregarded. But I sensed that in that very moment. (omitted) Feeling sorrow when you’re old is... The feeling of hurt develops into sorrow as time passes by.” (Participant 4)

3.3.2. Distrust in their children

The participants stated trust or distrust in their children as the chief cause of conflict with the younger generation. The mistakes their children made in childhood remained sources of ongoing distrust in the present, leading to negative conversations. Through conversations with their children, they perceived that just as the aged parents do not want to be disregarded, the children’s generation also has the need to be respected by their parents.

“You need to have trust. Because there’s no trust... I don’t trust anything. There were some things that happened... My child had issues while going through puberty. There were some things my child did that robbed away my trust. I will never forget those things. Whatever he/she does, I can’t trust him/her ever. It is hard to open yourself up once you close your heart, so I keep saying unpleasant things... But my child once exploded and said a bunch. For me, it’s not like that... My child basically said that I always worried too much in advance... My child spoke out of their heart. Ah... So, I should have thought that’s how you felt... But, you know, I can’t trust my child.” (Participant 1)

“How are you going to live when I die? I press my children like that. It’s because I’m worried but... I’m saying that because I’m concerned and don’t trust them... I know children want to be covered up and stuff. But I can’t help myself because everything they do gets on my nerves....” (Participant 3)

The participants also believed that there are many cases in which conflicts were exacerbated during their children’s adulthood because the hurt they experienced as parents when their children were young had still not healed. Hence, the participants also mentioned the importance of emotional exchange with children in childhood.

“My husband has such a bad temper for lying or doing bad things.... So, he would tell everyone to leave the house. He shouted during my son’s school years, so my son held a grudge. That’s why... he doesn’t come for the days of the ancestral ritual either... He should’ve covered up for our son saying that he’s doing well even when he fell short, but my husband drove him away, so their relationship is still in a bad place.” (Participant 3)

“I lost my father early, so I don’t think I knew well about how you should treat your children... I think I was a bit rash even though they were going through puberty... If I was like I am now, I would’ve comforted them more... I didn’t know then. I think some of that has still remained within me as well as my children.” (Participant 5)

4. CONCLUSION

This study aimed to examine intergenerational conflict from the perspective of aged parents in Korean society, who are one of the agents of intergenerational conflict. To this end, qualitative analysis was conducted, and five participants over the age of 65 years with adult children over the age of 20 years were interviewed. Six topics emerged from the interviews and were bundled into three major categories. The discussion per category can be summarized as follows

The first category was of children who took their parents for granted. The participants were devoted to their children, regardless of the amount of support they provided their adult children. The participants felt these efforts were taken for granted by their children, which evidently left room for conflict. Based on exchange theory, the conflicts were caused by an imbalance in reciprocity due to the parents’ lack of exchange resources. In other words, because the parents are physically weak because of aging and modern society is fast-changing, the exchange resources provided by the elders are bound to decline in terms of quality and quantity. This leads to conflict because their conditions for exchange with the younger generation are weakened. This study found that the participants provided more resources to their children rather than vice versa; nonetheless, conflict ensued. Therefore, another explanation is required to explain intergenerational conflict at a microscopic level based on exchange theory.

The second category is incomprehensible differences. Distinct sociocultural experiences give rise to

discrepancies in lifestyles or values, making it difficult to sincerely share everyday experiences even when the two parties try to sympathize and understand (Arling, 1979). In particular, it is perhaps natural that differences in lifestyles and values are occurring between the aged generation and their children's generation in the rapidly transforming Korean society. Although it is challenging to understand every intergenerational difference, the participants were making an effort in their own way to cater to and comprehend the carefree thinking of their children's generation. That said, what they still found unacceptable, despite such efforts, was the rude behavior of their children's generation. Such rudeness reduced parents' exchange with their children and became a factor that set off conflict.

The third category of conflict is the presence that they do not want to lose. Every human being desires respect from others they consider important. The participants experienced numerous psychological difficulties from feeling disregarded by their children, which resulted in conflict. At the same time, they also believed that the lack of trust in their children aggravated intergenerational conflict; not being able to trust in one's own children led to frequent negative conversations, which developed into conflicts. In essence, just as being disregarded is unwanted from the standpoint of aged parents, intergenerational conflict may be alleviated when aged parents respect their adult children.

The participants also discussed the cases in which past conflict with their children have continued to this day. When family members have engaged in negative interactions with one another in the past, the emotional conflicts between generations continue and sometimes expand into more serious conflict at the point in time when the aged parent needs caring (Jang, 2017). This implies that the development of the early relationship between the parents and their children affects future intergenerational conflict.

As explained above, the participants experienced many difficulties from the conflict with the younger generation but did not seek to actively resolve these issues that were the source of the conflict. This is attributed to the view of Korean society's aged generation that having issues come to the surface is like "cutting off your nose to spite your face" (Participant 4). Further, they consider that these issues cannot, in the end, be resolved. Hence, it was observed that the participants were living distressing later years with a sense of isolation and depression, without the ability to disclose the issues that were causing the intergenerational conflict. Because the problems cannot be seen openly, interventions are paramount to settling the issues of intergenerational conflict between the aged parents and their adult children.

Based on these research findings, the study makes the following contributions.

First, it adds to the literature on intergenerational conflict between parents and their adult children. Studies on such conflict have so far focused on the viewpoint of adult children and are limited to investigating the causes of conflict. Thus, by approaching intergenerational conflict from the viewpoint of aged parents, this study filled the gap in the existing literature. Previous studies examine aged parents' dependency, reciprocity, and value discrepancy from adult children's standpoint. This study contributes to the discussion by taking the perspective of aged parents.

Second, the study contributes to mitigating intergenerational conflict in Korea between adult children and their parents. To bridge intergenerational conflict, understanding between the generations must first be achieved. However, as we have seen in previous studies, not only is there insufficient research on intergenerational conflict in general, the research conducted so far focuses only on the viewpoint of adult children, with limited understanding of the older generation. Therefore, this study can help those of the younger generation better understand aged parents by identifying how conflicts with adult children are discussed and experienced from the viewpoint of the aged parents.

Third, the study can relieve family suffering due to intergenerational conflict. In particular, intergenerational conflict with adult children is directly linked to the quality of life of aged parents (Kim, 2005: 350) and may even lead to depression and death by suicide among older adults in severe cases (Tang, 2003). Interventions by concerned parties who are experiencing difficulties due to intergenerational conflict within the family are vital. Therefore, the study provides basic data for developing intergenerational conflict intervention programs in the future by identifying a wide range of conflict and crisis coping mechanisms that aged parents experience with their children's generation.

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Author declares that all works are original and this manuscript has not been published in any other journal.

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