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**“My culture is like comfortable clothing”:
Parenting Experience of First-generation South Korean Immigrants
in Aotearoa New Zealand**

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Abstract

Although the parenting experience among first-generation South Korean immigrants in New Zealand has been documented, a further qualitative study was needed to understand the complexities of adjusting to New Zealand, where different parenting values and practices exist compared with South Korea. Through interviews with ten first-generation South Korean parents, this study explored the processes of participants re-evaluating their original values and practices. This study was guided by existing research on the cultural differences between Korea and New Zealand and theories of acculturation, immigrant parenting modification, dual route to value change, and cultural translation.

Three themes were extracted through thematic analysis. First, participants appeared to have found some values and practices easier to adapt and change, and some were more effortful. For example, many participants tended to encourage their children's autonomy and independence in academics and careers domain sooner or later. However, some participants found it difficult to encourage their children's independence in the financial and self-care domain because these new practices clashed with their original values. For example, adolescent children paying rent to their parents clashed with the importance of accumulating *jeong* (정), while making young children do house chores clashed with their belief that children should devote their time for self-development.

Second, parents and children's bi-cultural socialisation emerged as a new parenting goal. Participants were concerned about them acquiring the New Zealand culture (e.g., family leisure life, involvement in their child's school, and English fluency) and transmitting Korean culture to their children. Nevertheless, they seemed to have found practical, cultural, and language barriers to translate their values into action. In discussion, we discuss the importance of this issue and provide recommendations for immigrants.

Third, many participants reported having enhanced their relationships with their children. Male participants reported increasing time spent with their children because New Zealand work and family lifestyles enabled it. In contrast, female participants appeared to have found the overlap between the mother's role as a comforter in Korean culture and the New Zealand parents' communication style, and they reported becoming more validating of children's emotions and less demanding and controlling.

Our findings support the theory of the dual route to value change and the hierarchical nature of the value system (e.g., independence vs *jeong*). Also, we found our participants demonstrating cultural translation process to maintain values, which involves creating new solutions when tension arose between Korean and New Zealand cultures (e.g., private tutoring, communication method to overcome language differences, and family trips).

Supporting migrant parents may require extra attention to the family's experience of reconstructing their ethnic identity, cultural socialisation to the mainstream culture and cultural maintenance as these lead to understanding their practices and behaviours. Also, migrant families may benefit from exploring creative solutions or applying the skills mentioned. At community and policy level, creating opportunities for participation in cross-cultural activities and increasing access to translation services can support migrant families. It is recommended for schools to invest time to clarify cultural expectations with newly migrated families.

Motivation for inquiry

The best way to introduce myself to the readers may be to share some of my background. I was born and raised in a small town called *Ik-san*. I remember enjoying Korean dramas while eating Korean-style fried chicken with my family every night, followed by a long day at school and an after-school academy called '*hak-won*'. My parents were pretty relaxed about academic achievements, but there was always pressure from the environment to achieve better and work harder. When I first visited New Zealand at age 14, I told my father I wanted to stay here simply because I did not have to go to *hak-won*. Though adapting to a new culture was challenging, New Zealand always made me feel at home.

Before starting the psychology degree, I worked as a mental health nurse in a Child and Adolescent service in New Zealand. South Korean families were naturally allocated to me because I was (the only) South Korean employee, which made sense. However, it made me wonder how to work well with them because I felt I was simply delivering Western interventions in the Korean language. Also, my professional knowledge was derived from the New Zealand education system and values, and I felt I had little connection to Korean culture.

Currently, I am an intern Clinical Psychologist who is passionate about child and youth mental health, family therapy and working with ethnic minorities. I believe that understanding my own culture should be the first step to growing as a reflective researcher and clinician. I hope that the learning through this research can be translated into my practice of working with people from different cultural backgrounds. I also wish this study could assist those less familiar with South Korean culture.

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I also want to thank the ten participants for their willingness, time, and effort they provided for this study. Their lived experience as a parent and immigrant taught me valuable lessons and helped to grow my understanding and empathy towards immigrant parents. I hope this study benefits the readers as much as it did me.

This dissertation was a journey of learning about South Korea. It was not just an intellectual journey but a process that evoked love and pride for my country. I owe deep gratitude to the people who served our country to remain an independent nation, even at the cost of their lives.

Lastly, thank you, Lord, for enabling me to live by faith and for your consistent love and patience towards me. As always, I saw you providing me with the resources, helpers, and holy ambition to produce this work. You deserve all the praise and glory.

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Table 1: Themes and Codes

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Definitions of Terms Used

1. International migration

- Migrant – A person who changes their country of residence irrespective of the reason for migration or legal status (United Nations [UN], 2022).
- Immigrant – A person who comes to live permanently in a foreign country.
- Emigrant – A person who leaves their own country to settle permanently in another.

2. Immigration generations (Yun, 2015)

- First-generation immigrant – An adult (18 years or older) who permanently immigrated to a new country but was raised in their native country.
- 1.5 generation immigrant – A child or adolescent who immigrated to a new country following their parents. Early childhood education was completed in their home country, and the remaining education was completed in the host country.

3. Kiwi – It is a friendly nickname for people from New Zealand. The name ‘Kiwi’ derives from the name of New Zealand’s the national bird.

4. Asia – It refers to a collection of shared cultural patterns of the Asian continent, as well as the countries within the Asia continent. The continent is divided into East Asia (e.g., Korea, China, and Japan), South Asia (e.g., India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nepal, and Bangladesh), and Southeast Asia (e.g., Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Myanmar, and Indonesia). Some classify these following regions as Asia; Western Asia (e.g., the Arabian peninsula, Iran, Mesopotamia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria), North Asia (e.g., Russia, Siberia, and Ural) and Central Asia (e.g., Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Boudreau et al., 2022).

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Psychologists Working with Migrants

Racial and cultural diversity has been a key feature of New Zealand in the last three decades, with one in five of the population being migrants (Statistics New Zealand [Stats NZ], 2018). Although equity for culturally diverse people is established at the policy level, challenges and gaps remain in the provision of tailored service for migrants in New Zealand in health, education, and other sectors (Sheridan et al., 2011; Richard et al., 2019; Suphanchaimat et al., 2015; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2021). Several reasons have been suggested to explain these challenges and gaps: a lack of understanding of migrants' culture before approaching them; a lack of exposure to cross-cultural knowledge; great diversity within migrant groups; variable quality of interpreting services; and a lack of care pathways and coordination between services and ethnic community services (Suphanchaimat et al., 2015; Richard et al., 2019). In mental health sector, cultural insensitivity has been identified as one of the critical variables for migrants' underuse of service (Snowden & Yamada, 2005).

Psychologists are a professional group who often work with migrants. As stated in the code of ethics (New Zealand Psychological Society, 2002), respecting the dignity of people, and showing sensitivity to diversity is one of the core dimensions of ethical practice. This is because culture shapes people's values and behaviours, and it has implications for all levels of service provision, from the point of meeting a client and their families to the assessment and intervention (Huygens & Nairn, 2016; Snowden & Yamada, 2005). Cultural sensitivity means respecting migrants' indigenous beliefs, practices, expressions, and help-seeking behaviours, and acknowledging that not all people are familiar with Western systems and approaches to well-being (Bemak & Chung, 2008).

Migrants accompanying their children will often encounter changes in their family goals, roles, relationships, and ways of *being* (e. g., cultural identity, socioeconomic status, and participation in host society) due to differences between their home and host countries' values and systems. These changes and challenges may play a role in improving or exacerbating the individual or family's health. Particularly, first-generation migrant parents may face additional challenges because of greater magnitude of language barriers and

cultural differences, on top of general parenting-related stress (Lee & Keown, 2018). This study will focus on the experience of first-generation immigrants from South Korea to expand our knowledge about the processes through which their values and practices are influenced through immigration to New Zealand, and to find culturally sensitive ways when supporting the first-generation Korean immigrant parents.

South Korea

South Korea (from now on, South Korea will be referred to as Korea) is a densely populated country with a population of 51.75 million in a land size of half of the United Kingdom (U.K.) (O'Neill, 2022). Four in five population live in urban areas (Park, 2009). Korea is ethnically and linguistically homogenous nation (Park, 2009), but religion has been free and diverse throughout history. The current composition of religion in Korea is 17% Buddhist, 20% Protestant, 11% Catholic, and 51% identifying with no religion (Yoon, 2022). Although Confucianism and Shamanism has largely diminished with the influx of Christianity and science, Confucius values are still embedded in Korean society (Roh, 1959).

Historically, the ancient history of Korea begins from approximately 50,000 B.C., and numerous tribal states and dynasties rose and fell in the Korean peninsula. The current form of Korea retains the form of the latest and longest-lived dynasty, *Chosön* (1392-1910) (Nahm, 1993). Since the Korean war ended in 1953, Korea encountered gradual but significant shifts in political, social, and economic aspects. For example, the caste system based on heredity and occupation was abolished after the Korean war (Rho, 1959), and the political regime was reformed from dictatorship to representative democracy (Park, 2009). Economically, Korea has changed from one of the poorest countries to the thirteenth-largest economy in the world (Park, 2009). Culturally, Korean culture remains homogenous despite the influence of globalisation because Korean nationalism is based on ethnicity, rather than republican nationalism (Watson, 2010).

Korean Immigrants in New Zealand

According to Stats NZ (2018b), Korean immigrants are the third-largest Asian population in New Zealand and make up 0.76 per cent of the total population of New Zealand. The rate of Korean and other Asian immigration has increased rapidly since the major change in New Zealand's immigration policy in 1987, which allowed non-European immigration (Yoon & Yoon, 2014). Korean immigrants to New Zealand generally immigrated under the general

skills category and have a high level of educational qualifications and professional work experience to qualify for immigration (Kim & Yoon, 2003).

However, Korean immigrants' socio-economic circumstances may change drastically after immigration because their qualifications are often not recognised in New Zealand (Lee, 2014; Yun, 2015). Also, the English language barrier can greatly limit their occupational choice in New Zealand. Consequently, most first-generation Korean immigrants are self-employed, such as owning a business, shops, or restaurants, usually selling Korean products or food (Chang et al., 2006, as cited in Yun, 2015). Although they may contact people from other ethnic groups sometimes, limited opportunities in mainstream jobs or businesses show that the first-generation Korean immigrant community is likely to be separated from other ethnic groups and the larger society (Yoon & Yoon, 2014; Lee, 2014). On the contrary, children of first-generation Korean immigrants are more likely to enter mainstream businesses, organisations or professions (Lee, 2014).

The most common reasons for immigration to New Zealand among Koreans were to increase exposure to nature and to provide their children with opportunities to learn English (Kim & Yoon, 2003). Also, some of them immigrated for their next generations to not go through the fast-paced and achievement-oriented education system that they had to go through (Chang et al., 2006). About 70.2% of the Korean population in New Zealand resides in the Auckland region, 10.4% in the Canterbury region, and around 4% in each of the following regions: Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Wellington (Stats NZ, 2018). In terms of religion, Christianity is the most common religious affiliation for the Korean ethnic group in New Zealand (57%), followed by no religion (37.4%) and other (2.7%) (Stats NZ, 2018). Secular Koreans also join church for social support and networking (Morris et al., 2008).

Gaps in Korean Immigrant Parenting Literature

What is the experience of parenting like for first-generation Korean immigrants in New Zealand? According to Dixon and colleagues (2010), parenting was identified as one of the most stressful areas of life among first-generation Korean and other Asian immigrants in New Zealand. The factors contributed to their parenting stress were the clash between their parenting norms and common parenting practices in New Zealand, changes in parent-child power dynamics, and cultural differences between generations. These challenges led to increased psychological distress, parent-child conflict, and lower family connectedness (Vaydich & Keown, 2018; Dixon et al., 2010; Diego et al., 1994). These Asian immigrants

expressed the need for information about New Zealand's culture, more opportunities for English education for parents, and strategies to reduce parent-child conflict and parents' internal conflict (e.g., different parenting norms between the two countries). Also, they expressed a wish to support their children to develop a secure ethnic identity and sense of belonging, to understand and monitor their children's peer relationships, and to increase their involvement in their child's school community (Vaydich & Keown, 2018; Dixon et al., 2010; Lee & Keown, 2018).

In coping with parenting stress, first-generation and 1.5-generation Korean immigrant parents were similar in accepting cultural differences and fostering biculturalism. For example, parents try to teach their children Korean and New Zealand languages and practices and believe they can choose what is best from each culture (Vaydich & Keown, 2018; Kim & Agee, 2019; Kim, 2013; Lee & Vaydich, 2020). However, 1.5-generations parents seemed to have more control over choosing what's best from each culture compared with their parent's generation because they have a greater experience and understanding of the cultural differences. Hence, 1.5 generations potentially have more opportunities and ability to integrate both cultures' parenting norms than first-generation (Lee & Vaydich, 2020; Kim, 2013). Despite this key difference between first and 1.5 generations, their experiences are often described as Korean immigrants' experiences. Therefore, further qualitative research is needed to understand the first- generation Korean immigrants' parenting experience more in-depth and identify ways to support them; This is the first objective of this study.

As mentioned earlier, cultural sensitivity means respecting people's ways of thinking, behaving, and cultural characteristics (Bemak & Chung, 2008). One of the key aspects of culture is the value system, which is considered a moderator of one's thoughts and behaviours (Zhang et al., 2005). Several studies have examined how parenting practices and values changed after immigration. For example, Lee & Keown (2018) reported that first-generation Korean immigrants generally accepted and used some foreign parenting practices or styles of the United States (U.S.). For example, Korean immigrants increased their child's independence and freedom of choice and interacted more with their children while decreasing parental authority. In addition, a study evaluating the U.S. parenting program for Korean immigrants found that the participants adopted behavioural strategies (e.g., using sticker charts) to reinforce their children's desired behaviours, and increased physical affection towards their children (e.g., hugging/kissing). However, Korean immigrants

did not adopt other taught practices, such as using timeouts and allocating chores (Kim et al., 2012). These results suggest that Korean immigrant parents may adopt new parenting practices and preserve their original values and practices.

However, Choi and colleagues (2018) found that Korean immigrant parents largely preserve traditional parenting values and practices while showing meaningful, yet not dramatic, signs of adopting new cultural traits. Also, indirectly reported by Lee and Vaydich (2020), 1.5 generation Korean parents reported being raised in households with strong Korean cultural characteristics, and their parents gave advice grounded on Korean values, which conflicted with New Zealand values and practices. These findings suggest that further research is needed on how first-generation Korean immigrants experience the parenting values and practices of each culture and how they choose between the two; This is the second objective of this study.

Guided by the theories of acculturation, immigrant parenting, dual route to value change, and cultural translation, this study will explore the narratives of first-generation Korean immigrants re-evaluating their original values and practices. We will also explore the process of change in Korean immigrant parents' values and practices and the conflicts and dilemmas that arose during this process.

The overview

This chapter introduced the background of this study and current gaps in understanding of parenting experiences among first-generation Korean immigrants in New Zealand. The gaps were noted in our understanding of the potential difference in the experience of parenting between 1.5 generation and the first-generation Korean immigrants, and how first generations may navigate issues when their original values and practice differ from that of New Zealand.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the relevant literature. First, it begins with the history of parenting research and the influence of culture on parenting practices. Second, it explains some aspects of Korean and New Zealand cultures that are important for understanding each country's parenting values and practices. Third, it describes Western parenting theories and their limitations. Fourth, it introduces theoretical frameworks that will guide the understanding of migrants' parenting experiences, including theories of acculturation, immigrant parenting, dual route to value change, and cultural translation.

Chapter 3 provides a rationale for using the qualitative methodology through which this

study will answer the research questions. This chapter also describes the research design, method, participants, recruitment process, and data analysis.

Chapter 4 reports the three themes, associated codes, and their meanings.

Chapter 5 discusses how the findings relate to existing theories and contribute to the wider body of knowledge. This chapter will also discuss the limitations and implications of this study and suggest potential avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Parenting and Culture

The term 'child-rearing practice' is used interchangeably with parenting because the universal view of parenting involves raising children into functional and healthy adults in society (Smith, 2010). Children learn socially acceptable values and standards in a natural way (i.e., enculturation) or through intentional teaching by parents or teachers (i.e., socialisation) (Segall et al., 1990; Grusec & Davidov, 2010). The meaning of socially acceptable behaviours and socialisation goals varied across cultures and time, however. (Berry et al., 1992). For example, in medieval Europe, some viewed childhood as a distinctive period, while others viewed it as a downward extension of adulthood. Each view led to a different degree of protection for children, expectations about children's roles and commitment to work, and different degree of responsibility and independence (Hanawalt, 2002).

Religious views of human nature also shaped how children were treated during medieval times and the 16th century (Hanawalt, 2003, as cited in Berk, 2005). For instance, English protestants during the 16th century viewed that children were born 'evil and corrupt' and needed to be treated strictly and harshly (Moran & Vinocskis, 1986, as cited in Berk, 2005). In contrast, the emigrants from England to the U.S. refrained from such harsh practices. Instead, they focused on teaching children logical reasoning so they could independently distinguish right and wrong (Clarke-Stewart, 1998, as cited in Berk, 2005). Americans also encouraged children to be self-reliant and under self-control by teaching them about religious and moral expectations (Pollock, 1987, as cited in Berk, 2005).

Various philosophies and scientific development influenced parenting norms and values. For instance, the British philosopher John Locke (1689) and the French philosopher Rousseau (1762)'s views on children activated the development of education for children and adolescents (Spera, 2005). They both emphasised the role of adults in praising, instructing and teaching children while respecting their unique needs and perspectives (Spera, 2005). In addition, Darwin's prenatal study in the 19th century brought on the beginning of scientific research on child development in the U.S. and Europe. Research in this era involved the study of typical patterns of child development, intelligence scale, and

gene-environment interaction on child development. Furthermore, many psycho-social, behavioural, and developmental theories and parenting research have evolved since the 1930s to understand and treat children's psychological and behavioural problems. In summary, these philosophies and scientific studies increased the importance of the parent's role in providing the optimal environment for a child's development (Berk, 2005).

New Zealand's Culture and History of Parenting

Research on contemporary New Zealand's parenting culture is scant. New Zealand culture is often described with reference to Western influences. While simplification can help draw international parallels, it can limit the understanding of New Zealand's unique cultural context (Bond, 1996, as cited in Zhang et al., 2005). Most importantly, reducing New Zealand parenting culture to a Western approach fails to recognise indigenous Māori parenting. To explore New Zealand's unique culture of parenting, the author traced the history of New Zealand, literature around bi-culturalism, and parenting programs in New Zealand.

Māori and British Parenting Culture

Traditional Māori (i.e., indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand) parenting culture can be understood through the spiritual worldview of te ao Māori. Within te ao Māori, children are gifts from the atua (spiritual beings) and the tīpuna (ancestors), and these spiritual relationships gave children inherent mana (power) and tapu (sacredness). In child discipline, children were treated with aroha (loving care), and any form of negative discipline or expression was withheld because it offended the atua and tīpuna (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Parenting was a collective responsibility of the whānau (extended family), where grandparents, uncles, aunts and older children adopted a caregiving role with younger children. Parenting and family behaviour was influenced by pūrākau. For example, Ranginui (sky father) and Papatūānuku (earth mother) made helpful suggestions to each other, did not reprimand their children and resolved whānau disputes via negotiation and discussion. Mothers were not the only primary caregiver; all members had specific roles and responsibilities to raise a child. Kaumātua (elders) often provided mentoring, affection and leadership with their children and for the whānau (Herewini, 2018).

In contrast, British parenting during the 1950s heavily relied on developmental psychology and psychoanalytical knowledge. These norms emphasised a child-centred

approach and shaped democratic self-hood, increasing pressure on teachers and parents, especially mothers (Tisdall, 2017).

British and American Influence on Parenting

Indigenous Māori culture and community have been threatened since the arrival of the British colony in the 18th century. Colonisation led to the loss of Māori land, language, and Kaumātua (elders), which meant the cultural knowledge and customs could not be effectively transferred to the next generations. By 1950, Māori were less than 10 per cent of the population of New Zealand (Ayson & Phillips, 2012). Also, in the era of urbanisation, Māori became marginalised and disadvantaged socially and economically, and the traditional whānau structure was disrupted by relocation (Herewini, 2018). Constitutional and legislative oppression, rapid societal transformation and capitalism have further suppressed Māori culture (Harmsworth, 2002).

New Zealand began to accept the U.S. culture and lifestyles through economic and trade activities following World War I. Furthermore, New Zealand began exchanging culture with the U.S. through research in various fields in the 1980s and adopted psychological interventions developed in Europe and the U.S. (Ayson & Phillips, 2012; Bell, 1962). For example, New Zealand adopted parenting programmes (e.g., the ‘Incredible Years’ parenting programme and Positive Parenting Programme [Triple-P programme]), which were supported by scientific evidence and research.

Against this growing influence and domination of Western culture, contemporary Māori have continued to define their individual and collective aspirations, realities, and goals (Durie 2000). In this regard, Bae (2021) warned that a well-meaning intervention, such as the ‘Incredible Years’, could potentially be another source of (re)colonisation because the emphasis on Western parenting norms and science-based knowledge can inadvertently devalue indigenous values and knowledge. Furthermore, colonisation approach can exclude ethnic minorities from the majority with a deficit lens, thus “stripping away the identity and culture of the subjugated group” (Bae, 2021, p. 264). Therefore, Bae points to the need for cultural sensitivity mentioned in the previous chapter.

More recently, New Zealand has also recognized interculturalism (Salahshour, 2021; Deng & Pienaar, 2011). For example, the New Zealand government’s positive parenting campaign called Tākai (previously called Strategies with Kids – Information for Parents [SKIP]) was designed with a view that the Western models of parenting will not be relevant or

helpful for all ethnic groups. This program encouraged parents “to balance their traditional parenting with an understanding of the various parenting styles within a New Zealand context.” (Deng & Pienaar, 2011, p. 173). The Tākai programme has been adopted for some groups of migrants, for example, the Sudanese population (Deng & Pienaar, 2011).

Deng and Pienaar’s (2011) evaluation of the SKIP program for Sudanese parents reported a successful and satisfactory outcome. The programme’s goals were: parents sharing their parenting experiences in New Zealand, learning from each other, learning about their native parenting values, and providing tools for parents to access more information about parenting support or skills. Also, they focused on improving understanding of New Zealand laws and culture relevant to parenting and discussing ways to balance Sudanese and New Zealand culture. In addition, the programme formed a community where parents integrated ‘positive parenting skills’ into their lives in a culturally acceptable way. Lastly, the programme also supported parents in enhancing integration and settlement in New Zealand. However, they identified that further support is needed to help improve the parent-child relationships.

New Zealand and other Western countries

The widespread Western ideology of individualism, self-reliance and entrepreneurship brought an emphasis on the family’s ability to maintain and protect their families, influencing the policies that support the family’s economic health and welfare (Rana, 2012; Berk, 2005). Berk (2005) further explains that the degree of individualism determines who should be responsible for raising children, for example, a family or a collective group. The U.S. shows the strongest tendency towards individualism (Hofstede, 2022). This tendency is reflected in its public policies, which have been slow to endorse government-funded benefits for families and high-quality childcare (Berk, 2005). In contrast, New Zealand has provided a wide range of income support programs and domestic purpose benefits in the 20th century and reduced the conditionality of the benefit payments (Smith, 2010). It could be because New Zealand has a weaker orientation towards individualism than other Western countries (Hofstede, 2022). New Zealand’s score on the individualism dimension (score of 79 out of 100) was lower compared to the U.S. (91), Australia (90), and the U.K. (89).

Korean Culture and History of Parenting

This section explores the philosophical and religious traditions that shaped Korean societal values and norms, which influenced child socialisation goals and practices. In brief, Buddhism dominated Korean culture from 372 B.C. until Neo-Confucianism replaced it in the beginning of the *Chosön* dynasty (1392-1910). Taoism was never firmly established as these two philosophies, but some elements were accepted and integrated (Chung & Oh, 2022). Korea amended these Chinese philosophies and developed its system of thought to suit its culture. These processes, in turn, influenced other countries (Roh, 1959; Cawley, 2021). Since the traditions and concepts we will now explore are holistic and multidimensional (Chung & Oh, 2022), we will explore their ethical, political, emotional, and moral influences on Korean culture and then link them to the family and parenting culture of Korea.

Jeong

The Chinese-Korean concept of *jeong* (정, 情) is a crucial element connecting human beings and objects beyond humans (Chung & Oh, 2022). In early-Chinese tradition, *jeong* carried two key meanings. First is the objectivity of the world, such as a fact, situations, reality, phenomena, and things. The second is the inner experiences, such as emotion, feelings, intuition, belief, judgment, motivation, and attitude (Chung & Oh, 2022). *Jeong* is used with these concepts; objects (물정, 物情), work or circumstances (사정, 事情), and human (인정, 人情), reflecting emotions and stories that come with these objects, work, and humans (Jee, 2022).

The original meaning of *jeong* is founded on Confucius's ethics of social harmony and interdependence between people (i.e., psychological and cultural) (Chung & Oh, 2022). In Korea, this concept of *jeong* was further influenced by other Korean philosophical traditions. For instance, it was integrated with shamanistic folk talk of *han* (한; resentment), as well as Buddhist compassion, care, and one-heartedness (한 마음; *Hanmaeum*) (Jee, 2022; Chung & Oh, 2022). Also, Taoism indirectly influenced the concept of *jeong* with its naturalistic freedom and *heung* (흥; joy). Later, when the Christian concept of love and forgiveness was likely incorporated into modern Korean *jeong* amongst Christians (Chung & Oh, 2022).

The notion of interconnectedness in *jeong* combines all kinds of human relationships, with family being the primary *jeong* relationship. Koreans often talk about parental,

maternal (모정), familial, and brotherly/sisterly *jeong*. Also, *jeong* is used in friendship (우정), collegial, work and even love-hate relationships (미운 정) (Chung & Oh, 2022; Jee, 2022). It is because the members are interdependent and part of the group or relationship. Also, *jeong* is reflected in the Korean language Uri (우리), which means ‘we’ or ‘our’. Koreans refer to themselves or their belonging as ‘our car,’ ‘our house,’ and ‘our country’ instead of ‘my car,’ ‘my house,’ and ‘my country.’ Unlike the Western concept of ‘we’, it is “not just a plural form of ‘I’ for the Korean people, but rather an extended ‘I.’” (Jee, 2022, p. 261), and it implies a strong sense of belonging of ‘I’ to that group.

Family Regulation

The notion of Confucianism is that “knowledge is the beginning of cosmic order in the following sequence: learning the Confucian ideas and canon, developing thoughts, maturing souls, self-cultivation, self-realisation, family regulation, the state in proper order, and the world in peace” (Kim, 2009, p. 858). Therefore, Confucius (551 B.C. – 479 B.C.) perceived that the former sequence had to be accomplished to have order and peace in a state or society (i.e., Confucius never clearly defined the meaning of state). During the *Han* dynasty (206 B.C. – 220 B.C.), the Chinese state and educated class first began to call ancient virtues Confucianism and adopt it (Kim, 2009).

Since taking care of the family was viewed as the basis of a moral society, all family members had to have respect and proper relationships with one another (Roh, 1959). Confucius’ original text emphasised father-son and king-ruled relationships based on reciprocity. However, the Taoist notion of Yin-Yang and neo-Confucius view on marital relations, age relations, and friend relations appeared to be added other relationships to its original concept. Also, the principle of reciprocity was replaced by absolute obedience and strict hierarchical and authoritarian styles (Dau-Lin, 1970). The five principles of conduct are outlined below (Hulbert, 1906, p. 374, as cited in Roh, 1959, p. 40):

1. *Blessed is the child who honours his parents, for he, in turn, shall be honoured by his children.*
2. *Blessed is the man who honours his King, for he will stand a chance of being a recipient of the King’s favour.*
3. *Blessed is the man and wife who treat each other properly, for they shall be secure against domestic scandal.*

4. Blessed is the man who treats his friend well, for that is the only way to get treated well himself.

5. Blessed is the man who honours his elders for years is a guarantee of wisdom.

The communication between a parent and a child tends to be directive in Korean culture. Fathers were disciplinary figures and restrained from expressing affection or emotions towards their children, especially sons (Roh, 1959). Instead of speaking to or with the child about their opinions or feelings, parents tend to prompt them to confirm their previous request, and children usually respond with a yes or no (Kim & Choi, 1994). For daughters, their primary disciplinarian was their mothers. Therefore, daughters could be more expressive of their feelings and opinions towards their fathers (Rho, 1959). Although mothers were the source of affection and comfort for their children (Roh, 1959), the communication pattern between a mother and a child remains directive even among contemporary Korean parents (Kim & Choi, 1994).

Filial piety (孝 *xiao*, 孝 *hyo*) is another concept that stems from Confucian philosophy, though it is emphasised much more in Korea than in China (Cawley, 2021). In Korea and China, filial piety means indebtedness; toward parents and ancestors because people identify with their clan names and rely on them for protection (Roh, 1959). As children mature, they are expected to reciprocate the support received from their parents. For example, children should obey their parent's opinions and authority and attend to or enquire about their parent's needs daily. Also, children must refrain from behaviours that cause concern to their parents (Kim & Choi, 1994). Ancestral worship is another form of expressing loyalty to deceased ancestors, which is still practised in some Korean families (Roh, 1959).

Although the Japanese also expressed indebtedness to their parents, they did more so to their feudal lord and nation who protected them and whom they identified with. In addition, Japanese families did not identify their ties with clan names, unlike China and Korea, except for some royal families (Roh, 1959). Since the children ultimately maintain the family line, Korean mothers attend to their children more than supporting their husbands. In contrast, Japanese mothers tend to focus on supporting both equally (Roh, 1959).

A study of contemporary Korean disciplinary practice (Kim & Choi, 1994) describes Korean mothers as indulgent, flexible, tolerant, and not discipline-oriented. For example, Korean parents tend to assist their children as they perceive the child's need (e.g., taking a

5-year-old child to the toilet) and wait for the child to acquire those skills voluntarily. Kim (1981, as cited in Kim & Choi, 1994) explains that Korean mothers are psychologically enmeshed with their children and do not see them as objects of discipline. Also, children are viewed as yet incapable and should not be held responsible for their actions (Ho, 1986, as cited in Kim & Choi, 1994).

However, Korean parents tend to be more strict about regulating children's behaviours from a young age than Japanese parents. Japan has accepted the least degree of Confucius philosophy compared to Korea and China; instead, they retained Shintoism (i.e., a distinctive Japanese religion). Shintoism views childhood as divine (e.g., son of God) and sacred. Therefore, Japanese parents indulged and even showed awe and respect towards their children (Hara & Minagawa, 1996, Lebra, 1994, as cited in Chao & Tseng, 2002). These findings suggest that different views of childhood have produced different qualities of parent-child relationships, parental roles, and disciplinary practices, even across Asian cultures with a shared Confucian tradition.

Another characteristic of contemporary Korean parenting is devotion, which means sacrificing the parents' life (e.g., career) to fully achieve their role as caregivers (Kim & Choi, 1994). The opposite of devotion is parents' personal development. Choi (1990, as cited in Kim & Choi, 1994) observed that while Canadian mothers tended to put equal emphasis on both their career and parenting and hoped to resume their careers when their children grew up, Korean mothers viewed motherhood as a period of self-transformation rather than of losing their identity. As Korean mothers devote themselves to their children, they expect their child's accomplishments in return. In other words, Korean mothers attain a sense of accomplishment through their children's success, and this is the most valuable goal among Korean mothers (Gallup, 1985, as cited in Kim & Choi, 1994).

Self-realisation and Education

Confucianism emphasises that one should pursue learning to go beyond what nature has given and enhance their characteristics. For this reason, an ideal person should acquire knowledge to the best of one's ability through devotion to intellectual and skills development. Learning was also considered a moral responsibility, and people who refuse to learn are regarded as immoral and socially irresponsible (Chao, 1994). During the *Chosön* dynasty, Neo-Confucianism was accepted as the country's founding philosophy, and the government fostered education through the education system, libraries and study centres

(Rho, 1959). Also, throughout much of Korean history (958-1894), regulation of the state and public careers were carried out by high-class men who passed the civil service examination system (과거; *Gwageo*) (Kim, 2009). Similarly, “education has been a forceful instrument of the ruling elite to govern the state” in East Asia in general (Kim, 2009, p. 860).

The emphasis on education and learning continues to be the key characteristics in contemporary East Asian countries, especially Korea, China and Japan (Zhang et al., 2005). Contemporary Korean and Japanese parents were the top two countries that make the largest financial contributions towards children’s education (Gallup, 1983, as cited in Zhang et al., 2005).

Impact of Globalisation on Family Culture

The simplest meaning of globalisation is the interconnectedness between countries around the globe in various aspects such as economic, social, cultural, and communication (Rana, 2012). Europe and America have been the leading countries of globalisation through colonisation since 1500s and industrialisation (Belich, 2007). Globalisation has ironically brought multiculturalism through international trade and global migration, but also brought homogeneity of culture through Westernisation or ‘McDonaldisation’ (Barber, 1995, as cited in Rana, 2012).

The global trade of resources and labour in the 20th and 21st centuries increased economic profits and wealth. It also created greater opportunities for work for women (Trask, n. d.). For families, traditional gender roles of mothers and fathers were replaced by work-oriented lifestyles. Also, with greater opportunities for work, education and travel, the family living arrangement became scattered around the country and globe, thus reducing both the familial ties and family size (Mills, 2013; Poushter, 2019). For workers, greater skills were required to increase job security. In this context, materialism, individualism, and self-reliance have replaced the traditional values of interdependence and community in non-Western nations (International Anglican Family Network, 2008).

In Korea, the influence of globalisation has increased significantly since the 1950s after the liberation from the Japanese colony (Gil, 2015). As a result, Confucius’s principles of filial duties towards parents and interdependence have gradually declined over time (Rho, 1959). Also, with the immense global economic changes, English fluency has been perceived as necessary to cope with the global economy in Korea and other East Asian countries (i.e., English fever) (Paik, 2008, as cited in Rana, 2012). As a result, international migration and

studying abroad became popular across Asia, with China and Korea being the top two countries with the most people studying abroad during the 21st century (Zhang et al., 2005). Moreover, Korea, Japan, and China were all highly ranked in the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2003 (Zhang et al., 2005).

Globalisation appears to have blended Eastern and Western cultures and transformed the culture of the global nations to a varying degree. For instance, Park and colleagues (2014) found that Asian parents were more likely than Western parents to endorse individualist socialisation goals (e.g., independence), especially among parents with higher parental education and income and more information/technology use. Also, Western parents endorsed obedience, unselfishness, and respect as valued child qualities relatively higher than East Asian parents (Park et al., 2014). This finding suggests that it may be possible that the newer generation of native Koreans is exposed to and adopting Western parenting approaches.

Comparison of New Zealand and Korean Cultural Dimensions

Hofstede (2011) presents six dimensions of culture, including *Power distance*, *Individualism*, *Masculinity*, *Uncertainty avoidance*, *Long-term orientation*, and *Indulgence*. Each country's score is relative to other countries' scores worldwide. Figure 1 summarises the estimated scores of cultures mentioned in this literature review. For this section only, the term 'South Korea' will be used to align with Hofstede (2011) and Hofstede Insights (2022). The scores for China and Japan may also be relevant to compare with South Korea.

Power distance describes how well a society tolerates and expects the power difference between individuals (Hofstede, 2011). New Zealand is very low on this dimension. Although the social hierarchy may be established for convenience, individuals expect to communicate informally and consult with each other frequently in New Zealand. South Korea is described as a slightly hierarchical society, which means everyone has a rank or position in that society and accepts this with less or no justification; the lower-ranked person may expect to be told what to do by someone on a higher rank (Hofstede Insights, 2022).

Individualism describes how much people expect to rely on themselves for looking after themselves and their immediate families. In contrast, a collectivistic society stresses loyalty and long-term relationships with a 'group' (usually family, extended family, or extended relationships), and everyone takes responsibility for the members of their group.

Therefore, a person's self-image is defined as 'I' in an individualistic society but 'We' in a collectivistic society (Hofstede, 2011). South Korea is considered a collectivist society. Mistakes or wrongdoings often lead to shame and loss of face, and loyalty may override most social rules and regulations. However, New Zealand has an individualistic culture, where people are expected to show initiative and their abilities (Hofstede Insights, 2022). Also, from a young age, people are expected to be responsible for learning and generating support by asking the teachers or finding resources in school (Ministry of Education, 2022).

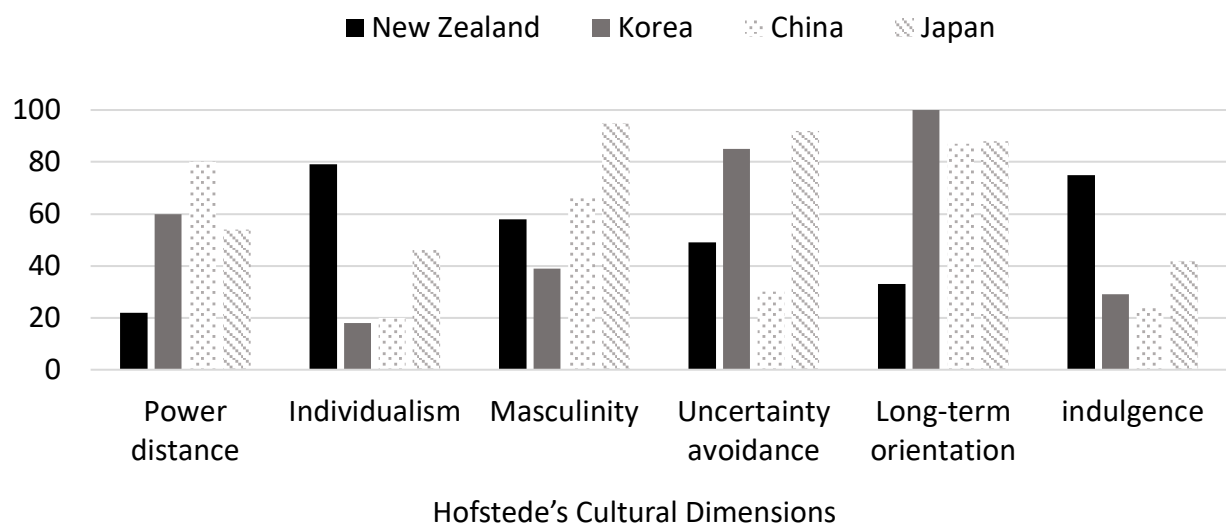
Masculinity describes how much people are motivated to achieve high status or strive to be the top of their field of work, school or leisure (Hofstede, 2011). New Zealand is considered a masculine society where people strive to be proud of their successes and achievements in life. Also, standing out from the crowd due to their achievement is likely to be accepted. In case of disagreement, the goal is to win or get what one wants. In contrast, South Korea is considered a feminine society, where individuals value quality of life as a sign of success and wellbeing. In a group, equality and mutual support are highly valued. In case of disagreement, people may compromise and negotiate (Hofstede Insights, 2022).

Uncertainty avoidance describes the tendency to feel threatened by ambiguity or unknown outcome and to avoid these situations (Hofstede, 2011). While New Zealand has a neutral score of 49, South Korea has the highest score (100). Due to this tendency, security is an important value in South Korea, and people may have the urge to be busy and work hard for their future. In addition, people may be less accepting of new, non-traditional, and even innovative ideas. Also, they may insist on their beliefs or rules, even if these are inconvenient (Hofstede Insights, 2022).

Long-term orientation describes whether a society prioritises more on maintaining links to its past or dealing with present and future challenges (Hofstede, 2011). With a score of 100, South Korea is the most long-term oriented society, where people focus on the steady and long-term outcomes. Therefore, people may encourage using money or resources carefully and emphasise education to prepare for the future. Also, South Korea is described as pragmatic society where peoples' lives are guided by virtues and good practical examples rather than by a set truth or beliefs. In contrast, New Zealand has a low score on this dimension and is referred to as a normative society, which has a relatively less tendency to save for the future and focuses on achieving quick results. Also, people may prefer to maintain social norms that have existed for a long-time, have a strong concern about

Figure 1

Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions (2022) of the Four Countries



establishing the absolute truth, and view societal change with suspicion (Hofstede Insights, 2022).

Lastly, *indulgence* means realising and enjoying their desires and having fun instead of restricting them (Hofstede, 2011). New Zealand is considered an indulgent society. As a result, they place a high importance on leisure time and spend money on entertainment freely. On the contrary, South Korean society emphasises delaying gratification of their desires. Therefore, people feel that indulging themselves is somewhat wrong and does not emphasise leisure or entertainment (Hofstede Insights, 2022).

Overall, Hofstede's research (2011) illustrates the marked cross-cultural variations in multiple dimensions and how these influence on individual's and families' lives, values, and priorities. The findings are consistent with the description of Korean and New Zealand parenting values, where Korean families tend to be more hierarchical, and value their position and relationship within a group. Also, high inclination towards *uncertainty avoidance*, *long-term orientation* and *indulgence* aligns with Korean's emphasis more on education and preparing for their future and less on immediate needs for satisfying their desires.

What is of noteworthy is also the differences between Korea, Japan, and China (See Figure 10). It shows that each country held onto their own philosophical values and maintained them even after the influence of Western religion and cultures. Although this

study does not focus on explicit comparison between these three countries, it warrants a caution not to generalize Asian countries as similar under the umbrella term, 'Asian culture'.

Parenting Research from a Western Perspective

Although different cultural characteristics may shape different approaches to parenting across cultures, parenting research from Western culture has been widely applied in non-Western cultures. This section will explain one of the most notable works in parenting research, Baumrind's (1971) description of parenting styles, and challenges in cross-cultural application.

"Parenting style is defined as a constellation of attitudes towards the child that are communicated to the child and that, taken together, create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviors are expressed. These behaviors include both the specific, goal-directed behaviors through which parents perform their parental duties (to be referred to as parenting practices) and non-goal-directed parental behaviors, such as gestures, changes in tone of voice, or the spontaneous expression of emotion." (Darling & Steinburg, 1993, p. 488),

According to Baumrind (1971), parents need to exert control and demand to socialise children to conform to the rules of society and family, and such control is distinguished from restrictiveness, physical punishment or explanation (Darling & Steinburg, 1993).

Three parenting styles were identified through observation and analysis of parental and child reports of their behaviour (Baumrind, 1967, as cited in Baumrind, 1971, p. 1).

"1. Parents of the children who were the most self-reliant, self-controlled, explorative, and content were themselves controlling and demanding; but they were also warm, rational, and receptive to the child's communication. This unique combination of high control and positive encouragement of the child's autonomous and independent strivings was called authoritative parental behaviour.

2. Parents of children who, relative to the others, were discontent, withdrawn, and distrustful, were themselves detached and controlling, and somewhat less warm than other parents. These were called authoritarian parents.

3. Parents of the least self-reliant, explorative, and self-controlled children were themselves noncontrolling, nondemanding, and relatively warm. These were called permissive parents."

Baumrind focused on the child outcome of independence, self-reliance, and autonomy, the key socialisation goals in the U.S. (Berk, 2005). It was the quality of their control rather than the intensity by which the styles were distinguished. Baumrind later described that the authoritarian style involved psychological control, not the authoritative one.

Maccoby and Martins (1983, as cited in Darling & Steinburg, 1993) labelled 'responsiveness' and 'demandingness' as the key dimensions of Baumrind's descriptions of parenting style. Responsiveness has a specific definition; the contingency between parent and child's behaviour, rather than parental adaptation to child's needs or state, or mere parental sensitivity, warmth, and handing over control to children irrespective of the child's behaviour. Permissiveness was divided into indulgent and neglecting styles (Maccoby & Martins, 1983, as cited in Darling & Steinburg, 1993).

Although the authoritative parenting style has been shown to be associated with the most positive child outcome in studies with European-American samples (e.g., higher self-esteem, social skills, and academic achievement), the mechanism that explains different outcomes has not been empirically studied. Lewis (1981) suggested that other parenting attributes, such as parents' reciprocal communication style in authoritative families, could moderate the outcome of children rather than parental control or responsiveness (Lewis, 1981, as cited in Darling & Steinburg, 1993). Furthermore, Darling and Steinburg (1993) proposed that it could be the socialisation goals and its consequent parenting practices or behaviours that directly influence the child outcome, but parenting style functions as a moderator. For example, the same socialisation goal and behaviours (e.g., academic achievement) may result in better outcomes if parents adopt an authoritative style than the authoritarian style.

However, attempts to directly apply parenting styles across cultures has led to some misleading conclusions and issues because different cultures and ethnic groups carry different parenting practices, socialisation goals and parenting styles. For example, Chao (1994) critiqued that traditional Chinese parenting is often categorised as the authoritarian style because the strict nature of discipline in China best fits into this category. Chao (1994) argued that the Chinese parenting style should be understood through the Chinese notion of *quan* (training) and its associated child socialisation goals and parenting practice. Such uninformed categorisation can cause over-simplification and misunderstanding of other cultural practices and values.

Second, the authoritarian parenting style may not always be maladaptive, as Western research indicates. For Mexican and Latin American migrants living in socioeconomically disadvantaged communities, the authoritarian parenting style combined with some aspects of the authoritative style helped them to detect environmental concerns of neighbourhoods and had protective effects when children spent time alone in the neighbourhood (Gelatt et al., 2015; Gorman-Smith et al., 2000; Knight et al., 1994; White et al., 2016). In the academic domain, Chinese youth living in authoritarian families showed better school performance than those living in authoritative families (Alegre, 2011, Hung, 2018, as cited in Yim, 2022), whereas the opposite was true for European-American youth (Dornbusch et al., 1987).

Depending on the cultural norm, parental practices are also differentially associated with child outcomes (Smetana, 2017). For instance, in a society where spanking or shaming is culturally normative, it was seen as less harmful (although still harmful to children) (Gershoff et al., 2020, Helwig et al., 2014, as cited in Smetana, 2017).

Furthermore, normative beliefs about parental authority and the boundaries of individual autonomy may influence children's legitimacy beliefs and their response to parental control. For example, studies show that children with strong legitimacy beliefs are more likely to comply with parents' rules, monitoring and supervision, and disclose the private areas of their life (Smetana, 2011, Keijsers & Laird, 2014, as cited in Smetana, 2017). Also, in a study of Korean adolescents raised in Korea and the U.S., adolescents raised in Korea accepted behavioural control by their parents, whereas Korean-American adolescents were more likely to view this as rejection from their parents (Kim, 2005). The author explains that it is because of the Korean norm of perceiving high parental control and involvement as an expression of love and interest towards children and the consensus of parents carrying full responsibility for their children's outcome. In contrast, European American parents try to emphasise self-reliance and independence. Consequently, higher parental behavioural control is perceived as hostility or rejection, resulting in low acceptance by adolescents.

More recent research in parenting style and practice focused on how children develop various domains of social behaviours and knowledge, such as moral domain (e.g., justice, fairness, and other's welfare), socio-conventional domain (e.g., contextually determined norms), and prudential domain (e.g., sense of safety and comfort) (Smetana & Killen, 2014, as cited in Smetana, 2017). Newer researchers found that parents' emotional expression

and communication varied according to the violation of each domain (Smetana, 2017). Another approach is a dimensional approach to parenting. For instance, Choi and Kim's (2018) study of Korean-American parents found that the psychological dimension (e.g., parenting values and goals) is less likely to change than the behavioural dimension (e.g., disciplinary methods or practices). The authors also suggested that, although cultural differences may emerge in parenting values and practices following migration, parenting values ultimately determine parenting practices. Overall, both domain-specific and dimensional approaches allowed a deeper understanding of the parenting process (Smetana, 2017).

Theoretical Frameworks for Understanding Migrants' Parenting Experiences

Berry's Theoretical Framework for Acculturation (1997)

We will explore the four theoretical frameworks that can assist with understanding the experiences of parenting for migrants. The first is Berry's theoretical framework for acculturation (1997). Acculturation describes changes in customs, values and culture when two different cultural groups come into first-hand contact. The changes can be one-way or reciprocal between the groups and can occur in various dimensions; sociocultural, psychological (i.e., values), and economical. Berry (1997) suggests distinguishing group and individual acculturation because it helps examine the systematic relationships and individual variations.

Berry (1997) proposes four types of acculturation strategies based on two dimensions; the first being the newcomer's degree of contact and participation in other cultural groups, and the second being maintaining their heritage culture. Integration strategy occurs when one adopts the receiving culture and retains the heritage culture dimensions. Conversely, the marginalisation strategy is when one loses cultural identity and does not adopt the new culture (or is rejected by the dominant society). The other two strategies only meet one of the two dimensions. For example, assimilation adopts the receiving culture but discards the heritage culture (whether voluntarily or involuntarily), and separation rejects the dominant culture but retains the heritage culture (Berry, 1997). Another term, 'bicultural', is also used interchangeably with integration (Berry, 1997).

Various factors can influence the course, difficulty and outcome of acculturation. For example, pre-migration risk factors include older age of migration, females, lower education,

low motivation for migration (e.g., involuntary migrants), and cultural distance (i.e., how dissimilar the two cultures are). Post-migration factors can also have a significant effect on a person's well-being (Berry et al., 1989; Berry, 1997), such as the number of years spent in the receiving country, power differences (e.g., the language barrier that limits full participation in the larger society), and the experience of racism, prejudice and discrimination. Also, the degree of acculturation can vary according to one's areas of life. For instance, people may maintain their culture more and have less intercultural contact in private areas (e.g., home and family) than in public (e.g., workplace and politics).

Berry's theory helps to label the types of acculturative strategies individuals or groups use when they come in contact with a new culture and to understand how demographical and cultural factors can influence the course of acculturation. However, further understanding of how psychological factors may play a role in individuals' decision-making and value change process is required. Hence, we will turn to the second model, the dual route to value change (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011).

Dual Route to Value Change (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011)

Studies on value changeability suggest the complexity of its nature. Values, like cognitive schemas, are less amenable to change than specific behaviours because they are deeply ingrained and linked with the self-concept (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). At the same time, values do sometimes change, in a similar way to attitudes because people can choose their values according to their importance. It may suggest that values are not always gained or lost but shift in order of importance (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011).

Bardi & Goodwin (2011) describes the two phases of value change (see Figure 2). During phase 1, environmental cues prime a new value, which may or may not involve much awareness about a challenge to the existing value. For example, exposure to an individualistic culture may lead to a similar response or decision automatically (i.e., automatic route) or invoke someone to think about their values and consider changing them through making an effort (i.e., effortful route). Sometimes, the automatic route can shift to an effortful route, depending on the salience of the environmental cues (e.g., a new value is too threatening). During this process, counterarguments or immediate resistance can occur. In addition to the environmental cues, other internal variables (e.g., goals, needs or personality traits) can lead to a change in values and vice versa.

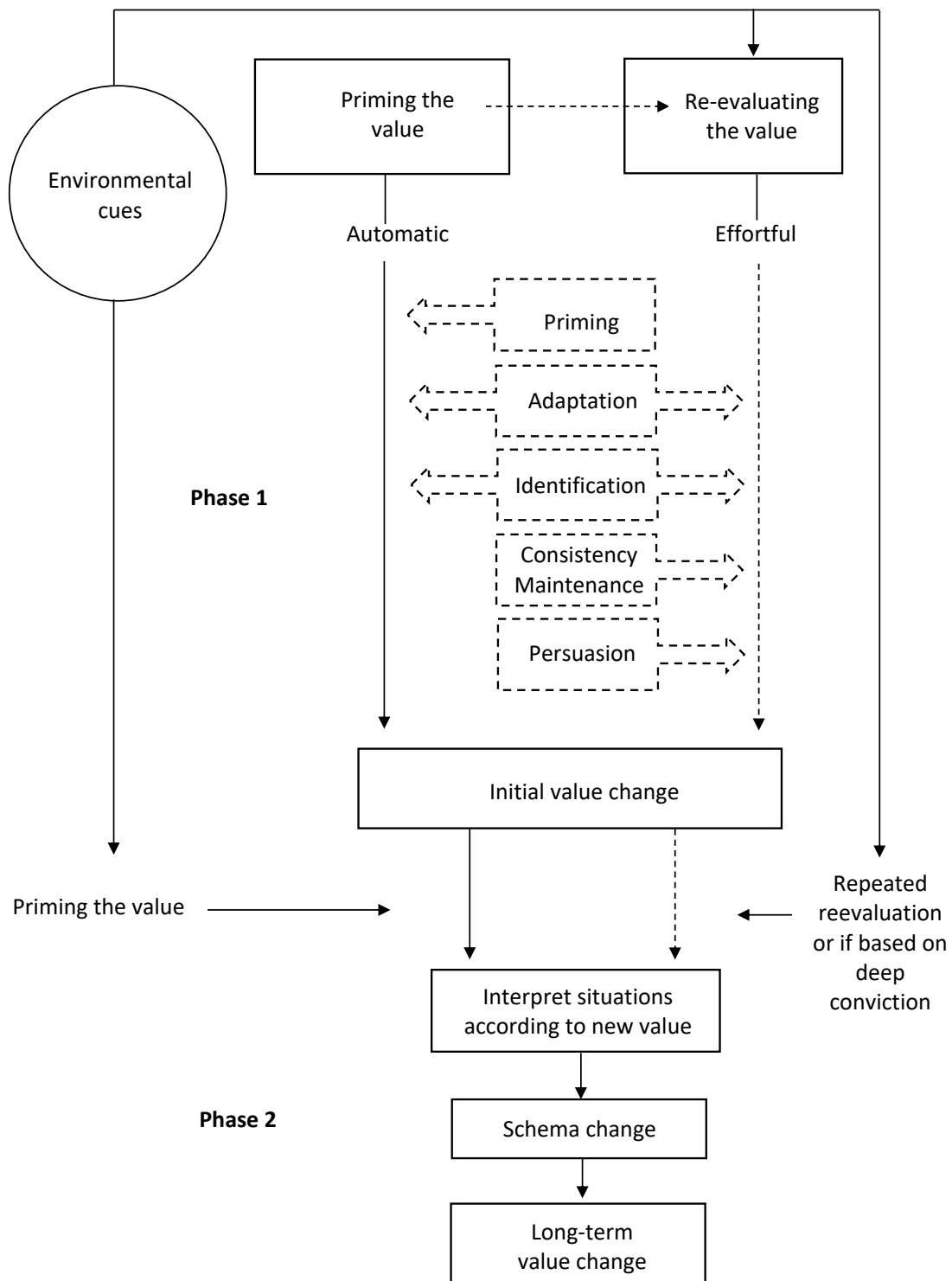
Phase 2 describes the process of long-term changes to values. Since people do not constantly think about their values, their original value may still exert strong effects on an individual even after a temporary change to a new value (although other moderators or reinforcers may inhibit a long-term change). Longer lasting value change is possible through reminders and discussion about the reason for the change. In addition, repeated exposure by strengthening the link between the new value and different life situations can contribute to longer term value change. For example, bicultural individual may have internalised several values that correspond to the bicultural environment they live in, whereas monocultural individual have one dominant way of thinking related to their single culture (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011).

There are five key mechanisms of value change in phase one (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011): priming (i.e., exposure to certain values through words or images), adaptation (i.e., change of lifestyle pattern due to unforeseen circumstances), identification (i.e., internalise new values as part of their identity), consistency maintenance (i.e., one realises that their current values are inconsistent with their ideal self, leading to dissatisfaction and change of value), and direct persuasion (e.g., via media or education). The authors suggest that adaptation and identification initially cause value change through an automatic route, but it may force people to evaluate their values, leading to an effortful route.

Culture has been identified as an overarching moderator of value change. For example, cultures with a tendency for uncertainty avoidance, societal hierarchical structure, and emphasis on mastery or intellectual autonomy may be less open to change. Also, in an individualistic culture, identification may be a weaker facilitator than in collectivistic culture because of the lower level of inter-dependency in individualistic cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, as cited in Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). In contrast, consistency maintenance may be weaker in collectivistic culture because a positive self-concept built on individual attributes may be less important (Heine, 2003, as cited in Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). However, suppose the element of the self-concept is important to one's group or relationships. In that case, it can potentially motivate value change in collectivistic cultures (Heine & Lehman, 1997, as cited in Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). Direct persuasion may be more successful in hierarchical cultures where conforming to authority is more important than individuals' autonomous opinions (Chatard & Selimbegovic, 2007, as cited in Bardi & Goodwin, 2011).

Figure 2

Dual Route to Value Change (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011)



Note. This model was produced by Bardi & Goodwin, in 2011, describing the automatic and effortful routes to value change and the five facilitators of value change. From "The Dual Route to Value Change: Individual Processes and Cultural Moderators," by A. Bardi and R. Goodwin, 2011, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42(2), p. 274. Copyright 2011 by Sage.

Age has also been suggested as a variable related to value change. Older adults may be less open to changing their values than young people because their value system is already crystallised through connections to various situations. However, a longitudinal study showed that individuals would experience value change when they encounter important life events, and age had only a mildly significant effect on the overall value change (Bardi et al., 2009, as cited in Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). Sometimes, age-related life changes (e.g., retirement) and events (e.g., illness or loss) can also greatly impact individuals' needs and priorities. Hence, one's value change may result from changes in age-related needs.

Cultural Translation Model (de Haan, 2011)

While Bardi & Goodwin's (2011) model focuses on value change processes, the cultural translation model (de Haan, 2011) explores the change in practices among migrant parents. de Haan (2011) asserts that migrant parents do not just assimilate into the mainstream culture but create new practices that are not copies of mainstream practices. The term 'cultural translation' was originally used in anthropology to describe how migrants make sense of another culture (Ødemark, 2019). However, de Haan adopted this term to challenge the common belief that ethnic minorities simply assimilate into the majority cultural norms, thus, taking a post-colonial perspective.

de Haan (2011) found through his qualitative research that when new and old parenting practices create tension, it produces energy for parents to find new solutions. For example, migrants may reconsider or reject both practices and create a qualitatively different practice. de Haan referred to this new practice as an 'in-between' space. This framework is unique and helpful because it helps to focus on the creative abilities of migrants. However, as de Haan explains, this theory is not as comprehensive as other models because little attention is given to the role of the individual factors, their position, and the meanings they draw upon during this translation process.

The Value Modification Orienting Frameworks (Ochocka & Janzen, 2008)

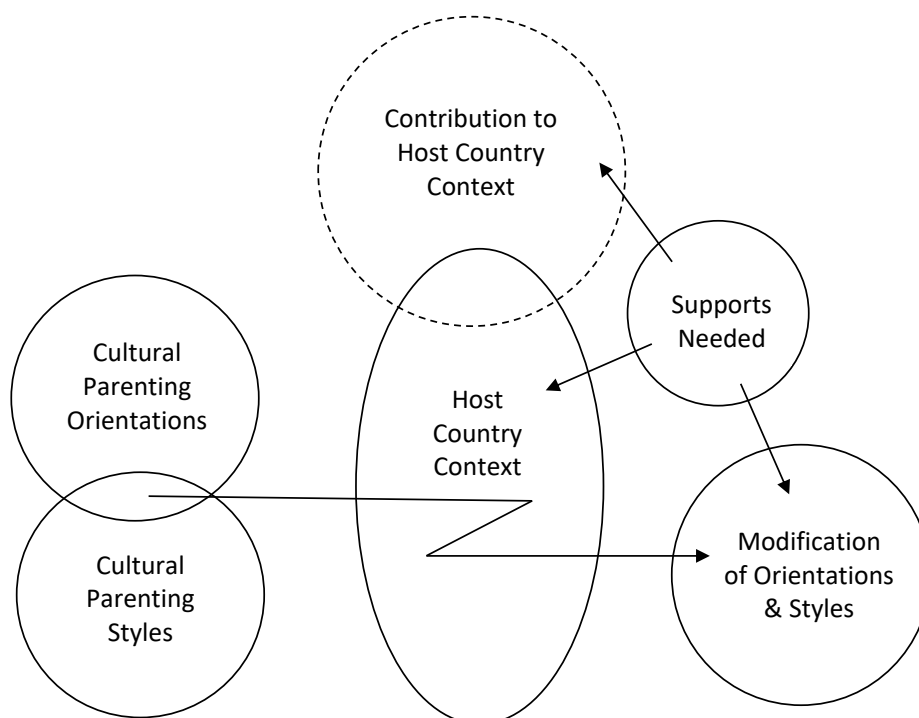
Similar to the above mentioned models, Ochocka & Janzen (2008)'s model also describes that migrant parents modify their parenting orientation and styles when they contact the local culture. The value modification orienting frameworks (Ochocka & Janzen, 2008) proposes six components that may be associated with the immigrant's parenting

experience based on a focus group with recent immigrants in Canada (see Figure 3). The cultural parenting orientation reflects parents' beliefs and values they want to instil in their children. It also includes hopes and aspirations for children's characteristics or future. Cultural parenting styles, refers to the actions parents take in response to their children, such as disciplining, providing guidance and building mutual relationships (i.e., behavioural components).

Although this model is acknowledgement of the bidirectionality of the influence between new comers and parents from the host country, Ochocka & Janzen (2008) found limited the data about migrants' contribution to host country parents and learning local parenting because the interaction with the host country context was limited to observing local parents. However, this could potentially mean they did not modify much because most of the participants were living in Canada for approximately three years.

Figure 3

Orienting Framework for Understanding Immigrant Parenting (Ochocka & Janzen, 2008)



Note. This framework was produced by Ochocka & Janzen in 2008, describing the components of the constructed framework for understanding immigrant parenting. From "Immigrant Parenting: A New Framework of Understanding," by J. Ochocka and R. Janzen, 2008, *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 6(1), p. 94. Copyright 2008 by The Haworth Press.

The last component in the value modification orienting frameworks (Ochocka & Janzen, 2008) is the support required to be able to modify parenting orientations and styles. In their study, the support meant the social structures that supported their parenting orientation and styles. Many of their participants described having lost the support, which led to questioning and reconsideration of their practices. Some participants showed resistance to their children being instilled in the new culture.

The Current Study

Culture shapes parenting values, styles, and practices, with values being the core facilitators of change in others; therefore, understanding parents' styles and practices requires understanding their values. While literature suggests there may be a profound difference in value systems between Korea and New Zealand, little is known about the journey of first-generation Korean immigrant parents' transforming their values and practices. First-generation Korean immigrants may still share parenting values similar to those in Korea because they immigrated to New Zealand in adulthood. Also, if they are likely to have little interaction with the New Zealand culture, we may expect that their values may remain relatively stable. However, we might also expect some shifts in parenting practices when new values align with existing cultural values. They may also develop their own narratives and strategies to cope with the changes in their environment. Therefore, this study aims to make a more substantial contribution to understanding parenting values and practices among first-generation Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand and contribute to the wider body of knowledge.

Compared with previous studies that examined changes in parenting practices and values, this study will be guided by theoretical frameworks of value change, cultural translation, and modifications of parenting. This research may contribute to theoretical development and validate previous findings and theories by analysing how Korean immigrant parents identify their parenting values and practices.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Understanding the subjective experience of migration is the key to understanding migration.

(Portes & Rumbaut, 1996)

Research Framework

This study adopts a qualitative research framework, which believes that knowledge or people's experiences are unique as they are constructed by subjective internal and external influences (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Since this study focuses on parents' internal experiences of value change with immigration, this framework is suited for this purpose.

For the research method, this study considered thematic analysis (TA) or interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) as they both are suitable for exploring individuals' experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, IPA tends to have a few samples with homogenous characteristics to understand the innermost thoughts and experiences of a particular phenomenon (Smith et al., 2009). In contrast, this study is likely to involve a heterogeneous sample. Also, the researcher aims to generalise the findings to the wider population to some degree because the researcher assumes that, although the reality is constructed in the context and by the researcher's perception, this knowledge will be true in a certain context. Therefore, this study uses TA for a qualitative data analysis of the interviews with first-generation Korean immigrants, which is a method for identifying and analysing themes from the data set (Boyatzis, 1998, as cited in Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In addition, this study intends to use both inductive and deductive approaches due to the fluid nature of culture and the absence of scientifically verified theories for immigrant parenting. This study is deductive because the theories and research reviewed in chapter one and two inform what we may expect to find as a result of this study and how we may explore the research questions. For example, Ochocka & Janzen (2008) and Berry's model shaped the interview questions to explore participants' original parenting values, lifestyles, and orientations of the individual participants in their home country's cultural context. These models also helped to explore individual variations through their own stories of upbringing and identify specific domains of practices or values that changed after immigration.

Informed by Bardi and Goodwin (2011), the interview questions encourage the participants to contrast their parenting style and orientation before and after migration and describe the processes and the degree of change (e.g., reasons, challenges, environmental or interpersonal factors). The interview questions also explore the types of supports participants would like and the influence their practice may exert on the host culture.

However, to capture the creative and fluid process of parents' adaptation to culture as demonstrated by the cultural translation model (de Haan, 2011), this research also used an inductive approach to allow the room to identify the themes from observation of the data set even if they may relate little to the existing theories as little is known about this field of interest.

In line with the researcher's ontological assumptions mentioned above, This study chose a particular approach to TA, called reflexive TA. Whereas other types of TA were unsuitable as they require multiple coders and view the researcher's subjectivity as a source of bias, the reflexive TA approach allows the themes to be developed from the codes using the researcher's subjectivity, cultural knowledge, and experiences as analytic resources. The term 'reflexive' requires a researcher who reflects on their biases and assumptions and how those may influence the coding (Clarke & Braun, 2020). Furthermore, The researcher had to do individual coding because the interviews were transcribed in Korean.

Participants

The anticipated number of participants was between eight to ten, which is the number that has been identified as sufficient for TA (Guest et al., 2006; Mason, 2010). Our sample consisted of ten first-generation Korean participants (three fathers and seven mothers). As Berry's model informs, the details of pre-migration factors (e.g., reason for migration) and post-migration factors were explored throughout the interview process as they are likely to influence the process, difficulty, and outcome of their acculturation. For example, demographical factors such as age of migration, education level, gender, motivation for migration (e.g., involuntary migrants), and the number of years spent in the receiving country, and language barrier were collected through the interview and used when interpreting the data. Participants' age of immigration was between the early 30s and early 40s, with one exception in the mid-50s. Four participants immigrated between 1993 and 1997, while six were between 2000 and 2015. Participants had lived in New Zealand for a minimum of 7 years to a maximum of 29 years. Their current age ranged from the late 40s

to early 70s. Five participants were from Auckland and the other five from the Waikato region.

There were several eligibility criteria to narrow down the focus of our study: identifying as Korean and a parent; the age of immigration (> 18 years old); the child's age at the time of immigration (less than 11 years old); and two-parent households. The criteria of two-parent households was included because parenting behaviour are different from single parent households. For example, single parents are likely to have limited time to spend in most activities, such as housework, child care, income earning, and personal care (Roman, 2011). Although research do not show significant differences in the time devoted to the care of their children, the single employed mothers may sacrifices time in personal care activities, including sleep and rest and spend lesser time in recreational activities to meet their child care demands (Sanik & Mauldin, 1986). Also, In two-parent households, the parents are likely to make a shared decision on these tasks, whereas children of single parents may have more duties and responsibilities around the home from an earlier age. Little difference was found between single-father and single-mother in parenting attitudes and style (e.g., discipline, psychological stress, involvement with school, and parent-child activities) (Dufur et al., 2010).

The participants' children's age at the time of immigration ranged between 1 and 13 years. One participant had all children born in New Zealand. However, some flexibility was permitted because recruitment can be more challenging for an ethnic minority group. For example, one participant's spouse travelled between New Zealand and Korea; another participant divorced when her child was a teenager.

Participant Recruitment

The researcher first obtained approval from the University of Waikato Ethics Committee (2021#36). Participants were recruited through advertising on the New Zealand Korean community website and via a social messenger application of Korean communities in Auckland, Waikato, and Christchurch. The researcher also accessed Korean churches for further advertisement.

Due to the relatively small size of the Korean community, there could have been privacy concerns. Therefore, the researcher identified the researcher's name in the advertisement so they could choose not to participate if they were uncomfortable with any pre-existing relationship with the researcher. In addition, it was emphasised that only the

data provided during the interview session would be used for this research. A clear protocol for protecting confidentiality and privacy was explained to the participants as part of the informed consent.

The researcher provided potential interview questions to participants in the advertisement. It was to assist participants in thinking through the questions before the interview and preparing what they would like to share. This approach was also to enhance the efficient use of interview hours and to gather a deeper level of data. After the data analysis, participants were provided with a fuel voucher as a sign of appreciation.

To ensure appropriate language use of the information sheet and consent form, two fluent Korean speakers reviewed the Korean version. After that, two bilingual individuals revised the English translation (see *Appendix A* and *Appendix B*). Finally, a separate consent form for using the sonix.ai automated transcription service was filled out by the participants after approval from the ethics committee (see *Appendix C*).

Data Collection

The researcher obtained written informed consent from the participants before the interview. All interviews were conducted virtually due to COVID-19 restrictions. Participants were given flexibility with their choice of language: Korean, English or both. All interviews were conducted in Korean. They were asked to describe their parenting in Korea, the differences and similarities to New Zealand parenting practices, and how they influenced their parenting practices (see *Appendix D* for the full interview guide). The interviews were audio-recorded. The average interview length was approximately 2 hrs (range: 1-3.5 hrs).

Data Analysis

Interview transcripts were analysed by using the six recursive phases of reflexive TA. The phases involve (1) familiarisation, (2) coding, (3) generating initial themes, (4) reviewing and developing themes, (5) refining, defining and naming themes, and (6) writing up (Braun & Clarke, 2019). First, the researcher listened to the audiotapes, transcribed the data into Korean using the Sonix.ai automated transcription service, and wrote down thoughts about the data. This process was done in Korean to retain the richness and original meanings.

The theories and previous research on immigrant parenting practices and value change directed the researcher's focus the process of change and maintenance of values and the qualitative aspects of participant's experience in greater detail. For example, the

themes were identified and categorised into different parenting dimensions (e.g., autonomy, cultural socialisation, and parent-child relationships) that were explored in previous immigrant research, and each theme explored participants' various responses and factors influenced their decision making. In short, the theories provided a guide for in-depth analysis of value change that lies behind behaviour change. This study also used inductive approach and focused on novel and interesting aspects of participants' narratives, which helped to identify new ideas and enrich our understanding of participants' experiences.

Through this process, emerging themes were discussed with the research supervisor, with specific examples translated into English. Next, the participants read and edited the written transcripts and commented on the researcher's reflections and interpretations. Once the key codes were identified, the researcher created a table and put all the codes and quotations. This table was revised several times to develop an accurate list of key codes and themes. Finally, the key quotations were translated into English after identifying the key themes.

During the translation phase, it was important to consider different pronoun use. For example, Koreans use 'we' and 'our' when referring to 'I' and 'my' in English. Therefore, the researcher translated it to 'I' and 'my' to omit grammatical errors and confusion. However, 'we' and 'our' were preserved where the meaning can be lost otherwise. Also, some Korean phrases did not have the exact English translation. In this case, similar metaphors or phrases in English were used.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

This chapter presents the meaning of the themes and associated codes synthesized from the interviews. Table 1 summarises the themes and codes.

4.1. Theme 1 – Korean parents may have different boundaries for child’s autonomy and independence compared with New Zealand parents.

4.1.1 More autonomy

Autonomy means free will, where one can stand behind their actions and values regardless of other’s opinions (Ryan & Deci, 2000). All participants described granting more autonomy to their children since immigration to New Zealand by respecting child’s preferences and putting less pressure and restrictions on their child’s decision making, especially in education and career pathways. Also, participants also mentioned that they do less for their child. Although half of the participants reported that they have already been encouraging their children’s autonomy in Korea, they reported increasing the degree and scope of their children’s autonomy.

Several participants could no longer supervise their children with study at home because they did not have the same resources as in Korea (e.g., home school materials and books in Korean). Also, they did not have the English ability to understand the class materials and access information about the education system. One participant (who was a

Table 1

Themes and Codes

Themes	Codes
1. Korean parents may have different boundaries for child’s autonomy and independence compared with New Zealand parents.	More autonomy
	Clash between independence and other values
2. Parents and children’s bi-cultural socialisation matters.	Parent’s cultural socialisation
	Concerns for child’s cultural socialisation
3. Parents realised their value of enhancing relationship with their children.	Spending more time with children
	More validation and less demand

single parent) reported she did not have time to supervise her son with school work due to time constraints from settlement-related tasks (e.g., finding a new house and work).

Participants seemed to have learnt that New Zealand requires less academic competition than Korea and that all occupations are equally honourable, whereas *“in Korea, parents need to be ahead of their children... Parental support is a huge moderator of a child’s university entrance, employment, and even marriage.”* Different social norms appears to have been primed to participants and led to reducing demands for children’s academic overachievement and career pathways. One participant said, *“Korean parents put all their energy into raising their children. Therefore, they believe they can meddle in their child’s life. In New Zealand, parents can be more relaxed about their child’s future.”*

However, one male participant reported that it was effortful to grant more autonomy to his children because *he had Korean value system crystalised and embedded in him*. In contacts, his children might have been acculturated towards the New Zealand societal norm of autonomy. He said,

I tried to guide my children regarding their careers because I had a Korean cultural lens and mindset... My wife and I... suggested my son study law or medicine, but it did not work. So, I thought I should accept that my children do not have to follow my opinions. Instead, I should support my children’s decision.

The cultural differences encouraged him to accept New Zealand’s norms and practices. Other parents also persuaded him by saying, *“even if parents keep encouraging, children cannot do it if they do not like it.”*

Though most participants had an optimistic view of granting more autonomy to their children, one participant felt the urge to do something for her son’s academic progress. She described that her son required more support, especially because he was not fluent in English yet. However, she thought that his school did not provide enough feedback to her or practical support to her son. Also, she noted that her son had a shy temperament and was different from New Zealand children who are socialised to be assertive and generate support from their teachers by asking questions. Consequently, she hired an English-speaking Korean tutor as an alternative strategy to provide her son with a safe environment to ask questions rather than pursuing superior academic performance *“like other Korean parents.”*

This participant and others reported that many Korean immigrant parents emphasise parental devotion and involvement in a child's academic achievement. One participant said this is because scoring top grades and getting into prestigious occupations seemed easier in New Zealand than in Korea due to less competition. Also, some parents wish their children to have a stable and high-quality lifestyle through high-income occupations. Few participants noted that Korean parents' educational zeal seemed greater for those living in urban regions such as Auckland, and almost every Korean child engaged in private tutoring. Especially around the prestigious school zones, *"all parents, including Korean, Chinese and Kiwis parents, stress educational success."*

4.1.2. Clash between independence and other values

One of the common New Zealand parenting practices the participants observed was encouraging children's independence through allocating them house chores from a young age (e.g., mowing the lawn, and packing lunch). Many participants initially agreed with and attempted to implement these new practices, but they reported that these practices clashed with their original values. First, one participant said that she did the chores so her son could *"focus on studying and achieve the best possible results."* Also, she believed that developing independent living skills was less urgent because it can be developed later in adulthood. Similarly, another participant said,

A mother I know moved with her children when they entered university so that she can do chores and cooking for them. As a result, both of her children became doctors... I wonder if my sons would have also become doctors if I had done the same. I sometimes think about it.

It may be that these participants prioritised supporting their children's study or self-development until they complete their education, highlighting that there may be differences in socialisation goals between Korean and New Zealand parents.

Second, New Zealand practices (e.g., children making breakfast and lunch) clashed with the importance of *"creating memories with their children"*. One participant said,

Of course, I thought, 'oh, that would be convenient because I can get extra sleep in the morning! But when my son looks back on his childhood, you know, we all have memories of our mothers, right? Such as, 'my mum used to pour milk over my cereal, make sandwiches like this, and put such and such in my lunch box'. These memories can be heartening and give strength when they experience turmoil... These things [i.e.,

preparing children's meals] can only be done in a specific period when children need my care. Time for this is limited.

In the end, she maintained her original practice of preparing meals for her children.

Third, fostering independence in financial domain led to confusion, discomfort and guilt among participants. It was even the case for a participant whose utmost goal of parenting was to raise her son to be independent in Korea. She used to deliberately teach her son independent living skills since he was in primary school. For example, her son used to get up early by himself for swimming training and washed his shoes. However, when she attempted to employ New Zealand's practice of children paying rent to parents, she experienced guilt and confusion. She said,

Even rich Kiwi parents request their children to pay the rent or leave home [when they turn 18]. It is perhaps a good practice, but I lack confidence in my nuance, and I feel apologetic [to my son]... My son is going to pick up my nuance, too. Even though one part of me said, 'I like Western ways of practice, so I'm going to try this', my other half is still Korean... Although I can imitate Kiwi parents' practice, it caused some adverse reactions.

In terms of "adverse reactions", she meant "inconsistencies in practice, which confused my son". She reflected on the influence of parents' upbringing on parenting values and practices.

Since New Zealand parents have been raised to be financially independent when they leave home, they can request the same for their children without any doubt or feeling apologetic. For them, it is the right thing to do. Their children also know it is the right thing, and they will not feel bad. But we [i.e., Koreans] are different.

She added that her "Korean-ness" (i.e., her identity as Korean) could not be replaced by New Zealander's identity and values even if she tried to do so. Similarly, two participants also expressed that enormous energy was required to change practices that differ from how they were raised.

Kiwi parents may do this naturally because this is the type of culture they were born into. However, I need to make a lot of effort to help my child be independent.... I envy them because it is natural and does not require much effort for them. I cannot do it [i.e., allocating chores] because I am unfamiliar with it. Trying new things that are unfamiliar and different from how I was raised takes enormous energy... when my son

does not listen or complete the task I requested, I think, 'Well, I would rather finish it'... Disciplining myself to adapt to new ways is very difficult.

These quotes suggest that Korean immigrant parents may continue with their existing practices, not always because they disagree with new practices or values, but because the new practices are unfamiliar and unnatural for them.

4.2. Theme 2 – Parents and children’s bi-cultural socialisation matters.

4.2.1. Parent’s cultural socialisation

Cultural socialisation refers to learning about a specific culture and developing a sense of belonging to the cultural group (Umaña-Taylor & Fine, 2004). It is an important task that prepares individuals to adapt to a racially or ethnically diverse society (Hughes et al., 2006). Many participants discussed that parental awareness of and belonging to New Zealand culture were important because these could impact their child’s sense of belonging to the society, self-esteem, and confidence.

First, participants described the importance of engaging in similar leisure activities as New Zealanders because it was one of the ways they could socialise in New Zealand culture. One participant said how differences in the culture of family leisure activities might have caused her son to feel disconnected from the New Zealand community. She said,

New Zealand provides a good environment and nature, but not everyone can enjoy it the same way. For example, my son’s friend’s family, who are New Zealand European, own a jet ski or something similar, and they go to various places for a ride. Surely anyone can try it, but how many immigrants own a boat or jet ski? I thought, ‘Yes, we can access it too, but it is not easy. It i’s not necessarily about the cost, but due to unfamiliarity.

From her perspective, family is a medium that passes on societal culture to their children. Therefore, family leisure activities are not simply about ‘doing’ but a matter of ‘being’. Another participant also shared a similar idea but related to a family trip.

I envied Kiwi families going on a trip in term breaks, usually overseas such as Fiji, Samoa, Vanuatu, or Australia. Or, at least to South Island... My children complained that we should go on a trip, too. So we usually went to Rotorua and Tāupo by car... we [i.e., Koreans] do not go overseas that frequently, right?

This participant, therefore, took relatively shorter-distance trips with his family. He explained that it was because he and his wife worked six days a week, running a retail shop. Even though he regretted not being able to go on long-distance trips in the same way as New Zealand families, he reflected that these trips were still meaningful and helped create memories and socialise his children with Korean culture. He said,

My son would not remember how we got there [i.e., travel destination] because he was young. But then he asked me when he grew up, 'dad, how can I get there? What was the place called?' to explain his friends. Children will have these memories and they will be able to introduce Korean culture to others... Our children's generation can spread Korean culture to others rather than us [i.e., first-generation parents]. The first-generation parents can still pass on Korean culture through sharing experiences and creating opportunities.

These participants seemed to have envied the New Zealand's lifestyle and ability to prioritise their resources (e.g., time, money, and value) on recreational activities. Although Korean culture encourages restricting their desires to achieve long-term goals (Hofstede, 2011), Korean immigrants may re-evaluate their original values, reflect on the meaning of these new life styles, or adapt and make it suitable for their circumstances.

Second, many participants reported their desire to be more involved in New Zealand society, such as their children's school community, Kiwi church and sports clubs. However, many barriers existed for them, such as language barrier, cultural differences, and time constraint. One participant said, *"when children are young, and you are in the initial stage of immigration, parents are most busy with settlement tasks."* When enquired about the reasons for wanting greater involvement in children's school, this participant reported, *"involvement helps to find a commonality between my child and me, and the topic for conversation... Many Korean parents feel sad about having nothing to discuss with their children. Parents have memories from Korea, whereas children mostly have memories of growing up in New Zealand culture".*

Third, several participants believed it was important for them to be independent in New Zealand society, and be cautious to not to rely too much on their children in order to protect their children's self-esteem. For example, one participant shared his experience of getting a notice from his child's school about a 'teacher-only day'. He did not know what this day meant and got confused it with Korean 'teacher's day' (i.e., where teachers are

usually presented with carnations by their students and ex-students). He stated, *“on Korean teacher’s day, we [i.e., Koreans] provide gifts to the teachers, right? I did not know what to do. But there were a few other Korean parents I knew, and I got help from them....”*

He emphasised that he intentionally got support from other Korean parents rather than from his son because he viewed demonstrating parental independence as critical, especially when children were young. He explained,

It is okay for parents to ask for help from adult children, ‘can you do this for me? Mum and dad cannot do it, but parents should not when children are young. When they are young, they might think, ‘I thought my parents could do anything and everything, but they cannot.’ It would negatively impact their confidence... When children are still growing, this is significant for them...

Some participants discussed concerns related to relying on their children for translation. One participant said she was wary of the anxiety and stress it may put on children, especially if they need to translate professional jargon or in age-inappropriate situations. She shared a story from Korean-Kiwi adolescents. They told her,

When we were in primary, my parents took us wherever they needed to go or just passed the phone to us for translation... On one occasion, we talked with an insurance company. We did not like doing it because we did not know if we were doing it right.

Another participant shared her observation of a Korean child at a supermarket in New Zealand.

The child’s mother was yelling at the supermarket staff member in Korean, and the child was translating to the staff, ‘my mum said X and Y.’ The child looked tearful and stressed.

This participant added, *“it is not about the child’s English fluency, but there should be a division of roles between a child and an adult”*. Therefore, she said she dealt with the translation issues independently; alternatively, she knew she could have used interpreting services.

Lastly, some participants wished they knew more about New Zealand culture.

Do you know the cookie for ANZAC day? Is it an ANZAC cookie? ANZAC biscuit?... One of my son’s homework was to make an ANZAC biscuit, but I did not know what it was or how to make it. So, I could not [do it].

She worried it would have made her son feel excluded or different from his peer group. She described several other instances where she felt unsure about what to do, and these experiences made her think she was a neglectful mother because could not support her child's needs. She said that, before immigration, she did not expect that there would be much cultural differences between Korea and New Zealand other than the language barrier. Therefore, she encouraged the future immigrants to learn about the cultural characteristics of New Zealand, especially before or in the initial phase of immigration.

4.2.2. Concerns for child's cultural socialisation

Some participants reported concerns about their children's acculturative stress, which may lead to anxiety and loneliness. It was especially the case for younger children when they might not be fluent in English yet. One participants said,

For three months after starting intermediate school, my son did not speak a word because he lacked confidence in English... Later I found this out. He said he was afraid of making mistakes even though he knew what to say. However, when he spoke in English for the first time for his speech assignment, I heard that his classmates and teachers were deeply impressed.

Another participant said,

My son's kindergarten teacher called me in because my son yelled and hit another child... I did not know why he did that, but now I understand. I think it is because he could not say, 'Mrs X, Y is bothering me. Can you help me?' Instead, my son first waited for the teacher to notice his needs. He then became frustrated and punched other child, yelled at, and cried. He was trying to protect himself this way. In the end, he refused to go to kindergarten.

These examples highlight that immigrant parents may not notice their child's difficulties until later.

One participant explained that it was their own experience of acculturative stress through which they could relate to their child's experience.

Until I started the university degree, I did not need be involved in New Zealand society. I attended the Korean church, always hung out with Koreans and travelled around New Zealand, thinking it was a good country to live in. But since I did not belong to New Zealand, I did not fully experience cultural or communication challenges until then [starting a university degree]... But now I realise how challenging the cultural

differences can be... I can talk in English but cannot fully relate to what others are saying, and I always feel like I am an outsider in the group even though they are such nice people... If a person in his/her 40s like me experience such cultural differences and identity crisis, then 1.5 generations, like my child, will experience it even more.

Second, one participant believed that supporting her children to develop a bi-cultural identity as a Korean New Zealander was important. She said Korean parents' role would be to pass on Korean culture, for example, through exposure to traditional Korean clothing (e.g., *Hanbok*; traditional Korean dress, or *Jokduri*; traditional Korean female headpieces) and dances (e.g., fan dance called *Bu-Chae-Chum*). She said,

Even if you try the fan dance once, this memory can last. When you dance, you would listen to the traditional Korean music and learn the flow of the highs and lows of a tune. Unlike Korean-pop music, Korean traditional music is usually slow and expresses deep resentment or sorrow (Han 한). Similarly, we [i.e., Koreans] still have memories of an athletics day (Un-dong-hwe, 운동회) in Korean schools, right? Children would also remember traditional activities like this.

She said these experiences of Korean culture could provide a sense of belonging when they face an identity crisis.

When their identity as Korean is shaken up, these memories can be helpful. Identity is not like a math formula, but exists in our minds, feelings, and heart. So, when Korean youths feel confused, they will look for those memories, which will help them to connect with their Korean identity.

4.3. Theme 3 – Parents realised their value of enhancing relationship with their children.

4.3.1. Spending more time with children

All three male participants reflected that they have been spending more time with their children since immigration. It was due to the different lifestyles in New Zealand compared to Korea. One participant, who was a former businessman, said,

In Korea, men must drink [alcohol] frequently for work relations and meet people day and night. Consequently, men are less available for their families... Most men I know tend to have this kind of life style... In Korea, my son used to say to me, 'why do you not come home, dad? my friends' fathers play with them.' But in New Zealand, it is completely the opposite. So, even if I do not want to be with my children (laugh), I do.

Consequently, I am much closer to my children. So, I think it was a good decision to come to New Zealand... I was not a very good father or husband in Korea, but I completely changed here.

When asked if family had been an important value to him, he replied,

Yes, but knowing does not mean anything. We often feel and think we should live a certain way, but that does not mean we live or act that way. If I could make an excuse, I would blame the environment of Korea.

It suggests that immigration did not necessarily change his value, but the new environment brought him a chance to live according to his value of enhancing his relationship with his child and family. In Korea, he may have adopted the culturally expected behaviours (e.g., drinking and working long hours) even though these did not match his values around family. Therefore, his practices may not have truly reflected his values, leading to dissatisfaction. However, these feelings may not have been sufficient to change his practices because, in collectivistic cultures like Korea, one's attributes and position in a group may take priority over an individual's wishes (Heine, 2003, as cited in Bardi & Goodwin, 2011).

Another participant, a former engineer, frequently went on business trips while living in Korea. He stated,

My children were asleep when I came home, and I went to work before the children woke up... Since immigration, my wife and I have worked as professional cleaners on the weekends, and my children used to come along with me because children require supervision... In Korea, people rely on public transport, but in New Zealand, you need to own a car. So, naturally, my family always travelled together. Although these travels can be tiring, I prefer New Zealand life much more than Korea.

However, other participant commented that immigration could further reduce the time spent with children because many immigrants may have multiple jobs and work longer hours than they did in Korea.

4.3.2. More validation and less demand

Three female participants reflected that they released the importance of validating emotions and having open communication with their children since immigration. They identified six key factors for such change. First, participants and their children's shared experiences (i.e., acculturative stress) became a source of validation. Second, participants had more time for self-reflection due to the change in lifestyle. Third, the language

difference between participants and their children led to change of their communication style. Fourth, participants observed and adopted New Zealand parents' communication style. Fifth, less demand and control were positively related to the relationships with their children. Sixth, participants valued their relationship with their children even more since children leave home earlier in New Zealand than in Korea.

First, one participant stated that losing wider family support led to feeling isolated in New Zealand. She said, *"when we lived in Korea, my son hung out with his relatives weekly, and he loved it. My son has no family other than us, so I bet he feels alone and misses them."* This loneliness became a source of connection between her and her son.

Second, this participant said that the environmental change enabled her to reflect on her own emotions and thoughts.

I knew what validation was when I was in Korea, but I did not practice much. I could not even name my feelings. But since I have been living in a small and quiet town after immigration, I have much time and space for self-reflection. I do not think this change is because I am in New Zealand but because I am in a quiet and isolated environment. In contrast, I was always surrounded by people in Korea, like my family-in-law. So, I had no space for myself.

She also studies counselling-related degree in New Zealand, which was the key to realising the importance of emotional validation in child development.

Third, many participants identified language difference as a significant issue when communicating with their children. It increased the likelihood of misinterpretation of Korean by children and inaccurate expression in English by participants. For example, one participant said,

When parents ask, 'Will you do it again?', it is grammatically correct in Korean for children to answer 'Yes, I will not' instead of 'No, I will not'. When my son said, 'No, I will not.' I misinterpreted it as if he was not listening to me... When these little things pile up and remain unresolved, it creates gaps in our relationship... He eventually stopped explaining things to me...

Therefore, participants had to find a way to improve their relationships with their children. This participant created a solution by developing a different communication style. For example, she stopped previous disciplinary methods, such as yelling or scolding in Korean but started holding back instant reactions of anger and being more patient with her son.

The language difference [between me and my son] was one of the most significant problems when I raised my children. My authority? No, it is not the right word. My role? I am not sure. But [due to language barrier] I demand less and just wait for my son until he says he is ready to talk... Patience is probably the best way; it is different from giving up. It is about being beside my children. I usually tell him, 'if you do not want to talk to me, that is okay. Just remember that I am always on your side, and let me know when you are ready to talk'. When my son goes into his room, I just leave him. Previously I used to scold him. But now, I just think, 'he may not be in a good space to talk'... So instead, I ask him, 'When would you like to talk to me?' He replies, 'Now would be good, mum'...My son usually talks to my daughter, listen to her advice and then talks to me.

She sometimes had to rely on her eldest daughter who was fluent in both English and Korean. This example shows that the participant created a new practice that is different from her original and New Zealand parenting practices. She said that finding this new communication style took nearly fifteen years, but it is more effective than getting upset and yelling at her son.

Fourth, some participants said that observing New Zealand parents' practices led them to evaluate and modify their practices. One participant said,

I saw a Kiwi father disciplining his son. His son was wandering in public, so the father grabbed his son, knelt, and spoke to him calmly. The child respected his father. Usually, Korean parents shout at their children, like 'come here!' but they do not listen.

This participant and her husband also used to shout at their children as a way of discipline. She started practising similarly to this Kiwi parent by using an assertive tone of voice, explaining reasons to her son, and asking his opinion. She said this new practice was effective and helped to improve her parental self-efficacy and relationship with her son. However, many participants stated that they have limited opportunities to observe Kiwi parents. Therefore, opportunities for modelling may vary across Korean immigrants.

Fifth, two participants discussed that less demand or control was positively related to the relationships with their children. One participant said she used to demand her son mature behaviour in human relationships. For example, when her son had an altercation with his friend, she used to tell him what he had done wrong, and did not validate his feelings. She explained the reasons for her old practices as;

I prioritised teaching ethics and manners (i.e., 예의범절) to my son because I was raised in that culture... [My] culture is like my comfortable clothing, so I naturally tried to teach my son right and wrong... I tried to give him lessons even when he needs is just love and warmth.

The metaphor of 'clothing' may imply that culture is what we 'wear' on ourselves and shows who we are, but also that in our own culture, we feel comfortable in it because it fits us. She said immigration was an experience of leaving her old clothes behind (e.g., trying to correct her son's behaviours and associated practices) and picked up new clothes (e.g., accepting her son's feelings). When she engaged in less ordering and yelling and adopted this new practice, it naturally helped her listen to his opinions and validate his feelings. She said,

New Zealand children seemed pure and happy. I wish my son to grow the same as them. Since I had this desire, I did not want to push and make him stressed. I used to shout at my son a lot. But when I let go of my greed, I stopped shouting at him and let him be who he was.

Sixth, participants shared that immigration further reinforced the importance of their relationships with children because parents have less time to live with them in New Zealand than in Korea. This participant said,

Children leave home when they turn 18, which means you get 18 years to live with them. Furthermore, children do not need parental support when they enter intermediate or high school; they need supervision and care until they are in primary school. So, perhaps until ten years old? 13 years old? Or 15 years old?... 15 years out of 100 years is such a small portion of life.

Similarly, another participant shared similar ideas. She got asked by other Korean parents about how she had developed such a good relationship with her son, and she said to them;

Children will eventually leave home when they grow up... Then, it is only right now that I can spend time with my child, so I focused more on having a close relationship with him while he lives with me. So, if you prioritise demanding your child for academic success, then go ahead. But, if you want to live well with your child right now, then go with that. I am just a person who chose the second.

She said some Korean mothers adopted her approach. When the researcher asked this participant if she was also influenced by other Korean mothers' values on academic success,

she said, *“I changed my beliefs so many times, back and forth, but time passed quickly while trying to decide which is right. But I do not regret my decision.”*

While it sounds like she was implying that academic demand and good parent-child relationship were mutually exclusive, she said that academic demand does not always result in poor parent-child relationships, depending on the child’s characteristics.

Some children choose to strive for academic success. If their parents also share this value and provide strict discipline, they can synergise towards the same goal.

She also expressed an honour for parents with strict discipline for a child’s educational success because it is still very challenging for parents to devote themselves to their child’s academic achievements.

Summary

The themes were synthesised based on the recurrence and significance of the codes to inform the processes of immigrants’ value change related to parenting. Each theme is presented with participants’ individual experiences and meanings, providing multiple interpretations and realities. Participants re-evaluated their original values and practices and that of New Zealand. Sometimes, they adapted, adopted, and were persuaded to change their practices.

Participants appeared to have found some values and practices easier to adapt and change, and some were more effortful. For example, many participants tended to encourage their children’s autonomy and independence in academics and careers domain sooner or later. However, some participants found it difficult to encourage their children’s independence in the financial and self-care domain because these new practices clashed with their original values. For example, adolescent children paying rent to their parents clashed with the importance of accumulating *jeong* (정), while making young children do house chores clashed with their belief that children should devote their time for self-development.

Also, parents and children’s bi-cultural socialisation emerged as a new parenting goal. Participants were concerned about them acquiring the New Zealand culture (e.g., family leisure life, involvement in their child’s school, and English fluency) and transmitting Korean culture to their children. Nevertheless, they seemed to have found practical, cultural, and language barriers to translate their values into action.

Many participants reported having enhanced their relationships with their children. Male participants reported increasing time spent with their children because New Zealand work and family lifestyles enabled it. In contrast, female participants appeared to have found the overlap between the mother's role as a comforter in Korean culture and the New Zealand parents' communication style, and they reported becoming more validating of children's emotions and less demanding and controlling.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This qualitative study explored first-generation Korean immigrants' experiences of parenting in New Zealand, guided by theories of acculturation (Berry, 1997), immigrant parenting framework (Ochocka & Janzen, 2008), cultural translation (de Haan, 2011), and dual route to value change (Bardi & Goodwin, 2011).

Analysis of the data captured three themes. First, participants described becoming more inclined to encourage their children's autonomy and independence, mainly in the academic and career choice domain. However, issues arose when fostering early maturity in the financial and self-care domain (e.g., adolescent children paying rent to their parents and doing house chores from a young age). Participants stopped these new practices as they clashed with participants' original values, such as creating memories and the importance of children spending time for self-development.

Second, parents and children's bi-cultural socialisation emerged as a new parenting goal. They were concerned about acquiring the New Zealand culture (e.g., family leisure life, school involvement and English fluency) and transmitting the Korean culture to their children. Also, concerns for child's acculturative stress and identity crisis were reported.

Third, participants provided insight into how they realised their value of enhancing their relationships with their children. A gender-based pattern was noted. Fathers reported increasing time spent with their children, whereas mothers emphasised validating children's emotions and placing fewer demands.

This chapter will discuss these findings in relation to existing research.

Autonomy and Independence

One of our key findings was that all participants reported granting more autonomy to their children following immigration to New Zealand, which is consistent with previous research (Lee & Keown, 2018; Kim et al., 2012). This pattern was commonly seen in academic and career choice domain because participants disliked putting pressure and demand on children for academic success. This study found other various factors that attributed to such change. Participants appeared to have adapted to the loss of teaching resources (e.g., books) they previously had in Korea. Also, the language barrier which inhibited them from understanding school material to supervise their children. This is

consistent with Bardi & Goodwin's (2011) description of automatic process of value change through adaptation. Participants also seemed to have been primed with New Zealand's culture of putting less emphasis on one's occupation or status, and respecting individual's autonomy (Hofstede, 2022).

However, one participant appeared to have struggled between her wish to support her son's academic needs and the perceived lack of support from the school. This participant hired a private tutor for her son to provide him with opportunities to ask questions, and this practice was different from her Korean practices and New Zealand parents' practices. This finding reflects de Haan's (2011) description of in-between space or creating a new practice to find solutions.

Interestingly, participants' descriptions of New Zealand and Korean culture appear to conflict with Hofstede's (2022) analysis of the masculinity domain. According to Hofstede, Korea is described as a society where people pursue what they enjoy, whereas New Zealand emphasises individual success, achievement and being the best in one's field. Our participants' descriptions were the opposite. A possible explanation for this is that educational success in Korean culture may be linked to enhancing social status (i.e., the power distance domain) or security of the future (i.e., uncertainty avoidance domain) (Hofstede, 2022). As parents adapt to New Zealand culture, these values of social status and security may have become less important because New Zealand requires less competition than Korea and all occupations are considered more equally honourable.

It is possible that Korean parents who chose to immigrate to New Zealand prioritised the value of individual freedom and autonomy compared with Korean parents who did not emigrate. Many participants in this study reflected that they had already encouraged their children to be autonomous whilst living in Korea, and one of their reasons for immigration was to escape from the confined Korean education system and social hierarchy; therefore, this theme may be a true representation of many Korean immigrant parents. But at the same time, some Korean parents would have immigrated to New Zealand with an aspiration of higher quality of education, including developing English language fluency (Kim & Yoon, 2003). In this case, parents may continue to hold the same values and practice, or even be strengthened. As some participants suggested, parents who live in rural and urban regions may have different expectations for their child's academic success, and this may be an important area for future research.

One of the important suggestions from our participants for future immigrants was to learn about the cultural characteristics of New Zealand, especially before or in the initial phase of immigration. In education domain, Asian parents tend to expect the educational programme to be structured and have clear educational expectations for their children (Guo, 2004, as cited in Rana, 2012). Unless discussed, migrants may be unaware of the New Zealand style of teaching (e.g., flexible, and encourage child's assertiveness and autonomy) (Ministry of Education, n. d.) and express dissatisfaction towards school like one of our participants did. For migrant children, they may require more time and support to demonstrate autonomy and assertiveness, especially if their English is not proficient. Overall, clarifying parental expectations about education and exploring cultural differences may support migrant families to integrate into New Zealand culture more smoothly.

Fostering a child's independence is consistent with Lee and Keown (2018). However, our findings revealed that the first-generation Korean immigrants may experience challenges due to the clash of values and eventually return to their original practice even though they endorse this value and related practices (e.g., allocating chores to children). The clash of values means that the hierarchical nature of values influences people's choices (Bardi & Goodwin, 2005). For example, children's time for self-development was considered more important than learning independent living skills for many participants. Previous research on Asian immigrants also show similar results. For example, Asian American students devoted more time to other educational activities, such as private tutoring, music, and ethnic language lessons compared to European-American counterparts. They were also not encouraged to hold part-time jobs or perform household chores to concentrate on studying (Chen & Stevenson, 1995).

The prioritisation of studying time may be due to the deeply ingrained value of Confucianism which emphasises self-discipline and education to go beyond their nature and to be the ideal self (Guo & Zhong, 2019, as cited in Chao & Tseng, 2002). Alongside this, domestic tasks have long been the mother's responsibility in Korean culture, and children are expected to work at their best capability in return (Roh, 1959). However, suppose Korean immigrant parents wished to foster both independence and time for study in their children. Then, it may be possible to assist them in navigating the middle ground that is culturally appropriate and comfortable for them. For instance, parents may be able to

support their children with meals most of the time but encourage children to prepare their meals occasionally.

The meaning of ‘making memories with their children’ may be related to the Korean cultural emotion *jeong*. There are four elements for developing *jeong*: “shared history, time spent together, tenderness, and intimacy” (Choi & Kim, 2002, p. 32, as cited in Jee, 2022). Koreans say that *jeong* is piled up and accumulated (정이 쌓이다). It can be observed in practices by sharing food with people, piling plate upon plate of food, and protection of their family and friends (Oh, 2022, as cited in Jee, 2022). For Koreans, *jeong* is more tender than passionate love and more slowly accumulated than attachment (Jee, 2022). Therefore, the participants may perceive that supporting children (e.g., cooking meals) is part of accumulating *jeong*. In line with this, other research shows that Korean adolescents identified the most common way of feeling their parent’s love is when their parents prepare them food because they believe it can only be done with love. More specific examples include when parents pack their lunch or fill the fridge with food for children who leave home (Lee, 2021). It may further explain why New Zealand practices of promoting independence may be connotated as being heartless or lack of *jeong* (무정) (Choi et al., 1997, as cited in Jee, 2022).

However, recommending these new practice may be more acceptable for single parents or transnational families called *Kirogi gajok* (기러기 가족) (i.e., where one parent is overseas with the child, and another parent is in their home country). In Lee & Keown (2018), the sole parent modelled independence for their children and provided opportunities at home (e.g., helping with simple household tasks) for children to gain independence and handle their daily self-care and chores.

Cultural Socialisation

Participants stated that their Korean family lifestyle might create a gap between their child and the mainstream culture, which could negatively impact their children's confidence and sense of belonging to New Zealand society (e.g., differences in family culture of leisure activity and a lack of involvement in children's school). Therefore, participants wished to be involved in mainstream society and overcome cultural and linguistic challenges. Although there is evidence that parental acculturation to their host society is positively related to their children’s identity development (Uchikoshi et al., 2022), existing research suggests

many other ways that immigrant parents can support their children's health and cultural identity development, which will be discussed next.

In the leisure domain, Lovelock's (2012) study of recreational behaviours in New Zealand show that immigrant groups have lower rates of leisure participation than non-migrant groups and the type of leisure was different between these groups. The combination of the following factors may explain such phenomenon; time and financial restraint, fatigue, cultural differences (e.g., emphasis on physical activity, beliefs about leisure), the lack of sense of belonging, language differences, lack of knowledge, and lack of social network were identified as potential barriers (Horolets, 2012). For example, walking or tramping may be an activity open to anyone. In contrast, jet skiing may require support from someone with more experience, knowledge, and skills, such as a local club, or generationally handed down (i.e., parent to child). However, interacting with the locals in the same space may be challenging for migrants due to lower English competency, lack of sense of membership or belonging and perceived or actual discrimination. In this study, one participant described feelings 'not easy' and 'unfamiliar' when participated in a leisure activity practised by New Zealanders. Similarly, another participant talked about choosing relatively shorter-distance trips due to the time and financial constraints. Similar challenges have also been reported by Chinese immigrants in New Zealand (Lovelock, 2012).

Related to this issue of migrants' barriers to leisure activity, research proposes an alternative approach called transnational leisure activities. This means migrant parents and their children socialising towards both the host culture and their traditional activities (Stodolska & Santos, 2006, as cited in Horolets, 2012). Transnational leisure activities can support children's acculturation to a new culture, coping with acculturative stress, strengthening their identity and belonging to their ethnic community and personal development (Stodolska & Santos, 2006, as cited in Horolets, 2012; Lee et al., 2019). Therefore, even if migrant parents cannot commit to the mainstream leisure themselves (e.g., jet ski), supporting their children to engage in heritage cultural activities can still help their children to increase understanding of their heritage culture. This can support children's bi-cultural identity development (Dogutas, 2020). Bicultural identity integration is associated with less anxiety, stress, and psychological distress (Palmeri, 2020). Therefore, it would be beneficial for immigrant families to explore activities they can mutually enjoy and socialise into the host culture, and their traditional culture.

In our study, one participant elaborated on the key idea of transnational leisure activities and demonstrated it. He said, “*the first-generation parents can still pass on Korean culture through sharing experiences and creating opportunities.*” Even though he could not travel overseas as often as New Zealanders, he viewed that the shorter distance trips were still meaningful, because they helped to create memories and socialise his children with Korean culture. However, other participants did not seem to recognise the value of transnational leisure activities. In fact, participation in leisure is often overlooked by migrant families as a key tool of cultural socialisation even though it leads to favourable outcomes for them in particular (Horolets, 2012; Mata-Codesal, 2015; Sancho et al., 2022). Therefore, educating migrant families about the potential benefits of leisure activities would be helpful. Furthermore, at the policy and community level, creating opportunities for participation in cross-cultural activities would support migrant families' well-being (Fonseca & McGarrigle, 2012, as cited in Horolets, 2012).

An interesting pattern we noted is that most participants were more concerned about acquiring the characteristics of New Zealand culture and English rather than teaching children about Korean culture and language, with the exception of one participant. As shown by Lykes and colleagues (2015) and Cunningham and King (2018), it is possible that participants transformed their negative feelings (e.g., guilt towards not being able to hand down the mainstream culture to their children) into a motivation to learn English and increase their participation in mainstream society. Thus, their motivation may reflect discomfort and negative feelings they may carry. However, such pressure to assimilate into mainstream culture may block the effective transmission of Korean culture and language to their children, which also plays a huge role in bi-cultural identity formation. Similarly, parents' cultural maintenance is positively related to ethnic and national identity, and was correlated to the usage of ethnic language at home (Sari et al., 2018). Therefore, it may be helpful for immigrant parents to know that while it is understandable to experience acculturative stress and pressure to assimilate, the transmission of Korean culture is also valuable and important.

In terms of parental school involvement, research suggests that greater support is required for migrant and refugee parents. In a review of education support for immigrants and refugees (OECD, 2021), New Zealand was found to provide general multilingual support and cultural advisors for the refugee population rather than a systemic support. In

contrast, countries with a long history of immigration, such as the U.S, offer a more systemic support, such as family literacy programmes, parent outreach, and training activities for migrant parents, The U.K. offers the Key to Integration Programme; providing language training to mothers and involving them in school communities (OECD, 2021). The findings from this study may be useful when designing educational support for immigrant parents and children in the future.

Participants reported concerns about the negative impacts of children translating for their parents between Korean and English. But first, it is worth noting the differences between children's and parents' perceptions when children help their parents with English (e.g., translating, proactively teaching them English, assisting parents in various settings, and writing parents' text messages) (Lykes et al., 2015). Whereas almost all immigrant parents of Spanish descent expressed negative feelings (e.g., guilt, burden and discomfort), nearly half of their adolescent children ($n = 12$) expressed positive feelings, such as feeling good, happy, important, and appreciated by parents (Lykes et al., 2015). Therefore, it may be helpful for migrant parents to discuss with their children their experiences of supporting their parents with language translation. From a community and policy perspective, increasing access to translation services may be one way that New Zealand can support immigrant families.

One of the most common issues our participants reported was the language differences with their children. Children who arrive very young or are born in the host country may feel pressured to assimilate into the Kiwi culture because their sense of identity is heavily influenced by social relationships (Phinney et al., 2001). As a result, these children may devalue their cultural background, family values or ethnic language (Yim, 2022; Phinney et al., 1998). Even those who learn it at a young age may not see the value of speaking their ethnic language because English is spoken in all other settings (Phinney et al., 2001). Therefore, as well as the above mentioned strategies for developing bi-cultural identity, immigrant parents may need to explain to children about challenges with language retention. Also, parents can help children to take pride in their homes' cultural values and uniqueness, while being aware of adjusting and adapting to their host culture (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). Such cultural guidance by parents has shown a positive correlation with the child's well-being and internalisation of host and ethnic cultures among immigrants and sojourners (Downie et al., 2007, as cited in Sari et al., 2018).

Closer Relationships with Children

Our findings showed a gender-based pattern in value change. While the male participants increased their time spent with their children, the female participants improved their relationships with their children through more emotional validation and putting less demand on them. The Korean traditional culture of the parental role may explain such gender differences. Mothers were the primary source of emotional support in traditional Korean parenting, whereas fathers were breadwinners (Roh, 1959). Perhaps, mothers accepted and changed to the new practice because of the overlap between their traditional values and the communication practices based on individualistic norm (e.g., reasoning, exploring child's feelings and thoughts) (Rudy & Grusec, 2006).

The analysis of the third theme revealed the participants' inherent ways of coping with cultural differences, which may guide intervention planning when working with first-generation Korean immigrants. The first is the commitment to values by the male participants. Values commitment is a key mechanism in Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) (Hayes et al., 2012) which has a relatively strong evidence base in supporting parents (Bryne et al., 2021). The second is learning through natural observation and modelling by female participants, with an emphasis on supportive and open emotion coaching. This is in line with emotion coaching approaches to parenting which also have a strong evidence base (Wilson et al., 2012; Havighurst et al., 2013). However, it is also worth noting that many participants stated they had limited opportunities to observe New Zealand parents. Therefore, opportunities for modelling may vary across Korean immigrants.

Male participants reported that their practices in Korea were not a full reflection of their values (at least as viewed and described retrospectively after immigration), and they had to passively adapt to the Korean lifestyle because the environment did not support their desired values and lifestyle. In other words, the New Zealand environment enabled them to live lives consistent with their core values. However, as noted above, Korean parents who already hold the value of family-oriented life may be more likely to decide to immigrate to New Zealand. Therefore, this finding need to be applied cautiously.

Lastly, it is worth understanding why some participants believed academic pressure was incompatible with having close relationships with children. Although a more specific definition of academic pressure is required, previous research suggests that as parents exerting pressure and demand, the relationship becomes more strained (Lee, 2021). This

process can induce negative emotions in children and a perceived lack of self-control (Jiang et al., 2022), especially if they do not meet their parent's expectations (Lee, 2021). A Lack of self-control was found to increase parent-child conflict over academic issues and child's problem behaviours (Jiang et al., 2022), and negatively influence the quality of communication between parent and child (Park, 2017, as cited in Lee et al., 2021). However, as one participant said, the impact of academic pressure on the parent-adolescent relationship will differ depending on the child's values and submissiveness to parents.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

First, although Berry (1997) proposed that the power difference between the mainstream and minority groups does not always exist, this study suggests some evidence of the difference between New Zealand and Korean cultures. For instance, most participants prioritised assimilating into the mainstream culture more than maintaining and transferring their culture to their children. This study recommends educating migrant families about the benefits of transnational leisure activities and the importance of valuing their heritage culture and adapting to their host culture. Also, parents' and children's need for cultural socialisation may need to be included as an important parenting domain for migrant families.

Second, this study also found that parents' overt practices may not always represent their true values or do not mean they are against other values. For example, participants reported that their environment and access to resources greatly influenced whether they could realise their values. Given that migrant parents are likely to experience many changes in their environment and support, it is recommended that practitioners explore potential barriers for migrant parents and support them to recognise and connect with their parenting values.

Third, the findings highlighted an important cultural concept, *jeong*, which may arise when working with the Korean population. For Koreans, *jeong* is also deeply related to one's self-concept and identity and a moral and ethical concept that may be more stable. When practitioners suggest interventions or parenting strategies, such as increasing a child's independence, practitioners need to be aware of how *jeong* may be impacted by the new practice and explore how parents may interpret the new strategies. At the same time, Korean parents may be open to finding a middle ground where they can feel more comfortable implementing practices from both cultures.

This study also noted several intervention approaches that may be suitable and culturally appropriate for Korean first-generation immigrants, such as ACT, natural observation for skills acquisition, direct teaching, modelling, and listening to other parents' experiences.

Lastly, as discussed earlier, more systemic support needs to be provided by schools and communities for Korean and other migrant groups to foster biculturalism.

Limitations of This Study

This study has some limitations that need to be addressed in future research. First, while this study focused on individual parents' experiences, future studies can explore how other variables may affect their values and parenting practices. For example, one of the participants noticed differences between urban and rural regions for academic pressure on children. Further research may be needed to understand the specific parenting experiences of Korean immigrants in different regions.

Second, this study may not capture the full diversity of experiences among first-generation Korean immigrant parents in New Zealand. For example, the sample is skewed towards mothers (seven) and participants from Auckland and the Waikato region. Also, it is possible that participants in this study may have had a high interest in parenting and parent-child relationships that inclined them to participate in the research. Future studies could use the findings of this study to determine the extent to which the identified issues are reported by Korean immigrants from diverse regions. Using a mixed-method approach may assist with improving the methodological limitations.

Third, due to COVID-19 restrictions, interviews were conducted virtually, which may have limited rapport-building and non-verbal communication cues.

Fourth, although this study took care to preserve the richness and original meanings during the translation process, there may still be some loss of nuance or cultural context.

Fifth, this study had a retrospective study design, which limits interpretations that can be made about the direction of influence between parenting and child behaviour. Prospective, longitudinal research would provide insight into the mutual influence of parent and child behaviour over time and families' experiences throughout the immigrant process (including those contemplating emigrating).

Contributions of This Study

This study has deepened our understanding of how culture can mediate various dimensions of parenting among first-generation Korean immigrants. For example, it was discovered that Korean immigrants endorse increasing autonomy and independence, but it is important to maintain the integrity of *jeong*. Korean immigrants may be able to be assisted in finding the in-between space and exploring new strategies that integrate both worldviews. Exploring the role of specific cultural concepts (such as *jeong* in Korean culture or *quan* in Chinese culture) for other Asian immigrant groups would be an important step toward understanding their parenting values and changes.

Similarly, cultural socialisation, learning about the host culture, and overcoming the language barrier may be common issues for migrants. This study explores the impact of these issues on parenting and suggests ways to respond to and support Korean immigrant parents. These findings may be relevant to other ethnic groups in New Zealand.

Many Korean immigrant mothers showed openness to adapt to New Zealand parents' disciplinary practices (e.g., validating feelings, less yelling, and reasoning) when they observed them in natural settings compared to when they tried to educate themselves. Since these practices are less known in Korean society, Korean immigrant parents may respond better to direct observation of others. These findings may be generalisable to 1.5 generation Korean parents depending on their level of acculturation to New Zealand culture, identity, and values.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A – Information sheet (Korean version with English translation)



인터뷰 참여 초대 및 설명서

연구 제목 <한인 이민 1 세대 분들의 자녀 양육 경험>

Parenting Experience of the First-Generation South Korean immigrants in New Zealand

안녕하십니까?

저는 와이카토 대학에서 심리학 석사 연구를 하고 있는 권소연이라고 합니다. 본 연구는 뉴질랜드에 살고 계시는 한인 1 세대 분들을 대상으로 인터뷰를 진행하여, 이민이 자녀를 양육하는 방식에 어떤 영향을 주었는가를 이해하기 위해 실시하게 되었습니다.

인터뷰는 약 1 시간가량 온라인으로 진행되며, 귀하의 개인 정보는 연구 목적 외에는 사용되지 않을 것입니다. 많이 바쁘시겠지만, 이민을 계획 중에 있거나, 뉴질랜드에서 이민 1 세대로서 가정을 꾸리고자 하는 한인들에게 도움이 되도록 인터뷰에 참여해주시면 감사하겠습니다. 이 연구는 뉴질랜드의 의료 및 이민자를 위한 단체들이 한인 이민자 부모와 가정을 더 이해하도록 돕고, 이들을 위해 더 나은 서비스와 프로그램을 개발하는데 기여할 수 있을 것입니다.

인터뷰 참여자 자격 요건 (모두 충족)

- 만 18 세 이후 뉴질랜드로 이민오신 분 (이민 1 세대)
- 자녀 중 한 명이 뉴질랜드에서 태어났거나 만 10 세 이전에 이민을 옴
- 뉴질랜드를 주 거주지로 부부가 함께 살고 있음

인터뷰 질문 예시

- o 한국에 계셨을 때에는 자녀를 어떻게 양육하셨나요? (예: 어떤 부분에서 자녀에게 더 엄하셨고, 어떤 면에서 아이에게 좀 더 많은 자율권을 주셨습니까? 무엇을 어떻게 가르치고 훈육하셨습니까?)

- 뉴질랜드의 부모나 교육자들은 아이들을 무엇을 어떻게 가르치고, 중요시한다고 생각하시나요? ○ 이민 사회에서 자녀를 기르는 동안 본인의 자녀 양육 방식이 달라졌다고 생각하시나요?
- 자녀를 기르는데 어려운 점들을 극복하기 위해 어떤 노력을 하시거나, 도움을 받았나요? 어떤 도움이 더 필요하다고 생각하시나요?

먼 이국 땅에서 부모로 발걸음을 딛고 자녀를 기르시는 1 세대 분들을 응원하며, 여러분들의 값진 경험들이 많은 이들을 도울 수 있는 연구로 발전될 수 있도록 힘쓰겠습니다. 본 연구에 대해 문의 사항이 있으시면 언제든지 아래 연락처로 연락해 주시기 바랍니다.

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본 연구는 와이카토 대학 윤리 위원회로부터 사전 심의를 받고 허가된 연구입니다 [HREC (Health) 2021#36]. 연구의 대상으로서 귀하가 갖는 권리나 윤리적 사항에 대하여 의문 사항이 있으신 경우, 와이카토 대학 윤리위원회 (The University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee) 로 연락해 주세요. [humanethics@waikato.ac.nz]

Invitation to the interview & information sheet

Research Title:

<Parenting Experience of the First-generation South Korean Immigrants in New Zealand>

Hi, my name is Soyeon Kwon, and I am currently doing a Master's thesis through the University of Waikato.

This study involves an interview with first-generation South Korean immigrants currently living in New Zealand to explore the impact of immigration on child-rearing practices.

The estimated time for the interview is about an hour. Your personal information will be used solely for research purposes. I would like to request your participation in the interview so that we can support those who are planning to immigrate to New Zealand and Koreans who are planning to have a family in New Zealand. This study will also assist with a greater understanding of Korean immigrant parents and families, which will contribute to developing culturally appropriate services and programs in health and immigration services in New Zealand.

Participants Criteria (Need to meet all requirements)

- o Immigrated to New Zealand at age 18 or older (1st generation Korean immigrants)
- o One of your children was born in New Zealand or immigrated before age 10.
- o Living in New Zealand as a permanent home with your spouse

Examples of the interview question

- o What were the particular ways you raised your children? (e.g., In what areas were you strict towards your child, and what not? What were your goals in parenting and how did you achieve them?)
- o In New Zealand, how do you think parents raise their children? What do you see it matters to New Zealand parents?
- o Do you think the way you raise your child changed since immigration to New Zealand?
- o To overcome parenting challenges, what did you try or what support did you receive?

What kind of support do you think you may need?

In honour of the first-generation immigrants who left behind the comfort of their home country and set afoot as a parent, I will strive to turn your valuable experiences into a study that can support many others. If you have any questions about this research, please contact us at the address below.

This study has been approved by the University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC (Health 2021#36). Any ethical concerns should be referred to the University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee (humanethics@waikato.ac.nz). *Appendix B* – Consent form (Korean version with English translation).



인터뷰 참여 동의서 (CONSENT FORM)

연구 제목 <한인 이민 1 세대 분들의 자녀 양육 경험>

Parenting Experience of the First-Generation South Korean immigrants in New Zealand

개인 정보 보호

- 귀하의 개인 정보는 본 연구 목적 외에는 사용되지 않을 것입니다.
- 익명 혹은 실명을 사용하여 인터뷰에 참여하실 수 있습니다.
- 본인의 인터뷰를 익명화 하시기를 원하시면, 본인 식별을 가능케 하는 정보들 (예: 직업, 나이, 지역) 또한 식별할 수 없는 방법으로 기록될 것입니다 (예: 자영업자, 40 대 중반, 와이카토)

인터뷰

- 원치 않는 질문은 답하지 않으실 수 있습니다.
- 인터뷰는 음성 녹음이 될 것이며, 암호 보호가 된 컴퓨터에 저장될 것입니다. 음성 파일은 필사 후 바로 삭제될 것입니다.
- 귀하께서는 필사 자료를 검토하시고 수정 요청을 하실 수 있습니다.
- 필사 자료는 연구 지도 목적을 위해 연구 지도 교수를 한해서 공유될 수 있습니다.
- 논문에 인터뷰 내용이 직접 인용될 수 있습니다.
- 본 연구 논문은 와이카토 대학 웹사이트에 게시될 것입니다. 또한 관련 분야 학술지에 출판되어질 수 있습니다.

인터뷰 참여 중단

- 인터뷰 참여를 중단하고 싶은 경우 언제든지 중단하실 수 있습니다.
- 인터뷰를 참여하신 후에 연구 참여를 중단하시고 싶으시다면, 필사 완본이 완성된 후 3 주 이내에 한해서 연구 참여 중단을 요청하실 수 있습니다.

그 외

- 인터뷰 중 힘들었던 기억을 회상함으로 인해 감정적 불편함이 지속될 경우, 연구자를 통해 제 3 자 한국어 상담 서비스를 소개받으실 수 있습니다.

본 동의서에 서명하시는 것은, 귀하께서 위 모든 내용을 읽고 이해하셨음을 의미하며, 연구의 내용이 귀하에게 충분하고 명료하게 설명되었음에 동의하심을 의미합니다. 또한, 귀하께서 자발적으로 연구에 참여할 것에 동의하셨음을 의미합니다.

참여자 (Participant) 이름 및 서명:

날짜 (Date):

연구자 (Researcher) 이름 및 서명:

날짜 (Date):

Consent form

Research Title:

<Parenting Experience of the First-generation South Korean Immigrants in New Zealand>

Protection of your privacy

- The information you provide as part of this study will not be used for other purposes.
- You can choose to anonymise or identify your name.
- If you wish to anonymise, other identifying information will also be changed to a de-identifying format (E.g., self-employed, mid-40s, from Waikato region)

Interview

- You do not need to answer certain questions if you do not wish.
- The interview will be audio-recorded, and the file will be kept on a password-protected computer. The audio files will be deleted immediately after transcription.
- You will be given an opportunity to check and edit the transcript.
- The transcript will be shared with my research supervisor.
- Direct quotes may be used as part of the study.
- This study will be published online on the University of Waikato website for public access. Also, this study may be published in other research journals.

Your right to withdraw consent

- If you wish to quit participating interview while it is going on, you can stop immediately.
- If you wish to withdraw your consent to participate in this study after the interview has been completed, you can request it from the researcher within three weeks of getting the final transcript.

Other

- If you experience persistent distress or discomfort from participating in this interview, the researcher will introduce you to Korean counselling and psychological services.

By signing this form, it means that you have read and fully understood the information above and agree that you were explained clearly about this research purpose. Also, it means that you are voluntarily participating in this interview.

Appendix C – Consent for Automated Transcription Service (Korean and English translation)



자동 필사기 사용 동의서 (CONSENT FOR AUTOMATIC TRANSCRIPTION)

연구 제목 <한인 이민 1 세대 분들의 자녀 양육 경험>

Parenting Experience of the First-Generation South Korean immigrants in New Zealand

본 연구를 위해 인터뷰에 참여해 주신 여러분께 진심으로 감사의 인사를 드립니다.

인터뷰 음성 파일을 글로 필사하는 과정에서 걸리는 시간을 단축 시키기 위해 ‘Sonix.ai’ 라는 온라인 자동 필사기 프로그램을 사용하고자 합니다. (자세한 내용은 <https://sonix.ai/>에서 보실 수 있습니다). 이 프로그램은 널리 쓰이고 있는 잘 알려진 프로그램이며, 참여자 분들께 비용은 들지 않습니다.

이 프로그램을 사용하여도 개인정보는 안전하게 보장 될 것이며, 필사 후 이 프로그램 저장소에서 부터 바로 삭제 될 것입니다. 이 프로그램을 사용하여 필사하는 것에 동의하지 않으신다면, 프로그램을 사용하지 않고 연구자가 직접 필사를 할 것입니다.

질문이 있으시다면 연구자나 연구 지도자에게 연락해 주시기 바랍니다. 연구의 윤리적 사항에 대하여 의문이 있으신 경우, 와이카토 대학 윤리위원회 (The University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee) 로 연락해 주세요. [humanethics@waikato.ac.nz]

동의함 I agree

동의하지 않음 I do not agree

참여자 성함 (Participants' full name): _____

참여자 서명 (Participants' signature): _____

날짜 (Date): _____

English translation

Thank you for participating in the zoom interview for the abovementioned study.

For transcribing the interview audio files into text files, the researcher is considering using a third-party Sonix.ai online automatic transcription program to minimise the time for transcription. (For more information, please visit <https://sonix.ai/>). It is a widely-used and well-known program, and it will not cost you anything.

All responses transcribed in third party applications will be kept secure and confidential. Recordings will be deleted immediately after transcription, removing them permanently from the storage folder within the Sonix.ai program.

If you do not agree, the interview will be transcribed manually by the researcher without using the sonix.ai program.

If I have any questions about this research, please contact the researcher or the supervisor. Furthermore, any ethical concerns may be referred to the University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) (humanethics@waikato.ac.nz).

Appendix D – Interview Schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Materials: Consent form, a pen, writing board, audio recorder, water/juice and light snacks, petrol voucher, tissues, interview schedule

Housekeeping and introduction (10 minutes)

Hi, thank you again for your time and for agreeing to participate in this interview. I am interested in learning about your experience of parenting in New Zealand. In this interview, I will ask some questions about what values and practices you considered important when parenting and how it has been like in New Zealand. If I ask you some further questions, I may wish to understand what you said a little more. However, I want to remind you again that you don't need to answer the questions if you feel uncomfortable doing so.

Before we start, please read the information sheet again to ensure that you agree with all information. Do you have any questions? [sign the consent form]

I wonder if it would be a good start if we begin with an introduction? (e.g., age of migration, total years spent in New Zealand, is this your first immigration experience? occupation, hobbies, aspirations and goals, place of birth, religious background)

Semi-structured Interview schedule (45 minutes)

Please note, the specific questions and follow-up questions asked may vary and will depend on the flow of the interview.

Questions	Follow up questions
<p><i>[Introduction and orientation]</i></p> <p>Could you tell me a little bit about your family? 먼저, 본인의 가족 소개를 해 주시겠습니까?</p>	<p>Do you have parenting experience in Korea? At what age did the child(ren) move to New Zealand? 한국에서 자녀를 몇 년 정도 기르셨나요? 몇 살 때 뉴질랜드로 함께 이민을 오게 되었나요?</p>
<p>When you think back about when you were living in Korea, what did you want to be like as a parent? (그 이유는요? 어떤 것들을 해 오셨나요?)</p> <p>한국에서 자녀를 기르셨을 때 (혹은 처음 자녀를 기르셨을 때)를 생각해 보자면, 그때는 어떤 부모가 좋은 부모라고 생각하셨습니까? (자녀를 기를 때 무엇이 가장 중요하다고 느끼셨나요?)</p>	<p>What did you see around you when you were in Korea? What were your thoughts about it now? 한국에 계실 때, 보편적인 자녀 양육방식은 어떠했다고 생각하시나요? 그것을 보면서 어떤 생각이 드셨나요?</p>
<p><i>[Changes in values, orientation, and styles]</i></p> <p>Now that you have lived in New Zealand for __ years, I wonder if your parenting perspective has changed. 뉴질랜드로 이민하시고 __년째 살고 계신데, 이민 후 말씀하신 자녀 양육에 우선순위나 방법에</p>	<p>How did you come to decide that you wanted to change? How much influence do you think the new environment and culture had on your thinking or doing? How did you go about accepting the change? 어떠한 계기로 바뀌게 되신 것 같습니다. 환경이나 문화의 변화가 얼마나 영향을 준 것 같습니다. 이 변화에 대해 어떻게 받아들이시고 적응하셨습니까?</p>

어떠한 변화가 있으셨는지 궁금합니다.

Could you also think of an area you remained set on and did not change?

반대로, 이민 후에도 크게 바뀌지 않은 부분들도 있나요?

Influence of the socio-cultural context and process of change

Did you find any difference between how you parent and how others do (e.g., NZ parents, teachers, parents of non-NZ European descent)?

뉴질랜드에서 한국인이 아닌 다른 부모들이 자녀를 기르는 것과 본인의 방식에서 차이점을 느끼신 적이 있습니까? (혹은 선생님)

Can you think of any specific situations that stand out for you? (Pick 1 or 2 key differences and explore further)

What were your thoughts about their way of parenting?

What do you think accounts for these differences?

Is there anything that other parents do that you cannot accept?

한 두 가지 기억에 남는 것들이 있으십니까? 다른 부모의 양육 방식을 보시며 어떤 생각이 드셨나요? 방식이 왜 다르다고 생각하시나요?

다른 점 중 받아들이기 어려운 것들이 있나요?

In contrast, do you find any similarities?

반대로, 뉴질랜드의 일반적 양육 방식과 본인의 방식이 비슷하다고 느낄 때도 있었나요?

In your personal experience, have you ever felt judged about the way you are parenting? (e.g., your practice was not accepted in NZ)

본인의 양육 방법이나 가치관을 뉴질랜드 사람들이 직접적 혹은 간접적으로 판단했다고 느끼신 적이 있으십니까?

How did you respond to it?

Did your response change over time?

How did this event might have affected you?

그럴 때 어떻게 (반응)하셨나요? 지금은 어떻게 생각하시나요? 이 일이 본인에게 부모로서 어떤 영향을 주었다고 생각하시나요?

In contrast, have you ever felt proud of the way you raise your child?

이번에는 질문을 바꿔서 반대로 여쭙 볼게요. 본인이 자녀를 기르는 방법에 대해 자랑스럽고 뿌듯했던 적이 있으십니까? 특별히 어떤 부분에서 그렇게 느끼시나요?

How do you think your parenting styles influenced other parents around you?

본인의 그런 태도와 방법이 혹시 다른 사람들에게 영향을 준 것 같으십니까?

How do you think your parenting style is like compared to your friends who live in Korea?

한국에 있는 친구나, 다른 부모들에 비해 본인의 자녀 양육하는 스타일은 어떻다고 생각하십니까?

What do you think accounts for these differences?

(다른점이 있다면) 왜 다르다고 생각하십니까?

What do you believe your children is thinking about being raised as a Korean-Kiwi?

자녀분은 코리아 키위로 뉴질랜드에서 커가는 것에 대해 어떻게 느끼시는 것 같나요?

Do they want to embrace Korean ways or kiwi ways?

How do you feel about your child being raised in New Zealand?

How did your child's experience influence you as a parent?

자녀분이 한국의 방식 혹은 키위 방식을 더 선호하는 것
같으신가요?

본인은 뉴질랜드에서 자녀가 자라는 것에 대해 마음이
어떠하신가요?

자녀의 이런 경험이 부모에게는 어떤 영향을 주는 것
같으십니까?

[Support]

You mentioned ‘___’ were important values for you as a parent. What were some steps you have taken to achieve this? (e.g., any beliefs, resources, strengths, or receiving support from others?)

앞서 ___ 가 자녀를 기르는데 중요하게
여기시는 것이라고 하셨는데요, 이를 위해
어떤 것들을 하셨나요?

You mentioned ‘___’ was still an obstacle in parenting. What strategies or supports could have been helpful? (e.g., learning about New Zealand culture?)

___가 여전히 본인에게 부모로서는 어려운
부분이라고 하셨는데, 어떠한 도움이나
방법이 필요하다고 생각하시나요?

Ending of the interview (5 minutes)

From what we discussed, is there anything that you wish to talk more about? or is there anything else you feel is important to talk about?

What was most interesting or difficult to talk about?

Closing (5 minutes)

Thank you for sharing your parenting values and personal experiences with me. It gave me many insights into the steps you have been through as a parent. What stood out for me was... [summarise], or I found it interesting that... [example].

If you know anyone interested in this interview, please inform them about my study or provide the information sheet. Thank you for participating in this interview (Provide the incentive with a thank message).

Appendix E – Counselling Services

Counselling services

Korean psychologist and counsellor

- Hyunok Jeon (Clinical psychologist) - Waitemata DHB AHSS, shine1338@gmail.com
- In Hwa Jung (Counsellor) - Northshore, Westmere and central Auckland; Asian family services, 0204 735 283, <https://www.relate.kiwi.New Zealand/relate-team/member/inhwa/>
- Sunjin Heo (counsellor) - Central Auckland; Asian family services, <https://www.asianfamilyservices.New Zealand/about-us/team-members/sunjin-heo/>
- Hyeon Kim (MNEW ZEALANDAC) runs a private counselling practice in Takanini. It opens on Saturdays. Available to clients from all over Auckland (North Shore to Drury). Contact: 027 340 1035.
- Gus Lim (MANEW ZEALANDASW) runs a private practice in North Shore. Contact: 021 240 9577.
- Eunice Choi (Counsellor) - Glenfield, Auckland, 021 0278 3992, <https://www.talkingworks.co.New Zealand/dir/Eunice+Choi.html>

Diversity Counselling New Zealand (DCNEW ZEALAND, Hamilton)

- General counselling service and free face-to-face counselling during the covid-19 health crisis
- Contact: contact@dcNew Zealand.net, 021 0262 5587 (Text us, we call you back), London Business Centre, 2nd Floor, 55 London Street, Hamilton, <http://dcNew Zealand.net>

Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB)

- It is a multi-language line providing information and advice nationwide on resources and services. Advise on day-to-day social, economic and legal issues and migration-related issues.
- Hamilton City Council Customer Services Area, 260 Anglesea Street, Hamilton, 07 839 03695 <https://www.cab.org.New Zealand/location/cab hamilton>

Korean Society of Auckland Inc. (KSA)

- Provide counselling, classes & Korean cultural events
- Contact: New Zealandkorea.org@gmail.com, <http://www.New Zealandkorea.org> 5 Argus Place, Hillcrest, Auckland, 09 443 7000

Waitemata District Health Board: Asian Health Support Service (AHSS)

- Primary health services for non-English speaking patients
- Cultural, emotional and communication (language) support
- Supports: iCare Health Information Line, Asian Breast Screening Support Service, Asian Patient Support Service, Asian Mental Health Service (Level 2, 44 Taharoto Rd. Takapuna, Auckland, (09) 487-1321), WATIS - Waitemata Translation & Interpreting Service, Health Promotions <http://www.waitematadhb.govt.New Zealand/hospitals-clinics/clinics-services/asian-health-support-services/>
<http://www.asianhealthservices.co.New Zealand/Asian-Mental-Health-Service/Meet-Our-Team#>
- Main office: 3 Mary Poynton Crescent, Takapuna, Auckland, (09) 442 3232
- Grace Ryu (Operations Manager, AHSS)

Asian Health Services

- 3 Mary Poynton Cres, Takapuna (North Shore office)
- Waitakere Hospital, 55-75 Lincoln Rd, Henderson (Waitakere office)

- <http://www.asianhealthservices.co.New Zealand/About-Us/Service-Drivers/Barriers-to-Accessing-Healthcare>

Canterbury DHB - Refugee and Migrant Mental Health Service

- Ferguson Building, Hillmorton Hospital, Annex Road, Christchurch
- Telephone 03 335 4150, Freephone 0800 801 601

Mental Health Foundation

- Provide information pamphlets about mental health problems in Korean
- <https://mentalhealth.org.New Zealand/>

Asian Family Services

- Asian Helpline (0800 862 342): Nationwide free and confidential services from Monday to Friday between 9 am-8 pm <https://www.asianfamilyservices.New Zealand/services#AsianHelpline>
- It also provides counselling for Gambling, counselling (Non-gambling), and Asian Group Workshops & Programmes
- Contact details can be found in <https://www.healthpoint.co.New Zealand/mental-health-addictions/mental-health-addictions/asian-family-services/>

Shakti Asian Women's centre

- Safe shelter and advocacy for women involved with domestic violence. Two Refuges, self-empowerment programmes, therapy, counselling, legal support, health referral, food support and advocacy in housing and immigration—24-hour national crisis call service 0800SHAKTI.
- Contact: sawc@shakti.org.New Zealand 3 Cardwell Street, Onehunga, Auckland 1061 <http://www.shakti.org.New Zealand>

The Asian Network Incorporated (TANI)

- provides a health literacy programme to the wider Asian community. Organises an annual Asian Forum to raise awareness about issues faced by Asian people in Auckland (North Shore, Rodney, Waitakere region)
- 09 815 2338 asian_network@xtra.co.New Zealand 101 Church Street, Onehunga (Waller St Entrance) <http://www.asiannetwork.org.New Zealand/> <https://www.heartsandminds.org.New Zealand/directory-of-support-services/item/187-the-asian-network-incorporated-tani> **Parenting programs**
- Parentline: 07 839 4536 or parentline@parentline.org.New Zealand
- Incredible Years: <https://www.familyworksnorthern.org.New Zealand/what-we-do/programmes>