Parenting Experiences of
1.5 Generation Kowi Parents

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Abstract

This research investigates 1.5 generation Kowis' experiences of parenting and their perceptions of influences on their parenting. The phrase "1.5 generation" generally describes those children of migrants who arrive in their new host country aged between 5 and 17. The 1.5 generation "Kowis," or the 1.5 generation Korean–Kiwis, may be defined as New Zealanders of Korean descent with dual identities.

Individual interviews of up to two hours were completed with eighteen 1.5 generation Kowi individuals who had arrived in New Zealand before 2002. On arrival they were aged between 5 and 17 and are now married with children and living in four major cities (Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington and Christchurch) in New Zealand. A constructivist approach to grounded theory methods of analysis was used, enabling information to be gained about the unique dynamics and complex issues involved in Kowis' parenting.

The results of this study demonstrate that Kowis live in a creative tension between multiple, complex and unique cultural influences on their personal identities and their worldviews established at childhood. The circumstances have a profound impact on their parenting practices. This study reveals that Kowis' journey of identity formation and re-formation as migrant children is a key to understanding their present parenting patterns. This finding highlights the importance of supporting migrants from an early stage of migration while they are forming and re-forming their identity and are adapting to the new culture. Tailored support and guidance for migrants and their families as a whole comes across as critical in this study. This study also demonstrates how the influences of socio-cultural environments could enhance or limit the effectiveness of parenting. Kowis experience parenting stress and anxiety when placed in a cultural environment with contradictory values, without guidance and support and/or when culturally incompetent professionals demonstrate a lack of understanding. The current study reveals that Kowis can progress from their parents' deficiency model to their own model of competency and richness in parenting when supported appropriately. It highlights their potential to relate to their children's experiences in a more profoundly understanding way than is often the case when based solely on their own childhood experiences of migration and adaptation. This study clearly identifies further paths for investigation in many aspects of migrant family functioning and their parenting.

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Glossary

A & E	Accident and Emergency Medical Centres in New Zealand
Aotearoa	The Māori name for New Zealand, meaning the land of the long white cloud
Chemyon	The prestige, pride, dignity, honour, and reputation related to one's position in Korean
Daenjang	Bean paste which was preserved to mature for months
Hyo	Filial piety in Korean
Hyunmo-yangcho	Wise mother, obedient wife in Korean
Jeong	A strong sense of love, bonding and attachment
Kimchi	A traditional fermented dish made of vegetables with a variety of seasonings. It has a symbolic meaning for Koreans as it is a Korean national dish, and is part of a daily staple diet in Korean cuisine
Kimjang	Making kimchi in bulk for the winter
Kiwi	Generally refers to people from New Zealand
Kowi	A Korean-Kiwi or Korean-New Zealander. It refers to the 1.5 generation Korean-New Zealander in this thesis.
Māori	Indigenous population of New Zealand
Miyukguk	Korean seaweed soup. Considered a must for nursing mothers, as it is known to stimulate breast milk production and also helps a quick recovery from labour.
Nunchi	The sense of eye or mind reading in Korean
Oryun	Five principal relationships in Korean
Pākehā	The Māori word for people of European ethnicity
Samgang	Three bonds in Korean
Unni	Older sister in Korean
Whānau	Extended family or community of related families in Māori

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The phrase "1.5 generation" generally describes those children of migrants who arrive in their new host country aged between 5 and 17 (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008; Danico, 2004; Janes, 2004; Park, 1999; Zhou, 1997). The 1.5 generation "Kowis," or the 1.5 generation Korean–Kiwis, may be defined as New Zealanders of Korean descent with dual identities. The term "Kiwi" generally refers to people born in New Zealand. While the 1.5 generation Kowis are growing up in New Zealand and are exposed to New Zealand culture, they are still very much part of their Korean families and migrant communities. They live in a creative tension between two subtle, complex and unique cultural influences on their personal identity development and worldviews.

I have met and worked with many 1.5 generation Kowis and their family members through my counselling and community work over two decades. I have repeatedly heard two contradictory statements from them: "I can neither be a full Korean nor a full New Zealander," and "It is my strength that I have a dual cultural heritage from both Korea and New Zealand and speak both languages." They have presented a sense of existential inadequacy as well as an acknowledgement of their own strengths in being Korean-New Zealanders. The two statements raised a number of questions for me: Where did the sense of existential inadequacy and/or pride in their strengths come from? Is that something to do with being parented by first generation parents as migrants? How do they feel about bringing up their own second generation children as migrants now? Do they bring a sense of inadequacy or strength to their own parenting? Parenting is one of the areas in which Kowis are likely to experience such cultural tension and in-betweenness. Because local New Zealand norms are inconsistent with Korean cultural norms in general, Kowis are therefore likely to experience contradictory parenting guidance and advice. However, little is known about Kowis' experiences, strengths and challenges, hopes and aspirations in their parenting, even though Korean migrants are the fourth-largest Asian group in New Zealand according to the 2013 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c).

In the end, these questions about Kowis led me to this qualitative study and laid the foundation for a research question: "What are 1.5 generation Kowis' experiences of parenting and their perceptions of influences on their parenting?" This study therefore explores the parenting experiences of the 1.5 generation Kowis who are now married with children and living in New Zealand. It investigates the ways in which they integrate different approaches to, and expectations of, parenting from both worlds/cultures; the choices they make in their parenting; and the aspects that they feel comfortable with or unsure about. The findings will contribute to the knowledge about, and understanding of, this cohort.

To enable me to answer the research question, three specific objectives were formulated:

1. To explore the perspectives on parenting that Kowis have acquired from growing up as Kiwi-Koreans in this country.

2. To describe the challenges that 1.5 generation Kowis confront and the personal resources they utilise as they bring up their children at the interface between Korean and Kiwi cultures.

3. To explore perceived influences on Kowis' parenting and the ways in which Kowis believe these influences to affect their child-parent relationships and children's development.

This research is among the first studies specifically to focus on the 1.5 generation Kowis and their parenting. Given the unique characteristics and experiences of 1.5 generation Kowis, and the scant knowledge about Kowis' parenting, this study is necessary for the following reasons:

1) It aids understanding as to what socio-cultural and other influences Kowi parents have themselves experienced, and the ways in which those influences now contribute to their own parenting. As a result, a greater understanding will be gained of Kowi parents' beliefs about parenting and of their confidence in their roles as parents. This information will illuminate the ways in which they have shaped their own parenting styles with reference to their cultural and social contexts.

2) It contributes to the body of literature that may provide useful information and resources for the development of prevention and intervention strategies with which to support Kowis in their parenting and to enhance positive parent–child relationships.

3) It contributes to both increased knowledge about parenting challenges for Kowi parents in New Zealand and the identification of areas in which further research is needed.

4) It serves as a starting point for further research about the development of the life cycles of New Zealand migrant families. The findings will highlight experiences that may resonate with those of other refugee and migrant families from other parts of the world who have also settled in New Zealand. Therefore, the findings from this research will be of interest not only to Korean migrants, but also to all migrant families in New Zealand, as well as to the plethora of agencies and organisations that are involved with migrants.

At this stage, it is necessary to introduce some terms and background information relevant to this research in order to orient readers to the structure and shape of the thesis. The following section will introduce the two important terms, "the 1.5 generation" and "Kowi," including an account of some of the key issues that 1.5 generation Kowis may face upon migration. In order to highlight the context of the 1.5 generation Kowi, a brief profile of overseas Korean migrants and demographic information about Korean migrants in New Zealand will then be outlined. This section will be followed by a discussion of my position as an insider researcher to this investigation, including both the strengths and challenges of insider research. The reasons for early engagement with existing literature prior to data collection in this grounded theory study will then be presented in order to provide a rationale for the next chapter.

The 1.5 Generation Kowi

The phrase "the 1.5 generation" generally describes those children of migrants who arrive in their new host country before reaching adulthood (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008; Danico, 2004; Janes, 2004; Park, 1999; Zhou, 1997). However, the concept is not yet fully understood in the Korean community in New Zealand. Even though this group is technically first generation migrants, their socio-cultural experiences are different from those of the first and second generation. The 1.5 generation often face ambiguity and confusion as they are usually

perceived by the first generation as second generation, but they are seen as first generation by the second generation and are identified as "just Koreans" by non-Koreans and locals (Danico, 2004). Bartley and Spoonley (2008) named this type of ambivalence and ambiguity "in-betweenness" (p. 68). The term, Kowi, also speaks the meaning of "in-betweenness" experiences. It is used to indicate the unique identity shaped by the dual cultural heritage of Korean and Kiwi[1], an aspect of in-betweenness of two very different cultures.

The term "in-betweenness" is used for "the sense of displacement and difficulties of cultural adjustment common to all migrants" (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008, p 68). Bartley and Spoonley (2008) identified three layers of "in-betweenness" experienced by 1.5 generation Asian migrants in New Zealand: in-between origin and destination societies, in-between childhood and adulthood, and in-between the majority and other minority and indigenous cultures in the host country. It was noted in their research that 1.5 generation young people struggled with disruption of normal roles, routines and structures of power within the family. This may be due to the fact that changes in the natural and complex dynamics between parents and children as they grow up overlap with the challenges of family migration (Orellana, Thorne, Chee, & Lam, 2001). Such experiences are likely to have made an impact on the perspectives of Kowis on family dynamics, including parenting and parent–child relationships. This may have influenced their relationships with their own children in some ways, positively and/or negatively. It may also have influenced their ways of integrating different parenting styles in-between two different cultures. It was reported that "in-betweenness" also facilitates young people's development of some advanced life skills at a young age while supporting their parents in matters of daily living due to the language difficulties parents experience in their settlement process (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). It would therefore be interesting to see if their advanced life skills seem to have had any effect on their parenting practices today.

"Kowis" (or Korean-Kiwis) may be defined as New Zealanders of Korean descent with dual identities (Kowiana Association, 2009) who migrated with their parents and have an awareness of a multicultural identity in New Zealand. The term "Kowi" has been casually used by Korean-New Zealanders since the 1990s. However, it was officially claimed and defined by the Kowiana Association of New Zealand in their first conference in 2008 (Kowiana Association, 2008). It is not a derogatory term and was extensively discussed at the conference as a third or alternative identity. At the conference it was considered important for

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[1] Kiwi generally refers to people from New Zealand

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Kowis to express and define their identity, which is derived from a dual cultural heritage from both Korea and New Zealand. While they are growing up in New Zealand, and are exposed to New Zealand culture through schools and social contacts, Kowis are still very much part of their Korean families and migrant communities in this country. This means they have lived in tension between complex and unique cultural influences.

For the purpose of this research, "1.5 generation Kowis" are defined as those Korean children who migrated to New Zealand with their parents between the ages of 5 and 17, as this is the age range of primary and secondary school children in New Zealand. These children have grown up in a different cultural context from both their parents and their younger siblings under the age of 5. This study anticipates that there may be some differences in identity, culture, values and parenting practices that have emerged amongst the 1.5 generation. For example, there may be "1.3" or "1.7" within the group of 1.5 depending on their experiences, with 1.3 feeling closer to the first generation and 1.7 relating more with the second generation. It is unknown what contributes to the subtle differences within this particular group. Certainly, it is not within the scope of this research to answer questions about Kowis' identity differences. However, the study will explore any links that may be found between their parenting practices and their identity issues.

The concept of "the 1.5 generation Korean" originated in the Korean American community to describe immigrant children who are neither first generation nor second generation (Danico, 2004). According to Danico (2004), it was first used by Charles Kim, a reporter for *Koreatown* newspaper, the *Korean Times/Hankook Ilbo* English edition, in the early 1970s in the United States. However, a term similar to the 1.5 generation was first used by Thomas and Znaniecki (1958); they first extracted the name from what was commonly called "the second and others" and called this "the half-second generation" (p. 1776). They were referring to Polish children who were born in the United States to migrant families, and also to those who came as children with their parents to the country. Their definition of this generation was brief and did not clearly identify the age of arrival. Rumbaut (1994) renamed this cohort the "one and a half generation or 1.5 generation" (p. 759), referring to those who were foreign born and who migrated to the United States before age twelve (Rumbaut, 1994; Rumbaut & Ima, 1988).

There are diverse views about defining the 1.5 generation in terms of the significance of the developmental stage and age on arrival in the host country because of multiple other influential factors. These include different life experiences that depend on a range of physical and psychological developmental stages, socialisation processes within the family and society, experiences of schooling, individuals' orientation toward their homeland, and their personal experiences of migration and adjustment processes. Zhou (1997) categorised children between 6 and 13 years of age as the 1.5 generation. Those arriving as adolescents aged 13 through 17 were considered first generation. Bartley and Spoonley (2008), however, defined the 1.5 generation more inclusively as children and adolescents between 6 and 18 years of age at the time of arrival in the host country. Overall, those who migrated as young children before school age have been considered to be second generation, and those who migrated with their parents, but have experienced at least some of their formative socialisation in their country of origin, to be the 1.5 generation.

According to Danico (2004), in the United States the children of working-class Korean families have more responsibilities as mediators between their parents and the host society compared with the children of middle-class Korean families. The 1.5 generation develops a "double consciousnesses" and they are often considered "bridge builders" (Park, 1999, p. 158) between the Korean community and the local community. According to Danico (2004), this provides these young Korean Americans with an added sense of responsibility to the family, but also helps them to maintain their Korean language abilities and hold on to traditional Korean family values such as a sense of filial piety, *Hyo*. However, middle-class Korean American children have been brought up in families where at least one parent was fluent in English. These parents are therefore more self-sufficient and less dependent on their children than in working-class families where neither has attained fluency. The middle-class children are given more time and space to pursue their own goals and to learn the culture and other aspects of the host community. Therefore, differences are evident in the formation of identity and the holding of cultural values between working-class and middle-class migrant young people. Danico's study (2004) revealed connections between the 1.5 generation children's development and the first generation parents' degree of adaptation. However, it focused on the life of young people and did not investigate how the parents' adaptation would influence parenting perspectives of the 1.5 generation children. The current research hoped to uncover some of these aspects.

Still, Danico's research (2004) provides helpful insight into the 1.5 generation Kowis and their families. This particular group in New Zealand has experiences similar to the working-class Korean American children in that they often act as mediators and interpreters for their parents who are dependent on their children's language ability. However, there is a difference between the working-class Korean American children in terms of support of parents and their financial status, and the Kowi experience. Due to New Zealand immigration criteria, Kowis' parents are normally highly skilled and/or wealthy entrepreneurs in contrast to Danico's working-class Korean Americans. While their struggle is mostly language and culture related, they have adequate abilities to support their children financially. Their main reason for migration was usually the education of their children (Chang, Morris, & Vokes, 2006), and they have ensured that their children were introduced to wide-ranging opportunities to experience and adapt to New Zealand culture. Therefore, the 1.5 generation Kowis and their formation of identity and cultural values are likely to be different from either the working class or the middle class Korean Americans.

Adult Kowis who are now parenting their own children have grown up in a world of globalisation and belong to a technologically advanced generation. Globalisation has enabled increased communication possibilities and has resulted in increasing awareness of the world beyond immediate national boundaries (Block & Buckingham, 2007). Falicov (2003) has stated that today's migrants are likely to live *in* two worlds rather than being stuck in-between two worlds. In fact, the influences of family, peers and the larger social forces of both countries are multiple and complex for each individual migrant nowadays (Block & Buckingham, 2007). Researchers have documented evidence of such phenomena when investigating "transnational migration" (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008; Falicov, 2003; Ho & Bedford, 2008; Janes, 2004; Kong, 1999; Lee, Kearns, & Friesen, 2009; Orellana et al., 2001; Wolf, 1997; Yeoh, Huang, & Lam, 2005; Zhou, 1997). Kowis are likely to benefit from new means of cyber communication such as emails, internet chatting, Skype and Facebook. Use of cyber technology may have provided them with easier access to friends and families in Korea and other parts of the world. Modern Asian migrants live in the world of globalisation on the one hand, while on the other they learn the local culture from local peers and the media (Zhou, 1997). Adult Kowis are likely to have grown up with strong financial support from parents, and are likely to have more opportunities than their predecessors to have close contact with Korean culture by visiting families and relatives in Korea on a regular basis. For instance, migrants in the past had limited opportunities to visit their homeland due to the high

cost of air travel. How this new context may have defined their cultural values and beliefs has not yet been researched or understood.

Korean Migrants

To establish the context of the 1.5 generation Kowi, this section will provide a brief profile of Korean migrants overseas as well as relevant demographic information about Korean migrants in New Zealand. This will contribute to an understanding of the ways that the lives of 1.5 generation Kowis have been and how this background may have influenced their own parenting.

Profile of Korean Migrants Overseas

As of 2010, seven million Koreans were estimated to be living in 151 countries around the world (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2010). This is equivalent to 14% of the total population (approximately 50,000,000) of South Korea (Statistics Korea, 2011). According to Yoon (2005, 2006) there have been four periods of migration in Korean history:

(1) The history of Korean migration began in the 1860s, when farmers and labourers emigrated to China, the Soviet Union and Hawaii. They were migrant labourers.

(2) Between 1910 and 1945, during the period of Japanese colonisation, farmers and labourers moved to Japan to fill the labour shortage created by Japan's wartime conditions. Political refugees and activists also moved to China, Russia and the United States in response to the move by Korea to become independent from Japan.

(3) From 1945 to 1962, students, Korean War orphans, children of mixed-race parents, and wives of U.S. military servicemen moved overseas, mainly to the United States, although some moved to European countries. Post-1945 Korean migration was very much shaped by the Korean War (Yuh, 2005).

(4) From 1962 to the present, the South Korean government encouraged emigration to Latin America, Western Europe, the Middle East and North America, in order to relieve domestic population pressures and to secure foreign exchange, with remittances sent home by Koreans working or living abroad. The migration wave was reinforced by President Kim Young-Sam, who established a new official policy of globalisation ("Sagyewha") in

1992 (Armstrong, 2007). After the financial crisis and the subsequent International Monetary Fund (IMF) bailout in 1997, Korea opened its doors widely to foreign investors, and more Koreans began emigrating overseas for better economic opportunities. The Confucian emphasis on education and the pursuit of status also led more families to look for migration opportunities for their children's education overseas (Shim, Kim, & Martin, 2008). All expatriate Korean communities have been active in forming Korean ethnic associations as part of maintaining their ethnic identity. There are over 2000 Korean ethnic associations throughout the world (Choi, 2003).

Profile of Korean Migrants in New Zealand

Each wave of Korean migration was driven by different historical factors in Korea, and the motivations and characteristics of Korean immigrants in each country differ from one another. In the case of Koreans in New Zealand, they are likely to have emigrated under the influence of the globalisation policy established by President Kim Young-Sam in the 1990s. The Korean population has grown from 930 in 1991, to 19,026 in 2001, to 30,792 in 2006, but declined slightly to 30,171 in 2013, which made this cohort the fourth largest Asian group after Chinese, Indian and Filipino in this country (Statistics New Zealand, 2002, 2006, 2014c). Korean people now represent over 0.7% of the total New Zealand population (4,242,048) and 6.5% of the Asian population (471,708). In 2013, 72.8% (21,981) of Korean residents in New Zealand lived in Auckland and 3.1% (960) in Wellington (the two major cities in the country) with two rural regions accounting for large percentages as well: 3.7% (1,104) in the Waikato and 11.1% (3,336) in Canterbury. In Auckland, large numbers are concentrated in one particular area, the North Shore (Pio, 2010).

The Korean population has also been strongly influenced by recent New Zealand immigration policies. The majority of recent Asian migrants came to New Zealand after a significant change in New Zealand immigration policy in 1986 (Ho, Au, Bedford, & Cooper, 2003). The new policy began attracting skilled Asian immigrants with the ability to invest capital in New Zealand. When the Immigration Amendment Act 1991 took effect, potential migrants were ranked according to a "points system" in which they were assessed on factors such as education, age, occupation and wealth (Beaglehole, 2006; Phillips, 2006). People from Korea and other Asian countries were able to migrate to New Zealand even more easily, and the number of Korean New Zealanders increased dramatically. However, the number of arrivals

from Korea dropped after 1995, when the New Zealand government introduced an English language test as a condition for immigration. In 2002, growth slowed still further when the English language requirements for entry were raised to the same level required of students entering university (Beaglehole, 2006).

The primary reasons for Korean migration to New Zealand have included better opportunities for children's education in English, which is highly valued in Korea; an escape from the competitive and stressful education system, work regimes and gendered family roles in Korea; hope for a more relaxed life style in an uncrowded and natural environment; and access to an alternative destination with lower exchange rates, and immigration policies that cater for family reunification and related chain migration. However, future family prospects, especially those of the children, have been cited as the major factor behind the migration decision (Chang et al., 2006).

While Korean migrants are settling into New Zealand life, like many other migrants they face challenges. When facing settlement-related challenges, many Koreans in New Zealand are known to turn to Korean ethnic churches at some stage during their migration process. Support from church members and staff is crucial for settling in New Zealand (Tan, 2010), as churches have social, economic and emotional functions beyond simply spiritual functions (Chang et al., 2006). In the case of the United States, the Korean–American church also serves the community as a place for making business contacts, finding a spouse and cultivating an active community life (Armstrong, 2007). It is clear that a church-based community offers migrants a way to network for business opportunities and to find other information, and is a key venue for meeting people for social support. The Korean church is also a centre of socialisation and support for many young people who attend the church with their parents. Young people may search for and benefit from guidance from the church staff and leadership, which their parents may be unable to provide in the new host country. Researchers have reported that having a religion is a protective factor for young people's well-being (Resnick, Harris, & Shew, 1997). In 2013, approximately 60% (20,010) (Statistics New Zealand, 2014d) of Koreans identified themselves as Christians in New Zealand. The number is considerably higher in comparison with those resident in Korea itself, where in 2012 approximately 32.6% of the population were Christian; 22.5% Protestant and 10.1% Catholic (igoodnews, 2013).

Position of Researcher as an Insider

Insider research is "where the investigator studies herself, those like her, her family or her community" (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2013, p. 252). I am a researcher who shares a common ethnic relationship with the participants and who has an insider understanding of the data. As an individual, I identify myself as a 1.3 generation Kowi because of my own adaptation process, and will explain this term shortly. As a professional, I am a Korean Christian minister, counsellor and consultant with on-going relationships with the Korean community. Consequently, my experiences, perspectives, positions, and practices are inevitably present in my approach to the research tasks. Thus, it is important to explore ways to resolve some of the challenges that an insider researcher faces, while acknowledging some of the unique strengths I bring as an insider to this research.

I came to New Zealand as a single woman in my 20s; hence, I am a first generation migrant. However, I identify myself as a 1.3 generation Kowi rather than as first generation. My life experiences are more similar to the 1.5 generation's experiences than to the first generation. Certainly I spent all my school years and the first few years of my working life in Korea before migration. My original identity as a Korean was fully established before migration. My first language is Korean, and I still feel more fluent in Korean than in English. However, the fact that I migrated as a single woman without any parents or family members with me has made some differences to my experience.

To survive in a new host country alone, I actively and willingly adapted to the new culture and acquired the language as fast as I could. Unlike the 1.5 generation, I experienced very little tension or pressure to remain Korean but felt it was urgent to become a New Zealander. I left the Korean church and chose to work in New Zealand churches to be part of the new host society before moving into the counselling area. Currently, I work for a New Zealand counselling agency where my colleagues are either New Zealanders or migrants themselves. The majority of my clients are also both New Zealanders and migrants from different parts of the world. I see only a handful of Korean clients at a time. Therefore, my migration process has been different from that of most first generation migrants. They normally have language barriers and lack an understanding of the host culture, and they tend to remain in the Korean migrant community. In contrast, my life has been similar to the 1.5 generation who grew up in the New Zealand environment while still being part of, and maintaining close connection with, the Korean community.

In addition to this, I met a New Zealand man less than two years after my arrival in New Zealand, and married him within a few years. Being with him has opened me up to more understanding of New Zealand's diverse culture and the English language. I feel equally adapted to and familiar with the New Zealand culture in the way that 1.5 generation Kowis generally do. At times I see myself even more adapted to the host culture than some of the 1.5 generation Kowis who have chosen to stay more closely linked to the Korean community. However, I describe myself as 1.3 generation rather than 1.5 generation because I have not experienced the ambivalence and ambiguity of "in-betweenness" (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008, p. 68) in terms of identity and the dual cultural heritage of Korean and Kiwi experienced by 1.5 generation Kowis. My identity is clearly more Korean in my mind, but I have adapted to the new culture well and am able to participate in society as an active member. I speak fluent English, but I do notice differences from the way the 1.5 generation speak. For example, they are more fluent in colloquialisms and idioms in the "Kiwi way" as they naturally learnt them from school, while the structure and grammar of my English is often a translated version of Korean sentences. This is my own "in-betweenness" between the first generation and the 1.5 generation. I can neither fully relate to the first generation's struggles nor to the 1.5 generation and their socio-cultural experiences. Thus I locate myself as 1.3 generation.

As a migrant parent to two young children in primary school, I also share similar experiences as a parent with the 1.5 Kowis and their second generation children. Even though I am fluent in English and have been well adapted to New Zealand culture, I do notice cultural differences and language barriers between us at times. I share the ordinary parenting anxieties with my participants, too. My own parenting experiences in this context bring me insights into the lives of both first generation and 1.5 generation parents.

As a Presbyterian minister, I had a personal encounter with 1.5 generation Kowis in my life soon after I first arrived in New Zealand. As a youth minister I had first-hand experience of working with adolescents and young adults of Korean descent. The young people I encountered in my ministry were the 1.5 generation Kowis at the beginning of their journey as migrants in New Zealand. As a youth minister, I had numerous experiences of sitting down with these young people and engaging in conversations on Sundays, at camps or in one of their homes, including on sleepovers. The topics of our conversation often involved their migration challenges such as identity and belonging, issues and dynamics in the family, life at

school, language barriers, friends, grief and loss in relation to their migration process, and so on. Their parents often asked me for counselling or advice since they were new migrants and found it difficult to understand their own children's changes and their related issues. This opportunity as a youth minister allowed me privileged access to their intimate experiences as migrant children in their family homes, schools and community.

Today, as a professional counsellor and consultant, I maintain my connection with this cohort in my work places. I counsel them and their family members on issues that arise during their transition phases, and in counselling they explore and reflect upon their identity and sense of belonging. These include their study years, graduation and embarking upon a career, choosing a partner, marriage, starting a family, facing the complexities of raising a family, and so on. My interest in and concern for young Kowis has continued through speaking engagements in the community on topics such as working with migrant families and their children, effective parenting for migrants, and Kowis and their identity. I also participated in projects like the Kowiana Project, involving the development, delivery and evaluation of innovative psycho-educational programmes for Kowis under the auspices of the Diversity Trust.

All these personal experiences make me an insider researcher within this study, and I recognise that my experiences, perspectives, positions, and practices are inevitably present in my approach to undertaking this research. I am mindful that my personal worldviews, values and beliefs from my own migration experiences could hinder me from arriving at "objective" interpretations, while they could also allow me to bring more in-depth understanding and analysis of the data than could be possible for an outsider. Therefore, I consciously considered the strengths and challenges I bring as an insider to this research.

For more than 40 years, in fields such as anthropology and sociology, the strengths and challenges of insider research have been debated. For instance, Merton (1972, p. 41) recognised that "all of us are both Insiders and Outsiders in various social situations" in research. He stressed the importance of the role of social scientists and their understanding for "enough detachment and trained capacity to know how to assemble and access the evidence without regard for what the analysis seems to imply about the worth of one's group," in order to make a contribution to their work. Lewis (1973) criticised academic colonialism and White supremacy in the relationship between anthropologists, as outsiders, and non-Western people, and emphasized the advantages of "native anthropology as one possible alternative" (p. 591).

More recent studies have also identified the strengths of insider research. Brannick and Coghlan (2007) suggested that insider research could provide important knowledge about the world of research participants which outsider research may not be able to uncover. They saw insider research as respectable rather than problematic. Mercer (2007) also listed strengths like freer access, stronger rapport with participants, and a deep, more readily available frame of shared reference with which to interpret the data that researchers collect. Karra and Phillips (2008) identified four strengths of insider research: ease of access, reduced resource requirements, ease of establishing trust and rapport, and fewer problems with translation. In fact, it is often observed that participants speak differently to researchers who are members of their own cultural group compared to researchers who are members of another cultural group (Given, 2008). In the current study, my cultural background and language ability could have been advantages that allowed me to quickly build the required relationship in the interviews. They may have helped participants to relax and open up to the enquiry at ease. Since qualitative interviewing, the method that was chosen for this study, aims to enable participants to disclose their innermost thoughts and feelings in a few hours of conversation (Regmi & Kottler, 2009), effective and speedy rapport building, understanding, and trust between the researcher and the participants are especially valuable.

However, previous studies on insider research have also recognised its challenges. A number of traditional challenges were documented including role conflicts, lack of critical distance, not attaining necessary distance and objectivity, and making assumptions (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007; Karra & Philips, 2008). To overcome the challenges, previous studies have emphasised mindfulness of one's own strengths and limitations as a researcher. Karra and Philips (2008) emphasised careful consideration and a willingness to explicitly deal with the challenges of insider research, judiciously weighing up the benefits and costs of this approach in any particular circumstance. Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2013) shared their own struggles as insider researchers in the world of research on homosexuality, and suggested that insider researchers utilise rather than minimise one's insider status/position to strategically inform their work. They also recommended further incorporating it into the research by providing a broad consideration of the ethics and epistemology of insider research. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) recommended that researchers acknowledge the "fluidity and multi-layered complexity of human experience," open to "the space between" where "the ways in which we are different from others require that we also note the ways in which we are similar" (p. 60), and work creatively to find a way to be both. They pointed out a problem of "the dichotomy of

insider versus outsider status" and how overly simplistic it was, as "holding membership in a group does not denote complete sameness within that group. Likewise, not being a member of a group does not denote complete difference" (p. 60).

A number of researchers, such as Brannick and Coghlan (2007), have emphasised the practice of reflexivity as a critical component in the research process, and awareness of the strengths and limitations of one's own preunderstanding, together with the demand of dual roles. Reflexivity is "the process whereby researchers report on personal beliefs, values, and biases that may shape their inquiry" (Creswell & Miller, 2010, p. 127). It is the "critical paradigm where individuals reflect on the social, cultural and historical forces that shape their interpretation" (Creswell & Miller, 2010, p. 127). Cunliffe and Krunanayake (2013) highlighted the multiple identities of researchers and stressed the need for researchers to become more informed and ethical in their reflexive processes in recognising and working with tensions in research relationships. According to Finlay (2002, p. 532), reflexive analysis in research encompasses:

> continual evaluation of subjective responses, intersubjective dynamics, and the research process itself. It involves a shift in our understanding of data collection from something objective that is accomplished through detached scrutiny of "what I know and how I know it" to recognizing how we actively construct our knowledge.

Reflexive analysis is especially critical to this research because I am an insider researcher using a grounded theory method. There was a potential risk that my research results could be generated by logical deduction from prior assumptions, based on my experiences, that "fit the situation being researched and work when put into use" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 3). However, the grounded theory method has been consciously chosen as a preferred research method in order to avoid such a risk. Reflexivity in grounded theory is viewed by McGhee, Marland, and Atkinson (2007, p. 334) as:

> the explicit quest to limit researcher effects on the data by awareness of self, something seen as integral both to the process of data collection and the constant comparison method essential to grounded theory.

Certainly, a theory generated by logical deduction from prior assumptions goes against the principles of grounded theory. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 4) warned that logical deduction was "the opportunistic use of theories that have dubious fit and working capacity." A

grounded theory has to be derived from data to become truly new knowledge and to make a genuine contribution to the field. However, according to Charmaz (2006), using the constructivist approach to grounded theory, a researcher could bring a strong sense of the participants' presence to readers, enriching the interpretation and meaning of the data, because the researcher is recognised as a co-author of participants' stories and partner of the participants in the research process. This was the approach adopted in this thesis.

In essence, it is important for me as an insider researcher to practice reflexivity in order to achieve an informed and ethical study through the process of data collection and analysis. In the following chapters I will undertake a broad consideration of the ethics and epistemology of insider research while utilising my own strengths to effectively inform the work, in an attempt to find creative ways of working with the participants to overcome the challenges that I might face. At the same time, I hope to provide an opportunity for the reader to observe, through a unique and different set of lenses, how an insider observes, defines, and interprets the data.

Position of the Literature Review

As indicated above, grounded theory was chosen as the preferred method of analysis in this qualitative study. This method allows theory that is grounded in the data to emerge organically rather than being determined by a researcher's preconceived concepts and theories (Corbin & Strauss, 1998). Because I was an insider researcher with prior knowledge from my personal and professional experiences in the field, grounded theory was an appropriate method that could avoid theory generated by deduction from prior assumptions. However, while it may look contradictory when considering the background of the researcher and the reason why a grounded theory approach was chosen, in the current study a brief initial literature review was consciously undertaken at an early stage of the research process before entering the field to collect data. It was considered valuable and necessary in this case and will be explained in more detail below. This was followed by a more in-depth review of literature after allowing new ideas to develop from the data and after the analysis was completed. The material from this more in-depth literature review was then incorporated into the initial literature review and presented as one in this thesis.

A number of issues were considered in order to make a sound decision on how and when to engage with the existing literature. The use of literature within grounded theory studies has

been a subject of ongoing debate. The traditional grounded theorists were strictly against a literature review before developing research categories. Glaser and Strauss (1967) advised that a prior literature review would contaminate the data collection, analysis and theory development. There is a risk that "the source of certain ideas…can come from sources other than the data" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 6). Holton (2007, p. 267) stressed that grounded theory researchers needed to enter the field with "no preconceived problem statement, interview protocols or extensive review of literature…to remain open to exploring." It was seen as leading the researcher to apply existing theoretical ideas to the data, which would in turn compromise the authenticity, subjectivity and quality of the grounded theory research (Dunne, 2011).

Some grounded theorists, however, argue for a literature review before developing research categories based on each researcher's own personal circumstances and the topic of their studies (Dunne, 2011; Lempert, 2007; McGhee, Marland, & Atkinson, 2007; Stern, 2007). Strauss moved away from Glaser's traditional or classic grounded theory approach in his later writing with Corbin (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) towards newer development and variations (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007b), which included flexibility about engaging with existing literature at an early stage in the process of research. Stern (2007) acknowledged that it would be ideal if a search of existing literature came after the construction of the theoretical framework. However, he also pointed out the challenges for the researcher when a thorough literature review was required from other parties such as professors, ethical reviewers, and funding agencies prior to data gathering. For example, an initial literature review is often part of the requirement for submitting a PhD research proposal to a university and to an ethics committee. The literature review is needed to demonstrate that the research question will guide a study of suitable value for a doctoral thesis and it would generate new knowledge. The ethics committee requires a rationale supporting the research and the directions the research would follow. Ethics approval often depends upon producing a detailed and solid literature review before commencing primary data collection and analysis (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007b; Dunne, 2011; McGhee et al., 2007) and it sometimes leaves no room for negotiation on methodological arguments.

Stern (2007) described how his early engagement with existing literature helped him to identify gaps and provided understanding of certain important areas. Lempert (2007, p. 254)

gave her reasons for a prior literature review to understand the field before beginning the research.

> In order to participate in the current theoretical conversation, I need to understand it. I must recognize that what may seem like a totally new idea to me (an innovative breakthrough in my research) may simply be a reflection of my ignorance of the present conversation. A literature review provides me with the current parameters of the conversation that I hope to enter. Utilizing comparisons from the literature alerts me to gaps in theorizing, as well as the ways that my data tells a different, or more nuanced, story….It does not, however, define my research.

Charmaz (2006, p. 9) reminded us that Glaser and Strauss "invited their readers to use grounded theory strategies flexibly in their own way." Recommendations from classic grounded theory are useful but should not paralyse the flexibility and creativity of the researcher in facilitating new discoveries from their own grounded theories. Dunne (2011, p. 113) advocated that researchers be well informed about grounded theory in order to "take their own informed and defensible position on how to apply it." He recommended negotiation between the purist view of Glaser and other new studies that have suggested flexibility (p. 117).

> …some middle ground must be reached – a position which acknowledges the original ethos of grounded theory and the genuine concerns about the imposition of external frameworks, yet simultaneously recognises the often practical need for, and potential advantages of, engaging with existing literature in the substantive area at an early stage.

McGhee et al. (2007, p. 341) agreed that researchers need to stay open-minded in order to "remain true to the inductive–deductive interplay throughout the research process." However, they emphasised the process of reflexivity and the constant comparison method that would guide researchers to eliminate any bias from prior knowledge. In their discussion, they suggested that researchers need to make their own decisions based on their own personal circumstances and the topic of their studies, and offered a list of considerations when making decisions for when and how to engage with existing literature, including "the researcher's ontological perspective; previous background and knowledge of the topic area; the

researcher's existing level of research experience; and the need to meet ethics committee requirements" (p. 341).

Certainly, in the current study it was very important to avoid theory generated by deduction from my own assumptions based on prior knowledge and experiences as an insider researcher. Delaying the literature review could help researchers to avoid "importing preconceived ideas and imposing them on your work" and "encourage you to articulate *your* ideas" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 165). However, there were a number of reasons for engaging with existing studies, especially relating to the area of the 1.5 generation Kowis, a profile of Korean migrants, some key values in the Korean family, and general parenting issues. The purpose of an initial literature review was to identify what work had been done, which issues were central to the field, and what knowledge gaps existed.

In this research, an initial literature review was used to contextualise the study, to orient the researcher, promote clarity of thinking, and make proper use of previous knowledge in the investigation (Dunne, 2011). I was an insider researcher who shared a common ethnic relationship with the participants and had an insider's understanding of the participants' world individually and professionally. In particular, counselling work offered me opportunities to have in-depth conversations with 1.5 generation Kowis and their families. Thus I had my own lenses through which to look at the substantive area of study, and had established certain conceptual and structural understandings of my own. Hence it was important to move beyond the limitations of my own scope of knowledge and experiences and acquire a more "objective" understanding of participants' actual context and knowledge by engaging with other existing research. The initial literature review offered a chance to do so. As Lempert (2007) described above, the prior literature review provided me with insights into the current parameters of the conversation in the field but did not define my research. The literature review was brief and exploratory rather than detailed and extensive in order to avoid extant theoretical frameworks. Because my scope of knowledge was based more on practical experiences, engaging with existing literature oriented me, brought clarity to my thinking and made me consider the proper use of my previous knowledge in this investigation.

In fact, according to constructivist grounded theorists, the researcher interprets findings, rather than objectively reporting their activities from a neutral standpoint (Charmaz & Bryant, 2007). The researcher's subjective experiences and values are seen as natural filters and

perspectives in the constructivists' view (Charmaz, 2008; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2008). This approach emphasises the importance of researchers thinking about the researcher–participant relationship, positioning oneself while considering one's own paradigm beliefs, justifying one's own position, and making it transparent to the audience (Charmaz & Bryant, 2007). Therefore, when the researcher brings awareness of self by using reflexive processes (Dunne, 2011; Finlay, 2002; McGhee et al., 2007), the grounded theory development can be enriched by the researcher's subjective experiences and values.

An initial literature review was necessary to investigate and identify gaps in the area of this study, and to determine whether there was an area of focus which previously had been over looked. I began exploring the lives of the 1.5 generation Kowis in general at an early stage and, through this exploratory initial literature review, it became evident that little knowledge had so far been gathered about 1.5 generation Kowis and their parenting skills, styles and experiences in New Zealand. Most of the available literature related to the 1.5 generation derives from studies conducted in the United States, and researchers have mainly addressed the area of identity formation and acculturation (Berry, 2005; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a; Danico, 2004; Kiang & Fuligni, 2008; Park, 1999; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Yu, Huang, Shwalberg, Overpeck, & Kogan, 2003). In the area of parenting, the few available studies have focused on first generation parents (Aye & Guerin, 2001; Crippen & Brew, 2007; Dixon, Tse, Rossen, & Sobrun-Maharaj, 2010; Gungor, 2008; Kim, Cain, & McCubbin, 2006; Rubin & Chung, 2006) rather than 1.5 generation parents. There has also been a gap in the New Zealand literature specifically looking at parenting experiences of 1.5 parents from other parts of the world who are parenting in New Zealand. Available research has mainly addressed the parenting of 1st generation parents or identity issues of 1.5 generation young people; literature about Pacific Island people exemplifies this (see Anae, 1998; Cowley-Malcolm, 2013; Cowley-Malcolm, Fairbairn-Dunlop, Paterson, Gao, & Williams; Guo, 2013)

It was clear that relatively little research had been done and thus there was a paucity of knowledge in the area of 1.5 generation Kowis' parenting. In the current study I sought to generate new theories which could help explain diverse ideas about Kowis' parenting. The Kowi Parenting Model was established from the data analysis, which was not based on any other theories from previous studies.

In summary, an initial literature review was done before entering the field to collect data in the following areas: 1.5 generation; Kowis; the Korean family and their cultural values; first generation migrant families and their experiences; a profile of Korean migrants in New Zealand; and general parenting experiences and influences. This was followed after data collection and analysis by a more in-depth review to explore literature related to findings that had emerged from the data analysis.

In terms of its place in this thesis, a decision was made to combine the material from both reviews into the single literature review that is presented at the beginning of the thesis as the next chapter. The conceptual material from the second review that helped explain and interpret the findings was too dense and too complex to incorporate directly into the discussion. Lengthy footnotes would have been required, which would have been disruptive of the argument. A comprehensive review of the literature has therefore been presented at the beginning of the thesis, in order to facilitate the clarity of the content.

Outline of Chapters

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. This chapter aimed to orientate the reader to the topic and the thesis.

Chapter 2 addresses and reviews some of the important literature in the area relating to the key aspects of this study: Influences on parenting in general, the Korean style of parenting, the New Zealand style of parenting, and migration and its influences on parenting. The main purpose is to position the study in terms of existing gaps, as just explained, as well as establishing understandings pertinent to the interpretation of the results.

Chapter 3 introduces the design of this study and methods employed in the implementation of the design and analysis of the data. It is divided into five main parts: Research approach; ethical considerations; recruitment and sampling; data collection methods; and techniques for data analysis. The research approach introduces the methodology of this qualitative research and the decision to choose grounded theory. This is followed by a detailed process of data collection and data analysis through implementing the grounded theory method. It also includes the journey toward the methodology by sharing the researcher's personal reflections

over time to preserve the researcher's presence and consciousness in the research design, procedures and data analysis.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 present the significant results. The findings from the interviews are divided into three chapters: "Being **Korean children** in New Zealand," "Being **Kowi Parents** in New Zealand" and "Becoming **Kowi Voices** in New Zealand." Chapter 4, "Being Korean Children in New Zealand," focuses on Kowis' childhoods and their experiences in their family homes from the time of migration. The Kowis' childhood experiences are relevant in order to explain the links between their experiences of being parented themselves and their parenting of their own children. Chapter 5, "Being Kowi Parents in New Zealand," presents many aspects of their parenting practices today—decision making processes, cultural aspects in parenting, couple relationships, parenting challenges, and parenting strengths. Chapter 6, "Becoming Kowi Voices in New Zealand," presents parenting resources that Kowi parents identified, and advice that they wanted to share with other Kowi and/or the 1.5 generation, including policy makers and professionals in the community.

Chapter 7 is a discussion of the results presented in chapters 4, 5 and 6. The major themes arising from the results are discussed with reference to existing theory and research. The Kowi Parenting Model is introduced to describe multiple components in the 1.5 generation Kowis' perceptions that influence, resource and challenge their parenting.

Finally, in **Chapter 8,** significant features and limitations of the current study will be highlighted in order to consider the contribution this study makes to research and practice. This chapter identifies the implications for future research, and offers recommendations for policy makers and professionals, followed by concluding comments.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW ON PARENTING

This chapter investigates existing literature on parenting in the areas that are particularly relevant to the investigation of this population of 1.5 generation Kowis. As indicated in the previous chapter, a brief literature review was used to contextualise the study and to identify the current pool of knowledge in order to locate gaps in the area. At an early stage of the research process, the following areas were briefly explored to locate the gaps: 1.5 generation; Kowis; the Korean family and their cultural values; first generation migrant families and their experiences; a profile of Korean migrants in New Zealand; and general parenting experiences and influences. Once the data analysis was completed and the Kowi Parenting Model was established, a more in-depth review of literature was undertaken. Material from this has been incorporated with material on parenting from the initial review to construct the literature review presented here.

In this chapter, some of the major factors influencing parenting as generally experienced by contemporary parents are explored before the Korean style of parenting and the New Zealand style of parenting are briefly examined. Defining different styles of parenting will help understanding of some of the tensions experienced by Kowis related to Korean and New Zealand parenting styles. This is followed by a discussion of migration and its influence on migrants' parenting practices. This section provides a brief overview of relevant literature on the migration process, with a particular focus on the changes in family dynamics and paradigms, and their influence on parenting after migration. This will help establish an understanding of the context in which Kowis have grown up and have themselves been parented in order to position the project. This chapter draws on both local and international literature on parenting among migrant groups in order to establish a basis for a more detailed examination of the parenting experiences of Kowis.

Influences on Parenting

Various interconnected factors affect children's development and growth. Parenting is one of the major factors (Cai, Hardy, Olsen, Nelson, & Yamawaki, 2013; Eisenberg et al., 2005;

Johnson et al., 2002; Keown & Woodward, 2002; Kochanska, Kim, Boldt, & Yoon, 2013; Smith, 2013; Zubrick, Smith, Nicholson, Sanson, & Jackiewicz, 2011). Parents influence their children directly via their genes, beliefs, and personal behaviours as well as indirectly via the multiple contexts they choose for their children through their participation in their larger social networks. These concepts include, among others, neighbourhood, religious organisations, institutions such as schools and kindergartens, activities like music and sports clubs, and ethnic communities and associations. Effective parenting can enable children to develop to their potential in order that they become able to engage and contribute fully and actively as adults in our society. Disruptions in parenting practices (i.e., inconsistency in discipline, high hostility and poor parent involvement) can increase a child's risk for developing problem behaviour (Gottfredson, 2001). Therefore, it is important to explore influential factors on parenting in order to understand what may affect parenting positively or negatively.

The work of Bronfenbrenner and Belsky described below offers an understanding of aspects of parenting context and influential factors that will be explored in the next section. Parents are affected by larger social systems associated with socioeconomic, cultural, environmental and historical contexts. These complex contexts and related factors influence both parenting and child development. Bronfenbrenner (1979) regarded it as necessary to consider the entire ecological system in which growth occurs in order to understand human development. There are five layers in his interconnected and interacting systems of the 'Ecology of Human Development': microsystems, the mesosystem, the exosystem, macrosystems, and chronosystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The relationship between parent and child is embedded in a most immediate environment of microsystems, which is linked to a mesosystem of broader contexts such as extended family, friends, school and neighbourhood, while it is shaped by the community exosystem and indirect influence processes, such as the workplace of parents and mass media. There are also macrosystems of values, laws, social classes, and cultures. Chronosystems include changes or consistency over time in the characteristics of the person as well as the environment in which that person lives, such as changes over the life course in family structure, employment and place of residence. All of these exert interwoven influences on parenting, as identified in the contextual ecological view of development (Bornstein & Cheah, 2006). According to Belsky (1984), three main areas determine parenting behaviours: the parents' personal characteristics, the social contextual influences of stress and support, and the personal characteristics of the child.

The central focus of this study is on Kowi parents and their perceptions of the influences on their current parenting in their ecological system. In identifying some influential factors within 1.5 generation Kowis' parenting, this study recognises the "immediate settings" in which the 1.5 Kowi lives, and the "larger contexts" in which the immediate settings and Kowis are embedded, when considered through the lens of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological system (p. 22). The current study explores some personal characteristics of individual parents in order to understand their perceptions of their parenting practices and functioning in relation to social contextual influences, when considered through the lens of Belsky's (1984) determinants of parenting behaviours. They include their experiences of the parenting they received during childhood, the social contextual influences in the area of couple relationships, social support networks, and factors related to the socio-cultural environment such as culture and ethnicity as addressed below.

Parents

The lives of children are "profoundly influenced by their family/whānau experiences and [that] our strongest memories of childhood are inextricably tied to our families" (Smith, 2013, p. 340). It is highly likely that the ways in which one was parented during childhood will influence the quality of one's parenting as an adult (Simons, Beaman, Conger, & Chao, 1993). For instance, one study identified the point that grandparents who had engaged in aggressive parenting produced present-day parents who were likely to use similar parenting practices (Simons, Whitbeck, Conger, & Wu, 1991). Maladaptive parenting (e.g., affectionless, harsh parental punishment, or having an absent father or controlling mother) has been associated with a risk of interpersonal difficulties during adolescence, and such interpersonal difficulties may even play a pivotal role in the development of suicidal behaviour in young people (Johnson et al., 2002). Poor parenting is not only associated with parental aggression but it could also reflect a lack of parenting skills. A study by Simons, Chao, Conger, and Elder (2001) has stressed the importance of skilled and effective parenting during the childhood years. The probability that adolescents will develop deviant behaviour increases when parents lack the skills to manage difficult behaviour during childhood (Simons et al., 2001). More recent research has found a clear indication that family and parenting characteristics are significantly related to a child's development, with parenting practices playing a particularly prominent role (Zubrick et al., 2011). In summary, childhood experiences of negative parenting are likely to influence the parenting of the current

generation of parents due to limited skills and a lack of confidence in their parenting role, and/or a lack of positive role models.

Their own feeling of adequacy about parenting is likely to affect parents' confidence and, consequently, the way they parent and the development of their children. The more skilled and effective one feels about parenting, the more satisfying it is likely to be. Satisfaction and self-efficacy in a parental role are important influences on parenting and therefore on children's development. When parents feel confident and satisfied in their ability to parent, they are likely to use more effective parenting practices which foster positive developmental outcomes for their child (Jones & Prinz, 2005). Greater parenting satisfaction has also been found to be associated with greater satisfaction with the relationship between partners in New Zealand families (Robertson, 2006). Satisfaction is an affective dimension reflecting parental pleasure and motivation as well as frustration and anxiety in the parental role (Johnston & Mash, 1989).

Efficacy is an instrumental and cognitive dimension reflecting parents' self-appraisal of their competence in the parental role (Coleman & Karraker, 2000; Johnston & Mash, 1989; Sevigny & Loutzenhiser, 2009). Satisfaction and self-efficacy are two dimensions of parenting self-esteem, and are closely linked to healthy child development. Researchers have highlighted the point that self-efficacy has been associated with competent parenting behaviours, child developmental outcomes, and the psychosocial adjustment of children (Coleman & Karraker, 2000; Jones & Prinz, 2005; Shumow & Lomax, 2002). Higher parenting self-efficacy results in greater satisfaction with parenting (Coleman & Karraker, 2000). In the case of Chinese migrants in Canada, parenting efficacy beliefs were found to be important determinants of psychological adjustment and effective parenting (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011).

Parenting style is often associated with attachment between parents and children, which can affect children's development positively or negatively. A link was found, for example, between early positive qualities in parent–child relationships and the extent of children's behaviour problems (Eisenberg et al., 2005; Keown & Woodward, 2002; Kochanska et al., 2013). The positive qualities included, for example, children's willingness to take the lead in play; and on the parents' part, praising and complimenting children; engaging in shared fun activities; playing; using humour; and being affectionate, warm and responsive to children's

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cues. Children's problem behaviours at 5 years of age were associated with factors such as harsh discipline, maternal stress, single parenthood, and maternal substance misuse (Bayer et al., 2012). These findings do not just apply to early childhood. Secure attachment with the mother based on warm parental involvement, psychological encouragement, and support toward independence have been found to facilitate children's positive self-image and worth in middle childhood and adolescence (Karavasilis, Doyle, & Markiewicz, 2003). The role of parents and family is evident in shaping the quality of health in adolescence (Resnick et al., 1997). Family connectedness was documented as the most powerful predictor of psychological wellbeing of adolescents in a New Zealand study (Jose & Pryor, 2010), and it has been suggested that parenting behaviours may play a crucial role in influencing adolescent social behaviours and wellbeing via adolescent–parent attachment (Cai et al., 2013).

The importance of the parent–child relationship to children's development applies to both father and mother. A positive relationship with the same-sex parent was reported to be beneficial to children's development. A good relationship with parents, especially the same-sex parent, was associated with less delinquent behaviour (Vanassche, Sodermans, Matthijs, & Swicegood, 2014). Fathers play a critical role in the life of children because disengaged and remote interactions of fathers with their infants have been found to be a source of early behavioural problems in children (Ramchandani et al., 2012). Fathers have been known to play an equal role with mothers in the transmission of anxiety because children could learn anxious behaviour from parents (Aktar, Majdandzic, Vente, & Bogels, 2014).

In the case of migrants, a study reported that different parenting styles of fathers influenced children's development and wellbeing. Vietnamese migrant adolescents who perceived their father as using an authoritarian parenting style reported lower levels of self-esteem and higher depression scores when compared to those who perceived their fathers as using an authoritative[2] parenting style (Nguyen, 2008). Parental adaptation difficulties, particularly among fathers, influence their physical and psychological presence in their children's lives in migrant families (Qin, 2009). Migrant fathers' more traditional child-rearing attitudes can

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[2] According to Baumrind (1966, 1972), authoritative parents direct children in a rational and issue-oriented manner. They encourage verbal give-and-take, listen to children's opinions, and are able to compromise rather than to insist on their own opinions. In contrast, authoritarian parents attempt to shape, direct and control the child's behaviour as they value obedience, order and traditional structure. They restrict the autonomy of children and do not encourage verbal give and take.

influence dating practices, partner selection, or child-rearing practices and may be a potential source of conflict in their children's lives (Barry, Bernard, & Beitel, 2009). Cultural clashes between Chinese and American parenting styles reportedly also had an impact on families and resulted in alienation between parent and children in migrant families (Qin, 2006).

The Couple Relationship

Transitioning to parenthood was found to be stressful in a number of studies (Adamsons, 2013; Feldman, 2000; Widarsson et al., 2013). This transitioning may highlight problems of multigenerational patterns in the family (Carter & McGoldrick, 1999) and related existing personal and cultural clashes in the parenting couple relationship. Relationship stress affects one's parenting behaviour and consequently, the quality of parent–child interactions, especially for first time parents (Widarsson et al., 2013). Couple relationship conflicts have also been found to have an impact on children and are associated with increased delinquency (Vanassche et al., 2014). The couple's relationship constitutes part of a child's environment, and thus directly influences the child (Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Fincham & Hall, 2005). Research has indicated that the nature of the couple relationship and satisfaction with its quality has a significant effect on the parent–child relationship, and directly predicts children's social and emotional development (Cabrera, Shannon, & Taillade, 2009; Cowan, Cowan, & Mehta, 2009; Linville et al., 2010).

The parental couple's relationship is a major support and the "first port of call" in the support system for effective parental functioning (Belsky, 1984), and the quality and dynamics of the couple relationship are likely to influence parenting practices. For instance, clashes may arise when husband and wife have different expectations of parenting responsibilities. Such disagreements may erode their own support system as a couple and affect children's development. Pressures of parenting and disagreements about having or raising children are sources of tension in parenting couple relationships (Robertson, 2006). Different role expectations in terms of parenting responsibilities have been found to have an impact on couples' relationships and the parent–child relationships in the transition to parenthood (Adamsons, 2013; Feldman, 2000). A study by Widarsson (2013) documented that mothers and fathers experienced stress in different areas during their early parenthood. When couples do not recognise each other's stress in different areas and do not support each other, conflicts could result as their expectations of support and cooperation (i.e. parenting and household responsibilities) from each other are not met. In turn, these dynamics could affect the children

because parental stress is likely to influence parenting behaviour and the quality of parent–child relationships. Conflicts in couple relationships have been documented to have effects on family functioning and children's social adjustment, as parents' inconsistent discipline (i.e. undermining the other's discipline practice) was found to be related to conflict in couples' relationships (McCoy, George, Cummings, & Davies, 2013).

In terms of conflict in the couple's relationship, fathers' experiences of new challenges in parenthood may play a role in couples' support systems. Fathers' experiences of their transition to fatherhood have been reported as challenging at various stages, from a wife's pregnancy, labour, birth, and after the birth of their child (Chin, Hallb, & Daichesa, 2011; Goodman, 2005). Stress in early fatherhood is normally due to a mixture of emotional reactions that fathers experience, such as changed responsibilities and added pressure, and being faced with identifying and defining their role as father as well as redefining oneself and the relationship with the partner (Chin et al., 2011). Although resources and support services are usually in place for pregnant women and nursing mothers, not enough is provided for fathers. Education and support for fathers has been suggested in a number of studies (Chin et al., 2011; Goodman, 2005), in order to improve parenting couple relationships and positive child development.

In the case of migrant couples, they are likely to experience multiple challenges due to the different adaptation processes of each spouse. Migrant men's processes of adaption can take a lengthy period of time (E. Kim, 2005), and a study of East Asian immigrants in the United States (Barry et al., 2009) has found that men are significantly more likely than women to endorse traditional child-rearing attitudes. Due to limited support networks, the effect of a supportive partner may be greater in parenting in the case of migrant couples. Spousal support has been found to have a positive and direct influence on parenting, and carries more weight when social support is low (Cochran & Walker, 2005; Holtzman & Gilbert, 1987).

Social Support Networks

The term "social support networks" generally refers to the emotional, instrumental, or informational help provided to an individual by extended family, friends, neighbours, and other informal helpers (Cochran & Walker, 2005; Whittaker & Garbarino, 1983). A parent's network reflects one's position in the social structure, and the effect of that network on parenting attitudes and behaviour is influenced by the social structure and one's own location

in it (Cochran & Walker, 2005). Adequate social support can be beneficial and necessary to positive parent–child relationships and parenting in general, especially when there are multiple challenges in parenthood and/or when the transition to parenthood is stressful for many, as mentioned above.

Social support is an important predictor of the mental health of parents, and parents who report low levels of support are more likely to report clinically significant psychological distress (Zubrick et al., 2011). Mothers with good social support tend to be less anxious and less ambivalent about close relationships, and this in turn leads to an increase over time in the frequency of parent–child interactions (Green, Furrer, & McAllister, 2007). Parents with more social support seem to show greater increases in the frequency of positive parent–child activities over time. Mothers have been found to experience less role conflict when support is available, and variations in social support have been identified as an important cause of fluctuation in the quality of parenting (Simons & Johnson, 1996). The size and composition of individuals' networks affect their parenting and the ways their children develop (Cochran & Walker, 2005). Spousal support and network effectiveness have been found to be positively associated with life satisfaction for parents in the areas of family and work (Holtzman & Gilbert, 1987). Certainly, there are positive as well as negative consequences of influences from social networks depending upon whether they are sources of support or stress. Larger networks provide for better maternal adjustment, but when there is conflict within the social support network the opposite occurs (Voight, Hans, & Bernstein, 1996).

Those who are living away from their close family networks are likely to be more at risk when there are stresses on the family (Smith, 2013). Leaving behind one's social support network is a significant loss that adds to migrant couples' stress. In the case of Asian families, including Koreans, they described settlement challenges as including disruption of family and social support networks, and isolation in the process of integration into New Zealand society (Chang et al., 2006; Ho et al., 2003; Tan, 2010). A loss of extended family was also one of the challenges faced by Latino migrant families in the United States (Leidy, Guerra, & Toro, 2010). The extended family is a crucial part of individuals' and couples' personal networks as they are often primary supporters and reinforce traditional parenting values and childrearing practices. Personal networks such as extended family may influence the attitudes and behaviours of parents, as well as the quality of their parenting in general (Cochran & Walker, 2005).

Resourceful parents with multiple networks are likely to be effective in parenting their children. Access to information and social support systems and networks could enable them to develop the necessary skills and boost their confidence and motivation in their parenting. Consequently, they are likely to foster positive developmental outcomes for their child, thus enabling children to develop to their full potential. Costigan and Koryzma's (2011) research reported how resourceful parents could influence children's development differently. In their study, Chinese migrants in Canada showed that higher involvement in Canadian culture—part of their immediate resource—advanced feelings of parenting efficacy because parents had the cultural knowledge and skills to feel confident. This came about because parents who were involved with Canadian culture were more likely to take advantage of parenting resources that were available in the community. They participated more fully in the new community and built broader networks of support, which helped them adjust to a new cultural environment and provided positive reinforcement that contributed to a sense of well-being. When considering the issues of loss of existing support networks for migrant families, building such social support would be critical.

Non-relative support was beneficial when support from the community became limited to those who shifted to a distant new area where they lacked family support. It was documented that non-relatives could also be supplementary supports, and sometimes became primary supports providing necessary information for parents (Cochran & Walker, 2005). For instance, the work place is one location where people build important networks (Cochran & Walker, 2005). Parenting education and support programmes in the community develop and strengthen network ties and relations for parents, and work to prevent any negative aspects of the community from affecting the family and children's development (Cochran & Walker, 2005; Garbarino, Bradshaw, & Kostelny, 2005). Such social support networks and structure are embedded in a socio-cultural environment that influences the construction of perspectives on one's parenting. The next section describes how parenting is viewed through our own cultural filters in our socio-cultural environment.

Socio-Cultural Environment

Parenting is culturally constructed in that each culture guides the construction of parenting styles. Parents in different cultures receive different kinds of guidance about how to rear children and consequently they construct different kinds of parenting that fit the norms of the

cultural context in which they are raising children (Harkness & Super, 2002). This section very briefly explores aspects of particular socio-cultural environments, especially regarding culture and ethnicity, and their influence on parenting in the lives of migrants. Relevant literature in the area of cultural influences on migrant parenting will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter, however.

Parent–child relationships need to be considered in the context of other relationships inside and outside the family. Socio-cultural environments such as neighbourhoods, communities and cultures can positively or negatively influence parenting physically and psychologically. The environment influences children's development and can be a source of support or stress. When the environment is a source of stress, parents can play a significant role in protecting children from the negative aspects of community (Garbarino et al., 2005). In the case of migrants, parents can neither protect their children from nor control all the influences on their children within the new community. Migrants inevitably face two fundamental challenges in acculturation: maintenance of their own inherited culture and their adoption of the new host culture (Berry, 2006). Different cultural values and forces in the new environment usually bring changes and challenges to parenting. In the case of Korean American migrants, a study reported that a culturally different kind of parenting is one of the challenges that was faced by first generation parents (E. Kim & Hong, 2007). Different cultural values and forces can create cultural conflicts between family members and generations. When people from a collectivistic society like Korea migrate to a more individualistic society like New Zealand, they are likely to face continuous and direct contact between conflicting cultures, resulting in multiple challenges and changes in their family dynamics.

A number of researchers and commentators have highlighted the fact that differences in cultural beliefs and values between parents and children create conflicts within migrant families (Berry et al., 2006a; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006b; E. Kim & Cain, 2008; E. Kim & Hong, 2007; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). The degree of parents' cultural adaptation is likely to influence the wellbeing of their children. Parental adaptation enhances children's self-esteem and social involvement as well as the quality of the intergenerational relationships (Ying & Han, 2008). Mothers' confidence about integrating the positive aspects of discipline strategies from both cultures also impacts on their 1.5 generation adolescent children's wellbeing (E. Kim et al., 2006). Compatible parent–child cultural value orientations and positive parent–child relationships are associated with the development of more positive attitudes toward their own ethnic origins (D. Kim, Sarason, & Sarason, 2006). Consequently,

a positive attitude toward one's own ethnic origin is likely to create opportunities for more support for children as they will seek support networks from both the host and ethnic communities (Zhou, 1997).

It is necessary to consider the cultural and traditional nature of both the Korean style of parenting and a New Zealand style of parenting when exploring gaps in literature on parenting challenges faced by Korean migrants in New Zealand. These areas will be addressed in the following two sections.

The Korean Style of Parenting

An overview of the key values that underpin traditional parenting patterns, together with aspects of changing values in contemporary Korea, can provide insights into existing knowledge on how the 1.5 generation Kowis and their parents may have been influenced by Korean culture, prior to encountering the new culture after migration.

Korean culture and values have been influenced by multiple historical, religious and cultural traditions such as Shamanism, Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Silhak, Donghak, and Christianity. Koreans have combined elements of each tradition and established their own belief systems. However, Confucianism was adopted as the official philosophy of the Yi dynasty (1392–1910) and has encouraged the strongest impact on many aspects of Korean life in terms of family values and relationships. Unique aspects of Confucianism that are related to traditional family values include "authority of fathers, wives' obedience to husbands, children's obedience to parents, filial piety, submission of self to family and high expectations in education" (E. Kim, Im, Nahm, & Hong, 2012, p. 125). In this study, *Hyo* (filial piety) and *Samgang Oryun* (three bonds and five principal relationships) are identified as the key values and concepts influencing traditional Korean family relationships and structures.

Hyo (filial piety)

The concept of *Hyo* (filial piety) in Confucian teaching forms the basis of the cultural model of childcare and education, and has been the essential element that has shaped parent–child relationships and parenting in Korea (K. W. Kim, 2006; S. C. Kim, 1997). *Hyo* is seen as the essence and foundation of all virtue (K. D. Kim, 2008b) and was encouraged and reflected in traditional Korean literature and numerous folk tales which have been taught and read to Korean children for generations (Won, 2002). Koreans believe that when *Hyo* is practiced

well in one's personal life, it leads to a well-balanced family life, which in turn brings order to the community and leads to peace in the world (Keum, 2000; K. W. Kim, 2006; Won, 2002).

Hyo emphasises love, respect, responsibility and interdependence between parents and children; parents love their children infinitely and unconditionally, and children devote themselves to their parents in return, and serve and respect them with sincerity (K. W. Kim, 2006). In practice, this implies that total unconditional obedience to, and an unquestioned compliance with, parents' wishes are expected of children (H. O. Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001). Children are usually expected to seek approval from parents on decisions relating to daily activities, friends, the choice of academic majors, careers, and of one's spouse. This level of interdependence between adult children and parents is in fact not surprising, as Koreans emphasise that maturity is associated with interdependence rather than independence in adult life. Proper interpersonal relationships are considered to be the fullness of humanity (Kalton, 1988). Confucianism constitutes a system of collectivistic relationships for harmony in the community. Shim et al. (2008, p. 55) summarise it well: "'I' has a meaning because others exist, and the meaning of 'I' depends on relationships with others and in situations where 'I' and 'Others' are positioned." In such a system, 'I' has a meaning only in the context of family, as family is the most basic component and the most important form of in-group membership within society. Therefore, a Korean's identity cannot be separated from the family, and loyalty and strong kinship are expected among family members. The strong sense of protecting and guiding the family is almost unconsciously internalised in the Korean mentality (Shim et al., 2008). These patterns of obedience and interdependence thereby demonstrate the opposite expectations from those which are prevalent in European societies and cultures, where qualities such as independence, freedom of choice, self-reliance and assertiveness are valued, encouraged and expected of children (Phinney et al., 2000).

A group of Korean scholars have developed a list of practical virtues and guidelines for *Hyo* in the context of modern Korea (Chung et al., 1997; K. W. Kim, Lee, Bang, & Koo, 2000). Their purpose was to address core aspects of parental mercy and of children's filial piety. It was reported in the research that *Hyo* still stands as a cornerstone of the education and socialization of children in the life of contemporary Koreans even 100 years after the end of the Yi Dynasty. When the congruence of intergenerational attitudes towards filial obligation was explored between older second-generation parents and adult third-generation children in

Japanese Canadian families, it was found that both generations continued to regard filial obligation as important (Kabayashi, 2010).

Samgang (three bonds) and *Oryun* (five principal relationships)

The family paradigm can also be explored in relation to *Samgang Oryun.* Roles, family order, and related behavioural expectations are clearly delineated in the Korean family and these depend on the status of each person, as defined by generation, age and gender. These concepts are based on the Confucian ethical system (H. O. Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001; K. W. Kim, 2006), and comprise *Samgang* (three bonds) and *Oryun* (five principal relationships) (Won, 2002).

Samgang expresses the hierarchical order between lord and subject, parent and child, and husband and wife. The latter in each relationship is seen as subordinate to the former, and there is no equality in these relationships. *Oryun* expresses the ethical relationship between ruler and subjects (righteousness), parents and children (intimacy), husband and wife (distinction), elder and young (order), and between friends (trust) (Keum, 2000; Won, 2002). This is a hierarchical, authoritarian and patriarchal system based on authority, obligation, sacrifice and respect.

Shame is imposed on an individual when any of these five relationships is violated. The most shameful behaviours are considered to be lack of filial piety or *Hyo* to parents, and a wife's disobedience to her husband (Z. Lee, 1999), which may result in the family losing face in their relationships with others in the community. Losing face means disrupting group harmony and bringing shame to the family and other related group units. The concept of "face" is related to honour and to the image of an individual and their family/organisation (Shim et al., 2008). Koreans value the importance of communal goals over personal goals, the importance of securing and retaining harmony and trust in relationships, and concern about saving face for the others as well as oneself. Because Korean culture greatly values inter-dependence, violating any of one's relationships in society causes shame to an individual, and this shame is then transferred over to the family. Shim et al. (2008) identified Korean inter-dependence and collectivism as a "we-relationship" or "we'ism" (p. 45), and stated that the basic core of social relationships for Koreans is not an individual but the complex social and psychological involvement with others. The family is the first we-relationship within which loyalty and a sense of belonging is required. Children from a young age are taught the value

of inter-dependence, 'we'ism', and its associated behaviour in order to save face for the family.

Chemyon is an important concept when discussing face saving in Korean culture. *Chemyon* is "the prestige, pride, dignity, honour, and reputation related to one's position….It is living up to the expectations of others according to you and your family's position and situation in society" (Oak & Martin, 2000, p. 30, as cited in Shim et al., 2008, p. 72). Its main function is for mutual face-saving. Individual achievement can result in pride in a family by uplifting *chemyon*, whereas the wrong-doing of an individual brings shame to the whole family and loss of *chemyon*. Because an individual's choices and actions affect everyone in the family and its harmony, children are taught to protect the *chemyon* of the family and carefully live up to the family's social status by aiming for high achievements from a young age. As a consequence, parents are willing to sacrifice themselves for their children's education and achievement. Children's choice of schools, careers and marriage partner do matter in the Korean family. They affect the family's *chemyon* when they are not matched with the family's status or name in the community. It is therefore understandable why Korean parents so strongly desire that their children study particular majors (i.e., medicine, law, engineering) of high standing in a prestigious university when considered in light of this Confucian value; it is because of the importance of scholarly pursuits as a means of enhancing one's social status, which lifts the *chemyon* of the family.

It is necessary to discuss further the importance of children's education at this point, as Korean parents emphasise children's education, and regard academic outcomes as a critical part of parental responsibility. The civil service examination in the Yi Dynasty paved the way for upward social mobility and the importance of education was also reinforced by Confucian values (S. C. Kim, 1997). The civil service examination was the main avenue of recruitment for government offices, and for membership of the scholarly *Yangban* class (Shim et al., 2008). The value of education has been upheld by Koreans' historical experiences over the past six decades. The experience of the Korean War in 1950-53 and the resulting poverty injected a strong sense of insecurity. This led Koreans to make an unusually strong commitment to national security and to the drive for rehabilitation and success through education (K. D. Kim, 2008a). The value of education was further reinforced by the Korean government in their process of industrialisation and modernisation of their historically agricultural society (Y. Kim, 2005). Education was one of the top priorities in the

government's First Five-Year Plan in a modernisation project which was launched in 1961. Y. Kim has called it a "super-education system" (2005, p. 31). Shim et al. (2008) have suggested that the experience of the financial crisis and IMF (International Monetary Fund) bailout in 1997 also resulted in Koreans' re-emphasising family values as a necessary safety net, and parents providing unlimited educational opportunities for children's success. The crisis forced Koreans to shift toward individualism, which encouraged competition and allowed for more material incentives based on achievement.

Americanisation during the past half-century since the Korean War has also implanted in Korean society a concept of individualism and boosted an education fever or "education explosion" in striving for individual success (Academy of Korean Studies, 2005, p. 48). However, the Confucian value of the importance of family still remains strong in Korean society, and Koreans have established a form of individualism which is family-orientated rather than individual-orientated. As a result, Korean parents are devoted to taking part in the competition for higher education, which they believe will directly benefit their families. Academic education has remained a viable means of success in Korea today because there are limited opportunities in its highly competitive and over-populated society. Thus families send children overseas for education or the family migrates to create better opportunity for their children's education.

Samgang (three bonds)*, Oryun* (five principal relationships), and the Traditional Korean Family Paradigm

The above values based on Samgang Oryun have framed the traditional Korean family paradigm and its parenting system. The principle of Samgang Oryun implies that male members are superior to female members in the traditional family paradigm as mentioned above (Keum, 2000; Won, 2002). The father holds the most power and authority in the household. Inheritance and the line of succession within the family are transmitted by the father to the eldest son, and the son fulfils the duty of looking after his elderly parents. Families often keep a genealogy which shows the male line in their families through the generations (Won, 2002). This paradigm, together with other core values in Confucianism, dictates the dynamics in traditional Korean parenting. Figure 1 depicts a traditional Korean parenting system.

C - Child
M - Mother
F - Father
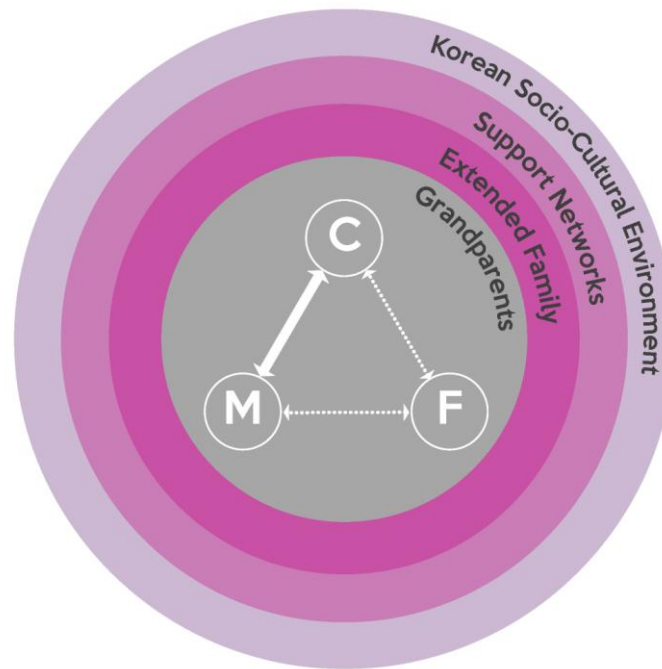
Figure 1. The Style of Traditional Korean Parenting in Korea

There are three different types of arrows that are used in this diagram, showing the patterns of interaction in the family. These arrows will be used for interpreting all the figures in the following chapters.

- The primary arrow (⬌) indicates very frequent interaction.
- The secondary arrow (⬌) indicates frequent interaction.
- The tertiary arrow (◄·····►) indicates minimal, limited, or invisible interaction.

In this traditional system, a father's position is seen as the head of the family, which is in principle equal to the status of king/ruler. However, contemporary fathers have been absorbed into the role of bread winner, and are effectively taken out of family scene due to long hours at work. Consequently they have less and less time to take up their role as a leader of the family, and so leave the decision making and discipline of the children in the hands of their wives (H. O. Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001). Hence, a tertiary arrow connects the child and the father, but a primary arrow connects the child and the mother. The primary arrow is used here to describe not only the closeness of their relationship but also the amount of interaction and influence that the mother has with the child in the absence of the father. It is likely that this

role of the absent father is the one which their sons will naturally learn as a model of fatherhood and manhood, and which they may practice in their own families later.

A tertiary arrow connects the mother and the father because they do not have enough time to spend together when the husband leaves home early in the morning and does not come home till late at night. Because the father is a head of the family, the mother would speak to him about major parenting decisions but any other day-to-day care of children is left to the mother alone to deal with.

According to traditional Confucianism, an ideal woman has only three defined roles: a filial daughter, a faithful wife and a dedicated mother (Y. Kim, 2005). In particular, Korean women have always had major responsibilities for maintaining their family structure, and are expected to be *Hyunmo-yangcho* (wise mother, obedient wife) (Shim et al., 2008). In the case of the Korean War, mothers had to care for family members in the absence of their husbands. It is clear that the role of mother is the primary caregiver of children, who maintains the household, supports the husband in his commitment to his career, and is given some authority for decision making within the boundary of family matters at home (H. O. Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001).

Over the last half of the twentieth century, the role of mother has been stretched to include the whole range of family duties from the past, as well as maintaining her career as a shared breadwinner. She carries this sort of double burden with frustration and stress (M. Kim, 1993). All married women are expected to carry out housework regardless of their employment status, while husbands almost never participate in housework. It is common for men to work long hours and to attend drinking socials afterwards late into the night as part of the culture. Social drinking is used to reduce conflict and enhance harmony and cooperation at work, and it is said that men do not often have a choice about attending (Y. Kim, 2005). Meanwhile, wives have to take sole responsibility for childcare in the absence of the children's fathers.

In many cases, the grandparents and extended family members are part of a much needed system of practical support. Confucianism emphasises filial piety, and filial responsibilities include financial and physical support of the elderly; hence, Asian households often include grandparents (Kamo, 1998). The grandparents usually step in to care for their grandchildren

when the Korean mother also works long hours and is overwhelmed with the sole responsibilities of managing the household and parenting. A lot of Korean children have frequent interactions with grandparents, especially in the absence of both parents. Consequently, their influence is strongly present in the life of the grandchildren. The Korean family unit is therefore surrounded by Korean grandparents, extended family, and support networks, and those parties are arranged around the family like containers and fences in the traditional parenting system (Figure 1). This reflects the nature of collective society, where each family member is intimately connected with and interdependent upon each other. Kinship and loyalty to in-group membership within the extended family is strong in this system.

It is important to note that Korean culture creates extremely differentiated gender roles in the family, as indicated above. For example, mothering becomes one of the central elements in Korean women's identity, with children as their centre of attention. The education of children then becomes a matter of extreme zeal for Korean mothers (Y. Kim, 2005). It can be seen, therefore, that traditional Korean culture, which is based on the influence of Confucianism, has had a major impact on women's roles, lives, and identities throughout the history of Korea.

For centuries Confucian values and ethics have offered guidance for attaining optimal relationships, cooperation, and consideration of others, and have aimed at bringing harmony, order, and resolution in relationships and society (Kalton, 1988; Yum, 1988). However, this teaching has created hierarchical relationships and inequality in the Korean family system, which creates exclusiveness according to gender, age and generation. It has also influenced and formed a "top-down authoritarianism and paternalistic leadership" in Korean society as a whole (Shim et al., 2008, p. 10). The negative impacts on the status of Korean women as subordinate to men have been a major concern, for both men and women live by the rigid structure and face clashes of the paternalistic values of men with the more egalitarian values of women in contemporary Korean society (Hyun, 2001; Y. Kim, 2005). Keum (2000) points out the importance of replacing the hierarchical system of *Samgang Oryun* with a more horizontal system of egalitarianism within the family.

Values are changing in Korea toward accepting more individualism, egalitarianism, and self-assertiveness, and increased importance is placed on intergenerational communication today

(Hyun, 2001; Na, 2008). In fact, Korea has seen gradual changes in family structures since the 1960s due to industrialisation, urbanization, and exposure to Western ideas and practices: changes to smaller nuclear families; decreasing rates of marriage and child birth; higher rates of divorce and an increase in remarriage and single parent households; clashes of the paternalistic values of men with the more egalitarian values of women; changes in the practice of filial piety or *Hyo* with less emphasis on this value; and changes from child-focused to couple-focused families (Y. Kim, 2005; Shim et al., 2008; Academy of Korean Studies, 2005). However, families still experience conflicting cultural values between generations and genders in contemporary Korea (Shim et al., 2008). The older generation tries to retain traditional values while the younger generation has been influenced by the values of Western individualism due to globalisation and more frequent contact with other parts of the world.

The New Zealand Style of Parenting

An understanding of the cultural history of New Zealand helps to explain the complexity of the cultural context and of New Zealand styles of parenting. However, it is difficult to define the New Zealand style of parenting because New Zealand culture is not homogeneous and there is no one point of view within or about New Zealand culture. Historically, multiple cultural influences have contributed to the formation of New Zealand culture. Consequently, there are differences in understanding, and practicing cultural values and norms depends on regional and class differences within New Zealand. For instance, people in South Auckland are more likely to feel familiar with and integrate Māori and Pacific Island cultural influences into their parenting, as there is a concentrated population of Māori and Pacific Islanders residing in the area in comparison to people on the North Shore of Auckland, where more people of European ethnicity reside. In the case of Asians such as Koreans and Chinese in Auckland, they have easier access to their ethnic community resources and better opportunities for maintaining their own cultural heritage while adapting to the new host culture. The Auckland region, where nearly two-third of Asians reside (65%) and over 1 in 5 people are of Asian ethnicity (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b), is known to be "super diverse" (Manning, 2013). Hence, the understanding that they have about the so-called traditional style of New Zealand parenting may be different in comparison to that of Asians in other cities.

The New Zealand style of parenting seems to be ill-defined. Limited academic literature is available about research into unique aspects of the New Zealand style of parenting. The

available literature in the area of cross-cultural studies has neither clearly defined the New Zealand style of parenting nor its cultural norms and values when comparing them to other cultures (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008; Cowley-Malcolm, 2013; Cowley-Malcolm, Fairbairn-Dunlop, Paterson, Gao, & Williams, 2009; Dixon et al., 2010; Eyou, Adair, & Dixon, 2000; Guo, 2013; Ho et al., 2003; Ho & Bedford, 2008; McCallin, Paterson, Butler, & Cowley, 2001). There seems to be a general assumption that European culture is the New Zealand culture, as it has been a dominant culture in the society for 200 years. Dr Robyn Dixon,[3] in personal correspondence, also confirmed the following:

> the literature [on the style of New Zealand parenting] you are looking for doesn't exist—I think when people talk about a European style of parenting they are talking about a more authoritative style compared to perhaps a more authoritarian style; however, these are generalisations and given New Zealand's increasingly multicultural society, I am not sure you can compare.

In order to monitor my general assumptions about Korean and New Zealand cultures, I consulted two Korean scholars at the University of Auckland and discussed my research topic, interview plans, and any considerations they might offer about cultural aspects for this study. I also involved a number of key cultural advisors during the consultation process and following data collection and analysis at different stages. In addition, I also identified two consultation groups of professionals, and presented the research intention and design for feedback to the Korean Community Wellness Society Inc. (KCWS) and Asian Family Service. The members of KCWS were Korean health professionals, including counsellors, psychotherapists, social workers, nurses, medical doctors and community mental health workers in Auckland. There were a number of Asian clinical staff including Korean and Chinese counsellors and social workers in the Asian Family Service, Auckland. These scholars and professionals regarded the New Zealand culture as being European, even though there were conflicting views on a definition of the New Zealand style of parenting amongst them. Significantly though, they had a clear understanding about the Asian and Korean style of parenting without any contradictory views among them.

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[3] Robyn Dixon is an Associate Professor at the School of Nursing, the University of Auckland, and she has also been the co-director of the Centre for Child and Family Research. The Centre is a consortium of multi-disciplinary research groups, and provides research relating to national issues concerning children, young people and families.

This assumption about New Zealand parenting seems to apply to non-academic information and resources in the area of parenting. For example, information about parenting that is provided by the Parents Centre New Zealand Inc. (or Parents Centre) (Parents Centre NZ Incorporated, 2014), a prominent agency that offers parenting programmes and resources, generally builds on the European style of parenting as the New Zealand cultural norm. For example, they suggest that parents "make a fuss of them [children] with praise and encouragement" (Parents Centre NZ Inc, 2014) and "understand why it is important to allow children to express their feelings" (Parents Centre NZ Inc, 2014). Concepts such as the expression of feelings and giving praise and encouragement are practiced in more European cultures. However, suppression of feelings is more a cultural norm in most Asian cultures, like the Korean culture, on this matter as mentioned above. Parents are also discouraged from praising and encouraging children in Asian cultures, as discussed in the previous section. Still, there is no explicit description of unique aspects of the New Zealand style of parenting in the available resources, but European values are introduced as effective parenting practices to the general New Zealand population.

In the case of the Royal New Zealand Plunket Society Inc. (Plunket), a major provider of child health services in New Zealand, some attempts have been made to connect with Māori, Pacific and Asian communities by engaging and involving their own communities, providing culturally relevant resources, running focus groups, and so on (Royal New Zealand Plunket Society Inc, 2014). However, there is still no clear description of unique aspects of the New Zealand style of parenting defined in their resources.

Perhaps the situation of ill-definition could be a result of the individualistic aspect of New Zealand society. The results of a study on the decision making of Korean migrant parents in the United States may shed light on this matter (E. Kim et al., 2012). Kim suggested that there was a clear set of cultural expectations and boundaries in a collective society like Korea, and parents would not need to set their own rules specific to their family. This is because the society normally has clear sets of cultural norms and values and individuals are expected to follow them. However, individualistic societies would encourage freedom of choice and each family is expected to set their own rules within a more open and wider boundary of the culture. One could speculate from Kim's suggestion that New Zealand society is individualistic, and may not specifically provide explicit cultural values and boundaries, but instead, provides rather flexible and somewhat open and loosely defined boundaries. It may

encourage each family to individualise what it is best for their own family since multiple cultural influences have contributed to the formation of New Zealand culture. The European style of parenting may have wide and open boundaries because it has been considered to be a dominant culture, but there is room for multiple cultural inputs depending on ethnic background and the class of each family.

Hence, information was gathered from a very limited local pool of literature in order to describe the New Zealand style of parenting, especially pertaining to Māori. The cultural history of New Zealand is addressed in the next section in order to understand the complexity of the cultural context and aspects of New Zealand parenting styles.

Cultural History and Context

Multiple cultural influences have contributed to the formation of New Zealand culture since the 18th century, when European settlement began in the land of the Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand. Diversity is characteristic of the contemporary social fabric of New Zealand society (Smith, 2013). For instance, New Zealand now has more ethnicities than there are countries in the world, with 196 countries recognised by Statistics New Zealand according to the 2013 census (Manning, 2013; Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). Therefore, it is problematic to make generalisations about a New Zealand parenting style without looking at the history of migration and major influences on New Zealand settlement in order to understand the complexity of the cultural context.

Māori, who are Polynesians in terms of their origins, were the first inhabitants and indigenous population of Aotearoa (the Māori name for New Zealand) around 800 years ago until European navigators arrived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (King, 2003). According to a brief summary of the history of New Zealand settlement by Bedford et al. (2000), this British colony was settled from the early nineteenth century mainly by people from the United Kingdom and Ireland, often via Australia. Predominantly European migrants including Dutch, Dalmatian, Italian, and German began arriving soon after. Māori and the British Crown signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, making New Zealand a British colony. The first wave of Chinese, who were looking for new destinations, established a small ethnic minority on the gold fields in the 1860s and 1870s. Polynesian migrant labourers began arriving in the 1950s and these migrants established the largest Polynesian city in the world in Auckland. Most recently, migrants from northeast Asia, like Koreans and Chinese, arrived in

New Zealand after the change of immigration policy in 1986, which ended the traditional source–country preference system for Europe, and opened a door to non-English speaking and non-European migrants. Therefore, New Zealand society "comprises, on the one hand, a unique home base in Aotearoa for Maori, as well as a home for the majority of European, Polynesian and Asian ethnic groups that have claims on New Zealand citizenship or residence" (Bedford et al., 2000, p. 3).

Currently, there are over 4.2 million people who reside in New Zealand according to the 2013 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). The population consists of those with European ethnicity (74%), the Māori ethnic group (14.9%), Asians (11.8%), Pacific peoples (7.4%), Middle Eastern, Latin American and African (1.2%) and other ethnicities (1.7%). Koreans form 0.7% of the total New Zealand population and 6.5% of the Asian population. The Asian ethnic group is the fastest growing as it doubled in size from 6.6% in 2001 to 11.8% in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). Māori and Pacific people are generally youthful populations. The median age for each of these ethnic groups is: Māori at 23.9 years, and Pacific peoples at 22.1 years, whereas European is at 41.0 years, and Asian at 30.6 years. As indicated, the majority of the population is in fact European, and consequently European cultural values and beliefs have been dominant in the society since British colonisation, even though families are becoming more ethnically diverse. This is because Europeans have become dominant in most nationally-organised institutions since colonisation (Thomas & Nikora, 1992).

The profile of contemporary New Zealand families is as follows (Smith, 2013, p. 349):

> Children make up a fifth of the population (but more in the Maori population), one out of four children live in a single-parent family, people are having children later, divorce rates and marriage rates are steady but falling slightly, and de facto partnership increasing….The majority of children have both of their parents working, but their mothers are more likely to be working part-time. Almost half of children in single-parent families have very low incomes, while a quarter of Pacific families and a third of Maori families do.

Māori Parenting

Māori culture was suppressed and its cultural values were undermined due to colonisation over the last century. Assimilation to the Pākehā (people of European ethnicity) life style was the dominant policy of the Pākehā government until the 1980s, when there were social protests and movement toward a greater acceptance of Māori culture and their worldview

(Thomas & Nikora, 1992). This situation was due to active suppression by agencies of the Crown, the conversion of Māori to Christianity, and a general belief amongst politicians and educationists who valued knowledge of the Western European world and turned away from Māori culture (Mead, 2003). The loss of land and livelihood, and the change from rural to urban living, were also part of the loss of the unique values and practices of Māori families (Smith, 2013).

Traditional Māori culture is collective, which is similar to Korean culture in many ways but different from the Western European values of individualism. Whānau is the primary social unit in Māori society, and this is the smallest family unit, which includes the nuclear family as well as extended family such as grandparents, great-aunts and great-uncles, aunts and uncles, cousins, nieces and nephews (Love, 2000). Individual identity exists only in the whānau. Members of whānau provide strong and cohesive social order and a support system. Māori regard some relationships with extended family as more important than New Zealand European tend to, whereas New Zealand Europeans tend to place more importance on their relationships with their friends (Robertson, 2006).

Māori share parenting within the extended family, as children are seen as belonging to a wider kinship group, and often older siblings take part in aspects of the parental role to support parents (Smith, 2013). Urban Māori who are geographically separated from whānau still try to retain their connection to them in the contemporary context. When making any decision including matters pertaining to parenting, whānau must be taken into account due to the complex webs of relationships and responsibilities. This is because whānau are "key sites for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, wealth and power in Māori society" and strengthening and building whānau is recognised as of benefit to Māori development (Edwards, McCreanor, & Moewaka-Barnes, 2007, p. 13). The traditional support structures in the family have changed, and the ways in which whānau cooperate for collective benefit have also been altered, but extended kin networks are still very important, and extended family relationships continue to carry significant socio-cultural importance today (Edwards et al., 2007).

The dominance of European culture comes across as an issue for Māori families and how they are perceived from the perspective of European culture. Eketone (2012, p. 79) has pointed out that "Maori have a greater negative stereotyping when it comes to parenting" which is based

on "a Eurocentric viewpoint" of the New Zealand society. He suggested that "Maori need to reclaim the parenting skills space in the public sphere and reframe the debate from a negative one based on perceived Maori failure, to a genuinely child-focused one" (Eketone, 2012, p. 79). The danger of a homogeneous approach to all Māori families has also been highlighted (Smith, 2013), emphasising the critical importance of identifying Māori as a distinct ethnic group, recognising its own diversity within the group, and building and providing services that are compatible with the cultural identity of Māori (Durie, 1998). Such sensitivity for an indigenous group was also highlighted in Australia as clear cultural and gender differences were evident between Aboriginal, the indigenous Australian people, and non-Aboriginal boys and girls in their development (Robinson, Tyler, Silburn, & Zubrick, 2013).

Pākehā Parenting

In contrast to the collective culture of Māori families, the primary social unit of New Zealand Europeans is a nuclear family (Cribb, 2009). Smith (2013) compared Pākehā parenting to that of Māori and described the Pākehā group as considerably more individually-orientated. In this group, family tends to mean the small nuclear family of parents and children with an exclusive parental relationship, in comparison to the shared parenting within the extended family for Māori children.

Research indicates that the majority of New Zealand parents take an authoritative approach to their parenting and commonly use parenting approaches like rewards, praise, reasoning and structuring of the situation to socialise children (Lawrence & Smith, 2009). The majority of parents do not favour smacking (Dittman, Sibley, & Farruggia, 2013). Parents are encouraged to use more positive comments than negative comments to children in their discipline practices. For instance, it is recommended giving a child "around six to eight positive comments to one negative comment" as " a nagging, scolding approach to discipline….is likely to be very counterproductive" (Smith, 2013, p. 50). However, this is different from Asian parenting. Asian parents are encouraged not to show affection directly and verbally, in the belief that this would spoil the children and the children would no longer respect or fear their parents (S. Y. Kim & Wong, 2002). Thus, positive comments to children are not encouraged. In terms of changing behaviours, Smith (2013, p. 51) recommended the use of a "combination of consistent positive consequences like praise and extra treats for appropriate behaviour combined with sparing but consistent mild punishment (like time-out or loss of privileges) for inappropriate behaviour." The "time out" method (Delaney, 1999) is a way of

removing and isolating the child for a short period of time from situations and people that triggered an inappropriate behaviour.

In terms of communication with children, reasoning with children is emphasised in New Zealand "as opposed to commanding without explanation" (Smith, 2013, p. 51). In terms of rules, boundaries and demands, parents are encouraged to express demands without a coercive attitude but with warmth and positive attitudes (Smith, 2013). In terms of children as individuals with their own opinions, democratic leadership is recommended for parents to allow children a say and respect their contributions (Smith, 2013). However, in Korean culture, parents' unconditional authority and indirect communication is encouraged, based on Confucian teaching. *Samgang* (three bonds) and *Hyo* (filial piety) indicate that there is a hierarchy between parent and child, and parents are expected to exert authoritarian leadership by emphasising that children owe unconditional respect for parents' decisions and opinions without engaging in reasoning with them or challenging their parents (H. O. Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001).

New Zealand husbands and wives seem to share parenting more than their counterparts in Korea. New Zealand men seem generally equally willing to be both parents and paid workers, even though women tend to compromise more of their role in the workforce in order to combine their roles of being parent and their paid work (McPherson, 2006). Gender equality is still an issue in New Zealand (Curtin & Devere, 2006). Some New Zealand women do not believe that a full-time stay-at-home mother is a "good mother," but acknowledge that there are many ways of being a good mother. For instance, combining paid work and parenting was regarded positively in McPherson's research (2006), even though there is still a lot of stress experienced by women in New Zealand over their role conflicts and pressures (Strachan, 2009). Family structure and practices and individual roles in contemporary families are very different in comparison to 60 years ago in New Zealand (Cribb, 2009). In general, New Zealand women are able to enter and stay in the workforce more, whereas their grandmothers were not, while fathers are increasingly choosing to be involved with their children fully in comparison to men's styles of participation generations ago (Cribb, 2009). Yet, women are still disadvantaged in various ways. Women continue to be underrepresented in many key areas of employment and the situation with ethnic minority women is documented as being worse (Strachan, 2009).

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The core functions have remained constant in New Zealand families over the years. Four core functions of families that were identified by the New Zealand Families Commission are as follows (as cited in Cribb, 2009, p. 4):

- Nurturing, rearing, socialisation and protection of children
- Emotional and material support to family members
- The psychological anchorage of adults and children by way of affection, companionship and a sense of belonging and identity
- Passing on culture, knowledge, values, attitudes, obligations and property from one generation to the next.

Tiredness and workload have been identified by New Zealand parents as the most common stressors that affected their parenting (Lawrence & Smith, 2009) and loss of family time and "me" time, as well as giving up a social life, sport and exercise have also been rated as common sources of stress (McPherson, 2006). New Zealanders rate their relationships with children and partners as particularly important, followed by more immediate and extended family, and close friends (Robertson, 2006). Most parents have at least three sources of support, including family, early childhood teachers and centres, friends and partners. New Zealand European parents tend to attach more importance to their relationships with their friends in comparison to Māori, who prioritise their relationships with extended family (Robertson, 2006). Professionals like Plunket nurses and doctors play a role. Books and written material are also used to provide parenting information. A third of parents also attend parenting courses. Parents who have more support use more positive disciplinary techniques (Lawrence & Smith, 2009). Other family members, especially grandmothers, play an important role in offering help for childcare (i.e., after school care or emergency care), but many grandmothers are themselves now in paid work, or do not live nearby (McPherson, 2006).

C - Child
M - Mother
F - Father

Grand parents 1

Grand parents 2

Other Support Networks

Other Extended Family Members
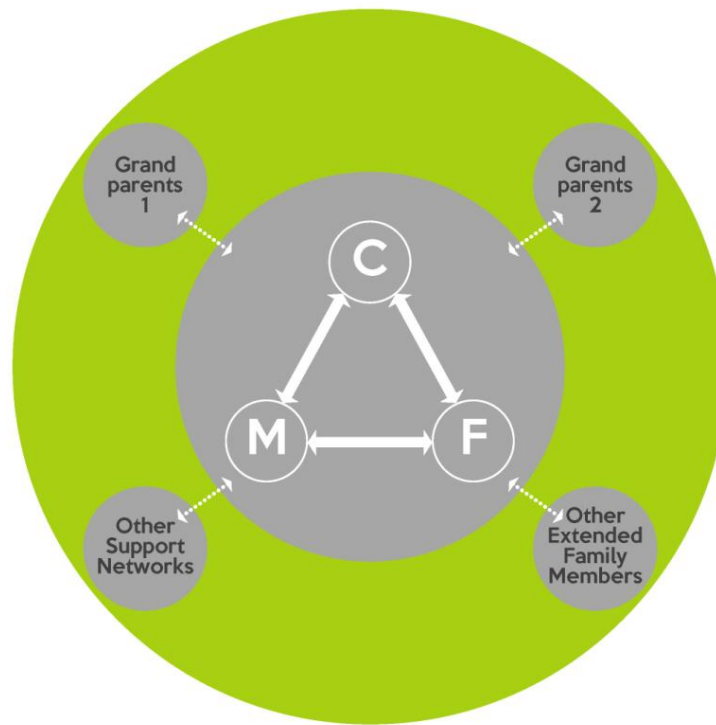
Figure 2. Parenting Style of Traditional Pākehā /European New Zealanders

As illustrated in figure 2 and in contrast to figure 1 discussed earlier, New Zealand parents tend to have a more equal share of interactions with their children, and consequently the father is more involved with parenting in comparison to the Korean counterpart. Hence, a primary arrow connects the child and the father, and also the child and the mother. They are generally committed to spending more time together as a family than Korean families, make parenting decisions together more, and also include children's opinions more in their decision making process in comparison with their Korean counterparts. They are generally able to spend more time together as a couple, too. Hence, primary arrows connect them as a nuclear family unit.

Tertiary arrows connect the nuclear family unit and grandparents because New Zealand grandparents have less authority and influence to dictate their children's parenting in comparison with their Korean counterparties. Also, extended families have limited influence on other family members' parenting in the case of Pākehā New Zealanders, although it must be noted that this does not apply to Māori and Pacific communities, as they are collective communities and do not traditionally share similarities in family functioning in this case.

Tertiary arrows therefore also connect the nuclear family unit and the rest of the extended family. Hence there are obvious differences between the New Zealand and Korean cultures. The Korean family unit is closely surrounded by Korean grandparents, extended family and support networks. However, Pākehā New Zealand grandparents, the extended family, and support networks tend to have more limited influence on parenting decisions because of the nature of individualism and independence in the society. They are commonly independently located outside of the nuclear family unit and do not surround the family and act like containers the way they do around the Korean family.

It is important to acknowledge that the description above is a very general profile of Pākehā parenting. As mentioned earlier, family structures and practices and individual roles in contemporary families are very different in comparison with 60 years ago in New Zealand (Cribb, 2009), and the patterns of New Zealand parenting are ever changing due to the cultural influences highlighted above and the range of social issues impacting on all parents. These are reflected in grandparents raising grandchildren (Batten, 2013), teenage mothers (Mason, 2013), one parent families (Collins, 2013), and more new mothers in their late 30s (Fuatai, 2014). However, the comparisons and perceived expectations of parenting by Kowis may be influenced more by so-called "traditional" or "mainstream" parenting and this will be explored further in this study.

Migration and Its Influences on Parenting

To position this study of 1.5 generation Kowi and their parenting within the wider socio-cultural context of migration, it is important to identify some of the challenges that migrants normally face upon migration when resettling in their new country. This section provides a brief overview of relevant literature on the migration process, with a particular focus on the changed family dynamics and paradigm, and their influence on parenting after migration. This will help establish an understanding of the context in which 1.5 generation Kowis have grown up and have been parented themselves.

Migration and its Process

Migration is a world-wide phenomenon that involves millions of people in the global village. In 2013, 3.2% of the world's population, or 232 million people, were international migrants, compared with 175 million in 2000 and 154 million in 1990. Asians represent the largest

diaspora group residing outside their major area of birth in 2013 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013a). Migration can make a significant contribution to social and economic development both in the countries of origin and in the countries of destination (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013b). However, the process of resettlement and adjustment to the new country brings challenges imposed by migration on individuals and family life. Many studies have investigated the acculturation process and reported its impact on migrants (e.g., Berry, 1997, 2001; Pedersen, Draguns, Lonner, & Trimble, 2008; Phinney et al., 2001; Phinney et al., 2000; Shim & Schwartz, 2008). Berry (2005, pp. 698-699) described acculturation as:

> the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. At the group level, it involves changes in social structures and institutions and in cultural practice. At the individual level, it involves changes in a person's behavioural repertoire. These cultural and psychological changes come about through a long-term process, sometimes taking years, sometimes generations and sometimes centuries.

The acculturation process brings multiple losses and changes in the lives of migrants. Falicov (2003, p. 282) explained that migration loss is similar to the processes of grief and mourning for the death of a loved one:

> Compared with the inescapable fact of death, migration is both larger and smaller. It is larger because migration brings with it losses of all kinds. For the immigrants, gone are family members and friends who stay behind; gone is the familiar language, the customs and rituals, the food and music, the comforting identification with the land itself. The losses of migration touch the family back home and reach forward to shape future generations born in the new land.

The meaning of massive uprooting and migration loss as described above has shifted as the nature of migration has changed over the years. New communication and transportation technologies have made it easier to stay connected to homelands and to keep open the possibility of return. For example, new types of families like the Asian "transnational family" (Dunn, 2010; Ho & Bedford, 2008; Yeoh et al., 2005) and "astronaut family" (Aye & Guerin, 2001) have emerged. The "transnational family" in New Zealand is referred to as "a family that has adopted a deliberate strategy of living in two or more countries in order to maximize

opportunities for education, employment and social advancement for family members" (Ho & Bedford, 2008, p. 43). The "astronaut family" is described as:

> an arrangement found in migrant Asian households in New Zealand. These families are characterised by the head of the household living and working in the country of origin while the remaining family members reside in the host county (Aye & Guerin, 2001, p. 9).

The transnational family and the astronaut family benefit from connectedness and the easier access to their own culture and networks that new communication and transportation technologies provide. However, these have not diminished the reality and effects of migration loss and the related stress in their settlement process. Migrants still face multiple issues like discrimination, employment and financial stress, differences in education systems, acquisition of language, identity matters, difficulties in accessing the health system, challenges as a result of changed family roles and dynamics, and more (DeSouza, 2006; Dixon et al., 2010; Guo, 2013; Ponterotto, Casas, Suzuki, & Alexander, 1995; Yu et al., 2003). In the case of Korean migrants in New Zealand, it has been reported that they face challenges including language difficulties; underemployment or unemployment and related financial hardships; disruption of family and social support networks; isolation; and difficulties integrating into New Zealand society (Chang et al., 2006; Ho et al., 2003; Tan, 2010).

Migration and Its Impact on the Family Dynamics

It is particularly relevant and important to acknowledge in this study that migrants face challenges within their own families, which they did not anticipate prior to migration. These are often caused by the "acculturation gap" (Berry, 2005): that family members have different adaptation goals, experiences and rates of adaptation in their acculturation processes. Such gaps in migrant families could create barriers to effective parenting in the process of settlement. For example, cultural clashes between Chinese and American parenting styles were identified as one of the reasons for alienation between parents and children in migrant families (Qin, 2006). Another study in the United States also identified the cultural context of Asian American families as an issue in the family dynamics after migration—contrasting cultural orientations of individualism and collectivism, Asian traditional values, differences in Eastern-Western parenting styles and intergenerational cultural dissonance (Wang, Kviz, & Miller, 2012). New Zealand research has shown that a lack of understanding of the roles and relationships among family members can become a major threat within families that were not

cohesive prior to coming to the host country (Ho & Bedford, 2008). Similarly, Latino migrant families are faced with barriers to positive parenting and family cohesion such as acculturation differences between parents and children and the resulting power imbalance that arises; difficulty getting involved in their child's education; loss of extended family; and discrimination against immigrants and legal status (Leidy et al., 2010). These studies reflect a pattern among migrants that occurs internationally.

When migration takes place, it seems that conflicting cultural values create tension between the generations and genders. For instance, equality of gender and age is part of the family paradigm in the host culture of Pākehā New Zealand. As indicated earlier, New Zealand Pākehā parents are more in favour of the authoritative parenting style which involves using positive reinforcement and listening to and respecting children's opinions (Lawrence & Smith, 2009; Smith, 2013), while parents also tend to share parenting (Smith, 2013). However, Korean parents are likely to use the authoritarian parenting style and demand that children respect the unconditional authority of parents based on the Confucian teaching (K. W. Kim, 2006). The role of each gender is distinctive and unequal to the extent that women's role is confined in Korean culture to the roles of a filial daughter, a faithful wife and a dedicated mother (M. Kim, 1993; Y. Kim, 2005). This means that traditional Korean values are likely to come under pressure as gaps and conflicts in families occur between the 1.5 generation parents and the first generation grandparents in the area of parenting grandchildren who are the second generation in New Zealand. It has been found that compatible parent–child cultural value orientations can lead the younger generation to more positive attitudes toward their own ethnic origin and culture (D. Kim et al., 2006). Certainly, there are often varying degrees to which traditional Confucian family values are maintained. These depend on the degree of higher education, exposure to modern lifestyles and cultures overseas, and age and gender in the migrant family (Hyun, 2001; H. O. Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001; K. W. Kim, 2006; Na, 2008).

Periods of confusion and conflict often arise when various members of a family acculturate at different rates and construct new worldviews that do not fit with the view of others in the family (Kemps, 1997). Research by Barry et al. (2009) indicated that among East Asian immigrants in the United States, men are significantly more likely than women to endorse traditional child-rearing attitudes. In particular, Korean migrant men were found to hold significantly higher traditional child-rearing attitudes than Japanese migrants in the research.

Men's processes of adaptation take a lengthy period of time (E. Kim, 2005). It can be summarised from the research and discussions by the above and other authors that, in the case of Korean fathers, they often find that they have more time to spend with the family after migration. Figure 3 (below) depicts the general parenting style of Korean migrants in New Zealand.
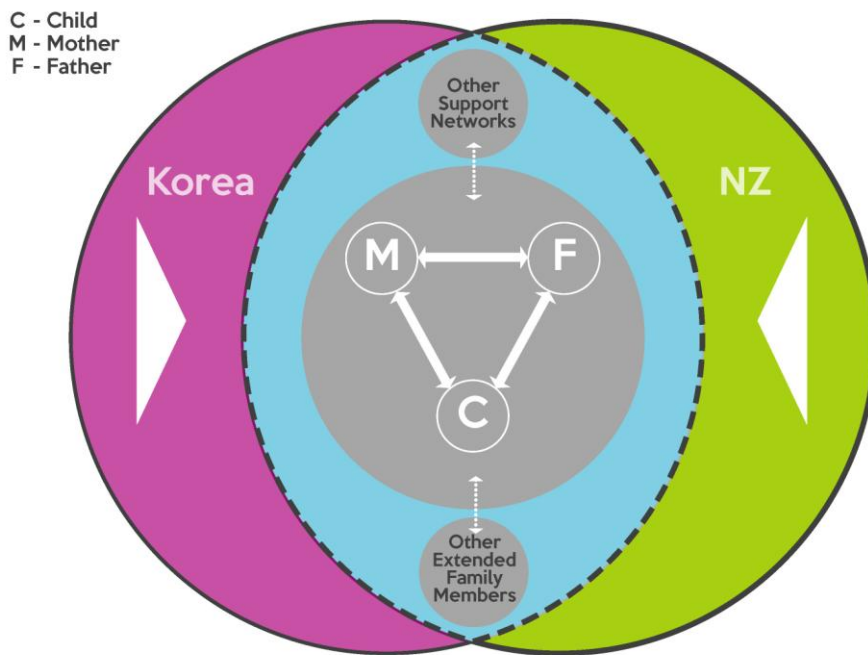
Figure 3. Parenting Style of Korean Migrants in New Zealand

For Korean migrants, a father's position is shifted from that of the bread winner, who was absent from family scene due to long hours of work, to an involved father with a presence at home. They now have more time to take up their roles as a leader of the family, and are potentially more involved with the decision making process and discipline of the children. Hence a primary arrow connects the child and both the father and the mother. The primary arrow is used here to describe not only the closeness of their relationship but also the amount of interaction and influence that the mother and the father have. A primary arrow now connects the mother and the father as well because they now have a lot of time to spend together when the husband is either unemployed or has a family business with the wife. The Korean family unit is no longer closely surrounded by Korean grandparents, extended family and support networks due to the distance between Korea and New Zealand. Some extended family members (if they are in New Zealand) and support networks are present around the

nuclear family with limited interactions. Hence, a tertiary arrow connects the nuclear family unit and the rest of the extended family.

In general, migrant fathers are likely to resume practicing their power and authority with traditional expectations of obedience from their children and wife in their family life. However, the wife and children are unlikely to be compliant with their demands. Wives and children are likely to struggle with the shift from an absence of a patriarchal authority to the constant demands of such authority. As indicated above, men as fathers have spent significant amounts of time outside of their family home prior to migration. They therefore may have neither participated in direct childcare before nor made everyday decisions on matters within the boundaries of the family. Thus, it can be assumed that they are unlikely to possess the skills necessary for effective communication in order to discuss and resolve conflicting ideas and values with other family members.

Traditionally, as discussed above, women as mothers were the primary caregivers of the children and were given authority to make decisions within the boundaries of the family. Consequently this may have encouraged mothers to develop better communication skills than fathers. Over time, wives and children may have adapted to the different cultural and family systems of the new country as it becomes more familiar to and convenient for them. There is evidence that Korean women endorse traditional values less strongly than Korean men, as they were historically disadvantaged by the Confucian value system (Hyun, 2001). Women and children are more likely to adapt to the new culture and reject traditional family values than men, who tend to maintain traditional values and resist change. Fathers with low self-esteem due to issues relating to employment (i.e. unemployment, underemployment or misemployment) and language difficulties are more than likely to misunderstand the shift of dynamics in the family, take the situation personally, and be challenged by the perceived disobedience of family members.

Migration and Parenting

Little is known about how Korean children perceive the roles of father and husband after migration. Children would have seen the father as mostly absent from their home due to long hours of work while still in Korea. In terms of family life, the father would have been more often than not absent from communication with and discipline of children as addressed above. Children are likely to face a different level of parenting engagement from fathers after

migration under the influence of New Zealand culture, where fathers are able to spend considerably more time with children and are involved in the disciplining and everyday decisions of their household (Cribb, 2009; McPherson, 2006). Korean children are likely to be faced with confusing and conflicting roles of fathers and husbands in the new cultural environment. Fathers' more traditional child-rearing attitudes may influence dating practices, partner selection, or child-rearing practices and may be a potential source of conflict between men and women in their children's lives (Barry et al., 2009). It would therefore be worthwhile investigating Kowis' experiences of being parented as children and what they take from their own upbringing into the parenting of their own children, including the ways in which they integrate different approaches to and expectations of parenting from both worlds/cultures, the choices they make in their own parenting, and the aspects that they feel comfortable with or unsure about.

In terms of the practice of parenting, migration has considerable influence on communication styles. Koreans tend to use more indirect communication based on Confucian teaching, which is perceived as accommodating and sensitive to individual wishes, and a way to preserve harmony and trust in relationships. Indirect communication prevents the embarrassment of disagreement or rejection by the other person, and leaves the relationships and each other's face intact (Yum, 1988). Therefore, assertiveness and direct communication are discouraged. In the case of indirect communication, the receiver is expected to catch the meaning quickly and adjust to the other person's position so that the underlying message is understood before the sender has to ask for what they need (Yum, 1988). Koreans use the concept of *nunchi* for their communication, defined as the sense of eye or mind reading (S.-h.. Kim, 2003, as cited in Shim et al., 2008). It is used to sense unspoken and nonverbal cues of another and to accurately read messages between the lines. The maintenance of successful communication and relationships can depend on one's skills and competence in *nunchi*.

This is a complicated concept for migrant children as they are introduced to individual choice, and encouraged to engage with others in open communication in New Zealand (Lawrence & Smith, 2009; Smith, 2013). Establishing meaningful communication is known to be a challenge between parents and children as children grow older and spend more time speaking a different language in a new culture (E. Kim & Hong, 2007). For example, Koreans have an extensive honorific linguistic system which is used to denote social status, the degree of intimacy in the relationship, age, gender and the level of formality. The system reflects the

clearly distinguished and specified roles and order in human relationships that are the basis of Confucianism (S. C. Kim, 1997; Yum, 1988). Children are expected to differentiate among the complex linguistic codes so as to accommodate highly differentiated relationships. When migrant children are not fluent in their mother tongue and have limited ability to follow the codes with *nunchi*, the conduct of relationships in the family and community can become complicated.

Conflict and misunderstandings can be expected in migrant families when children are introduced to direct and assertive communication, and their parents neither approve of nor understand such a way of communicating. As indicated previously, Asian parents tend not to show affection directly and verbally, believing that this would spoil the children and the children would no longer respect or fear the parents (S. Y. Kim & Wong, 2002). There were also differences between public and private expression of affection that were documented in Korean migrant families in the United States (E. Kim et al., 2012). Korean parents reported that they expressed their affection more in private than when in public with children. But the Korean way of displaying affection can be interpreted as an absence of affection if these children are brought up in a culture where a direct expression of emotion is encouraged. Asian migrant parents and adolescents tend to have different sets of expectations and ideas about family relationships and roles (Xiong, Eliason, Detzner, & Cleveland, 2005). Parents and children do not always agree on aspects of parenting. In a study by Xiong et al. (2005), children were looking for more Western values like verbal communication of love to children but parents thought providing necessities such as food and clothing, spending time with their children and monitoring their children's activities were important. Qin's research (2009) indicated how parental efforts to be good providers for their children, and children's hope for parents as a source of emotional support, can lead to parent–child alienation in immigrant families.

As children and parents are under the influence of a mixture of cultures, views on discipline and parental control are also likely to become complicated in the migrant family. The style of Korean parenting is primarily authoritarian (E. Kim, 2005; Rohner & Pettengill, 1985), as indicated earlier, whereas the New Zealand style is authoritative (Dittman et al., 2013). According to Baumrind, parenting styles can be categorised in four types, depending on the amount of parental control over the child's activities and behaviour. These are authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and rejecting–neglecting (Baumrind, 1966, 1972). Authoritative

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parents direct children in a rational and issue-oriented manner. They encourage verbal give-and-take, listen to children's opinions, and are able to compromise rather than to insist on their own opinions. Authoritarian parents attempt to shape, direct and control the child's behaviour because they value obedience, order and traditional structure. They restrict the autonomy of children, and do not encourage verbal give-and-take. Authoritative parenting is regarded as the most effective style by Baumrind (1966) and encourages the healthy development of children.

However, Baumrind's theory needs to be carefully applied to contemporary families and to Asian migrant families. For example, Chinese American young people have been found to view parents' authoritarian behaviour as an expression of love (Chao, 1994). In Korean culture, both children and parents consider a high level of parental control and involvement in children's lives to be a demonstration and sign of care for the children and their well-being (E. Kim, 2005; Rohner & Pettengill, 1985). However, in contrast, Vietnamese migrant adolescents who perceived their fathers as using the authoritarian parenting style reported lower levels of self-esteem and higher depression scores when compared to those who perceived their fathers as using the authoritative parenting style (Nguyen, 2008).

It is clearly important to acknowledge that migrant children will encounter conflicting parental roles and discipline styles after migration, because there are different perceptions and practices of acceptable discipline styles and parental roles in different cultures, and therefore in their new country (H. Kim & Chung, 2003). Research on first generation Korean migrant families in the United States found that the parents still believed in the Korean way of child discipline eight years after migration (E. Kim & Hong, 2007), while children were meanwhile introduced to the American way of discipline which was very different from the Korean way. First-generation Korean American parents also reported that they lived in America, but raised their children the same way their parents raised them (E. Kim et al., 2012). They were exposed directly and indirectly to American parenting by observing their children's school teachers, media, neighbours and other Korean American mothers, but were not sure exactly what American parenting was like. Studies on parenting of the Pacific people have also documented cultural conflicts in the parenting style at the interface of two different cultures in New Zealand (Cowley-Malcolm, 2013; Cowley-Malcolm et al., 2009; McCallin et al., 2001).

As the parents of the Kowis were brought up in Korea, their parenting style has naturally been shaped by Korean culture. They may have generally struggled with language and culture in New Zealand, even though the majority have held tertiary qualifications and have been highly skilled wealthy entrepreneurs (J. Y. Lee et al., 2009; Pio, 2010). They are unlikely to have had sufficient understanding and ability to integrate New Zealand ways of parenting, and consequently Kowi children are more likely to have been parented in the Korean way, especially when there has been limited assistance with integrated parenting and parenting skills available to those migrants in need of this support (Ho & Bedford, 2008).

Certainly, there have been some attempts at providing parenting programmes that would benefit migrant families. Generic parenting programmes like The Incredible Years (The Incredible Years, 2013) has been introduced to migrants by certified migrant trainers in their own languages in New Zealand. However, this programme was developed in the United States and based on European cultural views. The Migrant Family Resilience Project (2007) is one that was developed for migrants and refugees in New Zealand. This programme focuses on identifying and developing strength in migrant families (Everts, 2007) and introduces parenting ideas over eight sessions. It has been proven to be helpful in the transition of migrants to New Zealand (Everts, 2009a, 2009b; H. Kim & Everts, 2007). However, it is limited to introducing "European" parenting concepts such as the power of encouragement, time-outs, communication skills, I-statements, and win-win solutions. It does not provide solutions for the cultural conflicts and clashes that are experienced by different generations within the family. Eketone (2012, p. 79) pointed out the problem of "Eurocentric viewpoints" that are applied to Māori culture and parenting, and similar questions may be raised about introducing and applying European concepts to Asian migrants and their parenting. Building and providing services that are compatible with the cultural identities and practices of Asian migrants, including parenting practices that could bridge and bring resolution between the cultures, are still to be explored.

It is possible that some Korean parents may have experienced challenges or difficulties with adaptation, felt disappointed in New Zealand life, and may therefore choose to endorse more traditional Korean values among their children. In fact, Hyun (2001) discovered that those migrants who have been separated from the new host society, and have had little contact with the ideas and values of the host society, have tended to hold traditional Korean values much more than some Koreans in Korea who have been exposed to Western ideas. Parental

adaptation difficulties, particularly among fathers, influence their physical and psychological presence in their children's lives (Qin, 2009). Parents' exceedingly high academic expectations, combined with parental adaptation difficulties, could result in estranged parent–child relations in families. It has also been documented by Dwairy (2007) that when parenting styles are inconsistent with the socio-cultural environment, children are more likely to have negative experiences of parenting. Inconsistent parenting is more damaging in more collective societies (such as a Korean migrant community) than in individualistic societies. Cultural congruency within a family itself does not always provide positive well-being for migrant young people when their ethnic and cultural views are not consistent with those of the mainstream (D. -Y. Kim et al., 2006).

However, Kowis may have emerged with certain resilient attributes from the crises and challenges of transition during and after migration as the process of migration disrupts normal life cycles and causes significant life changes in each member of family. For instance, a study of Mexican American young adults on their language brokering for their parents documented that language brokering was beneficial to the young people as it increased self-esteem and general self-efficacy when they had a good relationship with parents and were supported by them (Weisskirch, 2013). A New Zealand study by Bartley and Spoonley (2008) also reported increased life skills in the 1.5 generation young people because they were well placed to help their parents with their English language and cultural knowledge.

The relationship between the degree of Kowis' individual resilience and the effectiveness of their parenting practices in this setting is unknown and would be worth exploring. Resilience is the ability to cope effectively and rebound from disruptive life changes (F. Walsh, 2003). Young people can develop into competent adults despite risk factors if there are adequate protective factors in their lives (Bernat & Resnick, 2006). Connectedness to family, other adults, school and community are known to be critical protective factors across social groups of young people (Bernat & Resnick, 2006). In particular, the family is the fundamental source of support for migrant children. There is evidence that connectedness between children and their family is highly important in Eastern and more collective cultures (Dwairy & Achoui, 2010). Support from the ethnic community as well as positive interactions with host-nationals have assisted the positive adjustment of Korean migrant adolescents in New Zealand (H. J. Kim, 2007). Zhou (1997) pointed out the importance of networks of social relations for migrant families as they involve shared obligations, social networks, and social controls. The

involvement of the family or the ethnic community can make a difference by providing resources when immigrant children are under pressure to adapt and are unsure of their direction (Zhou, 1997). No research has yet been conducted into how the multiple and complex forces and experiences have formed Kowis' individual resilience and influenced their parenting.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed existing literature on parenting in the areas that are particularly relevant to the investigation of this population of 1.5 generation Kowis. It is evident that there are many and varying influences on parenting. Culture plays a major overarching role in shaping and influencing the way people parent (Bornstein & Cheah, 2006; Harkness & Super, 2002). Parenting experiences during childhood have also been documented as being especially influential in the way people parent. Kowis are likely to have been influenced by forces within New Zealand culture such as individualism and gender equality while they were growing up as migrant children. Kowis will have had opportunities to observe how families of non-Korean friends and families in the neighbourhood function, including differing gender roles. They are likely to have acquired information about parenting from local institutions, health professionals, and their own social networks. They will also have had access to information on parenting from the media which reflect New Zealand and European cultural norms.

However, they will also have been brought up with the Korean parenting style, based on Confucian values such as *Hyo* (filial piety), *Samgang* (three bonds), *Oryun* (five principal relationships), shame and *Chemyon* (one's prestige, pride, dignity, honour and reputation related to one's position) which form a hierarchal, authoritarian and patriarchal family system. It is clear from the literature cited above that the Korean cultural values of parenting may conflict with the dominant New Zealand style of European parenting. As the parents of the Kowis were brought up in Korea, their parenting style would naturally have been shaped by Korean culture. However, it is not known how each family member integrates the new culture even in the same family, and how Kowis may have dealt with advice and guidance from different, conflicting cultures in their parenting style. For instance, first generation Korean mothers and 1.5 generation Kowi daughters may have maintained different sets of cultural

values from Korean fathers and sons, which would consequently influence their parenting practices differently.

Existing literature presented in this chapter has also indicated that the quality of and dynamics within marital relationships affect couples' functioning as effective parents. Social support networks are critical, as parents with more support develop more positive parent–child relationships and parenting functioning. In contrast, the loss of support networks can compromise the quality of couples' parenting. Struggles that were experienced by the Kowis' parents in their marital relationships after migration and the impact of the loss of social support networks have been reported in a number of studies. It is important to explore how these influences have affected Kowis' families in their childhood after migration. Such influences may have made a significant impact on the present-day Kowi parents in their parenting.

Haan's (2011) insights in an investigation of transitions in parenting of migrants may bring a useful perspective to the context of the Kowis. This study was conducted in a multi-ethnic school in the Netherlands. Haan used the term "cultural translation" (p. 396) as a conceptual grounding for the analysis of what happens when two different systems and parenting practices collide. While acknowledging uneven encounters and power between the dominant and dominated culture, she demonstrated that through confrontation with the conflicting cultures, both frames would be transformed and boundaries stretched to accommodate new understandings. It was the confrontation of old and new practices that would lead to a tension which resulted in the reconsideration of both of them. The effectiveness of this reconsideration could arise from not losing touch with the immigrant parents' important moral grounding, but the simultaneous presence of two cultures and the constant tension between them that would provide "a potential energy to create new solutions" (p. 395). Haan called it the "in-between position" (p. 395). This is a position where migrants' traditional parenting practices from their homeland are not supported any more by the new environment, and new parenting practices have to be defined by the directions that are newly experienced because of different needs and problems. Kowis' parenting practices may well be placed in the "in-between position" as they have lived with "in-betweenness" (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008, p. 68) from childhood. They were forced to confront different cultures and have lived with constant tension at home, school and community. It will be intriguing to see if such experiences have actually provided the energy to create new solutions and new

understandings of the Kowis in their present-parenting while they are navigating and negotiating in their in-between position and confronting different and conflicting cultures.

The next chapter introduces the research methodology for this study. The design, including methods of data gathering and analysis for this qualitative study, will be discussed. The current study aims to describe the following three areas in the lives of 1.5 generation Kowis in their in-between position.

1. Perspectives on parenting that Kowis have acquired from growing up as Kiwi-Koreans in this country.

2. Challenges that 1.5 generation Kowis confront and the personal resources they utilise as they bring up their children at the interface between Korean and Kiwi cultures.

3. Perceived influences on Kowis' parenting and the ways in which Kowis believe these influences to affect their child-parent relationships and children's development.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

The purpose of this study was to explore 1.5 generation Kowis' experiences of parenting and their perceptions of influences on their parenting. The Kowis came to New Zealand as children and were now married with their own children and living in New Zealand. The research investigated the ways in which they integrated different approaches to and expectations of parenting from both worlds/cultures; the choices they were making in their parenting; and the aspects that they felt comfortable with or were unsure about. A qualitative approach seemed most appropriate to achieve this. It allowed the participants to share their perspectives on parenting that they acquired from growing up as Kowis in this country. This chapter introduces the methodology and method in designing this study and gathering and analysing the data.

Overview of Research Approach

Qualitative Approach

In qualitative studies, "the value-laden nature of inquiry" is emphasised, and researchers "seek answers to questions that stress *how* (emphasis in original) social experience is created and given meaning" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 6). People construct their own realities based on their interpretation of their experiences and the qualitative approach helps to access people's perceptions of their world and interpretations of their experiences (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Qualitative approaches provide the best answers to questions about "social meanings" as they "give more insight into why people do what they do" (Giacomini, 2001, p. 5).

Qualitative research can be broadly described as:

an approach that allows you to examine people's experiences in detail, by using a specific set of research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions,

observation, content analysis, visual methods, and life histories or biographies (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011, pp. 8–9).

Giacomini (2001, p. 4) commented that qualitative research:

> explores and describes social phenomena about which little is presumed a priori. It interprets and describes these phenomena in terms of their meaning and helps to make sense of these meanings.

She noted the limitation of any quantitative approach that "prohibits exploring and discovering other factors that may be important" because of its "prespecifying variables" (Giacomini, 2001, p. 4). Quantitative studies emphasise "the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 6). In contrast, qualitative approaches allow researchers to access the depth of people's experiences—a great strength of the qualitative method.

> Qualitative researchers focus on depth rather than breadth: they care less about finding averages and more about understanding specific situations, individuals, groups or moments in time that are important or revealing. (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 3)

It is especially relevant to this study that qualitative researchers seek participants' own interpretations of events (Sinuff, Cook, & Giacomini, 2007). Because the purpose of this study was to inquire into Kowis' perceptions of their experiences of parenting and the influences on their parenting, how they interpreted their experiences was one of the important aspects to enquire about, rather than measuring their parenting practice. Qualitative approaches emphasise the construction of theory, an important element in this study, and are inductive (moving from observation to hypothesis) (Sinuff et al., 2007, p. 105). Qualitative approaches offer researchers an opportunity to enter the field with an open mind to gather data and observe without prior hypotheses.

In quantitative approaches, the relationship between the researcher and the participant is distant and somewhat alienated. According to Wiesenfeld's observation (2000) of numerous quantitative studies, quantitative approaches are one-way because the researcher interprets information provided by subjects/ participants without the participants' direct involvement. The decontextualized nature of the information may consequently compromise the accurate

interpretation of the data. The subject/participants' dignity and wellbeing can be compromised because the approach is distant and depersonalising. There is often no reporting-back process to the participants about the study. In quantitative approaches, the participant's voice is certainly passive. However, the intention of this study was to amplify the voices of Kowis rather than treat them as subjects, and to privilege their unique points of view and experiences.

A qualitative methodological approach was therefore deliberately selected for this research. The focus of the current study was to capture the nature of Kowis' parenting experiences that define and shape their practice, as this study was one of the first to search for in-depth knowledge in this area. The quality and credibility of the study were critical, as was the depth and scope of the data obtained, in order to provide a full picture of the research focus (Charmaz, 2006). As an insider researcher with prior knowledge and experiences in this area, it was important that I both held an open mind and also acknowledged my own position. It was also vital that my relationship with the participants be interpreted as sensitive and respectful.

Wiesenfeld (2000, p. 205), emphasised aspects of "shared knowledge" and "joint reflection" with participants, and further stressed what qualitative approaches call for, namely:

> a researcher–informant (participant) relationship in which the informants' life experience and the meanings they attribute to it are reported in a climate of equality in which mutual respect and reflexive dialogue prevail and the researcher can legitimately involve his/her own subjectivity in the process.

This is one of the reasons that the constructivist approach to the grounded theory method was specifically selected out of many other qualitative approaches. The approach offers a valuable view in respect to the researcher–participant relationship, which is addressed in the next section.

Grounded Theory Method

Grounded theory method allows theory which is grounded in the data to emerge, rather than being determined by a researcher's preconceived concepts and theories (Corbin & Strauss, 1998). Because I was an insider researcher with prior knowledge from my personal and professional experiences in the field (as addressed in chapter 1), grounded theory was an

appropriate method that could avoid the generation of theories by deduction from my prior assumptions. There was a risk that "the source of certain ideas….can come from sources other than the data" in my case (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 6).

Glaser and Strauss first introduced the grounded theory method after their studies of patients dying in hospitals: *Awareness of Dying* (1965), *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), and *Time for Dying* (1968). They analysed data on dying by developing innovative systematic methodological strategies that other social scientists could later adapt for researching other topics. Theirs was a qualitative method that could claim equivalent status to the quantitative work of the time (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007a). In their book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), Glaser and Strauss contrasted the values of the grounded theory method, by which a theory was generated from data, to "theory generated by logical deduction from *a priori* assumptions" (p. 3). It required developing grounded theory prior to the steps of verification (p. 9) and they emphasised "*theory as **process*** [emphasis in original]; that is, theory as an ever-developing entity, not as a perfect product" (p. 32). Generating a theory as process from data also meant that "most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of research" (p. 6).

The fact that the grounded theory method allows theory to emerge that is grounded in the data rather than being determined by a researcher's preconceived ideas (Corbin & Strauss, 1998) was revolutionary in view of the fact that social research was focused on how to verify and test current theories at the time. This approach assists the researcher in establishing foundations within an area of research, and encourages the researcher to question continuously what has been found while making new discoveries (Regmi & Kottler, 2009). Grounded theory is currently one of the most widely used and popular qualitative research methods (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007b). In summary, it offers a set of analytic guidelines and tools for analysing material according to processes that involve constant comparison between data. The process of interpreting codes and categories enables the researcher to construct a theory based on data that is grounded in the participants' experiences (Corbin & Strauss, 1998; Charmaz, 2005; Mills et al., 2006; Mills et al., 2008).

In their book, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), Glaser and Strauss introduced a number of techniques for data analysis, such as codified procedures, constant comparative

method, theoretical sampling and saturation, and memo writing. The *coding* process is described by Charmaz (2006, p. 43) as:

> categorizing segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for each piece of data. Your codes show how you select, separate, and sort data to begin an analytic accounting of them.

Coding is "the fundamental analytic process used by the researchers" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 12), and the codified procedures "allow readers to understand how the analyst obtained his theory from the data" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 229). It is this systematic procedure that offers credibility to the theory. By constantly comparing data and codes, the researcher can begin to see similarities and differences, and is able to generate abstract categories and their properties that explain what is happening in the field without trying to fit a category from another theory to the situations under investigation The purpose of the constant comparative method of joint coding and analysis is "to generate theory more systematically….by using explicit coding and analytic procedures" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 102).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) stressed the importance of the simultaneous operation of joint collection, coding, and analysis from the beginning of the investigation to its end, as the separation of each operation could hinder the generation of theory: new ideas can be disregarded if there is a pre-established conception. Constant comparative analysis stops "the development of one's theory too soon", and gives "a broad, rich, integrated, dense and grounded theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 256). This is the unique strength of the grounded theory method.

Theoretical sampling and saturation are part of consolidating a sound process of theory generation. Theoretical sampling is:

> the process of data collection for generating theory whereby an analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory whether substantive or formal. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 45)

Theoretical sampling is used "to discover categories and their properties, and to suggest the interrelationship into a theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 62), which is a highly analytic procedure. Theoretical saturation is a thorough and consolidating step that helps researchers to "judge when to stop sampling different groups pertinent to a category" and convinces them that "no additional data are being found whereby the researcher can develop properties of the category" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 61). In the current study, the data that were gathered were very rich and when the categories that emerged from them were saturated, it was possible to generate a grounded theory in the form of the Kowi parenting model. It was not about witnessing repetition of the same events or stories, but realising there were no new properties of the pattern emerging. Those categories were robust and stood on firm ground and there was no need to develop or refine them any further. Hence, theoretical sampling was not used.

In addition to the above procedures, Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed memo writing to provide the "content behind the categories, which become the major themes of the theory later presented in paper or books" (p. 113). Memo writing is "the pivotal intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts of papers…it prompts you to analyze your data and codes early in the research process" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 72). In the end, integration of the emerging theory is a dynamic and on-going process in grounded theory method.

> Integration of the theory is best when it emerges, like the concepts. The theory should never just be put together, nor should a formal-theory model be applied to it until one is sure it will fit and will not force the data. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 41)

The emphasis on the development of theory is the major difference between the grounded theory method and other qualitative approaches (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). A theory is generated and developed through "extensive interrelated data collection and theoretical analysis" (p. 274) as outlined above. In fact, this is done "throughout the course of a research project, rather than assuming that verification is possible only through follow-up qualitative research" (p. 274). The strength is, therefore, "the possibility of developing theory of great conceptual density and with considerable meaningful variation" (p. 274).

Grounded theory method offered an evolutionary set of systematic and flexible strategies that guided analysis of the qualitative data to another level, against the views of traditional sociologists and other social scientists who were critical of qualitative research methods as

being incapable of adequate verification; they therefore saw quantitative research approaches as more credible and scientific. But grounded theory has evolved and broadened in many directions (Mills et al., 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1994), which includes the constructivist approach to grounded theory. Because grounded theory was recognised as "a way of thinking about and conceptualizing data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 275), it was adapted by many researchers in various areas including nursing, sociology, psychology, anthropology, education, social work, counselling, business management, and communication studies. Grounded theory method was also influenced by other contemporary movements directly or indirectly, including ethnomethodology, feminism, political economy and postmodernisms; however, the central elements such as constant comparison were not altered, while additional ideas and concepts were added in Strauss and Corbin's (1994) observations. More recently, the development of grounded theory method has seen researchers utilising a qualitative computer software analysis programme such as NVivo, developed by QSR International (QSR International, 2013).

However, Strauss and Corbin (1990; 1994) also saw a risk in such expansion when users did not understand all the fundamental procedures and canons of grounded theory, but simply claimed the use of the method by, for instance, using the coding procedure only, while ignoring theoretical coding and constant comparison, and/or using it only to justify their inductive studies. It seems that there is a fine line between being flexible with the method and using it incorrectly. Strauss and Corbin (1990) listed 11 items as being important procedures and canons that must be taken seriously (pp. 6–12), providing a valuable set of guidelines for researchers:

Data collection and analysis are interrelated processes.

Concepts are the basic units of analysis.

Categories must be developed and related.

Sampling in grounded theory proceeds on theoretical grounds.

Analysis makes use of constant comparisons.

Patterns and variations must be accounted for.

Process must be built into the theory.

Writing theoretical memos is an integral part of doing grounded theory.

Hypotheses about relationships among categories should be developed and verified as much as possible during the research process.

A grounded theorist need not work alone.

Broader structural conditions must be analyzed.

In terms of historical development, the credibility of some aspects of the original theoretical approach of Glaser and Strauss has been questioned. For instance, Glaser and Strauss treated inquiry as separate from the social conditions in which it was being conducted. In the objectivist view of Glaser and Strauss's original theoretical approach, it was deemed essential to keep the researcher's preconceptions from the data, and was considered possible to separate them in their objectivist view (Daly, 2007). This was one of the reasons that led constructivist grounded theorists to note the epistemological aspects of positioning the researcher in moving away from the traditional positivism in Glaser's work and developing further from Strauss and Corbin's version of the method. Glaser remained consistent with his original approach; however, Strauss moved away from Glaser's traditional grounded theory method in his later work with his colleague Juliet Corbin, towards more accommodation of newer developments and variations on grounded theory method in other studies (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007b).

Strauss became a major influence in the constructivist approach to grounded theory method, and introduced new technical procedures with Corbin, including advocating for engaging with existing literature in the early stage of the research process, something that was strictly prohibited in Glaser's traditional approach (Charmaz, 2006, 2008; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). In the constructivist view, the researcher interprets findings, rather than objectively reporting activities from a neutral position (Charmaz & Bryant, 2007). Constructivists such as Bryant, Charmaz, and Clarke, for example, emphasise the following (Given, 2008, p. 376):

(a) the social conditions of the research situations; (b) the researcher's perspectives, positions, and practices; (c) the researcher's participation in the construction of data; and (d) the social construction of research acts as well as participants' words.

In the constructivists' view, the researcher's subjective experiences and values are seen as natural filters and perspectives (Charmaz, 2008; Mills et al., 2008). This approach recognises the importance of the researcher thinking about the relationship between oneself and the participants, positioning self while considering one's own paradigm beliefs, justifying one's own position, and making it transparent to the audience (Charmaz & Bryant, 2007).

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In the current research, aspects of the constructivist approach to grounded theory method have been adopted. In particular, this research gives special attention to the position of the researcher as a co-author of participants' stories and partner of the participants, who consequently bring a strong participants' presence throughout, enriching the meaning and interpretation of the data (Charmaz, 2000, 2005; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006; Mills et al., 2008). Constructivist grounded theory acknowledges the inevitability of the researcher's position in relation to the enquiry. In fact, this position is an undeniable source of direction to the path of the inquiry depending on the researcher's epistemological positioning (Daly, 2007). Such epistemological aspects of constructivist grounded theory were particularly relevant to this study, as this is insider research. What Charmaz described is particularly valid for this research (Charmaz, 2006, p. 10):

> neither data nor theories are discovered. Rather, we are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We **construct** [emphasis in original] our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices.

By practicing reflexivity[4] (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007; Cunliffe & Karunanyake, 2013; Finlay, 2002) in insider research one can achieve an informed and ethical study through the process of data collection and analysis. Throughout the current study, consideration of the ethics and epistemology of insider research was carefully integrated and applied, while utilising my own strengths as an insider researcher to effectively inform the work in order to find creative ways of working with the participants to overcome the challenges. At the same time, I hoped to provide an opportunity to the reader to observe through a unique and different set of lenses how an insider observes, defines, and interprets the data.

Codified procedures and the constant comparative method were valuable in bringing rigor and credibility to this insider research. The codified procedures allow readers to understand how the researcher obtained the grounded theory from the data, and, consequently, the credibility of the theory. The comparative method involving simultaneous collection, coding and analysis from the beginning of the investigation until its end facilitated a rich, integrated and

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[4] See the section on "position of researcher as an insider" in chapter 2. It is a process in which a researcher reflects on one's own social, cultural, and historical forces that shape and influence one's own interpretation.

grounded theory, and eliminated any possibility of the development of theory prematurely because of being preoccupied with pre-established rules.

In fact, undertaking the initial literature review was a conscious decision that was congruent with this approach to insider research for the same reason. It was valuable and necessary for this broad investigation, even though Glaser and Strauss (1967) advised that a literature review prior to undertaking field work would contaminate the data collection, analysis and theory development. The initial literature review offered an opportunity to investigate and identify gaps in the field related to this study. It was used to contextualise the study, to orient the researcher, promote clarity in thinking, and make proper use of previous knowledge in the investigation (Dunne, 2011). It helped to overcome the limitations of my own knowledge and experiences when engaging with participants, and acquire a broader understanding of participants' contexts and knowledge through other research in the area. The initial literature review contributed to these understanding without predetermining theory based on preconceived ideas.

Ethical Considerations

Permission to undertake the study was granted by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 1 August 2011 (Appendix 11). A Participant Information Sheet (Appendix 1 and 2) and Consent Form for the participants (Appendices 3 and 4) were developed in accordance with the Guidelines of the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee. A Demographic Details form (Appendices 5 and 6) was developed as a tool for obtaining demographic information about the interview participants. A Translator's Confidentiality Agreement (Appendix 7) was also developed for translators and transcribers. Advertisements (Appendices 8 & 9) to recruit participants were also written and approved.

A range of possible ethical issues was considered in planning the study, and the research design was implemented and the interviews were conducted with these considerations in mind. The protection of vulnerable research participants is "a central concern" (p. 333) and "at the heart" (p. 340) of research ethics (Lange, Rogers, & Dodds, 2013). Concerns about protection against vulnerability have long been placed in guidelines of research ethics internationally (Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences, 2002; World Health Organisation, 2011; World Medical Association, 2013). Hence before embarking on

this research that would involve human participants, it was critical to "identify sources of vulnerability" (Lange et al., 2013, p. 340) in this group to determine whether there were any potential risks for participants and if potential harm would be outweighed by the anticipated benefits of the study. The publication *Guiding Principles for Conducting Research with Human Participants* (University of Auckland, Human Participants Ethics Committee, 2013) was used as an important source of guidelines and a reference, and its core principles were explored and implemented where appropriate.

According to the principles (University of Auckland, Human Participants Ethics Committee, 2013), it was clear that this research did not carry any "risk of harm (5.7)[5]" because the participants were not considered to be a "vulnerable (5.10)" population. This research neither carried any anticipated risks of "adverse events (5.14)", nor "unanticipated problems involving risks to participants (5.14)". In other words, the participants were competent to understand the aim of the study and the content of the interview, able to give free and informed consent to participate, and no risk of harm was anticipated from their participation in this study. However, some ethical considerations posed particular challenges and these are discussed below in applying the core ethical principles to the design and conduct of the research.

Even though the participants were not considered to be a vulnerable population, their "free and informed consent (5.4)" (University of Auckland, Human Participants Ethics Committee, 2013, p. 9) was considered important in treating the participants with respect and dignity, as addressed below. Comprehensible information that was appropriate to the context was provided in the Participant Information Sheet (Appendices 1 & 2) and Consent Form (Appendices 3 & 4) in both Korean and English so that the participants would have a choice of language in order to understand fully the intentions of the research and what their participation would involve.

"Protection of research participants' privacy and confidentiality (5.5)" (University of Auckland, Human Participants Ethics Committee, 2013, p. 9) was considered seriously as well. Because the size of the Korean community is relatively small in New Zealand, it was acknowledged that participants might be concerned about the privacy of their information and

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[5] The number refers to numbers on the publication *Guiding Principles of Conducting Research with Human Participants*.

of their identities in the content of this study. For example, others in the community might know who was interviewed. The ways in which efforts were made to protect their privacy, including the confidentiality of information provided and their personal identities, were fully explained and discussed with participants.

When a person other than the researcher transcribed the interviews, that person signed a confidentiality agreement (Appendix 7), for the "protection of research participants' privacy and confidentiality (5.5)" (University of Auckland, Human Participants Ethics Committee, 2013, p. 9) was paramount. When recruiting a transcriber, care was taken to find a competent professional who could speak and type fluent Korean and English and had some academic background in understanding research as well as the life of 1.5 generation Kowis.

A potential risk of conflict of interest with participants was considered. "Conflict of interest (5.8)" is addressed in the Guidelines (University of Auckland, Human Participants Ethics Committee, 2013, p. 10). It was important to distinguish between the researcher's role as a counsellor and a researcher, and the different focus that each requires. Certainly counselling skills facilitated interviewees in speaking more freely and openly, and helped elicit subtle and implicit but critical information from the interviewees. These skills allowed participants to discuss their experiences in some depth. However, I had to be mindful of the differences between the role of an interviewer and a counsellor. It was important to keep the interviews focused, in line with the research questions as a researcher, rather than being drawn into the participants' emotional and psychological issues as a counsellor. Some of the participants were aware of my professional identity; therefore I clearly informed them of my role at the beginning of each interview, that our conversation was for the collection of data rather than counselling for their personal issues, and that the research project was not an opportunity for me to recruit counselling clients.

Even though the research carried no risk of harm emotionally or physically to participants, it was still important to address any stress that they might have experienced during the interviews. For example, the interviews brought up some unresolved issues and related emotions for a number of participants. I offered a half hour of brief intervention after these interviews. In addition, as these participants could benefit from talking to someone who could offer some assistance, I also offered them a list of counsellors in their region, including Koreans. Information about these possible procedures to support participants had been

included in the Participant Information Sheet. Recommendations for self-care were also included at the end of each interview, followed by an email from me as researcher within a day or two, expressing gratitude to them for taking part in the interview and emphasising self-care.

"Social and cultural sensitivity (5.5)" was considered (University of Auckland, Human Participants Ethics Committee, 2013, pp. 10-11). As an insider researcher who shared a common ethnic relationship and language with the participants, I had an "insider" understanding of the data. Hence, there were advantages in being a Korean interviewer in terms of building rapport with interviewees, especially understanding their cultural background and ability to speak the participants' language fluently. The interviewees were relaxed and perceived that they had a shared understanding of Korean culture with me. However, I was mindful of subtle cultural and social differences in each individual participant. There were multiple layers of cultures within the group, including the cultures of Korean, Korean–New Zealander, and New Zealander. My general assumptions about Koreans could compromise the collection of accurate data and its interpretation, and it was necessary to monitor this, to check for this when reviewing recordings of the interviews and research notes, and address this if and when it occurred through supervision and collegial consultation.

The interview data and analysis were reviewed with research supervisors to ensure that my analysis best represented the participants' experiences. Two Korean scholars at the University of Auckland were consulted about the research topic, interview plans, and any cultural aspects that needed to be considered for this study. There were also a number of cultural consultations with colleagues and professionals in the community. Some key cultural advisors were involved during the consultation process and the subsequent data collection and analysis. In addition to that, two consultation groups were identified—the Korean Community Wellness Society Inc. (KCWS) and Asian Family Services in Auckland—and the research intention and design were initially presented to them for feedback. The members of KCWS were Korean health professionals including counsellors, psychotherapists, social workers, nurses, medical doctors and community mental health workers in Auckland. There were a number of Asian clinical staff including Korean and Chinese counsellors and social workers/community workers in the Asian Family Service, Auckland, and discussion with them formed an important part of the consultation. Both consultation meetings confirmed that the researcher had a competent level of social and cultural sensitivity in conducting this research, that the

research had not previously been undertaken in any Asian community in New Zealand, and that it would be valuable to identify parenting–related issues through this research in the Asian communities of New Zealand.

Recruitment and Sampling

Participants

Eighteen participants were selected for this study based on the following criteria: they needed to be 1.5 generation Kowis who arrived in New Zealand before 2002, aged between 5 and 17, and were now married with children and living in New Zealand. There were 12 female and 6 male participants. Their residency in New Zealand ranged from 14.7 years to 35 years. Their age of arrival ranged from 8 years old to 17 years old. Their current ages were between 29 and 47. Twelve participants were married to 1.5 generation Kowis, while four were married to first generation Korean migrants and two were married to second generation. The majority of participants (10) resided in Auckland while four lived in Christchurch, three in Wellington and one in Hamilton. Their children's ages ranged from 3 months old to 18 years old. Five participants lived with their own parents or parents-in-law. The following tables present demographic information about the participants and their family members.

Table 1. Demographics of Participants

No.	Pseudonym	gender	age	Arrival to NZ	age on arrival	Length of NZ stay	Current City of residence
1	Jean	F	47	1979	12	35	Auckland
2	Peter	M	31	1994	14	17.01	Auckland
3	Richard	M	31	1993	12	18.8	Auckland
4	Sarah	F	37	1990	16	20.11	Auckland
5	Jane	F	30	1993	12	18.6	Auckland
6	Abbey	F	35	1991	15	20.8	Auckland
7	Rosa	F	33	1996	17	15.9	Auckland
8	John	M	29	1994	14	15	Auckland
9	Pitt	M	31	1995	14	16.11	Auckland
10	Hana	F	31	1997	16	14.7	Auckland
11	Angela	F	34	1994	16	18	Hamilton
12	Erica	F	33	1995	16	17.2	Christchurch
13	Bryan	M	30	1996	14	16.2	Christchurch
14	Amy	F	30	1993	11	19	Christchurch
15	Scott	M	33	1993	14	18.7	Christchurch
16	Bella	F	31	1989	8	23.1	Wellington
17	Ginny	F	31	1995	16	17	Wellington
18	Suzan	F	32	1993	8	19	Wellington

Table 2. Demographics of Family Members

Spouse of	Identity of spouse (1st, 1.5 or 2nd generation)	Length of NZ stay	Number of family members in the household	Generations in the household	Number of Children	Age of children
Jean	2nd	48	5	2	2	18, 13
Peter	1st	9.9	5	2	3	5, 3, 1
Richard	1.5	9.8	3	2	1	1 ½
Sarah	1st	14	4	2	2	7, 5
Jane	1.5	9.8	7	3	1	2
Abbey	1.5	17.8	3	2	1	3 ½
Rosa	1.5	15	7	3	2	2, 0.2
John	1.5	13	4	2	2	2, 1
Pitt	1.5	15.3	3	2	1	1
Hana	1.5	15	4	2	2	3,1
Angela	1st	8	6	3	3	6, 4, 3
Erica	1st	16	3	2	1	3
Bryan	1.5	11	4	2	2	2, 1
Amy	1.5	14	4	2	2	2, 1
Scott	2nd	28	3	2	1	2
Bella	1.5	21.11	3	2	1	2
Ginny	1.5	19	7	3	2	5, 2
Suzan	1.5	17	6	3	1	0.3

Recruitment

Participants were selected purposefully in accordance with the scope and focus of the research. Morse (2007, pp. 234–235) stressed that the key to excellence in grounded theory study would be that "both data collection and techniques of analytical conceptualization must be rigorous". She pointed out "directed sampling" (p.235) and "the purposeful selection of participants" (p.238) to be important to grounded theory studies. Participants were therefore recruited from the four cities where most Koreans reside (see advertisements - Appendices 8 & 9): Auckland, Hamilton and Wellington in North Island, and Christchurch in the South Island, New Zealand. Recruitment was done through personal, professional and community networks such as Asian/Korean health professionals, Christian ministers, churches, Korean Community Wellness Society, New Zealand Korean Associations, Kowiana Association, and the researcher's Facebook page. I also presented the research to parents in a Korean church play group, and professionals in a Korean Symposium at the University of Auckland.

However, it was a lot more challenging than anticipated to recruit 1.5 generation Kowis who were married with children. Interested participants began contacting me individually by email

or phone, and some participants agreed to be contacted by me when approached by community contacts. The difficulty was that there were many first generation Kowis who were interested in the research, and showed willingness to participate until they realised it was for the 1.5 generation. It seemed that there was almost no understanding about the term 1.5 generation in the community. Some of them had arrived in New Zealand in their 20s or before marriage, and thought they were of the 1.5 generation. Some of them arrived in New Zealand under the age of 5 which made them the second generation. There were a number of referrals from networks that helped me get in touch with some 1.5 generation Kowis. However, most of them had arrived in New Zealand after 2002. Hence, I began personally approaching some networks and clarified with them the criteria once again. Fortunately, a snowball effect took place when participants began introducing potential participants from their own networks. Some of the 1.5 generation Kowis to whom I had ministered when they were teenagers almost two decades before also heard about the project and agreed to participate. Some of the spouses of the participants either volunteered or were encouraged to participate, but they were often either first generation or had arrived in New Zealand after 2002.

Once screened for their eligibility to meet the criteria, usually over the phone or via email, participants were given the Participation Information Sheet (Appendices 1 & 2) and Consent Form (Appendices 3 & 4) via email prior to the interview. I also re-sent them the advertisement (Appendix 8) as it gave them a comprehensive overview of the research in a friendly manner. In one case, both spouses were 1.5 generation Kowis and wished to take part in the interview. They were treated as individual participants rather than being seen as a couple.

Data Collection Methods

Interviewing

No single method is privileged in qualitative research, nor in grounded theory research in particular. "Semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, archival, and phonemic analysis—even statistics, tables, graphs, and numbers" are used for qualitative research as ways to interpret people's activities, events and experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 6). However, interviewing was selected as the most appropriate method of data collection for this research since interviewing provides descriptions of phenomena by bringing in substantive and

detailed material (Weiss, 1994) and is an excellent tool for exploring personal and sensitive issues (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). This research was designed to explore very personal experiences of the Kowis, and interviewing provided the opportunity for this to occur in unique depth. The focus of the interviews in this study was to elicit participants' interpretations, assumptions and meaning making regarding situations and events in their lives rather than simply obtaining information. Charmaz (2006, p. 32) described the difference between a constructivist and objectivist approaches in interviewing.

> A constructivist would emphasize eliciting the participant's definitions of terms, situations, and events and try to tap his or her assumptions, implicit meanings, and tacit rules. An objectivist would be concerned with obtaining information about chronology, events, settings, and behaviours.

Interviewing is known to be an effective way to gain insight into "social issues through understanding the experience of the individuals whose lives reflect those issues" and is seen as "most consistent with people's ability to make meaning through language" (Seidman, 2006, p. 13). Its unstructured and narrative aspects provide the potential to elicit greater depth and breadth of data because of its qualitative nature (Fontana & Frey, 2008). It offers an opportunity to look at events by "exploring chains of causes and consequences and searching for patterns" and adds "depth on a narrower range of issues to complete a whole picture" (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 9). In-depth interviewing enabled the effective capture of a great detail of explicit information, variation, and diversity, as well as complex themes and patterns related to parenting which were most useful to this study.

A set of open ended questions (Appendix 10) was developed to guide the interviews. It was designed to facilitate the broad exploration of participants' experiences of being 1.5 generation Kowi parents, and to help keep the interviews focused on the aims of the current study while encouraging unanticipated stories to emerge.

Pilot Interviews

To explore ways to effectively capture the information, three pilot interviews were undertaken with a male New Zealander, a female first generation Korean migrant who was married to a New Zealander, and a female 1.5 generation Kowi. The interviews were transcribed, translated and analysed, and then discussed during research supervision after each pilot interview. The pilot study helped refine the questions and offered opportunities to test the

structure of the interview, language, meanings, the relationship with the participant, the length of the interview, and the suitability of the location.

The opportunity with the New Zealander helped to refine the questions in English. It became clear that the list of questions was too academic and the questions needed to be rephrased in daily language for the next interview. The first generation migrant parent assisted with fine tuning the questions in Korean. Interviewing her also helped to gain a sense of what interviewing in a Korean home would be like. She shared insights on aspects of cultural conflicts within the family members, and between generations. The 1.5 generation Kowi chose a café to be interviewed. This experience helped in choosing locations more wisely later on, as noise and privacy were issues in recording. She spoke a lot about her identity and helped bring into focus the relevance of identity when investigating Kowis' parenting.

The interview guide covered the three major topics related to the aims of this study, while including open and non-judgemental questions to encourage unanticipated stories to emerge in this research. The three main areas of focus that were addressed in the interviews included:

- Perspectives on parenting that Kowis acquired from growing up as Kiwi–Koreans in this country
- The challenges that Kowis confront and the personal resources they utilise as they bring up their children at the interface between Korean and Kiwi cultures
- Perceived influences on Kowis' parenting and the ways in which Kowis perceive these influences as affecting their child–parent relationships and children's development.

At the beginning, the following guidelines were used for the first three pilot interviews as areas to explore:

- Your parents' parenting, your perspectives
- Your own parenting and influences
- Challenges being a Kowi parent
- Information and resources for being a Kowi parent
- Unique personal resources as a Kowi parent
- Advice and suggestions—for future Kowi parents/for policy makers and community agencies

However, after the first interviews, it was realised that the guidelines were too broad to gather focused information and specific data for developing a theoretical framework. Hence, more specific questions under each area were developed to narrow the range of topics covered. (See the second guidelines in Appendix 10). Also, as the interviews progressed, the significant weight and profound impact on Kowis' parenting of their own experiences of being parented in childhood became apparent. This discovery guided the expansion and specificity of the topic: "Your parents' parenting, your perspective". Hence, more detailed questions were developed and added in that area.

- What was your parents' parenting like? (Communication, gender role, discipline, parent–child relationship, focuses on education, etc.)
- What are the important <u>values</u> you have acquired from them? Relationship, family, child rearing, identity, work ethics, etc.?
- What are the <u>effects</u> of your parents' parenting in your life?
  -What were some of the most <u>difficult</u> effects for you? Why were they difficult?
  -Why were some of the most <u>helpful</u> effects for you? Why were these helpful?
- What other <u>models</u> of parenting did you have as a Kowi? (For example, parents of friends or neighbours, TV news and dramas, information from school, Plunket, GP, etc.?)
- What differences did you notice between styles of your parents and others in childhood as a Kowi?

The interviewer's role was to comment and question, to help the participants to articulate their own intentions and meanings in detail, to request clarification of details to obtain accurate information as much as possible, and to learn about participants' experiences and reflections in depth (Charmaz, 2006).

Structure and Setting of Interviews

Interviews were held between September 2011 and March 2012. Each interview was conducted for a maximum of two hours in duration. Participants were asked to narrate their own experiences personally and to voice their own opinions. In order to gain a comprehensive view of their experiences, participants were given a choice of language—Korean and/or English—and the interviews were conducted in the participants' preferred language. Fifteen

chose to speak in Korean and three in English. Demographic information (Appendices 5 & 6) was collected at the beginning of each interview.

Most of the participants were interviewed individually in their homes, but some interviews were conducted in alternative and mutually convenient places. The interview process and areas of enquiry were explained before the interview. Issues of confidentiality and their right to stop the recording when they wished were also discussed. Two participants asked the recorder to be turned off when they had an unexpected phone call, a sales person knocked on the door and a baby needed nursing. The participants were informed about a transcriber confidentiality agreement (Appendix 7), and protocols regarding the storage of the data. Each participant was asked to choose a pseudonym and no participant was identified by name on the recording or on any transcript.

As the researcher/interviewer was bilingual, both English and Korean languages were used in interviews. This provided opportunities for participants to speak freely in both languages. It provided the researcher with first-hand information in both languages for accurate recording of data in terms of understanding the culture/s and background of the participants. Hearing the stories of each participant as an interviewer allowed for critical reflection on the interviewees' comments. It also provided a familiarity with the data not possible if third party interviewers were employed. It reinforced an ability to recall their voices and expressions when analysing the data, even when not looking directly at a transcript, which was important in bringing the depth of individual responses to the results of this study.

However, bilingual interviews also posed some challenges in the analysis. There were some limitations when coding the raw data that became apparent when translated into another language. These issues are discussed in more detail in the next section.

Data Analysis

The grounded theory method provided a framework for the analysis and interpretation of the participant narratives in this study. The analysis involved the following steps:

1. Initial coding—the coding of transcripts by hand. The transcripts were imported into NVivo (qualitative data analysis computer software) to mark initial coding.
2. Post-data collection field notes were incorporated in coding and analysis.

3. Focused coding in NVivo, and continued writing of theoretical memos.
4. Development of categories from the focused codes. Elevating these categories to concepts and highlighting major emergent themes in order to build the framework to generate a grounded theory.
5. Development of the Kowi Parenting Model (Chapter 7) and the associated theory.
6. Revisiting the data to strengthen validity of the Kowi Parenting Model while writing

Although the step-by-step analytic processes are presented in a linear form below, this research was a spiralling journey of concurrent data collection, analysis, and refinement of the research questions. The constant comparative method and memo writing were used in every step of this process as they guided the development of the emergent theory (Holton, 2007). For example, initial coding was done on paper by hand before importing it and coding transcripts on NVivo software for the second time. I wrote memos as I coded, re-reading and comparing codes for adjustment and focused coding followed by categorising. I reassessed the codes as I wrote up the results while selecting quotes. Because there were so many codes and they generated insights and ideas, I recorded details of each code or category, and compared them constantly, a necessary and useful process in the analysis.

Initial Coding

Coding means "categorizing segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarises and accounts for each piece of data. Your codes show how you select, separate, and sort data to begin an analytic accounting of them" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43). An initial phase of coding involves "naming each word, line or segment of data", and the goal is to "remain open to all possible theoretical directions indicated by your reading of the data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46).

Initial coding of transcripts was done by hand, word-by-word, for the first four interviews until I began to grapple with the meaning of data, circling words and coding each. The rest were done through line-by-line coding. The process helped to "define what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46). By constantly comparing data to codes, the researcher can begin to see similarities and differences and is able to generate abstract categories and their properties that explain what is happening in the field without trying to fit a category from another theory to situations under study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

There were over 400 codes at the beginning of the initial coding because I was coding word-by-word followed by line-by-line coding. It took a lot of trial and error to comprehend the technique of coding. I struggled to learn accuracy while dealing with so many different, new, and unexpected codes. I had many conversations with those who understood grounded theory analysis, including my supervisors.

In the end, I learnt flexibility and "theoretical playfulness" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 71) about coding. Coding provides "a focused way of viewing data" by "play[ing] with the ideas we gain from data", as "we make discoveries and gain a deeper understanding of the empirical world" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 70). I initially felt inadequate about naming codes because this process was undertaken in my second language, English. I did not think that it would be useful to do it in Korean and then translate into English. However, I was again feeling a sense of fear about "language barriers" which always triggered a sense of inadequacy in me as a migrant. This paralleled the experience of the 1.5 generation that was revealed later in analysis. I became serious, and jumped into "a serious analysing phase" straight away to fight back the sense of inadequacy, rather than staying open-minded and relaxed to see what was emerging from the data. It was not possible to simply name what the word or line was saying to me. When I was in the serious analysing phase, the codes that I named were more abstract, like 'identity issues', 'adaptation difficulties', 'confidence', 'language difficulties', and 'strengths'. I noticed that these codes often came through my own lens of prior knowledge and experience, which I was determined to avoid when choosing the grounded theory method.

It was only after much trial and error, and also receiving affirmation and assurance from other scholars and supervisors, that I began to be playful and bring creativity to the coding. Again, my experiences were paralleled by the participants' experiences, in that the Kowis required good support networks and much guidance until they found their feet. I noticed that once my confidence was boosted, I began using more in-vivo codes like 'take good things from both worlds', 'whatever values we bring', and 'what works for me and my children'. I also began using more verb forms that were more descriptive than abstract: 'supporting children', 'building resilience, 'offering hope and meaning', 'promoting bilingualism' and 'listening and understanding'. These codes helped me to make discoveries and gain a deeper understanding of the participants' empirical world.

Use of Computer Software for Coding

Once I had hand-coded first, each document was imported into the qualitative software analysis program, NVivo 9 (QSR International, 2013). Qualitative data analysis software is known to be useful for coding, storage, search and retrieval, data linking, memoing, content analysis, data display and graphic mapping (Weitzman, 2000). However, there are some limitations and some important factors for consideration before starting to use the software, including the lengthy time that is required to master all its functions and operations, and the use of some tools like the tree structure in the system amongst beginners (Johnston, 2006; M. Walsh, 2003). Seale (2010, p. 257) described three often-raised objections to the use of computer-assisted analysis software: 1) Does specialist CAQDAS (the computer-assisted analysis of qualitative data software) do anything that cannot be done by a good word processor? 2) Do computers impose a narrowly exclusive approach to the analysis of qualitative data? 3) While clearly of use in analysing large volumes of data, CAQDAS software is of little help in examining small data extracts, of the sort often studied by conversation analysts and some discourse analysts.

However, it has been proven that qualitative data analysis software "improves the efficiency of the analysis by providing greater capability to do more sophisticated comparisons" (Auld et al., 2007, p. 43). Seale (2010, p. 254) also listed some advantages: 1) Speed at handling large volumes of data, freeing the researcher to explore numerous analytic questions and increasing the capacity to analyse samples that are representative because they can be large; 2) Improvement of rigor, including the production of counts of phenomena and searching for deviant cases; and 3) Facilitating team research, including the development of consistent coding scheme.

This research allowed me more freedom to play with ideas, and compare data constantly, identifying patterns within the data and accessing participants' information. I used the software to record and organise the codes that I had already coded by hand. It is recommended that hand coding may be more effective for "a better contextual understanding of the concepts or patterns that emerge from the data analysis" (Auld et al., 2007, p. 43) if the data set consists of fewer than 20 interviews or focus groups, but both hand coding and the computer software were used.

The software was unable to read Korean language, and had limits to its functions. Nevertheless it allowed increased accountability in the analysis because of the audit trail. I printed out all data under each code, and undertook a comparative analysis a number of times before categorising them. This enabled a process of rigorous coding checks in the creation of categories towards building a framework for a grounded theory.

Post-data Collection Field Notes and Memo-writing

Post-data collection field notes were written within an hour after the interviews. According to Holton (2007, p. 276):

> Field notes enable the grounded theory researcher to capture the essence of the participant's main concern and how that concern is resolved without the burden of laborious transcribing followed by the tedium of reading through and coding lengthy transcriptions.

Field notes were an important part of supplementing the interview transcripts in this study. They helped to preserve highlights of the conversations, and personal impression of the participants and their verbal and non-verbal communication in the interview. Some of them shared useful information only after the interview ended and I recorded these in the field notes. Some of the participants replied to me with their own reflections after I sent follow-up emails to participants to thank them for their participation and ensure self-care after an intense interview. Here is an example of an extra reflection received from a participant by email after his interview:

> As an 1.5G, I have not experienced things in English when I was a young child (things like rhymes, children's songs, etc.). I do not know how to do them in English. Even things like peek-a-boo, for example - I didn't know the term in English till recently! I find this a limitation as when my child grows and gets into kindergarten and primary, she will be learning stuff that I had never learnt, and may create some barrier between the parents and the child - or would be a huge learning curve for the parents. (Richard)

Richard mentioned some anxiety about being a migrant parent in the interview, but this email gave me more detailed insights about his anxiety.

Post-data collection field notes also helped me to process my own reflections after each interview, as some of the stories were powerful and often distressing. I had an incident after the fifth interview, when a participant shared a traumatic childhood in relation to the parenting

style of her parents. I began feeling excruciating pain in my back due to poor posture from sitting on the floor the Korean way for a lengthy period of time, while listening to her traumatic accounts. I did not move even once in that sitting position as I was listening to her so intensely, and I also had to show her respect. There was a significant difference between the role of a counsellor and an interviewer in that circumstance. As a counsellor, I was used to freedom of interaction with clients and helping them to process any unresolved issues so that they could be empowered or guided at the end of the session. However, I had to monitor and limit my interactions with the participants closely to avoid leading the participant in a certain direction as an interviewer. I had to bite my tongue often and felt frustrated at times. I had to monitor and select carefully to ask research orientated questions. It was costly on both physical and emotional levels.

I had a number of clinical supervision meetings with my counselling supervisor and reflected deeply on the issues. I discovered struggles as a person, researcher, counsellor, migrant, mother, and daughter. Undertaking interviews provided me with greater understanding and insights into 1.5 generation Kowis' lives and their struggles with a sense of feeling stuck and helpless. The opportunity also brought me an insight that I was listening to the stories of four generations in my interviews with the Kowis: grandparents and parents of the 1.5 generation Kowis, the 1.5 generation Kowi themselves, and their children. Writing the post-data collection field notes also became even more critical as it freed me from any feelings transferred from participants after the interviews by helping me to take off the "hat" of an interviewer; to "park" any thoughts and feelings related to the interview somewhere safe for my ongoing reflection; to record accurate and fresh insights and reflections so that they would not be forgotten in the process of analysis; and to allow myself to get on with my life again.

In essence, field notes were an important part of my reflexive process, serving the purpose identified by McGhee et al. (2007):

> the explicit quest to limit researcher effects on the data by awareness of self, something seen as integral both to the process of data collection and the constant comparison method essential to grounded theory (p. 334).

The notes and memos enabled me to monitor my own initial reactions as an insider researcher in case my prior knowledge or experiences prematurely limited any important avenue to explore. Self-awareness through the reflexive process was helpful, as I often found myself

being surprised by new findings from the data in comparison to my own prior assumptions. For instance, I assumed that the Kowis were all reasonably fluent in both languages, English and Korean. However, fluency in both languages varied depending on the individual and was, in fact, one of the significant issues that the participants were still struggling with.

Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 113) saw that memo writing would provide the "content behind the categories" which become the major themes of the theory later presented in papers or books. Charmaz (2006) saw that writing memos throughout the research process is "the pivotal intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts or papers", providing "a space to become actively engaged in your materials, to develop your ideas, and to fine-tune your subsequent data-gathering" (p. 72). While coding and analysing, I wrote memos about matters needing further clarification—every step of the way.

Focused Coding

Focused coding is a "focused, selective phase that uses the most significant or frequent initial codes to sort, synthesize, integrate and organise large amounts of data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46). It requires "decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorise your data incisively and completely" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 57). There are three types in the constant comparative process in focused coding (Holton, 2007): (1) incidents to other incidents, (2) emergent concepts to more incidents, and (3) emergent concepts to each other. For example, the most significant and frequent earlier initial codes were collated by sifting through the interviews to determine the focused codes in this study. As themes and concepts surfaced or became more obvious, transcripts from earlier interviews were frequently re-visited to compare and further code by using the NVivo 9 software. The process of analysis was circular rather than linear. The codes in earlier interviews were often re-visited, compared and re-named as new themes and concepts surfaced after coding a number of interviews. People's experiences, actions and interpretations were compared through focused coding. When comparing codes and data with each other, unexpected or new ideas and common themes surfaced.

For instance, the participants named a list of things in the area of challenges in parenting, e.g. "feeling limited in ability to teach children language", "experiencing cultural clashes with parents", "lacking guidance in parenting", and "feeling anguish about children's future". At the stage of initial coding, they were just codes of each line or segment of data out of many

other codes. However, when those frequently appeared in the transcripts, they were compared with other data, incidents to other incidents, emerging concepts to more incidents, and emergent concepts to each other. At the end of focused coding, "feeling anguish about children's future" and "feeling limited in ability to teach children language" together with other codes like "feeling limited to support children's identity formation" and "limited understanding of both cultures" were categorised as "anguish being migrants/the 1.5 generation Kowi".

Developing Categories into a Grounded Theory

Through various stages of coding together with frequent memo writing and theoretical sorting of the memos, categories that highlighted common themes and patterns began emerging and were identified. The most significant categories were grouped together to develop broader concepts that led to theory generation. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p. 36) described categories as "conceptual elements of a theory". Charmaz (2006, p. 186) described categorising in grounded theory as "selecting certain codes as having overriding significance or abstracting common themes and patterns in several codes into analytic concepts".

For example, participants' understandings of and struggles with identity issues in their childhood stood out as one of the significant categories, whereas identity issues had not been anticipated at the beginning of the enquiry. This then prompted increased interest in how identity issues generated strengths as well as weaknesses in Kowis' parenting while influences from both cultures were explored and analysed. Experiences such as "living in two countries in one" as a child provided them with an ability to "take the best of both worlds" due to language and cultural competency. However, some of them still remained confused about the cultures and their own identity when not supported or guided in childhood or as parents. These categories became one of the very important emergent themes of a grounded theory in this research that described the tension that the Kowis experienced between the two cultures, and between the strengths and limitations that they felt. It also helped to guide the analysis toward including their immediate family support and functioning after migration, as well as the influences of social networks and the socio-cultural environment in their childhood and in their present-day parenting. This analysis then generated insights into differences in parenting styles between Kowis, Koreans, Korean migrants and Pākehā New Zealanders. These insights helped me in the conceptualisation and presentation of the traditional style of

Korean parenting (Figure 1), the traditional style of Pākehā parenting (Figure 3), and the Kowi Parenting Model (Figure 6) in diagrams.

Table 3. Example of development of a theory from coding

Initial coding	Struggling to adapt the new host culture Struggling with Korean culture Living in two countries in one Broadened insights Having advantage of two languages Having advantage of both cultural heritage Something better Take the best of both worlds Having moments of self discovery Being open to moulding Re-forming who I am Learning Being on a journey of self-discovery Who am I? Where do I belong? Two countries in one Being neither Korean nor Kiwi Being in between People with no nationality or citizenship Being on a journey of self discovery Feeling anxious for children's Korean fluency Feeling anxious for children's English fluency Being upset for children being bullied Having a worry for children not fitting in at school Being seen as just Asian
Memos	Almost every participant spoke about their own identity journey when asked about parenting issues. It was almost impossible for them to talk about parenting without talking about their childhood first especially about identity confusion, languages issues and cultural issues. Some of the participants spoke of identity as crisis and struggles while others recognised it as an exciting self discovery. There seem to be a number of different stages in identity formation too. What is the relevance of their identity to their own parenting practices today?

Focused Coding	*Wrestling with contradictory cultural values in childhood*
	   • Struggling to adapt the new host culture
	   • Struggling with Korean culture
	   • Living in two countries in one
	Being instrumental in their children's journey of discovery
	   • Broadened insights
	   • Having advantage of two languages
	   • Having advantage of both cultural heritages
	Enhancing children's positive development
	   • Something better
	   • Taking the best of both worlds
	Being successful in navigating own identity
	   • Having moments of self discovery

	- Being open to moulding - Re-forming who I am - Learning - Being on a journey of self-discovery *Wrestling with own identity and language issues* - Who am I? - Where do I belong? - Two countries in one - Being neither Korean nor Kiwi - Being in between - People with no nationality or citizenship *Being concerned for children's language* - Feeling anxious for children's Korean fluency - Feeling anxious for children's English fluency *Being concerned for children and how they are received* - Being upset for children being bullied - Having a worry for children not fitting in at school - Being seen as just Asian
Memos	There are some links that are emerging when comparing incidents to incidents. Childhood experiences seemed to be linked to today's parenting confidence and anxiety. Those who struggled in their childhood seem to have more anxiety about children's future. They remembered negative experiences in childhood that seem to trigger anxiety Those who are more sure of self seem to have more confidence and freedom in their parenting. Where do these strengths come from?
Category	**Confidence in identity and its link to parenting confidence** - *Being instrumental in their children's journey of discovery* - *Enhancing children's positive development* - *Being successful in navigating own identity* **Identity struggles and its link to parenting anxiety** - *Wrestling with own identity and language issues* - *Wrestling with contradictory cultural values in childhood* - *Being concerned for children and how they are received* - *Being concerned for children's language*
Theory	**Identity as key to parenting**

Once the most significant theoretical categories were developed, I considered the need for theoretical sampling for further development of the categories through focus groups or second interviews. However, it was decided the data that had been gathered were very rich, and when the categories that emerged from the data were saturated, they were pertinent to generating a grounded theory of Kowi parenting. No new properties of the pattern emerged, and those categories were robust and stood on firm ground, therefore there was no need to develop or refine them any further. Hence, theoretical sampling was not used.

Therefore, I began sorting, diagramming and integrating those categories with my memos to generate the concept of a grounded theory of Kowi parenting. Sorting and diagramming provide an initial analytic frame and concrete images of ideas (Charmaz, 2006). For example, many diagrams were drawn while sorting and integrating categories and themes. In the end, the Kowi Parenting Model was first established as one of many diagrams. It was designed to explain the complex influences on parenting from both society and the dynamics within the family, as well as the cultural forces that participants experienced and the strengths and challenges that were present, while also displaying the degrees of interaction between members. Diagramming eventually helped to develop the analysis, and generate the final version of the Kowi Parenting Model. Once the draft of my results of emergent themes from the data was written and the model was introduced in the writing, I revisited the data to verify the robust nature of the Kowi parenting model.

Meanwhile, I was involved in a number of speaking engagements in the community including running workshops, training professionals and presenting papers in relation to migrants and the topic of my research during the data collection and analysis. A lot of interest, questions and feedback on my research were generated in the community. People related to my topic in their own ways and gave me feedback—being parents or grandparents, having children, cross-cultural experiences, being or seeing 1.5 generation Kowis, professionals working with migrants and refugees, and scholars in related areas. It was encouraging to know that this topic that I had begun to feel too familiar with was an interesting and new topic to others. Their feedback and queries were greatly appreciated and incorporated into my investigation process at different stages of the analysis.

Challenges in Coding: Translated Transcripts

Following the completion of each interview, each audio recording was transcribed by me and one other Korean transcriber who signed a confidentiality agreement. I transcribed the first nine interviews in order to gain a close understanding of and immersion in the content, and gave the transcriber the rest. All the transcripts were cross-checked word by word by me a second time to ensure accuracy. McLellan, Macqueen, and Neidig (2003) recommended that at least the first two or three transcripts prepared by a transcriber undergo careful review to prevent any problems from going unnoticed until analysis was well underway. This transcription process was invaluable. Hearing the conversation again, almost as a third party observer, allowed for critical reflection on each interviewee's comments. Most importantly,

the transcription process provided a familiarity with the data not otherwise possible. It reinforced an ability to recall their voices and expressions even when not looking directly at the data.

However, after the translation and coding of one interview, I came to a realisation about some limitations of coding of the raw data when translated into another language. I began questioning coding and its veracity to the raw data in translated words. Challenges in relation to accurate translation of the transcripts had been anticipated. However, it was crucial that my supervisors, with no competency in the Korean language, verify my accuracy in analysing the data. The codes and themes needed to be reviewed with supervisors, and discussed with them for accuracy and new insights in my analysis. It was critical to make sure the codes and emerging themes accurately reflected the meanings evident in the data.

Nevertheless, when translated into English, there were changes made to the wording that changed some of the meaning. Sometimes it was noticed that nuances of words that were significant in Korean were lost. For instance, a participant named issues of belonging of 1.5 generation Kowis and called the group "국적이 불분명한 사람들". The literal translation would have been "people with unclear nationality". However, "unclear" was changed to "without" in translation in order to contain the meaning of "not belonging to any" which the participant originally meant. Also regarding the word "nationality", it was unclear if he meant "nationality" or "citizenship". So it was translated as "people without a citizenship or nationality" to contain both possibilities. If the wording was considered in terms of in-vivo code, "unclear" and "without" convey two different meanings. As indicated here, the terminology had already been filtered through the translator/researcher's English.

Translation difficulties often arise due to linguistic and cultural differences between Western and Asian societies, as there are differences with concepts that are particular to each culture in their linguistic structure, word usage and related conceptual meanings, as well as cultural experiences (Yu, Lee, & Woo, 2004). Cultural differences between the two languages may alter the original meaning and intent of what a participant has voiced when it is translated into English. It was critical that the utmost effort and care were taken to ensure accurate translation of the transcripts. No one translation has been proven to be perfect to date (Maneesriwongul & Dixon, 2004).

In addition, the 1.5 generation Kowis spoke Korean in a different way from the first generation migrants. They often misused Korean words, there were words missing or altered in their Korean sentences, or they mixed English and Korean in one sentence accurately or inaccurately, depending on their fluency in either of the languages. The more they were integrated into New Zealand culture and fluent in English, the more they mixed English terms in Korean sentences. As Charmaz (2006) noted, the use of specific languages reflects the views and values of each individual. However, when the data were translated into English, all subtle nuances as well as views and values of participants were no longer preserved. Consequently, there was a risk of burying the participants' inner world in the translator/researcher's words.

Codes of special terms used by participants are referred as "in vivo" codes (Charmaz, 2006, p. 55) amongst grounded theorists. Those codes help researchers to "preserve participants' meanings of their views and actions in the coding itself" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 55). However, when translated, in vivo codes preserved only a limited sense of the participants' meanings of their views and actions. Some senses of participants' unique views were lost, which could have been a critical loss to this study. For example, fluency and use of Korean language often indicated their degree of migration stage and adaptation to the new culture. What language they used and how they used it often provided a fuller understanding of the meaning behind certain views and actions, but it was also in a translated form.

After discussing this with my supervisors a number of times, we agreed to use the first four interviews as a thorough training and verification process, to make sure my coding and analysis accurately reflected the meanings embedded in the data. They were reviewed with supervisors for new insights and different perspectives in a thorough process of data analysis. Three interviews were conducted in English and I translated the fourth that was conducted in Korean into English since I was also a trained translator with a certificate in translation. There was no other native Korean translator available who had a research background with an understanding of the grounded theory method. I wanted to make sure that translation was accurate and faithful to the raw data for analysis. As a trial with the research supervisors I coded the four and completed the analysis to account for and verify its trustworthiness in terms of the meaning of codes, and to identify emergent themes. After that process, I independently analysed the rest of the Korean transcripts without translation.

During this process I sought more information on using translated transcriptions in grounded theory analysis, but none could be located. I consulted a scholar who had interviewed another ethnic group and used grounded theory method for data analysis. However, his participants were able to speak English and he did not need translation. A question remained as to whether translated transcriptions would have made any difference in this study. There is limited guidance to ensure accuracy of analysis when using translated transcriptions, and on how in vivo codes can be created when transcribed. It is in fact unclear why translated transcription is recommended unless a study is conducted by a researcher from a different culture and in a different language. It is also unclear whether differences in data analysis are due to the language and translated transcription or to different understandings of culture and language.

Concluding Reflection

The process of data collection and analysis was a privileged journey in this study that was full of challenges, constant surprises, valuable lessons, and delightful new insights. I expected it to be a personal and sensitive research experience for the participants, and consequently considered pertinent ethical issues and prepared ways to support their possible emotional roller coaster during and after interviews. However, I did not anticipate that it would be such a powerful and personal journey for me. I was challenged to my core as a person, a parent, a migrant and a new researcher. It was indeed my own roller coaster ride academically and emotionally. Participants' experiences, interpretations, perceptions and meanings of terms, situations, and events in their life were intriguing to observe as a researcher. However, the research process also affected and challenged my own worldview beyond my imagination, and demanded from me thorough reflection and rigorous analysis in order to honour participants' voices in this research.

Grounded theory was a perfect method to use in this remarkable journey of data collection and analysis. Initially, this research involved two critical issues that demanded thorough reflection and planning: the researcher being an insider, and the decision to undertake an initial literature review prior to data collection. In considering those issues, the study had to go beyond the classical grounded theory base and instead adopt the constructivist approach to grounded theory methods. This helped the insider research process to develop a broad, rich, integrated, dense and grounded theory. The complexity of data analysis using grounded theory method was fascinating but often confusing and challenging as it required rigor in every aspect in a spiral rather than linear process. However, its codified procedures, constant

comparative method, and memo writing guided the researcher to a new and genuine understanding about the 1.5 generation Kowis and their parenting. The Kowi Parenting Model (Chapter 7) is the product of this process.

The decision to undertake an initial literature review was also proven to be effective and necessary in this case. It facilitated an opportunity for me as the researcher to move beyond the limitations of my personal scope of knowledge and experiences, and acquire new understanding of participants' actual context and knowledge by engaging with other existing research. It provided insights into the current parameters of conversations in the field, but did not define the research.

However, a question remains as to whether translated transcriptions would have made any difference in this study. There is limited guidance about ensuring the accuracy of analysis when using translated transcriptions, and about how in vivo codes can be created when transcribed. An area for future exploration is the value of translated transcriptions unless they are being undertaken in a study by a researcher from a culture and language different from the participants, and also whether differences in data analysis are due to the language and translated transcription or understanding of culture and language.

In the next three chapters, the results of this study are presented. Kowi parenting could not be discussed without exploring Kowis' lives as children because of their powerful influences on their present day parenting. Because the findings from the interviews elicited a vast amount of data and number of themes, they are presented chronologically in three chapters: Being Korean Children (Chapter 4), Being Kowi Parents (Chapter 5), and Becoming Kowi Voices in New Zealand (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS: BEING KOREAN CHILDREN IN NEW ZEALAND

The findings from the interviews are divided into three chapters: "Being **Korean children** in New Zealand," "Being **Kowi Parents** in New Zealand" and "Becoming **Kowi Voices** in New Zealand." Since childhood, Kowis have lived under the influence of conflicting cultural norms and practices from the cultures of Korea and New Zealand.[6] The first of these chapters, "Being Korean Children in New Zealand," therefore focuses on Kowis' childhoods and their experiences in their family homes from the time of migration. The Kowis' childhood experiences are relevant in order to explain the links between their experiences of being parented themselves and their parenting of their own children. There are also important parts of their parenting story that came from Kowis' lives in Korea and which they and their own parents brought with them. Throughout this chapter, those stories are reflected in the parenting of Kowis as children. The effects of the first generation Korean parenting were so powerful that they permeated all other areas of their lives. Kowis' experiences as migrant children in the new host society were also powerful in that they influenced Kowis' worldviews and consequently the way they were bringing up their own children.

The second results chapter, "Being Kowi Parents in New Zealand," presents many aspects of their parenting practices today: decision making processes, cultural aspects of parenting, couple relationships, parenting challenges, and parenting strengths. Because of the competing cultural influences, they have confronted multiple challenges both at home and outside in their community. The challenges that they faced as children have also had an impact on the way they parent now, including facilitating the development of certain strengths in Kowis that they bring to their parenting.

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[6] In this case, the New Zealand culture generally refers to the Pākehā European culture.

The third results chapter, "Becoming Kowi Voices in New Zealand," presents many aspects of Kowis' parenting resources. Contributing to their parenting at the interface between Korean and New Zealand cultures were resources which they had utilised from both cultures. This chapter also includes the Kowis' advice to other 1.5 generation or Kowi parents, followed by their suggestions about parenting to policy makers and professionals in the community. Participants were asked to offer advice and suggestions at the end of each interview in order to gather more insights into their parenting needs by providing a different perspective from which to recall their experiences. A further aim was also to bring their own voices to the policy makers to provide useful information and resources for the development of prevention and intervention strategies with which to support Kowis in their parenting and to enhance positive parent–child relationships.

One of the major influences that shaped the parenting style and parenting decisions of the Kowis who took part in this research was the parenting style of their own parents while they were exposed to the new host culture. This chapter addresses the following areas: parent–child relationships between the first generation parents and the 1.5 generation Kowis; parental control and boundary settings; expectations of children's education and their achievement; gender roles the Kowis observed from their first generation parents; identity issues of the 1.5 generation Kowis; and Kowis' decision making strategies in childhood.

Parent–Child Relationships

Participants recalled their relationships with their own parents and indicated what they thought were the positive and negative aspects of the parent–child relationships from their perceptions. The positives seemed to be a bit more in line with New Zealand Pākehā style of parenting, and the negatives with the traditional Korean style. Some participants named the following qualities as positive in their parent–child relationships: love, care, respect, openness, equality, freedom to speak, listening, understanding, fun, trust, support, encouragement, compromise, flexibility, being relaxed, being subtle not forceful, and being helpful, honest, authoritative and reliable. Some examples of the qualities are captured in the following quotes from these participants:

> We always had a family meeting for things like, for instance, when we have to buy a house. Whenever there are matters arise, there are family meetings [in my family]. (Richard)

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> At the dinner table, we would have these wonderful conversations....Opinions mattered and counted even as children as individual….Our thoughts and opinions were important and we were encouraged to talk freely, have a good dialogue. Often especially with dad and I, we would have these wonderful philosophical discussions about this and that. (Jean)

> I said "I'm moving in with him next year with other people." Mum and dad were quite easy about it. Mum, sort of, the idea, if you are going to buy something you should try it before you buy it. If you are going to marry him then maybe that's alright. She was quite open actually. So she said "if you are really serious about him, by all means." She was ok. (Bella)

What facilitated the positive relationships were good conversations, spending time together, travelling or being involved in activities together, family meetings, prioritising family first, helping each other, lack of harsh discipline, regular contact when separated, encouragement to study without pressurising, praise, offering helpful advice on decision making, being trusted on decision making, offering a nurturing environment, parents being open and flexible to the new culture, and physical contact like hugs. Some examples of shared activities are reflected in the following quotes:

> Because dad owned a small business, he was always able to come home for dinner. He did not come home late. We had a lot of family time together in the evening. Whenever possible, we also travelled a lot together. (Scott)

> We still speak to each other all the time. They [parents] live in Korea now; however, we talk over the phone on a daily basis. Tend to 'talk' to mum, but 'email' with dad. (Amy)

In contrast, aspects of their relationships that the participants recalled as negative included parents being distant, criticising, lacking understanding, demanding parental authority, cultural clashes, communication difficulties, no flexibility, pressuring, controlling, lack of emotional expression, being authoritarian, having high expectations and putting unreasonable

pressure on academic achievement, not listening, negative reinforcement like harsh or corporal punishment, and comparing them with others. Some examples were:

> They [parents] expected the Korean way, like submitting, not talking back to the adult, things like that. (Sarah)

> We had to fit into [father's] system and there was no other way [of being flexible]. (Pitt)

> They [parents] were very stubborn, did not listen to me at all, and never acknowledged their mistakes. (Suzan)

Their relationships with their fathers were somewhat distant in comparison to their relationships with their mothers. The majority of participants (14) indicated that they were not very close to their fathers. Participants did not spend much time with their father, especially while they were growing up in Korea. Fathers spent long hours at work, and mothers were in charge of children's education and parenting. Not many participants had quality conversations with their father on a regular basis. Their father was more of an authority figure who held parental authority and was to be respected at home. Fathers tended to use harsh methods of discipline, and they controlled and limited their expression of feelings and words, and used more non-verbal communication. For example, Peter's father was "a man of few words" and it was "generally the principle he lived by." Their conversation was usually "kind of in a very roundabout way." Some other examples were:

> I knew my father loved me very much. I was an only child. But he never expressed it [love] to me but would tell others. He was awkward with me and never said a friendly 'how are you?' (Jane)

> My father was bossy. You know, an authority figure! We spoke to him only if it was absolutely necessary. Everyone in the family spoke to him in honorifics.[7] (Ginny)

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[7] Koreans address each other by using honorific nouns depending on their status. They are generally used for someone who is superior, older or a stranger.

Mothers were more understanding and accepting of children, and easier to relate to, and children spent more time with their mothers. The participants spoke more freely about their mothers in comparison with their fathers. Some examples were:

> I could talk to my mother like to a friend. She did not tell me off bluntly. She did not tell me off much anyway. (Angela)

> We [mother and daughter] went out together a lot. We travelled a lot....We cooked together a lot, and I learnt how to cook from her. (Erica)

> I loved mum. I always just liked her more....She cried a lot when I was sent here at first. (John)

Participants reported some changes in the parenting style of the first generation after migration. They indicated some improvement as well as deterioration in their relationships with their parents. They were able to have more family time. They found the New Zealand environment more relaxing, freer, and less stressful due to reduced pressure and competition at school, and the life style was more flexible, as is clear in this statement by Bella:

> Because he [father] was finishing work early in daytime hours, like sunlight hours, we were able to go out after work like that. There were a lot more family activities and things. (Bella)

In terms of deterioration, however, participants reported more clashes and arguments in the family after migration. Abby, Ginny and Rosa all used almost exactly the same words describing how being "stuck together [being around your family] 24/7 (24 시간을 붙어있으니까)" brought more clashes and arguments at home when they were not used to it. More details of such challenges in the parental relationship will be presented in the next section on the impact of challenges from childhood.

Different kinds of changes happened as participants became adults and started their own family. Parents began showing their children respect in decision making and leadership. As parents aged, they also relaxed and became less strict. Peter reflected on this as follows:

My father is a lot, a lot more relaxed, a lot mellower now. Whole a lot more changed now, because the relationship has changed. (Peter)

John also reported that his father "now acknowledges me as a father and head of my own family." Scott's father also changed but he believed that it was "because of aging rather than any cultural influence."

Parental Control and Boundary Settings

The findings above highlighted that Kowis experienced both positive and negative aspects in their relationships with their parents. However, the one style was more positive than the other: the parenting style of Korean parents was described by participants as more authoritarian, in contrast to the more authoritative style of New Zealand Pākehā parenting (see the difference between authoritarian and authoritative in chapter 2). The participants generally lived with strict rules that were based on, and justified by, parents according to their traditional cultural sense of the Korean parenting style: over-protective, controlling and limiting children's activities including socialising and relationships; pressuring them to study or follow the orders and rules of parents with high expectations; negative reinforcement like criticising and comparing; no negotiation of core values and manners in Korean culture but strict one-way dialogue; using strong parental control like corporal punishment to make children fear parents; and patriarchs dominating family relationships. Participants reported on these experiences, as reflected in the following:

My mother was very strict and controlling. Even of the way we eat; she has a way to eat (laugh). Yes, you have to eat this, and this, and this. (Sarah)

My parents made sure that we knew what we are not doing right rather than what we did right. (Peter)

Actually [I] didn't go out very much….Socialising at school and just after school! I would make sure I would be home later in the evening just because I didn't want any trouble, really. (Bella)

They measured us by standard of others. "Why are you like this? Other children don't do that." (Abby)

I was afraid of my father because he was very strict. (John)

Some parents were reportedly very protective of their children. They controlled children's decisions including their choice of relationships and friendships, choice of activities and socialising, migration, and choice of study at a tertiary level. Parents' decisions were often non-negotiable. Jane, for example, described cultural conflict between her parents' traditional Korean values and her more contemporary New Zealand style of values.

They did not allow me to have any boyfriend until I graduated from university….I met a number of guys over time whom I wanted to get married to, but it all fell out [because of my parents]….They [parents] did not want to hear my opinions and just said "This is how it should be done. Just listen to us." (Jane)

However, some parents were supportive of the participants becoming independent financially and also facilitated their autonomy in order to develop ideas of their own, such as giving young children an allowance in return for housework, allowing a part-time job in the high school years, and moving out of their parents' home to go flatting. Some parents were also respectful of children's decisions and opinions regarding day-to-day pragmatic decisions, choice of study at university, choice of a career, and even migration to New Zealand and their choice of relationships, as evident in this comment by Jean:

I had that complete freedom and permission to be free to fall in love and love whoever I chose to love.…I know that is not the case of lots of Koreans. (Jean)

Hana was given a choice about participating in the decision making about migration to New Zealand, which was very unusual for Korean migrants.

[My parents asked me] "We are planning to migrate and the preparation process is now complete. But we give you a choice. Would you like to move to New Zealand?" (Hana)

Amy's parents also respected her own decisions.

> It was my choice if I studied what I would choose to study and when I would enrol at a university. There was no pressure to choose a particular degree either (laughter). It was all up to me if I enrolled at a university or not, and when to complete the degree. (Amy)

Expectations of Children's Education and Their Achievement

A strong emphasis on academic achievement was common among Korean parents when they were in Korea, and it remained the same after migration to New Zealand. Children's education was either the reason, or at least one of the main reasons, that almost all the participants' parents decided to migrate to New Zealand. Therefore, academic success and acquiring fluent English language were two essential areas where parents placed clear expectations and pressure on their children in the new country. Peter's mother even moved to another city so that her children would have less contact with the Korean migrant community and the children would improve their English quickly through being surrounded by more native speakers.

> Korean mothers are very well known, worldwide, [as] being fanatical educators….There were pressures from the Korean community around telling her [Peter's mother] that "you have to send kids to a school where there are not many Koreans. So they can learn English." (Peter)

There were also those parents who did not pressure children, but still had expectations and hopes for their children to do well academically. Jean's parents were very understanding and well adapted to the New Zealand education environment, but her mother "really gently somehow guided me to the area of my career without me knowing it." However, Ginny's father wanted a peaceful life style and decided to come to New Zealand. Ginny spoke of how her father's approach to children's education was considered "strange" in Korea, for he neither placed strong emphasis on academic success nor pressured children to perform to excel.

Dad insisted on that [no pressure on academic success]. Others thought my dad was strange. But dad fitted in here very well. You know, others thought my dad's approach to children's education was a bit strange in Korea. I didn't have a private tutor[8], not even once. I didn't even enrol in a tutoring school[9] once. Dad insisted that "you need to motivate yourself to study. No one can do it for you." He was stubborn like that. After migration, we realised his approach was really a norm here. (Ginny)

Richard's parents focused on children becoming all-rounders in Korea, and remained the same after migration. This boosted Richard's confidence during the challenging time of migration. Consequently, he participated in the community and school with ease.

Because my mother encouraged me to do music, sports and other stuff as well, there were always areas in which I could excel. I could make a top even though my English was not that great. I could still make a top. I was selected as a leader for the team, for instance. (Richard)

When Kowi children were introduced to New Zealand culture at school and in the community, with its different emphasis on education, clashes occurred between parents and the Kowis. There was clearly a different emphasis on education.

Kiwi parents normally emphasise sports, music, cultural and other stuff, not just academic achievement in children's education. However, my parents spent most of their lives in Korea. They didn't understand the reason for participating in sports and many other extracurricular activities. (Bryan)

Bryan needed to participate in other activities to be accepted by his peers and to be part of the community. However, he was living with a mother who was very Korean and strongly emphasised academic study and achievement. His mother was not aware of the importance of these other activities as a necessary part of the adaptation process for Bryan. This Kowi was therefore stuck between two different cultural norms.

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[8] Korean parents often hire private tutors for their children in the areas where children need extra help to improve their school work.

[9] The majority of Korean children normally attend tutoring schools to improve their academic studies after school.

When some of the Kowi children could not meet the expectations of their parents, or stopped being compliant with parents' expectations, more serious conflicts occurred.

> [Parents' expectations were] mainly on academic performance. If we didn't meet their expectations then yeah, he could easily get upset, and get angry and we got smacked. (Sarah)

More details of such challenges will be discussed later in the sections on decision making in childhood and on the impact of challenges from childhood.

Gender Roles

Participants reported growing up in a traditional Korean home where there were defined traditional gender roles, and their worldviews were influenced by that. The role of the male was observed in the role played by their fathers, who generally worked outside the home for an extended period of time, was only barely involved with parenting, and took on almost no share of the housework. The father was a figure of leadership and authority (see stories about the relationship with fathers earlier in the section on parent–child relationships).

> I think they are quite defined gender roles. Dad is dad and mum is the housekeeper mum, because dad went to work and mum stayed at home. So…yeah…so we saw a lot more of mum, I suppose. (Bella)

Participants disliked the Confucian sense of the Korean male who was supposed to be on top of the hierarchy with limited or no obligations in regard to the housework and parenting. Rosa and Pitt spoke about their perception of patriarchy in the Korean family, as follows:

> Fathers are mostly patriarchal. Korean men do not go into the kitchen. (Rosa)

> You are neither allowed to express how you feel nor what you think. It causes troubles if you do (laugh). You just have to follow the father for peace in the family. (Pitt)

Bella pointed out that Koreans preferred boys over girls in their tradition, and that there were different criteria in terms of rules and expectations for girls at home.

Because I am a girl as well there was a different expectation because I've got a younger brother. He had different, um, what do you call that…criteria or curfews on going out and things. I think it is just cultural (laugh). I think my parents didn't expect me to go further in my studies as in uni. I mean if I went to uni, they expected me to go university, but they didn't expect me to be doing….I don't know…just a standard degree I suppose, Arts degree or something, but nothing. (Bella)

Bella felt uncomfortable about the cultural expectations. However, after marriage, Bella experienced pressure by her parents-in-law to become a traditional Korean mother and she disliked it very much.

They are….oh, not very strict but very traditional. They've almost got my grandparents' generation sort of mind-set. So mum and dad were quite wowed by it as well (smile) so…But obviously they expected me to be at home and look after the child and I think, they are very…expected me to be a very traditional mum type. And the woman who doesn't say anything and the man makes all the decisions. They are very traditional. (Bella)

The female role was observed in the role of their mother who was expected to be successful outside the home if she worked, while also being the person who was mainly responsible for the housework including the cleaning, cooking, and being totally dedicated to children and husband.

I admire my mother. I admire her for her effort to do all those things and still compromise with what Dad wants one hundred percent. Surely, it was tiring and stressful for her, and they sometimes argued about that (laugh). But I've seen her trying really hard. (Richard)

However, there were changes in some families after migration, as some first generation Korean fathers began to be involved with parenting and housework. Richard talked about a reversal of gender roles after migration due to the employment of his mother when his father ran a small business at home and was doing more cooking. Scott also talked about his father having more time at home and his involvement in housework.

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Yes, well, it's now changed though. Since we came to New Zealand she [mother] began working outside. And father cooked dinner as he worked at home….Once I went to university, started driving, also my younger brother learnt to drive, and we were able to commute to places without mum's help, mum did not have to pick up or drop us off any more. Hence, my mum further increased her work hours and dad had more time at home alone in his office. He began cooking dinner for us and we had dinner together when we came home. That's the change. (Richard)

I saw my father cleaning the house a lot after we moved here. He had plenty of time on his hands here and no longer had an excuse not to (laugh). He was not busy anymore and helped out with gardening. Yes, while I was growing up I saw that a lot here. (Scott)

Identity Issues

Participants found the migration process difficult while faced with two competing cultures: at home and outside. The process brought up issues of identity confusion and a new task of redefining it in the host country. Such experiences left their mark on Kowis' mentality and triggered anxiety in their parenting (see Kowis' concerns on their children's identity and language issues in the next section "Living with tension, being the Kowi parents"). Richard recalled how the migration process was "a shock" that was "too small to call it traumatic and too big to call it just a big event." Jean really did not want to come to New Zealand, for she was settled well with good friends in her school and loved her life in Korea. She recalled "it was quite traumatic to come and live here at that time" when faced with the challenges of being a migrant. Jean commented on dual challenges that she faced after arriving to New Zealand—a shift from one culture to the other, and a shift from childhood to adolescence.

We came and it was a real culture shock as a teenager because then you were starting to form a sense of identity of who you are as an individual, your nationality, all those and your social networks with friends. (Jean)

Jean was "forced to let go" of Koreanness when she first came to New Zealand, and "had to define who I was and be comfortable with the mix, the unique mix of cultures that I was" as a 1.5 generation Kowi, and "re-form" her identity a number of times on her journey through

migration. Sarah was tearful when talking about how overwhelming it was to cope with the new school and language at the beginning of her migration: "there was the new school, new language and I had things to do....school was hard to me. The language was hard for me." In the case of Hana, she hated everything.

> I neither found anything I would like to do here, nor found anything that I could do. I hated English, I hated this country. I just wanted to graduate from university as soon as possible to go back to Korea. (Hana)

The main source of such difficulties came from the fact that these participants had to live in and adjust to two distinctively different cultures after migration. One had to live with a set of rules according to a Korean culture at home while being forced to adapt to New Zealand cultural norms outside.

> At home, you live as a Korean. Everything is Korean. Money matters, allowance from parents, Korean language, discipline styles, and what you eat. Everything is Korean. You watch Korean TV. But when you walk out of home, when you go to school, you now have to live the Kiwi way. That really didn't fit. (Jane)

Jane recalled that there were "two countries in one" in New Zealand: Korea at home and New Zealand outside of home. John described the 1.5 generation as "people without a citizenship or nationality" because they are "neither Koreans nor New Zealanders." John also felt "really placed in the middle" and said that was what "the 1.5 generation finds most difficult." He returned to Korea with a plan for a long-term stay as a young adult, but struggled to adjust to the Korean culture because he "did not have a Korean identity" and ended up coming back to New Zealand. He described how he felt alienated from the culture and gave a number of examples of cultural differences, including hierarchy and order in the society.

> I could not accept the order and submission in hierarchical relationships [in the Korean culture], the Army! There was no open-minded discussion, but order and submission depends on hierarchy. It was really hard. I was neither Korean nor New Zealander in my identity. When you visit Korea, you are treated like a foreigner, and when you come back New Zealand, Kiwis, they all ask you, "Where are you from?" I was in anguish when I was asked "Where are you from?" It was hard to answer it, whether I

should say Korean or Kiwi. When they asked "Where are you from?," You were from Korea but lived more than half of your life here. I wrestled with it for an answer, and often just replied: "from Korea." (John)

"Where are you from?" was one of the uncomfortable questions that participants had to live with, and that constantly brought up a question of their ethnic identity. Peter also spoke about the same issue.

> We go to our work place, and people always ask "Where are you from?" They [third generation Chinese colleagues] have got Kiwi accents and they are Kiwi. You cannot be any more Kiwi than that. And yet because of their kind of outlook of appearance, they are always asked. (Peter)

Bella shared about how she was seen by people as being from two different cultures and felt alienated from both societies.

> When I go and socialise with Koreans, the Koreans will say "but you've been here so long…You are Kiwi" and then if I go and socialise with Kiwis, they go "you've been here a long time but you're still Korean, Asian." So I don't fit here and I don't fit there. (Bella)

Bella's brother also struggled with an identity crisis. He "had a lot of issues. He was still going through" it because "he wants to think he is all Western."

> Because he…he doesn't speak Korean as much as I do. And he's got only Kiwi friends. And…for a while, he almost just denied the fact that he was Korean. So I said that "You can't, at the end of the day: look!"…you know….He said "Why do Asians come here?"…he was the one who said…"Why do Asians come here and do not…? if you go to Rome, you should live by Roman rules. You just don't do your own thing." He was sort of very "that" minded. He was not very open.…it took him a *long* [emphasis added] time to come around. (Bella)

Angela spoke about why she could not find a job. It was to do with her language proficiency and cultural integration even though she topped her class. In her line of work, employers

preferred those who were outgoing and she was not one of them. She ended up working in a different industry.

> I was the top [of my class]. However, locals prefer customer service to skills. How you chat with customers, how you make them feel welcomed, and how much you sell the products…It was hard for me to find a job. They did not look at my skills, but preferred outgoing personalities in job interviews. Bubbly personalities! It is important to make customers feel comfortable, keep chatting away with them and sell more products. So I was unemployed for a couple of years. (Angela)

Abby and Amy both spoke fluent English and Korean but also indicated some concerns about their proficiency in both languages.

> The 1.5 generations are neither fluent in English nor in Korean. They are fluent enough to speak daily English to buy bread and order your meal in a restaurant. However, they are not strong in academics, especially those people of my age. When you read Korean books, honestly you sometimes do not understand the content. (Abby)

> No, no. There are limitations. My English is limited. (laugh) My Korean is also limited. (Amy)

Language proficiency has affected Abby, who sometimes felt very sensitive about people's comments and became shy and reticent about participating in social conversations...

> Should I say I have become over-sensitive? For example, still now, I am a bit…You know you have those experiences a lot when you are living in a foreign country. Thoughts like "Does the person look down on me?" If the same thing happened in Korea, I would have just brushed it off and said "What was that about?" and walked away. But you become a bit more defensive here with a thought that you were treated for being an Asian. You want to talk back but you withdraw instead and leave the scene. (Abby)

John spoke four different languages and Abby spoke three, but they were both concerned about their limitations. They saw a half empty glass rather than two half full glasses in their language and cultural competency.

Some participants chose to be Korean and stayed within the Korean community. They removed themselves from the local culture and society. For example, Abby insisted that she was a full Korean and had always resided in the Korean community.

> I stayed with Korean friends at school and attended the Korean church at the weekend. Then I went back to school and hung around with Korean friends there during the break. I still believe I am a Korean and don't have two cultures mixed in me. I am a Korean living in special circumstances, the Western culture. I can accept and understand the Western culture but I've never struggled between the two cultures. (Abby)

Pitt also remained in the Korean community and felt "sorry but I am not really interested in the politics [of New Zealand]." Hana also chose to stay with Korean friends due to language barriers and cultural differences. She experienced "nothing much in common [with local peers]." At the time of the interview, she felt suffocated in a small, crowded Korean community while having difficulties integrating with the local society as an adult. This struggle was about a lost sense of belonging and her related dilemma.

> I don't want to meet Koreans too often. Too much time together. I want to meet them but not too often. New Zealand is such a small country. Everyone knows everyone [in the Korean community]. However, it is hard for me to meet Kiwis now. It is too stressful and I don't want to try that either. It is most difficult that you cannot belong to the Kiwi society, and feel uncomfortable belonging to the Korean society at the same time. (Hana)

Hana's experiences of racism set her apart from the local peers in the past. She experienced bullying and discrimination and that stopped her from integrating with local culture altogether.

When I first enrolled [at a high school], there were not many Asians. There was too much discrimination. Kiwis bullied me a lot. They threw apples and drinks at me when I walked past them. I got that too much and really hated it. I did not like them and that made me hate English. I used to tell mum that I did not want to go to school, and I cried a lot even though I was a high school kid. (Hana)

Such experiences often influenced participants' identity development, and consequently their perceptions and decisions in their parenting practice. For instance, anxiety from the past turned into parenting anxiety: concerns for their children's appearance and identity; their sense of belonging at school and in New Zealand society in general; and the development of children's dual cultural heritages and languages. These concerns will be addressed in more depth in the next section on "Living with tension, being Kowi parents."

Decision Making in Childhood

Participants reported using a number of strategies in their decision making processes as children, particularly when there were conflicts are home: 1) accepting and peacemaking, 2) escaping and rebelling, 3) negotiating, and 4) controlling information that was shared and then dealing with things on their own. The link between the childhood decision making processes and decision making in parenting will be discussed later in the next section on decision making in parenting.

When participants could not agree with their parents, many of them accepted what they were told and gave up pursuing their own wishes. Amy's parents would not allow her to have her ears pierced or hair dyed while in high school. Certainly, she had her preferences as well as a need to fit in with peers, but she accepted the rules at home and waited until she was given independence and freedom after high school. She was the youngest of several children and her siblings also accepted the rules at home. She naturally followed in their footsteps.

I did not complain much. I was still young and I could do what I really would like to do when I would grow up and go to university (laugh). Yes, I was still a [high school] student anyway. By the way, the parenting style is really individual, whether it is Kiwi or Korean. (Amy)

Pitt's father was authoritarian with strict rules, and would not listen to what the children had to say. Pitt accepted the way his father was in order to make peace at home rather than confronting him. Otherwise, everyone in the family had to deal with the consequences.

> We were careful with our nunchi[10] (laugh), and accepted the way my father was (laughter). Yes, we all had to accept his way. If we expressed our opinions and said this and that, it would have been noisy (laugh). We listened to him for peace in the family. (Pitt)

However, when participants felt hopeless about communication with their parents and unable to reach any mutual understanding, some of them escaped from home. Suzan experienced cultural differences with her father, as well as related tension. She could not agree with his patriarchal worldview. Leaving home for tertiary study in a distant city was part of a survival strategy for her, as frustration had built up inside her for years.

> I thought very strongly about leaving home as soon as I could. It was for my survival. There were cultural differences between the Kiwi and Korean cultures, and I was moving in and out between them. (Suzan)

Sarah also left home for tertiary study to get away from conflicts at home. Sarah's parents argued a lot and her father was difficult to live with because he was very domineering.

> I wanted to get away from their house. That was the main reason that I chose to go to XXX city [for tertiary study]. (Sarah)

Jane put a lot of effort into communicating with her parents about what she wanted in her life and who she wanted to marry. However, her parents were very traditional and would make decisions for their child, including a choice of the spouse. In the end, she ran away with the person whom she loved when he was not going to be accepted by her parents. She rebelled and escaped.

> I tried [to communicate with parents] many times but stopped it after a while. That is why I ended up marrying him the way I did. "Well, really? Then I will follow my

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[10] The sense of eye- or mind-reading.

heart and marry whom I love." It was a backlash [against their control]. It had been accumulating [inside me] for many years. This is my third year of marriage, so it has been accumulating for 27 years then. (Jane)

Both Jane and Suzan turned to the Korean church as an escape to find support and create some breathing space when feeling desperate about trying to deal with strict parents at home. Suzan's cultural clashes with her parents were excruciating for her. As she became a teenager with a developing ego and her own worldviews, she was less and less able to accept the way her parents were. She sought support that could help her to make sense of what was going on, and found her place in a Korean church.

> During my adolescence I clashed with my parents a lot because I became my own person with a new-found ego and began to see who they were. That was the time when I turned to the church. Someone who I used to talk to [about my issues] encouraged me to explore some resolution in a spiritual dimension. So I suddenly started attending early morning services. (Suzan)

The Korean church became a place for Jane to socialise with her peers away from her parents' watchful eyes. Her parents would allow her to go out only if it was to a church-related activity.

> That [issues with parents] is why I became a Christian. That is why I got closer to God. I did not have any siblings and it was impossible to have any understanding from my parents. There were limits to what I could share with my friends. I could not share everything with them. Not all one hundred percent. I became a strong believer and sought after God. It was because of my frustration. (Jane)

Participants often dealt with things on their own for a number of reasons: cultural clashes, lack of communication skills, difference in personalities, and other family related issues. Sometimes, they chose friends and siblings to replace confiding in their parents. When they entered adolescence, they tended to keep things to themselves even more. In the case of Richard, this was due to his father's limited communication skills. His father was not a difficult parent; however, he did not communicate with children very well. He had lost his own father at a young age and had not had a father figure while he was growing up. Richard's

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mother intervened to help when necessary and the children had to find their own way to resolve things.

> He [father] doesn't express himself much. When he does it,…actually, he doesn't (laugh). So we often just tried nunchi [to read his mind], took mother's advice, and dealt with things on our own (laugh). (Richard)

In the case of Peter, the reason was related to his father's strong personality as well as issues in the family dynamics. His father was strict and domineering, and did not listen to what children had to say. Peter went to his mother if it was "a little pragmatic practical issue." He knew "she would be a lot more willing to help." But in the case of "very sensitive issues, probably neither" parent was approached. He was also aware of his mother's stress in relation to her in-laws. Peter read nonverbal signs "not to burden" his mother.

In the case of Abby, she was not used to communicating with her parents at home. Her mother worked full time back in Korea and Abby and her brother were left to their own devices. When she came to New Zealand, her parents expected her to communicate with them often and in a lot more detail. However, this was foreign to her. Neither her parents nor Abby had developed communication skills. They did not have a relationship, either. She found friends easier to communicate with.

> If I had mum at home when I was little, I might have talked to her about my issues. However, mum always worked and I was used to managing things on my own. That was just how it was. I had a better relationship with friends. There were children who would talk to their mum about boyfriends. But I never talked to my mum about boyfriends. (Abby)

Angela's parents "perhaps trusted her too much," and did not offer their children much needed guidance after migration. She used to manage things on her own. She spoke of how lost she was without parental guidance in her migration and adaptation process. Being a first born, she did not want to burden her parents either. Hence, she dealt with things mostly on her own.

I think the first born is usually not very friendly to parents. They don't talk about something that was bad or would worry them [parents]. I talked to her [mother] about only pragmatic things. (Angela)

Erica's parents were often physically unavailable while she was growing up in her adolescence. Her father went back to Korea while her mother commuted (like the flying geese in her analogy) between Korea and New Zealand, and often left the children to continue their study in New Zealand. Erica and her brother got used to looking after themselves and also got used to keeping things to themselves.

I did not consult with them [parents], if it was a really difficult one. Perhaps because I was a first-born! I would manage it on my own. (Interviewer; managed on your own?) Yes. And my younger brother consulted me. (laugh) Yes, difficult issues usually. It was because my dad stayed back in Korea, my mum as a goose commuted between Korea and New Zealand, and often left us here alone. So we just managed on our own. My brother would talk to me if there was a problem (laugh). We kept secrets to ourselves from parents (laugh). (Erica)

Both Erica and Angela spoke about being first-born and the responsibility they felt not to worry their parents. In their perception, being a first-born in Korea meant taking on more responsibilities, showing more maturity and taking on leadership.

As indicated above, some of the participants found a solution to their problems by controlling what they shared with their parents and then dealing with things on their own. When a sensitive issue arose and the participants were not sure of a parent's reaction, they controlled the amount of information that they shared and with whom they shared, and often made decisions on their own. Bella "knew that what they [parents] didn't know wouldn't hurt them." Ginny shared her concerns "with friends but not with parents." However she "approached parents for talk or consultation if things were really going wrong, especially in the matter of my future". Scott "was close to mum, but still did not share my worries." Also, most participants avoided any direct challenge as part of their coping strategies.

Some children were able to negotiate with parents for what they needed. Bryan was able to negotiate with his mother even though it took three years for them to come to terms with

understanding each other. He "convinced" his mother to understand aspects of New Zealand culture—that New Zealand teenagers would participate not only in school work but also other activities such as sports. There was "a period of adjustment [for mother to accept the new ideas]." Bryan's father remained in Korea and supported the family while Bryan built a strong relationship with his mother. Bryan's mother was not isolated at home, but belonged to a community of migrants, often in conversation with them, and learnt about the cultural environment of New Zealand. She was also willing to learn from Bryan.

> As time went by and because two of us were here together, and mum was living here and meeting others, she had conversations with people in the community and came to more understanding about the situation. So we gradually adjusted to each other, and learnt from one another. (Bryan)

As in Bryan's case, Amy's father also remained in Korea and she lived with her mother and older siblings. There were areas in which Amy followed her mother's instruction without any complaints. However, there were also areas in which Amy and her siblings negotiated successfully with the mother. Amy spoke about her mother's cooking. Mother remained Korean and did everything Korean. For instance, hey never had bread for breakfast. Her mother offered *Daenjang guk* [11] for breakfast on school days. However, when her mother cooked the Korean soup for breakfast, Amy and her siblings were conscious of how others would smell garlic and matured bean paste in the soup. As they needed to fit in to the host culture, they "pleaded with her [mother] not to [offer Korean soup in the morning] because our hair was soaked with the smell" and they successfully convinced her in the end.

Summary

This chapter has focused on the sociocultural and other influences that Kowi parents have themselves experienced. The life of the Kowis who took part in this research may be best described as "living in two worlds in one country." Kowis shared many aspects of their experiences as Korean children growing up in two worlds in New Zealand:

- Changed relationships with their parents after migration that were somewhat improved but with a new type of tension and complexities;

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[11] A soup made of bean paste which was left to mature for months.

- Being placed in a challenging space between two different cultures, Kowis experienced new-found freedoms outside their homes in an authoritative society, while mostly being under the more authoritarian Korean style of strict parental control and domestic boundaries;

- Changed parental expectations of their children's education after migration with a focus on language learning and academic achievement, which was a different type of pressure from that which they had experienced previously;

- Observing traditional gender roles in their home while being exposed to more equal gender roles in the new host country, and noticing some changes in their father's role at home;

- Dealing with their own identity crisis, its complexity and related challenges, while dealing with the dual tasks of redefining their identity as Korean children living in two worlds in one country, and making the transition from being a child to an adolescent;

- In the midst of such new experiences, Kowis developed strategies to cope. They were 1) accepting and peacemaking; 2) escaping and rebelling; 3) negotiating; and/or 4) controlling information that was shared and then dealing with things on their own.

The effects of these powerful experiences were evident in all areas of the Kowis' parenting, and these are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS: BEING KOWI PARENTS

IN NEW ZEALAND

This chapter presents aspects of Kowis' parenting practice today, including their decision making processes, cultural aspects of parenting, couple relationships, parenting challenges, and parenting strengths. This chapter introduces the ways in which Kowis have integrated different approaches to and expectations of parenting from both worlds/cultures. The choices they have made in their parenting will be considered in the conclusion.

Decision Making in Parenting

As indicated earlier, the mixture of influences from two different cultures affected Kowis' decision making processes in childhood. It was evident that some of the strategies they developed or employed in their childhood had leaked through into their decision making in adulthood. Their parenting decisions can be categorised in three different ways: parenting the way they were brought up, parenting differently from the way they were brought up, and/or taking (and applying) what they considered to be right for their families. "Parenting the way they were brought up" seemed to resemble their coping strategy of "accepting and peacemaking" in their childhood. "Parenting differently from the way they were brought up" seemed to be linked to the strategies of "escaping and rebelling." "Taking what is right for their family" seemed to have developed from the approach in childhood of "dealing with things on their own" and "negotiating." This is a useful framework for understanding the parenting decisions of Kowis. It is woven into and reflected in the results throughout the remainder of this chapter.

There were areas in which the 1.5 generation Kowis chose to parent similarly to the way in which they were brought up. One of them related to positive and agreeable experiences which they appreciated as children because these experiences were easy to accept ("accepting and peacemaking") and adapt within their parenting. For example, some valued the openness of their parents and the fact that these parents did not pressure them to perform well at school.

Well, "it is not good enough if you are only academically successful at school." As I mentioned before, I learnt to swim at a young age. I also did other sports and many more things. I joined a cycling team, went tramping with my father a lot, played bowls a lot, but still did not lose sight of school work even though my parents did not pressure me. I did music and art, too. There is nothing really that I have not tried. I did not learn ballet, but learnt calligraphy, and won prizes for drawings when I was little. I made a top 10 in music in my region. I tried all these things. It was not the Korean way. You are supposed to put huge pressure on schoolwork all the time. It began from the time when I was in Korea....I would like to do the same for my daughter. (Richard)

In terms of values, participants liked Korean manners such as respect for parents and elders, and table manners. However, they did not want to strictly enforce them with children.

I would like to teach my children to respect the authority of parents, but at the same time, I would like to be kind to them. (Bryan)

One of the conservative views expressed was about premarital sex. Several participants did not agree with the openness and freedom of New Zealand culture in this area, and felt strongly about keeping children away from this influence.

We don't want to go down the track of that kind…is relationship stuff. You know values around premarital sex, and those kinds of things. New Zealand is liberal in that very sense in terms of use of alcohol and drugs and sex and things like that. Quite a liberal society! I don't particularly share that view; going to a school counsellor and getting an abortion without parents knowing. I think that kind of thing really makes me feel sick to my stomach. So those things...that we want to make sure that we guard against or are quite vigilant about. (Peter)

 [Challenges in parenting is] Especially teenage, [when] they hit teenage-hood. You know, some teenagers who would start going to parties, drinking, boyfriends, sex, [and] all that kind of things...…"Oh, Ben [husband], what are we going to do? She's got a boy friend. Oh, what if… sex…." (laugh). Ben was very anxious as well. He was

telling me....jokingly but "where is the shot gun? I will get the shot gun!," things like that (laugh)....Of course, we didn't want that [daughter having a baby in adolescence] to happen ideally...if a girl gets pregnant and has a child , you know, we are all...first of all faced with things like abortion you know. (Jean)

They wanted to support their children financially to adulthood. For example, they appreciated parents' support for tuition fees for tertiary education, and in some cases, for setting up their small business.

I own a café. It is not easy to run a business. It is not easy at all. But I am here today because of my parents' [financial] support. I would like to support my children the same. (John)

In terms of day-to-day living and baby care, however, they followed Korean practices more. For example, they mostly ate Korean food.

Funny that. I, I only cook probably 80–90 percent Korean food. Funny! But I think I just picked it up from mum, I suppose. (Laugh) (Bella)

The areas in which participants chose to parent differently were linked to their upbringing, mainly based on negative experiences in their childhood, which forced them to "escape and rebel" in the past.

Probably my own desire [is the reason for parenting differently from my parents]! My own image or the way I wanted to be treated. Up until, I don't know, five years ago, I didn't see anything good in the Korean parenting style. (Sarah)

Kowis tried to share child rearing and housework more equally with their partners (see more discussion on gender roles later in this chapter in the section on couple relationships in parenting). This was different from the way they were brought up. Peter's father, for example, did not participate in any of the housework, but Peter chose to do things differently;

I can probably say we [Peter and his wife] are…very very equal shares…I do a lot of, like clean the dishes, putting laundry in and out, and folding them, cleaning the house…and we both do disciplining to a degree. (Peter)

Many of them integrated different approaches to and expectations of parenting from both worlds/cultures. Here they were "dealing with things on their own" without being forced to choose one way or the other, and "negotiating" between cultures for what was more relevant to and would work for their own family. Scott tried "to take the best of both worlds," whereas Amy "didn't particularly choose something because it is the Korean or Kiwi. We just decided what is right for us." Amy and her husband "mix both Kiwi and Korean" after they first "listen[ed] to my mum, the Plunket nurses and make my own decision for what is right for me." Like Amy, other participants often made parenting decisions with their spouse. Certainly, Kowis involved family/whānau for consultation while also searching for available information from multiple sources. They experienced some pressure from the first generation grandparents but still made their own decisions.

They [my parents] can have their opinion. That's fine. It's a free world. But, um, in the end, my husband and I make the decision. (Bella)

The majority tried to integrate both the Korean and New Zealand ways and to choose what worked for them in the areas of toddler training, baby care, discipline styles, communication styles and emphasis on academic education. To illustrate:

For example, Koreans are very strict with toilet training. I happened to talk to the Plunket staff one day. She said it was ok if my child wet the bed. Consider it as just an accident. It is ok to wet the pants. Never be too harsh on your child. I think that is right. So I stopped it [punishment]. (Abby)

I think I am probably a bit more mixed between Kiwi parenting and Korean parenting because, as an example, even putting a child to bed, I think mum and dad are really anti about…because I wanted her to settle herself, which is the Kiwi style. I didn't want her to be…I didn't want to make her sleep and then put her down. I just wanted her to settle in her own cot (laugh). So she went to her own bedroom at 3 weeks. Mum and dad just…phew…that just does not happen…and she still has her own bedroom

which they just don't understand though, I don't think. They've accepted it. At first, they were quite resistant about it. But they accepted it. She actually, she sleeps much better in her own room because we've tried to keeping her in our room. And I am a light sleeper and she is a light sleeper. So it just doesn't work. (Bella)

But I just let them [nurses] tell me."Oh yeah, Ok," I accepted that [the way to baby care]. That can be done. That is fine. But for me, I am gonna do it this way. I can take it or leave it depending on what answer they gave me. I have an alternative. So it's good to be able to have those choices. So win–win! Yeah! (Jean)

However, Peter admitted that it required conscious effort to do their parenting differently by integrating both cultures, and that it could be challenging as they had to learn how to parent differently. Even though they were uncomfortable about some aspects of their parents' style, they were still very much part of the Korean community and they did not have much experience of alternative approaches to parenting. Here, Peter was using the strategy of taking what was right for his family by dealing with things on his own while negotiating the tension between the two different cultural inputs.

I must say, I have to also say, admit that it does take a lot of conscious effort. It certainly doesn't come naturally. (Peter)

When there were no clear answers, some of them tried to relax and be flexible while learning as they went.

There seems to be no [right or wrong] answer. You just have to try and find it out on your own. (Angela)

I tried not to think too hard about which— "Am I being a Korean, am I being a Kiwi?" Because that will just tie me up in a knot too much….So I just relax. (Jean)

Cultural Aspects of Parenting

The previous section described the ways in which Kowis made their decisions about adapting each cultural aspect of parenting. This section addresses details of the particular cultural aspects that were integrated in their parenting. As illustrated in these results, participants were

flexible and adapted aspects of parenting from both cultures: the Korean style, the New Zealand style and a mixture of both cultures.

Aspects of Korean Culture

New mothers' baby care practices seemed to be shaped by their own Korean mother or mother-in-law during the postpartum period, even though they had visits from the Plunket Nurse or midwives. Grandparents were often the first port of call when participants required any advice on baby care during this period. This seemed to resemble the strategy of parenting the way that they were brought up by accepting what parents advised and making peace with them, which was a strategy from their childhood. As they lived with parents during the postpartum period, it was necessary to be reconciled with their parents, who were the most important support at this stage, even though they clashed at times (see stories about that in "Contradictory cultural advice" later in this chapter).

> But it's interesting, when I first had a baby, that postpartum period. I guess I kept to the Korean tradition and customs because my mum was there, helping me. She would make sure I was warm, baby was warm. She fed me lots of seaweed soup, things like that. That was very Korean. It's quite Asian, you know. I don't know that Kiwi mums come and "stay" for weeks and help with your daughter, daughter-in-law having babies. I think that is Asian practice or custom. (Jean)

> I was confined at home for the first month and a half (after child birth). It was just too….being confined at home…even just for three weeks….You know, the Korean custom that mothers are confined [and being looked after] at home for 3 x 7 days straight after a birth. Staying at home for 21 days! It almost killed me. My mum taught me how to set up the baby for sleeping. You need to put the baby on her tummy so her face wouldn't become too round, but oval. (Laugh) [Mother said] "On her tummy, on her tummy, on her tummy!" (Laugh) Mum taught me things like that. (Ginny)

Therefore, Korean customs were mainly followed during the first few years of the second-generation children's life, including: using a Korean style of demand feeding when breastfeeding, rather than scheduled feeding, that was assumed as a New Zealand style in their perception. Also of concern were sleeping arrangements and patterns, and the type of food given to the babies when solid food was introduced.

Their reasons for choosing Korean customs were also related to practicality and the applicability of New Zealand customs to the Korean household. For example, they highlighted differences in diet and family circumstances between the Kowi and New Zealand households.

> [The New Zealand style of solid food for babies] is not applicable because Korean food is different from the Kiwi food. I cannot follow the sleeping pattern [of New Zealand] because we have only one room for ourselves [while living in the parents' place]. The circumstances don't allow a room for each. My husband tries 'Naughty Corner[12]' and things like that a bit. But it doesn't work because it doesn't suit our circumstances. I was so desperate for help and went to learn, but it was not helpful. So I stopped going [to parenting programmes]....Culturally, it is not very useful. (Jane)

Angela and John both described strong emotional attachment to children as part of being Korean in their practice of baby care.

> It was too hard for the baby and also for me that he slept in a separate room. Kiwis seem to manage it well when their baby cries. But I couldn't do it [leaving the baby crying alone in his room]. When I think about it, my mindset may still be Korean. It is more comfortable to have the baby in my bed. (Angela)

> I tend to favour my first child [over the second] because I feel jeong[13] to him every time I see him. Everything about him! It feels better holding him in my arms when sleeping. I do have such strong attachment to him. You cannot ignore first jeong. That is about being Korean, I guess. Aren't I very Korean when I talk about it? (John)

Erica explained how she would prioritise her son over her work and perceived it as part of Korean culture.

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[12] Sitting a child in the most boring corner of the house as part of discipline and punishment when the child has behaved badly.

[13] A strong sense of attachment, bonding and love.

The fact that I can happily give up [my work] when I look at xxx [child's name]? When I think about it, it is Korean. (Erica)

Participants cooked a lot of Korean food. *Kimchi* was one particular menu item they preserved the most. *Kimchi* is a traditional fermented dish made of vegetables with a variety of seasonings. It has a symbolic meaning for Koreans as it is a Korean national dish, and is part of daily staple diet in Korean cuisine. It is commonly said that you are not a Korean if you don't eat *kimchi*. Erica proudly reported that "we still do *kimjang*[14]." Amy also stated with pride her ability of "even know[ing] how to make *kimchi*." As it requires a lot of time and skill to make a good pot of *kimchi*, a lot of Koreans buy it from a shop nowadays. *Kimchi* is also readily available in the Korean grocery shops in New Zealand. Hence, when Erica and Amy said that they knew how to make *kimchi* or they even did *kimjang*, they were emphasising how Korean their diet was and how Korean they were. Bella mentioned cooking a lot more Korean food and how "it is a biggy" in their life. In the case of Angela, she tried to enforce and instil Korean identity into her children with *kimchi* in their daily diet.

We do a lot in the Korean way at home. Well, I tell children we are Koreans. When they refuse to eat kimchi, I tell them they have to because they are Koreans. They don't know what being a Korean really means, but they eat kimchi assuming that is what they have to do if they are Korean. (laugh) (Angela)

Korean language was an important part of teaching the Korean culture and identity that they put effort into preserving at home. They emphasised the importance of teaching Korean language to children as a must.

When I first had her, I set a plan that I would make sure she would master Korean before turning three. A lot of Korean children can master the Korean writing by three. If you don't do it before three….Well, they need to master it before they start the school. Children learn English at school anyway. So I concentrated on Korean, and bought her only Korean books and spoke only in Korean at home. (Abby)

In terms of language teaching, the Kowis were much more flexible in their approach compared to their own parents who forced the Kowis to maintain their Korean and also

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[14] Making kimchi in bulk for the winter.

quickly master English as soon as they arrived in New Zealand. Jean introduced children to the Korean language "at a basic level"; her motto was "don't force them" because she recognised "that is really hard" for children from her own experiences. Peter said he "kind of enforces in a very gentle way without getting in too much trouble."

Participants accessed grandparents as a useful source and influence on Korean language teaching. When they lived with or near Korean grandparents, children picked up Korean language more easily.

> I've just leant to speak more Korean to her, actually, practically ALL Korean to her. I don't know why that is. It is just because I speak whatever language is easier at the time or situation. But, um, I just seem to speak a lot of Korean then. And also the fact that mum and dad's close by. So she just picks up. She only knows 'ta' and 'bye' in English, I think. But otherwise that's all Korean. (Bella)

In the case of Peter and Amy, their fathers insisted that they taught Korean language and culture to their children. Both Peter and Amy welcomed the idea.

> Especially for my father, it's really important that my children stay Korean, talk Korean, write Korean, and all that. (Peter)

> He [Amy's father] always reminds us that we must teach our son Korean, not just English. He insists that it is not enough to speak English in this competitive society. They must do both. (Amy)

In addition, there was an interesting aspect regarding the Korean language in this group. All of the participants but one gave me a Korean pseudonym for their names in the interview. Only three chose to be interviewed in English, even though all eighteen of them spoke a reasonable amount of English. Some of them used both Korean and English, but mainly Korean in the interview. Some said that they were more comfortable expressing their thoughts in Korean, while others said that they would like to be interviewed in Korean because they "can still speak Korean well." Again they were emphasising how Korean they were. Issues around Korean language and identity will be discussed later in the section entitled "Living with tensions, being the Kowi parent."

Participants maintained aspects of the Korean style of discipline in their parenting. Peter appreciated manners such as respecting parents. He tried to teach his children Korean manners but not as strictly as his parents.

> We actually, we do similar things [to my parents]. Probably not as strict! But we will still, I still try to teach them very similar things in terms of manners and make sure they bow and they greet. Make sure that when their grandparents had a visit and are going home, make sure they all come to the front door to say good bye and things like that. So it's all there. (Peter)

> For example, the Korean style is better in terms of proper manners. You bow and show respect to elders. (Jane)

Participants also chose the Korean way in the area of conservative views on premarital sex, as mentioned before. They did not agree with the openness of New Zealand culture in this area, and felt strongly about keeping children away from the influence.

A firm emphasis on academic achievement was common in the parenting style of the parents of this cohort when they were in Korea, and it remained the same after migration to New Zealand. Now Kowis had their own children: some were influenced by Korean culture with a strong emphasis on education, while others were more relaxed about it. In fact, all eighteen participants had strong interests in children's education, but none of them wished to be forceful about insisting on academic success. Some examples were:

> I don't want to push that. I don't throw things like that. We can kind of enforce it in a very gentle way without getting too much trouble. (Peter)

> I mean there is no doubt my husband and I have high expectations of our children. Some things are non-negotiable like "you will go to university." We don't even negotiate on that. It is about "right, what are you going to do in university?" It is not about "are you going to university?" We both been university so like it is like "you are going to university" but it is not about "you are going or not," but "which university?" (laugh). "What are you gonna do in university" things like that…. [I hope them to

have] lots of experiences, learning, and to participate in life and give as much as you receive. (Jean)

If my child says that he would like to start a café, or does not want to continue their academic study, I would be alright and say, "OK. Quit that [what you do] as soon as possible and find what you would really like to do." If they say, "I want to become a pop star," I would say, "OK. Go for it. It is not a bad decision. Try it. But if you find that it is not your destiny, come back." I would like be able to say like that. If academic study is not what they would like to pursue, or they want to do sports instead, I would say, "Go for it. But do not regret your decision." (John)

It is my style that I would say "You do what you like," and "Just go and play. Play!" (Ginny)

Whether it is study or sports, it is best to offer it when your child asks for it. Otherwise, it becomes too much work to children and me. If I force them to do something, we will both get stressed. (Hana)

I don't want to suggest anything, so she could find what she wants. I try not to suggest any hopes and dreams for her because I do not want to influence her in any way. (Richard)

Aspects of New Zealand Pākehā Culture

The Kowis who took part in this study preferred the relaxed lifestyle in New Zealand to the Korean style of formality. They disliked the Korean culture of formality in which you were pressured to be conscious of how others saw you, and of their expectations of you. Adopting the New Zealand style seemed to be linked to the strategy of "parenting differently from how they were brought up" and the childhood strategy of "escaping and rebelling." However, it was also about "taking what was right for my family" which was associated with "dealing with things own my own" and "negotiating."

My mum is so self-conscious about how she dresses. She thinks you must follow the current fashion. I don't know why. Mum says I am strange. She thinks I dress like the poor on the street. I tell her that it doesn't really matter what strangers on the street

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think of you. You are not going to meet them again anyway (laugh.) I do say that (laugh). But she still complains about how I dress. Her circle of friends is the same. They are very self-conscious about how others see them. I don't know why. (Erica)

Whereas if I was in Korea, because I am Korean, they place demands on you to be, act, think and behave in a certain way as a Korean. I would have struggled very much back in Korea. (Jean)

But like tidy, in terms of clothing, I am very kiwi. I am very relaxed about it. I don't mind if my kids go in bare feet, or shorts and shirts. My wife is very not so much. (Peter)

Participants integrated values of New Zealand culture such as freedom of choice, individuality, egalitarianism, communication between parents and children, and positive reinforcement. They used the strategy of negotiating between two different cultural values for choosing what would work for their families. Some examples were:

When they grow up, they have to be independent. Independence from parents and financial independence! Certainly! It will be good to be financially independent as early as possible, as early as possible. (Bryan)

I guess especially as they grow older and they get into adolescence, I am hoping to give them more freedom and more choices. (Peter)

Must be a Western culture [that I use]! It's more about encouragement, and I suppose, praising. (Bella)

I really would like to implement some of the local parenting approaches. To be specific, it is about respecting a child's opinion. It doesn't matter what their gender or age is. Admit that I am wrong if they are right. I think it is very important. (Suzan)

Scott, Pitt, and Peter valued the degree of openness and intimacy in conversation with children, and emotional expression between father and child, which was more Kiwi in their perception.

Learning from the Kiwi fathers….I would love to have a lot of dialogue with my children. (Scott)

I really want to be like a friend to my children. A lot of dialogue! Eating out together often, really spending time to play together, [and] kicking the balls together. When they become adults I would still like to go out with them for a drink, a beer! Really hope they can talk to me about anything like to a friend, without any hesitation. I really want to be a friend to them. That is my goal. (Pitt)

I will be parenting my children more differently than similarly to my parents. For example, in the way of emotions! For example, emotions in Korea, especially for man expressing emotions, is kind of a weakness. Especially feeing sad or whatever is seen as a weakness. You know like, Korean guys argue and someone breaks into tears, then you've lost. (Peter)

Peter indicated how he welcomed family centeredness in the New Zealand culture, where you were expected to balance work and the family, in comparison to the Korean norm, where you were asked to commit fully to work and to sacrifice family for the common good.

Things I like include their closeness or intimacy. No, not intimacy but the close relationships they have. For example, bringing kids into work sometimes or picking them up. I really like the fact that New Zealand society as a whole really embraces and puts a lot of importance on family life, and work–family balance. (Peter)

As mentioned in the previous section, the Kowis had adapted a lot of practices of baby care from Korean culture, but there were also some areas in which New Zealand culture was adapted, such as bed wetting, breast feeding, and discipline (see stories in the section on decision making in parenting).

I breast feed the child according to a schedule [opposed to demand feed], the New Zealand way. (Rosa)

They say no smacking in Kiwi parenting. It is never allowed! (Amy)

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The Kowis valued multiculturalism and tried to implement its values in their parenting, for their children's development.

> I've come to appreciate myself in New Zealand. It is a place you can still be who you want to be and people more or less respect that. (Jean)

> It is a strength of New Zealanders that they acknowledge other cultures. We live with people from all sorts of different cultures. (Richard)

Gender roles were an area in which participants recognised a clear difference between the two cultures (see examples in the previous section on gender roles and also in the section on couple relationships in parenting). The 1.5 generation Kowis preferred equality and the individuality of women's roles in the family in New Zealand culture as opposed to the traditional Korean style of patriarchy. Because they did not like the Korean distribution of gender roles, they used the strategies of "parenting differently from how they were brought up" and then moved towards "take what is right for my family" by "dealing with things on their own" and "negotiating" in their couple relationships.

Kowis had the opportunity to observe different styles of gender roles in the new host culture despite the fact that they were observing traditional gender roles at home. In their perception, New Zealanders shared parenting and housework between the couple more equally. In Jean's perception, the New Zealand gender roles were more equal as housework and child rearing were "negotiable and flexible [between the husband and wife]." There were no strict gender roles in her perception. Inequality of gender roles made her "boil" and become "frustrated" because "women are being treated as a second-rate citizen just because you are a female" in the Korean culture. Jean called the working mother's conflict between work and family "Korean guilt" in the sense that it was "the world's most important job being a mum" that was imposed on Korean mothers. Jean shared her distress at seeing Korean women within a restricted female gender role requiring them to live as a house wife and a mother to their children above anything else in Korean culture.

> Being a woman in Korea, you are **so** [emphasis] restricted. That's my perception. A lot of Asian girls are told, "You are just a girl. You shouldn't go to university." Probably

my mother's generation, that was their thinking. And then when you are married, stay home and raise your children, you know, serve your husband. But what about me? I have a brain. I have a qualification. I want to work. But I think, in Korea, for women who want the best of both worlds, that is **so** [emphasis] hard for them because they are expected to do **all** [emphasis] the housework as well as be successful in their job. Their husbands aren't going to help out. Whereas in New Zealand, I've got a very supportive husband who is practically very good in the house. And I think I intentionally looked for a husband like that who would be who (giggle) in my mind 50/50 in everything. (Jean)

Abby was furious because even 1.5 generation male friends of hers did not change nappies and the task was left to the wives only. She thought it was "really laughable"." In her view, child rearing should be shared, and she blamed her father-in-law for her husband's unequal share of child rearing and housework: "It is my father-in-law's influence on him [husband]."

Erica enjoyed the fact that in New Zealand culture mothers had their own identity and self-worth as individuals. She thought "it was the influence of the Kiwi culture when I search for who I am, and love myself," instead of giving up everything for her child, which she perceived to be a very Korean thing to do. It was interesting to observe that Erica still gave up her work to be with her child for the first few years, while preferring the New Zealand attitudes about mothers' self-worth and identity as individuals.

I am more Kiwi in that sense. Search for who you are, and love yourself! (Erica)

Jane also preferred the position of New Zealand mothers as it helped mothers to sustain themselves better and children to grow up more independently in her perception.

Kiwi mothers are more mother-centred, not just prioritising children [over everything]. It is the mother's survival strategy. I think that is better. It is not just for the mother anyway. My child is around 2 to 3 years old. When you look at other Kiwi children at that age, they are a lot more independent than my child. They pick themselves up pretty well if they fall. They stand up straight away and get back to what they were doing. They go and mingle with others without any problem in a new play group whereas Korean children are usually very shy. (Jane)

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In comparison to their own parents, Kowis more cooperatively worked together with their spouses in the areas of parenting and housework, especially if they were married to 1.5 or second generation spouses (see more details about this in the following section on couple relationships in parenting). They learned parenting skills together, discussed and consulted each other when making decisions, and supported each other emotionally.

As Kowis drew on parenting practices they appreciated from both cultures, interesting patterns of cultural blending became evident. Food and meal time behaviours illustrate this. For instance, John would feed his child the Korean way, meaning that he would encourage the child to eat more and would feed the child, even though he could feed himself. At the same time, he would encourage conversation at the dinner table, which was traditionally not done in Korea but which he perceived as a positive parenting practice in New Zealand culture. Others simply mixed both Korean and New Zealand food.

> I am pretty relaxed and free. I don't tell them off if they talk at the dinner table. I feed them even though they can feed themselves….I try to feed them one more spoon. (John)

> I mix both because I cannot find all the right ingredients here that are in the Korean cook book. (laugh) I didn't cook rice soup with cheese, but put a piece of cheese on top of it when introduced solid. Yes, I mixed it. (Hana)

> Breakfast? Sometimes we have rice, other times bread. (Amy)

> [People ask me] "What kind of food [do you offer your child]? Rice?" She eats a lot of rice. She eats pasta, rice, bread whatever it is. She is a good eater. She would eat anything. I think…no…no problems there. (Bella)

Couple Relationships in Parenting

It was apparent that Kowis' relationships with their spouses, and their spouses' cultural backgrounds, influenced their practice in parenting—specifically, whether they were married to first generation, 1.5 generation, or second generation. Thirteen of the eighteen participants

were married to 1.5 generation Kowis and they commented on a lot of commonalities between them. The commonalities were related to life experiences in childhood, family dynamics, migration experiences, understanding of cultures, and language use. It was easy for them to use the strategy of "parenting differently from how they were brought up," and "taking what is right for their family." They understood each other as 1.5 generation Kowis, and enjoyed support and understanding from one another which they did not often receive elsewhere. Some examples were:

We understand each other well because of similar life experiences. It is the biggest strength [in our relationship]. It would have been difficult if I were married to a new migrant from Korea. (Bryan)

There are a lot of common understandings as well as stories that we can share with each other. (Ginny)

We speak [to each other] whatever language we want. 50–50? Just whatever language is better at the time. People [Korean migrants] who'd have just come from Korea just didn't seem to fit [with her style] because they had a different culture. I dated Kiwi boys too, [but] Kiwi boys just didn't fit, just because of cultural differences. They [New Zealand boyfriends] just didn't understand Korean culture and the food was a big issue as well, and the language barrier also. (Bella)

However, it should be noted that the 1.5 generation Kowis were not a homogeneous group. They reported some cultural differences amongst themselves, depending on their degree of cultural adaptation. They also stated that the 1.5 generation Kowis were not all exactly a 1.5 generation.

1.5 generation [is] not being a homogeneous group. I think there is a really big degree of difference between 1 and 1.5 generations, to the other end of 1. 5 generation where one is more close to second and one is more close to first.· (Peter)

[The difference] depends on each individual. The social environment [of each individual] influences a lot. If you socialise with Koreans more and spend more time with them, you will remain as Korean, and if you are very friendly with Kiwis you

will become Kiwi. Self-motivation to choose who you wanted to become is important. (Bryan)

Even within this group of participants, there were 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4 generations who were closer to the first generations' experiences and identity, and 1.6, 1,7, 1.8 and 1.9 generations who felt closer to the second generations' experiences and identity. Nine out of the 18 participants rated themselves on a scale to identify their cultural mix. Using the scale was not initially planned when first interviewing the participants. for the object of the current research was not to investigate Kowis' identity issues. However, as the interviews were progressing, the question of how they would rate themselves on this scale was used when participants spoke about identity-related areas, particularly when they were pertinent to their parenting practices in terms of cultural integration.

Table 4. Identity Rating

Name	Rating
Peter	1.6
Sarah	More to Kiwi
Jane	1.8 or 1.9
Abby	Exactly 1.5
John	Depends
Bryan	1.7
Amy	1.7 or 1.8
Ginny	1.2 or 1.3
Bella	1.7

Even though they were married to 1.5 generation Kowis, there was a degree of difference in their adaptation to the new culture and cultural values between the spouses. It was also interesting to see how the participants rated their 1.5 generation spouse. For instance, Bella rated herself as 1.7 but her husband as 1.3 because of differences in cultural adaptation and integration.

I think I am a bit more Westernized than he is. Like…if…if on a scale, I will probably towards more 7 [1.7 generation] towards the WWestern culture, he is probably 7 [1.3 generation] towards Korean culture. So there is a lot of clash in that. (Bella)

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Ginny rated herself as 1.2 or 1.3 and her husband as "second generation in his English writing, but 1.2 for the level of his spoken English" because "even though he [husband] has been here a long time, he doesn't speak English that well." The more the Kowi spouse was close to the first generation and the more the Kowi was to the second generation, the greater the cultural differences were between them. Abby's husband was a 1.5 generation Kowi but more traditional and used traditional corporal punishment, which she did not agree with.

> At a meal time, she [daughter] sometimes does not finish her dish and moves around. I too ask her, "You have to finish your dish." But I hate it when my husband uses a stick to discipline and she eats while crying." (Abby)

Being the 1.5 generation or closer to the second generation did not always mean that the wife would look for more equality in her relationship with the husband. The spouses of Richard, John, Pitt and Bryan were 1.5 generation Kowis who stayed at home for their young children, did not work, and were mainly responsible for housework and child rearing. These women chose a more traditional female role in both Korean and New Zealand cultures. Their reasons for choosing such a role were not clear, as this was not an area that the interviews were initially designed to explore.

In terms of sharing housework and parenting, there was no single pattern of sharing or not sharing among the Kowi couples. For instance, Scott and Peter shared housework and parenting equally with their spouses in "a Kiwi style" at home.

> For example, I prepare breakfast and pack his lunch, while my wife changes his nappy. While I am getting ready, she puts cream on his face. While my wife is preparing a meal, I play with him. I do dishes while my wife baths him. We take turns. We take turns to put him in his bed too. I guess it is a Kiwi style. (Scott)

> Fairly equal [gender roles]. We both do disciplining to a degree. When I am around, obviously I tried to do it because I know obviously that my wife's been completely battered and exhausted through the day from the kids. So I try to do that. But she then obviously wants to protect me from doing too much of that because knows I am being reversed. So it goes both ways. (Peter)

However, Pitt left the entire housework and childcare to his wife to be in charge.

> She [wife] has stayed home since she got pregnant with the first child. Staying home and just looking after children. I said, just be happy and do whatever you enjoy doing. I let her do nothing but only childcare, and she still finds it hard. (laugh) She doesn't even work but struggles with child rearing….In my point of view as a man, I don't get it. She doesn't work outside (laugh), just look after our children, and housework. I did not even ask her to look after my parents. (laugh) All I asked was looking after children. Still she struggles with it….I left childcare solely to my wife. (Pitt)

In the case of 1.5 generation marriages to first generation Koreans, cultural differences between spouses were clearly evident. It seemed to be difficult for them to use the strategy of "take what is right for their family" because what was right was different between them. More negotiation was required with the first generation Korean spouse in comparison to with a Kowi spouse. The strategy of "parenting differently from how they were brought up" did not apply because "escaping and rebelling" from what they were taught, and "dealing with things on their own" was not something that was easily understood or agreed upon by the first generation spouse due to the cultural differences in their childhood experiences.

Four participants (Peter, Sarah, Angela and Erica) were married to first generation Koreans, and they described cultural differences that they experienced between themselves and their spouse in a number of areas. Their first generation spouses spent all of their childhood and adolescence in Korea and were more accustomed to Korean culture (i.e. Confucianism), and parented more the Korean way.

> At times, I notice the Confucian values in my husband's mannerisms, and how Korean he is. (Sarah)

The choice of food at home was influenced by the first generation spouse who favoured Korean so the children would be introduced to more Korean food.

> We still do Kimjang. My husband loves rice (laugh). He doesn't like it if I bought commercial Kimchi [rather than handmade]. (Erica)

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The participants reported their first generation spouses' difficulties as new migrants—their anguish, language difficulties, struggles in understanding the New Zealand culture and customs, and experiences of discrimination. These experiences affected their parenting.

> My wife still kind of has that kind of view of being more vigilant about being a Korean, being a foreigner in a society. So I think it is more sensitive….She actually had a good cry about it [an incident that the child had at school] (laugh). That is part of the language barrier, part of that is culture. I think part of it, an important part of it, is being a first generation being that you will be always feeling like a foreigner in a society. But that has an impact on our parenting as well. She is more into making sure my child doesn't get left out, making sure she fits in. Also things like clothing. She is a bit different. (Peter)

The first generation Kowi husbands had a different understanding of gender roles, which was based on typical Confucian values. They expected the wife to be a traditional mother and serve the family.

> He thinks that he doesn't need to do any housework because he works outside (laugh). In his mind, he is entitled to go out socialising and to have own time. But he doesn't think it applies to me. It is only for himself. He doesn't have any idea that a husband and wife need to spend some time together either. (Angela)

The Kowis experienced clashes with in-laws. It was difficult for the Kowis to understand the Korean parents-in-laws' traditional values and manners.

> We have clashed a lot. They don't understand us [Suzan and her husband]. Our way of thinking is so different. My husband and I are straight forward in expressing how we feel. We like it that way. It is cultural!… However, they are not. For example, they would offer us a plate to try but would not take no for an answer. You know how Koreans are. Perhaps it is a cultural difference. However, they are beyond the typical Koreans. They get offended and cannot accept our answer. It was really hard….expressing [your feelings and thoughts]. (Suzan)

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They also experienced differences in language. Some first generation spouses had difficulties dealing with their children's English, and felt limited in their communication with their children or offended by some expressions that their children used.

> My husband hates it when my child calls him 'you' in English (laugh). He feels his son is disrespectful because of non-honorifics [in his expression]. He knows his son isn't, but he really hates to hear that. (Erica)

The Kowi participants and their first generation spouses accessed different information about parenting depending on what language they were more comfortable with. The 1.5 generation Kowis were free to access information in English, whereas the first generation spouses were more comfortable with information written in Korean. Hence they accessed Korean internet sites and imported Korean parenting books from Korea, and were consequently influenced by these resources.

> But my wife seeks and accesses the [Korean] information very well, but I cannot do it well. All I read is some of the monthly newsletters. I also skim read the newsletter from Family Works[15] or something. My wife says that she doesn't read information from Family Works because it is hard for her to skim read in English. However, she accesses Korean information about parenting. (Richard)

Two participants were married to the second generation spouses. They both reported that their second generation migrant spouses were still part of the Asian/Korean culture in their values and beliefs, but more fluent in English and more competent in and familiar with New Zealand culture. Their spouses sometimes provided guidance about New Zealand society and its systems, including parenting, for the Kowis.

> She speaks English better than I do. She has been here for a long time and knows the system here well. Because she was brought up here, she has a good understanding about the New Zealand culture. She is a good guide to me in those areas, especially about the Kiwi culture. There are areas that I am not familiar with, for instance, Kiwi manners. She tells me about those. It is great. (Scott)

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[15] Family Works is an organisation that offers support and counselling for children their families. It also provides parenting programmes, budgeting advice and food banks in New Zealand. https://familyworks.org.nz/

However, Scott also reported some cultural differences. He shared his difficulties when his wife could not understand but complained about some aspects of traditional Korean customs in the migrant community. It seems that the strategy of "take what is right for their family" was difficult to agree on and more negotiation was needed in this case.

> You know Koreans easily ask you a favour. You know you do it because of Jeong, Korean Jeong. However, my wife doesn't understand the concept. Perhaps it is my personality that I cannot easily say no (laugh). "Yes I will do it as you requested." However, she doesn't understand if I am busy helping out the Korean Society. She has lived here for a long time. You know Kiwis do not ask such a big favour like that. They are very independent of each other. But Koreans, they do easily ask a favour from each other. She really struggles with it. That is something we don't agree on. (Scott)

Jean also described her husband being strong about children's independence and how she felt it was harsh in the beginning. But she now agreed with his values, which she thought were in line with the New Zealand style in her perception.

> He would order the children, "Alright, it's time to do the rubbish." I would say "No, that is alright. I will do it." Then he says "No, they have to do it"—you know, it's something like that. But that is actually I agree that probably it is better for the children to grow up knowing how to do those household chores….I know my oldest daughter; she is going to university next year. If she chose to go flatting or leave the house, I have a confidence in her that she would be perfectly fine. She will be able to look after herself. Well. (Jean)

Challenges in Parenting

The Kowis who took part in this research reported that they confronted multiple challenges at home and outside in their community because of the contradictory cultural influences and resources that were previously presented. While they were conditioned by traditional Korean values, they were now faced with the reality of their own children, the second generation. Kowis were looking for ways to support their own children by attempting to integrate cultural

heritages in their parenting of the second generation, without losing any sight of their own cultures and while integrating the host culture more fully. This was a new type of tension in comparison to the tension that they had faced in the past, and often required the strategy of "taking what is right for their family" by negotiating between the cultures. Kowis sought after and found their own systems that would work for them and that sat well with their family, using the strategy of "taking what is right for their family" by "dealing with things on their own" after "escaping and rebelling" from what was taught. However, the challenges that they faced as children clearly affected the way they parented now. It was clear that the past was present in the lives of Kowis today.

Impact of Challenges from Childhood

Reflecting on the challenges of living with traditional Korean parents in their childhood, as discussed in the previous chapter, participants disliked the rules and restrictions that were based on Korean Confucianism and forced on them by parents. Hence, Kowis used the strategy of "parenting differently from how they were brought up" by "escaping and rebelling" from the Korean style to adopt favourable aspects of the New Zealand style in their parenting in many cases.

For example, Jane hated "Confucianism that is placed in Korean adults' mentality" because it brought restrictions and created excessive formality to daily life in her perception. She called it "stuck in a rut" and "useless." Such experiences in her childhood made a negative impact on her parenting. When her child got hurt either physically or emotionally, she froze before taking any action to comfort the child. It inhibited her from expressing her caring as a parent.

> I cannot deal with it when she gets hurt or someone hurts her. If she fell or jammed her hand or something, I cannot deal with it. My husband always tells me off about that. I am supposed to respond straight away to help her, but I just can't. It takes some time. I freeze for that moment and can only respond to it later. My husband complains, "She fell. You should pick her up straight away. You should check if she was hurt or not. Why are you standing there frozen?" I didn't know that I was doing it. But I always did [freeze]. (Jane)

Jane preferred the values of New Zealand culture that prioritised practicality over formality, structure and order. It was clear that her values and beliefs had changed after migration. She

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spoke several times about freedom, openness and understanding that she would like to give to her children.

> I want to teach my children freedom to express their opinions, express their emotions and thoughts clearly. Express them to adults or anyone, really! (Jane)

In the case of Peter, his father was very strict to the extent that none of his cohort would have experienced. He found it difficult and exhausting. His father did not change at all after migration.

> Manners were always very, very important. Very, very important. I mean, things not, not kids, not kids of my own age. I am not a kid any more, but even our cohort wouldn't have experienced that level of, for example, I never, never remember calling my parents Abba and Umma which is kind of mum and dad (in Korean).... He always said that Abba and Umma, mummy and daddy are only for babies who can't pronounce it properly. That is kind of his approach. Being proper has always been important. (Peter)

Peter consciously chose to parent very differently from his father by offering emotional support and understanding to his own children so that they would be able to express their own feelings. He "tr[ies] to teach my children to feel comfortable enough to express their emotions."

Suzan found it challenging living with her father who was a patriarch and who did not integrate with the new host society at all, but instead isolated himself from the new environment.

> He's not changed at all (after migration) but became more stubborn. He doesn't meet anyone outside...Yes, he was granted residency in the business investor category, but stayed home for the last 20 years without meeting anyone outside... (Suzan)

She welcomed the new egalitarian culture of New Zealand, and adapted to it very well. Consequently, she had felt an increasing gap and lack of understanding between her father and herself after migration.

[t]he parenting style that demands children unconditionally listen to their parents, or parents say with authority that they are always right and children are always wrong. Even though your pride gets in the way, you have got to listen to children if they are right. However, Korean adults seem to be weak in that area. (Suzan)

Suzan valued aspects of egalitarianism and equality between parent and child very much in her parenting.

I would like to respect my child as an individual…I am sick of it [children not being listened to]. I have seen it too much. Perhaps it is cultural. But I would like to adapt good models of the local parenting styles. (Suzan)

Pitt's father was a conservative and traditional Korean man who remained an authority figure, who did not spend any time with Pitt and had clear beliefs about how parenting should be done. Pitt found his controlling challenging, "*especially in my early teens, it was tough because he was really strict.*"

In contrast, Pitt talked about how he would like to offer freedom and have open communication with his son. He planned to spend a lot of time with him when he grew up.

I would love to have a lot of conversation with my children. I want to make sure there is no blockage in our relationships. A good flow of conversation is really important between children and parents, and husband and wife. I did not have it with my parents. I really would like to with my children. A parent like a friend! (Pitt)

John's father was a figure of authority and John feared him as a child. His rules were strict and took an extreme traditional measure to teach John. He explained how his father used physical discipline to stop John from smoking.

He felt that I was heading to a wrong direction only after 6 months of arrival here. Well…of course, it [corporal punishment] is not allowed here but he invited all the Korean seniors [older students in his school], asked them to sit, and offered me to smoke. Then he beat me up…in front of them. (John)

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In his interview John spoke several times about how he would like to give his sons freedom of choice.

> I was pushed. [My father] pushed me in a direction to do what he wanted me to do. Perhaps that is the reason I want to do the opposite. I don't want to push them [children] and direct how they should live their life. I don't want them to live my life. (John)

When the Kowi children could not meet the expectations of parents or stopped being compliant with parents' expectations, more serious arguments occurred. Sarah talked about difficulties watching fights between her father and older sister.

> He [father] had too many expectations especially when she was born. She was raised with high expectations all throughout. But….around…I don't know, 8 or 10, it was starting to fall apart. She couldn't meet the expectations and she wasn't really focusing on the study. And….yeah…she was becoming more rebellious. And she was more outgoing. She liked her friends which my parents didn't really like. (laugh) They fought most of the time. (Sarah)

Sarah made a conscious effort to do things differently from her own parents, often attending parenting programmes and accessing parenting resources to find a way to parent "the way I wanted to be treated" in her childhood.

Some participants became independent and more mature while helping parents in their business, as they were better equipped with language and cultural proficiency. But the latter sometimes became a source of conflict between parents and children. Rosa recalled how "mother's ego was hurt because she "often had to ask favours of me," and it caused arguments between them. Stress at home also caused difficulties in sibling relationships for Rosa. She and her sister argued a lot because of the stress they experienced. "We were never like that before in Korea." Stress from the past had a negative impact on her functioning as an individual and also as a parent.

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> I tend to give up easily. When things get too complicated, I cannot think about other things….I just let it go. It is not about being practical, but perhaps becoming lazy. (Rosa)

Erica was in similar circumstances with added responsibilities, but it worked positively for her by boosting her self-esteem and a sense of independence.

> I have grown to be mentally independent. I don't rely on others to do things for me. (Erica).

She brought the same concept to her parenting with confidence. For instance, she was not afraid of letting her child make mistakes when others were against her.

> I let him [the child] explore. I let him touch things in the kitchen, so he can learn to be careful. (laugh) But [my husband] stops him and over-protects him. I don't like his approach. I cannot accept that. (Erica)

Living with Tensions: Being the Kowi Parent

Participants disclosed anxiety about being 1.5 generation Kowi parents because they were living with tensions between conflicting cultural experiences and expectations that brought confusion and undermined their confidence about parenting. They felt they lacked certain skills or experiences to support and parent their children. In the case of those Kowi parents who were isolated at home, had limited access to New Zealand public resources, or who stayed in a small circle of Koreans, they remained Korean in their parenting. However, once their children started preschool, they were forced into a transition with their children, and experienced anxiety about the changes that were required of them. They began reflecting, while facing a new transition that required them to use the strategy of "taking what is right for their family" by "negotiating" between the cultures to find ways to support their children more creatively in this new stage. However, they lacked sufficient information and support to navigate confidently the new ways that would work in their unique individual circumstances, and instead felt anxiety.

A number of participants indicated concerns about not knowing enough about the developmental process of preschoolers and what they needed to learn, such as rhymes and

songs in English. The Kowis spent their first formative five years or more in Korea and had very little knowledge about the first five years of child development in the culture of New Zealand. Richard and Scott were faced with circumstances in which they did not have sufficient information to help their children's development.

> As a 1.5 generation, I have not experienced things in English when I was a young child, things like rhymes, children's songs, etc., I do not know how to do them in English. Even things like peek-a-boo, for example—I didn't know the term in English till recently! I find this a limitation, for when my child grows and gets into kindergarten and primary, she will be learning stuff that I have never learnt, and this may create some barriers between the parents and the child—or it could be a huge learning curve for the parents. (Richard)

> I went straight into high school here. I am concerned about what if I cannot help with my child's homework when he starts primary school? What if he brings a note from school and you are asked to do some project with him and you have no idea about it? Kiwi fathers will have no problem with it. However, I neither went to primary school nor intermediate here. I don't think I can help. (Scott)

John and Hana expressed concerns about their lack of confidence and skills to participate in their children's school, and to interact with other parents. They were anxious about taking the role of a parent who was expected to actively participate in the New Zealand system of education.

> I heard that the rate of parents' participation in their children's school is really high here. We would love to participate too, but there will be a lot of things we wouldn't understand. Won't it be challenging to get involved? I think it will be most challenging to face. (John)

> It is really dependent on parents' participation at school that your children are well-looked-after and have socialised with friends. However, I am an introvert and cannot speak English very well even though I have lived here more than a decade. I feel already stressed about mingling with other mothers in the future. I still have two more years, oh, one and a half….I am anxious whether I could do it well or not. (Hana)

Hana stopped the process of integration in high school and never stepped outside of the Korean community again. In her 30s, she still found it difficult to deal with locals. However, she realised a need to step outside for her children in order to facilitate their integration into the community.

> I am worried if it is going to be alright for my children that I only meet with Korean mothers and Koreans. (Hana)

Participants were concerned that they lacked "Kiwi" experiences to guide their children into being well integrated into the society. When asked to clarify their perception of a New Zealand parenting style, they were unsure about what that was. They were raised in Korean homes, and did not have many opportunities to observe the parenting of New Zealanders. It was also revealed that they had had limited and brief opportunities within New Zealand society. Hana said she didn't "know about Kiwi culture. I spent only two months living in a Kiwi homestay a long time ago." Scott and Peter were concerned about their limited ability to offer children a variety of experiences of being a Kiwi, or to make children into Kiwis. They identified needs to make an effort and go beyond the limits of their experience in order to open up opportunities for their children to do things they had never done.

> My wife has a lot of Kiwi friends. They already take kids on hunting trips. There are things I have never experienced that are a bit extreme. Hunting, raising a lamb, slaughtering it for a meal! (laugh) Things like that. I haven't had any experience. It will be challenging for me, those things that I have no experience with. When my son grows up, his friends will tell him what they do with their fathers. I will try to do what I can. But there will be some things that I haven't experienced before, but that Kiwis normally do. Like DIY [do it yourself]? (laugh) I think it will be challenging for me. (Scott)

> I actually have to make an effort. I can't teach them. I have to make sure they have a chance to go and learn somewhere else. I find quite a bit of lost opportunity for me. I feel like I wish I was able to experience what it is like and to grow up, studying or being at a primary school or having an experience in intermediate school. I know I've never experienced going out to yacht clubs or whatever, I've never experienced this. It

is something I have to find out about and am trying to give them a chance to do. I kind of feel like, otherwise, we will end up teaching them to live like the 1.5 generation or even first generation, whereas they are not. (Peter)

Some of them were also concerned that they lacked understanding about Korean experiences to parent their children. For example, Ginny was uneasy about her lack of understanding of both Korean and New Zealand cultures in order to be a good parent.

> Both not 100 percent! I cannot show how Kiwis live. I cannot show how Koreans live either. I have only just very superficial knowledge. I can't really teach anything clearly. I find that frustrating. When you want to introduce something, you must know it really well (laugh). It is a weakness, weakness. (Ginny)

Their own struggles from their experiences as children caused participants to anguish about their parenting of second generation children. They felt stressed about the potential identity struggles their children might experience as they recalled their own struggles in childhood, and they expressed their anxiety for them. They emphasised the importance of teaching two languages and cultural heritages for the same reason: for children's security, sense of belonging and a secure identity.

> So I was always acutely aware that it doesn't matter how well you speak English, what kind of accent you have, you will always be picked out as long as you live in a European dominant country. By ethnicity that you will always picked on, oh, not necessarilyy 'picked on' but you can easily be identified or stereotyped as a foreigner or someone who definitely, I think, has a different background anyway. (Peter)

> It [teaching Korean] is about the Korean identity. A language is not just a language. Culture comes with it. If you learn Korean as a second language, it is no different from learning English as a second language. I think along that line, and want to help my children to learn Korean well. (Suzan)

> It doesn't matter if you are 1.5 generation or 2nd generation. Who will think you are a Kiwi when they see your face? I have New Zealand citizenship, but nobody will think

I am a Kiwi. It will be the same for my daughter. Who will think she is a Kiwi? (laugh) So I would love my children to speak Korean like natives. (Ginny)

Some spoke mainly Korean at home, and had to make a transition to gradually introduce their children to the English language from around 3 years old, when the children were enrolled at preschool. It was only two years away from their children's beginning formal education at the primary school and the children would have to speak English at school.

She started the preschool when she turned three. It was going to be a problem that she didn't speak English. I know what it is like to be in her shoes. People assume that it would only take a couple of months for you to master English once you go to school here. I have lived here for 20 years and still struggle with English. Others say, "Just send the children to school; they will be fine." But I was concerned about stress that she might have. The difficulties might even change her personality. So I began talking to her in English a little. (Abby)

I don't want her to go to school and not speak a word of English. And…people say "You were born here. Why don't you speak English?" That I don't…I want to prevent that happening (Bella)

I read them [children] everything in Korean at this stage. He [first child] goes to a Korean daycare. However, he also recently started English daycare twice a week. He asked for it. But I was concerned in case what if he could not make friends because of the language barrier when he starts the school. So he goes to the Korean daycare three times a week, and the English daycare twice a week at the moment. However, I might increase the English centre to three times a week or perhaps five times. I am not sure if three days will be enough for his English language. (Hana)

In the case of John, he expressed frustration and embarrassment about not being able to speak "perfect" Korean when thinking about teaching languages to his children. He was apprehensive that sometimes he could not remember certain words in Korean. It was hard to maintain proficiency in both languages.

I don't speak perfect Korean. I haven't read many Korean books, and have limited vocabulary. I also have limited English vocabulary. Neither this nor that…neither this nor that and really just in the middle….Being in the middle, that is what the 1.5 generation finds is most difficult. (John)

In terms of language, participants were also concerned about communication with their children. John anticipated possible communication barriers between the 1.5 generation parents and second generation children in the future. He was afraid of being alienated from his own children due to a language barrier.

I am most afraid of communication blockage with the children. I would really like them to speak Korean well. However, I don't want to pressure them to be Korean. But it is a bit of fear that I have [that I won't be able communicate with my children]. (John)

Some participants expressed concern about the relationship between their first generation Korean spouse and their second generation Kowi children. They anticipated possible alienation within the family due to language barriers over time, when the children would become more fluent in English.

I told my wife that "if we were afraid of speaking in English, which I am not, but my wife is a bit scared of speaking in English, our baby would feel comfortable with one language and uncomfortable with the other. Also she may look down on own mother. So do not be afraid of speaking English." That is how I encourage my wife. (Richard)

It is important to my husband [for our child to speak Korean]. His Korean is better than his English. He hardly uses English. My husband can still communicate with our child at this stage. When he grows up and goes to high school and university, I guess he may feel more comfortable to talk to his father, the male? However, I am worried what if they will be disconnected because his father doesn't speak English, and my child doesn't speak Korean well. (Erica)

For Jean, the reason she wanted her children to be aware of their Korean heritage was for them to be able to understand her as their own mother, as well as their own unique mixture of cultures.

> Because that [being Korean] is their part of them, and especially, you know, it is who I am and part of me. In order to understand me, where I come from, that [knowing mother's heritage] would help them to know that there is that [Korean heritage in children]. And it will ultimately help them to accept who they are as well, to love who they are...you know…their uniqueness…Yeah, to tell them that's OK to be who they are and they don't have to be strong in all three cultures. It is OK just being who they are, but just be 'aware' of who you are. You know…their unique mix. (Jean)

It seemed that English proficiency was linked to success in schooling, socialising with friends, and belonging to New Zealand society. Korean proficiency was linked to identity and confidence as a Korean–Kiwi, and to children's relationships with their Kowi parents and grandparents. Hence, supporting a healthy and integrated identity formation was one major area of Kowis' interest because of their memories of their own challenging experiences in childhood.

Contradictory Cultural Advice

Participants described feelings of being pressured and pulled between both cultures due to conflicting advice on parenting, and they found it challenging to select what was right for them. In Sarah's words, "the biggest thing [challenge] is that two cultures offer you completely different advice." Conflicting advice and pressure came from a number of sources: the spouse as a first generation migrant; resources they accessed such as internet websites and media; Korean parents and parents-in-law; New Zealand health professionals; and other Koreans in the New Zealand community. Kowis were experiencing tensions between two contradictory kinds of cultural advice and although they were to use the strategy of "accepting and peacemaking" to please both parties, and considered it necessary for their survival, this was nevertheless stressful. When the cultures clashed and they could not accept the advice offered, they often searched for ways to "take what is right for their family" and turned away from one or both of the cultures if it left them conflicted.

Erica was frustrated with pressure from her first generation Korean husband as well as advice from her mother on establishing the baby's sleeping pattern. Erica preferred to keep a separate bed for the baby, which would be the New Zealand style in her perception. However, her mother asked her to share the bed with the baby and her husband insisted "that is what all Korean mothers would do." Her mother often called Erica "very cold" for refusing to share her bed with the baby. Still, Erica could not share the bed with the baby since she was a light sleeper and became exhausted. Hence she negotiated with her husband either to accept how she would handle the baby's sleeping or he would sleep with the baby. In the end, he put the baby to bed, stayed there until the baby was well settled, and then came out.

Jane was confused about information that she obtained from a Korean TV programme about how to discipline a wilful child. She was concerned about mistakes that she made and was anxious about lacking the skills to parent her child. She sought more information from the internet, but only became more confused with overflowing advice from Korean mothers on Korean websites. She struggled to find appropriate information relevant to her unique circumstance of being a 1.5 generation Kowi mother.

> My husband and I could not complete it [the Korean method of discipline] and gave it up. I doubted if our child was too young to apply the method. I used to surf the internet [for information] with my aching heart every night after she [the child] finally fell asleep (laugh). I went on the site [of the TV programme], "Our Child is Now Changed." But there was not much information. There were a lot of posts from other mothers on the site. One would say, "Yes, you must start discipline at three." Another would post "you can start once they can understand you." There was so much contradictory advice… (Jane)

Jane attended a New Zealand parenting course too to find out more parenting information, but did not complete it because the content of programme was not relevant to her culture and circumstances. She was left with a challenge to reflect on information that she had access to, juggle the contradictory information, and find solutions to manage the situations after consulting a number of people. She used the strategy of taking what was right for her family.

Well, there was a social worker, the Korean social worker [who I consulted in the end]…I heard that she also helped Lea's family and Hans's family to set up a sleeping pattern [for their babies]. (Jane)

There was also contradictory cultural advice and pressure from the Korean community. Erica realised it was hard to deal with constant pressure and advice from members of her Korean church. They were first generation Korean mothers. They pressured Erica about Korean language teaching. They also criticised the way she dressed her child. This stopped Erica from participating in the church community, and she stopped going to the church all together. She escaped from the unhelpful advice that did not work for her, and left the environment to do things differently from the dominant Korean cultural practice.

I used to be criticised by other mothers for not teaching my son Korean well because he spoke more English. They also criticised me because my son sucked his thumb (laugh). "It is bad to sucked the finger." I used to argue with them (laugh). My husband would intervene and ask me to ignore them. But I was so annoyed about that. Those [first generation] mothers also complained about my son not wearing socks but jandals. "He will get sick." (Erica)

Hana described her struggle with two very different views on breast feeding, from her mother and the Plunket nurse. Her mother taught Hana the traditional Korean way of demand feeding while the Plunket nurse insisted on the scheduled feeding that is more commonly practiced in New Zealand. Hana confessed she "could not dismiss what my mum said, as we lived together 24/7." She could not ignore what the Plunket nurse insisted on from her professional point of view either. She told the nurse that "I will do what you asked me to." However, Hana also shared a cultural clash that occurred when she was in a maternity ward. Hana was furious about a nurse who did not respect her decision. She argued with the nurse over the baby's care. This time Hana did not accept the nurse's views, perhaps because it was perceived to be an issue concerning the wellbeing of her child.

When I was in a hospital [after child birth], I nursed my baby a lot at night because she was not sleeping well and I could not have any sleep either. There was a nurse who told me off about that a lot: "If you do this, it is going to be hard on both of you." We disagree on a lot of things. I told her to leave me alone because it was my baby and I

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would do it my way. One night, she came over, told me to sleep and took my baby away for a couple of hours. I found out later that she gave my baby Pamol [16] without my permission just because my baby was crying and not sleeping. I got so angry. (Hana)

Kowis in this study often tried to adapt to the New Zealand way of child rearing but found it challenging due to the circumstances they were placed in. For instance, as noted earlier, the New Zealand style of sleeping arrangements was not possible to implement as Kowis often lived in a household with an extended family and had no spare room for the baby. Sarah attempted to follow the advice of New Zealand health professionals on how to establish the baby's sleeping routine. However, she lived with her parent-in-laws and there was no spare room for her child. Neither the parents-in-law nor her first generation husband supported her ideas. It was impossible for her to put her child in bed at 7 p.m. as advised without the family's support because her husband would come home late at 10 p.m. and wake the baby up.

It was really hard to put my baby to bed early in the evening because my husband would come home late and we were living with the parents-in-law. I really tried but it was not possible in reality. I used to argue with my husband about it a lot. I would start a bed time routine from 9 p.m. and make sure my baby would fall asleep around 10 p.m. But my husband would come home and would wake him up by kissing and talking to him. The baby would not go to bed until 11 p.m. It was really stressful and we argued a lot. (Sarah)

Sarah accepted when it was impossible for her to negotiate, and made peace with the circumstances when she was living with the parents-in-law, but changed the bed time as soon as they moved to their own place.

Scott experienced conflicting advice within the New Zealand system that required him to search for what would work for his own family.

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[16] Pamol is Paracetamol that is a mild analgesic that is commonly used for the relief of headaches and other minor aches and pains.

It is confusing. They all say differently. The midwife would say one thing, and the Plunket nurse would say something different. Different midwives would say something different again. It is a bit confusing. (Scott)

The majority of participants experienced cultural clashes with grandparents, including parents-in-law, in a number of different areas: gender preference; expression of emotions; discipline and style of parenting; baby care; pressure to maintain Korean customs; baby's sleeping routine; role expectations based on gender stereotypes; and hierarchy in family relationships. This was the area where Kowis were faced with serious thinking regarding making decisions about which strategy they would need to use: parenting the way that they were brought up by accepting and peacemaking, or escaping and rebelling when they needed to parent differently from the ways in which they were brought up. Some negotiation between strategies was greatly needed when these cultural clashes occurred.

Peter was in a challenging space between his daughter and a grandparent, his father. Peter expressed discomfort about his father when he favoured Peter's son over daughters. Peter felt troubled by his father's traditional thoughts and attitudes as "they very, very overtly prefer him [grandson] over the two girls [granddaughters]." Peter also spoke about his father's attitude towards the expression of feelings. In Korean culture, you are encouraged to suppress feelings in his perception.

She [Peter's daughter] doesn't particularly like her grandfather because grandfather obviously comes across as very scary. I don't know why, but my father doesn't really like anyone crying. So when my 5-year-old who loses threshold and break into tears, we have seen it, he is a bit better now, but we have seen especially when we just came back from overseas, he would yell at her, "Stop crying." It doesn't matter what happened or what the situations and contexts are. Especially if she breaks into cries because of something she has done not so well. And he picks on it, and then tries to teach or tries to say things, "You are the one who's done wrong." (sigh). So, in that kind of sense, she's not particularly fond of, well, not much more fond of grandma than grandpa. (Peter)

In his approach to talking to his father about it, Peter used a traditional Korean form of subtlety in his expression so that his father would not lose his face. He used either a

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nonconflicting way of negotiation or escaping and avoiding in protection of his daughter and their relationship.

> At times, because of the (sigh)…he is in some ways, I tried to, I sometimes say "OK, that is not on" whatever, in a very, very subtle and roundabout way. But he normally doesn't take it too well. So we just try to contain it and separate them [grandfather and granddaughter] so it doesn't have to go into that situation. I guess that's not, not the most adaptive way of coping. But sometimes being avoidant is not, sometimes, just, just, lesser of two evils. (Peter)

In the case of Abby, her mother looked after her first daughter while Abby worked. However, she planned not to ask for any help from her mother when her second child was born. Abby did not agree with what she perceived as her mother's Korean way of spoiling her granddaughter.

> I plan not to ask for support if possible. You know they spoil their grandchildren. The Korean way of spoiling grandchildren! (laugh) (Abby)

Abby acknowledged that Kiwi grandparents also spoilt grandchildren in a similar way. However, she did not agree with her mother's advice on childcare, such as how to wrap an infant the Korean way, while she had other ideas about how to do it which were more the Kiwi way that the Plunket nurse taught her. She used the strategy of accepting and peacemaking with her parents by wrapping the baby her mother's way in her presence. Then she made a decision not to ask for her help as she was going to parent differently from how she was brought up by a non-conflicting way of "escaping" in this case.

However, Rosa clashed with her parents a lot due to different styles of parenting. She got frustrated and confronted them frequently.

> I confronted my parents a lot when I first had a baby. "Why would you do that?," "Please do it this way." I upset them a lot. (Rosa)

John's father asked John's family to move in with him. However, John refused. He could foresee potential cultural clashes in many ways. His father wanted to teach his grandchildren

about their Korean heritage by practicing a regular Ancestor Worship Ceremony at home, as Ancestor Worship is an important part of Korean Confucian practice. However, his 1.5 generation wife was a committed Christian and strongly against what she considered "worshiping" ancestors. John struggled a lot with tension between his father and his wife on this matter. For example:

> My father insisted on teaching grandchildren the Ancestor Worship Ceremony. "It is about showing respect to the ancestors. We have been practicing it for generations. Don't consider it as 'worship'. Why don't you accept it as part of our culture? It offers an opportunity to think about our ancestors. Don't get confused because of the word 'worship'. This is our culture." However, my wife cannot understand it at all. (John)

He delayed making the decision in order to avoid conflict between the parties, which was his own strategy in doing what he considered right for his wife and children. Delaying the decision helped him to escape the tension, at least temporarily.

Bella clashed with her parents over the issue of putting her child to bed. Both grandparents were also against their grandchild going to daycare. In their culture, a child stays home with the mother until starting school. She had arguments with them many times.

> Even the issue of my child going to daycare was…I don't think the parents on either side were very happy about it because she was too young. (Bella)

She also disagreed with her father-in-law about her parenting style. He was very traditional, and insisted on her taking on the traditional role of a Korean mother and wife. It took several years for him to accept Bella's way of doing things: being a working mother, and using childcare for her young children while working, sharing housework and childcare with her husband, and having her own voice in decision making at home. Bella is an example of a 1.5 generation parent who confronted the differences and stood up for what she thought was right, which resembled the strategy of "parenting differently from the way in which she was brought up," in order to "do what she considered right for her family." She had used the strategy of "dealing with things on her own" in her childhood and she had often controlled the information that she shared with her parents (see her story in the section on "decision making in childhood").

Richard also chose not to be submissive, but challenged his father-in-law. In Korean culture, you need to show unconditional respect to an older person, but Richard spoke up for what he considered right for his child, which reflected the New Zealand way.

> It was my turn holding her in my arms. Surely she did not stop crying. My father-in-law asked me to hand her over so that he could try. However, I refused it. "Father-in-law, this is my baby. I would like to try. I am sorry, but please wait outside." He might have thought that I was rude. But I am glad I said what I had to say, even if I might have come across rude. My wife and I need to have ownership of parenting. If it belongs to grandparents, we would easily blame them when things go wrong. (Richard)

Richard's parents had encouraged him to be an all-rounder and they gave him freedom in his childhood. Consequently, as an adult he was more equipped to confront the older generation in order to do what was right for his baby, and parent differently from what he was asked to do.

Sarah also struggled with her parents-in-law, who were very traditional with Confucian values. She wrestled with their parenting approaches when they were overly protective of the child.

> We lived with my parents-in-law for about a year after our first child was born. I argued a lot with them over parenting styles. For instance, if my child fell on the ground, both parents-in-law and my husband all rushed to him at once and hit the ground [with their hands to blame the ground for his fall] or "oh, oh" [to show empathy] and spoilt him. I really did not want to spoil my child like that, and we argued a lot over it. (Sarah)

She battled with the cultural expectations of the hierarchy in the family. Her parents-in-law had distinctive role expectations of each family member. Her father-in-law would not accept any different opinions from other family members, including parenting ideas. In his authoritarian view, he was a head of the family. In the end, Sarah escaped the situation by moving out of their home due to the stress of cultural conflicts and clashes.

It is extremely hard to fight against Confucian beliefs. You know the role expectations and distinction! You are a daughter-in-law, son, or child…They had very set expectations of each one of us. They would say, "You decide whatever you want," and then would get very angry if we did not accept what they told us to do. (Sarah)

A further example was that of Suzan, who experienced difficulties with her parents-in-law as well. Her husband came to New Zealand first and invited his parents to come and live with them after their marriage. He was their first son, and was expected to take care of his parents according to the Korean custom. It was difficult for her to agree with her parents-in-law on values, including parenting, as Suzan had migrated when she was in primary school and was more accustomed to the New Zealand culture. However, her parents-in-law were very traditional and had no understanding of this.

I came to New Zealand when I was really young, as a primary school child. I did not know what Korean culture was really like. I clashed a lot with them [parents-in-law] after marriage. It was a cultural shock. (Suzan)

Suzan "accepted" the way of her parents-in-law for a while in the early stage of marriage, but gradually "negotiated" her way in to doing "what was right for her family." In the past, she had "escaped" her family home for tertiary study when she clashed with her father's patriarchal ways, but she used a different strategy with her parents-in-law, when escaping or doing things differently was not an option when married to the spouse who was a first son with an obligation to live with his parents. When "rebelling" and "doing things differently" would have disrupted the family relationships, Susan worked on finding less confrontational ways.

Lack of Guidance versus Information Overload

In the midst of confusing advice, the Kowis who took part in this research sought out information that would work in their unique individual circumstances, drawing what was right for their family from all the sources available. However, decision making was challenging without clear guidance.

There is so much information out there when you raise children nowadays. There is the internet, what other mothers would tell you, and you also see what other mothers do when you go to school. There is so much information but there is no one you can actually consult to find out what is right for your children. I get confused. When you do it the Korean way, it is too tight for children. When you do the Kiwi way, it is too loose. I cannot find the middle ground. (Angela)

Sarah spoke about "starting a whole new thing" in searching for information to parent differently from the way she was brought up. She was brought up by traditional parents who were very strict and controlling, but she was also observing different parenting styles and attending parenting classes.

(Interviewer: "So you are complementing your parenting while getting information elsewhere"). I wouldn't say complementing (laugh). Because I don't think my parenting style was any good. I really don't think so. I am starting a whole new thing from….ParentLink[17] or my own desire! (Sarah)

Abby was also concerned about lacking parenting skills and looking for guidance (see Abby's story also in the section on couple relationships in parenting). She hated the fact that her husband used to use traditional Korean methods of punishment even though he was also a 1.5 generation Kowi, but she did not know any alternative at the time, because her parents were strict and traditional and she was also brought up the Korean way, with corporal punishment.

Participants felt it was hard to find what they were looking for. There was plenty of general information available but what they were actually looking for was information directly relevant to the parenting of 1.5 generation Kowis and their children.

There are neither answers nor instructions. You read a lot. But you still have to find your own answer at the end of the day, which fits with your baby the best. (Richard)

An Unsupportive New Zealand Environment

Participants found the New Zealand environment sometimes unsupportive while they were dealing with contradictory advice from both cultures. Participants reported a form of

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[17] A website for parenting information; http://www.parentlink.act.gov.au/

discrimination that concerned them and that they believed got in the way of optimal parenting. Peter pointed out that having a good reputation as a quality provider did not necessarily mean their teachers at the kindergarten were culturally competent and understanding in his experience. His children's kindergarten was located in Auckland, where one out of five people living in the city identified themselves as being of Asian ethnicity. He became concerned about pressure to assimilate rather than adapt to mainstream society in their parenting practices.

> Increased pressure on the parents to somehow mould their children into, fit into mainstream society somehow, which I don't necessarily see as a positive thing. (Peter)

Peter moved his daughter to a different kindergarten that was more accommodating and understanding of his culture. His strategy in this case was partially "take what was right for his family." However, it was also a means of "escaping," as he did not confront the teachers to improve and make changes.

Jane also described her struggles due to lack of understanding from New Zealanders. She spoke about a subtle form of racism where some New Zealanders insisted on the New Zealand way of parenting as the "right" way. For example, when she explained her Korean cultural practices, a New Zealand professional said "that is not the right way to do it" because "it is not good for the child." She ended up arguing a lot. She became confrontational. Furthermore, Jane's husband encountered a serious issue with a senior manager during his internship programme due to a cultural clash about parenting. The manager demanded that he change his parenting style so that he could prove his ability to fit into New Zealand culture in order to be part of the firm.

> You live in Kiwi society and are doing an internship in a Kiwi firm. How convincing would it be when you speak to the people at the front line while raising your child the Korean way? (Jane)

Jane's husband left the firm in the end. The strategy in this case came across as a mixture of "escaping" to do things differently from what was asked, as he did not really confront the boss, and "taking what was right for my family."

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John spoke about his children's schooling and expressed his concern about anticipated isolation or discrimination after hearing about the experiences of other Korean parents.

> I will be ok. But I am concerned about my wife. What if she goes to a parents' meeting and she is the only Asian? I heard from someone that schools in Remuera[18] where there are only white children attend, they don't let Asians into the group. I am a bit outgoing, but my wife is not. She will be really stressed about it. (John)

Pitt's wife was offended by hospital staff when their son had a high fever and seizure after a vaccination. Pitt's wife panicked and rushed him to a hospital while Pitt was away. The hospital staff delayed treatment and she felt mistreated.

> The nurse treated my wife badly. My wife had an impression that the nurse was questioning her decision to come to the hospital for no good reason whatsoever. My wife was really offended. (Pitt)

It is unclear if the experience of Pitt's wife with the staff was because of her being a migrant, or a new mother lacking experience. However, Pitt and his wife clearly felt offended rather than guided and supported. He expressed a preference for the Korean style of medical help after that.

> For instance, your child has fever and you take him to the hospital. In Korea, the medical staff will quickly make sure something is done about it as soon as you arrive. However, when you go to A&E[19] here for high fever in the middle of the night, they just ask you to sit there and wait. They will give you Panadol[20] and walk away. If it doesn't look really serious, they will probably say "Children are like that. You should go home and rest (laugh). Just take off the child's clothing [to cool him down]." There is a big cultural difference there. (Pitt)

In Korea, immediate attention is given to patients in hospitals, and you can go and see specialists without seeing a general practitioner. Especially when children were unwell and

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[18] A wealthy suburb in Auckland.

[19] Accident and Emergency Department at a hospital.

[20] Mild medication for pain relief and fever.

the parents were anxious, the Kowi parents in this study seemed to be dissatisfied with the New Zealand system that was perceived to be delaying an immediate response to the child's needs.

Strengths in Parenting

Language Ability

Kowis took pride in their bi-lingual ability and a number of them were fluent in more than two languages, even though they struggled with language learning in their childhood, and they also felt anxious about not being able to speak both Korean and English "perfectly" as adults (see stories in the previous section). Jean felt it was "a gift to have bilingual fluency." Even though her Korean was not fluent, she was happy to "have the opportunity to learn and to maintain two languages." Richard said being bilingual gave him self-worth as a Korean.

> But my father made sure that we did not forget Korean. He made us write journals (in Korean) every day, checked what we wrote, and told us off if it was not written well in Korean (laugh) even though we were struggling with English. Because of that I have naturally become bilingual, have not forgotten Korean culture, and have self-worth as a Korean. (Richard)

Their parents had struggled with the English language and many of the participants had had to find their own way through the unfamiliar new school system without parental guidance. However, participants talked about how they were now able to help their own children because they understood the culture and language of New Zealand society. Kowis had the flexibility of using both English and Korean with their children, depending on the circumstances, especially when they were with non-Koreans. The support they could offer their children in learning to live flexibly with two languages in a multicultural society was a unique attribute of these Kowi parents.

> I often see myself speaking to my daughter in English when outside. Of course, we speak Korean at home. But when it is necessary, for example, when my daughter makes a mistake with someone, I would say "No, you don't do that." If I spoke to her about it in Korean, the foreigner would not know what I am saying to my daughter. I don't like it. So I end up speaking in English. It is fascinating that my daughter

understands what I am talking about in a situation like that. She understands it perhaps because she has been learning English. We adapt to a situation like that when we are out. (Abby)

Participants were able to use a variety of options for language teaching, including English preschool for teaching English, and Korean Saturday School and Korean preschools for teaching the Korean language.

They [children] go to Korean play centre on Friday. So I meet Korean mothers every Friday. It is a kind of play centre. They also go to a Korean daycare on Monday. (Amy)

Bella recognised language as her strength for supporting her child in comparison to her mother who did not speak English and had difficulties with getting involved in a wide range of activities at school.

I hope obviously with the language…advantage, I will be able to do a lot more, get involved with her school things and activities, after school activities and things. But I think that would be the main difference [between Bella and her mother], the language barrier. (Bella)

Peter and Scott felt the same.

I want to give her…I think bilingualism is a very powerful tool. I think it sits very…with other languages as well anyway. So I think it's a really great skill to have anyway. Plus, I kind of feel that if she can and she does learn Korean early on and embraces it early on, then there is that kind of greater choice for her later on. (Peter)

Honestly, it is strength [for your children] that you speak two languages. (Scott)

Cultural Competency to Support Children

Sarah also recognised her ability to network with other local mothers and to help her children make friends at school.

It is hard for children to network with others if their life at school and home is separate. It is hard to connect the two. However, I can help my children to bring friends home, and encourage my children to go and play in their friends' home. I don't know too many [local] mothers yet, but am getting to know them one by one. I think it is a strength [that I can help my children]. It also gives me opportunities to gather information. (Sarah)

In essence, participants in this research identified their strengths in cultural competency in conjunction with the languages of both cultures for their children. Some examples were:

I am able to introduce children to both Korean and New Zealand cultures. (Jane)

 I can help my children to embrace both cultures. (Rosa)

My children will have more [in life] when compared to children in Korea and the Kiwi children here because I can show them more. I can teach them more. (Hana)

My strength is that I understand the school system. Even though when I don't know what it is exactly, I can guess. I can teach my children multiple cultures. They can work in Korea when they grow up. They will have opportunities in China, Japan….Because they are Asians, they will. (Angela)

If I do well, my children are likely to have no problem in integrating both Korean and Kiwi cultures. I can bridge the two. You know, what the 1.5 generation can do well! It is the greatest strength that the 1.5 generation can introduce both cultures to children. When my son faces an identity crisis in the future, I can share my own experiences and guide them through too. (Scott)

Obviously, different cultures have different strengths in child parenting as well so I can adopt both parts of the world. (Bella)

Suzan's words summarised the above strengths of Kowis: they have an ability to "almost flawlessly move in and out of the Korean culture and Kiwi culture" and "bridge the gap

between the second generation and the first generation." She believed that these were "the biggest strengths" of the 1.5 generation Kowis, and that these facilitated the ability to "take the best of both cultures to raise the next generation."

Jean highlighted the ability of the 1.5 generation in understanding both cultures "in-depth." She said an "understanding of two cultures, not a superficial but reasonably in-depth understanding" was among her strengths.

> Having lived, breathed, [and] immersed myself into two cultures, understanding of two cultures, even three because of Māori culture as well. (Jean)

Consequently, having this strength gave her the further advantage of having "an alternative" and "choices" and drawing on multiple cultural practices in decision making, including parenting. The ability to have multiple options was also identified by other participants as a unique strength. Pitt pointed out how often "one knows only one's own culture," whereas the 1.5 generation Kowis have the ability to "experience multiple cultures while both the Kiwi and Korean cultures coexist naturally inside them" according to Pitt.

Because of their ability in language and culture, Kowis had freedom to take the best of both worlds into their parenting, including alternatives and new choices.

> Neither the Korean values nor the New Zealand values can be always right when you compare the two of them. The strength of the 1.5 generation Kowis is to be able choose what is the best for children, only the good values out of the two. (Bryan)

> Because I don't simply accept the Korean culture as it is, I can recognise weakness in the culture well. (Sarah).

The issue of dual identities was a cause of stress (see "Identity issues" in chapter 4) but became a source of strength once they were able to integrate two cultures. Jean called it "your advantage," "a gift" and "a special reality to be in." John called it "something better" and an "advantage." Suzan said it allowed her to "take only good things from both." Cultural competency provided a strong sense of belonging and identity. John shared enlightenment on his identity issues when he learnt the term "between" as a concept of integration, while

talking to a Korean-American 1.5 generation person in Korea. He became aware of a way to embrace dual identities.

There is 'between,' it doesn't have to be black or white, yes or no. (John)

Jean learnt to embrace her identity, and felt comfortable and accepting of it. She declared, "I don't have to belong to one particular culture or another." She chose to be "a global citizen" and be part of this world. When I asked her about her journey as a 1.5 generation Kowi, she was reflective.

We are not born perfect and complete, but it is a journey, a lifelong journey. We are moulded into someone better and better and better. The eventual, the end product is unique for each individual. And I believe that all those moments of self-discovery and learning, it is for a purpose. It is good. (Jean)

Other participants also spoke about how they had embraced their unique identities, and enjoyed their freedom to come and go between two cultures. Doing this seemed to offer strengths and confidence in their parenting as they sought out the best of both worlds. Erica said she "enjoy[s] both pizza and pasta" while she made *kimchi* at home. Bryan recalled noticing some differences in how children played when he first arrived in New Zealand but "no longer think[s] about any difference as I am used to it" now. Suzan appreciated "more broadened insights" due to dual identities and cultural experiences. She "used to play that [using both cultures] sometimes" and "used it to my own benefit." Peter became "more comfortable for who I am, and what I do" as a 1.5 generation Kowi as he adapted to the local culture, matured with his age, and worked in a New Zealand company.

With their cultural integration, participants had the freedom to make friends from both cultures as well as friends from multiple ethnic backgrounds, which in turn offered Kowis a wide network of support and information for their parenting. Amy, for example, embraced the two worlds very well, enjoyed her ability to make friends with people from all different ethnic backgrounds, and loved the fact that she could take the best of the multiple worlds and bring that to her own children.

[I can embrace] two countries, two cultures, all. Even if you are a Korean migrant, you can make friends with Kiwis, Chinese, Japanese and all other ethnic groups. You learn other cultures, and the good parts, learn the good parts from all. My children understand that my friends all speak differently. But they are ok about it. They adapt to it, to my Japanese friends, Chinese friends, etc. (Amy)

Broad Perspectives and Life Experiences

Participants indicated that they had broad perspectives and experiences of life and cultures that they brought to parenting due to their migration experience as children. Kowis recognised their abilities to quickly adapt to a new culture. For instance, John had travelled around a number of countries in his 20s, and realised how he "was able to quickly adapt to a new culture" every time he was in a new environment.

It was because I already experienced culture shock at a young age, and developed the ability to adapt to a new environment easily after that. It is my strength that I know both cultures. I can offer both to my children. I want to give my children more options in life. (John)

Richard also talked about adaptability.

Once you've experienced two different cultures, you can adapt to any other culture in my point of view. You have the "know-how" if you have experienced two different cultures, adapted to them well, and have overcome their challenges. You can pass them on to your children. That will be the biggest strength. Wherever you go, you can adjust and adapt to the culture and still be able to express your own opinions. I think that it the biggest strength. If you can pass on that strength to your own children, they will live their life with confidence, and will not lose their nerve wherever they go. (Richard)

Other participants also indicated how such strength was useful for enhancing children's development.

Being open minded, being fluid…being more culturally sensitive, being mindful of those kinds of language barriers. As far as parenting goes that gives us strengths to look at things from broader perspectives in a way, not to be just following whatever the mainstream views are, and feeling like, just do it because that's how it has always been done. (Peter)

He [my child] is introduced to both cultures. Because I am open-minded, he will be too. (Erica)

Children in Korea are easily restricted [in one way]. However, we [1.5 generation Kowis] can see more than one way to do things. Perhaps you can say that we have more understanding of our children.…Deeper understanding! It is not easy to have understanding parents. It is more common that your parents don't understand you…. These children [second generation Kowis] will have to walk on two roads, you know. I think understanding is all I can offer. (Ginny)

Some Kowis identified their ability and that of their children to contribute something beneficial to both countries, Korea and New Zealand. Some examples were:

There is 1.5 generation and second generation, who have very unique abilities and opportunities and contributions to bring to the society. (Richard)

It is a strength that you can introduce Korean culture to the local society really well. (Suzan)

Because of their friendship with me, somehow I think I have influenced them [local friends]. By growing up with me together, they are more open to Asian cultures. (Jean)

New Zealand needs these children [second generation]. New Zealand is a small country. It cannot survive without interacting and trading with other countries. It needs a lot of people who could bridge with other countries. New Zealand will benefit from those people [who could help trading with other countries], and these children [second generation Kowis] will grow up to fill this role.

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Participants saw that the opportunity they had for acquiring advanced life skills at a young age and developing personal growth from this experience had contributed confidence to their parenting. Because their parents had needed these Kowis' help while settling in the new country, with limited language proficiency and cultural understanding, the Kowis learnt to become more independent and built confidence while constantly facing challenges in life. Some examples were:

> I have become mentally independent. I don't rely on others. I don't wish to have a break. I believe I can do things on my own (laugh). I don't rely on my husband to do things for me. If necessary we do things 'together.' When my parents started commuting between New Zealand and Korea [when I was young], I did not like to be left alone here. However, now I think it was helpful. For instance, I know how to pay a power bill (laugh). (Erica)

> I struggled to finish my university course because of limited English. However, I learnt efficiency to manage my time instead. I had to think really hard about how to manage my time. I think it (efficiency) has become my strength. I am efficient in planning, organising, and so on. I have developed the skills. I also learnt to use more humour. Because of my language barrier, I have learnt to use jokes to compensate for it. People liked it. Kiwi bosses prefer people who are more cooperative and hard working. I am familiar with Korean culture and more cooperative rather than talking back (laugh). I think Kiwi bosses like that quality. (Scott)

Summary

Chapter 4 has provided an account of the sociocultural and other influences Kowi parents had themselves experienced; the ways in which those influences now contributed to their own parenting has been presented in the current chapter. As a result, some useful understandings have been gained of Kowi parents' beliefs about and perceptions of parenting and of their confidence in their roles as parents. This information illuminates the ways in which the influences on participants have shaped their own parenting styles with reference to their cultural and social contexts. Overall, parenting of Kowis can be summarised as follows:

- Some of the strategies that participants experienced in their childhood have carried through into their parenting decisions in adulthood. Their parenting decisions were categorised in three different ways: parenting the way that they were brought up, parenting differently from the way in which they were brought up; and/or taking (and applying) what was right for their families. "Parenting the way that they were brought up" seemed to resemble their coping strategy of "accepting and peacemaking" in their childhood. "Parenting differently from how they were brought up" seemed to be linked to the strategies of "escaping and rebelling." "Take what is right for their family" seemed to indicate some development from the approach of "dealing with things on their own" and "negotiating."

- Participants were flexible in adapting aspects of parenting from both cultures and incorporating them in many areas. The guiding principles for decision making that emerged from their reflections on their parenting were: "choose what is right for you" and "choose the best from both cultures."

- Kowis' relationships with their spouse, and their spouse's cultural background, influenced their parenting practices depending on who they were married to—first generation, 1.5 generation, or second generation. With the 1.5 generation Kowi spouse, they found more commonalities between them that were useful in parenting even though they recognised degrees of difference within the group of 1.5 generation Kowis. However, they reported more cultural differences with the spouses who were first generation or second generation that resulted in some conflicts in parenting.

- Kowis confronted multiple challenges at home and outside in their communities. While they were conditioned by the traditional Korean values they were faced with the reality of their own children, the second generation, and their unique cultural and social contexts. They were faced with a new type of challenge in terms of looking for ways to support their children by searching for a system to integrate both cultural heritages in parenting, without losing sight of their own culture and while integrating the host culture more fully. The challenges that they faced as children clearly affected the way they parented now and often evoked anxiety.

- Those challenges from the past facilitated certain strengths in Kowis and they utilised them in their parenting: bi-lingualism, cultural competency, advanced life skills and maturity from a young age, flexible decision making ability, and broad life experiences and insights. Participants showed individual differences in strengths depending on their life experiences, and also the level of support and understanding that they had received from parents and people in the community.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS: BECOMING

KOWI VOICES IN NEW ZEALAND

This chapter presents parenting resources and highlights Kowis' challenges around accessing parenting resources in the community. Their advice to other 1.5 generation or Kowi parents is followed by their suggestions to policy makers and professionals in the community. The aim was to bring their own voices to the policy makers to provide useful information and resources for the development of prevention and intervention strategies with which to support Kowis in their parenting and to enhance positive parent–child relationships.

Resources in Parenting

This section presents the resources that the Kowis reported drawing on in bringing up their children at the interface between Korean and New Zealand cultures: parents and siblings; friends and other support networks; print, media and the internet; work and education; and institutions.

Parents and Siblings

In terms of parenting resources in the life of Kowis in this study, grandparents or parents-in-law were an important resource. They helped the Kowis during the postpartum period and thereby influenced the mother and baby care even though there were also tensions in this relationship due to different cultural views (see "Contradictory cultural advice" in the previous chapter). Grandparents continued to offer practical help throughout the lives of the children by being involved with babysitting or offering advice. A number of Kowis either lived with parents (or parents-in-law) or lived nearby and accessed their help. Some examples were:

> Fortunately, we had our, both of our parents so we had some help from them [for childcare]. That was like the very first source of help. (Richard)

Day-to-day stuff, for example: they [Peter's parents] usually, they will look after our 1-year-old boy on Sunday afternoons so that we are less tied up and for the other two girls to have more opportunities to spend time with us. And sometimes they will look after all of them. A few times, on special occasions they will look after them so my wife and I can go out for 2–3 hours together. So for those kinds of practical things, it will be my parents. My parents-in-law in Korea, they always send them [children] lots goodies and things like that. Practical helps is from my parents. (Peter)

My mother helped me when I had my first child. I don't even remember if I held my child. I did not know about aches in arms then. I used to say "Why is it so hard to raise a baby?" Whenever they [Hana's parents] visit us, they clean the house. My father tidies up the house when he visits. Both sides [my parents and parents-in-law] help! (Hana)

My mother looks after him [Scott's son] one day a week, and my mother-in-law does another day. (Scott)

Some grandparents helped the Kowi parents financially, for instance, by lending them the mortgage for the house or business, or paying for cleaners to reduce housework. Some examples were:

He [father] paid for our wedding, and funded us when we started the family. He supported us well. It unloaded a lot of stress when we got married and started the family. (Pitt)

My dad started the café to teach me business skills. He was planning to retire, but gave up on that idea and started the café [for me] instead (laugh). He ran the business for 10 years and retired. (Ginny)

My parents are really busy nowadays because of their shop. I barely see them, only a couple of times a month (laugh). So they help us financially [instead of physically getting involved with childcare]. "I cannot help. I will pay for a cleaner." (Hana)

Siblings were also a good source of help as they were available for consultation if they also had children, or offered practical help by baby-sitting or cleaning the house to free up the new parents from housework. Some examples were:

> Mainly my sisters. Well, husband, and my sisters. They [sisters] are really supportive because they are raising their own children as well. So we kind-of understand each other. They also know my children. (Sarah)

> For example, I can ask my sister-in-law about feeding. "She doesn't eat well recently. Do you know why?" Then she will say "That is perhaps because of teething." (Jane)

> I have my cousin here. He and I are the only two from our family, but still great when compared to others who don't have any. They have four members in the family. So I ask the older sister [cousin's wife] for advice. "Can I do this?" (Rosa)

However, not everyone had support from family around them. Two participants struggled with a lack of family support because their parents had returned to Korea.

> I have thought about it [family support]. If I were in Korea, I would have asked for help because my parents would have been around. I could ask for babysitting for a while when I have to go somewhere. (Bryan)

> In my case, I don't have any [practical] support from my family. I just look after my two children on my own. Yes, it is a bit…I don't have support. I was brought up in a big family with a lot of family members. Now there are only four of us in my family. Yes, it is different. (Amy)

Friends and Other Support Networks

Participants were asked to name who among their friends offered advice and support on how they approached parenting. Participants used networks such as other Korean fathers in the community, mothers at school, and other experienced mothers who had children around the same age or older. They consulted both 1.5 generation and first generation Korean parents,

and one used Facebook to consult with friends in her network. Among their friendship groups, they had both Korean and non-Korean friends. Some examples were:

> Some of the mums in the school as well. We are all in the same journey. We have similar problems. A couple of Kiwi, um, well, Western people, and a couple of Koreans. (Sarah)

> I ask other mothers. They are my students' parents. For instance, when I ask "My child is not well. What do I do?" Then they will say, "It is part of growing up." I ask them whatever I don't know. I also learn how other mothers discipline. I see my students throw a tantrum, and see how their mothers deal with them. I ask questions about what they are doing [when it happens] too. (Jane)

> I ask my friends. I have a small but strong circle of friends. I ask them for information. Don't need to ask the Plunket or any locals. I go to them first. They are great with most recent information and have always gathered the best for where to go and what the best is. You just need to ask. At least, one of them will know. (Abby)

> I said "Toilet training where do I start?" [on Facebook]. People said "just when she is ready" is the Kiwi way. The Korean way is "you just put her…take her nappy off and she will be fine in few days." Oh God…(smile). Yeah, very different responses. (Bella)

The participants identified church as a helpful community resource in their childhood. Some turned to Christianity as an escape to find support and create some breathing space when feeling desperate about having to deal with strict authoritarian parents in their childhood, as mentioned previously in "Decision making in childhood" (see Jane and Suzan's stories). Their connection with the Korean church community continued into adulthood. In general, Kowis stated that having a religious faith was beneficial in their parenting. It still provided them with values, guidance, direction, hope, meaning, purpose, protection, comfort, personal resilience and strength, and consequently influenced their values and principles as parents.

> Because parenting is not easy! When my baby cries, I don't have a clue what she cries for. So we hold her in our arms and say a prayer. Every night, one of us holds her in

our arms and says a prayer for her before bed time. I worry about things a bit. Am I capable of looking after this baby? Life is not easy but rough. I truly worry about it every day. (Richard)

It [religion] plays [a part] in my parenting of my children because of the things, like I said, it's kind of teaching values, kind of, having faith, understanding the world as God's creation, and trying to instil, kind of, those mercy and compassion, and grace. That is, kind of, are important and plays a part. But also of the principles and understanding that my children are God's children ultimately, that we are kind of keepers, and kind of knowing the limitations of being parents. (Peter)

Values like love, acceptance and flexibility. The Bible gives me ideas [about positive parenting]. I try to achieve [those values] to myself as well as to my children. (Sarah)

It [faith] seems very important. I have realised the weight of responsibility as a parent. I think it is really important to show good examples of being a Christian [to children]. What I **do** [emphasis] really matters to children rather than what I **say** [emphasis] to them. I try to show them good models from the Bible whenever possible. I think that is really important. He may get confused if his dad speaks so well like a preacher in the Bible, but his actions do not follow. He will either rebel or get confused. (Scott)

Korean churches were sometimes part of Kowis' parenting resources, including play groups, Sunday schools and parent support groups. Peter was part of a Christian fathers' support group where he and other Christian fathers met and discussed their parenting. It provided opportunities to share their struggles and hear how others managed, and also to consult others for parenting ideas.

I also have a small group of Christian fathers, Korean Christian fathers. We are all 1.5 generations as well. We kind of get together. It kind of very informally started when we [Peter and his wife] came back from working overseas. We all got together at one of our friend's places. And all fathers, young fathers talked about being a father, and you know all those kind of things. "Oh, it will be a really good idea if we can go out regularly for support." In a way, we've made [created] our support group. So we kind of meet regularly. And part of that is about being a good Christian father. (Peter)

Print media, other media and the Internet

Participants also accessed resources like parenting books, magazines, and media including the internet for guidance and information for their parenting from multiple cultural sources, and were consequently influenced by the information they encountered. The topics were primarily parenting skills and techniques but also included information about managing pregnancy, basic baby care, babies' sleeping routine, baby massage, breast feeding, medical advice, post-natal depression, discipline, parent–child relationships, language teaching, understanding the different nature of boys and girls, and so on. For instance, Jane used a growth chart from a Korean website for her child's development. Abby used the internet for medical information "when her [Abby's child's] temperature suddenly dropped." Peter watched a Korean TV programme on child rearing and said "part of it is learning actual skills because they teach certain techniques. These are a good source."

In general, Kowis utilised information and resources both in Korean and English. Angela read "books printed in New Zealand, the United States and Korea." Amy with her Kowi husband also read books both in Korean and English. In the case of internet searches, Kowis used both Korean (i.e. *Daum*[21] and *NAVER*[22]) and English (i.e. *Google*[23]) websites. Some of them accessed parenting websites in New Zealand and received regular emails on parenting tips. Bella used "a lot of *Google*!" and "some Korean sites, some baby sites, Huggies and Plunket [parenting sites]." Jane "registered with BabyCentre[24] on the internet and received monthly information [email newsletter], and sometimes if I get frustrated I search *NAVER*." In addition, internet social sites like Facebook were also used to gather information.

It was also evident that many of the Kowis were under the influence of Korean culture on parenting because they accessed resources on Korean internet sites, as well as in books and other media. Richard and his first-generation Korean wife accessed "both [Korean] internet sites and books" for parenting information because of his wife's limited English. Hana found information in the Korean language useful because "Korean is easier to understand." Abby,

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[21] A Korean information website: http://www.daum.net/

[22] A Korean information website: http://www.naver.com/

[23] An English information website: https://www.google.co.nz/

[24] A website for parenting information: http://www.babycenter.com/

who is married to a Kowi, said that they "import everything to do with child rearing from Korea" and generally "do not read any books in English." Jane accessed Korean TV parenting programmes because she "could not find any documentary on parenting in New Zealand TV, but there were a lot in Korea." Rosa also used Korean resources:

> It is difficult to find any here [in New Zealand]. You have to go to a library to get them but it is not convenient to do that. It is stressful to search freely in case [my young] children make noise [and interrupt others]. (Rosa)

Hence, she would rather use information that was sent from Korea by parents-in-law, and information on the internet. Like Rosa, Kowis ordered Korean books via the internet directly from the Korean publishers. Families and friends mailed books from Korea, and Kowis usually bought books and brought them home when they visited Korea.

> Parents-in-law, they posted a few. They also brought some with them when they came to New Zealand. (Sarah)

> I had someone who sent us books from Korea. We ordered them from G market [Korean internet shopping site]. We also bought those when we were there and brought them back with us. (Richard)

Kowis read New Zealand parenting magazines such as *Tots and Teens* and *Little Treasure*. They found pamphlets useful, including ones from Plunket. Some Kowis indicated difficulties in understanding Korean terms and ideas due to language barriers and cultural relevance. Jean, who was a lot more fluent in English than in Korean, read "New Zealand parenting books. New Zealand mainstream, [but] not Korean" because she "hardly read Korean books." Scott and his second generation wife had "already set up a good [parenting] system" and "did not feel very attracted to [Korean] resources even if there is a really good book available."

However, as can be inferred from the above information about their use of media, Kowis were under the influence of international resources in developing their parenting skills, some written by a wide range of authors including Koreans and non-Koreans. Peter and his first generation wife read Korean books together but they knew some of them were by American or English speaking authors like *The Emotion Coaching*. They watched TV programmes

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together that were broadcast in New Zealand, but Peter pointed out that a lot of New Zealand programmes were actually American programmes. They also watched Korean TV programmes through the internet every week, including a parenting programme, *My Child is Changed Now*. Jane also noted that although it seemed that the programme was produced in Korea, it was imported from the United States or the BBC and the Korean language was dubbed in.

It was interesting to notice that Scott chose a book written in English that was "more in line with Korean style" because it emphasised "respect to parents." There were certainly ideas that Kowis used to pick and choose from, among the wide range of parenting information to which they had access. They mostly chose resources that represented what they perceived as "positive" parenting from both cultures, and what would work for their individual circumstances and family. There were also connections to resources that reflected something of their language comfort level and also some connection between their choices and their identity issues.

Work and Education

Some participants accessed New Zealand cultural information about parenting through their work and education. Four participants—Peter, Richard, Bryan, and Suzan—were in professional positions that enabled them to do so, and had training backgrounds in education or health which they found useful for their parenting. Some of them were in a work environment where they had access to or experience of parenting-related information and interactions which became part of their parenting resources.

> Because of my areas of expertise in XXX[25], I am not ignorant. I have experiences and knowledge in education [in those areas]. I also learnt a lot from parents of my students in my interaction with them. (Suzan)

John and Ginny found it useful having conversations with their New Zealand customers who were experienced parents. Being bilingual, these Kowis had the ability and freedom to access information from wherever they were.

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[25] The area of this participant's expertise had to be identified in this way to protect her privacy.

When I have a question, I just ask in my company, I mean at work, my customers. I talk to my customers a lot about it. They are Kiwi customers. They have seen our children growing up because we have a lot of regulars. Kiwis are good at offering help when you are in trouble. They enjoy it. When my baby was born, one of my customers bought me a [baby care] book. (John)

I talked to my customers. They are all Kiwis. They are all mums. Some are my age, some are early 40s or late 30s. I think the age of mothers is getting older nowadays. Their children are a bit older than mine. (Ginny)

Institutions

Participants identified a number of services that they utilised to access parenting support in the community. Some were run by Koreans, but most were New Zealand institutions. Their experiences with institutions varied. Kowis identified services that were run by Koreans for Koreans, including Korean playgroups, a Korean social worker, and Korean midwives. These offered New Zealand style advice with an understanding of Korean culture which the participants found most beneficial because, as established previously, they often struggled with the contradictory nature of cultural advice from both cultures.

The social worker, Joanna, has helped us a lot. She understood us well. It was very good that she was able to understand us and still helped us to understand the other side. And our midwife was a Korean. She was a good help. (Richard)

The midwife was a really great help, culturally very sensitive as well because she was from our culture (laugh). That really helped my wife. My wife loves her to bits. She still calls her from time to time to pay her respects, to say how things are, and to thank her. The pregnancy and actual birth were greatly helped by having a very experienced and very calm Korean midwife there. (Peter)

Even though the participants had been living in the New Zealand cultural environment for many years, they concluded that Korean services were useful, especially during their pregnancy and postpartum period. Kowis' spouses who were recent migrants generally sought traditional methods. One of the participants used a Korean live-in house helper who was paid to care for new mothers during the period of postpartum. This was similar to the services that

are common in Korea, in that these helpers use traditional Korean methods in looking after new mothers and babies.

> My mother-in-law used to be a great help, but was not well after the birth of my second child. She still cannot carry the baby for long. So my mother hired the lady [Korean live-in house helper] for a couple of months. It was really good. (Hana)

Participants all accessed New Zealand Pākehā health care services such as general practitioners (GPs), Plunket nurses, and midwives, and were influenced by the advice and guidance that were given to them. Many of them experienced these services as beneficial for the new mothers and children.

> Plunket offers regular checkups for babies for their development and growth. It offers real assurance of babies' healthy development. It would be expensive to do the same, and they don't offer that kind of service in Korea. I think it is really good to have Plunket services here. I cannot leave this country for a job opportunity elsewhere (laugh) because it is hard to leave a system like that behind. (Richard)

Kowis utilised these services for their children's health, and saw this as part of participating in society. Some Kowis had mixed experiences with the available services, however, which did not necessarily offer culturally appropriate or relevant services for them. Because these Kowis accessed the New Zealand health system freely, they were consequently under the influence of New Zealand culture on a day-to-day basis. They had spent more than half of their lives in New Zealand, including most of their childhood, and were mostly well adapted to New Zealand culture, speaking reasonably good English. However, they nevertheless appreciated cultural understanding from New Zealand health professionals.

Participants did not have high expectations of the professionals and their cultural competency. They dealt with issues on their own when there was no understanding or help available from the professionals.

> I know they have a job to do. I am happy to participate in that system, the Plunket system. Get my child weighed, discussion about breast feeding well, if I wasn't sure, I

could ask questions, I can take it or leave it depending on what answer they gave me. It was a matter of participating in a New Zealand way of life. (Jean)

I don't think there was any understanding [from the New Zealand service providers]. I cannot say that there is no spare room when they say the baby needs to sleep a separate room. I cannot say I want to share my bed with my child (laugh). I don't say it. Instead, I say "Oh, yes" but just leave it. "Let the baby just cry for a while," then I say "yes," but just leave it. (Rosa)

Some had more culturally understanding professionals whom they described as comforting and encouraging. Some examples were:

I don't know about GPs because we did not meet them a lot. However, Plunket nurses encouraged us to speak both Korean and English to our baby. It was a simple advice, but things like that. Also things like, "The baby is small because Asian babies are often smaller than average." They tried to comfort us. (Richard)

I had a midwife who had experiences with looking after Asians. She asked, "This is how Asians do it, right?" She understood me without me demanding. Certainly, I must have stayed with her because she understood me. It was really good. I was fortunate to meet someone who has no bias. (Abby)

About understanding…You know you are neither allowed to drink icy water, nor have a shower straight after a birth in Korean custom. It must be the same in the Chinese culture. I told her [Chinese midwife] that Koreans were only allowed to drink hot water after a birth. She said that her mother also made her to do the same. "But do you know how thirsty you get. You cannot drink hot water" (laugh). (Ginny)

In my case, the GP was a Chinese. There was some understanding because he was a Chinese, an Asian. However, it would have been different if it was elderly woman or typical Kiwi. But he was an Asian, understood us, and he was also the 1.5 generation. There is something in common you naturally understand between 1.5 generation people. (John)

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However, some participants reported and commented on either culturally inappropriate or irrelevant advice that they were given by some professionals. Some examples were:

> The GPs and certainly Plunket nurses. I don't want to generalise. But they were nice, but there is that kind of….They are not very sensitive. They are not even aware of that fact that we eat different food staples. They just give out very generic advice. Don't realise those are not going to be applicable because we eat different food. Also things like sleeping in same bed: they say "no, no, no, not ever," "no, you don't do it." But culturally this is widely accepted; most people do certainly share a bed (with a baby). Those kinds of things, I guess. I didn't bring it up naturally because it didn't come to my mind because we didn't rely on them too much. But if we were, we would have been mindful, reflecting on it, yea. I don't think they particularly understood that aspect. Certainly, the parent aspect of being a 1.5 generation, I don't think, it is not something they quite grasped. They just probably treated us like any other parents and just assumed that's the case. (Peter)

> There is no one who understands the Korean style. They stick in their own culture, Kiwi culture here. There are a lot of differences [between the two cultures]. (Pitt)

There were some other reasons for their decision making about accessing or not accessing New Zealand services. Rosa did not access New Zealand services due to her limited English language.

> It is hard to express nuance in English. When the baby cries, I just read booklets from the Plunket and try it, but do not ask for help from them. (Rosa)

However, John did not have any issue accessing the services and concluded that they were all helpful.

> I phone them [parenting helpline] straight away when the baby is not well or has a problem. I just phone them straight away. Also, there is the midwife. There is a good system after a birth here. We don't find any inconvenience. (John)

Two participants accessed counselling services for couple issues and postnatal depression, and they reported that counselling helped them to get through challenging times.

> We had to get professional help. Because you know, in the end, you find yourself fighting a lot, you know. That did happen. OK, we are both professionals in health care, but we didn't have the skills to help ourselves. "OK, let's get some help," that kind of thing. (Jean)

> I struggled a lot after the first child. I had postnatal depression. I went for psychiatric counselling help. They introduced me to an agency that supports childcare. So I started taking my baby to childcare from eighteen months. (Angela)

The play centres, schools and other groups in the life of the second generation children were important resources and influences on the parenting of the Kowi participants. They not only influenced the Kowis' parenting but also their children in their development. However, participants had mixed experiences in their dealings with educators in the community. For example, Peter had an unpleasant experience in a kindergarten where teachers actively discouraged him from teaching Korean language to his daughter (see Peter's story previously on the "Unsupportive New Zealand environment").

> We went to a one kindergarten in North Shore. They actively discouraged us from speaking in Korean to the child, [and] said that kids don't learn the language, and that we have to speak to her in English. We were quite shocked. We didn't like it (laugh). We didn't particularly appreciate it. But that kindy had a really good reputation, especially among Kiwis, especially European style in a mainstream society, and so on. (Peter)

In the case of Abby, she enrolled her daughter in a daycare centre where a Korean teacher was available so that her daughter would be supported well. She was concerned about her daughter's language difficulties and socialisation.

> Yes, there is one [a Korean teacher] in her class. She loves the Korean teacher because she can communicate with her. It must be so boring to play with friends whom she cannot communicate with. well. (Abby)

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Rosa experienced New Zealand community play centres as useful, and saw them as part of her resource for consultation. She often spoke to experienced Kiwi mothers for ideas.

> I ask around a lot in the Play Centre. There are some close members in the duty team. I ask more experienced mothers about what to do. (Rosa)

Amy utilised both Korean and Kiwi play centres and activity groups in her area, and consulted both Korean and Kiwi mothers.

> Kiwi mothers [whom I relate to]. There are many play groups where I live, in the church. Almost every day, Monday to Friday. Monday for the church group, Tuesday this group, Wednesday that group, Friday there is a Korean Playgroup. Korean Play centre. I see Korean mothers every Friday. (Amy)

Scott and Bella utilised the New Zealand system as well as one of the first line of resources.

> We used to go to the antenatal class. I had a friend. He must be a 1.5 [generation] too. His wife was pregnant and it was not too far until her labour then. He didn't know anything even if labour was near. You know, you attend antenatal class around six times. But he had not even attended once with his wife. "You cannot do that. You have to go to the class together from the beginning. It will help you to get to know each other and ask for help later on." He phoned me when she started a contraction. He shouldn't have done that. (Scott)

> Plunket and the midwife would be the first line. And then…baby groups I suppose…antenatal class. Catch up things and resources….those would be the main ones, I think. (Bella)

Sarah and her husband actively sought after and regularly attended parenting courses to upskill. Amy also attended training programmes for parenting. These were all New Zealand programmes run by New Zealand institutions.

We keep going to some of the parenting courses. Just now and then when we have some….Maybe once or twice a year something like that. Because we find children grow up and there is a new stage, and there is a new problem arising. Then we discuss, I discuss with my husband and we find something. (Sarah)

I live here without my whānau support, and started my family. I don't know much about parenting. The Plunket nurse gave me information about parenting and training programmes. It was about how to bring up your baby. There is a lot of support out there. (Amy)

Meanwhile, Peter expressed concerns about the cultural relevance of those courses to the Kowis.

Like the group that I attend, the small group of fathers, we talked about attending kinds of courses or going to things, but they are very Eurocentric. That doesn't actually include our kind of family unit, where the grandparents' role is really quite different from the samples, different interaction going on. So it's not straight away applicable. (Peter)

Advice to Others on Parenting

Participants were asked to offer some advice to other 1.5 generation Kowis who would become parents for the first time.

Guidelines for Decision Making

Participants recommended that others carefully choose advice that was suitable for their children in their own circumstances, whether it reflected Korean or New Zealand culture and customs.

They should do what is right for their child whether it be…It doesn't matter what cultural advice it is you receive, what kind of advice you receive from both cultures. At the end of the day, you need to do what's right for your child and what's right for your family, really, because I've found that a lot of people have different opinions when it comes to child raising that kind of stuff, caring, parenting. And that's on both

sides of the world. Um, at the end of the day, you just have to make the right decision for yourself, really. There is no right or wrong. You have to trial and error, really. (Bella)

This seems to reflect Kowis' struggles with contradictory cultural advice on their own parenting. As addressed in earlier sections, they struggle to live in a challenging space where they were constantly pulled in two directions by cultural advice. It was confusing because advice from their Korean parents and friends was often different from, and contradicted, advice from the New Zealand health professionals. Participants were also flooded with multiple sources of information, and were faced with having to make decisions as to how to utilise this information in their parenting.

Participants suggested establishing points of decision making that could be a guideline. They were choosing what was right for them and choosing the best from both cultures.

So I think that the future generations, yes, it's important to retain important things from the culture, so you don't lose your culture, as a sense of who you are. But it doesn't mean you have to hold on to everything. You can embrace the good things, and it's OK to maybe think about things that don't work anymore, are not relevant any more in modern society. Because culture changes, you know. (Jean)

Sarah suggested looking underneath each piece of cultural advice for the rationale. Her issue was about babies' sleeping routines (see Sarah's story in "Contradictory cultural advice"). She researched the rationale behind each piece of advice and found her own ways of coping. New Zealand mothers needed to rest in the evening for their work the next day because, in her perception, they often had no support from extended family close by. However, Koreans lived with the extended family and the time for the mother was not necessarily in the evening in their experience. In fact, family time, in her family, was often in the evening when everyone returned home. Mothers could find a different time for rest and allow the baby to be part of the family. Sarah found the freedom to negotiate between conflicting pieces of cultural advice.

You need to compromise. When you know the reasons behind [baby's sleeping time at 7 p.m.], you can find time for the baby and the mother. However, if you didn't know

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the reason and narrowly focused on 'the 7.p.m.' idea, you would feel really stressed. (Sarah)

Asking for Help

Participants suggested that other Kowis seek practical, emotional and moral support by asking for help at the challenging time of being a first-time parent: gathering resources and information; socialising and networking with others; attending parenting courses; talking to other 1.5 generation Kowi parents including those who are more experienced; and attending antenatal classes and follow-up meetings. Some examples were:

> I am a very great believer in bibliotherapy (laugh). Lots of books by different authors, different philosophies, from definitely Asian Korean perspectives to more Western perspectives! I think that will equip you. (Peter)

> Parenting courses. It helps a lot even if you learnt just a little bit. Books, like what I did [reading a lot]. It will be great to have some 1.5 generation people around you. If you have no issue reading in English, there are a lot of resources that you could have access to. ParentLink itself is great to offer education and support. You know, there are many coffee groups here. (Sarah)

> Always ask for help. When you first have a baby, you don't have your life anymore. You are always so stressed. I would like to comfort new mothers by visiting, having tea with them, and taking them out to a café [because they are isolated]. (Jane)

> Information! Ask for information a lot! Ask others! Ask for help whenever you have a question. (Bryan)

> I would really like to recommend others to make the best use out of antenatal class and its follow-up meetings. I know a lot of people show no interest in that. But I would like to tell them [first time Kowi parents] about it. (Scott)

> I think daycare should be an option. Yeah. I think so. Because a lot of Korean people don't ….Um…I think…don't want to leave their children in other people's care. But um…I think it is really good for children to socialize with kids their own age, and also to be away from mum for a period just so that they can have some independence and do things on their own. (Bella)

Exchange information. Do that a lot! You can learn so much from other experienced mothers, those who are older than you, *unni*[26], and had babies before you. Learn from them. (Amy)

Balancing and Self Care

Participants suggested that other people free themselves from parenting guilt, doubt and pressure for a time out, and enjoy their children. Some examples were:

Don't be overly focused on children. You still need some time for yourself, even if you have children. It is important. Don't try to organise things too perfectly. You will always make some mistakes when you have children. It is an inevitable process. Learn from your trial and error. (Bryan)

It's easy to think, "Oh, I am not as adequate as a parent. I didn't do this for my child and that." For some people, that might happen. But none of us is perfect. If you do your best with love and the best intentions for your children, that's all you can expect….Guilt, what is that? Don't beat yourself up for failing a lot on a way. Because I think failure in itself you can learn. (Jean)

Enjoy! (laugh). Enjoy your baby because it is hard! So just enjoy the fact that you have a baby! When you look at your baby, she is beautiful. You may get angry at your wife, but when you look at your baby, she is beautiful. I would love to live my life enjoying moments like that. It will be a blessing if you can enjoy the present, because, when I look back, things weren't as tough as I thought. (Richard)

Strengthening the Couple Relationship

Participants recalled that a strong couple relationship was a crucial base for parenting. They recommended that others reflect on their relationships on a regular basis, understanding each other's differences, and compromise. They also recommended prioritising one's spouse over one's children. Some examples were:

Parenting as a unit is, I think, very important. (Peter)

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[26] "Older sister" in Korean.

Enjoy your baby because it is hard! It includes a marriage. I often talk to my wife; "We had lived apart for 30 years. It is not easy for us to adjust to each other. Please just accept me as I am." When you cannot accept one another and do not understand each other, your relationship deteriorates. (Richard)

It is important to stand together as a couple first [for parenting]. So I think attending a marriage course is important. I am grateful that we prepared ourselves [before becoming parents]. Whenever you have some time, reflect on your relationship. (Sarah)

You should hear out each person's opinion and then make a decision [in parenting]…compromise. Whether it be compromise or whether it be one's better than the other person's idea. But at the end of the day, you need to discuss and do what is right, really. (Bella)

A number of participants emphasised equal sharing and partnership in parenting. They observed the difficulties experienced by the 1.5 generation Kowi women in a patriarchal family system in their marriages, even though they were brought up in the more egalitarian New Zealand society (see stories in "Couple relationships in parenting"). They were apprehensive about the Korean husband's lack of support or participation in housework and parenting. Some examples were:

The husband needs to participate in calming the baby when she cries too. Don't' stay away from the baby. You need to know how to comfort the baby and how to put her in bed. Otherwise, it can result in disconnection between the wife and husband. (Rosa)

When we first had a baby, I went out a lot. I still sometimes do. However, your family will be happier if you take care of your family more and look after your wife better. (John)

One thing that you really should not do! Do not leave child rearing to your wife alone. You really need to do it together here. It is tough here compared to the life in Korea. You cannot survive unless you both work. It becomes a huge burden to your wife, if

you leave everything to her alone to deal with. What you do as a couple will determine the level of your child's growth. You need to share the load. (Scott)

Just sharing the role I think is a biggy. Because even though they are 1.5 generation boys, boys [repeat in original]… males are males. They won't do any housework. A lot of them just won't to do it. [I am] quite lucky, my husband's quite…he is OK to do it, but some boys just don't do it. They need to share the work load. Because being a mum is full…24 hours a day job, really. Full time job. But they don't understand that because it is not paid. They think you don't work and you are at home all day, that kind of stuff. They need to understand that more, I think. (Bella)

I would really like to ask the husbands to look after their wives well. It doesn't matter if they are 1.5 generation couples or not. [Because of Korean culture and the in-law relationship] the wife struggles a lot. I think the wife's hardship is at least triple. Hence, the husband really needs to listen to his wife. (Abby)

One participant even suggested her sister marry a New Zealand man because she struggled with cultural clashes with her Korean in-laws.

Take some serious consideration about marriage. When you marry a Korean, especially a new migrant, there are likely to be cultural clashes, especially with in-laws. I suggested my younger sister to marry a Kiwi guy (laugh). It is not easy to live with a Korean man. (Angela)

Cultural Integration

Participants became aware of the importance of being culturally well-adapted as a parent in order to be able to resource and guide one's children into their future, because of the experiences that they had with their own first generation parents. A number of them recommended that others should not isolate themselves from New Zealand society, but be part of their new host society as active participants. Some examples were:

We should not be secluding ourselves from the Kiwi society. 1.5 generation parents should have overcome those [cultural issues] first. If they have not overcome those, and still struggle with them, children will notice it. You do not have to tell your children about that; they can see it. It is like what I noticed about my father's

struggling to develop relationships with his own sons. My children will notice it if I have problems. Because these things can be passed on for generations, you do pass on strength, or you don't. (Richard)

I think, generally speaking, one of the things is to look after yourself, develop yourself, be confident in yourself to be part of the society we live in. Then you are well equipped to be good parents. Obviously then other technical things follow. (Peter)

It is important [for parents] to mix with the locals….[Koreans] don't seem to do that well. (John)

If you want to pass on something good to you children, you need to be part of the society and be accepted in the community. You need to live with them [locals] in harmony. (Pitt)

It is certainly important for mothers to mix with Korean parents and attend the Korean church (laugh). However, it is also important to participate in the Kiwi society (laugh). It is important to your children and their future. (Hana)

While focusing on cultural integration, participants had a strong belief in teaching children the Korean language, identity and heritage, and strongly recommended that others maintain these well at home.

It is inevitable that children will learn the English language when they start the school. You don't have to avoid speaking Korean to your children in order to improve their English. It is not necessary at all. Speak Korean at home. They learn English outside. Children should not forget their roots. I really like to emphasise that parents must teach children the Korean language. (Amy)

Suggestions for Parenting

Participants were asked what suggestions they would like to make to policy makers and professionals in terms of Kowis' parenting needs. The intention of this was both to gather more insights into their parenting needs and also to bring their own voices through to the

policy makers so that useful information and resources could be provided to support Kowis in their parenting, for the development of prevention and intervention strategies, and to enhance positive parent–child relationships.

A handful of participants made some general suggestions such as financial support for struggling first-time parents; the importance of extending the duration of parental leave; more play centres that required less of mothers' involvement in the running; and support for strengthening couple relationships, such as easy access to and readily available counselling and seminars including programmes for couples both before and after marriage. However, there were two main concerns that the majority raised, and this section focuses primarily on these two areas: cultural support and inclusiveness and diversity in society.

Cultural Support

It was suggested that more 1.5 generation professionals be recruited in health and social services, particularly in the areas of parenting, maternity and childcare, in order to provide effective support for 1.5 generation Kowi parents in their unique circumstances.

> It will be great if more 1.5 generation people work in these areas because they understand [Kowi parents' circumstance] well. Certainly, it is a problem that Koreans either do not know that careers like these exist, or they do not have an interest in working in these areas. They are usually keen to become lawyers or medical doctors. However, it would be great if you can encourage the 1.5 generation to work in these areas by opening doors to them, and make the careers more appealing to the 1.5 generations. There are quite a lot working in midwifery now. It is improving. (Richard)

Ginny had originally suggested having some Korean midwives. However, Ginny later suggested translating information instead when there are not enough professionals in the area.

> I would appreciate it if there was a Korean midwife. I know there are some in Auckland. It doesn't have to be midwives! Pamphlets in the Korean language will be greatly appreciated. Koreans are not the only group with 1.5 generation people. There are other 1.5 generations in other ethnic groups too. It will be good to have pamphlets

about important sources [resource and information on parenting] in different languages. (Ginny)

Accessing information was a difficulty for some. They would like easily and readily available information for those 1.5 generation Kowis who had difficulties seeking information and were still not familiar with the New Zealand system.

You know there are a lot of good agencies like Family Start or Family Works in the community. However, I am not sure if 1.5 generation mothers are aware of those services. They don't seem to know in my circle. It will be really helpful if they [agencies]. are given information about it. Promotion is the way to help. (Angela)

I would love some more contact with Kiwis but it is limited in my case. It will be really useful if they advertise more [of parenting related] information without us trying hard to find information. You need help but you don't know where to start. It will be helpful if you are guided to make the first step at least. I don't see much [information]. How about some advertisements? (Rosa)

I am lost as to where to find information, for instance, about school holiday programmes. New Zealand mothers are like monster good at that [finding information]. If you have a Kiwi mother as a friend, it is just perfect. However, you'd get lost if you didn't have one, your children will be left out. (Ginny)

There was a suggestion about culturally relevant parenting programmes that are usually offered to parents in general.

There are lots of parenting programmes around like Triple P and The Incredible Years and things like that. I really want to see that being adapted to ethnic groups or culturally appropriate adaptation being made. I think, I really, really think, there are lots of parents that I know, certainly I can think of including myself, who would benefit from doing those kinds of courses. Unfortunately, they are very Eurocentric. I think if there were, I don't think they have to change it a lot. I think it could just well be that translated into appropriate language, maybe some additions, or more emphasis put on one aspect or the other, I don't know. But I think it would be a great resource if

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there are already scientific evidence-based proven parenting skills courses that can be adapted. I think that is something that is missing here. Like the group that I attend, the small group of fathers! We talked about attending kind of courses or going to things, but they are very Eurocentric. That doesn't actually include our kind of family unit where grandparents' role is really quite different from the samples, different interaction going on. So it's not straight away applicable. I think they could come up with something different. It would be really good. (Peter)

There was also a suggestion of regular meetings or workshops for Kowi parents where they could share their ideas, consult with each other in similar circumstances, and speak to experts for information and guidance.

It would be great to have regular meetings like a play group with other [Kowi] mothers where we can empathise with each other. Perhaps meet once a week or fortnightly. Perhaps have a [Korean] counsellor with us in the meeting. It would be great if the counsellor could talk to us on topics that are relevant to us, the 1.5 generation. Or we could bring questions to the counsellor in the meeting. There are plenty of people who would show interest in a meeting like that. It doesn't have to be individual counselling. We need someone to talk to, talk to someone without being judged. (Jane)

Inclusiveness and Diversity

Working on creating a more culturally inclusive and diverse society was recommended by some participants. Jean suggested that policy makers be more inclusive and respect the diversity of the community in their decision making, by considering other cultures early in the process when developing and implementing policies and procedures.

What I would like to suggest to New Zealanders, whoever they may be, in the position of policy making and decision making and it effects the New Zealand population. Please think outside the square. Right from the beginning, before you make decision on something. Ask yourself the question, "How does my decision affect Māori, Pacific, Asian and other high needs people? Have you thought about those people in your decision making? How will it or this work for Māori, Pacific, Asian, the disabled, the elderly?" Be more inclusive, more diverse in your decision making. So that

whatever you put in place over here works for not just 67% of Pākehā main stream, but also works for much more than that…95 %, you know. (Jean)

These recommendations included increasing the cultural sensitivity and awareness of professionals in the area of health and social services such as midwifery, early childhood educators and Plunket. Some examples were:

Midwives, Plunket nurses, medical doctors and nurses…They really need to have basic knowledge about other cultures and their unique aspects. It would be good if they could assure us with some understanding [about our culture] and suggest different approaches [that is culturally relevant]. They may not have to do things too much different. They might still do the same. It will be helpful for professionals to work with children and other patients with some [cultural] knowledge. (Pitt)

It will be a good starting point if professionals have some understanding about the culture of individual [Kowis]. Professionals need to understand that there are other ways of parenting too. That will help Kowis to relax and accept [what professionals have to say]. Kowis may feel more relaxed about accepting what they say and I think it would be useful if we knew professionals actually do know something [about Kowis culture]. It is hard on first time [Kowi] mothers. They need guidance but not rules. (Sarah)

Professionals don't offer us anything different here. I have a friend in the United States and she told me this. When Koreans go to the hospital for a birth, they are offered a Korean specialty, *Miyukguk*[27]. They understand we must have the hot [emphasis] soup. The American hospital offers Korean soup! This country has no [cultural] knowledge [about us]. I was offered icy water [in the hospital after a birth] (laugh). Professionals here need to go outside of New Zealand to learn more. You say it is a multi-cultural society. Bullshit! Somebody, perhaps a scientist, please do some research and report that Asian bodies and bones are really different from the Westerners. (Ginny)

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[27] Seaweed soup is considered a must for nursing mothers, as it is known to stimulate breast milk production and also helps a quick recovery from labour.

I don't want to ask for special treatment. But it is a multi-cultural society here. It will be good if they [policy makers] inform the society that there are people called Korean 1.5 generation and they have difficulties raising their children in this and in that here. Perhaps use newspaper. Use newspaper articles to share what we are. I am not asking for kindergartens especially established for 1.5 generations only. That doesn't make sense. It will only isolate us. However, cultural understanding would be beneficial. (Jane)

To the policy makers, I think there is huge improvement needed, certainly in the way of providing midwifery, early childhood care, and Plunket and things like that, in a way that increases cultural sensitivity and awareness, and of, you know, having more specific provisions around that. I don't think that it has to be a separate kind of service being set up or anything like that. It can still be done within the mainstream care or service providers. (Peter)

Peter further pointed out the current "paranoia about migrants" and related conflicts "between the generations within the family and to society." He asked that openness and acceptance be fostered for an inclusive and diverse society. Peter spoke about added pressure for "migrant parents to mould their children to become just like kiwis" due to the paranoia. John also shared concerns about racism in society but felt helpless to suggest anything about it to the policy makers.

It is, in fact, racism at its core. But you cannot ask [the government] to take it away. In my opinion, it will not go away because it is in each individual's mind. It is not something that a policy can change. Of course, racism is illegal. You get fined. You get punished. I know that. But how can you find that out [if an individual has a thought of racism or not]?. (John)

As a result of her struggles and her experience of being a migrant child who did not feel part of the society, Abby insisted that she did not want any help that was only offered to the 1.5 generation. She was concerned about her children also being treated differently because of their appearance and consequently being isolated from the rest of the society. What she was indicating was not about not wanting better treatment, but not wanting to be discriminated against.

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I really don't like it; "You are an Asian. You don't know these things, right? We will teach you." Treat us equally without any discrimination. That is better [than special treatment]. When my children go to school, please treat them equally. They may look different but they deserve the same education, and do share the same values. They don't need a special treatment. That is not accommodating. Do not send them out to a special class like ESOL [English as Second Language]. I don't like them to be separated. We say New Zealand is multi-cultural, but there is still a long way to go. (Abby)

Abby also pointed out a need to support the second generation children by creating an environment and offering support where children are encouraged to retain both cultures.

I would like [the government] to create an environment where our children will be encouraged to maintain their own language by funding [relevant organisations] and supporting them. I think it is very important that we maintain our culture. But surely they [New Zealand] will not like the idea. (Abby)

Scott also offered a similar suggestion.

I worry the most about what if children get confused when parents speak Korean but see Kiwis speaking English outside. It would be great to have some advice about the confusion. The government can offer support in order to help children to maintain two different cultures and grow up without confusion. (Scott)

Scott further recommended that the government should value the unique ability of the second generation Kowi children for their language skills and dual heritages. He would like to see policies that could reinforce and utilise these abilities and give hope to these children so that they would feel valued for their uniqueness and become contributing members of society from a young age.

I would like my children to grow up with the knowledge and hope that they are important to New Zealand. I hope they wouldn't be forced to choose only the Kiwi culture or the Kiwi language. I would like them to feel good and meaningful to be able

to choose both. I want children to know and feel it is a really big deal and good [to be able to do that]. The government can do something about it. As a part of the Korean Society Inc., I would like to see some support from the government to help out Korean [Saturday] schools. It would bring a win–win [for the government and the Korean community] situation. (Scott)

Summary

This chapter foregrounded Kowis' voices on the resources that were available in the community, and their advice to others including policy makers and professionals in the community.

- Kowis displayed their ability to access resources from multiple sources. Their language ability and wide networks in both Korea and New Zealand allowed them to access not only New Zealand but also Korean and international resources. Consequently, they were influenced by the multiple resources that they accessed. However, the relevance of the resources to their own circumstances as 1.5 generation Kowis was raised as an issue due to conflicting advice from these various sources. There was very limited information and relatively few resources that had direct relevance for them.

- Kowis' advice to others and suggestions to policy makers highlighted the needs of Kowis to access culturally relevant information and resources with guidance; being understood and supported for who they were by culturally competent professionals; having access to different types of support for the second generation Kowis; and increasing cultural sensitivity and awareness in society in general.

The results of this study provide insights into parenting challenges, influences, strengths and resources for these Kowi parents in New Zealand. While some of the findings highlight experiences which may resonate with those of other refugee and migrant families from other parts of the world who have also settled in New Zealand, there are some areas that seem unique to the 1.5 generation Kowis. The significance of these results and the implications will be discussed in the next chapter. The next chapter will provide a discussion of the areas that were identified as significant in these results and their implications.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, six major themes arising from the results will be discussed with reference to existing theory and research. Then the Kowi Parenting Model ("Social and Contextual Experiences of and Influences on the Kowi Parenting") will be introduced to describe the multiple components that 1.5 generation Kowis perceived as influencing, resourcing and challenging them in their parenting.

Major Themes

The first notable theme involved Kowis' journey of identity discovery and the related experiences. A close link was revealed between how Kowis parent their children now and their perceptions of their own identity. The second theme was a link between participants' childhood experiences of parenting and their current parenting practices. Encountering different types of parenting styles had affected their lives and worldviews. The third, and one of the most interesting themes, related to their decision making processes. A link was evident between their coping strategies in childhood and their decision making strategies as parents. The fourth theme from the study was the finding that Kowis' worldviews and perceptions of both Korean and New Zealand cultures varied depending on their individual circumstances, and their perceptions of the cultures were often contradictory even within this small group of participants. The fifth theme concerned the multiple challenges that Kowis faced in their parenting: stress and anxiety about children's development; dealing with contradictory cultural advice; challenges with Pākehā/New Zealand institutions; lacking appropriate guidance in parenting; challenges in couple relationships; and relationship issues with the second generation Kowi children within the family. The sixth theme was the finding that Kowis had developed strengths throughout their lives as migrant children, and they utilised their strengths in their parenting: bi-lingualism, cultural competency, alternate choices, and broader life experiences with flexibility, creativity, resilience and maturity. Each of these major findings identified above will now be addressed in greater details.

Identity as Key to Parenting - "Where are you from?"

Initially, identity issues were not part of the intended focus of this study. However, unexpectedly, it became apparent that the experience of cultural conflicts and confusion throughout Kowis' lives created opportunities for reflection on their identities, and these experiences had a significant impact on their parenting. Speaking about their identity was about reflecting on their journey of life including noticing strengths and weaknesses as well as issues they struggled with over the years. These included confidence, hopes and dreams, meaning and direction in life, and understanding their place in the world when they were faced with the task of parenting.

At an early stage when interviewing the participants, it was noticeable how difficult it was to keep the participants focused on the research question about parenting, because one of the areas that they really wanted to talk about was identity. It was concerning because it seemed to be irrelevant to the initial framing of the research topic. However, a moment of realisation came much later after a number of in-depth dialogues with my Ph.D. supervisors, many hours of reflection on interview notes, and looking back at my life as a 1.3 generation mother. Identity became one of the keys to explaining the ways in which the Kowis parented. For instance, the formation of their personal identities gives us information about the reasons why they wanted their children to maintain their Korean language and culture: their concerns about integration of their children into New Zealand society; their effort to boost their children's confidence so they would survive well as Korean New Zealanders; and the importance of having a close relationship with their child. Only when they had thoroughly reflected on their journey of migration and related issues were they able to see the effect of these experiences on their parenting and how to improve its quality.

There were some critical questions that resonated through their comments when the Kowis were talking about their identity in the interviews: How do I manage being a Kowi? Do I hold on to Koreanness or do I become just a New Zealander? But I can never be just a New Zealander. I look different. I am Korean, but I live in New Zealand. Do I have to be one or the other? Can't I be in-between? Will my children go through this agonising process too? How can I help when they ask who they are? The question of "Who am I?" was part of the transitioning process when they were constantly asked "Where are you from?" by others in their surroundings. Migrants inevitably face two fundamental challenges in their cultural transition: maintenance of their own heritage culture, and their adaptation to the new host

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culture (Berry, 2006). For Kowis, wrestling with their identity was part of their cultural transition which involved maintaining their own heritage culture while adapting to the new host culture. What emerged from the interviews was that when the Kowi parents successfully navigated their way through to attain a coherent sense of identity, they could be instrumental in their children's journey of discovery, consequently enhancing children's positive development. Hence, these questions above needed to be asked and answered while they established their role as parents of second generation Kowis.

Some of the Kowis rated their cultural identities in the interview. A notable finding was that not everyone felt exactly in the middle as a 1.5 generation Kowi between the first generation and second generation. Some felt more Korean, were closer to the first generation, and rated 1.2 or 1.3, while others felt more Kiwi, closer to the second generation, and rated themselves 1.7 or 1.8. See the range below.

| 1st | 1.3 | 1.5 Kowi | 1.7 | 2nd |
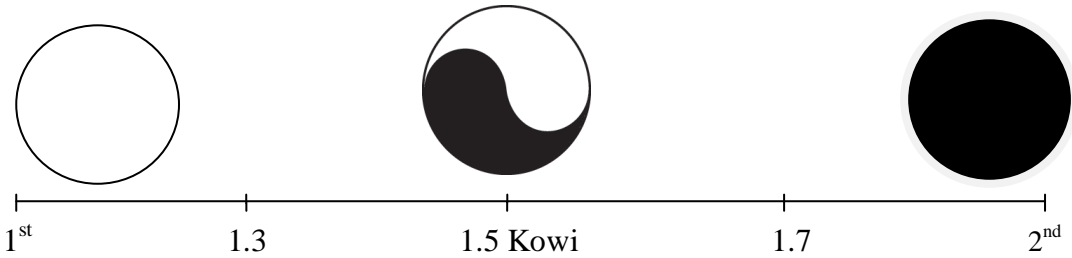
Figure 4. Variances in Identities of the 1.5 Generation Kowis

Clarity about their identities influenced Kowis' levels of confidence and resourcefulness in their parenting. When they were sure about their identity, they showed more confidence. Language fluency and cultural competency were important components that helped Kowis to rate their identity, and one of the factors that affected their level of confidence positively or negatively in either of the cultures. The stage of the Kowis' identity formation paralleled their migration and adaptation processes as they went through all or at least part of their adolescence in New Zealand. The migration process was significantly challenging for the Kowis, and their strengths and resilience varied depending on their experiences of migration and their adaptation processes including identity formation. In turn they perceived these experiences as influencing their parenting positively or negatively. While the rating of participants' identities was not planned as part of this investigation, it would be worthwhile

investigating the link between the rating of their identities and their parenting quality and confidence in the future.

Identity as a Journey: Metaphors

In terms of identity, there were a number of intriguing metaphors that the Kowis used to explain their experiences: 'two countries in one', 'neither…nor', 'both', 'between', 'middle', and 'journey of self-discovery'.

The metaphor 'two countries in one' described their feelings about the cultural conflicts and challenges they faced in the process of integration. This is an umbrella concept explaining the core of their identity crisis. Because the two cultures were significantly different, they had to find two very different internal systems by which to cope after migration: Korea at home and New Zealand elsewhere.

These experiences caused them to reflect on issues of belonging and identity. Some described limitations in their sense of belonging to either of the two societies. Calling themselves "people with no nationality or citizenship" indicated that they had an uncertain sense of their own identities. Their struggles or attitudes could be described as "neither, nor". In this case, they felt alienated from both cultures and countries, confused about who they were, and consequently felt anguish about being a migrant. They became stuck with their distinctive appearance, especially when they were asked the same question that they had always struggled with from childhood: "Where are you from?" This confusion seemed to last throughout their childhood, adolescence and adulthood. They expressed anxiety about their children's identity as "neither, nor". For example, they were worried that their children would always be recognised as Asians even though they were born here and could speak fluent English. However, they could not completely belong to Korea either as they would see themselves as "a Kiwi".

It seems that they became liberated when they recognised their ability to be "both". This was about embracing and accepting their dual identities and heritages. Once they were able to see this ability as an "advantage", "gift", "special reality" and "something better", they moved to the next level of liberation. This happened when they developed the ability to "take the best of both worlds", the strategy that was linked to childhood coping skills of "dealing with things on their own" and "negotiating" at the interface of conflicting cultures. They saw that they

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had choices and could offer alternatives. This was the time when they started using terms positively about being "in-between" and "in the middle" of the two cultures.

The next liberation followed: recognising struggles in relation to defining one's identity from childhood, and now appreciating the reality of "it doesn't have to be black or white, or yes or no". They realised an ability to "come in and out of both" cultures with freedom. They started using a new term, being "a global citizen", and "part of this world". Here, the barrier was broken and their horizon opened up. They explored and created a culture and identity of their own. No culture was dead, fixed or sacred to them. They were constantly moving, redefining, changing and creating a new identity.

While these were a group of Kowi parents who were eager to teach their children both identities and languages, still they would give permission and freedom for their children to be themselves, rather than pressuring them to learn both languages and identities. They were liberated enough to give their children freedom to be true to themselves and at the same time, they were able to facilitate their children's development with awareness and insight to the children's advantage for being the second generation Kowis. Interestingly, all participants wanted to do so, even though some of them still had their own identity issues including limitations and struggles with lack of confidence. When it came down to the children, they could see their potential and hoped that they could develop their children's ability to excel. These Kowis were aware of the advantages that their children could develop, and were also mindful of what they had struggled with themselves and what their children would need for their future development. They had the ability to see the possibility and potential of the future generation from their own deficiencies.

The next step of liberation followed with deeper and "broadened insights". They became aware of their "journey of self-discovery" and a process of "re-forming" in terms of identity formation and migration process. They recognised this as a life-long journey. They became more "open to moulding" and "learning", and got excited about navigating their ways through as a unique individual, not required to fit into anything anymore but moulding one's unique self. They enjoyed "moments of self discovery" on this journey. Such a discovery no doubt helped Kowis to relax and takes away boxed views and anxiety about children's development in their parenting.

Language: Its Role in Identity

The Korean language seems to have a significant importance to the Kowis and their family relationships. It was interesting for me as an interviewer/researcher to observe how participants chose aspects of each language and culture in the interviews. All but one of them gave me a Korean pseudonym for their names for the interview. In addition, only three chose to be interviewed in English, even though all eighteen of them spoke English. Some of them used both Korean and English, but mainly spoke in Korean in the interview. It was as though they were happy to be identified as a Kiwi by their name, but they recognised and, in fact, claimed Koreanness inside them by choosing to speak Korean. Some said that they were more comfortable expressing their thoughts in Korean, while others said that they would like to be interviewed in Korean because they could still speak Korean well—something that seemed important for them to be able to say.

The language was part of identifying oneself as Korean, and Kowis were encouraged to maintain their mother tongue from childhood. They had mixed opinions and feelings about having to learn and speak two languages. It was their strength as well as a weakness—two sides of a coin. Being bi-lingual was seen as beneficial, and it was a gift, advantage and asset while living in an English environment. They reported feeling anxious, and having lost some of their confidence in parenting, when they became aware of their limitations in not speaking fluently either in Korean or English.

What seems to stand out is that Korean language proficiency contributed to their healthy identity development, and increased their pride, confidence and self-worth as Koreans and as individuals, and consequently as parents. They were made aware of their dual identities from childhood when recognised as Asians rather than New Zealanders, due to their appearance: "Where are you from?" This reality brought them opportunities to look deeply into the issue of one's belonging and their place in the world over the years. It seems that when they were more integrated in their identities and heritage, and accepted their unique self as Kowis rather than denying part of them one way or the other, it brought them increased confidence to recognise their strengths. Hence, Kowis were aware of the role of language in the life of migrants, and brought those insights to their parenting. They wanted to provide an opportunity to teach their children to be bilingual in order to boost their healthy identity development for increased confidence and self-worth.

In terms of language learning, it was hard for the Kowis to maintain proficiency in both languages. There were frustrations and embarrassment about not being able to speak either language "perfectly". They were concerned about their limitations in both cultures and heritages when teaching their children. It is startling to note the concerns about their ability with languages and cultural competency in the mind of the 1.5 generation Kowis, as the majority of them were fluent in both languages and lived with the complex and contradictory cultures with flexibility and resilience. Some of them even spoke three or four languages, including Korean and English, and were still frustrated about not being perfect. They were not happy just to maintain two languages but wanted to perfect them. They seemed to look at their glass as though it were half-empty. Neither the source of their perfectionism in language fluency nor the impact of their frustration about this on their parenting was foreseen as a focus of this study. However, perfectionism may have been linked to their experiences in the past, such as pressure from parents, personal experiences of anxiety, and a continuing sense of lacking something in them caused by discrimination and identity conflicts or loss of job opportunities in either of the countries. It could also be related to a sense of not belonging and wanting to do so by being perfect, which may be about fitting in well with the society. These issues that will need to be taken up in future research.

Impact of Childhood Experiences on Current Parenting

A notable finding about Kowis' parenting is that childhood experiences of parenting at home have made a profound impact on how Kowis parent today, echoing an observation of Simons, Beaman, Conger, and Chao (1993) that the way in which one was parented during childhood influences the quality of one's parenting as an adult. This is because the lives of children are strongly influenced by their family experiences and the strongest memories of childhood are significantly tied to our families (Smith, 2013). Experiences from Kowis' childhood were a major influence that guided and sometimes unconsciously dictated parenting decisions: aspects of each culture that they would select; the kind of parent–child relationship that they were aiming at and hoping to build; what parental boundaries they would like to set and how they set them; expectations and hopes for their children's future; and their parenting relationship as a couple with their spouse.

With regard to childhood parenting experiences as influences, it was notable that Kowis were introduced to three different parenting styles throughout their life (see Figures in chapter 2):

the traditional Korean parenting style in Korea (Figure 1); the Korean migrants' style in New Zealand (Figure 4); and the traditional Pākehā/European New Zealanders' style (Figure 3).

In terms of the Korean traditional parenting style, the Kowis were born and spent some of their formative years in Korea, and grew up in a more traditional Korean parenting system. However, the family dynamics and paradigms were changed and shifted after migration. The Pākehā/New Zealand style of parenting was different from the traditional Korean parenting style that challenged Koreans as a family when they first arrived in New Zealand. Interview results indicated that the first generation Korean migrants generally did not conform to the New Zealand cultural style, and normally parented the Korean way by maintaining the Korean life style and emphasising traditional values. However, it was also evident that the migration process brought its own challenges to the Korean migrant families. It created different types of dynamics and relationships which replaced the traditional style of parenting with the migrants' style of parenting. Some first generation Koreans willingly adapted some values of the host society, while Kowi children were introduced to the New Zealand Pākehā style of values. Consequently, these changes and shifts in many areas throughout Kowis' lives influenced and challenged as well as resourced the Kowis as individuals and as parents.

The changes were particularly significant in two different areas: the parent–child relationship and parenting couple relationships. In the traditional Korean system, Korean children had limited interactions with their fathers when in Korea. Due to fathers' extensive hours of work, the mother was usually a sole caregiver to the children, and bridged between the father and children when communication was necessary. The mother and the father did not have enough time together with their children due to the husband's work commitments. The father was head of the family, however, and the mother would speak to the father about major parenting decisions, but the day-to-day care of the children was left to the mother alone to deal with.

The current study confirmed that migration to New Zealand provided Koreans more time with their family and brought both positive and negative changes. The young Kowis were suddenly faced with increased time and interaction with their fathers. This increased their closeness as well as bringing challenges for both parties due to migration-related stress and cultural differences that began forming a wall between the Kowis and their parents. The Kowis reported their struggle to deal with the Korean style of parental control and expectations, while encountering very different cultural norms that offered much more freedom and

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independence to children outside. They began experiencing confusing and conflicting parenting styles between the two different cultures. They began "living in two different countries in once": Korea at home and New Zealand outside. They had no choice but to compartmentalise their life into two as their way of coping and managing the circumstances.

In terms of parenting couple relationships, the young Kowis witnessed changed dynamics and relationships issues between their mother and the father after migration. The parents were dealing with their own transition as a couple, from having very little time together to too much time together as a nuclear family. One of the key challenges was living without having enough extended family members or support networks nearby that could cushion and intervene during the stressful migration process. Because of this gap they had to rely more on one another,

In the case of the first generation Koreans in this study, migration stress and its effects on parents often created tension at home and sometimes negatively affected the Kowis as children. According to the *Samgang* (three bonds) and the *Oryun* (five principal relationships), there was clear hierarchical order and ethics guiding their conduct between the husband and wife, the wife being subordinate to the husband in the traditional Korean family culture. However, migration brought a shift in the power balance for the migrant couple to be more equal, and that created tension between the husband and wife due to changes in the employment status of the father and influences of the egalitarian culture of New Zealand on the mother. In the perception of the Kowis, the New Zealand parents had more equally shared interactions with their children, and consequently the father was more involved with parenting in comparison to his Korean counterpart. New Zealand parents were able to spend more time together as a family, made parenting decisions together more, and also included children's opinions more in their decision making process in comparison to their Korean counterpart. Kowis perceived them as being able to spend more time together as a couple. It is also possible for Kowis that the New Zealand parents may have come across as more confident and competent and parenting better, as they witnessed the anxiety and struggles of their Korean parents as migrants. This may have made an impact on Kowis' choice of "what works better" in their own parenting.

The Kowis' fathers did not have to stop and think about their identity and their meaning and/or direction in life as they tried to survive and earn a living in a competitive and fast

paced society back in Korea. They had a clear role that they understood well: their main duty or task was to provide financially for the family. They did not have time to think about parenting or how to relate to the family as long as they provided well. In turn, the family would show appreciation for the fathers' hard work as they fulfilled this particular task. Other things, like spending time with children, were recognised as secondary. However, suddenly, they were forced to take time to reflect on who they were and had to find ways to relate to the family differently. They seemed to have struggled with cultural differences about what it meant to be a man, father, and husband, the different roles and the meaning of them in the new host country as the children and wife changed and demanded something new. The shift from being a Korean man, father, and husband to enacting theses roles in the New Zealand context has been identified as causing a considerable amount of confusion and tension to the father and to the rest of the family in this study.

No information was specifically sought about first generation mothers and their challenges. They may have also been confronted with an identify reformation. Many of them were faced with more time with their husbands, who were stressed, and their children, who needed guidance in their cultural transition. It would be interesting to investigate what it was like for them to enact the role of mother and wife: how they felt and how they dealt with living in-between the traditional Korean wife/mother's role and the role they observed in the Pākehā/New Zealand women. What those mothers faced after migration may have influenced Kowis in some areas of their parenting and couple relationships. Often Korean mothers do not speak English fluently and so they may have come across to their children as withdrawn or incapable of leadership, and they often required practical help from children and the husband. How the Kowi children experienced their mothers in the new host country may have brought different insights to the Kowi parents—whether they expected the role of a withdrawn Korean mother or a more verbal and supposedly active New Zealand mother in the role of Kowi women.

It has to be noted that Kowis witnessed differences in the involvement of the extended family after migration. The extended family of New Zealand/Pākehā has relatively limited influence on other family members' parenting in comparison with the traditional Korean extended family. The Korean family unit is surrounded by Korean grandparents, extended family, and multiple support networks and in Korea those parties were ranged around the family like containers and fences as strong and practical support. This reflects the nature of collective

society where each family is intimately connected and interdependent with each other. Kinship and loyalty to in-group membership within the extended family is strong in the Korean system because of the influence of Confucianism. However, the more limited influence of New Zealand/Pākehā grandparents, the extended family, and support networks on parenting decisions in New Zealand family systems reflects the nature of individualism and independence in the society. They are more frequently independently located outside of the nuclear family unit and do not surround the family like containers in the diagram. See the figure below.
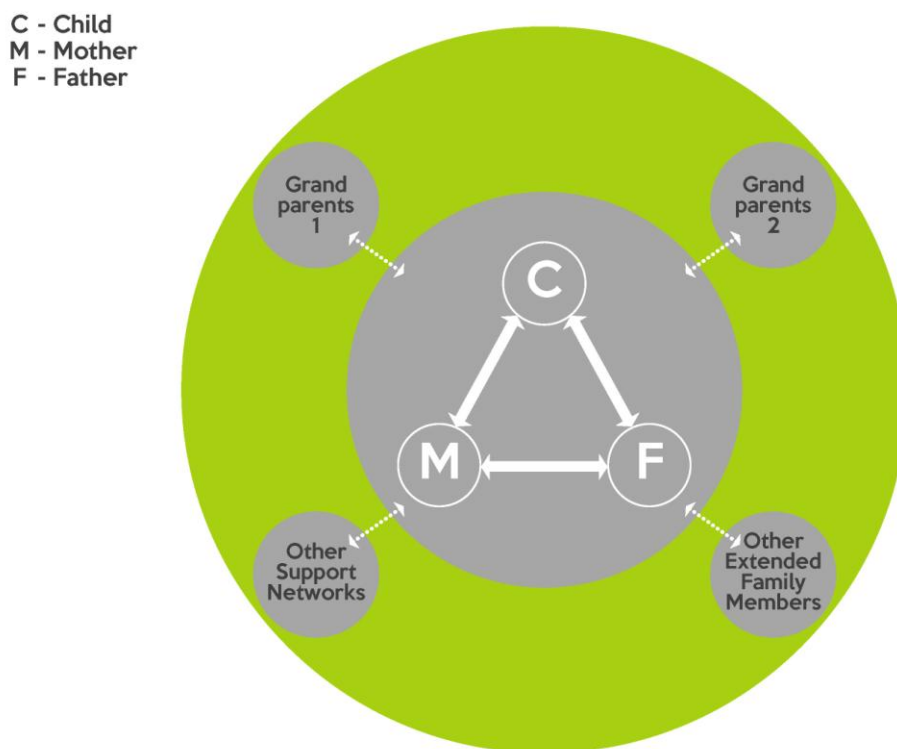
Figure 2. Parenting Style of Traditional Pākehā/European New Zealanders

For Korean migrants, the place of the extended family shifted, not because of the influence of New Zealand/Pākehā culture, but because of the geographical distance between Korea and New Zealand. They were no longer available to support the Kowis' family as a container and fence nearby, and the Korean migrant families were mostly left without support. Some of them had some family members or relatives who also migrated to New Zealand; they may also have been in the middle of their own migration process with stress, and possibly had

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different expectations of other expectations on other family members in their relationships. The changing functions of the extended family after migration, and the impact of the loss of the extended family on Kowis, would have shifted the family dynamics.

Parenting is culturally constructed because each culture guides the development of parenting styles; parents in different cultures receive different kinds of guidance about how to rear children and consequently construct different approaches to parenting that fit the norms of the cultural context in which they raise children (Harkness & Super, 2002). In the case of Kowis, waves of experiences with at least three different types of parenting styles through the process of migration have affected the Kowis' perspectives on life, including parenting, and consequently, their life experiences as Kowi children have influenced, resourced, and challenged them when becoming a parent. A couple of parents of the participants chose to migrate to New Zealand as they hoped to have something different from some of the traditional cultural values in Korea. However, Kowi children of these parents still experienced challenges in adapting to the new culture because the cultural values of New Zealand were very different. Many of the participants still struggled with their identities, and were anxious about their parenting at the interface of conflicting parenting advice and models, while reporting the development of flexibility, creativity and maturity from a young age to integrate both cultures. They brought these strengths as well as challenges to their parenting today.

Decision Making Processes

"Childhood Coping Strategies" to "Parenting Decision Making Strategies"

The Kowis developed strategies to cope with complex challenges that they faced as migrant children. They were 1) accepting and peacemaking; 2) escaping and rebelling; 3) negotiating; and/or 4) controlling information that was shared, and then dealing with things on their own. What this group of participants displayed was their way of formulating individualised coping strategies when they faced cultural conflicts between parents and themselves.

In the strategies they adopted as children, the majority of participants accepted parents' rules at home when they could not negotiate with their parents. Many of them accepted what they were told, which was the way of Korean culture, and gave up pursuing what they would rather do. They had a good understanding about parents' boundaries and avoided direct challenges.

Direct challenges are regarded as a source of damage to relationships and harmony in Korean culture (Kalton, 1988; Shim et al., 2008). In particular, total unconditional obedience to, and an unquestioned compliance with, parents' wishes are expected of Korean children (H. O. Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001).

The fact that they sometimes chose avoidance or submission can be seen as a life skill and as exhibiting wisdom under these circumstances. These children strategically endured cultural conflicts and pressure on a daily basis, while becoming sufficiently flexible to integrate the new culture in their lives. It seems that controlling the amount of information that they shared, and often dealing with issues on their own, may have offered them opportunities to be in charge of their lives—a sense of ownership, responsibilities and direction of life. However, it may have also caused anxiety as they had to constantly make responsible decisions without appropriate guidance. The data indicated that both flexibility and anxiety were present in the Kowi parents.

This research revealed a link between the degree of first generation Korean parents' adaptation and the Kowi children's confidence. Their confidence as children had progressed to their parenting confidence. In their childhood, their confidence had been boosted by the degree of their Korean parents' adaptation to the new culture or the level of support that Kowis gained in their adaptation process in the community. Kowis' confidence had also depended on their level of resilience that they built up from coping with the adversities they faced as migrant children under stress at home and/or school. For instance, some Kowis were forced to become independent and learned to make their own decisions from a young age when their parents permanently returned to Korea. Others were pressured to take on adult roles to help parents with their language and cultural competency, whereas parents were supposedly to make all the decisions for their children and guide every step of their lives in Korean culture. The new roles that some of the Kowi children were given encouraged them to make their own decisions and find more freedom and independence away from the strict parental control that they would have had if they had remained in Korea. "Freedom of choice" and "independence" also conveniently fit with the New Zealand cultural norms, even though they brought role conflicts to the Korean families and role reversal between the traditional parents and newly integrating Kowi children.

The strategies that participants experienced in their childhood had come through into their parenting decisions in adulthood. Their parenting decisions were categorised in three different ways: "parenting the way that they were brought up", "parenting differently from how they were brought up", and/or "taking (and applying) what was right for their families". "Parenting the way that they were brought up" seemed to resemble their coping strategy of "accepting and peacemaking" in their childhood. "Parenting differently from how they were brought up" seemed to be linked to the strategies of "escaping and rebelling". "Taking what is right for their family" seemed to indicate some development from the approach of "dealing with things on their own" and "negotiating". In many cases, participants applied lessons from their childhood experiences to their own parenting positively by choosing "the best of both worlds". For instance, some of them explained how they showed respect to their own parents by listening to their instructions on baby care in their presence, but then participants did what they thought was right for their children in the absence of their parents (the children's grandparents).

The same strategy also applied when dealing with health professionals. They showed appreciation for information and support from the professionals, but chose only what they believed would work in their own circumstances in the absence of the professionals. These childhood coping strategies led them to a place where they were able to develop creative and alternative parenting; it was neither entirely Korean nor Kiwi, but a mixture of what they saw as the best from both cultures. It was fascinating to note how the Kowis had navigated their way through years of conflict and confusion, found their own coping strategies, and now practiced an 'alternate' style of parenting, taking the best of both worlds, and choosing what was right for their family. One of the skills that also came through into their parenting was their negotiation skills, which reflected their strategies in their navigation of their own way.

Negotiation Skills

Surprisingly, some participants were able to negotiate with their parents when they disagreed with each other. Two factors stood out that influenced their negotiation abilities: father's absence, and the degree of the mother's adaptation to a new culture in father's absence. Some fathers remained in Korea and supported the family financially while the children were living with their mother in New Zealand. These mothers belonged to a community of migrants and were often in conversation with their children, while being gradually exposed to the cultural environment of New Zealand. In Korean culture, the father holds the most power and

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authority in the household, and his position is seen as the head of the family (Keum, 2000; H. O. Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001; Won, 2002). In this case, these fathers were over 10,000 kilometres away from their families and had limited influence on or control over the family's day-to-day living. Children naturally spent more time together with the mother, with whom they built a stronger or closer relationship than with their father, which in turn helped their understanding of each other. Korean children have a stronger relationship with their mother than with their father anyway. Also, as is the case in Korean culture, the mother might have listened to the first son or first child who then took over part of the father's leadership in his absence, as expected in the Korean tradition. Children may therefore have had more voice to negotiate with their mothers in such circumstances.

These mothers were most likely introduced to the community as a single mother of a transnational family (Ho & Bedford, 2008) and were supported by more adapted and resourced migrants as they found their way as single mothers in a foreign county. The community may have also introduced them to sources of information about the culture of New Zealand. Some mothers may have been willing to negotiate with their children as they became familiar with the customs of New Zealand culture and were under a limited influence from their Korean husbands and their traditional values. What seems to be evident in this group of participants is that there was a link between the physical distance of the father's traditional control and the children's development of negotiation and adaptation skills in a new host country. This is an area that was not specifically investigated in this study, but warrants further exploration because their mothers' functioning has had significant effects on the Kowi children.

There were some participants who had a stronger voice of their own in comparison to others, for they had comparatively understanding fathers in common (see stories of Jean, Ginny and Richard). Their parents' own experiences in Korea were not typically traditional Korean in terms of parenting expectations and their relationships with children. The transition to the new country for those families that were not typical might have been more manageable because they were bringing histories that were not so vastly different from the new culture. In terms of negotiation, children were encouraged to speak for themselves and make their own decisions in these families.

In terms of parenting, all the participants showed some negotiation skills in different areas of

their parenting by choosing what was right for their families from conflicting and competing cultural influences. They chose what was positive in their own perception, and avoided replicating any negative parenting experiences from the past. In essence, they were parenting in the way they wanted to have been treated as a child. They were creative about finding alternatives away from both cultures, and were flexible in moving in and out of both cultures with the privilege of freedom in language and cultural understanding.

Kowis' Perceptions and Worldview

Prior to embarking on this research, I assumed that the Kowis would have been well integrated to the New Zealand culture while maintaining a strong connection with their Korean heritage; consequently they would hold a good understanding about both Korean and New Zealand cultures as well as fluency in both Korean and English languages. This assumption would seem reasonable because, for instance, the Kowis who took part in this research arrived in New Zealand between the ages of 8 and 17, which was before reaching adulthood, if not adolescence, and they had lived in New Zealand more than half of their lives—a minimum of 14.7 years to a maximum of 35 years in this group.

However, a number of participants expressed language barriers and related anxiety and inadequacy in both languages. Only a couple of participants felt confident in English. A number of them were concerned about their level of Korean fluency even though they had grown up in a Korean family home. Some withdrew themselves from participating in the new host society due to their childhood experiences of discrimination, or their environment where there was no strong need to integrate with the society. Consequently, their English did not improve as much. Now they found it daunting to re-integrate into the host society and learn to speak more English as their children grew up, but expressed difficulties in their language and cultural competency in the process of re-integration. They may speak reasonable English and Korean, but the issue is possibly linked to cultural integration for. as a couple of participants (Suzan and Erica) pointed out, language fluency has to be based on a reasonable amount of cultural understanding.

The interviews revealed that the Kowis' perception of both Korean and New Zealand cultures varied, depending on a number of factors: 1) their degree of integration into New Zealand society; 2) their life experiences including the migration process; 3) the aspects of each culture that they were exposed to and the degree to which this occurred; and 4) information

and resources that they had access to in their parenting. For instance, it was evident that the parenting style of their first generation parents and the Koreans they had relationships with in the small migrant community have influenced and shaped the Kowis' perception of Korean culture, while their contact with the host society have influenced their perception of Kiwi culture.

In many cases, their perceptions of the cultures were contradictory even among this small group of participants. For instance, the perception of "being a Kiwi/New Zealander" varied when the Kowis talked about certain aspects of the New Zealand culture: "Kiwis are all involved with outdoor activities", "Kiwis are more individualistic", "Kiwis have a close relationship with their children", "Kiwis are more open and liberal in their values", and so on. John and Hana stated there seemed to be no intimacy, *Jeong*, in the New Zealand family relationships, while Peter and Pitt admired the close relationship that they perceived Kiwis as having with their children. These are completely opposite views on one aspect of New Zealand culture. Jean and Abby considered inequality in gender roles in parenting as part of the Korean culture, and assumed equality to be the New Zealand norm. However, inequality of gender roles can also be identified as traditional in New Zealand culture, as discussed in Chapter 2. Certainly, there is no single set of cultural norms in each culture. However, it was evident that Kowi parents in this research had different and varied understandings of both Korean and New Zealand cultures.

In essence, the Kowis' understanding of either or both Korean and New Zealand cultures was limited to their individual experiences and worldviews, as well as information and resources they had access to. Consequently, it influenced and formed their understanding of values in either culture that they bring to their parenting practice.

Challenges in Parenting

Parenting Stress and Anxiety: Children's Developmental Stages

As parents, the participants were faced with the reality of their second generation children being born and growing up as New Zealanders in New Zealand society. They were forced to search for strategies to support their children by integrating the cultural heritages, and, while without losing sight of their own culture, integrating the host culture more fully. This was a new type of tension in comparison to the tension that the Kowis had faced in the past. As parents they faced new challenges to come up with a system that would work for raising the

second generation children. The new challenges brought stress and anxiety to Kowis' parenting. Stress and anxiety hit Kowi parents at a number of stages: post-partum, the preschool period, just before their children turned five, after starting the school, and entering adolescence.

During the post-partum period, Kowis followed guidance from their own parents (or parent-in-laws) and medical professionals such as midwives, nurses or doctors. In this period, they experienced stress in relation to contradictory advice from the different parties, and had to manage pressure from each party. Then the next set of challenges arrived when they faced a lack of knowledge about the first five years of children's life in New Zealand. Participants were concerned about children not having to grow up with common nursery rhymes, children's songs, and some basic games like peek-a-boo that would be normally taught and played in New Zealand homes. The Kowis had spent their first formative years in Korea, but their anxiety was not just about a lack of lived-experiences of childhood in New Zealand, but also about needing to put extra effort into research into New Zealand practices and traditions to accommodate their children's development. They felt a lack of common sense, confidence, knowledge and skills to support their children.

Their stress and anxiety levels began rising higher when children were reaching the school age of five. They were faced with the task of equipping their children in order to prepare them to participate fully in school life: understanding instructions from the teacher, being able to learn and perform tasks in the class, interacting with other children, participating in activities, and so on. These concerns seem to be associated with school anxiety based on their own schooling experiences after migration: inability to follow teachers' instructions due to the language barrier; being confused but pressured to adapt to the different cultural environment and systems of New Zealand schools; experiencing discrimination such as school bullying; struggling to find help without knowing how and where to get it; being unable to receive guidance from their parents but being put into a position of guiding their parents instead; and expectations and pressure from parents for them to succeed but being unable to excel.

Once their children started school, Kowi parents were faced with a new set of tasks that were stressful: relating to teachers and other parents; participating actively in the school; helping with their children's homework and projects; introducing their children to "Kiwi" social and

leisure activities that they did not experience at that age; and helping children to maintain their dual heritages and languages.

In adolescence, children brought different types of stress and anxiety. Some of them were common sources of anxiety such as children having a boyfriend or making choices about their future study or career. What caused added stress to Kowis was dealing with different cultural values. For instance, values such as condoning pre-marital sex raised concerns. In their perception, in New Zealand culture pre-marital sex is acceptable and common in adolescence and they did not agree with this. Even those parents whose children were in primary school expressed concerns for potential problems about the future.

Navigating Through Contradictory Cultural Advice

This research uncovered that the 1.5 generation Kowis do live in a creative tension between complex cultural influences on their parenting and do experience contradictory sources of parenting guidance and advice. Culture plays a major overarching role in shaping and influencing the way people parent (Bornstein & Cheah, 2006). Kowi children were parented in the Korean way because their first generation parents had insufficient understanding and opportunity to integrate New Zealand ways of parenting. The 1.5 generation Kowis in this study found that Korean parenting styles are inconsistent with the general norms of the New Zealand socio-cultural environment, even though these norms encompassed different perceptions and practices regarding parental roles and acceptable parenting styles. Kowis therefore struggled in their search for answers, guidance and direction in their roles as parents. Certainly, any young parents would be baffled by the information overload about parenting in general and would search for direction. The Kowis' conflicts could also have arisen because of personal factors and generational factors as well as cultural expectations. However, it was evident that the conflicting cultural expectations and advice brought added complexity and stress to the Kowis' parenting.

When making parenting decisions, Kowis were navigating through multiple resources that were often contradictory and confusing, and in which opinions were sometimes forcefully expressed. The advice came from many different sources: their own first generation parents; first generation parent-in-laws; New Zealand professionals in institutions; people in the Korean community; internationally and locally available information in print, public media

and the internet; and parenting courses. Kowis were living in the middle ground, where Korean and New Zealand socio-cultural environments overlapped and clashed. The Korean cultural force mainly consisted of grandparents, whereas the New Zealand cultural force consisted of professionals in New Zealand institutions.

Grandparents (Kowis' first generation parents or parent-in-laws) were identified as a most important and influential resource to Kowis in their parenting. They were also one of the strongest forces that brought Kowis confusion or frustration about parenting practice. Often, grandparents insisted on the traditional Korean way of parenting, which was not necessarily useful for bringing up second generation children in New Zealand. Their advice often contradicted other advice from New Zealand institutions, including health professionals and educators. Having to deal with contradictory advice may also be common to other New Zealand parents, for even within the same cultures there are always differences of opinion about some aspects of parenting. However, the challenge lay before the Kowis as they were expected to respect and accept the advice from grandparents without objection. Kowis were brought up with traditional Korean values in their family homes; they were not supposed to act against advice from parents. *Hyo* (filial piety) in Confucianism had taught them to show total unconditional obedience to, and an unquestioned compliance with, parents' wishes as children (H. O. Kim & Hoppe-Graff, 2001). Obedience to and interdependence with parents is an important part of the parent–child relationship in Korean culture (K. W. Kim, 2006). Also, the Kowi parent has to uphold the c*hemyon* of the grandparents by respecting and accepting their advice. *Chemyon* is the pride and reputation of one's position and its main function is for mutual face-saving (Oak & Martin, 2000, p. 30, quoted in Shim et al., 2008, p.72). If the Kowi parents did not follow the advice from them, the grandparents would lose their status and face, *chemyon*, which would bring shame and disharmony in the family. In addition to the cultural aspect, Kowis were in a difficult position to challenge their parents' advice because their parents were there to offer very practical, much-needed support, sometimes including financial support, during the difficult phase of becoming a first-time parent. Rejecting the advice from their children's grandparents could mean loss of their practical and financial help.

Meanwhile, Kowis were receiving resources and advice from professionals in New Zealand institutions. Their advice was presented to Kowis as the "cultural norm" and the "right" thing to follow from the perspective of the host culture. It was difficult for Kowis to confront New Zealanders who tried to impose their own ideas of parenting. Kowis were taught to use

indirect communication styles while they were growing up, so as not to embarrass anyone who held different opinions with disagreement or rejection (Yum, 1988). Even though Kowis were brought up in the New Zealand culture, this Confucian teaching was still part of their daily interactions. Kowis were also naturally considerate about upholding the *chemyon* of the professionals and tried to show respect to them by following their advice. Consequently, the Kowi parents would feel stuck in-between two different cultural pressures and forces. Secondly, being a minority parent often inhibited them from speaking up for their different opinions, especially when challenged to follow the cultural norm, the "right" thing, according to the dominant culture. In the end, the results of the current study indicate that Kowis tried to use a mixture of New Zealand and Korean parenting styles when faced with conflicts. They maintained some of the core values which they believed to be important from the Korean culture, but put effort into integrating some New Zealand practices, which would allow them to be more comfortable in and consistent with their environment.

In the face of tension and conflicts, Kowis 1) mostly avoided direct confrontation; 2) showed respect to the advisor/grandparents by listening to what they had to say; 3) discussed with their spouse seeking "what works for the family" when they were not in the presence of the advisor/grandparents; 4) sought information from multiple resources in both cultures in order to compare and contrast; and 5) made their decision.

Experiences with Pākehā/New Zealand Institutions

One notable finding from the study was that there was, in the words of one participant, "pressure on the parents to somehow mould their children to fit into mainstream society" (Peter). Such pressure was observed to occur from a very early stage and in areas of parenting such as sleeping arrangements, breastfeeding, language speaking, and introducing solid food to babies. In some cases, such experiences hindered Kowis from developing optimal parenting. In fact, experiences of discrimination were felt by Kowis in their childhood and sometimes affected how they viewed and reacted to each parenting situation years later.

It was clear that Kowis are dealing with cultural ignorance within the professional and wider community in New Zealand. They felt pressured to choose approaches condoned by their host culture and abandon traditional Korean practices. In their suggestions to the policy makers and professionals in New Zealand institutions, they highlighted the need to access culturally relevant information and resources with guidance; to be understood and supported for who

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they were by culturally competent professionals; to have access to different types of support for the second generation Kowis; and to increase the cultural sensitivity and awareness in society in general. Kowis' welcomed reception of the Korean professionals who were trained in New Zealand and employed by New Zealand institutions; this especially highlighted Kowis' need for culturally competent professionals. The knowledge and understanding of those Korean professionals from both cultures was critical in determining Kowis' choice to use their services. Cultural diversity and host societies' receptivity towards migrants are important factors in determining and influencing the wellbeing of migrants and their experiences of migration (Ho et al., 2003). There is a strong need for increased knowledge about cultural safety and competence on the part of professionals working with migrants and the 1.5 generation. They could play an important role, for instance, in reducing the effects of the loss of support networks by assisting migrants to link with existing resources (DeSouza, 2006). They could also mediate the cultural conflicts experienced by 1.5 generation parents. By acknowledging and understanding the cultural values of their clients, professionals can create a more optimal relationship that facilitates more effective intervention in their work (I. J. Kim, Kim, & Kelly, 2006).

First time parents generally feel vulnerable and insecure due to their lack of knowledge and experience. A number of studies have reported transitioning to parenthood to be stressful (Adamsons, 2013; Feldman, 2000; Widarsson et al., 2013). Their need for support is greater at this stage than at any other time. Vulnerable parents will either find the attitude of culturally incompetent professionals difficult to deal with, or will conform to their expectations at the cost of their own cultural identity.

Lack of Guidance in Parenting

This study demonstrates that Kowis searched for guidance and assurance in the areas in which they felt uncertain and unclear. However, there were almost no resources for them to access that addressed their unique needs of living and parenting children at the interface of different cultures in their socio-cultural environment. They may have the abilities to potentially bring up more resilient and skilful second generation Kowi children than they were as migrant children, but they struggled to do so due to lack of resources specific to their needs in the New Zealand community at present.

Certainly, Kowis had the advantage of accessing a wide range of parenting information due to their language ability in Korean and English and the technology of the internet. As a result, Kowi parents held vast amount of parenting information. However, as mentioned above, this resulted in confusion because of conflicting parenting information that overloaded the Kowi parents. They found parenting information from Korean resources helpful because they were bringing up **Korean**–Kiwi children with Korean heritage and language. They also utilised the New Zealand style of information because of the socio-cultural environment that surrounded their children in New Zealand. However, none of these sources offered the answers that they were really looking for: relevant information and appropriate guidance to meet their unique circumstances of being the 1.5 generation Kowis who were raising the second generation Kowis. The current study discovered that Kowi parents found neither adequate support nor relevant resources, let alone recognition of their identity in the community. Currently, there seems to be insufficient knowledge about them in both the Korean and local communities in New Zealand. They are only recognised as either Korean or Asian migrants.

In terms of detailed guidance on parenting, Kowis described how difficult it was to find alternatives to how they were brought up. They admitted that it required considerable and conscious effort to do things differently because they were familiar with the traditional Korean parenting style, but had limited knowledge of the New Zealand style of parenting, and had to learn the style that would be a good combination and integration of both cultures.

It was interesting to see that Kowis reported Church as one of the resources for them in their childhood, and which continued to be a place where some guidance for their parenting was offered in the present. Connectedness with supportive people such as family, friends, caring others, and the faith community was important for the Kowis as children who were experiencing ambiguity and confusion due to in-betweenness in their lives. For these Kowis, church not only met their spiritual needs but also their social and educational needs as an ethnic community. Kowi fathers' groups and Korean preschools/play groups in Korean churches had a unique position in the lives of Kowis as they provided much needed practical guidance to Kowi parents. The Kowi fathers' group is especially a unique source of support that stood out. Generally, resources and support services are usually in place for pregnant women and nursing mothers, but not for fathers. However, the support came not from the fact that the church as an institution was offering information or guidance and alternatives, but from the group of parents in the church community who shared information and guidance.

The church offered a place for them to meet or for a group to form. It was not reported whether there were any church leaders who offered guidance or alternatives to Kowi parenting.

Kowi parents who lacked confidence and had limited parenting information/guidance seemed withdrawn and overly anxious. Confident Kowi parents seemed relaxed with their children and were able to see positive aspects of being Kowi, which in turn would support the second generation children's development. When parents feel confident and satisfied in their ability to parent, they are likely to use more effective parenting practices that foster positive developmental outcomes for their child (Jones & Prinz, 2005). Clear and relevant guidance and resources would equip Kowi parents to feel more equipped and confident, would strengthen the quality of their parenting, and would undoubtedly make a positive impact on the development of the second generation Kowi children.

Couple relationships in Parenting

A notable finding about Kowis' parenting is that they considered their couple relationship to be their most important source of support and the first port of call in their support system for effective parental functioning. This echoes Belsky's (1984) findings about the importance of couple relationships for effective parental functioning. However, Kowis' couple relationships were challenged with added stress related to parenting, depending on whether they were married to a first generation, 1.5 generation, or second generation spouse. Some cultural conflicts stood out as having brought stress into the couple relationship, depending on the spouse's length of stay in New Zealand. In particular, cultural differences were one of the major issues that existed in the marriage of the Kowis who had a first generation spouse. The first generation spouse spent all of his or her childhood and young adulthood in Korea, and was more accustomed to traditional Korean culture: the food that they would prefer to eat; the language that they used and taught their children; and aspects of gender roles that they expected from the spouse. In essence, they parented more the Korean way, and had inherited expectations that their partner would take the traditional role in the family in accordance with Korean culture. One partner was therefore closer to a Korean culture than the other.

In the case of Kowi–Korean marriage, the Kowi husband was more willing to accept their responsibilities for parenting and housework in general in comparison with the Korean husband and the Kowi wife. Kowi wives had expectations about their husbands' equal

participation and co-operation, and complained if the husband did not co-operate. However, Kowi–Korean couples worked co-operatively in areas such as accessing a variety of parenting resources. While the Kowi was able to access the New Zealand parenting information in English, the Korean spouse drew the parenting information from Korean resources. They shared what they found and communicated with each other.

One of the interesting factors in the Kowi–Korean marriage was how they negotiated and accommodated each other. The Kowi husband usually guided the Korean wife about parenting in New Zealand whereas the Kowi wife accommodated the needs of the Korean husband. As the Kowi spouse was usually still part of the Korean community, they seemed to have no major difficulties in understanding their Korean spouse. They seemed to adapt more readily to the Korean style of gender roles, where the husband took the leadership role and the wife accommodated the needs of the husband. It is likely that they headed to the familiar middle ground that both spouses had been exposed to previously, in their family home.

The Kowi wives, however, expressed frustration in dealing with Korean cultural expectations of females. The strategy of "what is right for me and my family" was a complicated concept, especially when Kowis were married to a first generation Korean migrant. What was right for Kowi wives, which tended to be more the New Zealand style, was not always right for the Korean male spouse who grew up under the significant influence of Korean culture and enforced the Korean values. Their experience seemed consistent with evidence found in a study of East Asian immigrants in the United States (Barry et al., 2009), that men are significantly more likely than women to endorse traditional child-rearing attitudes. In Korean culture, the role of the wife is traditionally *Hyunmo-yangcho* (wise mother, obedient wife) (Shim et al., 2008), and an ideal women has only three defined roles: a filial daughter, a faithful wife and a dedicated mother (Y. Kim, 2005). The first generation Korean husband may impose such a role on the Kowi wife. Hence, such differences in their cultural values could generate stress and strain in their couple relationships, which could in turn have an impact on children's development. Relationship stress affects one's parenting behaviour and consequently the quality of parent–child interactions, especially for first time parents (Widarsson et al., 2013).

Kowis sought guidance that could provide opportunities to understand each other and the cultural influences on each other's parenting styles. They needed to navigate their way

through different cultural practices together, while compromising and finding what was truly beneficial to their children. However, there was no parenting guidance or programme that was designed to help the unique combination in the Kowi marriage. In fact, Kowis expressed frustration in seeking "what is right" but experiencing difficulties finding suitable answers again in their marriage. Certainly, there was no single answer to serve this entire group of people. A stereotypical style of Korean or Kiwi parenting simply would not fit with them. The suitable answer for them was more than likely to be finding alternatives rather than choosing one culture over the other. In Kowi–Korean marriages, the Kowis were faced with the task of integrating different approaches from each culture to meet the demand of the voice of the Korean spouse while parenting their second generation.

In general, the Kowi–Kowi marriage worked better. The partners worked more co-operatively with their spouses in the area of parenting in comparison with their Korean parents, or the Kowi–Korean marriages. They also shared house work more equally. This was a very different style of partnership from their parents' marriage.

Development of Second Generation Children

A notable finding from the study was that the second generation Kowi children had important but complicated relationships within the family: the relationship with the Kowi parent, the Korean parent (the Kowi's spouse), and grandparents. The complications mainly arose from cultural differences and language barriers between the children and the adults.

In the case of the Kowi parents, they were able to speak both Korean and English languages and combine and integrate multiple cultural influences from both Korea and New Zealand. The style chosen by Kowi parents may not, however, have been consistent with the socio-cultural environment of the second generation children. This could create negative experiences of parenting for the second generation even though there was a possibility that it could benefit the children through more resilient and creative parenting. When parenting styles are inconsistent with the socio-cultural environment, children are more likely to have negative experiences of parenting. Inconsistent parenting is more damaging in more collective societies like a Korean migrant community than in individualistic societies (Dwairy, 2007). The current study did not explore the impact of the 1.5 generation Kowis' parenting on their second generation children. However, the Kowis indicated some anxiety around their second

generation children's development and their sense of lacking the skills to support them adequately.

Korean parents (the spouse of the Kowi) experienced language barriers with the second generation children as the children were generally speaking English more frequently and fluently than Korean language due to their schooling. The language barrier between parent and child could possibly cause relationship difficulties due to misunderstandings, and result in lack of bonding or inhibit secure attachment. This study has found that Korean parents were uncomfortable about second generation children calling them "you" in the English language as it came across as non-honorific and rude. Thus, even though a Korean parent might speak fluent English, there can still be barriers of cultural differences with children. At least Kowi children had some life experiences and understanding of the Korean culture when they migrated with their parents to New Zealand. They began the migration process from the same place as their parents, and they had a mutual understanding of the difficulties of adapting to and integrating different cultures. However, the second generation children have been born and are growing up in New Zealand without first hand experiences and knowledge of the Korean language and their Korean cultural heritage, even though they have been introduced to the Korean language and culture at home. The ground on which the Korean parent and the second generation children stand is therefore fundamentally different. How the language and cultural differences would affect their relationships and children's development is a matter to be carefully observed in the future. The ways that cultural differences between a child and a first generation parent would affect children's attitudes toward Korean culture and identity is also a matter for further investigation.

In the case of Korean grandparents, there are multiple complexities in their relationships. There may be grandparents living in New Zealand, and a different set of grandparents possibly living in Korea. Children's relationships with grandparents may vary depending on each grandparent and their worldview, values and life experiences. The language barrier between the grandparents and grandchildren is an obvious factor that could hinder building their relationships and some disappointment when attempting to understand each other. These difficulties will in turn affect the relationship between the grandparents and Kowi parents, as disappointment or difficulties with the grandchildren will be brought to the Kowi parents' attention.

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Questions arise that are beyond the scope of the current study about how and if the second generation children are guided and supported to navigate through these complex relationships in order to develop well into adulthood as functioning citizens. While they are figuring out and learning to live with the Korean and Kowi cultures at home, they may face life outside in their schools and community. Even though they are born in New Zealand, they may be still perceived by others as Asians, and this was a source of anxiety for Kowi parents about their children. Those second generation children who were born into Kowi–New Zealander marriages may bring even more complexities in their physical appearances and language/culture learning. These children are likely to live in multiple worlds, a matter that warrants further investigation.

Strengths of Kowis in Parenting

Participants seemed characterised by flexibility and resourcefulness, in that many of them had the ability to "almost flawlessly come in and out" of the two cultures with "reasonably in depth understanding" to "take the best of both cultures to raise the next generation" with more resources. Their first generation parents were unable to fully integrate the cultures due to language barriers and limitations in their cultural understanding in most cases. They lacked the knowledge and opportunity to provide an integration of both cultures in their parenting of the Kowi children and found parenting stressful and challenging in the context of acculturation (Dixon et al., 2010).

However, what stood out from the interviews was that although the Kowis struggled over aspects of parenting, they recognised their ability to make choices between alternatives in parenting. Some of them employed creative approaches to integrating both cultures in their own way. Despite cultural conflicts, they even compared their situation to the New Zealand public in general or Koreans in Korea, by regarding their cultural experience as richer than that of others who were brought up in only one cultural environment. The Kowis seemed to have progressed from their parents' deficiency model to their own competency and richness model in parenting when supported appropriately.

Kowis' complex life experiences often caused them to become more flexible, creative, resilient, mature and broad minded in knowledge and understanding about the world. The Kowis brought these strengths to their parenting. For instance, while they were growing up as

Kiwi–Koreans in New Zealand, the Kowis faced many challenges in the areas of identity, language, cultural barriers, values and beliefs, school life, and conflicts in the family. Those challenges facilitated a unique set of parenting perspectives in the Kowis' minds and they prepared their children ahead by providing the necessary skills to live in their multicultural world with dual identities. For example, a number of parents sent their children to both Korean and English speaking preschools to prepare them for their primary school years while assisting them in retaining their Korean language and heritage. Also, Kowis could potentially relate to their children's experiences in a profoundly understanding way because of their own childhood experiences of migration and adaptation.

Some comments in the interviews indicated that there were particular factors that hindered or facilitated Kowis in developing parenting strengths that drew from their own childhoods, and specific interventions that facilitated their effective parenting. For instance, challenges like being enrolled at school but without parental guidance seemed to have brought good understanding of children's difficulties when starting school, and facilitated awareness. The participants were acutely aware of their own children's challenges that they may face in the future, and were facilitating the transition for these children. Challenges such as being bullied at school or living with extremely traditional parents somewhat paralysed their strengths and they become very anxious rather than freely and actively facilitating development of children. It would be interesting to investigate those factors that hindered or facilitated Kowis' strengths in greater depth in the future.

Kowi Parenting Model

The major emergent themes in the previous section indicated that there were multiple components in the 1.5 generation Kowi's perceptions that influenced, resourced and challenged their parenting: Kowis' own perceptions and worldviews as well as experiences in the Korean and New Zealand socio-cultural environments; their first generation parents or parents-in-law (grandparents) and their cultural views; their spouses and their cultural background and worldviews; and multiple support networks and resources around them as challenges and resources. These components revealed a systematic interaction of dynamics that interlinked in the life of Kowis. A model (Figure 5) was developed from the findings to explain the components in Kowis' parenting practice, and how they influenced, challenged and resourced Kowis' parenting.

K - Kowi Parent
C - Child
G - Grandparents
S - Spouse

Korean Socio-Cultural environment

NZ Socio-Cultural environment

Extended Family + Support Network
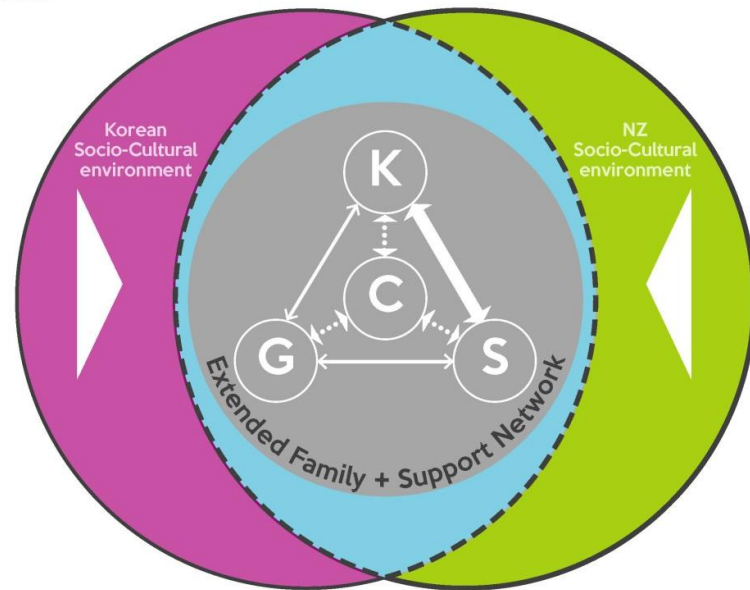
Figure 5. The Kowi Parenting Model

Systems theories, ecological models, and other interactional theoretical perspectives have been developed to explain the dynamics of parenting and human development and how these systems interact. The bioecological models of human development, for example, addressed influences between individuals' development and their surrounding environmental contexts (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). A process model of the determinants of parenting introduced aspects of parental functioning (Belsky, 1984). Models like Bronfenbrenner's and Belsky's are generic models and very useful to explain aspects of parenting in general. They demonstrate the interactions among systems. The Kowi Parenting Model introduces the systematic interaction of multiple dynamics that are uniquely interwoven in the lives of Kowis and in their parenting patterns. This adds to the existing systemic models and contributes information about some ethnic and cultural aspects.

In this model, four main parties have been identified and placed at the core: the child, Kowi parent, grandparents, and spouse. Each component is not isolated from the others in the world of Kowis' parenting; rather, they are interlinked, constantly present, and part of the world of

the Kowis that they have interacted with as children and as parents. The position of the extended family was combined with the social networks that were surrounded by a bigger circle representing the socio-cultural environment. The degree of influence from each culture decreased or increased over time in Kowis' lives after migration and again when they became parents (see Figure 6 below). For instance, the Korean influence was decreased when the children of Kowis started the school and were more absorbed to the New Zealand cultural environment.
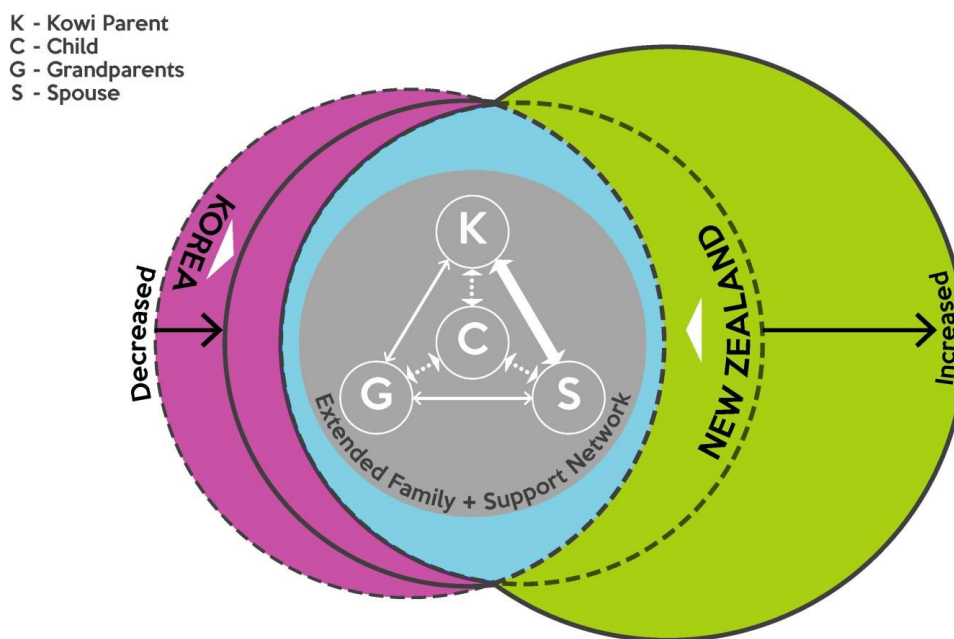
Figure 6. Changes in Amount of Cultural Forces

It was acknowledged that the number and role of the extended family was not as significant to the Kowis due to geographical distance as it would be culturally to Koreans in Korea. In fact, some Kowis have stronger relationship and ties with their immediate social networks than they do with their extended family in Korea or New Zealand.

Each component of the Kowi Parenting Model is explained in detail below in order to describe their places in this model, details of interactions between components, and how they influence, resource, and challenge each other.

The Child

"The child" represents a second generation child and the children of the Kowis. They are at the centre of the diagram because they are the focus of the Kowis' parenting. Tertiary arrows connect the child with three other parties in this model, indicating the less visible interactions with them. The majority of the second generation children were under five and parental interactions with them would focus on age-appropriate day-to-day care. Because the parent–child relationship was not the main focus of the research, participants were not specifically asked for details of their interactions with their children, yet the children are centrally important to the Kowi parents. The Kowis' spouse and their parents—the children's grandparents—also have their own relationships with the second generation child. Their relationships and interactions with the child, as well as their involvement in the child's life influence, resource and challenge the Kowis' parenting.

The arrows from and to the child will change as s/he grows up and has more interactions with the other parties over time. For instance, the father may have limited interactions and time with his infant son, but is likely to have more frequent interactions with his son when he grows up and joins a rugby club at seven.

The Spouse

A primary arrow connects the spouse and the Kowi parent as the results revealed the strength and close nature of their relationships. In terms of parenting decisions, the Kowis make their own decisions more independently of the grandparents (their own parents) in comparison to their counterparts in Korea. Also it was evident that Kowis distance themselves from the grandparents due to cultural clashes in parenting values even though they still show more respect towards the grandparents and their opinions in comparison with their counterpart in New Zealand. The Kowis realised that in their unique circumstance as Kowis bringing up the second generation, they would have to consider what was right for their families. Hence, the bonding between spouses is strong, and developing their capacity to make decisions for themselves may be understood as part of the developmental process of young parents. The Korean grandparents also acknowledged the position of Kowis as parents in their own right, and showed respect for their adult children's decisions when they became parents.

The primary arrow also highlights the degree of influence that the identity and worldview of the spouse has in a Kowi's parenting relationship. Each spouse brought a different understanding of cultural values to parenting, depending on their cultural background. *Some were able to strengthen their parenting practice by bringing different but creative perspectives to parenting as a resource, while others were challenged by contradictory cultural values that they were faced with in the process of negotiation with their spouse.

A secondary arrow connects the spouse and the grandparents (the parents-in-law). The spouse cannot easily discard the opinions of the parents-in-law, especially when they are the first port of call for practical and/or financial help. In comparison to their New Zealand counterparts, in-laws are engaged in more interactions and obligations with them and consequently their influences are stronger. In Korean culture, the parent-in-law traditionally has a strong voice about, and influence on, children's parenting, especially with the daughter-in-law. *Hyo* (filial piety) also applies to the relationship between the in-laws, and dismissing the opinion of the parents-in-law would bring shame to the family. Such shame causes loss of face in their relationship, disrupts group harmony and brings further shame to the family and other related group units (Z. -N. Lee, 1999).

The Kowi daughter-in-law normally finds it difficult to deal with the traditional and cultural demands on females. A primary arrow would connect the parents with the in-laws in Korea. However, the Kowi daughter-in-law relates to the in-laws differently, either due to the distance from Korea if the in-laws are in Korea, or because of cultural adaptation to the New Zealand relationship style. The 1.5 generation Kowis have a strong mind of their own with an egalitarian worldview from the New Zealand culture, and would not submit to the in-laws the way they would in Korea.

The Grandparents (Kowis' parents)

A secondary arrow connects "the grandparents" and "the Kowi parent". The parents of Kowis have significantly influenced Kowis' perceptions of parenting while they were growing up in Korea and New Zealand. The data indicated that the degree of similarity or difference between Kowis' style of parenting and that of their own parents depended on their relationship with their parents and their experiences of growing up at the interface of the two cultures. Therefore, if the significance of their childhood was considered, a primary arrow should connect "the grandparents" and "the Kowi parent". However, the influence of the

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grandparents changed over time after the Kowi parent started his or her own family and also due to cultural clashes. As the grandparents' influence decreased, the relationship is therefore represented by a secondary arrow.

The Extended Family Members and Support Networks

In the Kowi Parenting Model, the place of the extended family members is not so significant in terms of their influence on the Kowis' parenting when compared to the way the traditional family functions in Korea. In Kowis' childhood, their influence had already decreased due to physical distance from Korea after migration unless some of the extended family was already living in New Zealand. Hence "the extended family" is placed together with "support networks" in a different circle where the Kowi parent, child, spouse, and grandparents actively interact in this model.

After migration, because of the loss of a wide range of support networks, the Kowi and their first generation parents had to re-establish a new set of support networks that included their workplace, new friendship circles, and religious ethnic communities. They were important resources for and influences on Kowis in their childhood during the challenging period of migration, and continued to resource and support the Kowi parents in the present, replacing their extended family. It is important to note that the Kowi parents' support networks are much wider than those established by their Korean parents after migration. Because of their language and cultural competency, Kowis are able to enter and utilise both worlds effectively.

The Socio-Cultural Environment

In the Kowi Parenting Model, there are two socio-cultural environments that the Kowis are exposed to: Korean and New Zealand. They have grown up with these two socio-cultural forces and are still exposed to their ambiguities and complexity today in their parenting. The degree of influence from each culture decreased or increased over time in Kowis' lives after migration and again when they became parents, as addressed in Figure 6 above.

The socio-cultural environments to which the Kowis were exposed as children depended on their parents' level of integration, their geographic locations (i.e., more exposure to Korean in Auckland than any other cities in New Zealand), and the extent to which they experienced positive interactions with the host–nationals and other Korean migrants. Depending on their

exposure to each environment—Korean and New Zealand—their perceptions and worldviews were determined.

The boundaries to the two circles of cultures are opened to them in dotted lines (-----) because Kowis live in the space in the middle with their language skills and cultural competency. The dotted lines indicate their freedom to move in and out of both cultures as strengths. Kowis enjoy accessing multiple resources in both cultures. They can buy books, read magazines, watch media, and access the internet for their parenting information in both languages, from Korea as well as other parts of the world. However, the reality of globalisation was both a source of confusion, with information overload, and a source of richness and creative practice in Kowis' parenting. When the Kowis were unsure of their direction in life and felt inadequate as parents, the flood of information confused them, giving them contradictory messages. The Kowi parents also access both Korean and New Zealand health and social services in New Zealand, important sources of influence and resources as well as sources of conflict for them.

CHAPTER 8

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter, significant features of the current study will be highlighted, followed by its limitations, in order to establish the significance of the current study in and the contribution it makes to research and practice. This chapter identifies the implications for future research and offer recommendations for policy makers and professionals in the community.

Significant Features of the Current Study

This investigation has broken new ground in that it is the first study that has been undertaken of the parenting experiences of 1.5 generation Kowi parents in New Zealand. From the data that have been gathered, the Kowi Parenting model, *Social and Contextual Experiences of and Influences on the Kowi Parenting* has been developed. The current study clearly identified and described the following three aims: 1) perspectives on parenting that Kowis have acquired from growing up as Kiwi–Koreans in this country; 2) the challenges that they confront and the personal resources they utilise as they bring up their children; and 3) perceived influences on Kowis' parenting and the ways in which Kowis believe these influences affect their child–parent relationship and children's development.

It aids the identification and understanding of the socio-cultural and other influences that Kowi parents have themselves experienced, and the ways in which those influences now contribute to their own parenting. A greater understanding has been gained of Kowi parents' beliefs about parenting and of their confidence in their roles as parents. This information illuminates the ways in which they have shaped their own parenting styles with reference to their cultural and social contexts.

This study contributes to the body of literature that provides useful information for the development of prevention and intervention strategies and resources with which to support Kowis in their parenting and to enhance positive parent–child relationships. It has enabled the

previously unheard voices of Kowi parents to come to the fore about their own experiences and needs, opening up the potential to inform professionals and foster the development of more culturally responsive attitudes and practices. This research contributes to both increased knowledge about parenting challenges for Kowi parents in New Zealand and the identification of areas in which further research is needed.

It also serves as a starting point for further research about the development of the life cycles of New Zealand migrant families. The findings highlight experiences which may resonate with those of other refugee and migrant families from other parts of the world who have also settled in New Zealand. Therefore, the findings from this research will be of interest not only to Korean migrants, but also to all migrant families in New Zealand, as well as to the plethora of agencies and organisations that are involved with migrants.

In the international literature, relatively little research has been reported about either the parenting experiences of the 1.5 generation or their perceptions of the challenges they face, the influences on their parenting, and the resources they draw from. The current study therefore contributes not only to local but also international knowledge within the area of migrant parenting.

Limitations of the Current Study

Comparability

Both a strength and a contextual limitation of the current study are associated with the fact that there is no comparable local research with which the findings can be compared to help substantiate the results, nor is there a well-established body of international literature relating to the parenting experiences of the 1.5 generation parents specifically. In order to assess the credibility of the results obtained with regard to the experiences of the 1.5 generation Kowis, it has been necessary to look more broadly at research across migrant populations in general, as indicated earlier in the literature review.

Scope of the study

The focus in this study is on Kowi parents' own experiences of parenting and their perceptions of the influences on their parenting. A study based on the points of view of Kowis themselves allowed this unique group of people to describe their own experiences, and

articulate their insights and understandings about parenting. This can then serve as a basis for analysis and critique, as well as for the development of resources and further research in the area of parenting with other ethnic groups. Certainly, there are complex settings, contexts and factors which influence parenting and child development. The relationship between parent and child is embedded in a mesosystem of broader contexts such as extended family, friends, school and neighbourhood, while it is shaped by the community exosystem such as the workplace and mass media. There are also macrosystems of values, laws, social classes and cultures. All of these have interwoven influences on parenting, as identified in the contextual ecological view of development (Bornstein & Cheah, 2006). Therefore, it is impossible to investigate the influence of all of them in a single study, while acknowledging the inherent problems in examining a single area as a separate entity in isolation when researching the complex nature of parenting.

In terms of representation of the 1.5 generation Kowi population in New Zealand, exploring experiences of Kowis more widely in other regions and different social strata may be needed to examine any discrepancies. The result of this study are based on a small sample of participants who volunteered to participate in this study, which implies that they may have more knowledge of or at least are more interested in the area of parenting than others. Although participants were chosen from four different cities where most Koreans reside in both the North and South islands, Kowis who reside elsewhere may have different experiences and perceptions from the participants in this study. For instance, Kowis from lower social economic backgrounds or living in smaller or rural communities may have different or more limited resources that they utilize and that consequently, influence their parenting differently.

Recommendations

From the results of this study, a number of implications and recommendations can be identified for further research and for practice. These are summarised here.

Recommendations for Research

The First Generation Parents

In this study, following migration, the stresses of the first generation fathers were highlighted, indicating areas that need to be investigated further. First, it would be valuable to investigate

the key factors that facilitate fathers' ability to adapt and act flexibly within the new environment rather than disengaging from their family by over-controlling and over-protecting them, or withdrawing them from the host society into the traditional family structure. In conjunction with the above recommendation, a need is also evident to identify the factors that made the difference between those fathers who improved their communication skills and relationships with their children and those who did not after migration. The current research has highlighted a strong need for family connectedness in supporting Kowis' healthy development, especially when they were faced with complex settlement issues. It would be worthwhile exploring further the degree of resources and support offered to these migrant fathers, and any difference that these have made in their lives.

What the current study did not investigate was whether such stress and tension turned some of the fathers into more traditional or controlling figures when they felt insecure in the family dynamics, rather than adapting themselves to work cooperatively with the family. Shame associated with losing their status in the family would have been devastating. In migrant families, parental adaptation difficulties, particularly among fathers, were reported to influence their physical and psychological presence in their children's lives (Qin, 2009). It would be interesting to investigate further to what extent and how fathers' struggles have influenced Kowis' parenting.

Further research is also recommended into the first generation mothers and their transition to the new country while supporting the traditional husband and their ever-changing and growing Kowi children. In the case of the astronaut family, when the husband remained in Korea, the effect of the family structure under the mother's leadership with Kowi children also needs to be looked at, as having no immediate male model in the family may have created quite different family dynamics. Another question that arises but went beyond the scope of the current study was whether these Kowi children who displayed more negotiation skills in the absence of father back in Korea would have been equally successful in negotiation if their father were present at home in New Zealand. What seems to be evident in this group of participants is that there was a link between the physical distance of the father's traditional control and the children's development of negotiation and adaptation skills in a new host country. This is an area that was not specifically investigated in this study, but warrants further exploration because their mothers' functioning has had significant effects on the Kowi children.

In this study, no information was specifically sought about their own identity-related changes and challenges that may have been faced by the Korean father and mother. This is clearly a matter that warrants further investigation. Even though the first generation Koreans maintained their own traditional Korean cultures and beliefs, what seemed to happen was that the migration process had created an identity crisis or challenges and related role conflicts for adults as well as young people.

Furthermore, no information was specifically sought in this study about changes in the structure and functions of the extended family after migration. However, the impact of loss of the extended family on Kowis would be an area to investigate in terms of its effects on the parenting of the first generation, the 1.5 generation and the second generation.

Some participants indicated the life style and cultural values that their parents had in Korea, which they realised to be more in line with the New Zealand style, and how they were able to relax in the new country. In this study, no information was specifically sought out in this area. Further research is recommended to explore the tension between the demands of Kowis' cultural histories back in Korea and current settings after migration in terms of parenting.

Kowis and Their Parenting

Two participants mentioned being the first born child and regarded it as their responsibility not to worry their parents. This raises a question about the degree of communication between parents and children, and the link between the child's unique place in the family and the levels of communication. In Korean culture, there are distinctive expectations and responsibilities placed upon the first born to take leadership. Some will get more or less guidance from their parents depending on their place in the family. It would be worthwhile to investigate links in a number of areas in the family dynamics after migration: 1) children's sense of responsibilities according to their place in the family and the amount of information they share with parents; 2) children's place in the family and its influence on children's development and the adaptation processes; and 3) children's place in the family and its influence on their parenting practices as adults.

Kowis shared concerns about their ability in language and cultural competency. They were anxious to perfect both languages and this played a role in their parenting confidence. It

would be worthwhile to investigate the source of such anxiety, and whether it is based on the pressure from parents or self; or whether it is related to personal experiences of anxiety and continuing sense of self deficiency and incompetence caused by discrimination, identity conflicts or loss of job opportunities in the society.

Female Kowis preferred the aspects of New Zealand culture which allow the mother to have her own identity and self-worth as an individual. It was evident that female Kowis were caught with expectations and pressures from Korean culture that brought Korean guilt while they desired to be their own person. Questions arise about how they navigate their way in this conflicting environment. Who are the role models to consult in their world? Do the conflicts keep the Kowis behind the Korean traditional role, or help them to become insightful and focus on finding what works for them? Some of their own mothers resented their role as the traditional mother and wife and admired the egalitarian female role in New Zealand culture. They hoped the Kowi daughters would become their own person rather than being overtaken by the traditional role. However, does this help the Kowis to develop self or does it cause more conflicts when faced with the traditional Korean parents-in-law? Tensions may arise in the family between in-laws over their daughter/daughter-in-law's role if parents/parents-in-law have conflicting cultural expectations and views between them. Do migrant parents apply the same rule to both their own Kowi daughters and daughters-in-law? Traditionally, Korean parents apply selective roles—more flexible with their own daughters but holding higher expectations of traditional roles for the daughter-in-law. What would it be like for second generation Kowi children to see the conflicting gender roles at home? How does it then affect the development of the second generation Kowi boys and girls? Yet another question arises about grandparents' influence on the second generation children and their perception of gender roles.

There were a number of female Kowis who chose to stay home to look after children. It would be interesting to investigate what their decision was based on, and whether it was a response to a deeply rooted Korean understanding of the female role, or living conditions where the wife was unemployed. This raises possible questions about female Kowis' confidence and qualifications for employment, possible gender differences with male Kowi in this regard, and about gendered cultural expectations in terms of leadership and achievement. A small shift in this generation of 1.5 Kowis in the area of gender roles was identified. Hence,

it will be interesting to explore further if there is going to be a greater shift in their own children's lives, the second generation.

A further issue that needs to be researched and addressed is the area of the Kowi–Korean marriage and the relationship with their children. The Kowi reported that the Korean spouse had difficulties in terms of English language fluency and cultural adaptation, yet the Kowi parent was fluent in English and had a good understanding of the New Zealand culture, consequently having a better chance to bond with the second generation children. The question would be worth investigating of whether the second generation children would experience difficulties bonding with the Korean parent if they clashed with their ideas and values due to cultural differences as well as language barriers. Friction and isolation within the family could occur in these circumstances and further research here could guide the development of appropriate support and intervention.

Korean churches were identified as an important site of support and community connection. It would be worthwhile investigating further Kowis' relationships with the ethnic community and the support and influence from the community, particularly the churches, on Kowis' life in general, including parenting practices. Currently, the ethnic churches are mostly led by the first generation leaders who may not fully comprehend the needs of the Kowis.

The link between the degree of first generation Korean parents' adaptation to the new culture and Kowi children's confidence was also identified as an area to investigate further. Their confidence may have been influenced by the degree of their Korean parents' functioning in the new culture. The level of support that Kowis received in their adaptation process in their community may have been a major factor in increasing or decreasing Kowis' confidence. Questions also arise about other sources that help develop children's confidence.

Some participants found it a lot easier to speak for themselves, as they had comparatively understanding fathers in common (see stories of Jean, Ginny and Richard). Their parents' own experiences in Korea were not typically traditional Korean in terms of parenting expectations and their relationships with children. The transition to the new country for those families that were not typical might have been more manageable because they were bringing histories that were not so vastly different from the new culture. For instance, in terms of negotiation, children were encouraged to speak for themselves and make their own decisions in these

families. It would be interesting to investigate children's experiences in those families after migration.

This study was to explore one generation's parenting practice, the 1.5 generation, but resulted in looking into three generations, and sometimes even four generations' lives and their family dynamics between them in order to understand Kowi's parenting: second generation children, 1.5 generation Kowis, first generation Korean migrants, and parents of the first generation (as influences on the first generation). Some insights that stood out went beyond the scope of the current study, however; further investigation is clearly needed in the area of inter-generational family dynamics and their influence on migrants' parenting when families have moved away from the homeland but the influences of earlier generations are still present in the family after migration.

Some comments in the interviews indicated that there were some factors that hindered or facilitated Kowis in developing parenting strengths that drew from their own childhoods, and specific interventions that facilitated their effective parenting. For instance, the challenge of getting enrolled at school but without parental guidance seemed to have generated a good understanding of children's difficulties when starting school, and facilitated awareness. The participants were acutely aware of their own children's challenges that they might face in the future, and were facilitating the transition for the children. The challenges, such as being bullied at school or living with extremely traditional parents, somewhat paralysed their strengths and they become very anxious rather than freely and actively facilitating the development of the children. It would be interesting to investigate those factors that hindered or facilitated Kowis' strengths in greater depth in the future.

Second Generation Children

It is critical to explore in the future the cultural influences and impact of the Kowis' parenting on their second generation children because the Kowis combine and integrate two different cultures to find their own style of parenting. If the style is not consistent with the socio-cultural environment of the second generation children, this could create negative experiences of parenting for them, although it could also provide the children with more resilient and creative parenting. Are the Kowis' parenting styles more progressed, better integrated and in turn working for the second generation Kowis? Do the second generation Kowi children also experience different types of cultural clashes with their Kowi parents?

It is also possible that Kowi parents might have cultural conflicts with their own second generation children if they have limited understanding of the New Zealand culture. Some of the participants withdrew themselves from the host community after experiencing discrimination. They still live in the Korean community in New Zealand. At least, Kowis started on the same place with Korean parents when they first arrived in New Zealand. Because Kowis spent some of their formative years back in Korea, they understood their parents' values and navigated to find ways to cope between the two cultures. However, the second generation Kowi children were born here and grew up being exposed to New Zealand culture from birth. They would not necessarily know the Korean culture or Kowi culture where their Kowis parents come from. The impact is to unfold how these Kowi parents support their children and negotiate their cultural values and beliefs in the family. There is a possibility that Kowis remain confused with own values and perception of the host culture, and clash with the second generation children when they challenge the Kowi parents.

Some Kowis were relatively more relaxed about academic education. They were more interested in supporting children for what children would choose to do rather than being focused on academic degrees. However, the first generation grandparents may stand on a different ground having strong views on formal education and tertiary degrees and have expectations of grandchildren to achieve a certain degree. It would be worthwhile exploring the family dynamics and relationships when dealing with tension between the traditional expectations of grandparents, more relaxed attitude of 1.5 generation Kowis, and the second generation children's life choices.

A question arising beyond the scope of the current study is how and if the second generation children are being guided and supported to navigate through these complex relationships in order to develop well to adulthood as functioning citizens. While they are figuring out and learning to live with the Korean and Kowi cultures at home, they still must face life outside in their schools and community. Even though they are born in New Zealand, they may be still perceived by others as Asians, and this was a source of anxiety for Kowi parents about their children. Those second generation children who were born into Kowi–New Zealander marriages may bring even more complexities in their physical appearances and language/culture learning. These children are likely to live in multiple worlds, which is a matter that warrants further investigation.

Grounded Theory Researchers

It is recommended for grounded theory researchers to explore some of the following questions when using translated transcriptions. In this research, it remains with me as a question whether translated transcriptions would have made any differences in this study. There is limited guidance to make sure of the accuracy of an analysis when using translated transcriptions, and on how in vivo codes can be created when transcribed. It is also an area to explore why translated transcription is required unless it is a study by a researcher from a different culture and language, and also if the differences in data analysis are due to the language and translated transcription or to the varying understandings of culture and language.

Recommendations for Professionals

Recommendations for Health Care Professionals in the Community

It was clear that the Kowis were dealing with discrimination arising from cultural ignorance within the professional community in New Zealand. Kowis felt forced to choose their host culture's approaches and abandon traditional Korean practices. Cultural diversity and host societies' receptivity towards migrants are important factors that can positively or adversely influence on the wellbeing of migrants, their mental health and their experience of migration (Ho et al., 2003). There is a strong need for increased knowledge of cultural safety and for enhancing the competence of professionals working with migrants.

Even if Kowis were encouraged to accept the New Zealand style of parenting by Korean or Asian professionals, they felt more fully informed, understood, and supported in their decisions when advice was offered with more cultural understanding without being dismissed for their beliefs and values. Perhaps one of the keys to culturally appropriate service lies here. When the professionals are culturally aware or competent, they could facilitate an informed decision by providing sufficient information, understanding the cultures and uniqueness of their clients, and empowering the clients by respecting their own decision making. Hence, there is a need to increase the training and resources for New Zealand professionals to meet the unique needs of these groups of people: the first generation migrants, the 1.5 generation Kowis and their second generation children. Such education for New Zealand professionals would contribute to creating a more inclusive and supportive environment in our increasingly

diverse society. For instance, it will be beneficial to include information on migrant parenting in the training and continuing education of counsellors and other helping professionals, their clinical supervisors and educators. Consequently, professionals who are working in the area will be equipped with better understanding of lived experiences such as those of marginalisation for Kowis parents and their families. Such understanding will encourage professionals to address the issues of migrant families with greater understanding and competence.

In the interviews, many Kowis asked a question, "How do other 1.5 generation Kowis do?" in their parenting. In particular, those who were isolated and had limited resources and networks were keen to know about the others. However, there were no tailored programmes or organised groups available for these Kowi parents to meet these particular needs. As the history of Korean migrants is still a brief one in New Zealand, there were no trained 1.5 generation Kowi professionals who were offering any kind of facilitation of networking opportunities or support groups either. An important and unique form of support would be the creation of opportunities for Kowis to meet and share with other Kowis, or with 1.5 generation migrants, their parenting concerns, questions and experiences.

Kowis face the task of integrating different approaches from each culture to meet the demands of parenting their second generation children who live in the multicultural society of New Zealand. It would be beneficial to provide culturally appropriate and relevant support such as parenting programmes especially tailored to the needs of 1.5 generation Kowis. Ideally, programmes would be run in partnership between professionals within the Korean migrant community and New Zealand institutions.

It is recommended that helping professionals find ways to resource and strengthen the Kowis' confidence in parenting because their confidence will have an impact on the second generation Kowi children and their development. In terms of strengthening parenting confidence, Kowis' couple relationships and their dynamics will be one of the major areas that needs strengthening. Specific parenting guidance and/or programmes that are designed to help the unique combination of identities and cultural backgrounds within Kowi marriages are also recommended. Such programmes could provide opportunities to understand each other and the cultural influences on each other's parenting styles, because Kowis need to navigate

their way through different cultural practices together with their spouses, including compromising between themselves and finding what is truly beneficial for their children.

An insight arises that when supporting migrants, stereotyping of each culture needs to be avoided. Even within the same group of ethnic migrants, there will be a wide range of differences amongst them regarding their support needs. Programmes for migrants need to be developed that facilitate their drawing on their cultural backgrounds, values, and belief systems more creatively, and with confidence in their parenting. For instance, parenting programmes especially targeting migrant fathers may give opportunities for them to transition smoothly through their confusion and challenges with more knowledge and understanding after migration. This type of gender specific parenting programme would also benefit migrant mothers.

It is recommended that some guidance and support be provided for grandparents to better understand the second generation Kowis so that they could find ways to strengthen their relationships with grandchildren. The extended family has significant importance in the healthy development of second generation Kowi children. Second generation children's relationships will still be strongly tied to the extended family and be based on *Samgang* (hierarchical order) and *Oryun* (ethical relationships) among the members, as discussed earlier. Hence, Kowi children's health cannot be considered separately from their position in the family in relation to Korean heritage and identity. However, the current study has found that Korean Confucianism remained strong as part of the mentality of the grandparents and the first generation Koreans, and contributed to conflicts with Kowi parents in the area of parenting. The grandparents pressured the Kowi parents to parent their grandchildren the Korean way, while the Kowis chose more integrated models for what would work for their children. In some cases, the relationship between second generation Kowi grandchildren and the first generation Korean grandparents was reported to be an issue. Some of the Kowi parents felt uneasy when their children were unable to bond with their grandparents due to cultural conflicts, and felt sad seeing children scared of grandparents because of the strict discipline style of the first generation. The significance of language issues in relation to language barriers and how they affect the relationships between the grandparents and grandchildren also need to be investigated.

It is recommended that migrant children be given leadership and other opportunities to develop their confidence from an early stage of migration rather than being over-protected. Some Kowis found a solution to their problems at an early age. They were selective of what to share and with whom for their own emotional safety when faced with conflicts. When a sensitive issue arose and the participants were not sure of their parents' acceptance or approval, they often dealt with the issues on their own. Consequently, such experiences have given the children a sense of ownership and responsibility for looking after themselves. Hence, giving them age appropriate opportunities for being responsible, together with relevant support and guidance, will facilitate their bringing more positive experiences and strengths to enrich their development.

In many cases, the Kowi children carried high parental expectations for them to be successful, as well as their self-motivation to excel. However, they felt insecure and frustrated when not successful. It seems that such feelings remained hidden for years, and surfaced in adulthood to affect their parenting confidence. Some of the Kowis struggled to build up confidence to engage with the host society while they were parenting their own children. They expressed anxiety about restarting integration with the host society because they saw the importance of doing this for their children's development and future. However, their past experiences caused them anxiety. These parents would benefit from guidance in this new phase of re-integration.

Recommendations for Schools

The Kowi parents appreciated understanding and accommodating education providers for cultural support for their children. Kowis were concerned about the influence of the educators on child development. They found it important for their children to be respected for who they were, being the Kowi with their Korean language and identity. The role of those New Zealand educators remains critical in assisting the second generation Kowis and their development in terms of self-esteem, confidence, identity development, and worldviews. The influence of the educators can also affect the family relationships, and the dynamics of migrants depends on the values that the educators emphasise if they clash with the values at home.

Extra support for the transition of second generation children at five is strongly recommended, including school preparation at kindergarten at age three for Kowi children. Some concerns were raised by the Kowis about not knowing the developmental stages of preschoolers and what they needed to learn before school, such as nursery rhymes and songs

in English. This is an area in which Kowi parents are ill prepared to facilitate their own children, and would benefit from assistance.

Support for second generation Kowis in the first year of primary school is also recommended. In fact, this need extends to all migrant children who start school for the first time in New Zealand. For instance, an American study emphasised a need of assessment for the migrant children's ability to make their own decisions and be autonomous (E. Kim et al., 2012), because the children can become confused about teachers' expectations as their parents usually make decisions for them and instruct them differently. Hence, teachers need to guide children with more cultural understanding while migrant parents need to understand the cultural differences that their children are facing between home and school environments. In addition, parent–teacher interviews/meetings need to be more creatively organised with extra assistance from Ministry of Education. Such meetings can offer critical and positive opportunities for migrant parents to understand their children's needs as well as learning about the school system, while building relationships with children's teachers. However, migrant parents often have limited language proficiency and also lack information about and experience of the New Zealand school system. Children are often used as interpreters, which is stressful for all the parties involved. Migrant parents therefore tend to withdraw from taking the opportunities to engage, or take part in meetings more passively.

Recommendations for Policy Makers

It is recommended that migrants and their needs be taken into account in developing the framework of migration policy. The World Health Organisation (WHO) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), in collaboration with the Ministry of Health and Social Policy of Spain, held a Global Consultation on Migrant Health and outlined an operational framework for further action on migrant health (World Health Organisation, 2010). One of the key priorities suggested was migrant sensitive health systems that deliver services in a more culturally and linguistically appropriate way.

More acceptance and awareness of 1.5 generation Kowis in New Zealand society is required in order to fully utilise their strengths and skills, and to ensure sustainable development where all parties involved can benefit. Otherwise both Korea and New Zealand lose valuable human capital resources. Unfortunately, Kowis find no acknowledgement of development in the community in assisting the strengths and insights of the Kowis to be fully utilised in the

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community, let alone helped in parenting. There is limited understanding of the prospect that strengthening the Kowi parenting will have a positive impact on the second generation Kowi children.

The mental health of 1.5 generation Kowis will have an impact on the development of the second generation Kowi children. Stressed Kowis are likely to influence the second generation children in their perception of the society. Stressed second generation children are likely to struggle with their identity development, which may result in other mental health-related issues in their lives. As discussed above, it is evident that cultural diversity and host societies' receptivity towards migrants are important factors in influencing migrants' mental health and determining whether their experience of migration is negative or positive (Ho et al., 2003). Hence, programmes and resources for migrants' integration from a young age will be one of the essential steps in maximising their ability to become active participants and contributing members to the community. Such resources will provide opportunities for them to strengthen their unique abilities and acknowledge their resourcefulness so that they can contribute more to the community. These forms of psycho-education and support are more likely to foster flexibility and creativity in 1.5 generation Kowis, and to equip them to apply these strengths as they parent their own children in the midst of confusion and conflicting cultural advice.

It may positively affect their life as a family for many years to come if Kowis and their families were supported in the consolidation of their relationships during the initial stage of migration. Kowis highlighted struggles in their family relationships after migration in this study. If that is the case, supporting the family during the initial settlement stage is of paramount importance. New Zealand as a multicultural society needs to assess carefully what resources we provide to help the migrant families with a smooth transition into this country, without prejudice and discrimination.

It is recommended that the government resource the ethnic communities to be agents of integration in this multicultural society. Participants used several options for language teaching: English preschool for teaching English, and Korean Church, Saturday School and Korean preschools for teaching Korean language. Supporting those ethnic communities and organisations that offer programmes for migrants with language and cultural heritage and other programmes like "Introduction to New Zealand school systems" can be crucial for the

wellbeing of the second generation children, and need to be supported with resources, including financial. Leaving this task to the ethnic community alone can be problematic. One of the participants spoke of the importance that the ethnic groups be supported financially and provided with more resources in their work with their own ethnic community. He takes part in the areas where cultural interpretation and cooperation are required in the relationship between the Korean ethnic community and the local government. His participation brings the two cultures to a more understanding place.

Conclusion

This study reveals that grounded theory method is an effective and useful tool in this type of research: a qualitative research with the researcher being an insider, 1.3 generation Kowi; the researcher holding professional and personal experiences in the field; and the topic that explored the depth of migrants' unique experiences, perceptions and patterns in a different culture. The complexity of data analysis in the grounded theory method can be confusing and challenging, for it requires rigor in every aspect and step of analysis in a spiral rather than linear process. However, its procedures, such as codified procedures, constant comparative method, and memo writing have thoroughly guided this research to a new and genuine understanding about the 1.5 generation Kowis and their parenting. This study clearly displays that the grounded theory method facilitated developing theory of great conceptual density and with considerable meaningful variation—one of the method's strengths.

In terms of findings, the results of this study confirm that while the Kowis are growing up in New Zealand and are exposed to New Zealand culture, they are still very much a part of their Korean families and migrant communities. Such circumstance has created an environment in which Kowis live in a creative tension between not just two (Korean and New Zealand) but multiple, complex and unique cultural influences on their personal identity and worldviews in their childhood. Certainly, these as experiences have a profound impact on their parenting practice today.

This study reveals that Kowis' journey of identity formation and re-formation as migrant children is a key to understanding their present parenting patterns. The journey offers a window of opportunity to look into Kowis' insights into life; their decision making process and rationales behind each decision; formation of strengths and weaknesses as individuals and

parents; their anxiety and confidence in parenting practice; and their hopes and dreams for children. Thus, this study highlights the importance of supporting migrants from an early stage of migration while they are forming and re-forming their identity and are adapting to the new culture. In fact, tailored support and guidance for migrants and their family as a whole comes across as critical in this study. It is because the parenting style of Kowis' own parents had far-reaching effects on Kowis' worldview and their parenting as reported in this study. This study also challenges current generic models of support and guidelines for "all Asians" or "all migrants". This study clearly demonstrates differences in their needs, even within the Korean migrant community in New Zealand: male/female, first generation/1.5 generation/second generation, Kowi–Kowi marriage/Kowi–Korean marriage/Kowi–Kiwi marriage, and so on.

This study demonstrates how the influences of socio-cultural environments could enhance or limit the effectiveness of parenting. It is clearly evident in this study that Kowis experience parenting stress and anxiety when placed in a cultural environment with contradictory values, without guidance and support and/or lack of understanding from culturally incompetent professionals. It highlighted discrimination out of cultural ignorance within the professional community in New Zealand. Experiences of discrimination felt by migrant children in their childhood affect how they view and react to each parenting situation now.

Certainly, there is no one simple way to enhance effective parenting and prevent migrant families from having negative experiences that would hinder effective and optimal parenting. However, the current study offers us some clues as to where we can start. Kowis' decision making process highlights development from migrant children's formulation of individual coping strategies to the approach of their optimal parenting strategies: "take what is right for my family" and "take the best of both worlds." This development shows that Kowis can progress from their parents' deficiency model to their own competency and richness in parenting model when supported appropriately. While they are navigating and negotiating in their in-between space/position, and confronting different and conflicting cultures, such experiences have provided a potential energy to create new solutions and new understandings for the Kowis in their present parenting. Through confrontation with the conflicting cultures, both frames of Korea and New Zealand are transformed and boundaries stretched to new understanding in the case of the Kowis. Kowis have the potential to relate to their children's experiences in a more profoundly understanding way than is often the case when based solely

on their own childhood experiences of migration and adaptation. Their potential will be nurtured and further developed if there is no "pressure on the parents to somehow mould their children into, fit into mainstream society" (Peter).

> We [1.5 generation Kowis] can see more than one way to do things. Perhaps you can say that we have more understanding of our children….Deeper understanding! It is not easy to have understanding parents. It is more common that your parents don't understand you….These children [second generation Kowis] will have to walk on two roads, you know. I think understanding is all I can offer. (Ginny)

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Appendix 1. Participants Information Sheet (English)

University of Auckland
Faculty of Education
Private Bag 92601
Symonds Street
Auckland

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Project title: Parenting experiences of 1.5 generation Kowi (Korean-Kiwi) parents

Researcher: Hyeeun Kim
I am a PhD student at the University of Auckland. I have worked as a counsellor for many years, and being a Korean migrant mother as well, I have become interested in understanding parenting experiences of the 1.5 generation parents.

Invitation:
You are invited to take part in this research. I am inviting mothers or fathers who are 1.5 generation Kowis and arrived in New Zealand before 2002, aged between 5 and 17, and who are now married with children and living in Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington or Christchurch, to share their parenting experiences with me in individual interviews.

What are the aims and benefits of the research?
The aim of this research is to explore the 1.5 generation Kowis' experiences of parenting, and their perceptions of influences on their parenting. The results may provide helpful guidelines to policy makers and health care professionals. Your experience will add to their knowledge. This study will also offer you an opportunity to reflect on your parenting while sharing your experiences.

What happens in the interview?
The interview will likely take between one and two hours. This will take place at a mutually convenient time and location. You will be asked to sign a consent form, and complete a demographic questionnaire as a part of the interview. You will be given a choice of language: Korean and/or English. Each interview will be voice recorded, and transcribed. You may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time as long as you like, and continue if and when you chose to do so. As a voluntary participant, you have the right to withdraw your consent to participate at any time and withdraw what you said in the interview up to 3 weeks after the interview. If at any time you feel uncomfortable when talking about aspects of your parenting experiences, I will provide support and if you would like further assistance I will discuss with you a list of suitable resources and professionals available within your city of residence.

What happens to the information I share in the interview?
The interviews will be audio recorded, for the purposes of producing a written transcript. Once the research team has verified the accuracy of the transcripts, all recordings will be erased, and electronic files deleted. Transcripts will be securely stored (in locked filing cabinets and/or password protected) in the Faculty of Education for a period of six years. The recordings and subsequent transcripts will be viewed only by the researcher and a contracted transcriber and translator. You would not have the opportunity to view or edit the transcript of our conversation. If you withdraw from the study within the 3 weeks after the interview, your information will be destroyed immediately. Following the completion of the study you will have the opportunity to receive an executive summary of findings, via email or post, if you provide me your contact details.

How is my identity going to be kept confidential?
Utmost care would be taken to ensure your privacy in the research report. You will be asked to provide a pseudonym, a name which will be used when writing up your story. The transcriber will use this name when typing the interview. From that time the information that you have supplied will be identified only by that pseudonym. If a person other than the researcher transcribes or translates the interviews, then that person will sign a confidentiality agreement. The researcher's supervisors will have access to the written format of your interview and data for analysis.

Information you provide will contain only your pseudonym, and no other personally identifiable details, to maintain your privacy. As well as writing up the research report in the form of my thesis, I may use information from this study in conference presentations or journal articles in the future.

Thank you very much for your time.

Hyeeun Kim

My contact details are:
Email: hkim007@aucklanduni.ac.nz
Phone: 027 340 10 35

My supervisors are:
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For any queries regarding ethical concerns, you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 extn. 83711.

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 1 AUGUST 2011 FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 /348

Appendix 2. Participants Information Sheet (Korean)

University of Auckland
Faculty of Education
Private Bag 92601
Symonds Street
Auckland

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (연구 참여자 정보지)

연구 제목: 1.5세대 코위 엄마 아빠들의 부모역할 / 자녀양육 경험 연구

연구자 : 김 혜 은
저는 오클랜드 대학의 박사과정 학생입니다. 저는 지난 수년간 뉴질랜드에서 카운셀러로 일하면서, 어린 자녀를 둔 한사람의 이민자 부모로써 1.5세대들의 부모역할/자녀 양육에 개인적으로 관심을 가지게 되었습니다.

초대의 글:
이 연구에 여러분을 초대합니다. 제가 이 연구에 초대하고자 하는 분들은 다음과 같습니다. 2002 년 이전 (2001 년 12 월까지) 에 뉴질랜드에 이주하였고, 당시 뉴질랜드 나이로 만 5 세에서 17 세 사이였으며, 현재 자녀를 키우고 있는 분들로서 오클랜드, 해밀턴, 웰링턴, 혹은 크라이스트처치에 거주하고 있는 1.5 세대 코위 엄마 아빠이고, 인터뷰를 통해 자신의 부모 역할/ 자녀 양육 경험을 나누기를 허락하시는 분들입니다.

이 연구의 목적과 혜택
이 연구는 1.5 세대 코위 엄마 아빠들의 부모역할/자녀양육 경험과, 그들이 생각하는 자신의 부모역할 / 자녀양육에 미친 영향들을 살펴보자고 하는 것을 목적으로 합니다. 바라기는 이 연구결과가 정책 결정자들이나 건강관련 분야의 전문가들에게 도움이 될 수 있는 지침이 되는 것입니다. 여러분의 나눔을 통해 그분들이 이 분야에 더 많은 지식을 쌓게 되리라고 봅니다. 여러분에게는 이 연구에 참여하여 자신의 이야기를 나누는 과정 자체가 자신의 부모역할 / 자녀 양육을 뒤돌아보는 좋은 기회가 되리라고 생각합니다.

인터뷰는 어떻게 진행이 되나요?
인터뷰는 약 1-2시간 정도 걸리고, 저와 여러분에게 적합한 장소와 시간을 골라 그곳에서 진행이 됩니다. 인터뷰장에 도착하시면 맨처음 연구 참여 동의서에 싸인 하시고, 간단한 인적 사항표를 작성하십니다. 원하시는데에 따라 영어나 한국어를 자유롭게 사용하실 수 있습니다. 인터뷰는 녹음이 되고, 후에 옮겨 적어 서류화 되어 보관됩니다. 인터뷰 중에 언제라도 녹음기를 잠시 끄고 싶으시면 원하시는 만큼 쉬었다가 다시 시작 하실 수 있습니다. 연구참여 여부는 전적으로 참여하시는 여러분의 자유 의사에 따르기 때문에 원하시면 인터뷰가 끝나고도 3 주 내에는 언제라도 참여를

철회하실 수 있습니다. 혹시라도 인터뷰 중 부모역할/자녀양육에 대한 이야기를 나누던 중 조금이라도 마음이 불편하신 경우, 제가 최선을 다해 도와드리겠습니다. 또한 원하시면 도움이 될 자료를 드릴 수 있고, 필요한 도움을 주실 수 있는 전문가를 여러분 거주 지역 내에서 소개해드립니다.

인터뷰한 내용은 어떻게 되나요?

인터뷰 내용은 나중에 서면 기록 사본으로 만들어야 하기 때문에 모두 녹음이 됩니다. 사본이 정확하다는 것을 확인하고 나면, 녹음된 내용과 그와 관련된 모든 파일은 삭제됩니다. 이 사본은 오클랜드 대학 교육학과 내의 기밀 캐비넷 속에 비밀번호로 표시되어 6년간 저장됩니다. 모든 자료는 연구자인 저, 그리고 비밀 보장을 약속하고 서명한 번역자와 녹음 내용을 옮겨 적어 서면 기록 사본을 만드는 이 외에는 아무도 볼 수 없습니다. 여러분도 녹음된 내용이나 서면 기록 사본을 보시거나 수정하실 수 없습니다. 그러나 인터뷰 이후 3주 이내에 연구 참가를 취소하시는 경우 인터뷰 내용은 모두 즉시 지워드립니다. 이 연구가 끝나는데로 연구 결과의 요약본을 이메일이나 우편으로 보내드릴 수 있사오니 원하시면 저에게 연락처를 남겨 주시기 바랍니다.

어떻게 개인 신분이 보장 되나요?

여러분의 개인 신분 보장을 위해서 최대한의 노력을 기울이겠습니다. 인터뷰 내용을 보고서나 논문에 적을 때는 여러분이 개인적으로 정해 주시는 가명만을 사용합니다. 녹음 내용을 옮겨 적어 서면 기록 사본을 만드는 이도 서류에 여러분이 주신 가명을 사용합니다. 인터뷰를 시작하시는 순간부터 여러분은 가명만으로 알려진다고 생각하시면 됩니다. 만약 제가 녹음 내용을 옮겨 적거나 번역하지 않는 경우에는, 그 일을 맡은 분들이 인터뷰 내용에 대한 절대 비밀 보장 서약서에 서명을 하여야만 합니다. 제 박사과정 지도교수님들의 경우, 서면 기록 사본이나 분석된 자료를 보시게 됩니다.

여러분이 주신 모든 개인 인적 사항은 가명으로 기록되기 때문에 여러분의 신분이 절대로 보장됩니다. 여러분의 인터뷰 내용은 분석된 연구결과로 박사과정 논문에 들어가며, 컨퍼런스나 학술지에 발표될 수 있습니다.

이렇게 시간을 내주셔서 대단히 감사합니다.

김 혜 은

저의 연락처는 다음과 같습니다.

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이메일: <u>p.harington@auckland.ac.nz</u>

이 연구에 대해 윤리적인 우려나 질문 사항이 있으시면 다음으로 연락을 주십시오; The Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 extn. 83711.

이 연구는 오클랜드 대학교 내의 HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE 에서 2011년 8월 1일에 사용허가를 받았으며 3년간 유효합니다. 등록번호 2011/348

Appendix 3. Consent Form (English)

Faculty of Education
University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601
Symonds Street
Auckland

CONSENT FORM (PARTICIPANT)
THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS.

Project title: Parenting experiences of 1.5 generation Kowi (Korean-Kiwi) parents
Researcher: Hyeeun Kim

I have read the Participant Information Sheet for this research and understood the nature of the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction. I understand taking part in this research is voluntary. I understand that the interview will be conducted for a maximum of two hours in duration and will be audio-recorded.

- I agree to take part in this research.

- I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time, without giving a reason. I have the right to withdraw any data that I have contributed until 3 weeks after the interview.

- I understand that I may request for the recorder to be turned off at any time.

- I understand that a third party who has signed a confidentiality agreement may transcribe and translate the tapes.

- I understand that I will not have the opportunity to view or edit the transcript of the information I provided.

- I understand that every effort will be made to ensure that the information I provide will be kept confidential, my pseudonym will be used, and other personally identifiable details will be excluded or disguised in the research report to maintain my privacy.

- I understand that the information I share will be used in the PhD thesis, academic journal articles and conference presentations based on the research results.

- I understand that the transcripts and consent forms will be kept separately in a secure storage at the university premises for 6 years, after which they will be destroyed. Recorded information will be stored separately from transcripts and other identifying material and destroyed once transcripts have been completed. Electronic/recorded information will be erased. Other paper materials will be shredded.

Name _____

Signature _____   Date ____/_____/_____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 1 AUGUST 2011 FOR 3 YEARS,   REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 /348

Appendix 4. Consent Form (Korean)

Faculty of Education
University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601
Symonds Street
Auckland

CONSENT FORM (PARTICIPANT) – 참여자의 연구 참여 동의서
이 동의서는 앞으로 6년간 보관됩니다.

연구 제목: 1.5세대 코위 엄마 아빠들의 부모역할 / 자녀양육 경험 연구
연구자: 김 혜 은

나는 이 연구에 대한 '연구 참여자 정보지'를 받아 읽었으며, 연구 내용을 이해합니다. 연구에 대해 알고 싶은 내용을 질문할 기회가 있었고, 만족할 만한 답을 들었습니다. 나는 이 연구에 내 자유 의사로 참여하는 것입니다. 인터뷰는 최대한 2시간 정도 소요되고, 녹음된다는 것을 이해합니다.

- 나는 이 연구에 참여하기를 동의 합니다.
- 언제라도 내가 원하기만 하면 이유를 설명할 필요없이 연구 참여를 철회할 수 있고, 인터뷰가 끝나고 나서도 3주 이내에는 언제라도 내가 제공한 자료를 철회할 권리가 있다는 것을 이해합니다.
- 나는 인터뷰 중에 언제라도 녹음기를 끄고 싶으면 이를 요구할 수 있다는 것을 이해합니다.
- 나는 비밀 보장을 약속하고 서명한 번역자가 인터뷰 내용을 번역하거나, 녹음 내용을 옮겨 적는 이가 자료를 서면 기록할 수도 있다는 것을 이해합니다.
- 나는 내 인터뷰 내용의 서면 기록 사본을 보거나 수정할 수 없다는 것을 이해합니다.
- 내가 제공한 정보에 대한 비밀과 내 신분 보장을 위해 최대한의 노력이 기울여진다는 것, 내 본명 대신 가명만이 사용되고, 나의 개인 신분이 들어날 수 있는 내용은 모두 연구 보고서에서 삭제되거나 위장 처리된다는 것을 이해합니다.
- 나는 인터뷰 내용이 연구 결과로 분석되어 박사과정 논문에 들어가고, 컨퍼런스나 학술지에 발표된다는 것을 이해합니다.
- 나는 내 인터뷰가 서류화된 내용과 이 연구 참여 동의서가 각각 따로 안전한 보관소에 6년간 저장된 후 파괴된다는 것을 이해합니다. 녹음된 파일, 서면기록 사본, 나의 신분이 밝혀질 수 있는 내용은 모두 각각 따로 보관되고 일단 서류로 모든 내용이 옮겨적히고 나면 파괴된다는 것, 전자화되거나 녹음된 자료들은 모두 지워진다는 것, 그외 관련 서류도 후에 분쇄된다는 것을 이해합니다.

참여자의 이름 _____

서명 _____   오늘 날짜____/_____/_____

이 연구는 오클랜드 대학교 내의 HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE 에서 2011년 8월 1일에 사용허가를 받았으며 3년간 유효합니다. 등록번호 2011/348

Appendix 5. Demographic Information (English)

Demographic details

Today's Date:

INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF

Gender		Age	
Year of arrival in NZ			
Lengths of NZ residence as at today		_____ Years _____Months	
Current place of residence			
Marital Status		Married De Facto Separated Divorced	

INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR SPOUSE (if applicable)

Gender		Age	
Ethnicity			
Year of arrival in NZ			
Lengths of NZ residence as at today		_____ Years _____Months	
Marital Status		Married De Facto Separated Divorced	

INFORMATION ABOUT FAMILY MEMBERS

Number of family members in your household	
Number of generations in your household	One Two Three Four
I am living with …. (Please tick as many as you need)	☐ My spouse/partner ☐ My children ☐ My own parents ☐ Parents of my spouse ☐ Extended family members (i.e. uncle, aunty, nephew) ☐ Friends ☐ Other -
Age of your children	Child 1 - ____ years old, F / M Child 2 - ____ years old, F / M Child 3 - ____ years old, F / M Child 4 - ____ years old, F / M Child 5 - ____ years old, F / M Other -

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If you wish to receive an executive summary of findings, please give me your email or residential address where you would like me to send the information.

Contact details:

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 1 AUGUST 2011 FOR 3 YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 /348

Appendix 6. Demographic Information (Korean)

Demographic details (인적사항)

오늘 날짜: 년 월 일

나의 인적사항

성	남성 여성	뉴질랜드 나이	
뉴질랜드에 도착한 해		19 년	
현재까지의 뉴질랜드 거주 기간		_____ 년_____개월	
거주지 (현재 살고 있는 도시/지역)			
결혼 여부		결혼한 부부 사실혼 (De Facto) 별거 이혼	

배우자의 인적 사항 (적용 가능시)

성	남성 여성	뉴질랜드 나이	
인종 (Ethnicity)			
뉴질랜드에 도착한 해		19 년	
거주지 (현재 살고 있는 도시)		_____ 년_____개월	
결혼 여부		결혼한 부부 사실혼 (De Facto) 별거 이혼	

가족사항

현재 우리집에 함께 사는 가족 인원수	
우리집에는 몇 세대가 같이 사는가	1대 2대 3대 4대
나는 다음의 사람들과 함께 살고 있다. (해당되는 사항을 모두 표시)	☐ 나의 배우자 ☐ 나의 자녀 ☐ 나의 부모님 ☐ 배우자의 부모님 (예, 시부모, 처의 가족) ☐ 친척 (예, 삼촌, 이모, 조카) ☐ 친구 ☐ 기타 -
자녀들의 나이	자녀 1 - 나이 ____살 , 여자/ 남자 자녀 2 - 나이 ____살 , 여자/ 남자 자녀 3 - 나이 ____살 , 여자/ 남자 자녀 4 - 나이 ____살 , 여자/ 남자 자녀 5 - 나이 ____살 , 여자/ 남자 기타 -

----

나중에 연구 결과의 요약본을 받아보기 원하시면 연락처 (이메일 주소나 집주소)를 적어 주시기
바랍니다.

연락처 :

이 연구는 오클랜드 대학교 내의 HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE 에서 2011년 8월 1일에
사용허가를 받았으며 3년간 유효합니다. 등록번호 2011/348

Appendix 7. Translator Confidentiality Agreement

THE UNIVERSITY
OF AUCKLAND

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

School of Counselling,
Human Services and Social Work

University of Auckland
Faculty of Education
Private Bag 92601
Symonds Street
Auckland

TRANSLATOR CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Project Title: Parenting experiences of the 1.5 generation Kowi (Korean-Kiwi) parents

Researcher: Hyeeun Kim

Supervisors: Dr Margaret Agee and Assoc Prof Christa Fouché

Translator:

I agree to translate the transcripts for the above research project. I understand that the information contained within them is confidential and must not be disclosed to, or discussed with, anyone other than the researcher and her supervisors.

All material will be returned to Hyeeun Kim on completion of the translation. All files saved to hard drive will be deleted after Hyeeun Kim confirmed that she has received them.

Signature _____   Date ____/_____/_____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 1/8/2011 FOR 3 YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 /348

Appendix 8. Advertisement: Participants

<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;">

"Parenting experiences of 1.5 generation Kowi (Korean-Kiwi) parents"

"1.5 세대 코위 엄마 아빠들의 부모역할 경험 연구"

- **DID YOU ARRIVE IN NEW ZEALAND BEFORE 2002, AGED BETWEEN 5 AND 17?**
2002 년 이전에 뉴질랜드에 이주하였고, 당시 뉴질랜드 나이로 5 세에서 17 세 사이였나요?
- **ARE YOU LIVING WITH YOUR CHILDREN IN NEW ZEALAND?**
현재 자녀들과 함께 뉴질랜드에 거주하시나요?

- **DO YOU LIVE IN AUCKLAND, HAMILTON, WELLINGTON OR CHRISTCHURCH?**
오클랜드, 해밀턴, 웰링턴 혹은 크라이스트처치에 살고 계신가요?

If you have answered yes to these questions, you are invited to talk to me about your experiences as a parent. This will take no more than 2 hours at a place of your choice. I am hoping to talk to approximately 30 people. If you are interested, please contact me at the email address or phone number below by December 2012 for more information. Your participation in this research is voluntary and your identity will remain confidential. I look forward to hearing from you!

위의 질문에 모두 '예'라고 대답하셨다면 인터뷰에 참여하실 수 있습니다. 인터뷰는 참여자가 원하시는 곳에서 이루어지며, 1-2 시간 정도 걸립니다. 모집인원수는 30 명입니다. 참여할 의사가 있으시면 아래의 연락처로 (2012 년 12 월 까지) 연락을 주세요. 자세한 설명을 드리겠습니다. 연구 참여 여부는 전적으로 참여하시는 분의 자유 의사에 따르며, 인터뷰한 모든 내용과 참여인의 이름 및 신분은 절대 비밀이 보장됩니다. 꼭 연락주세요!

Hyeeun Kim (Researcher/PhD Candidate) - 김 혜 은 (박사과정 학생)
Email (이메일); hkim007@aucklanduni.ac.nz   or Mob (핸드폰). 0273 40 10 35

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 1 August 2011 FOR 3 YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 / 348
이 연구는 오클랜드 대학교 내의 HUMAN PARTCIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE 에서 2011년 8월 1일에 사용 허가를 받았으며 3년간 유효합니다. 등록번호 2011 / 348

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Appendix 9. Advertisement: Letter to Professionals

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
School of Counselling,
Human Services and Social Work

School of Counselling, Human Services
Social Work
University of Auckland
Faculty of Education
Epsom Campus
Private Bag 92601 Symonds Street
Auckland

2 August 2011

Re: Advertisement for Recruiting Participants for Interviews
"Parenting experiences of 1.5 generation Kowi parents"

Dear Sir/Madam

I am writing to introduce my research project and call upon your assistance. My name is Hyeeun Kim. I am a PhD student at the University of Auckland, and am currently undertaking research on the parenting experiences of 1.5 generation Kowi parents.

As part of my research, I would like to interview Kowis (Korean-New Zealanders) who are members of the 1.5 generation and are currently parents. The phrase 'the 1.5 generation' generally describes those children of migrants who arrive in New Zealand aged between 5 and 17. Kowis, or Korean Kiwis, are defined as New Zealanders of Korean descent with dual identities.

The participants need to meet the following criteria: they need to be 1.5 generation Kowis who arrived in New Zealand before 2002, aged between 5 and 17, and who are raising children in New Zealand and living in Auckland, Hamilton, Wellington or Christchurch.

Could you kindly distribute the attached advertisement to your clients/customers, or display it on a notice board in your organisation? Those interested, should contact me directly using the contact details provided in the advertisement.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.
Thank you very much for your kind cooperation and assistance.

Kind Regards,

Hyeeun Kim (PhD applicant)
Email: hkim007@aucklanduni.ac.nz Mob. 0273 40 10 35

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 1 AUGUST 2011 FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 /348

Appendix 10. Interview Guidelines

Introductory questions:	• Can you share with me some of your <u>hopes</u> sharing your story today? • Why have you decided to do this? • Why are they important to you?
PERSPECTIVES ON PARENTING Tell me about your views on and experiences of parenting that you have acquired from growing up as Kiwi-Koreans in this country.	What was your parent's parenting like? (Communication, gender role, discipline, parent-child relationship, focuses on education, etc.) What are the important <u>values</u> you have acquired from them? Relationship, family, child rearing, identity, work ethics, etc? What are the <u>effects</u> of your parents' parenting in your life? -What were some of the most <u>difficult</u> effects for you? Why were they difficult? -Why were some of the most <u>helpful</u> effects for you? Why were these helpful? What other <u>models</u> of parenting did you have as a Kowi? (For example, parents of friends or neighbours, TV news and dramas, information from school, plunked, GP, etc.? What differences did you notice between styles of your parents and others in childhood as a Kowi?
INFLUENCES; Tell me about influences on your parenting **being a Kowi.**	Being a Kowi, what is 'your' parenting like in comparison to your parents' parenting? How much is it Korean? How much Kiwi? 50/50 or 30/70? - Why and how did you make that decision the way you parent as a Kowi? - What are the main influences that determine the way you parent as a Kowi? How is your parenting style working out for you as a Kowi? For example, how is it for you in your relationship with your child? How is it for the development of your child?
CHALLENGES being a Kowi;	Tell me about your difficulties, challenges or struggles in parenting in-between the two cultures being a Kowi. Are there any aspects that you feel uncomfortable with or unsure about in your parenting being a Kowi?
RESOURCES being a Kowi; information	Tell me about where and whom you get help from for your parenting. Please name the people and agencies. What did you find it <u>helpful</u>? What did you find it <u>unhelpful</u>? What support would you have liked and why?
RESOURCES being	As a Kowi, what are your strengths / qualities?

a Kowi; Personal resources and strengths	As a Kowi parent, what unique strengths / qualities do you offer your children?
CLOSING REMARKS:	If you meet a Kowi who is about to become a parent, what would be your advice to him/her? • What would you like to ask or suggest to policy makers and community agencies for Kowi parents, and their children? • Is there anything you would like to say before we finish?
Future Contact	• Is it ok if I contact you for some clarification by phone call or a visit?

Appendix 11. Ethics Approval

Office of the Vice-Chancellor
Research Integrity Unit

**THE UNIVERSITY
OF AUCKLAND**

NEW ZEALAND

Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

**UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE**

Level 3, 76 Symonds Street
Telephone: 64 9 373 7599
Extension: 83711 / 87830
Facsimile: 64 9 373 7432

01 August, 2011

MEMORANDUM TO:

Dr Margaret Agee / Hyeeun Kim
Faculty of Education

Re: Application for Ethics Approval (Our Ref. 2011 / 348)

The Committee considered your application for ethics approval for your project titled 'Parenting experiences of 1.5 generation Kowi (Korean-Kiwis) parents'.

Ethics approval has been given for a period of three years.

The expiry date for this approval is 1/08/2014.

If the project changes significantly you are required to resubmit a new application to the Committee for further consideration.

In order that an up-to-date record can be maintained, you are requested to notify the Committee once your project is completed.

The Chair and the members of the Committee would be happy to discuss general matters relating to ethics approvals if you wish to do so. Contact should be made through the secretary in the first instance, Lana Lon, l.lon@auckland.ac.nz.

All communications with the UAHPEC regarding this application should include our reference number - 2011 / 348.

Lana Lon
Secretary
University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee

c.c.   Head of Department / School, Faculty of Education

Hyeeun Kim
53 Waimahia Avenue
Weymouth
Manukau 1702

Additional information:

1. Should you need to make any changes to the project, write to the Committee giving full details including revised documentation.

2. Should you require an extension, write to the Committee before the expiry date giving full details, along with revised documentation.   An extension can be granted for up to three years, after which time you must make a new application.

3. At the end of three years, or if the project is completed before the expiry, you are requested

to advise the Committee of its completion.

4. Do not forget to fill in the 'approval wording' on the Participant Information Sheets and Consent Forms, giving the dates of approval and the reference number, before you send them out to your participants.

5. Send a copy of this approval letter to: Manager, Funding Processes, Research Office if you have obtained funding other than from UniServices. For a UniServices contract, send a copy of the approval letter to: Contract Manager, UniServices.

6. Please note that the Committee may from time to time conduct audits of approved projects to ensure that the research has been carried out according to the approval that was given.