

**Korean Youth of the 1.5 Generation in New Zealand Talk about Their Parents'
Expectations and Attitudes**

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KOREAN YOUTH TALK ABOUT PARENTS' EXPECTATIONS

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KOREAN YOUTH TALK ABOUT PARENTS' EXPECTATIONS

Abstract

The aim of this thesis was to describe the expectations that 1.5 generation immigrants perceive their parents expectations for them and their future. The researcher interviewed the experiences of twelve young adolescents who immigrated to New Zealand between the ages of 6 and 12. The researcher used a semi-structured interview to allow participants to freely discuss their experiences while staying true to the aims of the research. The study was conducted in Christchurch, New Zealand. The interviews were recorded on audio, transcribed and analysed. Each transcript was coded and themes were extracted from each interview. Similar themes were grouped into categories which were then discussed as part of the results. The most common expectations reported by participants were in the areas of education and high academic achievement. The effects of these expectations varied as participants grew older and the length of time residing in New Zealand increased. The results are discussed and also compared to studies of 1.5 generation immigrants in the United States. Finally, the implications of this study are discussed, and the relevance of the results to the well-being of the 1.5 generation in New Zealand are suggested.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

New Zealand is a country built on the foundations of migration in light of the first British settlers who came to New Zealand. Until then, New Zealand was inhabited only by the indigenous Maori population (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). This led to the beginning of a bicultural environment in New Zealand, and this environment expanded into the multicultural society it is today. According to Statistics New Zealand (2014), the latest census showed that there were more than one million New Zealanders who were born overseas. In addition to this figure, while the early immigrants to New Zealand were either born in the United Kingdom (UK) or Ireland (Phillips, 2011), in 2013, Asia became the most common birthplace overseas for New Zealanders to be born. At that time, the percentage of UK and Ireland-born New Zealanders stood at 26.5% compared to Asia-born New Zealanders who made up 31.6%. Of the total current New Zealand population, 11.8% identify themselves as Asian and within this group, the four largest sub-groups are Chinese, Indian, Filipino and Korean (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Each subgroup has characteristics that are unique to the country and its people. This study aims to describe the experiences of a new generation of immigrants in the Korean population.

History of Immigration from Korea to New Zealand

The history of immigration into New Zealand is fairly recent compared to larger countries such as the United States. Despite New Zealand having a history based on roots of migration and biculturalism, the immigration trends which have led to New Zealand becoming multicultural are much more recent. The recent trend includes the arrival of Korean immigrants. While the first official Korean migration to the United States occurred around 1883 (Yu, Choe, & Han, 2002), the first official record of a Korean individual immigrating to New Zealand is in 1966 (Yoon & Yoon,

2014). By this time, Koreans were already migrating to the United States as family units and not as single individuals. By 1980, Korean immigrants made up 6% of the total immigrants entering the United States and reached a peak rate in 1987, when 35, 849 Korean immigrants were admitted into the United States (Yu, Choe, & Han, 2002). In contrast to this, until the late 1980s, the population of the Korean community in New Zealand stayed below 1000 (Yoon & Yoon, 2014). It was only after 1987 that Korean immigration into New Zealand began to increase.

NZ Immigration Policies and Korean Immigration

In 1987, after the completion of the Immigration Policy Review of 1986, New Zealand saw the first increase of Korean immigrants into the country. Prior to 1987, immigration to New Zealand was based on a country-of-origin preference which led to the majority of immigrants being accepted into New Zealand to be from Ireland and Britain (Phillips, 2011). Then, in 1987, New Zealand made several changes to its existing immigration policies which saw fewer immigrants accepted from Ireland and Britain and more immigrants entering from other countries (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). Korea was one of these countries.

However, it was a second review of the existing immigration policies that saw the greater second surge of immigration in the 1990s. In 1991, the new Immigration Amendment Act was introduced, and a new points system, where individuals were given points according to age, skills, education, and capital, replaced the previous occupation priority system (Beaglehole, 2009). Anyone with the minimum number of points was eligible to apply for permanent residency, and this change in system marked the beginning of a new era for immigration which was characterized by a dramatic increase in Asian immigrants into New Zealand (Phillips, 2011). The increase in Asian immigrants included a substantial increase of Korean

immigrants, and in 1995, nearly 4000 Korean immigrants gained permanent residency (Statistics New Zealand, personal communication, May 15, 2012).

At the immigration peak of 1995, an English proficiency test was included in the immigration scheme (Phillips, 2011). This discouraged many Koreans from immigrating to New Zealand, and with the addition of the 1997 economic crisis in Korea, the number of Korean immigrants applying for permanent residency drastically reduced to 694 in 1999 (Statistics New Zealand, personal communication, May 15, 2012). To counter the decrease in overall number of immigrants into New Zealand and to try and increase investment into New Zealand, the New Zealand government introduced the long-term business permit in the early 2000s. This allowed new immigrants to invest capital into a business and operate it for two years without having to take an English proficiency test (Kim & Yoon, 2003). This change in immigration law saw a change in favour towards more applicants in the working class (Beaglehole, 2009), and the new scheme saw another wave of immigrants enter the country.

In 2003, permanent residency hit its second highest peak with 3,228 Korean immigrants gaining residency (Statistics New Zealand, personal communication, May 15, 2012). Korean immigrants contributed to approximately 8% of the total Asian population in New Zealand (Kim & Yoon, 2003). The number of Korean immigrants has continuously increased, and in 2013, the Korean immigrant population was 30,171. This was a 58.6% increase from 2001 when the population was 19,026 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). In 2013, the median age of Korean immigrants was 31.2 years old and this represented a stronger and younger generation. As the number of younger Korean immigrants increased, the number of younger children entering

New Zealand also increased, and a new subset of immigrants was created. They are currently known as the 1.5 generation.

Immigration Generations

Different generations of immigrants have distinct characteristics that influence how individuals of that generation will settle into the host country. Table 1 shows the general characteristics that each generation has. In 2013, international migrants made up 3.2% of the world's total population, and as this number continues to increase (UNPD, 2013), researchers have become more interested in how people settle into a new country. This phenomenon has been coined acculturation.

Table 1
Comparison of characteristics of immigrants from different generations

First generation	Second generation	1.5 generation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adults (18 years or older) who immigrate to a new country • Raised and educated in their native country and culture • Fluent in their mother tongue • Will learn the language of the host country to various levels typically depending on age 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Born in the host country that their parents immigrated to • Raised and educated in the host country and culture • Native speaker of the language of the host country • May or may not know the mother tongue of parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children (7-15 years) who immigrate to a new country following their parents • Early childhood education completed in their home country • Remaining education completed in the host country • Will typically retain various levels of home language • Will learn the language of the host country

Acculturation and New Zealand

Acculturation is broadly known as an individual's experience of adapting to a new culture (Yeh et al., 2005). When people migrate to a new country, as they set up their new lives, they also go through the process of making changes to their values and behaviours as they settle into the cultural surroundings of their new environment

(Kim, Brenner, Liang, & Asay, 2003). There are four main types of acculturation. In his early research, Berry (2005) defined the four types of acculturation from the perspective of an immigrant. They were assimilation, separation, marginalization and integration. Later, he added definitions that also described the four types of acculturation from the perspective of the host country. They were melting pot, segregation, exclusion, and multiculturalism.

As a host country to immigrants, New Zealand is defined as a multicultural society. This means that from the perspective of an immigrant, New Zealand is a country where immigrants are integrated into society. Berry (2005) equated multiculturalism as the host society's version of integration. Integration is characterized by the ability of an immigrant individual to live happily between their home culture and host culture in one environment without the need to suppress one culture in order to live abiding to the other (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). A balance in two cultures is created by selecting certain new behaviours from the host country while also retaining certain elements of meaning from the home country (Berry, 2005). This type of acculturation is thought to lead to high levels of psychological adjustment, as well as high levels of social adjustment (Berry, 2005). An important aspect in acculturation research is the division between generations and the different types of acculturation that the each group experiences.

Acculturation of First Generation Koreans in New Zealand

Today, Koreans still make up at least 7% of the total Asian population in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). However, despite the large numbers, Chang, Morris & Vokes (2006) reported first generation Koreans to be one of the least integrated groups into New Zealand mainstream society. In New Zealand, first generation Koreans are divided into two categories. There are 'old' Korean

immigrants who came to New Zealand as a minority in the 1980s. The 'new' Korean immigrants are those who came as part of the immigration waves that hit New Zealand in the 1990s and 2000s. The two categories differ in integration levels and this can be seen within two main areas.

Employment. First generation Korean adult immigrants of the 1980s have more stable and established employment statistics within New Zealand than the recent immigrants of the 1990s and 2000s (Kim & Yoon, 2003). In a study by Kim and Yoon (2003), they found that 'old' Korean immigrants, those who were granted immigrant status in NZ before the 1991 policy changes, came to New Zealand with lower rates of tertiary education and wealth. Yet, they were found to have a higher percentage of employment. This contrasted to the low employment rate of 'new' Korean immigrants, despite their higher levels of education and qualifications. In 2003, Kim and Yoon found the most common form of employment amongst 'new' Koreans to be either self-employment or employment as a worker in a small ethnic business.

Ethnic businesses are characterized by being set up with Korean capital, being managed and operated by Korean owners, and hiring Korean employees to serve a customer base mainly made up of Koreans (Yoon, cited in Kim & Yoon, 2003). The number increase in number of Korean ethnic businesses, especially restaurants and grocery shops, further reduced any need or desire for immigrants to actively learn the English language or directly interact with natives of the host country. With no direct contact with mainstream society, 'new' Korean immigrants missed out on opportunities to learn about the new culture that they were living in.

Place of settlement. Dense clustering of Korean immigrants provides another portrait of immigrant life in New Zealand. The geographical clustering displays the different circumstances in which 'old' and 'new' Korean immigrants came to New

Zealand. 'Old' Korean immigrants did not have the numbers to create an impact by clustering when they arrived in New Zealand, and many 'old' immigrants came from a Korea struck down by poverty after the Korean War. They could not afford to choose where to settle down. A significant proportion of Korean immigrants in the US is also made up of Korean wives and adopted Korean children who migrated to the US during the Korean War (Yu et al., 2002).

In addition, Kim and Park (2006) pointed out the difference in the gross domestic product (GDP) of Korean immigrants. In 1960, the per capita GDP of Korea was \$82, and immigrants moving to America were poor and less educated. In contrast, by 1997, when immigration was at a peak in New Zealand, the per capita GDP of Korea was approximately \$10,000. Korean immigrants were wealthier and also had higher levels of education. The differences in circumstances of Korea and the situations that immigrants moved out from significantly affected the experience of immigrants. These differences need to be taken into account when comparing immigrants from New Zealand and the United States.

Today, the clustering is visible in many of New Zealand's larger cities and wealthier suburbs. In 2013, approximately 70% of Korean immigrants lived in Auckland. The next biggest cluster of 11% lived in Christchurch (Yoon & Yoon, 2014). 'New' Korean immigrants show an extreme form of ethnic clustering, and this can be seen within Auckland. After the immigration boom of 2000, Korean was found to be the most commonly spoken second language on the North Shore (Yoon & Yoon, 2014). Kim and Yoon (2003) suggested that the dense clustering illustrated a lack of ability to integrate into mainstream society by 'new' Korean immigrants.

Acculturation of Children of First Generation Immigrants

Increasing numbers of research studies are focusing more in depth on the participants of immigration; in particular, children who come with their parents as a family unit. Families decide to immigrate for various reasons. New Zealand, in particular, is chosen for its clean environment, better living conditions and higher quality of education (Kim & Yoon, 2003). In addition, parents also choose to immigrate for their children who might be struggling with the high expectations of society in Korea. In the fast-paced and achievement-oriented education system of Korea, there is often little tolerance for children with low grades or a learning disability. Such students will often not receive the individual care that they require and are continuously labelled as failures (Chang et al., 2006). Many families wishing to immigrate to New Zealand visualize it as a “paradise” in comparison to their own home countries (Kim & Yoon, 2003). However, Chang et al. (2006) states that parents in an immigrant family may not experience any substantial improvement in their own lives. Rather, parents may face more difficulties such as unemployment, unrecognized qualifications, and racial harassment. A lack of English and long work hours are also challenges that immigrants can face (Kang, Kim-Prieto, Abelmann, Shanshan, & Okazaki, 2010). However, although there may not be any substantial benefits from immigration in terms of wealth or lifestyle, parents from Korea still choose to immigrate, sometimes solely for the better future of their children (Chang et al., 2006).

Studies have categorized children who follow their parents in immigration to a new host country as the 1.5 generation. Bartley and Spoonley (2008) define 1.5 generation children as any child who immigrates to another country between the ages of 6 and 18. They added that regardless of being the centre of their parents' decision

to immigrate, children often had little or no say in the actual decision itself. Often, it is not until the children become adults that they have the cognitive understanding to understand and appreciate the decision that their parents made (Arnett, cited in Kang et al., 2010). One characteristic that Bartley and Spoonley pointed out was that 1.5 generation immigrants experience part of their childhood in their home country and then experience the rest of their childhood in their host country. This differentiates them from second generation immigrants who are born in the host country or immigrate before the age of 6 and have minimum socialization in the home country of their parents (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008).

Research such as Bartley & Spoonley (2008), Kim et al., (2003), and Yeh et al., (2005) shows that 1.5 generation immigrant children have a whole separate experience of immigration that differs to that of their parents. As they enter adolescence, they develop a greater awareness of the cultural differences that exist between their home and host country (Papalia, Feldman, & Feldman, 2010). Differences can also emerge between the values that they wish to uphold and the values that their parents reinforce in the home. The combination of these differences lead the immigrant youth of the 1.5 generation to have their own unique experiences of settlement into New Zealand as well as their own sets of issues and challenges. It is essential that their experiences are heard and considered, so that they may be given the understanding and support that will most benefit their unique situations.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Development of Values in Adolescents

Adolescence in both Western and Asian cultures is a period of change and adaptation for adolescents and parents alike. At this time, adolescents have an increased need and want for independence and autonomy (Meece & Daniels, 2008). Values from both the family and peers play an important role during this time.

Edgar-Smith and Wozniak (2010) studied 72 European families in the United States that consisted of a mother, a father, and adolescent children. The family members were each asked to rank statements that represented different family values. It was predicted that the family values of parents and their adolescent children would vary at different stages of adolescence. However, their results showed that the values within a family remained largely consistent, regardless of how old the adolescent was. Edgar-Smith and Wozniak discussed how a family constructs a set of beliefs and explanations that guides each family member to make meaning of the world around them. Their study showed that while the common belief is that adolescents will veer away from the beliefs and values of their parents, adolescents tend to keep the values of their family.

However, at the same time, adolescents also have an increased need and desire to conform to the norms of their peers. The ways in which peers can influence each other range from the clothes they wear to how much they achieve at school (Meece & Daniels, 2008). Social interaction with peers is also critical to the stage of developing an identity for adolescents, and interacting with their peers helps adolescents to learn about their self and what sort of individual they want to be (Meece & Daniels, 2008). Peers also act as models, where individuals can compare their values with their peers and then decide whether they want that value to be a part

of their identity. For adolescents living in their home country, the values surrounding them from both from their parents and their peers will stem from the same culture of beliefs. However, for immigrant adolescents, huge discrepancies can occur between the values that their parents and peers have, as the culture within the family differs from the culture of the surrounding host country (Choi, 2001).

The experiences of the 1.5 generation are unique due to the level of socialization that they have in their home country as well as in their host country. The age at which an individual immigrates is important, because the interactions between an individual and society will differ with age. Yeh (2003) conducted a study with 319 Asian immigrant students living in the United States. Their ages ranged from 12 to 18, and one part of the study was focused on the difference that age made in experiences of acculturation. Yeh found that older students reported more situations that had a negative effect on their mental health such as an increasing awareness of racial discrimination and parent-child conflict in the home. In addition, many older students had to take on adult responsibilities within the family such as working and looking after younger children. Another possible reason given for the decline in mental health was the conflict that adolescent immigrants faced with their parents as they began to develop a sense of autonomy in a culture that differed from their parents' traditional views.

Immigrants of the 1.5 generation have some experience of social development in their home country. This is significant in the study of 1.5 generation immigrants, because it is the experience of social development from the home country and the absorbing of new experiences of social development in the host country that can lead to conflict within the development of a growing immigrant child (Yeh et al., 2005). In New Zealand, 1.5 generation Korean immigrant children will tend to live in

a home that continues to adhere to traditional Korean culture. Korean culture is built on the principles of collectivism (Kim & Wolpin, 2008), a culture that greatly relies on interdependent relationships and hierarchical structures. In contrast, immigrant children at school are immersed in the New Zealand culture, a culture that is based on independence and individualism. The simultaneous exposure to these two conflicting cultures and the pressure to adhere to both of them can be a great challenge for 1.5 generation immigrants, thus making their immigration experience all the more unique.

Individual and Collective Culture

Individualism and collectivism are two dominant constructs that have emerged from the studies of cultural differences (Vandello & Cohen, cited in Edgar-Smith & Wozniak, 2010). Broadly, individualism stresses the importance of being an independent individual, with one's own unique thoughts and actions. The individual is solely responsible for the choices he or she makes, as well as the consequences that follow his or her choices (Edgar-Smith & Wozniak, 2010). On the other hand, collectivism emphasizes a strong connection and tie between the self and another larger group. For most individuals, this larger group is typically the family (Kim & Wolpin, 2008). Collectivism stresses that the responsibility of choices and consequences falls on the whole group, rather than just the individual as is believed in individualism. Generally, individualism has been related to Western-European countries such as America, Australia and New Zealand (Podsiadlowski & Fox, 2011), while collectivism has been described as a characteristic of East Asian countries such as China, Japan and Korea (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008).

Tamis-LeMonda, Way, Hughes, Yoshikawa, Kalman and Niwa (2008) combined an extensive literature review with their own work that included parents from different ethnic groups. They examined the coexistence of individualism and

collectivism within a culture and within individuals. While their research showed that the two cultures can coexist, Tamis-LeMonda and colleagues strongly acknowledged the different values and beliefs that existed between the two systems. They provided an overview of the different developmental goals of each cultural system. In individualism, they described the four main goals during the development of an adolescent to be personal choice, intrinsic forms of motivation and persistence, self-esteem, and self-maximization (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). These four values are believed to lead to successful development in which adolescents will develop into autonomous individuals who can make their own choices, are self-motivated, have positive self-regard, and realize their own full potential (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). In collectivism, Tamis-LeMonda and colleagues described three main developmental goals for adolescents. The three goals were connection to the family, values and beliefs in accordance to the larger group, and respect and obedience (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Confucianism underlies these developmental goals and expects developing adolescents to understand and embrace family obligations and filial piety, as well as be respectful and obedient to elders and people in authority (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Also, while individualistic culture encourages individuals to be verbally expressive (Lee, cited in Hwang, 2006), in collective culture, children who express themselves are often seen as challenging authority and being disrespectful.

The parent-child relationship is also culture specific and will greatly vary according to the culture in which they are situated (Harwood, Miller & Irizarry, cited in Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Tamis-LeMonda et al. (2008) described parents in the individualistic culture to be encouraging and guiding of their children in becoming independent. Chao and Aque (2009) described conflict and tension to be typically

accepted as a part of the process of becoming independent. Rebellion and non-compliance from children, while not desired, was also commonly expected by parents. In today's society, these types of behaviours are considered to be a part of healthy development, especially in the development of individuality and relationship skills (Chao & Aque, 2009). There is also less emphasis on ties to larger social groups such as the family when compared to the collective culture (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). In individualism, parents may still offer guidance in appropriate situations but will also accept and respect the choices that their adolescent children begin to make. Individualistic culture views excessive parental control as intruding into their child's privacy and disrupting of the development of autonomy (Chao & Aque, 2009). Allowing adolescent children to make choices for themselves is especially important for healthy development in autonomy of the adolescent (Downie et al., 2007).

On the other hand, parents with collective beliefs were described as promoting relatedness and interdependence (Grotevant, cited in Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Parents were described as being more engaged in more control and less encouraging of autonomy and personal choice (Chao & Tseng, cited in Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). The family is often defined as an extension of the self (Kim & Wolpin, 2008). In Confucianism, two of the most important responsibilities of parents towards their children are control and discipline. These qualities lead to strong involvement in a child's life and are perceived as equal to the demonstration of parental love and interest (Kim, 2005). Parents and elders in a collective community believe that clear authoritarian boundaries help to maintain peace and harmony within a group (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Therefore, they will often make decisions even for their adolescent children. For example, Kang, Kim-Prieto, Abelmann, Shanshan, and Okazaki (2010) conducted narrative interviews with 19 Korean-American

participants aged from 18 to 22. All participants were the children of first generation immigrant parents. The research aim was to obtain the narrative accounts of the challenges participants faced as immigrants. Participants discussed family relationships, daily life, and the well-being of family members. Kang and colleagues found that many Korean parents continued to exert control over their adolescent children and continued to have an input in decisions about their children, especially in relation to future careers. Most importantly, participants described how parental input into decisions was expected to be strongly taken into consideration and was to eventually be followed.

It is important to note that developing the independence of adolescents is not discouraged or restricted within the collective culture. However, the concept of independence differs from individualistic culture. Stewart, Bond, Deeds and Chung (1999) conducted a research on values and autonomy expectations in different cultures. Their research included students and mothers to identify different patterns between the generations. They surveyed 124 students attending an international school in Hong Kong. The mean age was 16.7 years old. Participants were divided into two broad ethnic groups. Fifty-eight participants were of Caucasian ethnicity and sixty-six participants were of Asian ethnicity. One hundred and twenty four mothers were also surveyed. The results showed that Asian mothers were less open to change and expected their children to develop autonomy at a later age than Caucasian mothers. The students' results also reflected this. The study concluded that despite the modernization of many Asian countries, Asian students continued to be highly influenced by their mothers' attitudes in regard to the development of their autonomy. Participants of Asian ethnicity also expected to gain autonomy at a later age than the participants of Caucasian ethnicity.

Downie et al. (2007) conducted a study that looked at the influence that autonomy supportive parenting had on the processes of internalization of the home culture and internalization of the host culture with immigrant youths of the 1.5 generation. In their first study, 105 immigrant youths with an average age of 20 years were questioned. Results showed that youths who had parents who were supportive of autonomy were more likely to internalize both their home and host cultures, and this led to a positive increase in well-being. This study highlighted the importance of accepting one's home and host culture to promote well-being and the role that autonomy supportive parents could have. However, Downie and colleagues noted that different cultures can have different meanings and perceptions of autonomy in adolescents. While Downie and colleagues characterized autonomy supportive parenting practices to include offering children choices, understanding their perspectives, and acknowledging how their children are feeling, they realized that other ideas of autonomy would affect the characteristics of the type of support that parents gave their children.

In New Zealand, 1.5 generation Korean immigrant children are often caught between the collective culture that their family follow and the individualistic culture that is more prominent to the rest of New Zealand society. One of the biggest challenges that they are faced with is adhering to both of the cultural environments that they are exposed to as a developing individual (Hovey, Kim, & Seligman, 2006). This can cause confusion for 1.5 generation immigrant children as they enter adolescence and begin the process of becoming independent autonomous individuals. Children of the 1.5 generation are often pressured to preserve their Korean background and ethnic values by their parents. At the same time they are expected to adapt to New Zealand culture. This becomes a challenge as they must often minimize

their ethnic background in order to be able to adapt to the new environment that they call their second home (Kibria, 2000). Their understanding of independence and autonomy can differ from that expected of their parents, and while parents may have immigrated for the better future of their children, the difference in understanding of autonomy can cause problems within the family. Tension can be created in the parent-child relationship, and this can lead to a split in the collective culture that the child's parents are trying to uphold within the family.

Erikson described one of the main characteristics that developed during adolescence as the forming of an identity, where adolescents become independent from one's parents and begin to choose beliefs and values that are no longer a simple shadowing of their parents (Papalia et al., 2010). Chao and Aque (2009) clarified adolescence as a time to claim a set of personal values and beliefs that the individual can personally endorse and remain faithful to. For 1.5 generation immigrants, this can be a more difficult period of development than experienced by their peers living in their native countries.

Expectations in the Korean Family

In the Korean culture, individuals are group-oriented, and moral and social principles of appropriate behaviour are shaped by collectivism (Kim & Wolpin, 2008). Collective culture strongly focuses on the connection between the self and a particular social group. In a family, the connections between each member of the family are clear. A strict structure of the family is upheld by the rigorously enforced hierarchical relationships that exist between all individuals in the Korean culture (Kim & Wolpin, 2008). Honorifics are used when speaking to any person older than the self. In any given case, the younger person must always display respect by using honorifics to the older person. The use of the honorific acts as acknowledgement of

the older person with whom authority lies in the relationship. This relational structure restricts the questioning of authority and reinforces full obedience to the figure in authority.

Such principles lead to a traditional and typical Korean household that is very strictly structured (Kim, 2005). Fathers are expected to financially provide for their wife and children, mothers are expected to emotionally provide for the home and children (Kim, 2005), and children are expected to be obedient and submissive to their parents (Chao & Aque, 2009). A prominent characteristic of the collective household is the act of placing the needs of other people before one's own personal needs (Hwang, 2006). Therefore, parents are expected to make sacrifices for their children.

Korean parenting practices believe parents are fully responsible for the actions and consequences of their child, especially during childhood and adolescence (Kim, 2005). This is one of the main reasons that Korean parents are often reluctant and unwilling to let their children move out of the family home. Thus, Korean adolescents are expected to live with their parents until marriage. Korean parents are also strongly involved in the decision-making processes of their children, especially in regard to education and career choice (Kang et al., 2010).

Decision-making is seen as a collective process where the thoughts and opinions of elders are highly regarded, even more so than the thoughts and opinions of the child making the decision. In Korea, children are taught and encouraged to conform to the ideas and thoughts of their parents, and the expression of one's own opinions is not looked upon in favour (Kim, 2004), especially when the opinion differs from the opinions of older people around them (Jung, Stang, Ferko, & Han, 2011). This is because each member contributes to the family, and success and

failures are equally shared; if one member succeeds, the whole family has pride, and if one person fails, the whole family is shamed (Kwak, 2003). Therefore, decisions are made with the utmost care.

When Korean children act against the thoughts or wishes of their parents, this is regarded as highly selfish and disobedient (Hwang, 2006), and children are often scolded or punished for such selfish behaviour (Lee, 2012). However, in New Zealand, immigrant children become influenced by the Western environment which encourages the expression of one's opinions and thoughts (Jung et al., 2011). Korean immigrant parents may not approve of Western values that encourage their children to be self-independent. Immigrant children who adapt to this cultural way may experience great disapproval from their parents and other Korean elders (Jung et al., 2011).

In the Korean family, parents are also expected to be financial providers for their children. As well as paying for necessities such as food and clothing, this involves the payment of education fees until the children graduate from university. This may also include the payment of housing if the children live away from home during their tertiary education. Korean parents accept this as a natural responsibility. In return, Korean children are expected to respect their parents as authority figures, follow their leadership and guidance, honour decisions that their parents make for them, and be grateful for the sacrifices and devotion that parents show towards their children. Children are expected to feel guilty and in debt. These feelings are expected to encourage children to pay back the sacrifices made by their parents (Kim, 2005) through high academic achievement and behaviours of filial piety (Kim & Park, 2006).

Korean parents are well-known for their strong desire to provide their children with the best education possible (Kim, 2004). Throughout Korean history, educational achievement has played a significant role in the success of individuals and their families. In the past, it was considered the only way to increase one's social status (Kim, 2004). Government officials were selected through various examinations, and as payment of their services to the country, they were given a section of land from which a stable income could be generated. Thus, individuals were motivated to study and become government officials for social status and resources to provide for their family (Kim & Park, 2006). For the family to retain such status and resource, a descendent of the family of every third generation was required to successfully pass another civil service examination. Therefore, educational achievement was the key to acquiring and maintaining wealth and social status (Kim & Park, 2006). Koreans still view education as a way to achieve personal, social, and occupational success. Academic achievement also brings honour to the family (Meece & Daniels, 2008). This belief can still be seen in the Korean education system today as parents strive for their children to study in professional fields such as law and medicine (Chang et al., 2006).

In the immigrant family, parents make tremendous sacrifices in order to secure a better future for their children. Parents often choose to quit their jobs and move to a new country where a stable income is not necessarily secured. One of the main reasons that parents decide to do so is for the better education of their children (Chang et al., 2006). However, although many Korean families decide to immigrate to escape the pressures of the Korean education system, many immigrant parents continue to wield high expectations of their children in academic achievement (Jung et al., 2011). Goyette and Xie (1999) suggested that parents may continue to invest in

their child's education as a means of overcoming typical barriers faced as a consequence of immigration such as racial discrimination. Yoo and Kim (2010) also suggested that academic achievement may also lead to the social and economic status that parents could not achieve as first generation immigrants (Yoo & Kim, 2010).

Goyette and Xie (1999) used data from the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS) to explore the educational expectations of Asian American students. Within the longitudinal study, they reviewed data related to educational expectations from the year 1990. The sample size for this study was 13,112. Approximately 7% of the participants were Asian American. In their study, Goyette and Xie found that Asian American parents had higher educational expectations of their children compared to American parents. For example, their research reported that Asian American parents expected 17.1 years of education attainment from their children. This significantly exceeded the 15.4 years expected by Caucasian parents. In addition, Kim and Park (2006) reviewed studies that illustrated the attitudes of students towards their achievements in Korea and the factors that caused them to achieve so highly. In one study reviewed, 62% of the Korean participants named their motivation for study as "to please their parents" (p. 289). In another study reviewed, 730 students were asked about their most painful experience of failure. Of these participants, 45% reported that their most painful experience of failure was related to academic achievement. The study also found that students were influenced by teachers and friends when they were younger, but as students entered adolescence, parents became the main influence for academic success.

The pressures for children to repay a parental debt are often strongly felt due to the sacrifices that children see their parents make for them (Yoo & Kim, 2010). In addition to academic success, one of the most common ways to repay one's parents

for the sacrifices they have made is to take care of them when they are older. In a study by Yoo and Kim (2010), 124 Korean immigrants were surveyed and interviewed about their experiences of immigration. Participants were a combination of 1.5 generation and second generation immigrants. Participants recognized the hardship and troubles that their first generation immigrant parents experienced in order to care for and support them. Thus, participants felt the need to repay their parents in the future and discussed the repayment as an “unspoken given” (p. 171) that participants were obliged to follow. The main method of repayment was for participants to provide care for parents when they were older.

In a recent study by Lee, Gibson and Chaisson (2011), 124 elderly first generation Korean immigrants were interviewed. They were aged between 60 and 80 at the time of the study and lived in the United States. In their interviews, participants described the expectations that they had in regard to being cared for by their adult children. The study found that even after having lived over twenty years in the Western culture of America, the participants still had expectations that their adult children would provide care for them. While the participants acknowledged that immigrating to a Western society had changed the way that their children thought, the Korean elder participants still believed that adult children should provide care for their parents in ways that their parents once cared for them.

However, a study by Kim and Foreman (2011) showed that thoughts concerning the care of parents in the future were influenced by the level of acculturation of 1.5 immigrant children. Kim and Foreman collected data from 115 Korean-American adult children. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 64 years. The mean length of residing in the United States was 17 years with a range of 1 to 38 years. The study reported the participants' beliefs about the type of life-support

care that their parents would want if they were affected by certain life-threatening situations. The study also measured participant's attitudes towards preparation for the future care of their parents. Participants were measured on familism and the degree of acculturation that participants experienced. The level of acculturation was associated with both participant's beliefs regarding life-support care for their parents and their attitudes towards the planning of future care. Those who were more acculturated into American society had a stronger belief that their parents would not want life-support care, should the decision have to be made. These participants also had more positive attitudes towards discussing the future care of their parents.

Even when a family has immigrated to a host country that has different values to the home country that the family comes from, certain values and beliefs can be retained. For Korean immigrant children who move to a new host country that embraces individualism, high levels of confusion may occur as they try to balance and maintain the two conflicting cultures.

The Generation In-Between

The 1.5 generation immigrant youth are exposed to and immersed in two main environments, the family home and peer group (Edgar-Smith & Wozniak, 2010). Each environment requires a different set of social thoughts and behaviours which can affect the alignment of values between parents and adolescents (Edgar-Smith & Wozniak, 2010). Kim (2004) interviewed 19 young Korean adults who had immigrated to the United States between the ages of 9 and 10. The average age of participants was 22 years. The purpose of the study was to record the experiences of immigration of the participants and the experiences they had in integrating the social, cultural, and generational boundaries between Korean and Western culture. Kim found that the age at which participants immigrated influenced how well participants

integrated into mainstream society. Participants who had immigrated between the ages of 9 and 11 had faster rates of integration when compared to participants who had immigrated between the ages of 12 and 14, and 15 and 16. As integration into mainstream society increased, the cultural gap between the participants and their parents was also reported to increase.

Bartley and Spoonley (2008) also surveyed 121 secondary students from eight schools around Auckland. They chose to focus their results on eight main students who agreed to participate in group interviews and four additional students who were also chosen to partake in separate one on one interviews with the researcher. The 12 students were aged between 15 and 17, and the age at which they immigrated ranged from 7 to 15. The number of years that the students had been in New Zealand ranged from less than one year to approximately eight years. Bartley and Spoonley (2008) focused their study on the experience of “in-betweeness” (p. 68) of their adolescent immigrant participants. In-betweeness refers to an individual being caught between two different social constructs or groups without being able to fully integrate into either. The participants in the study identified one of the main experiences of “in-betweeness” as being “in-between sending and receiving countries” (pg. 70). This refers to a struggle to negotiate an identity for oneself between one’s home and host country.

Adolescents of the 1.5 generation are generally exposed to a collective culture at home through their Asian parents, while at school, they are exposed to an individualistic culture through their peers (Hwang, 2006). In immigrant families, parents have more difficulty adapting to the host country and are less willing to part with certain aspects of their culture of origin (Kwak, 2003). Parents will generally have slower rates of acculturation than their children and will often have fewer

opportunities to participate in mainstream society, especially if they own or work in an ethnic business (Qin, 2008). On the other hand, children have more opportunities to experience the Western culture and learn English at a faster rate due to attending mainstream school (Lee et al., 2009) and having more contact with native teachers and peers (Qin, 2008).

Kim and Wolpin (2008) studied the self-reports of 106 Korean American families living in the United States. The self-reports of 105 mothers, 98 fathers and 106 adolescent children aged between 11 and 14 were included in the study. Participants were asked about their values, language use, and their daily lifestyles. A difference in generations was found in regard to acculturation. Adolescent immigrant children were more integrated into American society. The findings also showed that maintaining Korean values and customs, as well as the language, was important to both parents and adolescents. However, while approximately 70% of parents agreed that maintaining Korean culture was important for their children, over 90% of parents thought that it was more important for their children to learn American values and customs. In spite of the beliefs for their children, when asked how well they got on with English, only 21% of mothers and 30% of Korean fathers selected "fairly well" (p. 114). The Korean parents also had lower levels of exposure to American food and media. Only 6-10% reported having continuous associations with American friends.

Berry and Kwak (2001) also studied the differences between immigrant generations within a family and how the different generations interacted with the culture of the host country. They looked at the relationship between parents and their adolescent children and the difference in attitude each generation had. Berry and Kwak (2001) interviewed samples of four ethnic groups living in Canada. The groups were Vietnamese, Korean, East-Indian, and Anglo-Celtic. The Anglo-Celtic group

was included as a comparison to the three Asian groups. The study included 463 adolescents and 353 parents. Firstly, their findings showed that differences existed in the way that parents and adolescent children acculturated into the environment of the host country. Asian adolescent participants showed strong favour towards the rights of children and for assimilating to the host country. Asian parents were more in favour of parental authority. They also showed a preference for separation of the home and host culture. However, despite these differences, Asian adults and adolescents were both found to promote parental authority and children's obligations to a stronger degree than the Anglo-Celtic families. In addition, the Asian families had higher levels of cooperation within the family which illustrated a stronger interdependent family unit compared to the Anglo-Celtic families.

Challenges Faced by the 1.5 Generation

The experience for 1.5 generation immigrant children becomes more difficult as they enter adolescence, a time of going through the process of developing autonomy and becoming independent individuals (Hwang, 2006). During this sensitive time, adolescents are generally more moody, spend less time in the family, express less affection towards their parents and are more outspoken about what they think is right. The differences in culture, values, thoughts and expectations between a parent and child can create additional challenges for the developing adolescent (Meece & Daniels, 2008) which in turn can affect their mental well-being.

Many immigrant parents are faced with lower statuses at work, hardships, and struggles. Yet, they choose to stay in the host country for the better future of their children (Qin, 2008). Thus, many immigrant children grow up watching their parents struggle and work long hours in order to make a living and support their children (Yoo & Kim, 2010). Yoo and Kim (2010) found 1.5 generation participants in their study to

have the feeling of need and obligation to repay their parents for the sacrifices that they made. The feelings existed despite the fact that the participants grew up in a predominantly Western society, held many Western values, and did not speak much Korean. Many participants wished to repay their parents and saw filial piety as a way to express their gratitude towards their parents. This wish can often be the cause of internal conflict for an individual as they are continuously faced with choices in which they must choose one culture or the other.

Kim et al. (2003) collected data from 10 Asian American students. Their ages ranged from 18-23, and participants immigrated between the ages of four and nine years old. They were of Korean, Chinese, Filipino, Indian or Thai ethnicity. One finding was that participants who immigrated to the United States at a younger age found it easier to integrate into mainstream society. However, even though more than half of the participants described themselves to be culturally competent in both their home and host countries, many still felt torn and did not feel wholly integrated into either group.

Yeh et al. (2005) also interviewed 13 Korean immigrant youth living in the United States. They were aged between 11 to 17 years old. The interview focused on the participants' experiences in relation to immigration and how they dealt with the cultural differences that existed within friends, family and school. Participants revealed the challenges faced with discrimination in the school, having parents who had different parenting practices to American parents, and having to shift between two different cultures and groups of friends which often led a feeling of having multiple selves.

Immigrants of the 1.5 generation also felt that differences in family expectations with their peers existed, especially in regard to the obligations of filial

piety. A participant in Lee et al. (2009) commented, "I feel in our community sometimes that we almost have the obligation of taking care of our parents when they are older, taking them in, you know, I see a lot of people here, like friends from high school and American friends, they don't have that on their shoulders...I have to think about ten years from now, am I able to take care of my parents, am I able to support my parents?" (p. 148). An older second generation Korean-American also talked about being "kind of stuck in the middle" (Yoo & Kim, 2010, p. 173) when discussing co-residence as parents become older. She described the conflict that occurred from having been taught and embedded with the cultural and traditional value, but not being able to see herself submit to the value (Yoo & Kim, 2010).

A study by Hovey et al. (2006) researched the relationship between the maintaining of the home culture in immigrant students and their mental well-being. In the study, 133 Korean American students aged between 18 and 29 were given a range of questionnaires to complete. The different questionnaires measured various factors such as fluency in Korean, level of adherence to Korean values, self-esteem, and anxiety. Hovey et al. (2006) found that the level of fluency of Korean did not affect the mental well-being of participants. However, participants who had higher levels of adherence to the values of Korean culture were found to have lower self-esteem, higher levels of anxiety, and higher levels of depression symptoms.

Hwang and Ting (2008) also collected data from 107 Asian American university students residing in the United States. The main ethnic groups represented in the study were Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Taiwanese and Korean. The average length of stay in the U.S. was 13 years. Participants were surveyed on various types of stress including financial, perceived, and acculturative stress. Their levels of acculturation, psychological distress and depression were also measured. Hwang and

Ting found that participants who were less integrated into the American culture reported having higher levels of depression. Their levels of psychological distress were also found to be higher. However, the level of integration they had with their home culture did not affect their levels of depression or psychological distress. The number of years that they had been at university also affected their levels of psychological distress. Fewer numbers of years at school was strongly associated with higher levels of psychological distress.

This differed to Oh, Koeske, and Sales (2002) who measured the responses of 157 first generation Korean immigrants in regard to acculturation, stress related to acculturation, and possible symptoms of depression. The participants were living in the United States and were adults who had immigrated after the age of 18. The ages of participants ranged from 19 to 70 years, and the average length that participants had resided in the United States was approximately ten years. The findings showed that as participants compromised their Korean identity and values in order to integrate into the US, their levels of depression also increased.

Bartley and Spoonley (2008) identified a consistent challenge of Asian immigrant children in New Zealand as having to constantly think about their identity, particularly in choosing how much of a role their 'Asian-ness' will have in their identity. This is important because the amount of 'Asian-ness' one chooses to have extends beyond the realm of the self and into the relationships with other people. In particular, the immigrant parent-child relationship is affected, as how children choose to relate and respond to their parents will differ according to the degree of 'Asian-ness' that they choose to accept. It is especially problematic as parents continue to have parental expectations stemming from the Korean culture, while adolescents, as they mature, may have a decreasing desire to fulfil parental expectations.

The expectations of high academic achievement were also an influential factor in the well-being of 1.5 generation immigrants. Kang et al. (2010) found that 94% of their participants felt pressure to academically achieve. Moreover, some felt that this was the only way to get their parents approval. Sixteen out of eighteen participants reported the academic pressure received from parents as a common source of conflict. They all felt that their parents held extremely high expectations in regard to academic performance and some participants even felt that parental love and approval was dependent on their academic success. "I felt like they would love me [only] if I got the right grades" (pg. 451). This feeling was similar to Asian-American participants in Lee et al. (2009) who also felt that their Asian parents expected them to academically succeed and to aim for certain career paths. These all led to fulfilling the expectations of being a "good" son or daughter. Participants reported feeling stressed due to these expectations placed on them. "Let's say I wanted to be an English major since I was little, but they push me to go to medical school, thinking about income and future. Once we start going to college, that's what stresses us, basically." (Lee et al., 2009, p. 148).

In addition, Choi and Dancy (2009) interviewed twenty Korean-American adolescents aged between 11 to 14 years old. Adolescents were asked to describe the different types of stress that they went through as immigrant children. One student expressing his burden of academic achievement trying to be "one of those kids an Asian mother would be proud of" and described how he had "a math tutor, an English tutor, piano lessons, Korean school. You go to the tutor, you do homework for the tutor, and go to another tutor and more homework, it is like, homework, tutor, homework, tutor" (p. 207). Some participants gave up on opportunities to participate in their favourite activities or the chance to socialize with friends in order to do extra

study. Choi and Dancy also found that the adolescents experienced additional different kinds of stress to their non-immigrant peers. Some of the challenges included being treated differently by teachers in the classroom, experiencing racism, being ignored by peers, developing language barriers that prevented in-depth communication with their parents, and having parents who had different cultural norms to those of the parents of their peers.

Communication was also another challenge identified in some studies, especially due to the development of language barriers. Immigrant children are more likely to learn English at a faster pace than their parents and achieve a higher level of proficiency (Hwang, 2006). Many children who immigrate before adolescence experience a language shift and grow up preferring to speak English rather than their native language (Veltman, cited in Hwang, 2006). The difference in languages spoken between parents and their children can be a cause of misunderstandings between parent and child. The differences of etiquette in languages can also cause misunderstandings (Yeh et al., 2005). For example, Asian parents are less expressive of their emotions, and this can be seen as being distant and overly reserved towards the person they are talking to (Lee, cited in Hwang, 2006). On the other hand, immigrant children attending school where students are taught to express their opinions may be seen as overly expressive, lacking in self-control, disrespectful, and arrogant at home when they are abiding to the communication norms of Western culture (Hwang, 2006). The difference can also act as a barrier to a deeper relationship being formed between the parents and their children (Choi & Dancy, 2009). As a participant of Lee et al. (2009) expressed "Sometimes I can't express a normal thing to my parents because of the language barrier too, because I'm starting to lose a little bit of my native language" (p. 148).

In addition, language use can also create different problems. Yu, Huang, Schwalberg, Overpeck, and Kogan (2003) analysed the records of adolescents from four different ethnic groups. All participants had immigrated to the United States with their parents. The purpose of the study was to study language use and the well-being of participants. Yu and colleagues found that the language used within the home was not related to any significant health issues. However, different groups reported various difficulties associated to the language or languages they spoke. For example, Asian participants who spoke no English felt that their teachers had too high expectations of them at school. In addition, for these participants, their parents were also unable to help with problems at school. For students who were able to speak both their home language and English, they felt that their parents had too high expectations of them at school.

Chao and Aque (2009) examined adolescents' perspectives of parental control and how the control affected their behaviour. The study involved 484 Asian immigrants from China, Korea, and the Philippines and 601 students of European American. The mean age of participants was 14.8 years old, and the mean length of stay in the United States was eight years. Parental control was divided into behavioural control and psychological control. Behavioural control included creating rules or setting limits and handing out punishments for the breaking of these rules, while psychological control included the induction of emotions such as anxiety, guilt, shame, and the withdrawal of love to control child behaviour. Only the Chinese immigrants reported higher levels of behavioural control than European American participants. The results found that Asian adolescent immigrants felt higher levels of psychological control from their parents. However, they also reported feeling less angry towards this type of control than the European Americans. Within the Asian

immigrant group, Korean immigrants displayed a tendency to show externalizing behaviours such as delinquency and aggression with greater psychological control.

Berry and Kwak (2001) also compared the value of parental authority between three Asian immigrant groups and non-immigrant groups and found that even though they were living within a Western environment, the immigrant youth still had much higher regard for parental authority.

Finally, Lee et al. (2009) reported information from 17 Asian participants who were between the ages of 18 and 30. They were of Indian, Cambodian, Chinese, Indonesian, Korean, Taiwanese, Thai, and Vietnamese ethnicity and had lived in the United States for a minimum of six months. The main method of data collection was through the conducting of two focus groups. The focus of these groups was to discuss the mental health of immigrant youth and the barriers they faced when searching for help. Four main areas of potential stress were identified by students as parental pressure to succeed, the experience of integrating two different cultures, family obligations, and racial or cultural discrimination.

The studies show some of the effects that immigration can have on the well-being of 1.5 generation immigrants. They suggest that the experience of living between two different cultures can be challenging, especially during the development of one's identity. In addition, the challenges can occur within both the home environment and the school environment. This suggests that 1.5 generation immigrants can be constantly facing the challenges in their daily lives. There is no doubt that these studies clearly indicate significant issues that need to be considered in the well-being of 1.5 generation immigrants. However, some limitations also need to be taken into consideration when reviewing the studies.

Firstly, combining results across ethnic groups is another problem with many studies. Studies that group participants from various ethnic groups ignore ethnic differences which confound their results and interpretation. For example, Lee et al. (2009) created two focus groups and aggregated results which included young adults from diverse backgrounds including Asian-India, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Korea, Taiwan, Thai, and Vietnam. This study disregarding the ethnic differences between the different groups. In addition, Yu et al. (2003) analysed the results of an analysis of 15,220 students from grades six to ten across the United States and presented a collective report which referred to four major racial groups, non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic Asian. No further attempt was made to distinguish between the different ethnic groups within Asians. Bartley and Spoonley (2008) also collected data from a study consisting of 121 secondary students and presented results which referred to a sample made up of Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Korean students. The results were aggregated, showing a lack of regard for differences that exist between Asian ethnic groups. While some similarities may exist between different ethnic groups within Asia, there are also distinct differences, and combining results across ethnic groups will not accurately portray the perceptions of any one group.

Secondly, the result of many studies also failed to differentiate between the first, second, and 1.5 generation immigration. Immigrant experiences can be different for each immigrating individual depending on their generation of immigration. This especially applies to differences between 1.5 generation and second generation immigrants. Any disregard for immigrant generation can affect the accuracy of information reported. For example, Hwang and Ting (2008) collected data from 107 Asian American university students and presented findings which included a mixture

of US-born and foreign born students. The immigration generation of each student was not provided. Kim and Wolpin (2008) also aggregated the results of their Korean-American sample in which the country of birth of participants was combined as either Korea or the United States, thus ignoring the diversity in immigration experiences amongst different generations. Finally, Lee et al. (2009) also reported on 17 participants in their research who were either 1.5 or 2nd generation immigrants, not acknowledging the differences between these two generations. Failing to differentiate between generations can confound the findings of the experiences of immigrants being described.

Age is also an important factor that can influence the result of studies. This is because age at the time of immigration can influence the rate of acculturation for individuals. Kim (2004) found that children's age of immigration had an influence on how they adapt and interact to the new environment. This may be because during childhood, children develop the skills they require to be able to function in the cultural environment they are in (Papalia et al., 2010). However, the development of skills decelerates as children enter adolescence. In the study conducted by Kim, participants who immigrated at the ages of 9-11 years old were found to adapt well to the host country and learn English much faster. For participants who were 12-14 years old, their rates of acculturation differed according to personal circumstances.

According to Papalia et al. (2010), children around the age of 12-14 are at the beginning of a developmental phase where they will start to use their developed skills from childhood in the cultural context that they choose. In the study, children who immigrated over the age of 15 interacted mainly with Korean Americans in both their social and school environments. For children at this age, they will have already chosen the culture that they wish to adhere to in their home countries. In addition,

they will have developed a broader social awareness and will perceive the same experiences with a different view as they are older. In addition, they will have acquired more knowledge and experiences in their lives (Papalia et al., 2010). However, several of the current studies fail to differentiate between various age groups that signify different stages of development. Hovey et al. (2006) had participants who ranged from 18 to 29 years of age, while Yeh et al. (2005) grouped the results of participants from 11 to 17 years of aged. Lee et al. (2009) also aggregated the results of 174 participants whose ages ranged from 18 to 30 years old.

In addition, there were few studies that have looked at the well-being of participants in their daily lives. Many studies covered the general issues and challenges that immigrant youth may face. They also cover the long-term effect that the issues and challenges can have on the overall well-being of the participants. However, further details into the impact that the issues had on the daily lives of the participants were absent. This can lead to a decrease in the attributed importance of studying immigrant youth in their day to day lives and the issues and challenges that they face daily. Yeh et al. (2005) interviewed immigrant youth from Korea and reported on various topics related to cultural adjustment such as family relationships, peer relationships, coping and identity, cultural differences, and academics. In addition, Kim et al. (2003) also reflected on the experiences of 10 immigrant youths which covered language issues, relationship issues, and issues with support systems in their environment. Additional studies such as Bartley and Spoonley (2008), Yu et al. (2003) and Kim and Wolpin (2008) also raise general issues that immigrant youth have in their experiences. However, all the studies only provide descriptions of the issues and make minimal referral to the well-being of the participants in their daily lives.

This study explored parent-child relationships in 12 Korean immigrant families of Christchurch, New Zealand, and what the 1.5 generation youth believed their parents expected of them in regard to education and family. The purpose of this study was to investigate the perceptions of 1.5 generation Korean immigrant youth in regard to parental expectations and the impact of the expectations on the daily lives of the participants. In addition, this study aimed to describe the well-being of the 1.5 generation youth in their daily lives and to have participants discuss their thoughts and feelings about the impact that parental expectations had on them.

This study proposed to describe the experiences of 1.5 generation Korean immigrants by responding to the following research questions:

1. What do participants report about their parents' expectations?
2. How do the expectations influence the daily lives of the participants?
3. How do participants feel about the expectations?

Through these questions, the aims of the study were to specifically describe the expectations that 1.5 generation Korean immigrants believed their parents to have in regard to education and family, how 1.5 generation Korean immigrants felt about the expectations of their parents, and what 1.5 generation Korean immigrants perceived as the impact of the expectations on their daily lives.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Overview

This research was conducted to learn more about the personal experiences of 1.5 generation Korean immigrant children and the relationships they have with their parents. Parental expectations on these children and the influence that these expectations have on the daily lives of participants was the main focus of the information gathered. Specifically, 12 participants from Christchurch were recruited to partake in interviews with the researcher. Data gathered from the interviews were analysed through content analysis. The researcher also used published articles and literature to supplement the research data and reach a conclusion about 1.5 generation Korean immigrants in New Zealand.

Qualitative Description

Qualitative description methodology is used when researchers want to describe the experiences of a certain event or phenomena (Neergaard, Olesen, Andersen, & Sondergaard, 2009). Through qualitative research, participants are empowered to tell their stories and to have their voices heard, thus, are able to freely present their point of view and experiences of a particular event or phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). Qualitative description is a communication channel that allows those stories to be presented to others in a straightforward description that presents the who, what, and where of the relevant event or phenomenon (Sandelowski, 2000).

Qualitative description is especially distinct from other qualitative methods in data analysis. Other qualitative methods may also start with the experiences of participants but are more centred on the interpretation and analysis to find deeper meaning and understanding to the experiences of the participants. Qualitative description is different, because data is not analysed with the aim of generating a

theory (Chesebro & Borisoff, 2007) as with grounded theory or with the aim of uncovering the foundations of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007) as with phenomenology.

Qualitative description allows for the focus of study to be wholly centred on the experience, views, and lives of the participants (Neergaard et al., 2009). Therefore, in qualitative description, the recruitment of participants is centred on individuals who are familiar with the topic and can provide a detailed recollection of their experiences (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997). For this reason, many qualitative researchers choose to involve a small number of participants. Hill et al. (1997) suggested involving 8-15 participants in order to be able to gain an in-depth understanding of the experiences relayed by each participant. They added that collecting the in-depth experiences from larger samples may be unrealistic and time-consuming for the researcher. In order to collect information relative to the research aims, Hill et al. (1997) also emphasised the “recency of experience” (p. 531) to be crucial when recruiting participants. They stated that when participants were unable to recall a memory, they were more likely to “fill in the blanks” (p. 531) with details that fit in with the rest of their recalled memories.

One of the central characteristics of qualitative description is the lack of inference and interpretation of the collected data. Sandelowski (2000) referred to a skill called “surface reading” (p. 336) which is characterized by a lack of penetration or interpretative activity around collected data. Researchers stay close to the literal meaning of the data or the “surface” of participants’ words and events. Hill et al. (1997) described this as “allowing the data to speak for itself” (p.535). This means that the data collected is presented as what it is and meaning is only comprehended as described by the participant.

Qualitative description produces a final description of participants' experiences which is presented and written in a manner that minimally deviates from how the participants expressed their experiences. Qualitative description can produce a valid and valuable final product (Sandelowski, 2000) which is informative and descriptive of an event or phenomenon as experienced by the participants. Qualitative description can also act as an informative entry point for future reference and research. Understanding the perspectives of 1.5 generation immigrant youth is still fairly new in New Zealand, and the characteristics of qualitative description made it the appropriate methodology to be used. The current study relied on information provided through interviews to accurately portray the experiences of Korean immigrant adolescents and their descriptions of parental expectations to provide new information in an area that is contains limited research.

Researcher

At the time of the study, the researcher was a master's student at the University of Canterbury and was studying towards her M.A in Child and Family Psychology. She was born in New Zealand but has a Korean ethnic background. Due to her upbringing in a family that upheld strong traditional Korean values, she relates herself closer to a 1.5 generation immigrant rather than second generation. She is fluent in Korean and has been highly involved in the Korean community of Christchurch.

Ethical Considerations

This study required necessary steps to be taken to ensure the safety and privacy of the participants. All participants were provided with a research information sheet that provided the significant details of the study. These details included the aims of the study, the methods of data collection and storage, and the rights of the

participants. The purpose of the details was to ensure that participants had a sound understanding of the study and their rights as participating subjects of the research.

The method for confidentiality was also included with assurance that personal information would not be disclosed. The withdrawal process was explained to participants should they decide to withdraw from the study for any reason.

Participants also signed a consent form which outlined that participants agreed to the information presented on the information sheet.

The information sheet and consent sheet were submitted to the Human Ethics Committee for approval. A human ethics form provided by the University of Canterbury was completed and submitted. Minor changes were made following the suggestions of the committee and the study was approved on the 17th October, 2012 (see Appendix A for letter of approval).

Method

Two measures were used in this research. Semi-structured interviews based on open-ended questions were used as the primary method of data collection. This choice of data collection allowed the researcher to collect the required information while remaining flexible to the flow of the interview which depended on the answers of the participants (Hill et al., 1997). Open-ended questions allowed participants to respond beyond a 'yes' or 'no' but also gave them the power to choose how much further information they wished to disclose. From the nature of participants' answers, the researcher was able to use relative and appropriate follow-up questions to elicit further in-depth information from participants. This allowed for persistent observation, which refers to pursuing certain themes or elements that are consistently mentioned during the interview. This added to the credibility of the interview and information gathered (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). A semi-structured interview guide was

used to initiate participants' responses and keep the interviews in alignment with the research purpose, while also catering for the unique experiences of each participant (Hill et al., 1997). The interview questions explored three themes from the perspective of 1.5 generation immigrant youth: parents' expectations in regard to education and family, the influence of those expectations on the participant's daily life, and how participants felt about the expectations (see Appendix B for semi-structured interview guide).

Participants

Participants were recruited through advertisements and snowball sampling. Postings were uploaded onto two social network sites, Facebook and the Korean-New Zealand website, www.netzealand.com (see Appendix B for recruitment announcement). A contact number was available to contact the researcher with any queries. When an interest in participation was expressed, the researcher first checked that the possible participant met the required criteria. Certain criteria were imposed to recruit participants with experiences and information that were valid and pertinent to the study. Participants were required to be of Korean ethnicity. They were also required to be from a family that immigrated to New Zealand from Korea as a unit of at least a mother, father and possible siblings. Both sexes were recruited, and participants were required to be of or between the ages of 20 and 24.

The criterion of age was imposed with the focus of fulfilling the "recency of experience" factor as stated by Hill et al. (1997, p. 531). The current research focused on how participants perceived their parental expectations, and by imposing the particular age criterion, it was anticipated that participants would be able to recall memories of their parents' expectations from high school. However, the heightened awareness and sensitivity of adolescence towards the expectations of others during

this developmental phase (Papalia et al., 2010) was taken into consideration. Therefore, participants over the age of high school students were recruited. This recognized the changes to their cognitive abilities and the broadened ability to understand single situations from more than just their own viewpoint (Kang et al., 2010). In addition, the age range allowed for participants to recall parents' expectations that they experienced as adults and to compare their current experiences to high school.

For the purpose of this study, 1.5 generation immigrants were specifically defined as children who immigrated to New Zealand with their families between the ages of 6 and 12 and had some degree of social development in their home country. This took into consideration the changes that have occurred in the face of immigration in New Zealand. In their study, Bartley and Spoonley (2008) chose to include children up to the age of 18 due to the cultural immersion that children can experience in the school environment. Bartley and Spoonley argued that their parents do not have the same opportunity of immersion, thus must be differentiated from. However, students who enter high school often immediately join a clique with other students from the same home country and have little exposure to the culture of the host country (Choi & Dancy, 2009). Thus, this study restricted 1.5 generation immigrants to those who moved to New Zealand under the age of 13.

Four participants contacted the researcher within seven days of the advertisements. After the four initial participants were registered, participants were also recruited through snowball sampling within the Korean community and through organizations such as churches and sports groups. Snowball sampling is the recruitment of participants through already selected research participants (Morgan, 2008). Existing participants for a research suggest more possible participants who in

turn may also suggest more participants. The 'snowballing' of participants continues until the sample of participants is large enough for the study. As anticipated, snowball sampling was the main method of participant recruitment for this study. Two of the initial participants introduced three more possible participants to the researcher. Through word-of-mouth, further participants contacted the researcher also. Overall, five participants were recruited through the social network sites and the remaining seven were recruited through snowballing. Overall, 12 participants were recruited for the purpose of this study.

Table 2
Participant demographics

Initials	Gender	Age of immigration	Age	Years in NZ
HR	F	7	24	17
YR	F	11	21	10
EJ	M	12	23	11
MD	F	6	23	17
HH	M	8	24	16
TH	M	10	22	12
HB	M	8	23	15
HJ	M	6	22	16
JH	F	11	23	12
YI	F	9	21	12
HY	F	12	23	11
CR	F	12	21	9

When the 12 participants were confirmed, a time and place were set for each participant and researcher to meet. Upon meeting with the researcher, participants were presented with a participation information sheet containing details about the study and the research (see Appendix C for information sheet). After reading the information sheet, participants were asked whether they had any questions. Then, if

still interested in participating, they were asked to sign a consent form of participation (see Appendix D for consent form). No interviewees declined to proceed.

Procedure

This thesis was written based on research that was conducted between November, 2012 and January, 2013. Over this period of time, 12 Korean participants who fulfilled the criteria requirements were interviewed for this study. The participants consisted of seven females and five males. Their ages ranged from 20-24 years old. At the beginning of each interview, participants were reminded of their rights while participating in the study. The confidentiality of information was reaffirmed, and it was explained that participants did not have to answer any questions that they did not feel comfortable with.

Interviewing is a main source of data collection in qualitative studies. Qualitative research involves gathering data that highlight the personal experiences and understandings of participants (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). Interviewing is an effective tool in gathering data when used in the correct manner. Data collection occurs through the guidance of the interviewer and the disclosure of information of the interviewee (Suzuki, Ahluwalia, Arora, & Mattis, 2007). Qu and Dumay (2011) pointed out that problems may arise in communication when speakers have different worldviews to each other. Fossey et al. (2002) also explained that qualitative research requires knowledge “across multiple paradigms and perspectives that inform an understanding of the biological, psychological, social, cultural, ethical, and political dimensions of human lives” (p. 717). In a sufficiently prepared and well-structured interview, the interviewer's personal experiences can be used as a tool to further understand the interviewee and the meaning they are trying to convey through their stories. In this study, the researcher's background was beneficial to the

qualitative process and helped in the understanding of the participants' stories and in the facilitating of the interviews.

Interviews were held at a well-known café located in Riccarton, Christchurch. Participants were offered the opportunity to suggest a different location before the meeting. However, all participants accepted the location as it was a familiar and comfortable setting. Participants were interviewed separately but were allowed to bring support person if required. No participants found it necessary to bring a support person. Interviews lasted approximately 30 – 60 minutes, and all interviews were recorded onto a digital device with the permission of each interviewee to aid in transcription later. Information confidentiality was emphasized to the participant, especially in light of cultural sensitivity of information disclosure. During the interview and recording, only English first names were used to keep the identity of participants confidential. At the completion of each interview, the interviewees were presented with two \$10 coffee vouchers, as advertised, as a token of appreciation and compensation for their time and effort.

During the study, various strategies were used to maintain the credibility of this research. Testing the credibility of a qualitative research differs from the testing of a quantitative research. Due to the nature of the research and lack of scores and values, qualitative researchers must assure the credibility of their study through other methods. Lincoln and Guba (1986) provided guidelines for assuring “trustworthiness”, the term they coined for the validity and credibility of qualitative studies. They suggested using various criteria to maintain trustworthiness in a qualitative research study. From those criteria, prolonged engagement, persistent observation, member checking and the triangulation of data were fulfilled to enhance the trustworthiness of this research.

Prolonged engagement refers to the depth and length of association the researcher has with the field of study (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). The researcher's background fulfilled this criterion and her knowledge of both the Korean culture and New Zealand culture assisted in the understanding of participants and their narratives. As an individual well-known for her Korean and New Zealand bicultural background in the Korean community, participants were less reserved in sharing their stories and describing their experiences with her.

Persistent observation was also possible through the open-ended questions that structured the informal interview. This gave the researcher the opportunity to pursue further into certain themes or ideas that were relevant to the research and presented during the interview. This allowed for an in-depth narrative that explained a theme or an idea in a more specific and detailed context.

In addition, member checking by participants throughout the interview process was also another criterion upheld for credibility. Member checking involves both the researcher and the participants in the process of checking that the collected information truly represents the experiences as told by the participants. The researcher routinely checked her understanding and recollection of the participants' narratives by reading back her observation notes to the participants and asking for verification. Participants agreed with the notes written or corrected the researcher on notes that did not align with their narratives, feelings or thoughts. At the end of the interview, the participants read and verified the notes for a final time.

The triangulation of data was enforced through the coding process. All interviews conducted for this study were transcribed and analysed repeatedly to identify major themes and ideas. Transcripts were written by the researcher which also allowed for an additional opportunity to verify her observation notes. This was

done by comparing her notes to the audio file and to the transcript. In addition, the analysed information was also compared to existing studies and various themes that the studies presented.

In addition to the criteria set by Lincoln and Guba (1986), Morse, Barret, Mayan, Olson and Spiers (2002) emphasised the importance of methodological coherence. This is where the chosen methodology supports the research topic and provides a suitable method for data collection and analysis. Initial planning with supervisors and feedback ensured that the research topic and the chosen methodology for data collection were aligned and the most appropriate method of conducting this study. The description of data preparation and analysis further justify the methodology choice.

Data Preparation and Analysis.

All interview tapes were transcribed by the researcher. The researcher chose to transcribe the interview tapes to have the chance to listen and focus on what each participant said. During this phase, notes written by the researcher during the initial interview were read alongside the transcript and audio. This was to verify the correct understanding of the information collected during the interview. Researcher notes were edited when they did not align with the interview transcripts.

A conventional content analysis approach was taken to analyse the data. Content analysis is one of numerous approaches for analysing qualitative data and is generally used as a means to describe a phenomenon. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) expanded this definition by including that it is a process that allows for themes and categories to emerge from the data and provides a description of the topic in research which is minimally influenced by preconceived ideas. In this research, content analysis was used to construct a broad description of the experience of 1.5 generation

Korean immigrants living in New Zealand while also developing categories that would provide knowledge in regard to the research aims toward parental expectations.

One of the key characteristics of content analysis is the categorising a single text into a number of smaller groups or themes. A systematic process outlined by Elo and Kyngäs (2008) was followed when carrying out content analysis. They divided content analysis into three main phases: preparation, organization and reporting.

The preparation phase begins with the selection of a text. A text may be as minor as a single word, sentence or page. During the preparation phase, the researcher also decides the criteria for what is to be analysed within the chosen text. The researcher must decide whether to include only explicit communication or to also include the inferred (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Elo and Kyngäs (2008) define inferred communication as latent content which includes non-verbal communication such as pauses or body posture. For this study, each interview was regarded as a single text, and only the manifest content was included in the analysis. The final step of the preparation process is to become familiar with the text through numerous repeated readings.

The next phase described by Elo and Kyngäs (2008) is organization. This step focuses on organizing the data and extracting categories from the text in relation to the research aims. The phase is divided into three steps: "open-coding", "creating categories" and "abstraction" (p. 109).

Open-coding. As the text is being read, notes and headings are written along the side the text. There are no limits or restrictions on the headings that can be written. In this study, the researcher read through each interview and wrote notes on the transcripts. During a second reading, the notes were re-read, and sections that were found to be relevant were given headings. While each interview had unique

headings, recurring headings also occurred. Common headings in all 12 texts were academic achievement, careers, comparison to Korea, independence, and parents being more lenient and supportive.

Creating categories. After the open-coding process, headings with a similar theme are grouped under a generic category. The purpose of the generic category is to create a more detailed description in regard to the study. During this process, the researcher identified education, family, gratitude and acknowledgement but not in debt, changes in parents, greater independence and choice for participants, parental support, the influence of parents, parent-child communication, the role of siblings, and high self-expectations as general categories to be explored of interest to the research questions.

Abstraction. The final step in organisation is abstraction. This involves grouping the generic categories and creating main categories. Each main category is given a heading that reflects the content of the group and provides new information relevant to the research aims.

Figure 1 shows an extract from the organization phase in this study. The left column titled 'Headings' shows examples of headings that were written on the interview transcripts during the open-coding process. Beneath each heading is the extract from the interview from which the heading was derived. The headings were then grouped according to similar themes into generic categories.

The middle column shows two generic headings that emerged during the process of creating categories from the headings. In figure 1, the headings 'life-changing decision for parents', 'extent of sacrifices made', 'parents gave up high-paying jobs', 'not my decision to immigrate', 'already done enough', and 'look after parents in future out of love' were grouped to create the generic category,

'Acknowledgement and gratitude, but not in debt'. The last three headings in figure 1 were grouped to form the generic category titled 'Change in parents' attitudes and expectations'. Short descriptions of the generic category were also written to summarize the reason behind the grouping of the headings.

Finally, the right column is the main category that emerged from the grouping of generic categories. Three main categories were created during this process. Each main category was created to cover a broad group of generic categories that would help answer each of the research questions in this study. The example in figure 1 shows how the two generic categories 'Acknowledgement and gratitude, but not in debt' and 'Change in parents' attitudes and expectations' were grouped together to form part of the main category, 'Participants' observations and thoughts towards sacrifices made by parents'. Two additional generic categories were later included.

Three main categories were created through the organization process and each category has been described and expanded in the results of this study. The reporting of results is the final stage of content analysis as described by Elo and Kyngäs (2008). As was suggested, care was taken to provide enough details to enable readers to clearly see the link between the data and the final results.

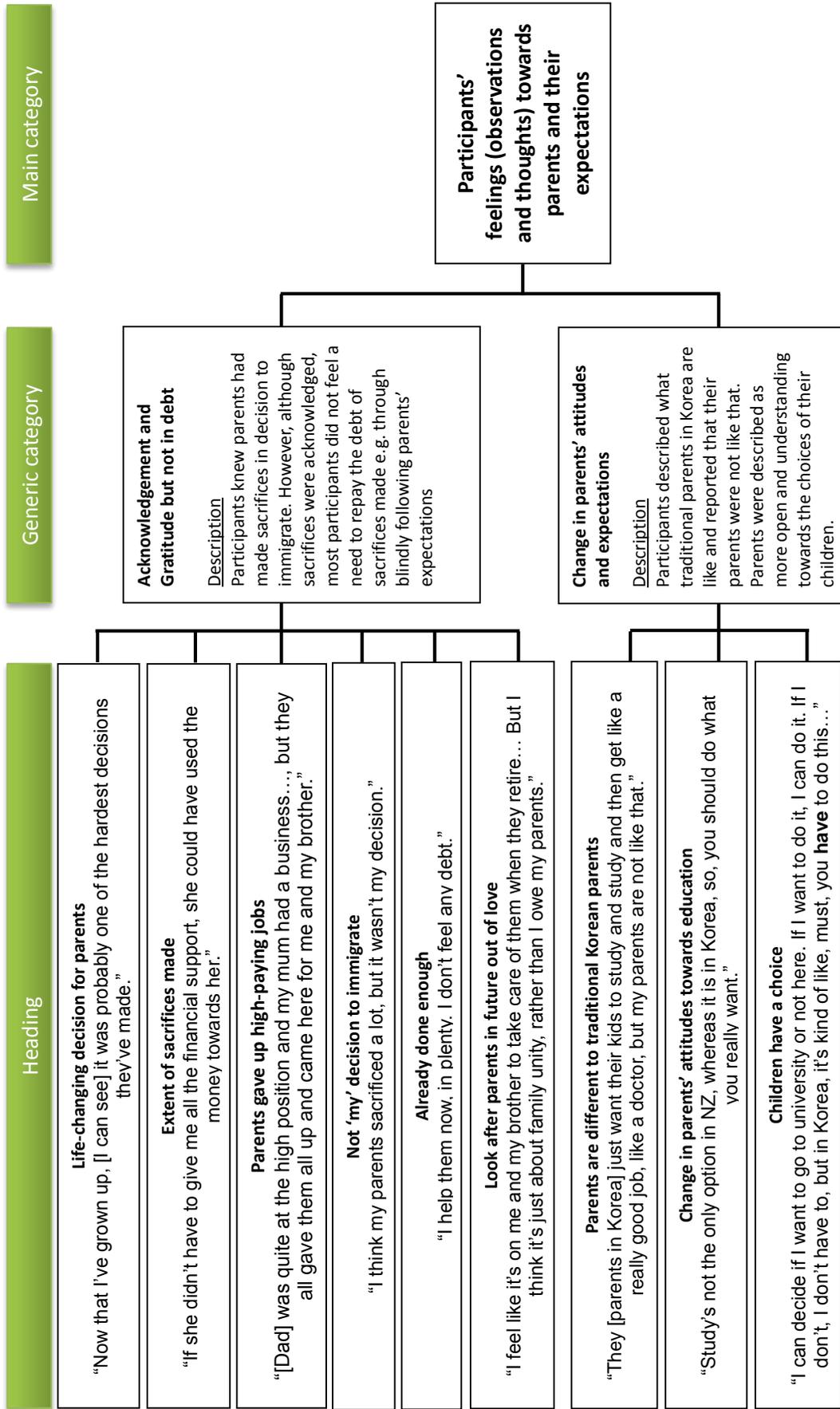


Figure 1. An extract of the organization process that was undertaken to create generic and main categories from data analysis in this study

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

The transcribed interviews were analysed and categorised through content analysis. The results of the analysis are presented in table 3. Descriptions and quotations were used to explain each category in more depth. Quotations are marked only by participant initials to protect their privacy. Information within quotations that could be used to identify particular participants was also removed. This included details such as the specific name of places or people. Participants also stressed certain words during their interview. Bolding was used in the transcript to indicate words that participants emphasised for meaning.

Table 3
Summary of categories found during analysis

Research Question	Main categories	Generic categories
1. What do participants report about their parents' expectations?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participants' perceptions of their parents' expectations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Educational expectations Expectations in the family
2. How do the expectations affect the daily lives of the participants?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Impact of parents' expectations in regard to education and family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Influence of Parents' expectations Role of siblings High self-expectations Well-being in family
3. How do participants feel about the expectations?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participants' feelings (observations and thoughts) towards parents and their expectations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acknowledgement and gratitude, but not in debt Change in parents' attitudes/ expectations Greater independence/ freedom of choice Greater parental support

The main categories were formed to reflect an answer for each research question. The generic categories provide an outline of the different topics that participants discussed in regard to each research question. The results are presented under the main and generic categories that emerged from the analysis process.

Participants' Perceptions of Their Parents' Expectations

Participants were asked to describe the different expectations that their parents had of them. The expectations were reported as how participants perceived them. Participants described expectations that their parents directly voiced to them, but some participants also expressed expectations that they inferred from their parents' non-verbal communication such as silence. The expectations that participants reported divided into the two main categories of education and family.

Educational expectations

Educational expectations were the most frequently reported parental expectations. High academic achievement at school was the main expectation, but descriptions varied between participants. Some of the participants thought that their parents had similar high expectations to those of parents living in Korea. However, most of the participants felt their parents were more relaxed.

One participant described his high school years to be very free from any educational expectations and his parents to be very relaxed. Unlike many of his peers around him, his parents did not pressure him to study or to succeed academically. He exemplified his parents' attitudes towards education by describing how they did not check his report thoroughly; an action he understood as their carefree acceptance of his studying. He explained, "They didn't actually quite check my report quite thoroughly. They're really kind of open. They're not quite strict. They're really open."
(TH)

Another participant also described how her parents did not check her school reports thoroughly. However, in comparison to the participant above, she linked it to her parents' lack of knowledge of the New Zealand education system.

[My parents] didn't know what 'Excellence' meant and what was a 'Merit' and what it said on the report card, so even though they had a high expectation of me, they didn't understand the demands of each course. If I did good, it was 'Of course I did good!' and if I did bad, it was like 'Oh, I didn't understand [the content of the course]' and they'd just say 'Okay, do better next time'. (CR)

She felt that her parents did not pressure her to study or expect her to attain great educational achievements. However, she thought that the lack of expectations was due to her parents' limited knowledge of the New Zealand education system. She felt that they did not have the knowledge required to insist on higher achievement.

Four participants felt that they were strongly pushed to achieve academically to the extent that students in Korea were expected to achieve. One participant described the pressure he felt from his father to focus wholly on his study.

Well, in high school [in New Zealand], my dad wanted me to just study, like in Korea, as if I was in Korea, so I didn't go out much and just stayed at home, then church, home, school, church, just study, like just study, literally, just study. I did nothing, nothing else. (HH)

He described the pressure he felt from his father to achieve academically, just as his father had.

It was just my dad. Before he became a [current occupation], he graduated in [field] in Korea, and he started working at [prestigious Korean Company] and he came here, we came here, and he graduated Master of (), and I think he wanted me to follow his steps. I changed a lot of my majors. I changed two times in [my first] university and here [second university], um from [first major] to [second major] to [third major]. (HH)

The participant explained how he had continuously changed majors to try and find something that his father would approve of and that he could complete. However, he explained the difference in opinion that he and his father held in regard to what the motivation behind his education and career should be, thus the reason why they could not agree on a major.

My dad thinks reputation and having a high salary are really important, but I don't think that. Even if you have a really low salary, if you are happy with what you're doing, I think that's happiness right there. Not having a high income, not enjoying it. That's not happiness, I don't think it is. (HH)

Another participant also described how her father continued to remind her of his expectations, even though she was now a young adult.

Even now, he kind of expresses that he wants me to, you know, have a job that pays well, and you know, have that social status and money and he does kind of tell me that a lot, that he expects, not expects, but wants for me to have whatever he dreams of. (MD)

Both participants believed that they had different values to their fathers due to the different environments they were brought up in. They believed the difference in values greatly influenced the expectations that their fathers had and how they, the participants, responded to them.

The other eight participants did not describe any significant experiences of overt pressure to achieve academically. Some of the participants knew that their parents wanted them to study more and achieve higher but felt that this was simply a natural desire of all parents, regardless of culture or background.

Expectations in the Family

The participants' perceptions of family-related expectations were also variable amongst participants. However, all participants agreed that their parents had become more open-minded in comparison to how the participants remembered their parents while they were still living in Korea. They attributed this to the time spent living in New Zealand and to the exposure to New Zealand culture. However, the majority of participants also agreed that their parents still retained some characteristics and expectations of traditional parents in Korea. One participant described how her father retained traditional gender roles within the family. She expressed frustration at her father's traditional view of the role of women and what he thought was the 'good thing' for his daughter to do.

It's not like all Koreans, but like, I saw that more when I went to Korea, all my cousins, all my girl cousins, they go to high school, they go to uni and then they start working and then they get married and then they have a baby within their first year and they have to give up their job and yeah, that is like a 'good' thing, yeah, and that's what I mean, my dad has a koreanised view of point of things like that. (HR)

Another retained value was the parental expectation that children would not move out of home until they were married. TH, aged 24, was living at home and he explained that this was something his parents expected of him.

My parents, even though they didn't quite push me hard on many things, they tried to, they embraced me a lot. They always want me to stay close to them and live with them until I get married. (TH)

Ten of the twelve participants in this study were living with their parents. All ten participants accepted this as a cultural expectation from their parents and felt that moving out was not an option that they had.

Participants also expressed the different expectations placed on them depending on whether they were the first-born child or not. Nine participants were the first-born child, and five of the nine participants emphasized the responsibilities they felt were expected of them as a first born child, particularly in being a role model for their younger siblings.

Just because I'm the first born and I've got a sibling underneath me, [I have] to be a good role model, and just because I'm a guy, the oldest, I don't know about NZ, but the typical Korean, you know, should be carrying on the family [heritage] like, you're going to be the leader of a family soon, [so you] should be doing well. (HJ)

Many first-born participants expressed that their parents expected them to be 'good' people. The majority of first-born participants elaborated on what being a 'good' person was. They referred to the roles and responsibilities imposed on them as the first-born child.

Because I'm a first child, they expect me to be a role model to my brother and to my younger cousins as well because my uncles and other people are saying that I'm the first [oldest child] of the whole group and that I **have** to be responsible and be a role model to everybody, so that everyone can look up to me. Yes, the responsibility is heavy on my shoulders. (YR)

Participants associated being a 'good' person with fulfilling certain duties that were placed upon them within the family. The role often expanded to include extended family and was not taken lightly within the family.

Some first-born participants also described how they were treated differently to their younger siblings. Participants felt that their younger siblings were given more freedom by their parents. For example, one participant explained the relaxed attitude of his parents towards his younger sister.

I don't know if it is expectations, but it's just because she's the second, you know, like the last child, she has more freedom. She doesn't have to have as many responsibilities as I have to have [as the first-born]. So they're more relaxed towards my sister than me. (HB)

Another first-born participant also described being treated differently from her younger sister. The participant felt that the difference of treatment was related to birth order, and that her father's stricter parenting towards her was a result of his expectations for her to act more responsibly as the first-born child.

Whenever I wanted to do something, he [dad] never let me do it. Like even going to the formal, going to parties and stuff or like going out with friends, he didn't let me do it, **but** he did let my sister do it. (HY)

Two participants who were younger siblings also recognized the greater expectations that their parents placed on their first-born siblings. One participant explained, "My parents wanted my brother to become more successful than me. I mean, he's a first born, and I'm a second child" (TH). The participant accepted that his parents would want his older brother to be more successful and felt that it was a normal expectation for his parents to have.

The majority of participants reported that their birth order influenced the expectations that were placed on them in regard to their role in the family. Participants explained that having younger siblings equated to having extra

responsibilities as the older child. Participants frequently mentioned birth order and siblings, and only one participant did not mention either in their interview.

Influence of Parents' Expectations

Participants felt that their parents' expectations influenced their lives in different ways. Education was the main area where participants felt that their parents' expectations influenced them the most. Participants described their parents as having the most influence during the participants' high school years. Parents expected higher levels of obedience and academic achievement from their children during this period of time.

Influence of Parents' Expectations on Daily lives

Participants described the influence that their parents' expectations had on the parent-child relationship. Parent-child relationships were often strained as children could not live up to the expectations of their parents. One participant described how his grades deteriorated during the final years of high school along with his relationship with his parents.

To be honest, I didn't do too well. I should have done well. I was not too bad until year 12, but year 13 just went down the drain. I think towards the end of year 12 and start and midway through year 13, it was basically war at home. (HJ)

Another participant also described the pressure that she felt from her father during her high school years in New Zealand and how the pressure to 'be someone else' still affects her as a young adult.

I thought that he was expecting me to be someone that I don't want to be. Like, someone that I'm not. And I really, I still can't stand the pressure of people telling me to do stuff. (HY)

Four additional participants also described the influence that their parents had on them as young adults. One participant remembered talking to his father about changing majors at university. He recalled, "In my second year of uni, I wanted to change my major to [subject] and I applied and I got in, and I told my dad and he was like, no." (HH). Another participant explained that she felt as though she had no choice but to follow her parents' wishes even as a young adult due to the sacrifices they made for her to come to New Zealand.

My parents have sacrificed a lot for us. The reason I follow their advice and everything, follow their decisions, is because I don't want to disappoint them. That's one of the biggest reasons why I listen to them, as much as I do now. Because they've done so much for us, I can't really think to rebel.

(YA)

Participants recalled different levels of influence that their parents had on them, but for half of the participants, the expectations affected their daily lives. Tension between participants and their parents was greatest due to academic levels. This findings suggest that parents will maintain high expectations of academic achievement for longer than other expectations that are typical to parents in Korea.

Role of Siblings

In addition to the influence of birth order, several participants also mentioned other differences that having a sibling had in terms of parental expectations. One participant described how he was obliged to help with the family business. When the business was in hardship and with his older brother living overseas, the participant felt obligated to help and described how he gave up a lot of his time and effort to help with the business.

For more than two years I've been [helping the family business] with my dad and my mum. In those past two years, I have been wanting to do many things, I mean like I wanted to enjoy many things, just as my same age friends enjoy, but in those times, I spent most of my time [helping my parents at their business] because our family had a hard time. It wasn't that serious, but like, I mean, I **had** to help them earn money. I **had** to. (TH)

He compared this time to when he was younger and when his older brother was at home. He described how this changed the parental expectations that were placed on him as the younger sibling.

When we were young, my older brother, sometimes he used to hate me. Not all so, he used to love me too but hate me sometimes. I think the main reason for that was my parents gave my brother pressure about responsibility and how you have to live well and treat your younger brother well and study well and help our family, but to me, my parents treated me like raising a daughter. Yeah, [they were] always soft on me [saying] "oh, it's alright, it's alright. Your older brother will do it". (TH)

The expectations that were placed on him were strongly influenced by the presence or absence of his older brother. The participant did report having any negative feelings towards his brother when he was absent.

Four additional participants also talked about how having a sibling changed the nature of parents' expectations placed on them. However, although they were first-born participants, they felt that their parents depended more on the younger sibling to fulfil the expectations expressed.

My [younger] sister is still very dependent. They [parents] interfere in all the little bits, like from where she's going to live next year, to what courses she's going to take and whether she should come back home this holiday and she'll do what they tell them to do. I don't think they [parents] expect me to do what they tell me to do and they never tell me what to do. They tell my sister what to do, and my sister does exactly what they tell [her] to do. [MD]

This meant that even though the participants were the first-born child, they were not pressured to fulfil their parents' expectations. Siblings played a role in how parents' expectations influenced the daily lives of the participants and could either exacerbate or improve the situation.

High Self-Expectations

Five participants expressed that their parents' expectations had little influence on them. They had a strong focus on their independence and felt that while living in NZ, they were not obliged to follow their parents' expectations as is expected in traditional Korean culture. They felt that they had the right to do things their own way. Interestingly, although they did not feel obliged towards their parents' expectations, these participants had the highest expectations of themselves.

I just came to realize that I have to have high expectations. It's just, I want to succeed. It's not that my parents want me to succeed; it's just that I want to succeed. I mean, why wouldn't you want to succeed? (HB)

However, even though the participants were very independent from their parents, they were still affected by the knowledge of their parental expectations in their daily lives. The participants' high self-expectations reflected a need to make their parents proud, and not be a disappointment to their parents. Participants who did not express high

self-expectations did not show this characteristic. One participant expressed his desire to succeed past his parents' expectations and said, "They just want me to do well, I don't want to do just well but exceed. I always just want to exceed their expectations." (HB)

Another participant described that she was focused on following her choices and opinions and achieving her personal view of success. However, her parents were still a motivating factor for her in wanting to gain other more social views of success as well.

I have conflicts with my parents because of the choices that I make, but, definitely, I think I am more focused on my idea of success than I am [on my parents idea], but at the same time, I do want to gain that level of, you know, social status, money, so that my parents don't think I'm a total failure. (MD)

The participant's answer suggested that although the participant reported to have high expectations of herself, she also did not want to be a 'failure' to her parents. This suggests that her parents' expectations continued to influence her, despite her strong independence.

Participants described different ways that their parents' expectations influenced their lives. Many parents expressed the most expectations of high academic achievement to their children during high school. However, as their children grew into young adults, most parents expressed less of their expectations. Some participants continued to feel the influence of their parents' expectations, while other participants reflected that their parents' expectations did not influence their own lives at all.

Well-Being in the Family

Participants reported their parents' expectations to influence their daily well-being. Parents' expectations dictated how the parent-child relationship was.

Therefore, participants linked the characteristics of good well-being in their daily lives to feeling supported of their choices and having good relationships with their parents.

Many participants felt that their parents had become supportive of the choices that the participants made as young adults. The majority of participants felt stronger support from their mothers and this helped the participants to become more independent and make choices that they were happy with. Their mother's attitudes also helped participants whose fathers were less supportive towards the choices they made. Mothers were not expressed as being more lenient or as having fewer expectations of their children, but as more expressive of the support they had for children despite their own expectations.

Yeah, I think what I feel is that my mum is more concerned about me and being happy I guess, in whatever situation I'm in, and so when I didn't study and when I wanted a break, she supported that because she's like, Oh, if that's what you want, you should do it. (HR)

One participant described the change she saw in her father in regard to her choice of career and study at university. She stressed the importance of having the faith of her parents and the relief she felt as she was free to study what she truly enjoyed.

My mum's okay, but my dad's like, first he said, 'After graduation, what are you going to do? Because if you graduate with a degree in [subject area], it just means that you get into a small company, and without a really high GPA or grade, you can't do the things you wish to do', but now, my dad and

my mum think it is my life, so they can't change it or anything. I think they believe that I can do it. (YR)

Another participant also described her surprise as she realized how much her father had changed in attitude towards her choice of study at university. She described how her father had initially strongly objected to the subject she had wanted to study.

When I talked to my parents about [going to another country to study], my dad, who initially didn't really like me studying [the language of that country] so much, because I was pretty into it from the very beginning, but my dad was absolutely supportive and like 'do whatever makes you happy', so **that** was pretty different. (CR)

Participants felt that the changes in their parents' attitudes led to more positive parent-child relationships in the family. The majority of participants expressed being happy with the current relationship they had with their parents. Participants felt their parents had become more understanding and supportive of the wants of their children and less pressuring to fulfil the parents' expectations.

Feelings Towards Parents and Their Expectations

Participants described how they felt towards the expectations that their parents expressed to them. The majority of participants felt grateful to their parents for making significant sacrifices to immigrate to New Zealand. However, whether participants felt in debt to their parents differed. Participants also understood that coming to New Zealand led to a shift in family dynamics, including the expectations that their parents had and how the participants responded to those expectations.

Acknowledgement and Gratitude, but not in Debt

Participants acknowledged the significance of the life-changing decisions that their parents made when they chose to immigrate to New Zealand. Eleven out of

twelve participants agreed that their parents had made great sacrifices for them. They were grateful for the decision that their parents had made to immigrate to New Zealand.

Now that I've grown up, [I can see] it was probably one of the hardest decisions they've made, because they didn't know much English when they first came here and they both had good work in Korea as well, but they had to give that up to come here to give the family a better life, so I thank them now. (HJ)

One participant had just recently completed her tertiary studies in Italy. She expressed her understanding of the extent of how much her mother had sacrificed in order to immigrate to New Zealand and then most currently, to send her daughter to Italy to pursue her dream career. The participant acknowledged that she could never do the same for her future children; a thought similar to that of the majority of participants.

If she didn't have to give me all the financial support, she could have used the money towards her and like be more of a woman than a mother. So I don't think I could be like my mum. So I don't want to have a kid. I don't want to get married. I don't want to get pregnant. I don't want to have children. (JH)

Many participants were aware of the circumstances in Korea that their parents had chosen to leave so that their children could have a better future.

I really admire them for them [coming to New Zealand], I mean, like, my dad, used to work with the [name of organisation] while we were in Korea, he was quite at the high position and my mum had a business, she had a business too, it was going quite well, but they all gave them all up and came here for me and my brother, so I thank them for that. (TH)

Participants knew the extent of their parents' sacrifices. They also understood that the main reason their parents decided to immigrate was in order to provide a better life style and environment for their children. Thus, participants were also asked whether they felt in debt to their parents and whether they felt an obligatory need to repay their parents for these sacrifices through methods traditionally expected in Korea, such as following the expectations of their parents in education, career choice, and decision making. While participants were grateful towards their parents for giving them the opportunity to live and grow up in New Zealand, the majority of participants did not feel a need to repay their parents for any sacrifices that were made for them.

Participants stated various reasons.

One participant understood that his parents had given up many things to come to New Zealand but emphasised that it was solely their decision to immigrate to New Zealand. Therefore, there was no need to repay them or obligingly follow any of their decisions in order to pay back a debt for the sacrifices his parents made, because the decision was not his.

I think my parents sacrificed a lot, but it wasn't my decision. It was theirs, so how am I responsible for that, I don't know. It was **their** decision so **they** need to take responsibility, **they** need to take responsibilities for **their** own decisions. (HB)

Two participants also did not feel obliged to repay their parents or submit to their parents' expectations, because they had already done enough for the family. The first of the two participants reported that she did not feel obliged to pay her parents for any sacrifices, because she had supported herself financially. Her situation differed to the majority of the other participants who were continuing to receive financial support from their parents for university fees, housing, and allowance.

I've always been financially independent from high school. I've always paid for what I need, I've always been on my own a lot more financially, earlier than any Asian friends that I know, not just Korean. So in terms of that, I don't feel that I owe my parents much. (MD)

She felt that her financial independence, something that her friends did not have, was enough and that there was little need for further feelings of indebtedness. Another participant also felt that he had already done enough to repay his parents. He had given up his own plans for the past two years to help with the family business. He explained, "I help them now, in plenty. I don't feel any debt. I really thank them a lot, but no debt." [TH]. His obligation to the family business freed him from any further need to repay his parents.

Only one participant talked about the responsibility she had to take care of her parents when they became older.

My parents, they don't have an occupation where they can earn money and save up for their retirement home or whatever. I feel like it's on me and my brother to take care of them when they retire, and because my brother is a lot younger, it should be me who kind of helps them out first, before my brother comes onto the scene, but I think it's just about family unity, rather than I owe my parents. (CR)

However, she emphasised that her desire to look after her parents was not out of an obligation to repay a debt for their sacrifices but simply because they were her parents.

Overall, participants acknowledged the sacrifices of friends, families and jobs that their parents had made to immigrate to New Zealand. They also understood that their parents' choices to immigrate to New Zealand was mostly to provide a better

opportunity for the participants. Some participants did not feel in debt towards their parents. They emphasized that the decision to immigrate was made wholly by their parents, while other felt they had already done enough for the family. These participants felt that there was no need to feel in debt.

Change in Parents' Attitudes and Expectations

Participants were generally accepting of the expectations that their parents had of them. The majority of participants acknowledged that their parents were more open towards the choices and opinions of their children in comparison to traditional parents in Korea. This made it easier for the participants to accept the current expectations of their parents.

Korean parents are really strict, like they don't really give their kids a choice for what to do in the future. They [the parents] just want their kids to study and study and then get like a really good job, like a doctor, but my parents are not like that. They just want me to do my best and do what I want now.

That's not bad. (YR)

All participants shared a similar view of what traditional parents living in Korea and their expectations were like.

The participants had a negative view of traditional Korean parents, and eleven participants felt that their own parents were not like traditional parents living in Korea. Participants drew on their personal knowledge gained from friends and family in New Zealand and Korea, as well as social media, to describe the characteristics of parents currently living in Korea with their children. One participant described how the stories that he heard about Korea were mostly in relation to education and compared to his life in New Zealand.

[The stories I heard] mostly when I was in high school [were about] how students [in Korea] study, cram study every night, you know, when here, I can do what I want, play sports, enjoy my hobbies, as well as study. (HJ)

Participants realized the greater freedom that they had and saw a difference between their own parents and parents in Korea. One participant described the difference in choice she was given in New Zealand.

I can decide if I want to go to university or not here [in New Zealand]. If I want to do it, I can do it. If I don't, I don't have to, but in Korea, it's kind of like, must, you **have** to do this, you **have** to do a certain thing, you **have** to get certain grades. (MD)

Another participant also described how his parents had changed their attitudes towards education while adapting to New Zealand life.

They got over it [child not studying], not over it, but they were like, we came here. Study's not the only option in NZ, whereas it is in Korea, so, you should do what you really want. (HJ)

He knew that his parents refrained from pressuring him to study and succeed academically, as that was the reason that they had left Korea. Another participant also described how her parents made the effort to change their ways after coming to New Zealand.

I feel like my parents tried to get away from that [traditional Korean culture] coming to New Zealand, but they still have it [cultural beliefs influencing parental behaviours and attitudes]. (HR)

Her comment showed a common understanding between participants. They knew the effort that their parents put into adapting to and accepting the New Zealand way of

life. However, they also accepted that their parents would retain some aspects of the traditional ways of thinking embedded in them.

Greater Independence and Freedom of Choice

Parents in Korea were described to be more strict and controlling of their children, especially in regard to the power they held when making decisions about the lives of their children. Children in Korea were described as being confined by their over-protective mothers and strict, traditional fathers even as they became adults. As one participant described:

Parents in Korea have more control over their adult children, even if they're, like, 20, 30. I think Korean parents generally have better control, and their opinion matters in the choices that the child makes. (MD)

Participants compared the amount of parental control and involvement in their lives to their peers living in Korea. All participants agreed that immigrating to New Zealand played a key factor in the reduction of parental control and involvement in their lives and an increase in their own independence.

The reduction of control by Korean parents in New Zealand is significant, because the collective culture that they follow and were raised in is centred on the strong bonds and connections between individuals, especially family members. However, reducing control and allowing their children more independence was the primary reason eight of the participants felt their parents to be different from their perception of traditional Korean parents.

I don't know if it's because of my personality, but my parents have given me that power to make my own decisions, so I think that's the main difference [between my parents and traditional Korean parents]. (MD)

The participant described how she controlled all the decisions to be made in her life, regardless of her parents' opinions.

I get to decide what I want to do with my life, whether they [parents] approve or not, whereas Korean parents in Korea, their decision is kind of final and you have to kind of go with it. (MD)

Some participants thought that their own integration into the western culture had changed their attitudes towards such high levels of control and involvement. Other participants also elaborated on how the development of their independence initiated change in their parents. As HR explained, parental opposition to a decision was not an issue, whereas in Korea it would have been.

It doesn't really make a difference even though my father opposes me [my choices], because I feel like in New Zealand, I have the freedom to do what I want. (HR)

As the independence of the participants grew, their parents had no choice but to reduce the amount of control they wanted to assert over the lives of their children.

Five participants described having high levels of independence. They refused or were reluctant to allow any parental involvement in the life that they chose to lead. One participant described how he kept his independence by refusing to blindly accept his parents' advice and suggestions. He showed a reluctance to let them get involved in any way.

I'm just going to do what I want, and so, I guess they kind of accepted that. Although, sometimes, when my parents, I don't know why, they'll get worried sometimes and come up to me and ask me questions and I'll just tell them to go away. (HB)

Other participants described similar experiences where they felt that their strong show of independence stopped their parents from expressing their opinions and expectations.

They know that I don't really take advice. I'm pretty sure they have a lot of expectations and things they haven't and can't really tell me because I'm the kind of person, you tell me what to do and I'll probably do the opposite. So they just don't tell me to do things much, but definitely, they must have certain things that they, not require of me, but really want me to do, but haven't been able to tell me. (MD)

Only one participant felt that his parents acceptingly allowed him to develop his independence.

One of the key points of freedom that my parents give me is that they don't just give me freedom to do whatever I want to do. They also give me the responsibilities to the choices that I make, so that responsibility is, I guess, the real key to freedom, the gift they give to me. (EJ)

He accepted his independence as a gift from his parents, but as one that also involved an equivalent amount of responsibility in regard to the freedom and the choices that he chose to make.

Having greater freedom and independence was a quality that most participants discussed with pride. Some recognized that their independence was what kept their parents from expressing their expectations. However, they did not regret their actions or feel guilt towards their parents.

Supported by Parents

Seven participants felt their parents had changed to become more supportive of the choices that participants made now, especially in terms of what they decided to

do in their lives. One participant had a father who had been very controlling during his high school years and at the beginning of his tertiary education. Although he had always followed his father's lead without question, now he felt that his father and mother had become more relaxed and supportive of the decisions that he made, despite whether they approved or not.

They just want me to gain experience now. They always say they've got expectations, but they support me in what I do, even if I do something that they don't want, they support me. (HH)

The participants felt that their parents were supportive of them, and participants felt more comfortable with making decisions that sometimes contradicted what their parents wanted and expected. However, some participants still felt that their parents were involved in their choices despite not saying anything to their children. One participant described:

At [my age], all my friends have no parental interruption at all, they do whatever they want and they kind of, inform their parents, whereas for me, despite having independence, I'm still in my parents' zone (MD)

Having the support of their parents was important to participants as they realized the huge sacrifices that their parents made to immigrate to New Zealand mainly for the better future of their children. Most participants did not feel that their parents had strong expectations of them such as those of parents in Korea. Many participants also described the reduction of parental control as they grew older and as their independence was established.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to describe the experiences of 1.5 generation Korean immigrants in New Zealand by responding to the following research questions:

1. What do participants report about their parents' expectations?
2. How do the expectations influence the daily lives of the participants?
3. How do participants feel about the expectations?

The current study identified parents' expectations as a possible area where parents and children could encounter cultural differences and where conflict or problems could occur. However, the findings concluded that the participants reported having no significant issues in their current lives and situations in New Zealand in regard to their parents' expectations. While participants discussed various parental expectations to have caused conflict in the past, the majority of participants reported any conflict between parents and child to now be resolved. Some participants still felt that their parents had various expectations of them; however, the degree to which the expectations were expressed had lessened and participants felt less pressured to fulfil them.

Participants identified two main areas of parental expectations: education and family. Within these themes, participants discussed the influence of their parents' expectations. Some issues discussed were how siblings played a role in the expectations directed at participants and how participants created own high expectations of themselves, regardless of what their parents expected of them. These issues are discussed within the context of the parents' expectations in which they were originally reported by participants. Finally, participants reported mostly positive feelings towards their parents and the expectations that they had. In regards to the

overall process of acculturation, the findings differed to the findings of various studies in the United States which state that the parent-child relationship can be source of significant conflict, as well as a reason for higher levels of negative symptoms of well-being in immigrant children. A discussion about the possible reasons for the difference in findings is included.

Educational Expectations

This study focused on how participants perceived and responded to their parents' expectations. The present study found that parents' expectations were mostly related to high expectations in academic achievement. The findings were similar to the finding of Lee et al. (2009) who also found that parental expectations to achieve academically was a significant factor of pressure. However, the current results were reported mainly in regard to high school education, whereas the study of Lee et al. (2009) referred to high school and tertiary education. In the current study, participants described the highest rate of conflict to be with their parents during their adolescent years growing up in New Zealand and high educational expectations was a significant cause. For some participants, this conflict continued into their tertiary education. However, for most, the high educational expectations decreased as the participants grew older and as the time residing in New Zealand by their families increased.

The decrease in expectations may have been due to the decrease in parents relying on their children for social status and wealth. In Korean history, high educational attainment was the only means of improving one's social status. Achievement in education changed the socioeconomic status of not only the self, but of the whole family, thus was also seen as an accomplishment of filial piety (Kim & Park, 2006). For older immigrants, educational success continued to be the only way out of the poor living conditions that many faced in the United States. However,

today, many families arriving in New Zealand have a certain level of wealth (Yoon & Yoon, 2014) and there is less pressure on children to increase the socioeconomic status of their family. Thus, parents may have fewer expectations for their children to academically succeed and increase the economic status of the family. Many immigrant families come to New Zealand for the better education system. The better education system is defined by less competition against peers and less pressure to academically succeed (Chang et al., 2006). In New Zealand, the social status that individuals attain in society is also less associated with the level of education than in Korea. It is possible that the parents of the participants were in a position where they did not need for their children to achieve academically in order to gain prestige.

The verbal statements of expectations by parents may have also reduced simply as the time of residency in New Zealand lengthened. As the years of residency increased, participants reported a decrease in parents' expectations as they went through high school and then onto university. Half of the participants came to New Zealand between the ages of 10 and 12 and entered high school after 2-3 years of living in New Zealand. Even though parents immigrate with the intention of reducing the stress of academic competition and pressure (Chang et al., 2006), existing research has reported that immigrant parents will acculturate at significantly slower rates than their children (Kwak, 2003). Therefore, changes related to acculturation, such as beliefs and values, occur at a slower rate in parents. In addition, parents may also be less willing or reluctant to integrate, thus, be more reluctant to let go of traditional Korean values and beliefs.

Some participants in the current study talked about understanding that their parents would not be able completely change their values and beliefs that they have been embedded with during their life in Korea. The current study suggests that the

different degrees of acculturation that immigrant parents have as they continue to reside in the host country will continuously influence the expectations that they have of their children.

In addition to the better circumstances that families immigrate with and the length of residency in New Zealand, the parents described by participants in the study may have already felt fulfilled with the current achievements of their children. All 12 participants were studying at university at the time, and all 12 participants were fluent in English and integrated into mainstream society. It is possible that the parents described in this study had similar attitudes to the parents reported by Kim and Wolpin (2008). In the study, the majority of parents reported that for their children, learning American values and customs was more important than retaining the values and customs of Korea. It is possible that that parents mentioned in the current study also had similar expectations of their children and had wished for their children to learn the values and customs of New Zealand rather than retain the culture of Korea.

Nonetheless, the main source of parents' expectations that participants reported were expectations in regard to education and what their parents expected them to achieve. Participants were aware of the expectations that traditional parents in Korea have of their children, and the majority of participants acknowledged that their parents were not the same. The main source of conflict that was mentioned during the interviews was also due to the expectations of academic achievement that some parents had. The majority of participants agreed that the expectations of academic achievement and any conflict in relation to those expectations had decreased as the participants had become older.

Overall, participants' reports of parents' expectations during high school had some similarities and differences. Some participants had parents who expected much

higher academic achievements than their peers. Other participants reported having no pressure to achieve, while other participants reported that their parents continued to express their expectations of academic achievement even in the beginning of their tertiary education. However, all participants agreed that as they became older and circumstances changed, the expectations expressed by parents reduced. At the time of the research, all participants were studying in the field they desired, despite some parents initially disagreeing with their choices, and most of the conflict was resolved.

Expectations in Regard to Family

Participant felt that their parents did not have many expectations regarding the family. The only significant finding in this area was the expectation that children were to live with their parents until they were ready to form families of their own. Ten of the twelve participants continued to live at home. The remaining two participants lived separately, but this was also not by choice. Their parents had moved to different cities while the participants were attending university in the current city. This reflects one aspect of autonomy and family expectations that Asian parents are less willing to negotiate.

Only one participant went into depth about her thoughts on caring for her parents when they got to an age where they required care. When asked about filial piety and parental expectations, other participants had either not thought about the issue in depth or were uncomfortable talking about the subject. The single participant who discussed taking care of her parents in the future described it an act of love and not an obligation or repayment of debt. Participants in a study conducted by Yoo and Kim (2010) also described taking care of their parents as “the way it is” (p. 171) and “what you have to do, because they’re your parents” (p.171). The attitude of the participant in the current study was similar to those in the study, suggesting that while

some cultural traditions may stay the same, the attitude with which the traditions are accepted may change.

Other participants had little to say about taking care of their parents in the future. This differed to the findings of Kim and Foreman (2011) that participants who were more acculturated into American society were more open to discussion about the future care of parents. In the current study, despite having lived in New Zealand for at least nine years, participants were not ready to engage in the discussion. It is accepted that participants may have not been at an age to have thought about such issues yet.

Participants acknowledged the sacrifices that their parents had made to immigrate to New Zealand. However, some participants felt that they had no choice in the matter and that the decision to immigrate was the responsibility of their parents. Therefore, it was their parents who should deal with the consequences of the decision made, even if the sacrifices were made for the better future for their children. The results of the current study also differed from those of a previous study. Yoo and Kim (2010) interviewed immigrant children on the topic of parent sacrifices and found that participants did feel in debt to their parents and had a desire to pay them back. However, the age range for participants was much higher than the current study. Once again, the difference in age of participants may have led to the contrasting results and it is possible that participants in the current study will change their viewpoints as they become older and have families of their own.

Only two participants described different problems that they experienced with language and only one participant felt that language was an obstacle that she could not overcome when trying to form a deeper relationship with her parents. Choi and Dancy (2009) also found that language barriers were an issue that their participants faced and that obstacles were created when communicating with parents. In the study

of Choi and Dancy, participants identified the language barrier as a challenge and cause for stress. The language barrier was not a particular cause for stress to the participant in this study, but still sometimes caused frustration because meanings were unclear in communication. However, despite a language barrier preventing her parents from being able to directly express their expectations to her, she reported being able to always feel them “in the background”. As a high achiever, she questioned whether this was where her motivation to study unconsciously came from. This may be an example of the psychological control that Chao and Aque (2009) described and found in their studies. The participant’s impartial attitude towards this psychological control was also in line with their findings that Asian adolescent immigrants were more accepting of psychological control.

Siblings played an unexpected role in regard to the participants’ reports of parents’ expectations. First born participants felt that they their parents expected more of them, especially in terms of being a good role model for younger siblings. However, if a younger sibling was more academic or followed the wishes and expectations of the parents, then the expectations placed on the first born child were reduced.

Feelings Towards Expectations

While the traditional Korean family expects children to obey the wishes of their parents (Choi & Dancy, 2009), participants reported their parents in New Zealand to be more supportive of their children and to let them focus on what they wanted to do, rather than what their parents expected them to do. At the time of the study, all participants had been in New Zealand for at least 9 years and had immigrated at an age when acculturation into mainstream society has been found to be much faster (Kim, 2004). The age of immigration and length of residency played a

role in the natural development and acquiring of the English language. Eleven participants of this current study were fluent in both English and Korean.

All participants were exposed to and involved in the Korean community through church, sports teams and their circle of friends. In these areas, they followed the Korean culture and while they did not always agree with the culture, participants did not report any negative feelings in regard to adhering to the Korean culture. Korean culture was stated as a part of who they are. This finding compared to the study of Hovey et al. (2006) who found countering results that higher levels of adherence to Korean culture led to higher levels of negative symptoms of mental health.

Participants in this study felt that their parents previously held more typical expectations of Korean parents when the participants were adolescents. However, as young adults, participants reported their parents to express fewer of their expectations and to be more supportive of the choices that their children made. Some participants had parents who sometimes still tried to exercise some control over them, however this was not a significant issue for them. The mixture of findings were consistent with the findings of Kang et al. (2010) who also reported the majority of participants to note a positive change in their parents. Likewise, in their study, some participants still had more difficult relationships with their parents. In the current study, one participant mentioned feeling that she had no choice but to follow whatever her parents planned for her. However, the majority of participants felt that their parents had become less controlling and more accepting of the decisions that they made.

Some participants felt that the development of their independence was the reason that their parents expressed fewer expectations to them. The present study found that as they entered adolescence, participants living in New Zealand developed

more independence and followed their own choices and decisions. This differed to Kim and Park (2006) who found that in Korean, the influence of parents on academic success increased as students entered adolescence. In the current study, many participants felt that their independence led to the decrease in conflict as parents realized the growing autonomy of their children. The participants' reports also conflicted with the findings of Yeh (2003) who found that conflict increased as adolescent immigrant began adhering to autonomous values of American culture. One reason for the difference in results could be due to the younger participants in study of Yeh. It is also possible that the participants in the current study experienced heightened conflict during their adolescent years but reported it from a broader and more understanding perspective of as current young adults.

Overall, participants felt that their parents were settled into New Zealand and while they felt that their parents had lower degrees of acculturation into New Zealand than desired, the participants could see the changes in the expectations and attitudes of their parents. In contrast to this study, current existing literature describes the different rates of acculturation between a child and parent to cause significant challenges within the family. In addition, the literature also suggests that 1.5 generation immigrants are more susceptible to problems with their well-being. The majority of studies that have involved 1.5 generation immigrants have been conducted in the United States, and studies such as Lee et al. (2009), Hovey et al., (2006), and Hwang and Ting (2008) presented findings that linked higher symptoms of mental health problems to 1.5 generation immigrants in the United States. One of the reasons for the higher symptoms of mental health problems was the difference in the cultural values and perspectives that parents had with their children. Different reasons were

identified as possible reasons for the difference in results between current study and the existing literature.

One possible reason that participants did not report similar negative symptoms of well-being found in various studies may be due to the age of immigration of the participants in the current study. Studies such as Kim et al. (2003), Oh et al. (2002), and Kim (2004) found that the age at which 1.5 generation immigrants move to a new country will affect the rate at which they acculturate into the host country. It will also influence their ability to integrate into mainstream society. Kim (2004) found that 1.5 generation immigrants who immigrated under the age of 11 acculturated faster into the host country. For the current study, the majority of participants immigrated before the age of 11, a period where children had the fastest rate of integration. It can be inferred that with a high level of acculturation into the host country from a young age, the participants would have been less aware of the differences that exist between Korean and New Zealand culture.

In addition, the participants in this study were integrated into both of their cultural environments. Their integration into both Korean and New Zealand culture was reported through participants' feelings of being culturally competent in both New Zealand and Korea and through having close friends from both cultures that they regularly met. However, one noted trait was that their friends were divided into distinct groups according to culture, and the two circles of friends rarely or never mixed. At the time of the study, participants had been living in New Zealand with their families for at least nine years. Participants suggested that their parents had become more lenient as the years of living in New Zealand increased. It is possible that the parents of participants in this study were also more acculturated into New Zealand society than parents in other studies.

Another reason that the results from this study may differ to the existing literature is due to the changed circumstances and reasons for which families decide to immigrate. The reasons for immigration have changed drastically over decades, especially as the wealth of the Korean nation has rapidly risen. Much of the existing literature in regards to 1.5 generation immigrants is from the United States. The United States has a longer history of 'old' Korean immigrants who had less financial security and lived in hardship when they first immigrated. Many parents had to work long hours and families often lived in harsh conditions. Many participants of the existing literature were from 'older' immigrant families and would have seen the extreme hardships that their parents endured. On the other hand, the participants of the current study are closer to the 'new' immigrants that came to New Zealand in the late 1990s and early 2000s. These families came with better qualifications and more financial security (Kim and Yoon, 2003), thus, children did not have to see their parents endure extreme hardship. It is only natural that the descriptions between 'old' and 'new' immigrants are different.

In addition, Chang et al. (2006) reported that in Korea, New Zealand is a favourable country for immigration because of the education system and the quality of life offered. The clean and green image of New Zealand starkly contrasts to the busy and crowded lifestyle of Korea. Therefore, while many parents come to New Zealand for the education of their children, they also come to enjoy a more luxurious lifestyle for the whole family. This compares to the old immigrants who came to New Zealand with very little wealth or financial security. They came to New Zealand from a poverty stricken Korea with the hope of being able to provide a more secure home for their families. For such families, the educational success of their children was the pathway to secure a future for the whole family.

Nowadays, many of the new immigrant parents do not have to rely on the success of their children as an avenue to gain social status or wealth (Kim & Park, 2006). In addition, the educational environment is less competitive in New Zealand (Chang et al., 2006) and children do not need to compete to be the best. Therefore, there is less need to pressure children onto pathways that will lead them to high academic achievement. Children can choose the pathways that they want to follow for their future, and because they are doing what they choose to do, there may be less negative impact on their wellbeing.

Conclusion

This study described the experiences of 1.5 generation Korean immigrant youths and their perspectives of the expectations that their parents had of them. The study also described how parents' expectations affected the daily lives of the participants. In contrast to the majority of studies from the United States that report 1.5 generation immigrants to have lower levels of well-being, the participants did not indicate such results.

Participants described various types of expectations from their parents, such as high academic achievement or being a role model to younger siblings. Despite some tension during adolescence and in high school, the majority of participants now felt that their parents were genuinely supportive of the choices that they made. Participants acknowledged that living in New Zealand had led to some changes in the way that their parents thought and in the expectations that they had of their children. Some participants reported that the expectations of high academic achievement continued into the beginning of their tertiary education. However, they acknowledged that their parents continued to become more lenient in the expectations that they had, especially in regards to career choice. Overall participants knew that their parents

expressed less expectations of them than traditional parents in Korea and were satisfied with their current daily lives.

This study offered a description of 1.5 generation immigrant youths and their experiences in regard to their parents' expectations. Twelve Korean youths were recruited and interviewed for this study. During the study, a number of limitations were encountered and need to be considered.

Some limitations exist with the current study. Foremost, this study was interested in the in-depth descriptions of 1.5 generation Korean immigrant youth and their experiences with parental expectations. Therefore, a sample size of 12 participants was decided. Although participants volunteered for the study on their own premises, the researcher acknowledges the specificity of the results to the sample involved. For example, the 12 participants were recruited only from Christchurch. There was a drastic decrease in the Korean community after the 2011 earthquakes, and the majority of families left in Christchurch were those who thought of Christchurch as their only home. This is a characteristic that is strongly apparent in Christchurch but may not be in other cities of New Zealand. This may account for the high levels of acculturation that participants reported to have, and the participants' experiences of acculturation may be different to those of 1.5 generation Korean immigrants living in another city such as Auckland. In turn, the difference in rate of acculturation could have led to a possible difference in experiences and feelings towards parents' expectations. Therefore, although the descriptions provided in-depth descriptions about the participants living in Christchurch, the results cannot be generalized over the whole population of 1.5 generation Korean immigrants in New Zealand.

In addition, the interviews were all held in English. Participants were given a choice between Korean and English, and all participants chose to speak in English. However, the majority of participants were also fluent in Korean and may have been limited in the language they had to describe their experiences. Speaking Korean may have added an extra element of ease for participants to have been able to further develop the description of their experiences.

There were also culturally sensitive issues that may have limited the information found in this study. The collective nature of Korean culture may have limited the students from speaking about negative experiences involving their parents. Despite having resided in New Zealand for a long time, participants were still highly involved in the Korean community and were aware of the manner and etiquette of the culture. Speaking about their parents in a negative light may have been observed or felt as an act of betrayal to their family. It may also have been seen as creating shame for the family.

Another cultural issue to consider is the taboo that continues to exist for negative symptoms of well-being. Lee et al. (2009) described the factors that deterred their participants from seeking help for mental health. They found that problems in mental health were still looked down upon and were also thought to be a sign of weakness. Participants in the current study may have been reluctant to share any possible symptoms of negative well-being for fear of putting themselves in a vulnerable position or simply for the fear of acknowledging that something was wrong.

Notwithstanding the limitations, the current study can contribute to the well-being of the 1.5 generation. Although it is only the beginning of a view into the lives of 1.5 generation Korean immigrants in New Zealand, the current study can provide

an entry point for various sectors in society to provide 1.5 generation Korean immigrants with some of the guidance and support they may require.

In this study, some issues that may cause tension within the parent-child relationship in immigrant families were highlighted, especially in regard to academic achievement. Providing parents with knowledge of the career options existing in New Zealand that differ to Korea can help in the process of students making subject choices in high school and career choices in the future. Improving the understanding of the New Zealand education system in immigrant parents can also encourage parental involvement in the education of their children. This can create opportunities to work in collaboration with parents which can then improve the learning environment for students who may be struggling. In addition, understanding the New Zealand education system may also help to ease the expectations that parents have of their children. Collaborative work could also provide assurance to parents who are unsure of how their children are doing at school.

Moreover, there is still a huge gap in the understanding of differences between Korean and New Zealand culture within the health sector, and there are not enough support systems for 1.5 generation Korean immigrants, especially to guide them through the sensitive phase of adolescence. Understanding the unique challenges that 1.5 generation Korean immigrants face between two conflicting cultures as they enter into adolescence is the first step to providing them with the support they need to cope with the challenges and to develop themselves as healthy individuals. This study sheds light on the diverse range of experiences that 1.5 generation Korean immigrants can have and how factors such as age and having siblings can drastically influence those experiences. Further research and studies are required to generate a wider understanding of all the unique experiences.

Further work is also required to develop a broader description of 1.5 generation Korean immigrants in New Zealand. It would be interesting for future studies to include participants from cities that have differing Korean populations such as the large student population of Dunedin or the clustered Korean population of the North Shore in Auckland. It would also be of interest to examine and compare the experiences of 1.5 generation Korean immigrants who came to New Zealand during the late 1990s and early 2000s to the older 1.5 generation Korean immigrants who came as children during the 1980s and early 1990s. As the roots of parents' expectations in Korea are embedded in the history of Korea, it would be interesting to study the similarities or differences that occur in parents' expectations in light of the diverse circumstances that families immigrated to New Zealand in over the different periods of time.

Research into the educational expectations of parents in New Zealand can also add to the field of knowledge of 1.5 generation Korean immigrants. Better educational opportunities and less pressure in the education system have been continuously mentioned as two reasons for immigrating to New Zealand. Additional research that describes the perspective of parents immigrating to New Zealand for the education of their children may provide a greater understanding of why parents continue to have high expectations of academic achievement in New Zealand. The inclusion of the perspective of parents and the expectations that they have of their children will lead to a broader and less biased description of the situations that surrounds 1.5 generation Korean immigrants and their parents' expectations.

The field of 1.5 generation immigrants is an area that continues to require further research. The decision to uproot children to a new host country that has conflicting values and beliefs with the home country is a difficult decision that parents

make. While the journey will vary for parents and children according to various factors such as age, ethnicity, age of immigration, and social circumstances, it is certain that as 1.5 generation immigrants, children will face various cultural and social challenges unique to their own. The relationship between a parent and child is crucial during this time, as it can be an extra source of challenge or support for the developing child. When values do not align within a family, conflict can occur and this can add to numerous challenges that both parent and child immigrants may already be facing. In New Zealand, it is particularly necessary that experiences such as in this study are documented and researched, especially as the number of immigrants to New Zealand continue to rise. It is important that future studies specific to New Zealand continue to expand on the knowledge of the influence that parents can have on their children and their integration into society. Many parents continue to choose to immigrate to New Zealand for the wider range of opportunities that their children can have in life. Therefore, it is appropriate that continuous research is conducted not only to minimize the challenges that these children may face, but also to maximise the possibilities that their futures hold as 1.5 generation immigrants of New Zealand.

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APPENDICES
A. Letter of Approval



Human Ethics Committee

Tel: +64 3 364 2241, Fax: +64 3 364 2856, Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2012/149

17 October 2012

Hyearan Yun
Health Sciences Centre
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

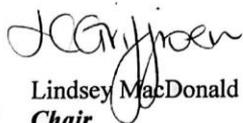
Dear Hyearan

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal "Korean youth of the 1.5 generation in New Zealand talk about their parent's expectations and attitudes" has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 15 October 2012.

Best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely


PP Lindsey MacDonald
Chair
University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee

APPENDIX 2

B. Semi-structured Interview Guide

Interview Guide

- Information sheet (for participant to keep)
- Questions
- Consent form

Interview Questions

1. Basic details

-
- Name
 - Age
 - Age of immigration
 - Family members
 - Occupation

2. Can you describe how your family decided to immigrate to New Zealand?

-
- Did you have any choice in the matter?
 - How did you feel about the decision to immigrate?

3. How do you feel about living in New Zealand now?

-
- Do you consider New Zealand or Korea your home? Why?
 - Could you expand on your experience of settling into New Zealand?
 - How do you think your parents feel about living in New Zealand?
 - Could you describe how your parents have settled into New Zealand?

4. How would you describe the relationship between yourself and your parents?

-
- Would you describe your siblings as having the same relationship with them?
 - Can you describe any cultural differences between yourself and your parents?
 - How would you compare the parent-child relationship in your family to that of your peers/ friends in New Zealand? In Korea?
 - Can you describe any change that you have seen in your parents while living in New Zealand?

5. What kind of expectations do you think your parents have of you?

-
- Is it possible for you to provide an/some example(s) in more detail?
 - If they do at all, how do they express their expectations to you?
 - How would you compare their expectations of you previously (in high school) to now?

6. How do the expectations of your parents affect you?

-
- How big a role do the expectations of your parents have in your life? (education, family life, decision-making, friends, future...)
 - Do you have any examples of when the expectations of your parents have affected your _____? (education, family life, decision-making, friends, future...)

APPENDIX 3

C. Recruitment Announcement

Participants Wanted

Born in Korea, currently living in Christchurch?

Aged 20-24 years old?

Immigrate to New Zealand as a family unit

(mum, dad & any siblings) between the ages of 6-12?

If this is you, I am interested in your experiences as a 1.5 generation immigrant and would love to hear from you.

This study looks at the experiences of Korean 1.5 generation immigrants growing up between the two conflicting cultures of the East and the West. There is a strong focus on parental expectations and how these affect your daily life.

For those interested, please contact **021-928-915**

Text or call, anytime.

Your time and experience would be greatly appreciated 😊

**About the researcher...**

I'm 28 years old and am a NZ-born Korean. I like to drink coffee and go for drives around Christchurch, but I especially enjoy eating and trying out new places!

APPENDIX 4**D. Participant Information Sheet****Health Sciences Centre**

27.08.2012

Tel: +64 3 364 2987, Fax: + 64 3 364 2490
Email: healthsciences@canterbury.ac.nz**Participant Information Sheet****Korean Youth of the 1.5 Generation in New Zealand Talk About Their Parents' Expectations and Attitudes.**

Principal investigator: Hyearan (Victoria) Yun, University of Canterbury.

Phone 021-928-915

Email: hyu15@uclive.ac.nz

You are invited to participate in the research project Korean Youth of the 1.5 Generation in New Zealand Talk About Their Parents' Expectation and Attitudes. The aim of this project is to describe the expectations that Korean immigrant parents have of their 1.5 generation immigrant adolescents, as seen from the point of view of the adolescent.

What will I be asked to do?

Your involvement in this project will be to participate in an interview with the researcher, Hyearan (Victoria) Yun, at a time and place convenient to you.

For the interview, you will be asked to describe your views and attitudes towards what you believe your parents' expectations of you to be and to discuss how the expectations affect your day to day well-being. You have the right to withdraw from the project or any information you have provided from the project at any time without penalty, up until the presentation and publication of the study results.

The interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour and you will be asked for permission to audio-tape the conversation. You will be given opportunity to review and amend your transcript of the interview. You may also receive one brief follow up phone call within one month to clarify any comments that may be unclear.

Your participation is voluntary; you may choose not to answer any questions with which you are uncomfortable and you may withdraw yourself and any data you have provided at any time without having to give a reason. Your name and any personal details you provide will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be personally identified in any reports about the study without your prior permission.

After the interview, you will be presented with a \$20 voucher for a local coffee store for you and a friend in respect for your time and effort ☺

What will happen to the information?

Audio tapes will be transcribed and analysed by the principal researcher, with the support of her two supervisors. No other persons will have access to these data which will be stored in a locked drawer or on a password protected computer. After completion of the initial study, data collected will be stored for 5 years, before being destroyed.

What will happen to the results of this study?

The project is being carried out as a requirement for a Master of Arts in Child and Family Psychology [M.A.(ChFamPsys)]. The results will be published as a Master's thesis towards this qualification. The results of the project may also be published in an academic journal or presented at a conference or to colleagues, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation. You will not be personally identified in any publication or presentation. You will also receive a summary of the findings if you wish to do so.

To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, only a selected English name of the participant's choice will be used and referred to in all information and data collected for and during this study. This includes all audio recordings and written notes. After the initial interview, any further analysis and presentation of results will be presented under a pseudonym. In addition, all data will be stored in a locked desk drawer in a private location and all electronic data will be protected with a password. No third parties will have access to this data.

Who has reviewed this study?

This study has received ethical approval from the Human Ethics Committee of the University of Canterbury.

Who do I contact if I have any concerns about this research?

The project is being carried out under the supervision of

Kathleen Liberty

Kathleen.liberty@canterbury.ac.nz

Jeffrey Gage

jeffrey.gage@canterbury.ac.nz

They will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

Any complaints may be addressed to:

The Chair: Lindsey MacDonald

Ethics Committees

University of Canterbury

Private Bag 4800, CHRISTCHURCH

Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

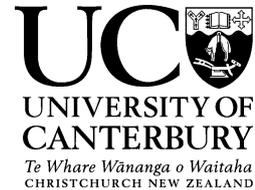
Thank you for your consideration of participation in this study

Yours sincerely

Hyearan (Victoria)Yun

APPENDIX 5**E. Consent Form****Health Sciences Centre**

30.10.2012

Tel: +64 3 364 2987, Fax: + 64 3 364 2490
Email: healthsciences@canterbury.ac.nz**Consent to Participate****Korean Youth of the 1.5 Generation in New Zealand Talk About Their Parents' Expectations and Attitudes**

Principal investigator: Hyearan (Victoria)Yun, University of Canterbury.

Phone 021-928-915

Email: hyu15@uclive.ac.nz

- I have read the Information Sheet, describing the above-named project. I understand what this research study is about and my questions have been answered. On this basis I agree to participate in this project
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that my right to withdraw from the study and any data I have provided at any time and for any reason exists up until the presentation and publication of the study results.
- I understand that findings of this study may be published in an academic journal or presented at a conference, but I will not be personally identified in any publication or presentation. All personal information including my identity will be kept completely confidential.
- I know who to contact if I have any questions or concerns in regard to participating in this study.

Name:

Signature

Date

Contact Information (to send transcript and summary of findings):

Address:

Phone:

Email: