

PARENTING PATTERNS OF ‘1.5 GENERATION KOWIS’ IN NEW ZEALAND: “TAKE BEST OF BOTH WORLDS TO RAISE THE NEXT GENERATION”

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Introduction

Little knowledge has so far been gathered about 1.5 generation Kowis in New Zealand and their parenting skills, styles and experiences. The phrase ‘the 1.5 generation’ generally describes those children of migrants who arrive in their new country aged between 5 and 17. Kowis, or Korean-Kiwis¹, may be defined as New Zealanders of Korean descent with dual identities. While they have grown up in New Zealand, and are exposed to New Zealand culture, 1.5 generation Kowis are still very much part of their Korean families and migrant communities. They live in a creative tension between these two complex cultures, and this location influences their personal identity development, worldviews and the parenting of their own children.

Most of the available literature related to the 1.5 generation derives from studies conducted in the United States where researchers have mainly focused on areas of identity formation and acculturation.² In terms of parenting, the few available studies have focused on first-generation parents, rather than 1.5 generation parents.³ A qualitative grounded theory study is therefore currently being undertaken with eighteen 1.5 generation Kowis who are now married with children. This research project is among the first to focus specifically on 1.5 generation Kowis and their parenting experiences. It investigates the ways in which 1.5 generation Kowis choose between different approaches to and expectations of parenting from both worlds/cultures,

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- 1 The term, Kiwi, generally refers to people from New Zealand.
 - 2 John W. Berry et al., eds., *Immigrant Youth in Cultural Transition: Acculturation, Identity, and Adaptation across National Contexts* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum 2006); Jean S. Phinney et al., “The Role of Language, Parents and Peers in Ethnic Identity among Adolescents in Immigrant Families,” *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 30, no. 2 (2001).
 - 3 Alice M. M. T. Aye and Bernard Guerin, “Astronaut Families: A Review of Their Characteristics, Impact on Families and Implications for Practice in New Zealand,” *New Zealand Journal of Psychology* 30, no. 1 (2001); Robyn Dixon et al., “Family Resilience: The Settlement Experience for Asian Immigrant Families in New Zealand,” (Wellington, New Zealand: Families Commission, 2010); Eunjung Kim, Kevin Cain, and Marilyn McCubbin, “Maternal and Paternal Parenting, Acculturation, and Young Adolescents’ Psychological Adjustment in Korean American Families,” *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing* 19, no. 3 (2006); Kenneth H. Rubin and Ock Boon Chung, eds., *Parenting Beliefs, Behaviors, and Parent-Child Relationships: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York, NY: Psychology Press, 2006).

the choices they make in their parenting, and the aspects of parenting that they feel comfortable with or unsure about.

In this article, key issues in migration and settlement processes relevant to migrant parenting are explored, drawing on the available literature about migrant Korean families in English speaking contexts. Selected preliminary findings from the current research into 1.5 generation Kowis' parenting are then discussed. The particular parenting strengths and challenges experienced by 1.5 generation Kowis need to be acknowledged by those in health-care, aid and education professions, given the growth of the Korean and 1.5 generation Kowis population in New Zealand.

Background

The Korean population in New Zealand has grown from 930 in 1991, to 19,026 in 2001, and to 30,792 in 2006.⁴ Korean people now represent more than 0.8 percent of the total New Zealand population and 8.7 percent of the Asian population, which makes this cohort the third-largest Asian group in this country.⁵ In 2006, 69.5% of Korean residents in New Zealand lived in Auckland and 2.6% in Wellington (the two major cities in the country) with two rural regions accounting for large percentages as well: 4.5% in the Waikato and 15.4% in Canterbury. In Auckland, large numbers are concentrated in one particular area, the North Shore, where Korean is the second most commonly used language after English.⁶

The primary reasons for Korean migration have included better opportunities for children's education in English, which is highly valued in Korea; an escape from the competitive and stressful education system, work regimes and gendered family roles in Korea; hope for a more relaxed lifestyle in a less populated and natural environment; and access to an alternative destination with immigration policies which cater for family reunification and related chain migration. However, future family prospects, especially those of the children, have been cited as the major factor behind the migration decision.⁷

The concept of the 1.5 generation Korean originated in the Korean American community in the early 1970s in the United States to describe immigrant children who were neither first nor second generation.⁸ However, a similar term to the 1.5 generation,

4 Statistics New Zealand, "2001 Census of Population and Dwellings: Ethnic Groups - Reference Report," (Wellington, New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand, 2002); "2006 Census: Quickstats About Culture and Identity" (Wellington, New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

5 Edwina Pio, *Longing and Belonging* (Wellington, New Zealand: Dunmore, 2010).

6 *Ibid*; Hong-Key Yoon and Inshil Choe Yoon, "Koreans," in *Settler and Migration Peoples of New Zealand* (Wellington, New Zealand: David Bateman, 2006).

7 Suzana Chang, Caroryn Morris, and Richard Vokes, *Korean Migrant Families in Christchurch: Expectations and Experiences* (Wellington, New Zealand: The Families Commission, 2006).

8 Danico, *The 1.5 Generation: Becoming Korean American in Hawaii*.

“the half-second generation”, was first used by Thomas and Znaniecki⁹ when referring to Polish children who were born in the United States to migrant families, and also to those who came as children with their parents to the country.¹⁰ Their definition of this generation was brief and did not clearly identify the age of arrival. Rumbaut renamed this cohort the “one and a half generation or 1.5 generation”, referring to those who were foreign born and migrated to the United States before age twelve.¹¹

The concept of the 1.5 generation has not yet been developed fully in the Korean community in New Zealand. Even though they are technically first generation migrants, their socio-cultural experiences are different from those of the first and second generations. The 1.5 generation often face ambiguity and confusion as they are usually perceived by the first generation as second generation, are seen as first generation by the second generation, and are identified as just Koreans by non-Koreans and locals.¹² Bartley and Spoonley named this type of ambivalence and ambiguity “in-betweenness”.¹³

Migrants and parenting: Becoming parents in New Zealand

When considering 1.5 generation Kowis’ parenting, a significant influence is likely to be the way in which they themselves were brought up. The parents of 1.5 generation Kowis were brought up in Korea, and it has been established that culture plays a major overarching role in shaping and influencing the way people parent.¹⁴ In the case of first-generation Asian migrants, parenting is one of the areas which they have found stressful and challenging in the context of acculturation.¹⁵ The process of migration adds to their lives a multitude of stressors which are associated with changes in the

9 William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1918-1920)*, vol. 2 (New York, NY: Dover, 1958), 1776.

10 *Ibid.*

11 Ruben G. Rumbaut and Kenji Ima, *The Adaptation of Southeast Asian Refugee Youth: A Comparative Study. Final Report* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement, 1988); Ruben G. Rumbaut, “The Crucible Within: Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Segmented Assimilation among Children of Immigrants,” *International Migration Review* 28, no. 4 (1994). 759.

12 Danico, *The 1.5 Generation: Becoming Korean American in Hawaii*.

13 Bartley and Spoonley, “Intergenerational Transnationalism: 1.5 Generation Asian Migrants in New Zealand.”, 68.

14 Marc H. Bornstein and Charissa S. L. Cheah, “The Place of “Culture and Parenting” in the Ecological Contextual Perspective on Developmental Science,” in *Parenting Beliefs, Behaviors, and Parent-Child Relations: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Kenneth H. Rubin and Ock Boon Chung (New York, NY: Psychology Press, 2006).

15 Dixon et al., “Family Resilience: The Settlement Experience for Asian Immigrant Families in New Zealand.”

patterns of normal family life cycles and children's development.¹⁶ It is important to note also that as immigrants, Kowis' parents have generally struggled with language and culture in New Zealand, even though the majority have held tertiary qualifications, and have been highly-skilled wealthy entrepreneurs.¹⁷ They are therefore unlikely to have had sufficient understanding and knowledge to integrate New Zealand ways of parenting into their own practices, and consequently Kowis children are more likely to have been parented in the Korean way.

The concepts of *hyo* (filial piety), *samgang* (three bonds) and *oryun* (five principal relationships) are key values that guide traditional Korean families within which 1.5 generation Kowis have been brought up. These values are likely to influence the way the Kowis parent their second-generation children, including the ways in which they relate to them, and the expectations they have of them. Kowis may experience tensions as they find themselves parenting at the interface between contradictory cultural values: Korean traditions within which they themselves were brought up and New Zealand values and parenting practices. Knowledge of traditional influences on Korean parenting is therefore central to an understanding of the parenting challenges Kowis parents may face.

Korean culture and values have been influenced by multiple traditions including Shamanism, Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Sirhak, Tonghak, and Christianity. Koreans have combined elements of each tradition and established their own belief systems. However, Confucianism was adopted as the official philosophy of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) for 500 years, and has exerted the strongest impact on many aspects of Korean life in terms of family values and relationships. In particular, the concept of filial piety or *hyo* in Confucian teaching forms the basis of the cultural model of childcare and education and has been the essential element that has shaped parent-child relationships and parenting in Korea.¹⁸

Hyo emphasises love, respect, responsibility and interdependence between parents and children. In practice, this implies that unquestioning compliance with parents' wishes are expected of children.¹⁹ Children are usually expected to seek their

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- 16 Bartley and Spoonley, "Intergenerational Transnationalism: 1.5 Generation Asian Migrants in New Zealand.;" Celia Jaes Falicov, "Immigrant Family Process," in *Normal Family Processes: Growing Diversity and Complexity* (New York, NY: The Guilford Press, 2003); Marjorie Faulstich Orellana et al., "Transnational Childhoods: The Participation of Children in Process of Family Migration," *Social Problems* 48, no. 4 (2001).
- 17 Jane YeonJae Lee, Robin A. Kearns, and Wardlow Friesen, "Seeking Affective Health Care: Korean Immigrants' Use of Homeland Medical Services," *Health & Place*, no. 16 (2009); Pio, *Longing and Belonging*; Yoon and Yoon, "Koreans."
- 18 Kwang-Woong Kim, "Hyo and Parenting in Korea," in *Parenting Beliefs, Behaviors, and Parent-Child Relationships: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York, NY: Psychology Press, 2006); Sung C. Kim, "Korean American Families," in *Working with Asian Americans: A Guide for Clinicians*, ed. Evelyn Lee (New York, NY: The Guilford Press, 1997).
- 19 Hye-On Kim and Siegfried Hoppe-Graff, "Mothers' Roles in Traditional and Modern Korean Families: The Consequences for Parental Practices and Adolescent Socialization," *Asia Pacific Education Review* 2, no. 1 (2001)." <style face="italic">Asia Pacific Education Review</style> 2, no. 1 (2001)

parents' approval for their decisions. Such patterns of obedience and interdependence demonstrate the opposite expectations from those which are prevalent in European societies and cultures, where qualities such as independence, freedom of choice, self-reliance and assertiveness are valued, encouraged and expected of children.²⁰

Roles, family order, and related behavioural expectations are clearly delineated in Korean families and these depend on the status of a person, which is defined by generation, age and gender. These expectations are based on the Confucian ethical system, and comprise *samgang* (three bonds) and *oryun* (five principal relationships).²¹

Samgang defines the hierarchical order between lord and subject, parent and child, and husband and wife. The latter in each relationship is seen as subordinate to the former, and there is no equality in these relationships. *Oryun* expresses the ethical relationship between ruler and subjects (righteousness), parents and children (intimacy), husband and wife (distinction), elder and the younger (order), and between friends (trust).²² Apart from friendship, this reflects an hierarchical, authoritarian and patriarchal system based on authority, obligation, sacrifice and respect.

The father holds the most power and authority in the household, and his position is seen as the head of the family, which is in principle equal to the status of king or ruler. However, modern fathers are absorbed in the role of bread-winner and are therefore effectively taken out of the family scene due to long hours of work. Consequently, they have less and less time to fulfill their role as a leader of the family and leave the decision-making and discipline of the children in the hands of their wives.²³ The role of mother is the primary caregiver of children, one who maintains the household, supports the husband in his commitment to his career and is given some authority for decision-making within the boundaries of family matters at home.²⁴ In modern times, the role of mother has been stretched to include the whole range of duties from the past, in addition to maintaining her own career as a shared breadwinner.

After migration, fathers often find they have more time to spend with their families. They are then likely to resume practicing their power and authority with traditional expectations of obedience from their children and wife. However, the wife and children are less likely to be compliant with their demands, as many of them have adapted to the

20 Jean S. Phinney, Anthony Ong, and Tanya Madden, "Cultural Values and Intergenerational Value Discrepancies in Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Families," *Child Development* 71, no. 2 (2000).

21 Kim, "Hyo and Parenting in Korea."; Kim and Hoppe-Graff, "Mothers' Roles in Traditional and Modern Korean Families: The Consequences for Parental Practices and Adolescent Socialization."; Park Won, *Traditional Korean Thought* (Incheon, Korea: The Inha University Press, 2002).

22 Jangtae Keum, *Confucianism and Korean Thoughts* (Seoul, Korea: Jimoondang, 2000); Won, *Traditional Korean Thought*.

23 Kim and Hoppe-Graff, "Mothers' Roles in Traditional and Modern Korean Families: The Consequences for Parental Practices and Adolescent Socialization."

24 *Ibid.*

family system of the new country, which is by then more familiar and convenient for them. Women and children are more likely to adapt to the new culture and challenge traditional family values than men, who prefer to maintain traditional values and find the change to the traditional status challenging. Men's process of adaptation takes a lengthy period of time.²⁵ Wives and children are therefore likely to struggle with the shift from an absence of a patriarchal authority to the constant demands of such authority. As a result, Kowis who have grown up in this environment may be open to incorporating New Zealand ideas and values rather than being solely influenced by Korean values.

Confucian teaching, with its emphasis on consideration for others and proper human relationships, has considerable influence not only on family relationships but also on communication styles. Koreans tend to use more indirect communication, which is perceived as accommodating and sensitive to individual wishes. Indirect communication prevents the embarrassment of disagreement or rejection by the other person, and leaves the relationships and each other's "face" intact.²⁶ Establishing meaningful communication between parents and children is known to be a challenge as children grow older: they are introduced to individual choice; they are encouraged to engage with others in open communication; and they spend more time speaking a different language in a new culture.²⁷

Conflict and misunderstandings can be expected in migrant families when children are introduced to more direct and assertive communication and their parents neither approve of nor understand such a way of communicating. Asian parents tend not to show affection directly and verbally. They feel this will spoil the children and the children would no longer respect or fear the parents.²⁸ But this way of displaying affection can be interpreted as an absence of affection if these children are brought up in a culture where a direct expression of emotion is encouraged and valued. As children and parents come under the influence of a mixture of cultures, views on discipline and parental control are therefore likely to become complicated in migrant families. The style of Korean parenting described above is primarily authoritarian. Authoritarian parents attempt to shape, direct and control their children's behaviour as they value obedience, order and traditional structure. Authoritative parenting is regarded as the most effective style however, and encourages the healthy development of children.²⁹

25 Eunjung Kim, "Korean American Parental Control: Acceptance or Rejection?," *Ethos* 33, no. 3 (2005).

26 June Ock Yum, "The Impact of Confucianism on Interpersonal Relationships and Communication Patterns in East Asia," *Communication Monographs* 55, no. 4 (1988).

27 Eunjung Kim and Seunghye Hong, "First-Generation Korean-American Parents' Perceptions of Discipline," *Journal of Professional Nursing* 23, no. 1 (2007).

28 Su Yeong Kim and Vivian Y. Wong, "Assessing Asian and Asian American Parenting: A Review of the Literature," in *Asian American Mental Health: Assessment Methods and Theories* (The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002).

29 Diana Baumrind, "Effects of Authoritative Parental Control on Child Behavior," *Child Development* 37, no. 4 (1966).

It is therefore clearly important to acknowledge that Kowis will have been influenced by multiple and complex forces within New Zealand culture, even though they are likely to have been brought up the Korean way. The local norms of New Zealand culture are also a mixture of multiple influences that are complex, fluid and constantly evolving. As migrant children, Kowis will have encountered conflicting cultural perceptions and practices regarding parental roles and discipline styles in their new country.³⁰ They are likely to have acquired information about parenting from institutions, health professionals, and their own social networks. They will also have had access to information which reflects New Zealand perspectives on parenting from the media. Kowis are therefore likely to experience contradictory sources of parenting guidance and advice, often inconsistent with Korean cultural norms in general. When parenting styles are inconsistent with the socio-cultural environment, children are more likely to have negative experiences of parenting. Inconsistent parenting is more damaging in more collective societies (like a Korean migrant community) than in individualistic societies.³¹

Methodology

In the study reported here, a qualitative methodological approach is being used in order to amplify the voices of the 1.5 generation Kowis and to privilege their particular points of view and experiences. Individual interviews were conducted for a maximum of two hours in duration. Eighteen individual parents were interviewed in four main cities³² in New Zealand between September 2011 and March 2012. The participants were 1.5 generation Kowis who arrived in New Zealand before 2002, aged between 5 and 17, and who are now married with children and living in New Zealand.

The topics that were addressed in the interviews included:

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

30 Hyesoo Kim and Ruth H. Gim Chung, "Relationship of Recalled Parenting Style to Self-Perception in Korean American College Students," *The Journal of Genetic Psychology* 164, no. 4 (2003).

31 Marwan Adeeb Dwairy, "Parental Inconsistency Versus Parental Authoritarianism: Association with Symptoms of Psychological Disorders," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 2008, no. 37 (2007).

32 The four cities were Auckland, Hamilton and Wellington city in North Island and Christchurch city in South Island.

In order to gain a comprehensive view of their experiences, participants were given a choice of language: Korean and/or English. Each interview was recorded and transcribed. Transcripts were analysed by using different levels of coding to identify key themes and patterns based on a constructivist form of Grounded Theory method of analysis. This approach allows theory to emerge from the data rather than being determined by a researcher's preconceived theories.³³ One aspect which this approach stresses is the position of the researcher as a co-author of participants' stories and partner of the participants, bringing through a strong participants' presence in the research process.³⁴ This is particularly relevant to this research because I am a researcher who shares a common ethnic relationship with the participants and who has an "insider" understanding of the data. As a co-author of participants' stories and partner of the participants, I bring a strong sense of the participants' presence to readers so that they may glean enriching interpretations and meanings from the data. The reader can also observe through a unique and different set of lenses how an "insider" observes, defines and interprets the data in this study.

Multiple parenting challenges and strengths were identified by the participants in the interviews and selected aspects of the findings are introduced below.

Findings

Participants described feelings of being pressured and pulled between both cultures due to conflicting advice on parenting and they found it challenging to select what was right for them. In Sarah's words, "the biggest thing is that two cultures offer you different advice (제일 아무래도 큰건 양쪽의 culture 가 다른 advice 를 준다는 거지요)."

Conflicting advice and pressure came from a number of sources: Korean parents and parents-in-law; the spouse as a first-generation migrant; New Zealand health professionals; internet websites and media; and other Korean parents in New Zealand. Hana described her struggle with two very different views on breastfeeding from her mother and the Plunket nurse.³⁵ Her mother taught Hana the traditional Korean way of demand feeding, while the Plunket nurse insisted on the scheduled feeding that is

33 Juliet M. Corbin and Anselm Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998).

34 Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory; a Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis* (Los Angeles, CA: Sage 2006); Jane Mills, Ann Bonner, and Karen Francis, "Adopting a Constructivist Approach to Grounded Theory: Implications for Research Design," *International Journal of Nursing Practice* 12, no. 1 (2006); "The Development of Constructivist Grounded Theory," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 5, no. 1 (2008).

35 Plunket is commonly referred to Royal New Zealand Plunket Society. It is New Zealand's largest provider of support services for the development, health and wellbeing of children under five. Plunket nurses see newborn babies and offer parenting information and support as well as developmental assessments of children. They provide support through home and clinic visits, mobile clinics and PlunketLine, a free telephone advice service for parents. Accessed April 13, 2013, <http://www.plunket.org.nz/>.

more commonly practiced in New Zealand. Hana confessed that she “could not dismiss what my mum said as we lived together 24/7 (생활하는 거는 엄마랑 같이 항상 24 시간 붙어 있으니까 또 엄마 말 무시할 수 없고).” She could not ignore what the Plunket nurse insisted on from her professional point of view either, hence she told her that “I do what you taught me to do (그렇게 니말대로 하구 있어 이렇게 얘기하구).”

Kowi parents in the study could encounter difficulties when they were seeking to draw on both Korean and New Zealand influences or practices as Kowis’ life styles are a combination of the Korean culture and a mixture of influences from New Zealand cultures. Participants reported that when they tried to introduce their babies to a Korean diet, they were unable to find all the ingredients for solid baby food; when they tried to adapt to the New Zealand way of sleeping arrangements, it was not possible as they were living in a household with an extended family and often had no spare room for the baby. It is common for many parents across cultures to have difficulty with conflicting parenting advice. In the case of Kowis, they were also looking for information specifically relevant to 1.5 generation Kowis’ parenting of their children. Angela spoke as a Kowi parent of the deficiency of relevant information in the middle of information overload:

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

애들 키우면서 요즘은 정보가 굉장히 많잖아요. 인터넷도 있고 주위 엄마들이 얘기하는 거, 그리고 학교에서 다른 학부모들을 보는 거... 정보가 너무 많아서 어떤 게 정말 애들한테 옳은 길인지 그거를 충분히 얘기할 수 있는 대상이 별로 없는 것 같아요.... 어떻게, 갈피를 잘 못잡겠어요. 한국 식으로 하자면, 애들 너무 tight 하게 가게 되고, 키위 식으로 하면 너무 또 loose 하게 되고, 그래서 중간 점을 잘 못 잡겠어요...” (Angela)

Often participants got neither support nor understanding from their Korean parents and even their spouses as first-generation migrants in adapting to the New Zealand style. Erica was frustrated with pressure from her first-generation Korean husband as well as advice from her mother on setting up the baby’s sleeping pattern. Erica preferred to keep a separate bed for the baby which is more common in New Zealand. However, her mother asked her “to share the bed with the baby (안고 자라고 같이)” and her husband insisted “that is what all Korean mothers would do (한국 엄마들은 다 그렇게 키운다고).” Her mother said Erica was “always very cold (맨날 막 매정하다)” for refusing to share the bed with the baby.

Participants found that there was no one in a position of adviser who understood the cultural differences and could help them navigate their way through when they had to deal with contradictory advice from both cultures. Participants described experiences in which it felt as if their Korean culture was being devalued and they were being discriminated against or misunderstood. For example, Peter was “shocked” and offended by some kindergarten teachers when they “actively discouraged” Peter and his wife from “speaking in Korean to the child.” They insisted that “kids don’t learn the language, and that we have to speak to her in English.” He pointed out that having a good reputation as a quality provider did not necessarily mean their teachers were culturally competent and understanding. The kindergarten is located in the North Shore of Auckland where the second most used language is Korean. He became concerned about pressure to assimilate rather than adapt to the mainstream society in their parenting practices. He expressed concerns about how it “increases pressure on the parents to somehow mould their children to fit into mainstream society somehow.”

Jane also described her struggles due to lack of understanding from New Zealanders. She spoke about what she identified as a subtle form of racism where some New Zealanders insist on the New Zealand way of parenting as the “right” way. For example, when she explained her Korean cultural practices, a New Zealand professional said “that is not the right way to do it (그렇게 하면 안된다)” because “it is not good for the child (그렇게 하면 애기한테 안 좋아).” She ended up arguing a lot. Furthermore, Jane’s husband encountered a serious issue with a senior manager during his internship programme due to a cultural clash about parenting. The manager also became a personal mentor to her husband and often saw how Jane and her husband parented their child at home. The manager did not approve of the Korean parenting style and demanded that they let go of it all together. He saw the willingness to let go as proof that Jane’s husband had the ability to relate to New Zealanders and fit into the New Zealand culture to be part of the leadership in the firm.

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

너가 키위사회, Kiwi society 속에 들어와서 살고, 니가 우리 키위 인턴쉽 하고 있으면 애를 그렇게 Korean 식으로 그렇게 키우는 상태에서 니가 앞에서 말을 하면 얼마나 많은 사람들이 너의 말을 그 뭐라고 하지요 얼마나 많이 습득력,,,이게 뭐지 습득력? ... 설득력이 있겠냐고? (Jane)

It was apparent that the 1.5 generation Kowis had no guidance to meet their unique needs while they were struggling with issues of conflicting advice based on cultural misunderstanding. Richard summarised it well by saying that “there are neither answers nor instructions for it. So when you search for information, you still have to find your own which would fit with your baby.”

In the midst of their challenging space, the participants identified their strengths in language and cultural competency in both cultures. For example, Suzan pointed out her ability to “almost flawlessly come in and out of the Korean culture and Kiwi culture (Korean culture 와 Kiwi culture 를 거의 완벽하게 드나들면서)” and “bridge the gap between the second generation and the first generation (2세대와 1세대의 그 gap 을 bridge 할 수 있다는 것).” She believed that these were “the biggest strengths (가장 큰 장점)” of the 1.5 generation Kowis, and that facilitated the ability to “take the best of both cultures to raise the next generation (두 문화의 좋은 장점을 취해서 그 다음 세대를 키울 수 있다는 것).”

Jean also identified her “understanding of two cultures; not a superficial but reasonably in-depth understanding” as part of the strength of the 1.5 generation Kowi as she “lived, breathed, immersed myself into two cultures, understanding of two cultures, even three because of Maori [local indigenous] culture as well.” Consequently, having this strength gives her the further advantage of having “an alternative” and “choices” and drawing on multiple cultural practices in decision making. Some participants also indicated how they brought creativity or flexibility in integrating both cultures. For instance, Hana incorporated food from both cultures when feeding children.

I mixed it because I could not find all the ingredients locally that were on the list of the Korean cook book. In the case of solids, I didn't add cheese when making rice soup, but put a piece of cheese on top of it (spoon).

한국 책에서 해주는 먹거리는 내가 구할 수 없는 재료도 많고 했기 때문에 섞었죠. 이유식 같은 경우는 뭐 죽에 치즈를 넣지는 않았지만 뭐 죽 끓인 다음에 치즈 올려서 먹이고 막 이런 식으로 그냥 뭐. 네 뭐 섞어서. (Hana)

The ability to have multiple options was identified by other participants as a unique strength. Pitt pointed out how often “one knows only one's own culture (자기 문화밖에는 모르는데)” whereas the 1.5 generation Kowis have the ability to “experience multiple cultures while both the Kiwi and Korean cultures coexist (다문화를 경험할 수 있으면서, 키위 문화와 한국문화를 두가지를 공존할 수 있는거니까)” naturally inside them.

Because of this ability in language and culture, they have freedom to take the best of both worlds into their parenting. Bryan emphasised that “neither the Korean values nor the New Zealand values can be always right when you compare two of them (한국의 가치관과 뉴질랜드의 가치관을 비교 했을 때, 어느 한 쪽이 다 옳다고 할 수는 없잖아요).” Hence in his view, “the strengths of the 1.5 generation Kowis is to be able choose what is best for children, only the good values out of the two (1.5 세대는 그걸 고를 수가 있잖아요. 그중에서 좋은 거를, 좋은 가치관을 애들한테 가르쳐 줄 수 있는거죠).”

Discussion

This research reveals that the 1.5 generation Kowis do live in a creative tension between complex cultural influences on their parenting and experience contradictory sources of parenting guidance and advice. In fact, the 1.5 generation Kowis began encountering conflicting parental roles and discipline styles as children soon after migration. This is because culture plays a major overarching role in shaping and influencing the way people parent.³⁶ Kowi children were parented in the Korean way because their first-generation parents had insufficient understanding and opportunity to integrate New Zealand ways of parenting. The 1.5 generation Kowis in this study found that the Korean parenting styles are inconsistent with the general norms of New Zealand socio-cultural environment, even though this encompasses different perceptions and practices regarding parental roles and acceptable parenting styles. Kowis therefore struggle in their search for answers, guidance and direction in their roles as parents. Certainly, any young parents would be baffled by the information overload about parenting in general and search for direction. The Kowis' conflicts could have also arisen because of personal factors and generational factors, besides cultural expectations. However, it was evident that the conflicting cultural expectations and advice brought added complexity and stress to the Kowis' parenting.

When some 1.5 generation Kowis have to make decisions and choose what works for them, while appreciating the choices available to them, they can feel stuck between two strong forces. Their first-generation parents insist on the traditional Korean way of parenting while some New Zealanders, including health professionals and educators, pressure them to follow New Zealand practices. As the Kowis were brought up with traditional Korean values in their family homes, they can find it difficult to go against advice from parents. *Hyo* (filial piety) in Confucianism has taught them to show total obedience to, and an unquestioning compliance with, parents' wishes as children.³⁷ Obedience to and interdependence with parents is an important part of the parent-child relationship in Korean culture.³⁸ It is likely to be difficult for the Kowis to challenge their parents when they offer unconditional love and support during the difficult time of becoming a first-time parent.

At the same time, it appears to be difficult for 1.5 generation Kowis to confront New Zealanders who try to impose their own ideas of parenting. They became accustomed to indirect communication styles while they were growing up. Confucianism has taught them not to embarrass anyone with disagreement or rejection because of holding different opinions.³⁹

36 Bornstein and Cheah, "The Place of "Culture and Parenting" in the Ecological Contextual Perspective on Developmental Science."

37 Kim and Hoppe-Graff, "Mothers' Roles in Traditional and Modern Korean Families: The Consequences for Parental Practices and Adolescent Socialization."

38 Kim, "Hyo and Parenting in Korea."

39 Yum, "The Impact of Confucianism on Interpersonal Relationships and Communication Patterns in East Asia."

In the end, the results of the current study suggest that 1.5 generation Kowis try to use a mixture of New Zealand and Korean parenting styles. They maintain some of the core values which they believe to be important from Korean culture, but make an effort to integrate some New Zealand practices, which will allow them to be more comfortable in and consistent with their environment.

As noted above, when parenting styles are inconsistent with the socio-cultural environment, children are more likely to have negative experiences of parenting. Studies also show that inconsistent parenting is more damaging in a collective society such as a Korean migrant community than in an individualistic society.⁴⁰ It will be critical to explore in the future the impact of the 1.5 generation Kowis' parenting on their second-generation children, because the Kowis combine and integrate multiple cultural influences from both Korea and New Zealand to find their own parenting style. The style chosen by Kowi parents may not, however, be consistent with the socio-cultural environment of the second-generation children. This could create negative experiences of parenting for the second generation even though there is a possibility that it could benefit the children through more resilient and creative parenting.

In terms of Kowis' strengths, there was a noticeable progression of integration from the parenting of the first-generation Korean migrants to the 1.5 generation Kowis, supported by their language and cultural competency. Participants indicate flexibility and resourcefulness, in that many of them have the ability to "almost flawlessly come in and out" of the two cultures with "reasonably in-depth understanding" to "take the best of both cultures to raise the next generation" with more resources. Their first-generation migrant parents were in most cases unable to integrate the two cultures due to barriers of language and deficiency in cultural understanding. They lacked the knowledge and opportunity to provide an integration of both cultures in their parenting of the Kowi children and found parenting stressful and challenging in the context of acculturation.⁴¹

However, what stands out from the interviews is that although the Kowis struggle over aspects of parenting, they recognise their ability to have "choices" and "alternatives" in parenting. Some of them showed creative approaches to integrate both cultures in their own way. Despite cultural conflicts, they even compared their situation to the New Zealand public in general or to Koreans in Korea, regarding their cultural experience as richer than that of others who are brought up in one culture. The Kowis seems to have progressed from their parents' "deficiency" to their own competency and richness in parenting.

Despite this pattern that emerged, instances of what participants perceived as discrimination need to be noted. In some cases, such experiences hindered Kowis from developing optimal parenting. As the participant Peter expressed, there is "pressure on the parents to somehow mould their children to fit into mainstream society." Such

40 Dwairy, "Parental Inconsistency Versus Parental Authoritarianism: Association with Symptoms of Psychological Disorders."

41 Dixon et al., "Family Resilience: The Settlement Experience for Asian Immigrant Families in New Zealand."

pressure was observed to occur from a very early stage and in areas of parenting such as sleeping arrangements, breastfeeding, language speaking, and introducing solid food to babies. It is clear that Kowis are dealing with cultural ignorance within the professional and wider community in New Zealand. They feel pressure to choose approaches condoned by their host culture and abandon traditional Korean practices. Cultural diversity and host societies' receptivity towards migrants are important factors in determining and influencing the wellbeing of migrants and their experiences of migration.⁴² There is a strong need for increased knowledge about cultural safety and competence on the part of professionals working with migrants and the 1.5 generation. For instance, they could play an important role in reducing the effects of the loss of support networks by assisting migrants to link with existing resources.⁴³ They could also mediate the cultural conflicts experienced by 1.5 generation parents. By acknowledging and understanding the cultural values of their clients, professionals can create a more optimal relationship that facilitates more effective intervention in their work.⁴⁴

It is important to note Kowis' search for guidance and assurance in the areas in which they feel uncertain and unclear. However, there are almost no resources for them to access because of their unique needs of living and parenting children at the interface of two very different cultures. They may have the abilities to potentially bring up even more resilient and skilful second-generation Kowis children than they were as migrant children, but they may struggle to do so because there is a lack of resources for these people in the New Zealand community at present.

The 1.5 generation Kowis are a group of people with global talents potentially beneficial to both New Zealand and Korea, as they are culturally adaptive in both Korean and New Zealand cultures. In her research, Jane YeonJae Lee asks a critical question about the 1.5 generation Kowis who have returned to Korea: "Can Korean New Zealander return migrants be considered as agents of change [in Korean society]?"⁴⁵ This question needs to be considered with respect to the deepening of the relationship in all its many aspects between the two nations, Korea and New Zealand. The 1.5 generation Kowis are not only agents of change but also have the potential to act as bridging agents between the two nations and cultures in day-to-day life. Their children could carry even more potential and ability to bridge the two nations and cultures. Hence, there needs to be more awareness and acceptance of 1.5 generation Kowis in

42 Elsie Ho et al., *Mental Health Issues for Asians in New Zealand: A Literature Review* (Wellington, N.Z: Mental Health Commission, 2003).

43 Ruth DeSouza, "New Spaces and Possibilities: The Adjustment to Parenthood for New Migrant Mothers," (Wellington, New Zealand: The Families Commission, 2006).

44 Irene J. Kim, Luke I. C. Kim, and James G. Kelly, "Developing Cultural Competence in Working with Korean Immigrant Families," *Journal of Community Psychology* 34, no. 2 (2006).

45 Jane YeonJae Lee, "A Trajectory Perspective Towards Return Migration and Development: The Case of Young Korean New Zealander Returnees," in *Korea: Politics, Economy and Society*, ed. Rudiger Frank, et al. (Leiden: The Netherlands: Brill, 2011).

New Zealand society in order to fully utilise their strengths and talents, and to ensure sustainable development where all parties involved can benefit. Otherwise both Korea and New Zealand lose valuable human capital resources.

Conclusion

There are a number of ways to assist the 1.5 generation Kowis' parenting. Their challenges suggest that it would be beneficial to provide culturally appropriate support like parenting programmes especially tailored for the 1.5 generation Kowis and their family members, in partnership between professionals within the Korean migrant community and New Zealand organisations. Kowis can face conflicting cultural advice from their own Korean parents and sometimes a first-generation spouse as well as New Zealanders. Family members would benefit from attending culturally relevant programmes to resource and guide them in partnership with the parenting of the 1.5 generation Kowis. The extended family has significant importance in the healthy development of the second-generation Kowis children. Their relationships will be still strongly tied to the extended family and be based on *samgang* (hierarchical order) and *oryun* (ethical relationships)⁴⁶ among the members as discussed earlier. Kowis children's health cannot be considered separately from their position in the family in relation to Korean heritage and identity.

There is a need to increase the amount of training and resources for New Zealand professionals to meet the specific needs of these groups of people: the first-generation migrants, the 1.5 generation Kowis and their second-generation children. Such education for New Zealand professionals will contribute to creating a more inclusive and supportive environment in our increasingly diverse society.

The mental health of 1.5 generation Kowis will have an impact on the development of the second-generation Kowis children. Stressed Kowis are likely to influence the second-generation children in their perception of the society. Stressed second-generation children are likely to struggle with their identity development, which may result in other mental health-related issues in their lives. As discussed above, it is evident that cultural diversity and host societies' receptivity towards migrants are important factors in influencing migrants' mental health and determining whether their experience of migration is negative or positive.⁴⁷ Hence, programmes and resources for migrants' integration from a young age will be one of the essential steps in maximising their ability to become active participants and contributing members to the community. Such resources will provide opportunities for them to strengthen their unique abilities and acknowledge their resourcefulness so that they can contribute more to the community. These forms of psycho education and support are more likely to foster flexibility and creativity in 1.5 generation Kowis, and to equip them to apply these strengths as they parent their own children in the midst of confusion and conflicting cultural advice.

46 Kim, "Hyo and Parenting in Korea."

47 Ho et al., *Mental Health Issues for Asians in New Zealand: A Literature Review*.

Biographical note

Ms Hyeun Kim originally came from Korea in 1994 as an English language student. She has worked with young people and their families in the community for many years. With her knowledge and experience as a researcher, educator, migrant, minister and counsellor, she has also worked with organisations and government agencies as a counsellor and consultant. As an advocate for Asian migrants in NZ, she is often invited to speak about migration and its related mental health issues in various workshops, at conferences and to tertiary education providers. Currently she is conducting research on the 1.5 generation Korean-Kiwis and their parenting as a PhD student at The University of Auckland.