The Experiences of Korean Immigrants Settling in New Zealand:

A Process of Regaining Control

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ABSTRACT

The success of all immigrants is significant to the harmony of New Zealand society since the government's goal is to build an inclusive society. For many Korean immigrants, however, settling in an unfamiliar environment potentially disrupts familiar routines, with deleterious effects on almost all aspects of their well-being. Despite Koreans being the fourth largest group of Asian immigrants, their experiences of settling in this country have been unheard. The purpose of this study is to listen to the voices of Korean immigrants and provide information to the receiving society that will assist with developing ways to make a Korean presence part of the cultural diversity in society.

This qualitative, grounded theory study included semi-structured interviews with 25 adult Korean immigrants living in the North Island of New Zealand. Theoretical sampling was used to collect data, which were analysed using methods of constant comparative analysis, conditional matrix and memoing. Through three stages of coding, data were fractured, conceptualised, and integrated to form a substantive grounded theory which has been named; A Process of Regaining Control: A Journey of Valuing Self.

Upon arrival, participants confronted circumstances that made realising the anticipated benefits of immigration difficult. They experienced a loss of control in performing previously valued activities. Language barriers and limited social networks, compounded by prejudiced social reception, were associated with their decreased involvement outside the home, leading to fewer options for acquiring knowledge necessary to function autonomously in their new environment.

In response, participants worked on Regaining Control by exercising choices over what they do through opting for enacting 'Korean Ways' or 'New Zealand Ways'. They initially sought a culturally familiar environment in which they engaged in activities that involved drawing on previous knowledge and skills. Continuing with accustomed activities utilising ethnic resources provided a pathway to learning about their new surroundings and thus increasing their feeling of mastery in a new country. This experience strengthened participants' readiness to engage in activities reflective of New Zealand society.

The significance of this study is that it discovers that Valuing Self is what the participants wish to accomplish, beyond the scope of mastery in a new environment. Participants continually search for a place whereby they can be accepted and valued as

members of society. However, this study reveals that prejudice and discrimination towards immigrants set constraints on engagement in occupations of meaning and choices. Immigrants face socio-environmental restriction when they continue with necessary or meaningful activities, even when they have the ability to execute a particular activity. This finding makes it clear that occupation is inseparable from the societal factors in which it occurs.

Further research is necessary to explore societal contexts to enrich knowledge of human occupation and how immigrants' full participation in civic society can be promoted. Specifically, it is recommended that researchers examine what makes Korean immigrants feel valued as members of society, from the participants' point of view, in order to assist with the development of the settlement support policy and services that best facilitates their journeys of Valuing Self in New Zealand.

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ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person or material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a University or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgment.

Signed: _____

Dated: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I never imagined that I would complete a doctorate in my lifetime. This is my three and half year voyage of learning. For me, immigrating to New Zealand has been a journey in which I have had to find a place where I can value myself as a member of society. Promoting diversity through this study is the way in which I can make a contribution to my new home country, Aotearoa New Zealand.

There are many people to whom I am greatly indebted. I have been supported and encouraged by family, friends, and colleagues. Without their love and support, this study would not have been possible.

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I am enormously thankful to the 25 participants who were willing and open to share their stories. Their honesty and openness made a valuable contribution to the development of this thesis. I cannot thank them enough for their participation. This thesis would not have been possible without the contributions of the participants.

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ETHICAL APPROVAL

This research project was approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) on 23 May 2011, with reference number 11/61.

Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

Immigrants from all over the world have changed the face of many countries worldwide. By the 2010s, immigrants comprised 11% of the French population, 12% of the German population, 15.9% of the Swedish population, and 20% of the Canadian population (United Nations, 2013). In these countries, daily life routines in work places, schools, and leisure clubs have been dramatically changed by the inflow of immigrants. New Zealand is not exempt from this global phenomenon since by 2013 a quarter of all New Zealanders were overseas-born (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Given that New Zealand's social goal is to build an inclusive society (Ministry of Social Development, 2003), the successful settlement of immigrants is recognised to be crucial for their full participation in their communities, which has influenced the theme of multiculturalism in social policy that aims to celebrate diversity in society (Cheyne, O'Brien, & Belgrave, 2008).

The focus of this study is on the experience of Korean immigrants, who are the fourth largest group within the Asian ethnic population in New Zealand. The 30,171 Korean immigrants who resided in 2013, comprised approximately 0.6 percent of the total population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). It is a small community with a unique cultural and linguistic background (Ministry of Health, 2006), with 89% of all Koreans being the first generation in this country, predominantly being monolingual and having a strong attachment to their own culture (Chang, Morris, & Vokes, 2006; Statistics New Zealand, 2013c).

Currently, limited information is available in New Zealand based literature regarding Korean immigrants' lives. Their issues are often overshadowed by and conflated with the larger and more established Chinese and Indian communities, and are under-reported in most official documents as they are usually combined with the whole Asian population, being simply included as 'others' in New Zealand reports (Badkar, Tuya, Callister, & Didham, 2010).

Nevertheless, what is known gives cause for concern. Their relatively recent arrival contributes to Korean immigrants finding it difficult to get to know their neighbours, resulting in their maintaining a spectator's status in New Zealand (Epstein, 2006). It is known that many Korean immigrants struggle to cope with re-establishing daily activities due to their insufficient local knowledge, compounded by an unwelcoming attitude towards new immigrants from the receiving society (McKinnon, 2006; Spoonley, 1993), and this

experience contains the high possibility of undermining their perception of identity and well-being (Im & Yang, 2006).

For Korean immigrants, holding a minority status is associated with the disruption of family life (Ho, Au, Bedford, & Cooper, 2002), whilst their new arrival status results in their having limited social networks (Choi & Thomas, 2009). This confines opportunities for their involvement in the host community, leading to them enduring high levels of isolation and unemployment (Meares, Ho, Peace, & Spoonley, 2010; Song, 2013). Furthermore, given that health is created by people within the settings of their everyday life (WHO, 2001), increasing numbers of Korean immigrants have a heightened risk of diverse health problems, in particular mental health problems such as anxiety and depression, due to difficulties with settlement in a new society (Chang et al., 2006; Te Pou, 2010).

There is growing concern that Korean immigrants experience great obstacles in their path and, as a result, their potential is underestimated which may limit their capacity to participate in civic society. Hence enhancing their capacity to be part of New Zealand's national identity is a necessity. This issue is, however, not well addressed by current policy on immigrant settlement which largely focuses on obtaining paid employment (Ho et al., 2002; North, Trlin, & Henderson, 2004). There is a knowledge gap in the area of support, especially from the perspective of the Korean population, leading to a growing need for research into what are perceived to be unique and pressing issues for being a Korean immigrant in the New Zealand context. To date, research in this area has been identified as lacking (Park & Anglem, 2012).

To explore how Korean immigrants re-build their lives, their daily occupations were brought to the analysis. The term 'occupation' refers to the ordinary activities that people do on a daily basis (Creek; 2010). The rationale for this analytic lens is that I believe immigration is a process of adaptation (Berry, 1997); thus, it is necessary to question what these adaptational tasks are (Lazarus, 1997). In relation to understanding these adaptational tasks, I came to appreciate that a critical component is the occupations in which immigrants engage (Nayar, Hocking, & Giddings, 2012), as occupation forms the fabric of everyday lives, providing the context for interaction with others (Christiansen & Townsend, 2010; Whiteford, 2010; Wilcock, 2003).

As such, the adaptational tasks which occur during the settlement process can be interpreted as occupational changes that immigrants are expected to deal with. For example, whilst immigrants can continue to do some of their daily occupations as they had in their mother country, many occupations are altered or newly added (Connor Schisler & Polatajko,

2002; Torp, Berggren, & Erlandsson, 2013). Drawing on the concept of "recycling the old me into the new me through occupations" (Clark, Ennevor, & Richardson, 1996, p. 374), it would appear that occupations can be mediating devices in the process of adaptation during settlement (Johansson et al., 2013). This suggests that using occupation as a unit of analysis can provide insights into the adjustment process of immigration (Gupta & Sullivan, 2013), and holds promise for gaining an understanding of immigrants' needs (Brown, 2008). This justifies that an occupational lens is well suited to undertaking this particular study.

In this research, grounded theory is used. It is associated with the interpretive paradigm which aims to understand what meanings humans attach to events in their lives (Grant & Giddings, 2002). In particular, I employ grounded theory as explicated by Corbin and Strauss (2008) who regard action as pivotal to people's lives (Strauss, 1987) and as shaping their reality (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Strauss conceptualised action at an occupational level. Strauss's theory of action, therefore, is useful for understanding "the embodied nature of occupational performance, its role in generating and sustaining meaning, and its relationship to self and identity processes" (Hocking, 2000a, p. 64).

Corbin and Strauss' grounded theory places social interaction and social processes at the centre of its attention whilst exploring meanings people attach to the situations they experience (Stanley & Cheek, 2003; Strauss, 1987). In doing so, it offers new insight and greater understanding of how the social world works (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). Using their version of grounded theory, the focus of this study is how Korean immigrants respond to changed conditions (immigration) and to the consequences (settlement process) of their own behaviours and attitudes (engagement in occupations).

Purposes of the Study

Given the dearth of knowledge regarding how Korean immigrants create a place and sustain well-being in New Zealand (Epstein, 2006; Park & Anglem, 2012), the purpose of this study is to produce a theory which is rigorously induced from their experiences. Using grounded theory methodology, this study focuses on exploring 'what is happening' in situations which Korean immigrants find problematic and follows how they act under the diverse structural conditions in which phenomena are located (Corbin & Strauss, 2008); consequently, the findings of this study will contribute to knowledge of the richness and diversity of human experiences in the social science literature.

The findings will supplement the many qualitative and quantitative immigration studies wherein the term acculturation has been used synonymously with assimilation (Deutscher, 2004; Mui & Kang, 2006). Application of that research to the globalised context is doubtful because the ideology of globalisation clearly visualises a borderless world (Frank, 2013). In this sense, the purpose of this study is to introduce explanations which are reflective of multiculturalism, in which immigrants are able to stay connected with their cultural origins (Nayar, 2013), to inform the development of policy and social services to maximise immigrants' full participation in the receiving society.

Another purpose of this study is to increase understanding of the impact of immigration on human occupations. Knowledge is beginning to emerge about immigration in occupational science literature. Studies indicate that immigration is a major life-transition that disrupts people's established occupations, and conclude that when immigrants' occupational choices are out of balance, their health and well-being are compromised (Bhugra, 2004; Brown, 2008; Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002; Farias & Asaba, 2013; Gupta, 2013; Gupta & Sullivan, 2013; Huot & Laliberte Rudman, 2010; Huot, Laliberte Rudman, Dodson, & Magalhães, 2013; Krishnagiri, Fuller, Ruda, & Diwan, 2013; Mondaca & Josephsson, 2013; Mpofu & Hocking, 2013; Nayar, 2009; Nayar et al., 2012; Nayar & Sterling, 2013; Suto, 2013; Tsai & Coleman, 1999). Through generating knowledge of how Korean immigrants connect with different places through their daily occupations, this study will make concepts of immigration more visible in the field of occupational science.

Personal Background to the Study

This study is motivated by my personal experience as an immigrant who deeply struggled to re-build a new home in New Zealand, and my professional experience as a social worker who has witnessed how difficulties related to immigration impact on individual immigrants' health and well-being here. Both experiences have given me insightful understandings of how immigration alters one's life and changes one's perception of self.

My first experience of an overseas lifestyle happened at the age of 24 years, when I attended a language course in Rockhampton, a small city in Australia, two decades ago. At that time, I did not have to relocate myself into this city as I had a place to return to in Korea. I was just a traveller who was hospitably treated by the local people. Recalling those days I enjoyed getting all the benefits of being a sojourner in town. Because of this delightful

experience, I often dreamt of immigration, particularly when I was fed up with the high level of competition in the Korean society, and eventually I immigrated to New Zealand in 2003.

It was, however, my mistake that I did not realise that there were differences between being a traveller and being an immigrant when I came to this country. I was naïve in thinking that if I immigrated, I would enjoy the same lifestyle as I had decades ago as a language student. At this time, I had my own family whom I had to look after so I had to re-build a home as soon as possible, even though I was not ready to do so. It did not take long for me to experience these differences. As I reflect on my experiences, I realise that I know what it is to be an immigrant in a new country, particularly one with an ethnic minority status. My journey included countless challenges with regard to raising my children, supporting my family as a bread winner, negotiating roles with my wife, and staying connected to my own family in Korea.

From my training in social work, I came to appreciate that we are inseparable from societal factors that condition or control us (van Heugten, 2001); thus, it is important to empower people to develop their full potential with a consideration of socio-environmental contexts. As a social worker, my main concern was the social relations and social conditions of immigrants' lives, assuming the equitable distribution of resources and power would advance their health and well-being. This conviction was reflected in my Master's thesis at Massey University: *Employment issues of the Korean migrant community* (Kim, 2007). In this thesis, I emphasised the influential relationship between the person and the environment with regard to 'employment'.

In 2009, undertaking some papers in occupational science as part of my personal development broadened my view of the social world. A basic belief of occupational science is that "people are naturally motivated to explore their world and demonstrate mastery within it" (Christiansen & Baum, 1997a, p. 48). This scientific perspective helped me to clarify my understanding that human beings are inevitably conditioned by the contexts in which they find themselves; yet they are active in relation to their environment. To a great extent they control what to do (Crotty, 1998; Dominelli, 1997); that is to say, the basic tenet of occupational science is that humans address obstacles through engagement in occupations (Baum & Christiansen, 1997). This provided the useful idea of empowerment for immigrants, through enabling occupations that acknowledge people's "fundamental need to participate in various occupations as empowered citizens" (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004, p. 77). I became eager to explore what actually happens and how Korean immigrants respond during the settlement process using this idea of occupational science.

Through my social work experience with immigrants, combined with my knowledge of occupational science, situating myself as a researcher in this study contributes to an increased understanding of what lies within immigrants' lives. I firmly believe that bringing an occupational lens to the challenges experienced by immigrants, whilst acknowledging the role of social structures, will generate knowledge about what immigrants actually need for successful settlement. I began this study to assist the receiving society to be responsive to people of different cultures, and to be congruent in spirit, truth and meaning to their worlds by bringing new insights into the complexity of human occupation.

Theoretical Assumptions Underpinning the Study

Symbolic interactionism is the theoretical perspective underpinning this study. From this perspective, humans are acting organisms coping with situations and controlling what they do based on their definition of the situation through social interaction (Blumer, 1969). For the symbolic interactionist, 'the world' refers to the social world which is interpreted and experienced by the subjects (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Hence, I, as a researcher, focus on discovering the realities of the subjects (immigrants) and understanding how they define their world through social interaction. The lens of occupational science and social work are additional perspectives that I bring to the study to accomplish this: Occupational science emphasises mutual relationship between person, environment and occupation (Yerxa, Clark, Jackson, Pierce, & Zemke, 1990), while social work attests that the self is inseparable from general circumstances and the available resources (McMaster, 2001).

Symbolic interactionism, together with occupational science and social work, provides the theoretical insights from which I have conducted the literature review and analysed data for this study. Charmaz (2014) advocated that using several theoretical perspectives in combination with symbolic interactionism to study the social world will widen researchers' methodological directions and deepen their theoretical insights as stated below:

> Can you integrate several theoretical perspectives? Of course. Purity fosters preconception. Theoretical integration may expand and enlarge your methodological directions and your theoretical insights. With any theoretical lens, see if, how, and to what extent it works. (p. 279)

As such, knowledge of occupational science and social work will increase the power of symbolic interactionism in relation to understanding how immigrants act in response to their view of their situations.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism, which was named by Herbert Blumer (1969), is a social-psychological theory of social action that focuses on the acting individual rather than on the social system (Bowers, 1988). The term 'symbolic interaction' refers to the process by which individuals continually designate symbols to each other and to the self (Charon, 2010). Symbolic interactionism attests that meaning is constructed and encourages us to view meaning as objects people attach to situations through the process of self-interaction and social interaction (Denzin, 1992; Gray, 2004).

Symbolic interactionism is rooted in constructionism, which as an epistemology, explains the nature of knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). According to constructionists, there is no objective truth waiting for us to discover; instead, meanings are constructed by human beings (Crotty, 1998). From their perspective, meanings emerge only when our consciousness engages with objects in the world we are interpreting (Charmaz, 2006). Blumer (1969) reflected this idea in his world view, suggesting that all knowledge is contingent upon human practices. In other words, truth exists in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world (Reynolds, 2003).

Accordingly, diverse understandings can be formed because we may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon (Iwama, 2010). In this regard, symbolic interactionism can best be understood in contrast to 'functionalism', which takes the theoretical position that the world exists as a whole unit comprised of interrelated, functioning parts (Bowers, 1988). From a symbolic interactionism perspective, people take a role in interpreting objects and make decisions as to what they are to them (Crotty, 1998). This perspective helps us to appreciate that "objects are not inherently meaningful; rather individuals assign meaning in general, and identify in particular, through interaction" (Marvasti, 2006, p. 529).

Symbolic interactionism is historically traced back to the work of the American pragmatist philosophers of the early twentieth century such as Charles Pierce, William James, and John Dewey (Charmaz, 2014; Crotty, 1998). Charles Pierce held that human behaviours are initiated by the irritation of doubt and proceed to some resolution (Reynolds, 2003).

William James postulated that humans are active agents of their lives as they formulate workable plans of action for coping with their surroundings (Prus, 2003). John Dewey believed that everything that exists, in as far as it is known and knowable, is in interaction with other things (Shalin, 1986). James and Dewey's ideas were seized upon by George Herbert Mead, who suggested that organism and environment are co-determinants of knowledge (Mead, 1934). As such, pragmatism is a post-Darwinian philosophy in which "the principle of subject-object relativity was replaced with that of the relativity of organism and environment" (Shalin, 1986, p. 10).

Despite Pierce, James, Dewey, and Mead's differences, the common theme in pragmatism is that individuals, living together in society, are reflective and interactive beings with the possession of selves (Manis & Meltzer, 1972) who almost always interpret the environment according to its usefulness (Charon, 2010). For pragmatists, individuals continually adapt to their environment, changing actions to meet the exigencies of the situation and transforming the situation to satisfy practical needs. The root of knowledge is not to be found in knowledge itself; it is to be sought in action; that is, "knowing does not exist for its own sake, but for the sake of doing" (Shalin, 1986, p. 11). Any knowledge, therefore, should be judged on the basis of the fruitfulness of the practical consequences that result from its adoption (Charmaz, 2014). The pragmatic philosophy of G. H. Mead and his Chicago colleagues reminds researchers to constantly ask, "What use is it?" (Deutscher, 2004, p. 452); and thus for pragmatists, "truth is synonymous with the solution of the problem" (Reynolds, 2003, p. 47).

This American based pragmatism, which focused on the action, and in particular, the thoughts of Mead has contributed to the foundations of symbolic interactionism (Crotty, 1998; Reynolds, 2003). For Mead (1934), the self is comprised of two components, the 'I' and the 'Me'. The 'I' is the active, interactive, dynamic, interpreting component of the self, whereas the 'Me' is the object of self-reflection. The 'I' initiates action and stands for the act prior to its coming under the influence of other actors' expectations, which are incorporated in the 'Me'. In other words, the individual takes on the role of the other person in the environment and tries to view him or herself as others do. Thus, the 'Me' is constructed through on-going social interaction which begins at birth, in which the individual person interprets social cues from the environment; that is, the self is the accumulation of all previously experienced social interaction as interpreted and synthesised by the 'I'.

Mead's belief is that every person is socially constructed in and out of interaction with their society (Marvasti, 2006; Stryker, 1980). For Mead, all group life is basically a matter of

cooperative behaviour; thus, he viewed human behaviour as social behaviour and human acts as social acts (Manis & Meltzer, 1972). It was Mead who recognised that humans interpret each other's actions as the way of acting toward one another, and encouraged Blumer to think about what the act of interpretation implied in relation to understanding of human being and human association (Charon, 2010). According to Blumer (1969), the essentials of Mead's analysis were that 1) people interpret the meaning of objects and then act upon those interpretations, 2) meanings arise from the process of social interaction, 3) meanings are often modified by people whilst dealing with the phenomena they encounter.

Based on Mead's thought, Blumer presented the basic premise of symbolic interactionism as being that 'the self' is not something we are but an object we actively construct and perform through daily social interaction with others. This is only possible because of the significant symbols that humans share (Blumer, 1969). Humans construct their selves by interpreting each other's actions through putting themselves in the place of the other (Charon, 2010). This means that the selves which make up the person in the now are not the selves that he/she will be in the future or were in the past; that is to say, "the self is fundamentally a process" (Bowers, 1988, p. 38). Indeed, symbolic interactionism views that the self is never a finished entity but is continually evolving (Blumer, 1969). The central notion of symbolic interactionism is, therefore, a process of interpretation with which humans construct their selves, being able to create the worlds of experience in which they live (Denzin, 1992).

As social and thinking beings, people define situations they are in through social interaction and active involvement in what they do. Consequently, symbolic interactionism positions the human as maker, doer, actor, and self-director; and thus, action is vital in understanding human life (Manis & Meltzer, 1972; Strauss, 1987). In symbolic interactionism, the mind arises out of the use of language, and with the belief that ideas are first and foremost plans of action (Reynolds, 2003). Symbolic interactionism, therefore, explores and examines the natural world that people have constructed, which they reproduce through their ongoing activities and which they constantly interpret (Blaikie, 1993). From this perspective, "knowledge arises through the acting and interacting of self-reflective beings, and those activities are typically precipitated by a problematic situation, where one cannot automatically or habitually respond" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 2).

The understanding of symbolic interactionism helped me to choose grounded theory as a methodology for this study as it places participants' actions at the centre of its attention with regard to analysis (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Indeed, grounded theory is a

methodology developed for the purpose of studying social phenomena from the standpoint of symbolic interactionism (Charmaz, 2014). Just as individuals interact with each other through a process of 'taking the role of the other', grounded theorists attempt to take the role of the research subject. Through this process, grounded theorists are able to immerse themselves in the world of the research subjects and as a result, remain close to the experiences of the people they are studying about (Bowers, 1988; Denzin, 1992).

Given that symbolic interactionism has been criticised for a lack of attention to structural constraints on people (Reynolds, 2003; Valenta, 2009), I had a dilemma when trying to apply the worldview of symbolic interactionism to this study. According to the critics, symbolic interactionism has specific cultural and class limitations because it reflects mostly the American middle class and White ideology whose worldview is that human beings have free will and are dominant in the ecosystem (Crotty, 1998; Reynolds, 2003; Shibutani, 1991). For instance, symbolic interactionists largely believe that an environment may exist, but it is the definition of it which is vital to people (Charon, 2010). Blumer (1969) also positioned human beings as actively responding to the environment, proposing that "pre-existing structural and cultural conditions are only a matter the human actor takes into account in mapping his line of action" (p. 16).

In symbolic interactionism, it is believed that humans have the ability to accommodate unexpected exigencies and to adjust independently (Shibutani, 1991). In other words, although symbolic interactionism does not deny the existence of social structures, it assumes that people construct and reproduce them (Bowers, 1988; Charmaz, 2014). Accordingly, the terms 'conditioning', 'responding', 'controlled' or 'formed' are not used in symbolic interaction (Charon, 2010). For the symbolic interactionist who inherits the worldview of the White American middle class (Reynolds, 2003), there is a tendency to believe that what happens to us happens through us, and we can neither affect ourselves with it nor revolt against it nor resign ourselves to it (Cottingham, 1996). Consistent with the view that it is our responsibility to define what is important (Chang, 2000), symbolic interactionism tends to pay less attention to the impact of the contexts on individuals' actions (Stryker, 1980).

I was initially reluctant to accept this worldview as the idea of 'free will' is against my experience as an immigrant and as a social worker. If I accepted this perception, there would be no race differences in a general sense of mastery since people would be capable of doing whatever they chose to by exercising their free will (Callender, 2010). However, in reality there would be race-related constraints; that is, ethnic immigrants face more

constraints than members of the dominant groups (Lachman & Prenda Firth, 2004). I wondered whether this perspective was right, that most of the blame for problematic behaviours would belong to individuals who acted toward an object based on the beliefs and assumptions they had about it (Cottingham, 1996). I assumed that symbolic interactionism might not fit with the lives of ethnic immigrants who are often marginalised because of their ethnic minority status. This dilemma continued until I recognised that several scholars have worked to expand a structural dimension in symbolic interactionism.

I eventually found evolving ideas of symbolic interactionism from Shibutani and Stryker, who have successfully incorporated structural elements into symbolic interactionism (Deutscher, 2004). They developed a more structurally oriented version of symbolic interactionism. Shibutani (1955) introduced the term of 'reference groups', whose norms are applied as anchoring points in structuring the self. Stryker (1980) also implied that "both society and person are abstractions from on-going social interaction" (p. 2). Their ideas help me to appreciate "who I am depends on the 'Me' that is called forth by the social context" (Bowers, 1988, p. 37). I align myself with Stryker and Shibutani who attested that the self is constructed at the crossroads of narrative, social interaction, and institutional life (Valenta, 2009).

Through immersing myself in Shibutani (1955), Stryker (1980, 1987) and Valenta's (2009) structurally oriented version of symbolic interactionism, I came to accept that truth exists within the self, but varies and changes according to the broader contexts in which the self is inextricably embedded (Iwama, 2010). For me, the self and the environment are inseparable as the environment potentially offers opportunities, resources, and also constraints (Stryker, 1987). In this study, therefore, it is equally important to examine societal contexts as much as the process of self-interaction.

Shibutani and Stryker's version of symbolic interactionism makes it possible to consider that "reality is socially constructed through symbolic interaction" (Marvasti, 2006, p. 529). From their point of view, various life events will affect to some degree how immigrants deploy their ethnic markers in everyday life; hence, it is important to be sensitive to the particular context that imports a distinctive character to everyday situations of ethnic immigrants (Esman, 2004). The strategies used by immigrants differ depending on the specific characteristics of a given aspect of social reality they are confronted with. This justifies the selection of occupational science and social work as theoretical perspectives in analysis of data because "occupation provides the mechanism for social interaction" (Wilcock, 2006, p. 9) whilst any explanation of a person's experience would be "incomplete

without locating it within the larger conditional frame in which it is embedded" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 17). Bringing occupational science and social work into the analysis is beneficial when I understand what is happening in the participants' real world from the perspective of symbolic interactionism.

Occupational Science

Occupational science was established in the last decades of the 20th century. In the 1980s, Elizabeth Yerxa and colleagues developed it to study "universal issues about occupation" (Yerxa et al., 1990, p. 4). According to Jackson (1996), occupational science is grounded in the notion that "the human is an occupational being and that the drive to be occupied has evolutionary, psychological, social, and symbolic roots" (p. 341). In 2010, Molineux stated that occupational science deals with the nature and structure of occupation. Wright-St. Clair and Hocking (2014) also postulated that occupational science explores the complexities of human engagement in occupations. From their point of view, it is clear that occupation is the central concept within occupational science (Stadnyk, Townsend, & Wilcock, 2010). It is a basic science which studies the complicated relationships between 'people' and 'what they do' (Hocking & Wright-St. Clair, 2011).

As a basic science, its focus always remains the same, that human beings are occupational beings; that is to say, humans are most true to their humanity when they engage in occupations (Hasselkus & Rosa, 1997). Human existence depends on the enablement of opportunities and resources for participation in health-building occupations (Wilcock, 2006). Based on this belief, occupational science regards occupation as the bricks and mortar in the construction of a life (Zemke & Clark, 1996). A key role for occupational scientists is, therefore, to examine the form, function and meaning of occupations in humans' lives (Reed, Smythe, & Hocking, 2013; Stadnyk et al., 2010). In doing so occupational science contributes to developing a body of knowledge about occupation (Wilcock, 2001).

Additionally, occupational science is no longer a monopolised product of occupational therapists (Molineux & Whiteford, 2006). Given that occupations are experienced subjectively by the people who engage in them, holding different meanings for different people (Creek, 2010; Hocking, 2000b), multiple definitions of occupation co-exist (Laliberte Rudman et al., 2008), which may bring with it many complexities and a strikingly broad range of questions. Because of its complexity, occupational science needs to be inclusive of a wide range of research and entail a synthesis of interdisciplinary perspectives,

to provide a coherent corpus of knowledge about occupation (Kielhofner, 2009; Wright-St. Clair & Hocking, 2014; Zemke & Clark, 1996). Interactions across disciplines are necessary and will expand ways of thinking about occupation. From this perspective, occupational science is "an interdisciplinary field of study concerned with understanding human occupation" (Molineux, 2010, p. 380).

Occupation

Occupation is defined as "the stuff of everyday life" (Townsend & Polatajko, 2007, p. 24), including "what people do minute by minute, hour by hour … year by year" (Wilcock, 2001, p. 412). Accordingly, occupation embraces all activities that people do on a daily basis such as 'eating', 'dressing', 'making a cup of tea', or even 'driving' (Creek, 2010; Hocking & Wright-St. Clair, 2011). Through those activities, we fill time, create the circumstances of our everyday existence, interpret and comprehend the world, and express ourselves and make our place in the world (Christiansen & Townsend, 2010; Hasselkus, 2011). In this sense, occupation is as old as humanity because we have to do those activities for survival, and as such it connects us to social and cultural environments (Kielhofner, 2009; Reed et al., 2013).

Further, in everyday life, our daily occupations provide the basis for our feelings about ourselves and our relationships with others (Christiansen & Baum, 1997a; Townsend & Polatajko, 2007). Whilst performing occupations, we attach meaning to those occupations with which we make sense of our existence and give it coherence (Christiansen, 1999; Hasselkus & Rosa, 1997; Kielhofner, 2002). In other words, we construct meaning and give life meaning through engagement in occupations (Hinojosa, Kramer, Royeen, & Luebben, 2003). Hasselkus (2011) proposed that the relationship between meaning, identity and occupation is inseparable:

> What we do in our day to day lives and the meaning created of those doings
> are inextricably bound together in the flow of life, ... and at the same time,
> ever building the delta of our being, our self and who we are becoming. (p. xi)

As Hasselkus noted above, humans forge their identity through a reflexive process in which they make choices of occupation and create meaning; that is to say, humans' identity is largely shaped by daily patterns of occupational participation (Christiansen & Townsend, 2010; Law & Baum, 2001). This idea well fits with a belief of symbolic interactionism that the self is the accumulation of all previously experienced social interaction (Mead, 1934). For the symbolic interactionist, the self is socially constructed through social interaction (Blumer,

1969), and the way in which individuals interact with others can be visualised as the engagement in occupations (Whiteford, 2010).

Given the fact that humans are "reflective, creative, active, and social creatures" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 270), it can be translated into occupational science literature that humans become what they have done, or as being what they are doing (Zemke & Clark, 1996). This means that occupation can be conceptualised as 'doing', 'being', 'becoming' and 'belonging' as in combination they epitomise occupation (Gupta & Sullivan, 2013; Wilcock, 1998, 2001, 2006). Hasselkus (2011) also supported this inter-relationship of occupation, suggesting that 'doing' significantly impacts on 'being' and a balance between 'doing' and 'being' is central to 'becoming' and 'belonging'. Although this division is purely arbitrary for clarity of exploration, the essence of their suggestions makes it clear that the self is largely constructed by participation in occupation (Law & Baum, 2001; Rebeiro, Day, Semeniuk, O'Brien, & Wilson, 2001).

Doing

In occupational science literature, the aspect of doing in occupation is highlighted, as occupation is often described as "everything that we do in life" (Law & Baum, 2001, p. 6). Indeed, 'doing' is a word that appears to be synonymous with occupation (Wilcock, 1998). According to Hasselkus (2011), 'doing' refers to all activities that we do in order to carry out our daily lives, and incorporates physical, social, psychological, emotional, and spiritual dimensions. We are involved in our life situations through 'doing' because it is the interface between us and our environment (Creek, 2010). In this sense, the 'doing' aspect of occupation involves activities that support daily life in the home and community (Hocking & Wright-St. Clair, 2011; O'Toole, 2011).

The 'doing' aspect of occupation is variously described as follows; 'all purposeful activities that fill a person's waking hours' (Sabonis-Chafee, 1989), 'chunks of daily activity that can be named within the culture' (Zemke & Clark, 1996), and 'all the things that people do within the stream of time' (Whiteford, Klomp, & Wright-St. Clair, 2005). It is, therefore, impossible to imagine the world of humans without 'doing' as we are almost constantly engaged in 'doing' (Wilcock, 2006). For example, humans have to do things to prepare food for fuelling life, do other things to be safe in their environment whilst doing things with others to develop communities that form culture. As such, "people have an innate need to do because survival, as well as health, depends on it" (Wilcock, 2006, p. 78).

There is a common recognition that the purposes of 'doing' encompass 'looking after self' (self-care), 'enjoying life' (leisure), and 'doing something to be productive' (productivity) (Hammell, 2009; Reed & Sanderson, 1999). Firstly, occupations in self-care are those activities that are necessary for maintaining self within the environment, ranging from personal care to community living (Christiansen & Baum, 1997a; Creek, 2010). Secondly, productivity occupations include those activities which enable the person to provide support to self, family and society through the production of goods and services (Knight et al., 2007). Lastly, leisure occupations are those activities which contain freedom of choice in participation without a particular goal other than enjoyment (Primeau, 2003).

From the standpoint of symbolic interactionism, humans construct the world they live in (Denzin, 1992). This view attests that individuals, living together in society, develop selves through social interaction (Manis & Meltzer, 1972). The 'doing' aspects of occupation seem to provide the mechanism of this process because we interact with people whilst 'doing' things with others in these three areas of occupations (Creek, 2010; Whiteford, 2010; Wilcock, 1998). For this reason, exploring the 'doing' aspects of immigrants' lives will enrich understanding of how immigrants construct the world in which they live in a new country. I will analyse Korean immigrants' lives in the New Zealand context based on these three categories of 'doing' in Chapter Two.

Being, becoming and belonging

Alongside the 'doing' aspect of occupation, the concept of 'being' and 'becoming' emerged in the 1990s and later the concept of 'belonging' appeared in the 2000s (Kielhofner, 2009; Wilcock, 1998, 2001, 2006). This trilogy of occupation then became an integral, necessary, and explanatory field of occupational science (Rebeiro et al., 2001). Townsend and Polatajko (2007) pointed to the relationship between occupation and being as follows:

> How we dress, the choices we make in spending our leisure time, and the manner in which we make our living are all vehicles that express our own personal meaning. The profound link between meaning and occupation is inextricably interwoven into what we believe, who we are, and the self that we portray to our external environment through occupation. (p. 61)

According to Wilcock (2006), 'being' refers to "the essential nature of someone; their essence or substance, soul, spirit, psyche, or core; their inner person or persona" (p. 114).

'Being' largely emanates from the everyday doing of our lives (Hasselkus, 2011). Humans continually construct who they are in dialectical interaction with a complex

environment through aspects of doing (Farias & Asaba, 2013). Creek (2010) implied that participation in occupation defines who we are, either as individuals or as members of communities. Whiteford (2007) also postulated that "we come to know who we are relative to what we have done" (p. 79). From this regard, occupation came to be recognised as being important in constructing a sense of self. The things that we engage in on a daily basis greatly define who we are, differentiating us from one another (Goldstein, 1996; Wilcock, 2006). In other words, our sense of self is generated from our history of occupational participation (Christiansen & Baum, 1997b; Forsyth & Kielhofner, 2006).

In addition to the 'being' aspect of occupation, occupational science holds a view that through occupation people are in a constant state of becoming. In 1998, Wilcock proposed that "becoming through doing and being is part of daily life for all people on earth" (p. 248). In her view, 'becoming' can be defined as 'become, to grow, for something to come into being'. Additionally, people set goals throughout life, and through occupations they achieve these goals and experience success and self-efficacy. This process suggests that a person's sense of self emerges as a result of his/her experiences of occupations (Christiansen & Townsend, 2010); that is to say, "it is through doing that people become what they have the potential to be" (Wilcock, 2001, p. 413). This perspective acknowledges that our daily occupations largely determine who we want to be and will be in the future, and holds the notions of potential and growth which we can find through occupations which are meaningful to us (Christiansen & Baum, 1997b; Wilcock, 1998; Zemke & Clark, 1996). Humans can become different, even if they cease trying to become by interpreting the situations whilst they engage in occupations (Wilcock, 2006).

In dictionaries, 'belonging' is described as "the fact of appertaining or being a part; relationship" (Oxford Dictionary, 2002, p. 215). Being accepted and knowing that you belong is strongly aligned to a sense of fitting in, being suitable, or acceptable, as well as being included and feeling secure in what you are doing. 'Belonging' is, therefore, about having a place to go, a place to gather, and being in the right place (Rebeiro et al., 2001) and remains central to well-being (WHO, 2001). Maslow (1987) attested that "any good society must satisfy this need, one way or another, if it is to survive and be healthy" (p. 20). It is through doing things with others that bonds are created and a sense of belonging is established within family, friends, and wider communities (Wilcock, 2006). In other words, the sense of belonging is accumulated in the ease and familiarity of doing things with others on a daily basis.

As such, engaging in occupations is of great importance to 'being', 'becoming' and 'belonging' (Hammell, 2009; Rebeiro et al., 2001; Wilcock, 2006). Our sense of who we are and become is articulated through our daily patterns of occupations which have personal, cultural, and spiritual value to the individual. Clark et al. (1996) emphasised this concept of 'being' and 'becoming' through occupation in our lives as "human beings constitute themselves through occupations; they evolve as occupational beings and evolve into who they shall become through immersion in daily activities" (p. 374). Huot and Laliberte Rudman (2010) also claimed an influential relationship between a sense of self and occupation, declaring that the self is "to a large extent occupational in nature, as one performs mainly through 'doing' in order to be, become, and belong" (p. 72).

From this perspective, occupation is pivotal for immigrants to develop self and conduct a social life. Thus, occupational changes in the lives of immigrants possibly reverberate up and change the nature of individuals. This makes it possible to hypothesise that immigration plays a greater role in shaping a person's sense of self (Gupta, 2013). I will analyse the lives of Korean immigrants by exploring what they do ('doing') whilst socially interacting with a new culture, and identifying how this impacts on their 'being' and their decision of who they want to be ('becoming') and where they feel they belong ('belonging') in a new country.

The relationship of occupation to health and well-being

In this era of post-modernism, the notion of health begins to embrace a social model of health whilst shifting away from the bio-medical perspective (Hinojosa et al., 2003). The WHO has come to acknowledge that health is strongly related to how people live with health conditions and how individuals achieve a productive and fulfilling life (1986, 2001). The Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion (OCHP) identifies the prerequisites of health as 'peace', 'shelter', 'education', 'food', 'income', 'a stable ecosystem' and 'sustainable use of resources', 'social justice' and 'equity' (Wilcock, 2006). This means that health is increasingly conceptualised as including the possession of a repertoire of skills that enables people to achieve their vital goals in their own environment, and to encompass aspects of an individual's functioning from a societal perspective (Chapparo & Ranka, 2005; Creek, 2010).

The term participation, which is defined as "involvement in a life situation" (WHO, 2001, p. 10), has come to be used more widely in health contexts (Hocking, 2011). The WHO ties participation, health and occupation together, as the International Classification of

functioning, disability and health (2001) proposes that health is determined by participation, which is embedded in occupation (Baum, 2003). According to Creek (2010), participation refers to "engagement in work, play or activities of daily living that are part of one's sociocultural context" (p. 179). The view taken here is that people's everyday doings and their actual experiences are the primary resources for good health (CAOT, 1997; Jenson & Thomas, 2005); that is, health is created and lived by people within the settings of their everyday life; where they learn, work, and play (WHO, 1986, 2001). Health came to be widely recognised as having choices, abilities, and opportunities for engaging in meaningful occupations over one's lifespan (Hocking & Ness, 2005; Townsend & Polatajko, 2007).

Occupation is also known as a "powerful force in maintaining well-being" (Kielhofner, 2009, p. 19), as engaging in occupations provides a sense of reality and achievement and improves one's sense of fulfilment and self-esteem (Law & Baum, 2001). Given that humans discover meaning in their lives through the accomplishment of 'doing', engagement in personally valuable occupations may contribute to a sense of life satisfaction and the emergence of a satisfactory identity (Christiansen & Townsend, 2010; Hasselkus & Rosa, 1997). Hasselkus (2011) asserted that "life without occupation would be tenuous, and the experience of well-being would be nigh unto impossible" (p. 60). In other words, our sense of well-being can be achieved or advanced through successful performance in occupations (Baum & Christiansen, 1997; Hammell, 2009).

Well-being refers to a perceived state of harmony in all aspects of one's life at an abstract level (Law et al., 1998; Wilcock, 2006). For example, Hasselkus (2011) identified six dimensions of well-being; 'self-acceptance', 'positive relations with others', 'autonomy', 'environmental mastery', 'purpose in life', and 'personal growth'. Cheyne et al. (2008) also defined 'equality', 'fairness', 'freedom', 'meeting human needs', 'compensating for risk', and 'acknowledging the rights and obligations of citizenship' as the basic underlying values of well-being. These dimensions can be satisfied or improved by engaging in occupations which enhance our feeling of mastery, bring meaning to our life, and enable us to enact our sense of identity through participating in those occupations (Chapparo & Ranka, 2005; Wilcock, 1998). It is occupation that helps us find our purpose and meaning in life and this experience eventually increases a sense of well-being.

Since it was founded in the 1980s, occupational science has developed insightful knowledge of human occupation. In doing so, it continues to uncover the complexities of what it truly means to be human (Reed et al., 2013; Wilcock, 2001). In particular, an occupational perspective can potentially contribute to generating useful knowledge in

immigration by fore-fronting how everyday doings are drawn upon to create a place in a new country (Brown, 2008; Johansson et al., 2013). Bringing an occupational lens to settlement issues provides a unique and rich perspective to immigration studies, and holds promise for understanding and responding to the needs of the immigrant.

Social Work Perspective

Given that social interaction takes place within a context (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), it is social structure that shapes the possibilities for interaction and so ultimately the person (Stryker, 1980); that is to say, "the empirical reality is enacted under the concrete conditions of everyday life" (Marvasti, 2006, p. 527). In relation to this study, the environment in which people live impacts on the ways in which they participate in everyday life (Kielhofner, 2009; WHO, 2001). It is, therefore, important to consider people's daily living experiences not only within the immediate environment but also within the larger community. I believe that using the lens of social work will enhance understanding of contexts as its major focus is on 'the person in their situation' (Specht & Courtney, 1994).

Social work is known to be "an area of human activity firmly located within the social domain" (Dominelli, 1997, p. 4). Concurrently, this perspective positions the interrelationship between the person and society at the heart of its attention. Van Heugten (2001) stated this stance of social work:

> A distinguishing feature of the social work profession is its emphasis on the influencing relationship between the person and the environment. This emphasis makes social work unique among helping professions and supports the formation of a distinct social work identity. (p. 3)

Since it emerged in the early 19th century, social work has promoted a mutually beneficial interaction between individuals and society to improve every member's quality of life in society (Dubois & Miley, 1999). The aim of social work is to facilitate the restoration of the adaptive balance between persons and environment (O'Donoghue & Maidment, 2005). To do so, social work professionals pay attention to people's social connections and relationships whilst facilitating individual, organisational, social and cultural changes (Hare, 2004). The characteristic of social work lies in its distinguishing location at the interface where person and environment confront and shape each other (Payne, 2005).

Social work holds the reflective relationship between people and the context of their agency whilst recognising the influence of systems in the lives of people (Connolly, 2001). This is consistent with the idea of symbolic interactionism whereby "individual action is

always contextual" (Bowers, 1988, p. 42). Accordingly, social work focuses on enhancing the reciprocal relationship of person and environment (Mattaini & Lowery, 2007). In this way, social work is concerned with a combination of elements such as how physical, psychological and social difficulties and differences affect an individual. This stance makes it possible for social work to contain in-depth knowledge which analyses the links between the person and the environment.

As a discipline, social work is equipped with unique strengths for identifying systems that contribute to people's behaviours; namely the 'ecological approach' (micro, meso, and macro analysis). According to Greene (1999), the ecological approach in social work is an approach that "draws on a multi-faceted conceptual base that addresses the complex transactions between people and their environments" (p. 259). The ecological approach, where the interaction with the environment is strongly recognised, is the most commonly used and longstanding visual tool used by social workers to find their own way through the complication of person and environment information (Payne, 2005).

In this approach, the environment includes a variety of settings that can extend from the direct setting to larger social settings with a range of interconnections (O'Donoghue & Maidment, 2005). This approach is beneficial in understanding how structural features, such as social systems and social stratification, set constraint for an individual's action. It is an approach that provides knowledge with which we can define the various components of a person's life situation (Fouche, 2005), and allows us to see participants' worlds simultaneously, to make comparison between them, discover how they are similar, and how they are different.

In the context of this study this approach helps gain grounded knowledge of how Korean immigrants determine to a great extent what they do, think, and become in their new environment. Using this approach, I examine the systems that a person directly experiences (person's livelihood) at the micro level. At the meso level, I explore the links among micro-systems which influence a person's development such as networks and resources in the wider community. At the macro level, I identify the socio-political systems which encapsulate social policy and cultural settings, because it influences all the other levels of the environment.

I, the researcher, believe that the strengths of the ecological approach in social work will help get close to the studied world by identifying socio-environmental structures within which immigrants have to settle. This approach will enrich understanding of the objects

(phenomena) and the social worlds from the perspective of the participants themselves, as they understand them.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant as the findings will increase understandings of the issues Korean immigrants encounter in New Zealand. Korean immigrants once comprised the third largest Asian ethnic group in New Zealand, numbering 30,792 residents in 2006. Since then, their numbers have declined to 30,171 in 2013, whilst in the same time period other Asian groups such as Chinese (up 16%), Indian (up 48%) and Filipino (138%), keep growing (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). There is limited information available to explain why Koreans remain one of the lowest income communities and why their numbers are declining in New Zealand (Park & Anglem, 2012; Song, 2013). This study listens to the voices of Korean immigrants and contributes information to the policy makers that will assist with developing ways to make a Korean presence part of the growth of cultural diversity and national prosperity in New Zealand.

The influence of contexts on human behaviours has long captured the interest of professions in occupational science. For instance, according to Whiteford et al. (2005), no action is independent from the societal factors in which it occurs. In 2009, Kielhofner attested that occupational performance is a consequence of the interaction of person and environment. In 2010, Christiansen and Townsend also postulated that situational factors inevitably influence what people do. Their messages make it clear that human occupations do not occur in a vacuum; occupations and environments are inseparable, interwoven and interdependent (Law et al., 1997; Stadnyk et al., 2010).

There is a critique that occupational science has given insufficient attention to environmental factors (Christiansen & Baum, 1997b; Huot & Laliberte Rudman, 2010; Whiteford, 2007; Wilcock, 2001). Indeed, literature concerning the impact of contexts on occupation is difficult to locate in occupational science (Baum & Christiansen, 1997; Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002; Stadnyk et al., 2010). Using the ecological lens on occupational issues, this research provides knowledge of the interaction of persons and their environment, thus answering critique that the field has given insufficient attention to contexts.

Another significant contribution of this study is to increase understanding of human occupations within different spheres of experience. Given that occupations carry cultural meanings (Iwama, 2005, 2006), occupations should be understood as the subjective

experience based on these cultural meanings (Hocking, 2000b). However, there is a critique that occupational science is not adequately incorporating non-Western people's culture (Duncan, 2006; Townsend & Wilcock, 2004). According to the critics, occupational science is dominated by western conceptual frameworks (Creek, 2010; Hugman, 1991) and risks imposing those on the lives of people who have a different cultural background (Hinojosa et al., 2003; Iwama, 2005). Through understanding of how ethnic people relate and connect to different places through their daily occupations, I believe that this study will deepen the knowledge of cultural diversity in human occupations.

Structure of the Thesis

In Chapter One, I have explicated the area to be studied and explained the purpose of the study. I highlighted my personal background to the study; the issue of myself as an immigrant. The theoretical foundation for this research - 'symbolic interactionism', and justification for the knowledge I have brought to the analysis - 'occupational science' and 'social work', have been discussed. The significance of this study to national and international literature in areas of occupational science and immigration provides the rationale for this research.

Chapter Two sets the scene of the study. In this chapter, I discuss the history of the people of the land – the Māori. This is followed by the process of building a British colony wherein people tend to show a bias against ethnic immigrants. Within this chapter, the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi is highlighted, as it is a cornerstone of the multicultural society in New Zealand. Then, I review the historical connection between New Zealand and Korea and provide the history of Korean immigrants in New Zealand.

In Chapter Three, literature informing this study is discussed. The chapter analyses current knowledge of immigration alongside a discussion of the acculturation model, which is prominent in immigration studies. The rest of the review examines national and international literature specifically concerning Korean immigrants' lives, using an occupational lens.

The purpose of Chapters Four and Five is to explicate the methodology of grounded theory and the methods used in the study. The rationale for selecting Corbin and Strauss' version of grounded theory, the process of data collection, ethical issues, and the way in which data were analysed are provided. In the following four chapters, the process of developing a theory is presented; Chapter Six – 'The Central Category of This Study',

Chapter Seven – 'Salient Conditions and Structural Contexts', Chapter Eight – 'Core Process with its Sub-processes', and Chapter Nine – 'Consequences Associated with Strategies'.

In Chapter Ten, the findings of this study are discussed and the implications of the research for social policy, occupational science, and immigration studies are considered alongside the strengths and limitations of the study.

Chapter Two: SETTING THE SCENE

In this chapter, I present an overview of immigration within the New Zealand context and provide an historical background to this study into how Korean immigrants appear and create a place in this country. I start by considering New Zealand's history with regard to the establishment of a bicultural society. Next, I review the New Zealand immigration policy which has practiced to ensure a 'white New Zealand', and consider its impact on the Asian population. This review reveals that the door to New Zealand for ethnic people has always been controlled by the New Zealand government which has had a historical preference for Britons, leading to the institutional racism towards Asian immigrants from the beginning of their arrival in New Zealand. Then, I look at the Korean community, which is currently the fourth largest Asian ethnic group in New Zealand, reviewing the growth of the Korean community and their unique characteristics. Finally, using an occupational lens, I explore what issues occur when Korean immigrants put roots down in their new society.

Bicultural Society

New Zealand is internationally recognised as a bicultural nation built on Te Tiriti o Waitangi signed in 1840 (the Treaty of Waitangi; hereafter referred to as 'the Treaty'). The Treaty is the basis for a bicultural society in New Zealand (Maidment, 2001), where the blending of cultural traditions is widespread and longstanding with a cultural safety framework by which cultural respect and power relationships are critically considered (Lim & Iwama, 2006). Given that the Treaty is the mechanism by which access is gained to the country (Came & Silva, 2011), all settlers are bound by the Treaty. It has laid the foundations on which different ethnic groups co-exist, allowing to build a unique society that embraces diversity in the South Pacific.

There are particular historical circumstances to be considered in relation to immigration in the New Zealand context: that is, race relations between Māori and British immigrants dating back to the signing of the Treaty. Its purpose was to build a partnership between Māori and British settlers that would "create a path for two cultures to reside alongside each other" (Nayar, 2013, p. 383). For this reason, an understanding of the history of Māori and the spirit of the Treaty is a prerequisite for elaborating on multicultural issues in New Zealand.

Māori: The People of the Land

The Minister of Māori Affairs, the Honourable Dr Pita Sharples, asserted that Māori have status as Tangata Whenua, "the people of this land. We are born of this land and we need to look at what we can do for the land" (Ministry of Māori Development, 2011, p. 4). Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand whose right of participation, partnership, and protection should be preserved at every level (Durie, 2003).

It is believed that Māori began to settle in this country from around 1350, after their historic voyages from the Pacific (King, 2003). After these long voyages, Māori found this land to be much more diverse than the small tropical islands of their ancestors. The unpredictable seasonal extremes presented many pragmatic problems of survival and stretched their adaptability to the limit (O'Connor, 1990). Māori had to deal with scarcity of food and harsher weather conditions which were beyond anything they could have imagined in their homeland (Smith, 2012).

Their hardships would influence how they came to live in this land. Māori were forced to live together in 'whānau' (extended families) in order to survive, forming a unique society known as 'hapū' (clans) with strong tribal identity (Orange, 1987; Steinberg & Whiteside, 2005). 'Whānau' buffered hardship with their capacities for caring, sharing, and guardianship (Durie, 2001; Gamlen, 2010). From this regard, the 'whānau system' is the adaptation to the new environment, transforming an Eastern Polynesian island culture into that of the New Zealand Māori, enabling them to grow and develop a secure identity based on kinship (King, 2003; Metge, 1995).

The first contact with Europeans occurred when the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman sailed eastwards from Batavia to Tasmania and from there to New Zealand in 1642 (Smith, 2012). Abel Tasman's short encounter with New Zealand left no lasting imprint; instead, it was the British explorer James Cook who actually initiated a history of white European immigrants (King, 2003). Smith (2012) stated that "James Cook actually crossed New Zealand beaches, literally and metaphorically, and became New Zealand's Pakeha storybook ancestor" (p. 24).

When Cook returned to England after a few months of circumnavigating the country in the boat 'Endeavour' in 1769, he described New Zealand as full of resources such as timber, whales and seals (O'Connor, 1990). His report was enough to attract British attention, resulting in the arrival of British naval and commercial vessels which aimed to exploit the country's resources, at first occasionally, but more regularly after 1800 (Orange, 1987).

Extractive industries were established in the late 18th and 19th centuries (King, 2003), initially bringing sealers and whalers. They were the first of the Anglo-Celts in this land who needed Māori co-operation. Later, as trade dealings with Australian ports increased steadily, hundreds of seamen arrived and stayed ashore at any one time (Orange, 1987).

The arrival of British merchants was a starting point of the cession of the country, with appalling consequences to Māori society (O'Connor, 1990), which underwent substantial change, involving Māori learning to become like their European partners (O'Malley, 2012). Once subsistence cultivators and food-gatherers, Māori organised their labour resources and cultivated suitable crops to accommodate the trade needs of British merchants (Orange, 1987). Trading with Europeans proved not so much a revolutionary overturning of old ways but put Māori in danger of losing their resources, particularly their land and forests (O'Connor, 1990), as Europeans with advanced technology often took serious advantage of them. By 1840, the French navigator Dumont d'Urville reported conditions in Port Otago as "the Māori much degraded, the men undermined by alcohol purchased by coercing their wives and daughters into large-scale, very visible prostitution" (cited in King, 2003, p. 122).

As shipping increased, the attendant problems grew. Nevertheless, official British policy maintained a vague jurisdiction over New Zealand, which led to a deterioration of the situation due to a lack of some form of governance (Orange, 1987). The British government was reluctant to intervene formally to mitigate problems of lawlessness, and New Zealand became known as the 'Hell-hole of the Pacific', as there was no police force (King, 2003). Māori had to defend themselves against illegal exploitation from whalers and sealers, and even fugitives from Australia. It is hardly surprising, then, that Māori asked Britain for assistance as they acknowledged Britain as a maritime power (Orange, 1987).

In response, the decision was initially made to appoint James Busby as a British Resident in New Zealand in 1832. Busby resided in the Bay of Islands and acted as a conciliator in relationships between the races. However, without given power, his position was ineffectual. The possibility of violence was never entirely absent, increasing pressure on the British government for further commitment (Orange, 1987). Finally, William Hobson, a naval captain, was sent to negotiate with the Māori for sovereignty of the country, leading to the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 which seemed to promise protection for the Māori and their land (O'Connor, 1990; Spoonley, 1993). From this perspective, the Treaty was initially signed in a sense of cooperative development of the country in partnership with Europeans (King, 1977).

Confusion surrounding the Treaty existed from the first, as the text in the Māori version failed to convey the meaning of the English version (Cheyne et al., 2008). That discrepancy meant that what the Māori chiefs believed they agreed to was not what the British Crown assented to (Nayar, 2013), as the Māori version stressed the benefits to be gained rather than the restrictions that would inevitably follow (Orange, 1987). The Māori chiefs were advised that the Crown needed their agreement in order to establish effective law and order – primarily for controlling Europeans. Māori interpreted the Treaty as a way of guaranteeing full rights to ownership of their lands as well as having the privileges of being British subjects (King, 2003; McKinnon, 1996). Negotiators, however, knew well enough what the British Crown required, that is, a cession of sovereignty, which led to the Crown having authority to execute law and order on both Māori and non-Māori (Orange, 1987).

The Treaty actually caused an increasing number of European settlers by providing assurances of Crown protection. For European settlers, the Treaty was simply interpreted as a way of alienating Māori land and culture (McKinnon, 1996; O'Connor, 1990). Successive settler governments vigorously pursued policies of colonisation and were active agents in the alienation of Māori land. The government purchased land cheaply from Māori and sold it at a profit to finance further immigration (Smith, 2012). The mass of British immigrants arrived and soon displaced Māori as the majority population group in New Zealand. Furthermore, the Māori population dramatically plummeted to 42,000 in 1896, as Māori became infected with European diseases against which they had no resistance (Durie, 2003; King, 1977).

This depopulation, compounded by the loss of land, resulted in the extreme deprivation of Māori traditions and the assimilation of the Māori culture into the British culture (Came & Silva, 2011; Cheyne et al., 2008; Durie, 2001). In this regard, 1840 is a fundamental date in New Zealand's history because by making New Zealand British, the marginalisation of Māori began (Spoonley, 1993).

It is not my intention to go further with regard to Māori survival and the Māori renaissance in the 1980s. What I wish to emphasise in this chapter is that biculturalism laid a foundation for a multicultural society. Despite the deliberate assimilation policy, which was intended to exhaust Māori culture, Māori have retained their vitality (Durie, 2003; Moloney, 2003). Once again, Māori culture and its traditional practices came to be recognised as a noticeable part of society (Nayar, 2013). For example, the role of the whānau was once again recognised to fulfil its functions for family as The Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989 requested whānau to be mandatorily involved in decisions about care-protection (Durie, 2003). The discourse about biculturalism, which gained great impetus from

the Māori renaissance, helps to acknowledge power relationships between races (Lim & Iwama, 2006). The biculturalism built on the Māori renaissance allows different ethnic groups to stay connected with their cultural origins, and forces a re-evaluation of the place of minority cultures in New Zealand society (Bedford, Ho, & Lidgard, 1998; van Heugten, 2001).

Biculturalism is an institution that must be accountable to all races in New Zealand for meeting their particular needs according to their cultural background (Ruwhiu, 2001). The Treaty promises that everyone has the right to participate. This is of importance to ethnic immigrants, who "seek recognition as having a valid role to play in contributing to, and helping construct, local community and society at large" (Nayar, 2013, p. 385). It is not acceptable to bypass the issues of biculturalism and proceed directly to implementing a form of multiculturalism. It is mandatory for all New Zealanders to act reasonably, honourably and in good faith with Māori, according to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2012). This Act provides a clear recommendation for 'Tauiwi' (non-Māori) to live as partners with Māori.

I firmly believe that if New Zealand is to be first and foremost a truly bicultural nation, then all New Zealanders need to be aware of the spirit of Te Tiriti o Waitangi because it is the foundation of race relations in New Zealand. If we do not do so, we are avoiding the unresolved issues concerning the relationship between Māori and Pakeha (European settlers) (Spoonley, 1993). For this reason, newcomers should have opportunities to become familiar with the Māori worldview.

In the next section, I review how British settlers established the British colony in the South Pacific. By analysing the immigration policy, I explain how the government imported British identity to this land by its biased immigration policy in favour of Britons, resulting in non-British immigrants being marginalised from the beginning of their arrival. The intention of this section is to illustrate that "understanding the past is critical to understanding the present" (Came & Silva, 2011, p. 118), and this understanding will contribute to making it possible for all New Zealand citizens to reposition themselves to become one of many within a multi-ethnic population.

Britain in the South Pacific

New Zealand's sentimental loyalty to Britain was legendary. Descended mainly from immigrants from the British Isles, with no sense of grievance to weaken their affection for the 'mother country', most New Zealanders prided

themselves on their British-ness and on their loyalty to the Crown. (McGibbon, 1992, p. 15)

With the signing of the Treaty in 1840, what was not emphasised was the British understanding of sovereignty; that is, a full takeover of New Zealand as a colony (O'Connor, 1990). Nayar (2009) stated that "the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi effectively established New Zealand as a member country of the British Empire" (p. 27). The Crown began to build the British colony whilst focusing on the appropriation of resources (Cheyne et al., 2008). The prime example is the New Zealand Company, which Edward Gibbon Wakefield founded in 1897. This company established five of New Zealand's early Anglo-Celt settlements – New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago (O'Connor, 1990). The mass of immigrants from the British Isles arrived in these cities to settle, with the result that New Zealand perceived itself as a British outpost (McGibbon, 1992).

British immigrants built their new country as an extension of their homeland, making New Zealand the "Britain of the south seas" (Bedford et al., 1998, p. 53). Immigration to New Zealand was promoted to foster systematic colonisation, with a strong preference for British immigrants (Hoadley, 2003). Accordingly, the UK and Ireland have historically had a special place in New Zealand's immigration system (Bedford, Callister, & Didham, 2010). Indeed, there was never any question of restricting the rights of Britons to come to New Zealand (Zodgekar, 1997). Britons, wherever they lived, could enter and reside in New Zealand freely, and could exercise the full range of whatever civil and political rights were accorded their equivalence in their home land. The relationship between what it meant to be a New Zealander and what it meant to be British was never an issue because they were in a very real sense the same people (McGibbon, 1992).

This inextricable link with Great Britain had a profound impact on New Zealand society, with the result that the Anglo-Celts provided the ideas, culture and language which underpinned the country (Came & Silva, 2011; O'Connor, 1990). For example, English became the medium for all forms of social interaction in New Zealand, as the Native Schools Act of 1867 introduced the enforcement of English as the compulsory language in schools (Spoonley, 1993). The British connection was also deeply embedded in social institutions such as accepting the leadership of Britain in diplomatic matters and fulfilling its Commonwealth commitment in collective security (Braithwaite, 2003; Shipley, 1992). The concept of British-ness became a feature in the way in which the society operated. Whether its population was predominately that of immigrant or colony-born, there was a clear

expectation that "New Zealand is a British country and should so remain" (McKinnon, 1996, p. 37).

White New Zealand policy

Affinity with Britain was reflected in the 'White New Zealand policy'. The majority of New Zealanders did not favour any weakening of the traditional ties with Britain (McGibbon, 1992). Throughout the history of New Zealand until the late 1980s, the government ensured the continuity of British-ness through its immigration policy (Hurrelle, 1988; Scheffer, 2011; Spoonley, 1993). Any net losses of New Zealand-born people were off-set by net gains of people born in Britain who had similar ethnic and linguistic backgrounds (Bedford, Ho, & Bedford, 2010; Hoadley, 2003).

Based on "the ethnographical fact that New Zealand is more British than the United Kingdom" (McGibbon, 1992, p. 17), immigration policy remained in an administrative sphere where the requisite criteria were easily managed to favour immigrants from Britain (McKinnon, 1996). In this policy, the boundary between Britain and New Zealand was blurred for the purpose of "being a dutiful British agricultural colony" (Moon, 2011, p. 596). In his Royal Commission report, Kolo (1988) defined the immigration policy as one of the gate-keeping systems which ensured New Zealand would be predominantly white. As a result, the dominance of British immigrants developed a collective self-identification that New Zealand is a white European English speaking country (Deutscher, 2005).

This biased social policy has contributed to the fact that underlying New Zealand's attitude to Asians was a sense of racial superiority, deeply embedded in the national consciousness through imperialist lenses (Cheyne et al., 2008; McGibbon, 1992). Many New Zealanders, who maintained this ethnocentric attitude (Bloomfield, 1998), felt a sense of otherness in respect of Asians (Spoonly & Gendall, 2010). The presence of Asian immigrants, who act in a manner that is not within the parameters of behaviours deemed appropriate by British society, was also believed to undermine social cohesion (Spellman, 2008). This stereotype still continues and can be witnessed in New Zealand society, where Asians were perceived to be the most discriminated against group in 2011, leading to them encountering distinct disadvantages (Human Rights Commission, 2011; Statistics New Zealand, 2012).

Given that New Zealand has been British from the first day after the signing of the Treaty (Bedford et al., 2010), the presence of Asian residents seemed to be problematic in

maintaining its British identity (McKinnon, 1996). Accordingly, numbers of Asian immigrants to New Zealand have historically been monitored (Bedford et al., 1998). Asians have had to endure systematic barriers when entering the country (Hoadley, 2003) as "for New Zealand to be a white country, and home to a better British stock, it had to exclude alien races" (Smith, 2012, p. 122). In this regard, New Zealand was not a new country embracing people from all over the world with alacrity; instead it was a British country where the ethnic minority's acceptance as members was always permitted and qualified (Spoonley, 1993). With this understanding, I will review the history of the Asian population in the next section.

The Asian Population

According to King (2003), the Asian population co-existed with early British settlers. Traders and itinerant workers from China and India have entered New Zealand alongside British immigrants since the early 1800s. In the 1860s, Asian migration to New Zealand was even promoted to boost gold mining when a Hong Kong merchant, Ho A-mei who was based in Melbourne, was asked to arrange the recruitment of the Chinese miners by the Otago Provincial Government (Bedford et al., 1998). This was followed by numbers of Indians who usually came as hawkers, especially of fruit and vegetables, in the late 1800s (McKinnon, 1996). A small number of South and East Asian settlers began to arrive from around 1840 and these communities have continued to grow (Nayar, 2013). This means that the Asian immigrants' presence is virtually in line with the history of European settlers, occurring over the same timeframe.

However, their entry was not free like their British counterparts; instead, their inflow has waxed and waned depending on the political economy of New Zealand (Bedford et al., 1998). The pendulum has swung back and forth between openness towards Asian immigrants and withdrawal in favour of British interests (Scheffer, 2011). Although the first numbers of Chinese miners arrived in this country a few years after the European settlers, the local Scots and English population had no intention of sharing its British identity. The Chinese immigrants a century ago were perceived as "being heathens prone to thievery, a filthy, inferior people who introduced loathsome diseases and were immoral barbarians who trapped young girls into catering for their depraved sexual appetites" (Moon, 2011, p. 171). Many New Zealanders felt a deep antipathy towards Asians, who were often described as "inscrutable, untrustworthy, and corrupt" (McGibbon, 1992, p. 16) and seen as being competitors for jobs (Scheffer, 2011). The demarcation between Asian and British

immigrants has been firmly drawn by virtue of the fact that Asian numbers were kept low by the legislative obstacles (Nayar, 2009; Spoonley, 1993).

As such, Asians were often treated as invaders upon the 'white migrant stream' (Bedford et al., 1998). In the 1890s, restrictions on their entry became increasingly hardened when race discrimination became integral to the immigration policy (Cheyne et al., 2008; Kim & Nayar 2012). For example, in 1881 the first restriction on Chinese immigration was imposed, with vessels permitted to land only one Chinese person per 10 tonnes vessel weight and required to pay 10 pounds in respect of every such person landed. This control was hardened by amendments in 1888 and 1896 which increased vessel weight and the tax amount (Smith, 2012). Another example is the Immigration Amendment Act of 1920, which stated that "a person shall not be deemed to be of British birth and parentage by reason that he or his parents or either of them is a naturalised British subject"; a stipulation clearly designed to exclude Indians who were British subjects (Leckie, 1985).

From the early 1880s, the rules were made simpler; no non-Briton could enter New Zealand without a permit, thus curbing the entry of Chinese and Indian immigrants (Cheyne et al., 2008; Spoonley, 1993). The Government of the time maintained a stance that an increase of Asians in the future might be anticipated and that it was better to act in anticipation by controlling further immigration from Asian countries (Bedford et al., 1998). As a result, Asian immigrant numbers fell to under 1% of the total population until the 1990s (Hoadley, 2003). See table 1.

Table 1

Ethnic Composition of Population in New Zealand

Year	European (%)	Māori (%)	Asian (%)
1874	84.9	13.7	1.4
1916	95.2	4.6	0.2
1986	87.1	8.9	1

(Source: Jackson & McRobie, 2005)

Statistics on the ethnic composition of the population show how Asians were rare and almost invisible in this country, with their numbers too small to be a threat to British identity (Bedford et al., 1998). With immigrant numbers restricted, Asians were forced to maintain a sojourner community and were unable to build their own networks (McKinnon, 1996; Scheffer, 2011).

The Immigration Act Review of 1986 led to a dramatically changed pattern of immigration and contributed to increasing numbers of Asian immigrants into New Zealand's society (Bedford et al., 2010; Hoadley, 2003). According to this report, Asian immigrants were expected to strengthen national prosperity (Hurrelle, 1988; Spoonley & Gendall, 2010), leading to the Immigration Act of 1987 in which new immigrants would be selected based on their personal merits rather than their national or ethnic origins (Cheyne et al., 2008; Nayar, 2013). The government began to invite immigrants from Asia who would bring valuable skills and make a financial investment to the country (Hurrelle, 1988; McKinnon, 1996). In this sense, the 1987 changes to the immigration policies opened the door to Asian immigrants, with the result that the number of Asian residents rapidly increased from less than 1 per cent of the population in 1986, up to 11.8 per cent in 2013, and is predicted to reach 24 per cent by 2021 (Jackson & McRobie, 2005; Statistics New Zealand, 2013b).

The more the numbers of Asians increased, the more the frustration of the British majority increased. Many New Zealanders felt a threat to their British identity with respect to Asians, compounded by a lack of institutional structures to cope with them (Bloomfield, 1998) and the fact that the majority of New Zealanders were ill-equipped to deal with them, due to their historical invisibility (McKinnon, 1996). The British majority struggled with the issues raised by Asian immigrants, were suspicious of different cultures, and feared the unknown (Spoonley & Gendall, 2010; Tan, 2012). Tensions often occurred when Asian immigrants' observable actions or ascribed personality traits were incongruent with the norms of the dominant culture, along with a fear that white faces would soon be a minority (King, 2003).

Stereotypical characterisations of Asian immigrants were often covered in the media (Moon, 2011; Spooney & Trin, 2004). The 'Inv Asian' articles in the media pictured Asian immigrants as being a problem for New Zealand in a variety of ways, and would focus on areas such as their poor driving skills, rocketing house prices, and demands being placed on schools (Spoonley, 1993; Wong, 2014). Race relations between the dominant group and Asians became the centre stage in the political debates of New Zealand (McKinnon, 1996; Spoonley & Gendall, 2010). Eventually, these concerns led the government to discourage the total numbers coming in from Asia by raising the number of points that had to be earned to gain admission (McKinnon, 1996) and later granting residency only to those who had a job in New Zealand (Bedford et al., 2010). This has hampered the influx of Asian immigrants to New Zealand who have disadvantages in a labour market due to their language barriers or unrecognised qualifications (Nayar, 2009).

As such, Asians have been marginalized by the British majority since the British Empire took over power in 1840. People from non-English speaking backgrounds have not been accorded equal treatment in New Zealand (Kolo, 1988). Asians' status has always been perceived as that of 'visitor' or 'other' in this country rather than as fellow New Zealanders (McKinnon, 1996), and they were forced into subordination by the British majority because of a belief in Anglo-Celtic superiority (Smith, 2012). It has been predicted that it may take time for New Zealanders to accept their Asian neighbours as part of their reality (Tan, 2012).

The historically embedded ethnic inequality has been perpetuated by ethnically biased social policy and its resultant 'institutional racism', whereby there was power to impose negative prejudice towards Asian immigrants (Cheyne et al., 2008; Spoonley, 1993). Institutional racism refers to the unearned structural advantages, which work in concert with systematic discrimination to produce differential access to societal goods and services according to race (Came & Silva, 2011). Whilst the British majority has been able to enjoy preferential access to employment, housing, goods and services, Asian immigrants have to endure disadvantages as a result of institutional racism. This is clearly seen by the differences in levels of income, health status, educational attainment, employment and housing status (Coatsworth, 2004; Hoadley, 2003; Scragg, 2010). For many Asian immigrants, this is a reality they have to deal with when creating their place in New Zealand.

Meanwhile, Asians are people from a vast region that contains over 60% of the world's population, east of and including Afghanistan, and south of and including China (Ministry of Health, 2006; Mui, 2000). Big differences exist within the Asian community itself, including different demographic characteristics, cultures, and languages (Ho et al., 2002; McKinnon, 1996). In this context, I will, in the next section, focus on Korean immigrants whose stories are unheard in New Zealand. I will elaborate on their unique characteristics by exploring the growth of the Korean community in New Zealand.

Growth of the Korean Community in New Zealand

New Zealand was one of the first nations to become involved in the Korean War which occurred on 25 June 1950 (Hopkins, 2002; King, 2003). On 7 July 1950 the United Nations (UN) determined that the invasion constituted a breach of peace and authorised members of the UN to offer assistance to South Korea to repel the invasion and restore international peace (McGibbon, 1992). In answering the UN call for military assistance, Holland, then Prime Minister, announced that New Zealand's initial contribution to the Korean War would be the

Royal New Zealand Navy's frigates 'Pukaki' and 'Tutira', whilst the New Zealand Army prepared its Kay-force to operate in Korea. This intervention is the starting point of the relationship between New Zealand and South Korea (Yoon, 1998).

The relationship between the two countries developed through both New Zealand's actions to defend South Korea and its provision of humanitarian aid, since the Korean War destroyed almost all of the infrastructure within the country. For example, the responsibility of the New Zealand frigates was to evacuate South Koreans to safe places in the south whilst Kay-force engaged in numerous combats against the North Korean army (Catchpole, 2000; Hopkins, 2002). The focus was on the survival of the Koreans, as South Korea was, at the time, one of the poorest countries in the world with its economy ruined by the war (Adelman, 1999). In this sense, the Kay-force played a pivotal role in forming the relationship between the two countries, leading to the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1962. According to the Ambassador of the Republic of Korea, Yong-Kyu Park, the role of Kay-force is acknowledged in maintaining a relationship between two countries:

> The actual beginning of the close relationship between our two countries can be traced back to 1950 and the Korean War, when 6,000 strong young Kiwi soldiers were amongst those who came to help defend freedom and democracy of the ROK. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade the Republic of Korea, 2012)

Though Kay-force often refers to 'the forgotten War' in New Zealand (New Zealand Army, 2012), it laid a significant foundation in maintaining a long-standing and mutually beneficial relationship between the two countries. That relationship is relatively young, having only started in the 1950s, yet is strongly tied to the sacrifices made by Kay-force. Many Koreans remember the young Kiwi soldiers who served in the Korean War, and in particular the 45 who sacrificed their lives in the conflict (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2013; The Korean History Book Committee (KHBC), 2007). Their names are honoured in Appendix A. Melissa Lee, a Korean-born Member of Parliament in New Zealand, expressed a great debt to the Korean veterans who fought in the Korean War when she spoke about it in 2013:

> If it had not been for the veterans who had answered the call of the United Nations, I may not be standing here proudly as a Member of Parliament in this great country of ours, New Zealand … They gave up their youth to fight for something that they didn't even have anything to do with in a foreign country. (Melissa Lee, cited in Young, 2013)

There is still some uncertainty as to the identity of the first Korean to visit or reside in New Zealand until Mr Sang Won Han, a Korea National Bank officer, arrived in New Zealand as part of the UN Fellowship in 1953 to learn about the central banking system of New Zealand

(KHBC, 2007). It is known that, at a later stage, some Korean students were brought in as part of the Colombo Plan, which was initiated at a meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers in Colombo in 1950. This plan's purpose was to arrange a cooperative effort to improve the economies and increase the living standards in the poorer countries (Department of Internal Affairs, 2013). In total, 263 young Korean scholars benefited from this plan and were invited to learn about the Western education system, including topics such as Forestry, Nursing, and Banking, with the New Zealand government's support. They were identified as the first Koreans in New Zealand until small numbers of Korean sailors started to settle in the South Island in the mid-1960s; yet, their numbers were insignificant in terms of population size until the late 1980s (Chang et al., 2006; KHBC, 2007).

The number of Koreans settling in New Zealand began to increase after the changes in immigration policies in 1987 abolished racial preference in favour of tertiary-trained and affluent immigrants (Bedford et al., 2010; Epstein, 2006). With the introduction of a 'points system' in 1991, which was designed to enhance New Zealand's human capital (McKinnon, 1996), there was a dramatic rise in the number of Korean immigrants who were granted permits to enter New Zealand. For example, in 1991, only 930 Koreans were registered as living in the country, compared with 30,792 Koreans in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).
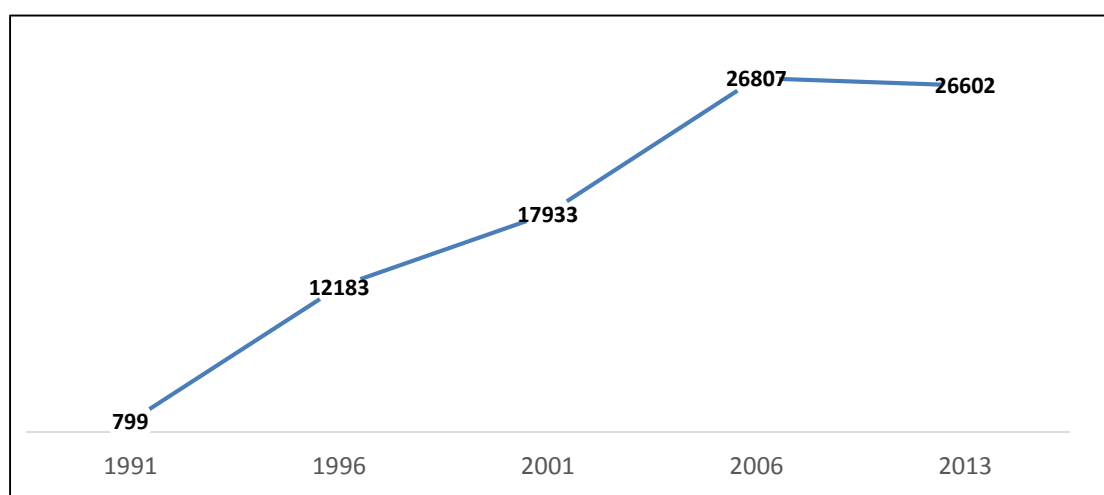
(Source: Statistics New Zealand, 2013b)

Figure 1. The number of Korea-born immigrants in New Zealand

That figure indicates that the size of the total Korean population of New Zealand had increased by almost 1,937 % in just over a decade, until their numbers began to decline in the 2010s. Those declining numbers reflect the struggle that Korean immigrants experience with their transition to New Zealand. Many Korean immigrants returned to Korea or re-

immigrated to a third country such as Australia or the United States (McKinnon, 1996; Song, 2013) whilst the others experienced pangs of separation from the host society (Epstein, 2006). Yet, because they are such a small portion of the total New Zealand population and have a relatively short history in New Zealand's society, there are few studies to understand the Korean community, and they remain a relatively unknown population in New Zealand (Kim & Nayar, 2012; Park & Anglem, 2012).

New Zealand Settlement Strategy

Internationally, immigration is often regarded as a crucial mechanism for the national economy. Indeed economic growth for most advanced industrial countries is closely tied to successful immigration (Mueller, 2006); and thus, market forces play a primary role in immigration (Arango, 2004; Horevitz, 2009). New Zealand is not exempt in that its government historically used immigration as a way of pursuing national economic prosperity (Cheyne et al., 2008; Hoadley, 2003). In New Zealand, the inflow of immigrants largely depends on the economic climate (Bedford et al., 1998). For example, in response to a persistent shortage of labour in the 1960s and later, a financial crisis in the 1980s, the government attracted people from Pacific and Asian countries to address its needs (Moon, 2011; Zodgekar, 1997). Thus, it can be argued that the government is merely interested in what migrants can offer (Arrango, 2004). According to the Department of Labour (2008a), the national expectation of immigration is all about what immigrants can bring to this country:

> Newcomers bring fresh ideas and energy, adding to the pool of skills and talents at our disposal. They generate new business, entrepreneurial activity and investment. Newcomers boost our international and trade connections and help attract students and tourists to these shores. (Department of Labour, 2008a, p. 4)

When the government introduced a 'points system' to the immigration policy in the 1990s, which prompted a massive Asian immigrant arrival, it was anticipated that immigrants who earned enough points to immigrate to New Zealand would be adaptable, have the ability to find employment quickly and settle well (Law, Genc, & Bryant, 2009; Ley, 2006; North et al., 2004). Accordingly, settlement support largely emphasised obtaining paid employment, with less consideration of their everyday needs (Kim & Nayar, 2012; Nayar & Hocking, 2006). The optimistic expectation of immigration has not been balanced by an understanding of what immigrants want or need to achieve successful settlement (Gamlen, 2010). How

immigrants settle has received less attention; as a result, New Zealand did not have an official policy to provide settlement services to new migrants until the early 2000s (Ho, Cheung, Bedford, & Leung, 2000).

The lack of policy response is mirrored by the majority of the population which has maintained an aloof attitude, while often blaming Asian immigrants for rising social problems (Cheyne et al., 2008; Spoonley & Gendall, 2010). Hostility toward Asian immigrants has sometimes been fed by the local and national mass media's focus on the negative aspects of new immigrants (Spellman, 2008), with opinion polls after 1997 reporting that many New Zealanders believed there were too many immigrants from Asia (Gendall, Spoonley, & Butcher, 2013). Concurrently, public opinion remained firmly opposed to government post-arrival settlement assistance. No induction programme was run by the state for newly arrived immigrants (Nash, 2005); instead, the government only provided a limited range of public funds in response to specific pressures when the public demanded that something be put in place to alleviate a problem (Hollifield, 2000). This means that the settlement strategy emerged in an ad hoc and uncoordinated manner in response to specific pressures (Gamlen, 2010).

It was only a decade ago that the government began to look at the settlement issues, establishing a 'Migrant Research Group' that aimed to develop settlement services to address the everyday needs of immigrants (Spoonley & Gendall, 2010). The emerging concept of multiculturalism contributed to the fact that the governmental social policy began to consider immigrants' successful settlement as crucial for societal harmony (The Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2002). The fact that New Zealanders came to have positive attitudes towards diversity also contributed to developing settlement services in support of Asian immigrants (Devine, 1996; Gendall et al., 2013). The emphasis of the government is no longer solely on importing immigrants into the country but on guaranteeing that immigrants are supported when they arrive whilst celebrating their traditions as part of daily living in New Zealand (Department of Labour, 2004; Immigration New Zealand, 2011; Nayar, 2013).

In 2003, the New Zealand Settlement Strategy was first agreed on by the government and officially launched in 2004. A vision of 'Our future together; New Zealand Settlement Strategy 2004' is that "New Zealand's prosperity is underpinned by an inclusive society, in which the local and national integration of newcomers is supported by responsive services, a welcoming environment and a shared respect for diversity" (Department of Labour, 2004, p. 9). This strategy is an integrated framework and has been implemented through the Settlement National Action Plan (2007) which specifies key outcomes and responsibilities for

their delivery (Department of Labour, 2007). In combination with regional level strategies such as 'Auckland regional settlement strategy' (2009-2014) (Department of Labour, 2010), the government plans to assist immigrants in participating and contributing fully to society by 1) feeling welcome and accepted, 2) being in the right job, 3) being housed well, 4) speaking and understanding New Zealand English, 5) knowing how to access information and services, and 6) understanding New Zealand's way of life and knowing that you are contributing to it (Department of Labour, 2007).

The focus is clearly on knowing how things are done in New Zealand. Numbers of settlement services have been established nationwide to support immigrants in the adaptation phase, while self-help groups have emerged which are involved in the integration phase of settlement (Nash, 2005). For example, Settlement Support New Zealand is an Immigration New Zealand initiative which provides a clear point of contact to newcomers through 18 offices around the country (Immigration New Zealand, 2014a). Chinese New Settlers Services Trust (CNSST) is a local initiative which offers culturally and linguistically appropriate services to Asian immigrants, providing workshops such as 'New Zealand Law and Legislations', 'Home Ownership', or 'Road Safety Campaign' (CNSST, 2014). As such, the New Zealand Settlement Strategy assists newly arrived immigrants to learn how to do things reflective of New Zealand society and as a result, feel a sense of belonging in their new community due to the fact that belonging can be obtained by being able to judge what actions are appropriate to the place (Wilcock, 2006).

The government came to appreciate the importance of 'what newcomers' everyday needs are' for successful settlement (Ho et al., 2000). Given that immigration can be defined as an occupational transition (Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002; Suleman & Whiteford, 2013), it is suggested that settlement strategies have to encompass immigrants' social realities through exploring changes of their daily activities (Kim & Nayar, 2012; Selvaraj, 2001). This is consistent with the idea discussed earlier that one of the benefits of occupational science is the diversity it adds to immigration studies.

Korean Immigrants Living in New Zealand

Immigration is by definition about people moving from one place to another; thus experiencing new and changing relations to places (Johansson et al., 2013; Torp et al., 2013). The process of adaptation appears to be common to all immigrants including adapting to a significant change in daily occupations; defined as meaningful, everyday activities, for

example, cooking, working and celebrating festivals (Berry, 1997; Nayar et al., 2012). In this way, it is anticipated that many Korean immigrants encounter great pressure to adjust to the tradition and lifestyle of the host society, since they hold a strong attachment to their traditions (Park & Anglem, 2012), with the result of a dizzying effect on their life as there is "too much to know and too much to do" (Suleman & Whiteford, 2013, p. 201).

Soon after their arrival, Korean immigrants realise that it is not quite the paradise they dreamt of prior to immigration; rather, it is part of the real world, in particular with regard to a prejudiced social reception (Human Rights Commission, 2011; Te Pou, 2010). They have to relinquish many things they hold dear in order to gain entry to another culture. This process of settlement has been defined as a brutal bargain (Scheffer, 2011); that is, it is difficult to preserve what Korean immigrants take for granted at home, resulting in struggle and hardship in their new society, compounded by their new arrival and minority status (Im & Yang, 2006; Koo, 2004).

Many Korean immigrants encounter challenging situations whilst adjusting to their lives in New Zealand due to their lack of local knowledge and social networks (Kim, Park, & Heo, 2010). This is often put forward as the reason why Korean immigrants live under sufferance, as they experience a range of losses related to previously accustomed activities, held roles, and resources (Epstein, 2006; McKinnon, 1996). In other words, Korean immigrants are unable to carry on with important daily activities which are necessary to continue their lives such as work, housekeeping, school activities, or participating in community. For example, only 2% of Koreans voted in the 2011 election (The New Zealand Times, 2014) and unemployment rate stood at 11.4% in 2013, almost double to the national rate of 6.2% (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c).

As such, settlement issues can be elaborated through understanding immigrants' participation in daily occupations (Gupta & Sullivan, 2013). When immigrants take up residence in contexts that have different physical, economic, social and cultural attributes, they experience significant changes in their daily occupations (Torp et al., 2013). This means that in order to adapt to new environments, immigrants have to re-configure their daily occupational lives as occupations offer people ways to ensure the presence of, and the structure for, familiarity in their daily lives (Gupta & Sullivan, 2013; Hasselkus, 2011). This justifies that occupations are central to adaptation during the settlement process (Johansson et al., 2013; Nayar, 2009; Suleman & Whiteford, 2013). It is, therefore, crucial to identify the needs of Korean immigrants in performing those activities in order to promote a successful settlement.

In the next section, I will examine daily occupations in Korean immigrants' lives using categories such as 'self-care', 'productivity', and 'leisure' as it is through those types of occupations that people occupy themselves (CAOT, 1997). Bringing an occupational lens to Korean immigrants' settlement will help identify their everyday needs and generate insights that may prove useful in promoting successful settlement, so that Korean immigrants can make the most of the opportunities New Zealand offers them.

Self-care

The term 'self-care' is about maintenance, from personal care to community living. It can be any activity where the intention is to stay physically and mentally fit (Creek, 2010; Hammell, 2009). Occupations in self-care generally include those activities that are necessary for the maintenance of self within the environment, such as preparing meals, dressing, banking, and even shopping, in a word, activities related to looking after oneself (Christiansen & Baum, 1997a; Kielhofner, 2009).

Given that settlement means securing a place for oneself in a new country, it is anticipated that Korean immigrants inevitably go through significant changes in activities of self-care as their behavioural repertoire has to be more appropriate to the new setting (Birman, 1994; Im & Yang, 2006). They are expected to adjust or modify their lifestyle by accepting that while some things remain the same, other things will be altered, added, and abandoned, in order to fit themselves to a new country (Bhugra, 2004; Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002).

Yet, many Korean immigrants are the first generation in New Zealand who are unfamiliar with their new surroundings, and thus they encounter problems as a result (Chang et al., 2006; Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). A sense of frustration exists while they adapt to changes in activities of self-care because of the limited resources available and the existence of fewer informal support networks (Kim & Nayar, 2012). Their newly arrival status hinders Korean immigrants from learning and acting in a manner that is deemed appropriate in order to maintain self in a new society. Their lack of preparation, partly because of their dream of a leisurely life in New Zealand (Song, 2013), also results in the fact that Korean immigrants are less informed about what behaviours are appropriate within particular settings.

In response, Korean immigrants demonstrate a pattern of sustaining their needs in self-care within the Korean enclave, as maintaining exclusive relationships within it can ease the stress of adapting to changing cultural contexts (Berry, 2008). This pattern is in

accordance with what Nayar et al. (2012) suggested from the study of Indian immigrant women in New Zealand. In their study, they revealed that in the beginning of settlement, immigrants deliberately chose to do familiar occupations in order to sustain their lives.

Accordingly, Korean immigrants established the Korean enclave where they can find almost all resources for self-care in Korean (Kim & Nayar, 2012; McKinnon, 1996). In the New Zealand context, Korean immigrants can easily find what they need in order to maintain their self-care while speaking Korean, such as grocery shopping, handyman services, taxi services or even Korean garages (Chang et al., 2006). Apparently, there is less opportunity available for them to learn or be informed about what they need to change and how to adapt to these changes, leading to the absence of connectedness to their community (Epstein, 2006).

Productivity

Productivity includes those activities which provide support to self, family and society through the production of goods and services (CAOT, 1997). These activities are associated with increasing life satisfaction, resulting in changed perceptions of self in positive ways (Christiansen & Baum, 1997a; Law, Steinwender, & Leclair, 1998). Engaging in productivity is a deeply generative and integrative force in people's lives, with the way that people express themselves being closely tied to what they do for a living; that is, paid employment (Christiansen, 1999; Polatajko, 2010; Whiteford, 2010).

Of particular note, engaging in work is known as "a core-dimension of immigrants' livelihoods" (Samers, 2010, p. 16) since this activity is vital in order to be part of society by enhancing the connection between people (Makely, 2009; Polatajko, 2010). Brown (2008) also stated that immigrants benefit from practising the language whilst being exposed to cultural norms of the society at their workplace. From this regard, employment facilitates successful settlement and can be seen as a crucial means of acculturation (Gupta & Sullivan, 2013; Suto; 2013).

Engaging in productivity, therefore, plays a significant role in many Korean immigrants' lives, such as by bridging the gap with the host society, assisting them to escape isolation, and improving their feelings of belonging (Samers, 2010). A number of Korean immigrants, however, struggle to gain a position in this area of productivity. Their qualifications and work experience are often unrecognised or unvalued, compounded by language barriers, the stereotyping and prejudice held by employers and lack of information networks about the availability of jobs (Chang et al., 2006; Spencer, Flowers, & Seo, 2012).

As a result, Korean immigrants experience a high level of unemployment or end up doing menial jobs that most local residents disdain (North et al., 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). It is highly likely that they will find a job within the Korean enclave, where under-employment prevails, or run small businesses such as Korean restaurants or grocery shops which largely cater to Koreans in New Zealand, whilst having little or no communication skills in English (Koo, 2004; Song, 2013); for example, the Korean History Book Committee (2007) reported that there were 209 Korean catering businesses in 2007.

The struggle to obtain productivity roles in New Zealand is often associated with 'status inconsistency' which occurs when high education is combined with low income or occupation (Min, 1984). Given that losing occupations of choice deeply affects a person's sense of self-efficacy and causes emotional distress (Ridley & McCarthy, 1986; Townsend & Polatajko, 2007), it is logical that Korean immigrants are at higher risk of developing lower self-esteem, which negatively affects their health and well-being, in particular in the mental health area (Ho et al., 2002; Te Pou, 2010).

Leisure

Leisure is characterised as "a measurable residue of time, clearly distinguished by an absence of constraint and an abundance of something called discretion" (Suto, 1998, p. 273). Leisure activities are one of the key components of humans' daily occupations as they contribute to several qualities of life such as freedom from obligation, freedom of choice, enjoyment, relaxation, self-expression, and internal locus of control (Primeau, 2003; Townsend & Polatajko, 2007). As such, leisure provides a suspension of reality (Hasselkus, 2011). In relation to this study, research on leisure participation has reported its positive impact on immigrants' well-being (Mackenzie, 2011; Suto, 2013; Tsai & Coleman, 1999). Accordingly, engaging in leisure activities is crucial for Korean immigrants to ease their burdens from their stressful daily living and eventually feel comfortable in their lifestyles whilst improving social relationships.

Korean immigrants, however, experience a wide range of constraints regarding their leisure activities. Their involvement in leisure activities dramatically declined, compared to life in Korea, due to fewer support networks being available since leisure usually occurs through socialising with friends and family (Fougeyrollas, 1997; Suto, 2013). They may not have the knowledge of what local activities or events are available because of a lack of local information or they may suffer from a lack of available partners with whom they can join

leisure activities. Given that prejudice exists towards the Asian population (Human Rights Commission, 2011), Korean immigrants may also experience some degree of rejection when joining leisure activities. The negative impact of racial discrimination on the leisure participation of ethnic minorities has been documented (Tsai & Coleman, 1999).

In response, Korean immigrants often establish their own ethnic leisure clubs in New Zealand, such as the Korean Football Association or the Korean Tennis Club. The Korean church also provides many leisure activities where its members can heal their loneliness and obtain emotional support (Chang et al., 2006; KHBC, 2007). Additionally, given that what is considered to be an enjoyable leisure opportunity by one cultural group may not appeal to another (Suto, 2013; Tsai & Coleman, 1999), it is logical that Korean immigrants participate in leisure activities with other Korean immigrants with whom they share the same meanings of those activities. Through engaging in leisure activities within the Korean enclave, Korean immigrants lessen their sense of displacement, as these activities connect their past and present experiences of home.

Such disruption in three areas of occupations potentially undermines Korean immigrants' sense of self, as a person's sense of self emerges largely as a result of what he/she experiences on a daily basis and over time (Christiansen & Townsend, 2010), and risks their health status since a person's everyday activities and experiences are regarded as the primary source for health (CAOT, 1997; WHO, 2001). Hence, it is important to understand 'everyday needs' of Korean immigrants in performing occupations that they engage in, for the purpose of promoting a successful settlement and enhancing their well-being in New Zealand.

Summary

The majority of Korean immigrants chose New Zealand because they believed that they would easily become part of New Zealand society and be valued for their potential contribution. New Zealand promises to welcome them as one of its members, to join with fellow Kiwis in building a stronger country for the benefit of all citizens. However, creating a place in a new country is often problematic due to the potential disruption of all familiar routines whilst they have to cope with prejudices within society. It is known that many Korean immigrants endure a bewildering settlement process and struggle to participate fully in their host society.

For many Korean immigrants, settling in New Zealand's society is a process of complicated adjustments to the traditions reflective of New Zealand's society. They have to relinquish many things they hold dear in order to be part of this society. Little is known about how Korean immigrants go through this process in New Zealand. They are likely to be invisible in this society as their issues are often under-reported. To help them to achieve successful settlement, it is imperative that the concerns and voices of Korean immigrants are seen, heard, included and accepted, rather than being lost within the larger category of the Asian community, as they have their own unique cultural and social background.

The following chapter provides further discussion of the pertinent literature in relation to this study; reviewing literature pertaining to immigration, settlement theories and the history of Korean diaspora.

Chapter Three: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents a critical review of selected literature pertaining to two significant ideas that inform this study; the settlement process and the experiences of Korean immigrants. I explore Korean immigrants' everyday experiences using the perspective of symbolic interactionism, which is a theoretical basis of this study. Through that lens, immigrants adapt to a new culture by seeing themselves as social objects, and they can only do that through social interaction.

This chapter consists of two sections. In the first section, I provide an overview of the significance of immigration in shaping people's lives with a foundational idea of acculturation. The term 'acculturation' refers to "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact" (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). The applicability of acculturation theories within a New Zealand multicultural society, where ethnic societies already exist, is examined. The promise of an occupational perspective, which complements acculturation theories, is explored in terms of understanding the varied experiences of ethnic immigrants during the settlement process.

In the second section, I review the national and international literature exploring the history of Korean immigration and the experiences of Korean immigrants. This review suggests that recent Korean immigrants to New Zealand show different characteristics from Korean immigrants in the past. The intent of this section is to uncover what is currently known about how Korean immigrants re-establish their lives in a new country and what issues they face during the immigration process in New Zealand contexts.

Immigration

> Propelled by technological developments in transportation, communications, and information, the ideology of globalisation visualises a borderless world in which goods, investments, information, and people move freely anywhere in the world in pursuit of economic efficiency and a better life. (Esman, 2004, p. 23)

Within the general context of globalisation, crossing national borders has become a global phenomenon, with a huge impact on the everyday lives of people worldwide (Spellman, 2008; Suto, 2013). The world has settled into our neighbourhoods in the age of immigration and has changed the face of cities in many developed countries (Castles & Miller, 2009).

Inevitably, people's livelihoods such as markets, workplaces, and schools have been affected by the great immigration that is under way (Scheffer, 2011); that is to say, "globalisation is transforming everyday life" (Asaba, Ramukumba, Lesunyane, & Wong, 2010, p. 386). This has resulted in the term 'immigration' being of major significance in social science, leading to the volume of research about this topic (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Suarez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004).

Yet, considerable confusion exists about its meaning because the term 'immigration' is often used synonymously with 'migration'. In this study, immigration differs from migration in that the former refers to 'the merger of two or more independent cultural systems', involving a social and cultural change accompanied by the process of acculturation (Santisteban & Mitrani, 2002; Trimble, 2002), whereas the latter is defined as 'spatial movement within a country'; thus, often focusing on mobility such as that associated with urbanisation (Boyle, Halfacree, & Robinson, 1998; Hall & Kardulias, 2010).

The mixed use of these two terms has been criticised for erroneously focusing merely on aspects of a person's movement between two places; a purely spatial or temporal event and consequently, ignoring a person's cultural experience (Boyle et al., 1998). Instead, immigration can be interpreted as a cultural experience whereby persons are likely to deal with the specific characteristics of a given aspect of the social reality they are confronted with in order to develop and maintain their identity (Deutscher, 2004; Valenta, 2009). When people immigrate, they leave their home environment and re-establish their lives in contexts that have dramatically different social and cultural attributes (Gupta & Sullivan, 2013; Hernandez, 2009). In this sense, immigration should be approached as a process of "leaving one social unit and entering another" (Hall & Kardulias, 2010, p. 23).

From this perspective, immigration is a highly complex process of creating a place in a new culture whilst renegotiating identity (Huot et al., 2013; Johansson et al., 2013). It includes many significant socio-environmental changes which immigrants may find challenging to anticipate and prepare for (Briggs, 2001; Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002), and which require an adjustment of all valued occupations (Dyck, 1989; Gupta, 2013) as they encounter potentially different values and demands of the new culture (Spitzer, Neufeld, Harrison, & Hughes, 2003). The process of immigration itself is not just a phase, rather it is a series of events which are influenced by a number of factors at both the social and individual levels over a prolonged period of time (Bhugra, 2004; Hernandez, 2009).

The settlement process is, therefore, an idiosyncratic experience; too diverse and multifaceted to be explained by a single theory, requiring multidisciplinary perspectives in

different science fields (Arango, 2004; Coatsworth, 2004). Yet, only rarely do scholars talk across the disciplines. Despite the volume of research, there is a relative dearth of understanding of immigration from a shared paradigm, often resulting in a criticism that research on immigration tends to be narrow, inefficient and duplicated, and researchers consequently and unintentionally falsify their hypotheses by their inability to explain fundamentals (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Esman, 2004).

Occupational science will contribute to developing a general explanation for the phenomenon of immigration. Occupational scientists attest that humans are occupational beings (Yerxa et al., 1990); through participating in occupations, they express themselves and sustain their existence in the world (Law et al., 1998). From this perspective, immigration should be understood as 'occupational transition' (Huot & Laliberte Rudman, 2010; Suleman & Whiteford, 2013) in relation to how immigrants negotiate and navigate occupations within various social circumstances, ties, and networks (Nayar et al., 2012). I will detail further the potential which an occupational science perspective brings to immigration studies in the next section.

Voluntary Immigrants

In the context of this study, the experiences of immigrants largely refer to those of voluntary immigrants, which most Korean immigrants are stratified into (Yoon, 2012). Unlike refugees, who are forcibly pushed into an alien environment, immigrants are "those individuals who voluntarily relocate for long term resettlement" (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001, p. 23). It has been suggested that their different status of entry, expectations, motivations, and skills significantly determine newcomers' levels of commitment to the country of resettlement (Bhugra, 2004; Gupta & Sullivan, 2013; Samers, 2010), justifying the exclusion of refugees from this study.

Immigrants generally choose international relocation in pursuit of personal, familial, social, financial and political goals (Ward et al., 2001). Among those diverse goals, in the context of capitalism economic factors are largely highlighted as immigrants' motive to leave their home countries (Horevitz, 2009; Samers, 2010). For example, Ward et al. (2001) postulated "the most significant pull of immigration is economic opportunity" (p. 193). Accordingly, immigration is often described as a uni-directional phenomenon with people emigrating from less developed countries to countries with more resources (Dovidio & Esses, 2001; Gupta, 2013). In this regard, the great majority of immigration theories indicate

'market forces' as the primary players in immigration (Horevitz, 2009; Mueller, 2006), and 'work' has become a core-dimension of the study of immigrants' livelihoods (Samers, 2010).

It could be argued that viewing immigration merely from an economic perspective is too narrow, constricting the understanding of immigration. People rarely leave hearth and home simply to seek their fortune; instead, the decision to immigrate to another country is the outcome of a number of push and pull factors (Horevitz, 2009). For instance, Epstein (2006) disclosed that Koreans immigrated to New Zealand with the desire for a higher quality of life, including less stress from work and less competitive educational experiences for offspring, unlike those who left the country for the United States in the 1970s, with the purpose of social mobility. Yoon (2012) also reported that the motivations of Korean immigrants over the last fifty years have dramatically differed because of historical factors in their homeland and the host countries. As such, people do not choose immigration merely for economic betterment but in anticipation of escaping deplorable living conditions in their native countries (Scheffer, 2011).

From this regard, the focus on economic factors of immigration is problematic and limits understandings of other factors motivating people to immigrate and the consequences of those factors, leading to an important gap in knowledge in immigration studies. It has deflected attention from the more complex issues of immigration, namely participation in society (Suto, 2013). Further exploration is needed, therefore, to identify broader causes and consequences of immigration.

Acculturation Model

In an attempt to explain the varied experiences of immigrants, some common terms emerged and are now widely shared. In 1936, Redfield et al. proposed the term acculturation as 'the merger of two or more independent cultural systems'. Berry (2001) later defined acculturation as "a process that entails contact between two cultural groups, which results in numerous cultural changes in both parties" (p. 616). Since then, acculturation has undoubtedly become a core construct in contemporary social behavioural research in immigration (Trimble, 2002). The term acculturation has been most commonly investigated among persons who undertake cross-cultural relocations (Santisteban & Mitrani, 2002; Ward et al. 2001).

The term acculturation was originally proposed in order to understand a change in the culture of the group (Redfield et al., 1936); that is to say, a process in which elements of the

newcomer and dominant culture are retained and internalised as a result of continuous contact (Trimble, 2002). Then, it became widely recognised as an individual-level phenomenon that refers to a change in the psychology of the individual whose cultural group is collectively experiencing acculturation (Berry, 1997; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). In 1994, Birman attested that acculturation was about "the changes in behaviour of individual members of such a group, who may differ with respect to the extent and type of their acculturation" (p. 261).

The concept of acculturation is congruent with symbolic interactionism which is a theoretical foundation of this study. That is, every person is a social construction because they come to be persons in and out of interaction with their society (Crotty, 1996). According to symbolic interactionism, humans owe to society their very being as conscious and self-conscious entities, for that being arises from a process of symbolic interaction, that is, by way of significant gestures (Blumer, 1969). The focus of acculturation is on how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new contexts through interaction with members of the receiving culture (Berry, 2002; Lee & Hernandez, 2009; Organista, Organista, & Kurasaki, 2002). Here, I can connect a central notion of symbolic interactionism: 'the putting of oneself in the place of the other' with the idea of acculturation; 'changing their behavioural repertoire to be more appropriate in the new setting' (Birman, 1994).

As such, acculturation is defined as a process of adaptation and culture modification (Berry, 1997; Choi & Thomas, 2009). It is considered to be a selective process available to immigrants and involves conflict when immigrants adapt to new value systems and transform personality traits, leading to four possible outcomes, namely 'assimilation', 'separation', 'marginalisation' and 'integration' (Birman, 1994; Krishnan & Berry, 1992). Each category in this fourfold classification is also speculated to be an acculturation strategy, explaining the succession of steps by which individuals become part of a new culture whilst maintaining their cultural identity (Hernandez, 2009; Santisteban & Mitrani, 2002; Ward et al., 2001).

Acculturation strategies

According to Berry (2006), acculturation strategies include immigrants' behaviours and attitudes largely determined by dominant and non-dominant cultures. Over a prolonged period of time, immigrants use acculturation strategies from 'assimilation' to 'integration' alternatively until they settle on one that is more useful and satisfying than the others (Berry, 1997). Strategies inevitably vary according to the immigrant's desire for contact with the new

culture, the experience of the settlement process and the length of contact (Hernandez, 2009). Additionally, preferences for one strategy over others depends on the context, as interaction with their compatriots and the host community are influenced by the constraining forces of their social settings (Shibutani, 1955; Stryker, 1980).

Berry's four strategies of acculturation are not proposed to be linear processes or unidirectional courses of cultural change; instead, they almost always interweave with each other (Trimble, 2002). Eventual choice of one of these strategies was described as depending on how the acculturating individual answered two questions; 'cultural maintenance' and 'contact and participation' (Berry, 1994, 1997, 2001).

Immigrants might accept or resist the identity imposed on them by locals using a strategy of 'assimilation', 'separation', or 'marginalisation' whilst reconstructing their reconcilable identity using a strategy of 'integration' (Valenta, 2009). Assimilation is conceptualised as the 'swallowing up' of one culture by another; that is, the ethnic minority group is absorbed into the dominant culture (Cheyne et al., 2008; Drachman & Shen-Ryan, 1991). An assimilation process sees a group or a whole society gradually adopting, or being forced into adopting the customs, values, lifestyles and language of a dominant culture (Berry, 2001; Bhugra, 2004); thereby, individuals experience "relinquishing one's cultural identity and moving into the larger society" (Berry, 1994, p. 127).

Separation involves maintaining one's original culture while avoiding interaction with others (Hernandez, 2009). It emerges when there are no relations with the larger society, and ethnic identity is strongly maintained. This occurs when a group desires to be outside full participation within the larger society (Berry, 1997). Immigrants remain separate by placing value on holding on to their original culture, remaining embedded in it whilst at the same time avoiding interaction with others or refusing to participate in the new culture (Devine, 1996; Santisteban & Mitrani, 2002). Marginalisation occurs "when there is little possibility in cultural maintenance, and little interest in having relations with others" (Berry, 1997, p. 9). Immigrants lose cultural and psychological contact with both their traditional culture and the larger society (Berry, 1994). They avoid contact with their compatriots and host society, resulting in loss of identity and feelings of alienation (Krishnan & Berry, 1992).

Integration means that two cultures are able to come together, with immigrants maintaining their original culture yet at the same time having daily interaction with other groups (Berry, 1997). According to Choi and Thomas (2009), integration refers to "valuing one's own culture while at the same time interacting with the host culture" (p. 77). As such, integration implies the maintenance of the cultural integrity of immigrants, as well as

movement by them to become an integral part of a larger societal framework (Berry, 1994), and can be achieved when the host society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity (Cheyne et al., 2008; Hall & Kardulias, 2010). Immigrants retain their idiosyncratic features if they so wish, and participate as an integral part of the larger social network.

As such, with these acculturative strategies, Berry's model of acculturation has contributed to an increase in knowledge in various aspects of the psychological and socio-cultural components when two cultures come into contact and both cultures may experience some changes (Berry, 1994, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2008).

Critique

Despite the fact that acculturation strategies vary depending on a variety of factors, the term assimilation largely dominates studies of acculturating individuals (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000), "whereby immigrants change their behaviour and attitudes toward those of the host society" (Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991, p. 585). Because it is predominantly believed that "assimilation is inevitable when dominant and minority groups cohabit" (Deutscher, 2004, p. 450), acculturation has been used synonymously with assimilation; and thus, the frequent practice is for acculturation to be treated as a set of deviant variations from one's own form of cultural life, assuming that the culture of the majority remains unchallenged and is not affected by smaller groups (Birman, 1994; Ward et al., 2001).

The acculturative process of immigration is, therefore, often thought to be a unidirectional course of cultural change eventually resulting in full assimilation (Santisteban & Mitrani, 2002; Trimble, 2002). For example, immigrants are often seen as objects which are expected to adapt to new cultural norms, values, and traditions, and who should conform to the behavioural standards of the host society (Spoonley & Gendall, 2010). It is now recognised that acculturation is a reciprocal process, whereby both the acculturating individual and the receiving society make adaptations through constant interaction; indeed, everything and everyone has been affected by the merger of different cultural systems (Berry, 2001; Deutscher, 2004; Scheffer, 2011; Suleman & Whiteford, 2013). In other words, acculturation is a process that "transforms not only the immigrant culture, but also the host culture" (Choi & Thomas, 2009, p. 77).

Additionally, studies in acculturation often focus on psychological acculturation because of the concept's origin in psychology (Redfield et al., 1936; Trimble, 2002).

Focusing on the individual, the acculturation model provides an analysis of individual responses that immigrants display as part of an acculturation process (Berry, 2001; Lee & Hernandez, 2009). In particular, a process of taking on new cultural values has been associated with several types of acculturative stress such as identity confusion, depression and anxiety (Boyle et al., 1998; Mui & Kang, 2006). In making those associations, the acculturation model isolates the individual, questioning the ways in which acculturating individuals respond to pressure to give up their culture and assimilate to the culture of the larger society (Birman, 1994). For example, Suarez-Orozco and Qin-Hilliard (2004) studied the way in which young ethnic people have been transformed through copying the styles of American teenagers, and Im and Yang (2006) researched the way in which young Korean students managed their identities while becoming acquainted with the English culture, eventually resulting in full assimilation. The focus of these studies is merely on the psychological changes of immigrants.

The emphasis of the acculturation model on psychological characteristics results in less attention being placed on the societal factors which inevitably influence the acculturation process and displays a lack of ability to examine the ecological settings in which human organisms and the physical environment interact (Berry, 1994, 1997; Hernandez, 2009). The model has been criticised as being insufficient with regard to the explanation of how the socio-environment affects acculturating individuals when adapting to life changes in a new culture; hence, there is no clear guide for thinking concretely about what happens to people when relocating (Lazarus, 1997). Ward et al. (2001) also argued that "the influence of macro social and political factors on the nature of these interactions has been largely neglected in the psychological literature on acculturation as researchers primarily concentrate on the individual level of analysis" (p. 195).

Given that acculturation occurs in "a socio-economic, socio-cultural and political context, which is an important determinant in both process and outcomes" (Suleman & Whiteford, 2013, p. 203), various situational factors are now widely believed to influence the process of acculturation. For example, it is known that the attitude of the recipient society is an important factor in the process of acculturation (Bhugra, 2004; Dovidio & Esses, 2001; Hernandez, 2009), and societal variations make a big difference in how individuals adapt to social malaise and relocation (Lazarus, 1997; Shemirani & O'Connor, 2006). Acculturation has come to be recognised as the processes and outcomes of intercultural contact, inevitably influenced by societal variables (Trimble, 2002; Ward et al., 2001).

As Berry asserted, "the joint interest in cultural and biological influences on individual behaviour appears necessary because the exclusion of either as a factor in the explanation of human psychological variation makes little sense" (1994, p. 119). Thus, a complete study of acculturation would best start with a comprehensive examination of the societal contexts, including political and economic conditions being faced by immigrants and linking the background contextual variables to each acculturation strategy.

Adopting an Occupational Perspective to Immigration

People's experiences of immigration are highly heterogeneous; "a bewildering set of processes to understand" (Samers, 2010, p. 52). Those experiences cannot be as neatly divided into the four strategies of acculturation as above, but the important point is that every story of immigration involves the term 'adaptation' whilst interacting with societal factors (Berry, 1997; Valenta, 2009). Adopting an occupational perspective can enrich knowledge of immigration within specific contexts because of its unique framework of the person-environment-occupation interplay (Yerxa et al., 1990).

For occupational scientists, humans' behaviour is inseparable from contextual influences, temporal factors, and physical and psychological characteristics (Forsyth & Kielhofner, 2006; Law & Baum, 2001; Law et al., 1997). The person and the environment interact through occupation (Creek, 2010; Law et al., 1998). During the immigration process, immigrants unavoidably encounter changes in physical, socio-economic, political, and cultural aspects of context (Huot & Laliberte Rudman, 2010), which in turn can disrupt their occupational engagement in a new country (Farias & Asaba, 2013). From an occupational perspective, disruption to everyday occupations is an implicit part of the settlement process that occurs as a result of socio-environmental changes (Bhugra, 2004; Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002; Zane & Mak, 2002).

Accordingly, immigration involves a range of transitions in relation to occupations (Torp et al., 2013), as immigrants have to re-configure their daily occupations to adapt to socio-environmental changes (Gupta & Sullivan, 2013). Immigrants need to become aware of the differences of 'doing' between their home and the host society, in order to fit in or mediate interactive aspects of the host culture (Hernandez, 2009; Valenta, 2009). Participation in occupations can be mediating devices in the process of immigration (Johansson et al., 2013, p. 112). In this sense, the adaptational tasks in the settlement process can be interpreted as occupational adaptation (Gelfand & McCallum DPhil, 1995).

Because occupational scientists focus on studying 'what people actually do everyday' in their unique person-environment-occupation framework (Creek, 2010; Law et al., 1997), an occupational perspective can complement the acculturation model, which is less capable of explaining social-environmental influences in the settlement process. Using an occupational lens to understand the challenges experienced by immigrants is anticipated to increase understanding of how immigrants solve adaptational problems during the settlement process. In this way, employing an occupational perspective on immigration might be a route forward to understanding the needs of immigrants and guiding subsequent interventions.

Immigrants' occupational issues

In occupational science, engaging in occupation is integral to everyday living, as people structure their time doing the things they need and want to do (Brown, 2008; Wilcock, 2001). From this perspective, the term occupation is taken to mean any activity that people undertake in their daily life that holds meaning and purpose for them, not necessarily limited to the category of work (Creek, 2010; Nayar & Hocking, 2006). Immigrants re-shape their patterns of living, interact with others, comprehend themselves, and enrich their lives in a new country through occupation (Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002). This means that engaging in occupation is a basic part of the immigrants' social world (Gupta, 2013).

Given that it is difficult to preserve what could be taken for granted in their home country, immigrants continue their lives through adapting to changes whilst encountering competing values of the host society (Bhugra, 2004; Spitzer et al., 2003). As Berry (2001) asserted, "immigrants change the way they dress, what they eat, their greeting procedures, even their values by reducing or suppressing one way of daily living and taking on a replacement" (Berry, 2001, p. 626). Many immigrants also struggle to gain command of the language of their adoptive country, leading to a loss of autonomy, since immigrants have to rely on the help of others in order to perform activities on a daily basis (Kim & Nayar, 2012; Patterson, 2004).

Additionally, the qualifications and experiences they have brought with them are not necessarily transferable, with resultant engagement in low-paid and arduous jobs (Esman, 2004; Samers, 2010); indeed, "no matter what reasons individuals have for moving to a new society, many immigrants find themselves dealing with a life of economic struggle and hardship, marginalised in their new society" (Im & Yang, 2006, p. 666). Immigrants may also have to deal with unwelcoming attitudes within the recipient society (Spoonley & Gendall,

2010), as hostility to visible minorities has become a conspicuous feature throughout western countries (Esman, 2004). This produces obstacles and embarrassing situations whilst they re-establish daily occupations in an unfamiliar place (Gupta, 2013; Valenta, 2009). Reduced involvement in leisure activities has been documented, as racial prejudice against them creates additional constraints which hinder their participation in these activities (Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002; Tsai & Coleman, 1999).

As noted above, the price of immigration is that immigrants must take the trouble to learn how to do things reflective of the receiving society. Adopting the host culture requires disloyalty to their old traditions with regard to performing their previously valued activities (Torp et al., 2013). Concurrently, "alienation and loss are key features of any description of the arrival of migrants in a strange environment" (Scheffer, 2011, p. 4). These experiences are commonly shared by many immigrants when they try to connect with a new society, with consequent impact on well-being and identity.

From an occupational perspective, people's identities are shaped through their everyday activities (Wilcock, 1998); indeed, occupation is constitutive of who we are (Crabtree, 1997; Reed & Sanderson, 1999). This belief aligns with symbolic interactionism; that is, "what we think of ourselves and what we feel about ourselves results from social interaction" (Charon, 2010, p. 81). Given that persons' identity is shaped by social interaction, it is logical that disrupted occupations inevitably impact on immigrants' identities, as those occupations provide the mechanism for social interaction (Wilcock, 2006). In other words, any threat to immigrants' abilities to engage in occupations becomes a threat to their way of being and becoming in a new country (Christiansen, 1999), leading to experiences such as isolation and rootlessness, and eventually identity confusion and devaluation of self (Esman, 2004; Patterson, 2004; Scheffer, 2011; Spitzer et al., 2003).

In addition, as health is conditioned by how people live within the settings of their everyday lives (WHO, 1986, 2001), all of these factors give rise to new experiences that need to be attended to; feelings of marginality, depression and anxiety (Berry et al., 1987; Scheffer, 2001). Immigrants are at higher risk of diverse health problems, in particular mental health problems, due to these difficulties experienced in performing occupations in a new society (Nayar, Hocking, & Wilson, 2007; Noh & Avison, 1996). For example, research found that older Chinese immigrants and Indian immigrant students report higher than average symptoms of mental illness (Abbott, Wong, Williams, Au, & Young, 2000; Te Pou, 2008).

The view taken here is that what people do in daily living and their level of participation in those occupations inevitably affects their identity, health and well-being (Hocking & Ness, 2005; Kielhofner, 2009; Torp et al., 2013; Wilcock, 1998). Persisting inequities exist in everyday occupations which are based on ethnic differences (Townsend & Polatajko, 2007), and these have the potential to devalue a sense of self and translate into decreased health and well-being among immigrants. As Erlandsson, Rognvaldsson and Eklund (2004) postulated, a lack of control and frequent experiences of problems in the pattern of occupations are risk factors for experiencing a lower quality of life and self-rated health.

History of Korean Diaspora

According to the Overseas Korean Foundation (2014), more than 7 million Korean expatriates are dispersed across the world, including 3.8 million in Asian countries and 2.4 million in North American countries.

In the early 1900s, Koreans largely chose immigration as a means of survival as Korea had been the object of intense international rivalry between China, Japan and Russia. For example, many peasants who lost ownership of their land during the Japanese colonisation emigrated to Manchuria or Siberia, whilst a number of exiled Koreans moved to Shanghai in China for the purpose of establishing their own state (McGibbon, 1992). Korean immigration to the US was also initiated when the first group of Korean immigrants sailed to Hawaii between 1903 and 1905 to fulfil a contract with the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (Kwon, 1997).

In the 1960s, Koreans regarded immigration as a way of gaining social mobility (Min, 1984). Korea was desperate to achieve economic development after the Korean War in the 1950s. A number of Koreans emigrated to destinations such as the US, Germany, and Latin America in order to pursue economic prosperity. The Korean government actively encouraged temporary labour emigration and came to rely on expatriate remittances as an important source of national income (Spellman, 2008). For example, included in the more than 19,000 Korean miners and nurses who arrived in Germany to earn money were a number of graduates and dropouts of prestigious universities (Thomas, 2013). At this time, South Korea's GDP per capita was similar to levels in the poorest countries in the world. These two groups of Korean immigrants have paved the way for subsequent generations of Korean populations in the wider world (Kwon, 1997; Yoon, 2012).

The pattern of Korean immigration dramatically changed in the late 1980s due to continued economic growth and political democratisation (Spencer et al., 2012). Since the government initiated an economic development plan in the 1970s, South Korea has achieved rapid development known as the 'Miracle of the Han River'. South Korea's GDP now makes it the 11th largest economy in the world (Skeldon, 2004), and became a major economic influence in the world. Today, South Korea has developed into one of the world's leading countries in science, information, various technologies, and recently, culture (Hong & Han, 2013).

From a country ruined by war in the 1950s, relying on humanitarian aid for its survival (Hopkins, 2002), South Korea has successfully rebuilt itself. New Zealander Des Vinten, a Korean War veteran who visited Korea as part of the anniversary of 'Kay-force', recalled his recent visit to South Korea as follows: "I was pleased to see the incredible progress the country has made in 60 years. South Korea is a celebration of success against insurmountable odds" (Korean Veterans Association Vice President, cited in New Zealand Army, 2012). Tudor (2012) also highlighted the pace of development, describing the transformation over fifty years from being:

> An impoverished, war-torn country that lurched from brutal dictatorship to chaotic democracy and then dictatorship again. Few expected it to survive as a state, let alone graduate to becoming a prosperous and stable model for developing countries the world over – and one with an impressive list of achievements in popular culture, to boot. (p. 10)

While South Korea has achieved rapid economic development in a short period, the spirit of 'working hard' became the social norm. There is no doubt that without this spirit, South Korea could not have transformed into the economic powerhouse that it is today. Paradoxically, this spirit created a highly competitive environment within the Korean society. As the South Korean economy relies heavily on exports and human resources, people are requested to be "industrial soldiers" (Tudor, 2012, p. 175), doing more than they can reasonably do for the holy mission of export-led growth. In fact, South Korea has one of the highest percentages of employed persons working 'excessive' hours (International Labour Office, 2007). For example, in 2010, Koreans' average working hours were 2,187 per year, far exceeding the 1,764 OECD average (OECD, 2014).

As a result, people often found themselves in a hypercompetitive environment (Choe, 2013). Additionally, in Korea, getting into a prestigious university is often regarded as a prerequisite to success (Tudor, 2012), with the result that children are not exempt from extreme competition. Indeed, 74% of all students were engaged in some kind of private after-

school instruction in 2010, at an average cost of US$2,600 per student per annum (Ripley, 2011).

Nevertheless, export-led national growth does not automatically bring people happiness. The global economic crisis of 1997-1998 also had wide-ranging implications for the Korean society (Skeldon, 2004), undermining the spirit of 'working hard' and the bond of trust between company and worker. Many Koreans began to express unhappiness with excessive working hours, and complained that "we are not machines" (Tudor, 2012, p. 175). For example, the OECD (2014) reported that Koreans' life satisfaction was one of the lowest among developed countries. By facing unhappiness and uncertain futures, the emotion of 'haan' - "a unique traditional collective sentiment of Koreans, which may be defined as a pathos, a chronic mixed mood of missing, sadness, suppressed anger, feeling of unfairness" (Min, 2009, p. 14), came to underpin the Korean society, leading to the explosive growth of suicide in South Korea (Choe, 2013).

Given the fact that the Korean society failed to improve their members' quality of life, a number of Koreans began to hope that they could escape from their stressful lifestyle through immigration, particularly to English-speaking countries, where they could value English and embrace a peaceful future for their off-spring (Spencer et al., 2012). In Chang et al's report (2006), Korean immigrants identified the pressure of work as a motivating factor in deciding to immigrate. That is, unlike those who moved overseas until the 1980s in anticipation of social mobility (Kwon, 1997; Yoon, 2012), recent Korean emigration is driven by the pursuit of a better lifestyle for themselves and their children (Koo, 2004; Song, 2013), with emigrants fanning out across developed Western countries for the prospect of education and a high quality of lifestyle (Epstein, 2006).

The Experiences of Korean Immigrants

The purpose of this section is to review the literature pertaining to the everyday experiences of Korean immigrants to New Zealand. The questions that guided this component of the literature review were; 'What occupations would they continue to do, as they had in their mother country?' 'What occupations would they have to alter and abandon?' 'How do socio-environmental changes impact on their choice of occupations and how do they affect their identity and well-being?' I will briefly summarise the New Zealand literature and what it offers in the context of this study, before reviewing the international literature.

National literature

In New Zealand, there is much literature on immigrants' cultural and psychological challenges and their crises of identity (Ho et al., 2002; Sobrun-Maharaj, Rossen, & Kim, 2011). Yet, there is comparatively little literature available on the everyday experiences of immigrants with regards to understanding what actually happens in relation to everyday living (Nayar, 2009; Nayar et al., 2012). Furthermore, due to the small size of their population and the fact that their arrival is comparatively new to New Zealand, very little is known about Korean immigrants (Park & Anglem, 2012).

In 2013, 30,171 Korean immigrants resided in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). It is still a young community; 87% of all Koreans have lived in the country for less than a decade (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Despite the fact that the Korean population comprises the fourth largest group of the Asian ethnic population, they are usually stratified into the whole Asian population in official reports, resulting in their issues being under-reported in most official reports (Badkar et al., 2010; Reid, 2010; Te Pou, 2008). Epstein (2006) postulated that the topics specifically related to Korean immigrants have been sparsely addressed in New Zealand research.

Partial insights into the everyday experiences of Korean immigrants in New Zealand were generated by Chang, Morris and Vokes' (2006) study. Funded by the Family Commission, they conducted small scale ethnographic studies exploring Korean immigrants' expectations and experiences in Christchurch. They interviewed 36 Korean immigrants and revealed that the majority of Korean immigrant families left Korea with a great sense of hope about their new life, expecting to experience full participation in New Zealand society. This optimism, however, disappeared soon after they arrived. Many of the participants experienced a degree of acculturative stress, ranging from language difficulties to the disruption of their family and social support networks. For many of the participants, it was difficult to maintain the things that could be taken for granted at home such as finding a place to live or finding a school. They had to relinquish many things they held dear for the purpose of creating a place for themselves in a new country. An interesting finding was that some Korean immigrants even converted to other religions, or became religious, as church networks were a main source of support.

Given that immigrants are often believed to be pulled toward a new country in pursuit of economic activity (Ward et al., 2001), employment, as an occupation, holds a significant position in many cross-cultural studies (Suto, 2013). This topic has been the focus of research

by Meares, Ho, Peace and Spoonley, who undertook a qualitative study of *'The economic integration of Korea immigrants'* in 2010. They interviewed 40 Korean immigrants to examine their experiences as employers and employees. That study discovered that the participants predominantly worked in either retail or accommodation and food services, which was quite different from their pre-immigration employment, because of their inability to obtain employment in New Zealand. Many of the participants reported some degree of constraint in the labour market, such as a language barrier and discrimination. This difficulty in employment led to a higher risk of lower self-esteem and isolation which produces stress on the family relationships and consequently depresses entire areas of the host society.

It is also known that immigration entails a complex re-negotiation of identity as immigrants are thrust into a different world (Berry, 1994; Johansson et al., 2013). This topic was explored by Epstein, in a 2006 study of a hybrid Korean-New Zealand identity that involved extensive analysis of Korean Print and Cyber-media, including nine Korean-language newspapers printed in New Zealand. Epstein found that Korean immigrants do not develop a deeply rooted attachment to the host country, retaining their 'spectator status' rather than 'participant status', indicating that a hybrid Korean-New Zealand identity continued to be in an embryonic state. For many Korean immigrants, this status was associated with a deep sense of isolation because they found it difficult to get to know their New Zealand neighbours and gave up trying to integrate into New Zealand society.

More recently, Park and Anglem (2012) also studied Korean immigrants' identities, based on a belief that identity is an object constructed through social interaction. Using a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods, they interviewed 30 participants and surveyed 50 senior Korean immigrants. Their findings confirmed that Korean immigrants' identities are transnational in nature, coupled with the development of communication technologies such as the internet and satellite television. Their lifestyles are likely to be 'ambidextrous' in the two nations, with family members adopting separate distance living arrangements. Such transnational families have been described as 'wild goose families' because they live separately and rarely meet in person; yet, retain close links with their family traditions.

Although it is known that immigrants generally exercise choice over occupational changes such as employment or housing whilst negotiating the realities of New Zealand (Department of Labour, 2008b), the studies of Chang et al. (2006), Meares et al. (2010), Epstein (2006), and Park and Anglem (2012) provide insightful understanding of specific challenges experienced by Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand. They are limited,

however, with regards to generating a broad understanding of the everyday occupations that Korean immigrants engage in for the purpose of settling in a new country. Rather, these studies focused on the specific issues such as employment, stress coping strategies or the psychological changes of Korean immigrants. In general, there is limited literature specifically addressing the everyday occupational needs of Korean immigrants and what they do to settle into a new country.

International literature

The literature reviewed in this section has been stratified into two broad headings - 'the immigration decision' and 'Korean enclave'. The first heading has been chosen from my readings of the Korean diaspora to explain further the characteristics of recent Korean immigrants which I briefly discussed in a previous section. Korean enclave will be analysed using an occupational perspective. Given that a person's daily life is likely to consist of self-care, productivity and leisure occupations (CAOT, 1997), the immigrants' actual experiences in these areas have a reciprocal relationship with the establishment of a Korean enclave. I am certain that these two concepts should be taken into account for the purpose of understanding how Korean immigrants experience settling in New Zealand.

The immigration decision

According to Ward et al. (2001), immigrants' experiences of settling depend upon their personality and reasons for immigration. It is, therefore, crucial to acknowledge their major motivations for immigration when attempting to capture the dynamic nature of their experience. This makes it possible to consider that exploring the characteristics of Korean immigration will be beneficial in advancing an understanding of their experiences of immigration.

As I discussed previously, the history of Korean immigration began in the 19th century when they emigrated to China, Russia and Hawaii in order to escape poverty and oppression (McGibbon, 1992; Yoon, 2012). Since then, the pattern of Korean diaspora is generally divided into four periods, namely 'political refugees' in the 1900s in China, 'Korean miners' in Germany in the 1960s, 'those who left for the American Dream' in the 1970-80s, and 'people who immigrated to escape stressful lifestyles' in the late 1990s (Kwon, 1997; Spencer et al., 2012; Thomas, 2013). Each wave of Korean emigration demonstrates different

motivations and characteristics driven by different historical factors in the homeland and the host countries (Yoon, 2012).

The relatively recent arrival of Korean immigrants to New Zealand coincides with the period immediately before and after the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988, which became a symbol of rising prosperity in Korea. Before the 1980s, Korean immigrants were usually strongly motivated with regard to social and economic upward mobility. Subsequently, they were pulled by better opportunities in the host countries, in particular economic prosperity. At this time, Koreans fanned out across countries which had a persistent shortage of labour such as the United States, Germany, and even Argentina and Brazil in Latin America, in anticipation of economic betterment (Yoon, 2012). One of the motivating factors of their movement was the opportunity to contribute to the home country's economy as their salary was an important source of national income (Spellman, 2008).

In contrast, the Koreans who have immigrated to American, Europe, Australia and New Zealand since the 1990s have different motivations (Spencer et al., 2012). Because of the economic success known as the 'Miracle of the Han River' (Hong & Han, 2013; Tudor, 2012), Koreans no longer needed to choose immigration in order to pursue social mobility overseas. Many Koreans, who hoped to escape their stressful lifestyle, began to immigrate as a way of pursuing a leisurely lifestyle with the prospect of education that the country offered (Epstein, 2006; Moon, 2011; Song, 2013). On the whole, they can be characterised as well-educated, middle or upper-middle class, relatively affluent, with a desire for a higher quality of life and a less stressful education for their offspring (Chang et al., 2006; Koo, 2004).

The strong desire for a higher quality of life, and being impressed by "the mythology of clean and green New Zealand" (Epstein, 2006, p. 156) motivated many Koreans to immigrate to New Zealand, because they valued the English language and the peaceful nature of this country (Chang et al., 2006). Prior to immigration, they were exposed to many immigrant success stories, partly because existing immigrants tended to transmit a positive image of New Zealand to their origin countries (Law et al., 2009). New Zealand's positive reputation has accentuated the number of Korean immigrants who have come for lifestyle choice. The government also promised an inclusive society where they would be integrated by responsive support, a welcoming environment, and respect for diversity (Department of Labour, 2004). This promise can be found on the New Zealand Immigration website – 'New Zealanders open their hearts to newcomers. It's in our DNA':

> The diversity of New Zealanders and our backgrounds also creates a good deal
> of respect for one another, and integrity in our dealings. We're laid back, but

making sure everyone gets a "fair go" is something we take very seriously. It all means we're naturals at welcoming strangers and developing friendships. (Immigration New Zealand, 2014b)

The majority of Korean immigrants optimistically dreamt of a new life wherein they expected to be welcomed into the new community, and anticipated full participation in New Zealand society. This optimism, however, resulted in a lack of preparation for living in a new country. They did not anticipate how physical, socio-cultural, political, and economic environmental changes would severely impact all aspects of their daily occupations (Kim & Nayar, 2012). Without being fully informed, they became vulnerable to the challenges of coping with those changes as a result of immigration in New Zealand. For this reason, it is argued that motivations and patterns of Korean immigration interweave with the experiences of Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand.

Korean enclave

The fact that key features of immigration include alienation and loss (Scheffer, 2011), means that the settlement process is a stress-inducing phenomenon (Bhugra, 2004). Immigrants are exposed to substantial social, economic, and political pressure to adjust to the tradition of the receiving society (Valenta, 2009) but struggle to re-establish daily activities due to unfamiliarity with their new surroundings, minority status, language barriers, the disruption of the family system, and a lack of social networks (Im & Yang, 2006; Roh, Lee, Lee, & Martin, 2014). Those obstacles and difficulties exist despite different motivations for immigration (Koo, 2004; Yoon, 2012).

In response, immigrants tend to keep themselves to themselves in the beginning of their settlement (Scheffer, 2011). They tend to continue to do some of their daily occupations, as they had in their mother country (Nayar et al., 2012), preferring to integrate into their ethnic community to avoid the hassles and stresses of being immersed in a new culture (Kim et al., 2010; Son & Kim, 2006; Treas & Mazumdar, 2002). In other words, immigrants are likely to maintain exclusive relationships with people from the same ethnic group in order to create a home-like space to maintain a sense of cultural belonging and ease the acculturative stress as a result of changing cultural contexts (Berry, 2008).

This phenomenon is known as the model of 'the ethnic enclave'; that is, immigrants' subjective identification with a particular ethnic group and maintenance of intimate socio-cultural ties with members of that group (Kim, 1999). Immigrants obtain resources within the ethnic enclave that are critical to continuing their lives using their previous knowledge and

experience, allowing them to maintain a sense of continuity of themselves (Johansson et al., 2013; Torp et al., 2013). The concept of the 'ethnic enclave' explains how immigrant groups concentrate in particular spatial locations, organise a variety of activities within the ethnic community, and serve their own ethnic community (Spencer et al., 2012). In this way, the 'ethnic enclave' is an appropriate model for understanding how immigrants build and retain enduring social ties whilst they experience new and changing relations to a new country (Zonta, 2012).

Korean immigrants are no exception to this phenomenon. They maintain intimate socio-cultural ties with other Korean immigrants (McKinnon, 2006; Roh et al., 2014). As I described earlier, Korean immigrants experience difficulties in maintaining activities in almost all areas of daily occupations partly because of their monolingual character and limited networks, resulting in a range of losses of previously held roles, resources and autonomy, and thus encountering problems as a result (Im & Yang, 2006; Meares et al., 2010). In response, they have formed 'a Korean enclave' where almost all resources are available in the Korean language. They tend to stay in their ethnic community where their occupational needs are met and where they feel that they can actively contribute to the community as an aspect of personal fulfilment (Kim & Nayar, 2012).

The Korean enclave eases acculturative stress by providing a haven of 'Korean-ness' in an unfamiliar society (Chang et al., 2006; Min, 1996). From this perspective, it functions as a transnational medium between the homeland and the host society (Park & Anglem, 2012). Yet, its disadvantages and economic functions are often highlighted in literature; for example, the absence of connectedness as they mostly interact with other Koreans (Im & Yang, 2006; Roh et al., 2014), or a place with a variety of enterprises in which they can serve their own ethnic market (Koo, 2004; Min, 1984; Spencer et al., 2012; Son & Kim, 2006). Such evaluations potentially underestimate the close relationship of the enclave with immigrants' well-being.

Using an occupational lens to view the functions of the ethnic enclave suggests new understandings of how it eases the settlement process and how it is positively associated with immigrants' well-being. From this perspective, it can be argued that the Korean enclave may best be seen as porous clusters of activity, whereby Korean immigrants can obtain crucial resources for their everyday occupations which help to sustain their lives in a new country. Then, these familiar occupations would be used as a means of discovering the New Zealand culture (Nayar et al., 2012).

Summarising the Literature

The foregoing discussion suggests that the settlement process is a bewildering process (Samers, 2010), requiring significant adjustments in immigrants' everyday activities (Bhugra, 2004; Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002; Gupta, 2013; Nayar et al., 2012; Torp et al., 2013). During the period of settlement, Korean immigrants inevitably encounter adaptational tasks to fit into a new society as a result of significant socio-environmental changes. A general sense of frustration exists in relation to the problems of fitting into New Zealand society because of their minority status, including having a different culture, lack of local knowledge, limited networks and language barriers (Chang et al., 2006; Park & Anglem, 2012). A range of losses occur related to changes of previously held roles, resources and autonomy, impacting negatively on their identity and well-being (Ho et al., 2002; Kim & Nayar, 2012; McKinnon, 1996; Te Pou, 2010).

To understand the immigrants' settlement process, the acculturation model is currently seen to be integral to explaining the varied experiences of ethnic immigrants (Trimble, 2002). Since its introduction by Redfield et al. (1936), the term 'acculturation' has been commonly used to explain the process of adjusting to life changes and the social identity of intercultural adaptation (Berry, 1997; Scheffer, 2011). Yet, the acculturation model has been criticised for focusing on individuals' psychological changes (Boyle et al., 1998; Organista et al., 2002), with less consideration given to the matter of societal influences; accordingly, being unable to cover the full range of such processes (Lazarus, 1997).

Immigration is a series of events, which are influenced by a number of factors at both the individual and social levels over a prolonged period of time (Berry, 1997; Bhugra, 2004; Suleman & Whiteford, 2013). It is suggested that environmental factors, including the physical, social and attitudinal environment in which people conduct their lives, both support and impede an individual's participation in society (Gelfand & McCallum DPhil, 1995; WHO, 2001). Employing the knowledge of occupational science in combination with the acculturation model will provide more in-depth knowledge about what is happening during the settlement process (Brown, 2008; Nayar, 2009), through examining human occupation in context and the relationship between occupation and health and well-being (Hocking & Wright-St. Clair, 2011; Yerxa et al., 1990).

The literature review reveals that the characteristics of recent Korean immigrants differ significantly from those who had to choose immigration during the hardship of South Korea until the early 1990s (Kwon, 1997; Yoon, 2012). Koreans may no longer need to

choose immigration to pursue social mobility overseas; yet, they keep immigrating to developed Western countries where there is the prospect of a higher quality of life (Moon, 2011). These characteristics have to be considered to understand the settlement process because of its inseparability from the individual's personality and his/her reasons for immigration (Bhugra, 2004; Hernandez, 2009; Ward et al., 2001).

Conclusion

During the settlement process, increasing numbers of Korean immigrants experience occupational disruption, leading to a general sense of frustration in relation to their fitting into their new society.

However, their issues are often unheard because of their invisibility in New Zealand. Occupations can be mediating devices in the process of immigration, which eventually impact on immigrants' identity and well-being. For many Korean immigrants, finding meaningful occupations in a new country is a journey, requiring much information and support. Bringing an occupational perspective to the challenges experienced by Korean immigrants may provide a route forward to generating useful knowledge about what they need to accomplish in their daily occupations, in order to promote successful settlement, and enhance their participation in civic society.

Chapter Four: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodology of grounded theory (GT) and methods used to uncover how Korean immigrants re-establish daily activities in a new environment. This chapter consists of four sections: methodological positioning, data collection, ethical considerations, and trustworthiness of this study. The analysis and theory building process will be presented in chapter five.

In the first section, I will explicate the connections between GT and symbolic interactionism as, used together, they enable the documentation of change within social groups and provide an understanding of the core processes central to that change (Charmaz, 2014; Morse, 2009). Then, I will discuss Corbin and Strauss' version of GT (CSGT) used in this study, since I found this style of GT to be the most promising way in understanding the process of immigration. I will also examine the relevance of GT to occupational science, the analytic lens underpinning this study, as discussed in Chapter One.

The second section focuses on data collection. I will discuss participant recruitment, supplementary sources of data, and methods used for gathering the data. GT employs a strategy of theoretical sampling which is designed to collect data based on concepts derived from previous data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Hence, in this study, recruitment for participants depended on the developing theory, not population representativeness.

In the third section, I will discuss ethical considerations in the design of the study. The preparation for ethical approval provides a safeguard against any anticipated harm included in conducting the research. Three key areas requiring ethical consideration in this study are 'maintaining confidentiality', 'cultural sensitivity' and 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi'.

The fourth section focuses on trustworthiness of the findings of the analysis. Although different stories can be constructed from data (Charmaz, 2006), the findings should reflect the essence of what the participants try to convey, or represent one logical interpretation of data. Consideration of 'credibility', 'transferability', 'dependability', and 'confirmability' were applied to enhance the trustworthiness of the research findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I will explain how I remained faithful to the data using different strategies during the analysis.

Methodological Positioning

GT is associated with the interpretive paradigm which aims to understand what meanings humans attach to events in their lives (Grant & Giddings, 2002). The GT researcher studies

behavioural patterns of people in a substantive field and helps to discover what their world is like, and how it is constructed and experienced by them (Bowers, 1988). What makes GT significant is that this methodology includes a set of procedural operations with which to penetrate beneath the surface of the data, resulting in a theory that rigorously emerges from the data (Glaser, 1998; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It is a systematic approach that provides the richness of human experience in diverse social science fields. The influence of grounded theory is now so widespread that "it can be argued that it has profoundly changed the face of social science" (Morse, 2009, p. 13).

GT was developed by two co-founders, Glaser and Strauss, when they examined the experience of dying at hospital in the 1960s. Strauss earned his advanced degrees from the University of Chicago, which had a strong tradition in qualitative research. He was strongly influenced by interactionism and the pragmatist writings suggested by his advisor, Herbert Blumer, a prominent symbolic interactionist (Corbin, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). His association with these perspectives contributed to his part in the development of GT, that is, persons are actors who take an active role in responding to problematic situations on the basis of meaning which is defined through interaction (Blumer, 1969; Charon, 2010). Indeed, Strauss is a person who brought the logic and assumptions of symbolic interactionism to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014).

In contrast, Glaser's background was in quantitative and qualitative mathematics (Strauss, 1987). He received his PhD at Columbia University. He studied with Paul Lazersfeld, an innovator of quantitative methods, and later Robert K. Merton, learning descriptive statistics. Glaser believed in the need for making comparisons between data to identify, develop, and relate concepts while doing qualitative analysis (Stern, 2009). Glaser's experience with descriptive statistics made it natural to use constant comparisons in analysing data in GT (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Their respective contributions were equally important in developing GT. Together, they developed a different method from what had previously been applied, called 'Grounded Theory' – a theoretical interpretation of a conglomerate of data which is ordered, systematic, and marked by rigour (Greener, 2011; Stern, 2009).

Their different backgrounds and perspective on GT, however, eventually led to the development of diverse GT variants such as Strauss and Corbin's version of GT (1998, 2008), Schatzman' dimensional analysis (1991; Bower & Schatzman, 2009; Kools, McCarthy, Durham, & Robrecht, 1996; Robrecht, 1995), Clarke's situational analysis (2003, 2009), and Charmaz's constructivist GT (2006, 2014). Although each variant differs from the others, sometimes accompanied by debate concerning which can and cannot claim to be GT

(Charmaz, 2006; Stern, 2009), all variants are congruent with the basic GT aim; that is, developing a theory explaining the action of people which is grounded in data (Corbin & Strauss; 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

As such, what was initially GT has evolved into many distinct approaches (Green, Creswell, Shope, & Clark, 1997). GT researchers can choose an appropriate approach from these diverse GT variants, to respond to analytic problems (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Indeed, different approaches within GT have actually generated a "banquet table of choices" (Clarke, 2009, p. 198) for the methods with which GT researchers address particular foci. This makes it clear that GT is only a style of doing qualitative analysis. It is not a prescribed method that uses a particular level of data and formulaic techniques to calculate a solution; instead, GT can be modified each time it is used as GT researchers modify the procedures in their own way (Corbin, 2009). The analytic process in GT, therefore, remains a researcher-driven thinking process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), whereby positioning theory is in a constant state of development (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Grounded Theory and Symbolic Interactionism

GT has come to be through a two-step evolution, including the philosophy of pragmatism and symbolic interactionism (Charmaz, 2006; Stern, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Pragmatism, as an epistemology, provides the nature of knowledge, whereas symbolic interactionism guides a way of looking at the world and making sense of it (Crotty, 1998). Pragmatism is generally traced to the work of the American pragmatists in the early 20th century who attested that human beings respond to the environment according to its usefulness (Deutscher, 2004; Mead, 1934). Symbolic interactionism is a sociological derivative of pragmatism which believes that our understanding of reality is generated through symbolic interaction (Bowers, 1988; Prus, 2003).

For pragmatists, the world does not tell us what it is; instead, we actively reach out and understand it and decide what to do with it; that is to say, "objects do not simply impose itself on us without our taking a role in interpreting it, we ourselves must make decisions as to what they are to us" (Crotty, 1998, p. 31). As such, its view is that humans are active, thinking and self-defining actors in a social world (Charon, 2010). Accordingly, pragmatists focus on studying what people are doing in situations which they define as problematic (Shalin, 1986). In other words, for pragmatists, perspectives, facts, definitions, and

experiences are to be sought in action; that is, 'doing' is vital in understanding human life (Ezzy, 2006; Manis & Meltzer, 1972; Strauss, 1987).

Following on from pragmatists' thoughts, symbolic interactionism notes that humans act toward things on the basis of the meanings that these things have for them (Blumer, 1969). To identify meanings, they put themselves into the other's perspectives which is possible because of the significant symbols that humans share (Denzin, 1992; Hagedorn, 1995). People engage in this process of symbolic interaction over their lifespan; out of that interaction they develop meaning and what they see will be understood through that meaning (Charon, 2010). An object's meaning lies only in the behaviour humans direct toward it from the process of symbolic interaction; and thus "reality is socially constructed through symbolic interaction" (Marvasti, 2006, p. 529). Symbolic interactionism, therefore, focuses on social processes in relation to understanding human behaviours (Strauss, 1987).

The assumption of pragmatism and symbolic interactionism is integral to GT, making "the bridging of theory and method possible" (Carbines, 2012, p. 67). Indeed, symbolic interactionism is "the major theoretical perspective associated with grounded theory" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 261). Admittedly, GT researchers assume that humans construct their selves and make sense of their world through social interaction. For them, humans act purposefully based on their interpretation of the situation; that is, people assign meanings in general, identify in particular through interaction, and act according to those meanings (Bowers, 1988; Marvasti, 2006). In this way, GT places action at the centre of its attention, where the emphasis is on understanding actions, the causes of actions, the consequences of actions, the perception of one's own actions, and the perception of other's actions from the perspective of actors (Corbin, 1991; Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Using GT methodology, I will focus on analysing Korean immigrants' actions based on their definitions of the situations, in particular, those which they find problematic. GT's utility in understanding immigrants' experiences has been demonstrated previously in Kim (2004) – 'the experiences of young Korean immigrants', Brown (2008) - 'the implications of occupational deprivation experienced by elderly female immigrants' and Nayar (2009) - 'the theory of navigating cultural spaces'. GT is an appropriate methodology for understanding the immigration process as it helps us to see how the participants respond to problematic situations (immigration) from their own behaviours and attitudes (actions).

Corbin and Strauss' Grounded Theory used in This Study

As I explained in Chapter One, as a social work researcher, my worldview aligns with Stryker's (1980, 1987) view that action is constituted by, as much as it constitutes, the environment. It is in the course of this mutual constitution that reality opens itself up to the knower. For me, it is impossible to understand the actions of any individual by extracting them from the social context within which they are created. This worldview encourages me to be sensitive to the unique set of circumstances of every situation in understanding the immigration process.

For this reason, I initially assumed that GT may not be suitable for this study. In GT, underpinned by pragmatism, humans are believed to be dominant in the ecosystem (Crotty, 1998). Hocking (2000a) pointed out how GT reflects this worldview; that is, "within the theory of action, people are viewed as actively shaping the course of the action to achieve what they expected, including imagining options for action and making choices which lead to reorganisation and continuance of action" (p. 62). Although GT does not deny the existence of social structures (Charmaz, 2014), it highlights that humans have the ability to accommodate unexpected exigencies and to adjust independently (Reynolds, 2003). The dominant idea of GT is that people make choices dependent on their personal preferences because they have an adaptive capacity to environmental demands (Charon, 2010).

I had difficulty in accepting this prevailing idea of GT until I came to appreciate Corbin and Strauss' version of GT. Corbin and Strauss postulated that a person and society are inseparable from on-going interaction; hence, the process of actors' meaning-making should be explored within the social and political context (Corbin, 2009; Corbin & Strauss, 1990, 2008). Their ideas make it possible to believe that meanings of social action rest on the context in which they appear (Neuman & Kreuger, 2003). Accordingly, bringing the contexts into analysis is necessary to understand a person's experience (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). To understand how a person develops meanings in life, the authors emphasise the influential relationships between structure and process. I found their version of GT helpful when addressing my concern that GT is largely "focusing on individuals" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 243).

In CSGT, relating process to structure is an essential step, to analyse what is happening in the real world (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Process refers to a person's continuous 'action/interaction/emotion' taken in response to situations, whilst structure identifies the sets of conditions in which problems and situations arise (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). From their point of view, analysing process within the larger context in which events occur is at the

centre of analysis when understanding a person's reality (Corbin, 1991). As Corbin and Strauss (2008) contended:

> When doing analysis, delineating the context or the conditions under which something happens, is said, done, and/or felt is just as important as coming up with the right concept. Context not only grounds concepts, but also minimises the chances of distorting meaning and/or misrepresenting intent. Researchers must locate the expressed emotions, feelings, experiences, and actions within the context in which they occurred so that meaning is clear and accurate (p. 57)

Another reason I chose CSGT was their inclusion of 'sensitivity' in analysis. Sensitivity refers to having insight, being able to present the view of participants and take on the roles of the other through immersion in data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Today, in qualitative research, it is acknowledged that "what is in a researcher's head and in the way of social science literature inevitably affects analyses" (Strauss, 1987, p. 11); as a result, "objectivity has no place in qualitative research" (Stern, 2009, p. 57). Researchers unavoidably bring their particular perspectives to the research situation (Corbin, 2009). The term sensitivity, then, replaces the word objectivity in CSGT, a cognitive process which leads theoretical decisions about conceptualising and rendering of the theory.

To enhance sensitivity, experiential data are crucial because they provide a wealth of provisional suggestions for making comparisons and finding variations on theoretical grounds. Using experiential data, researchers are able to detail emergent concepts, and subsequently see alternative explanations for participants' actions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this way, my experience as an immigrant becomes invaluable when making comparisons, and in helping to understand the complexity of what lies in the data. I can share my own experiential data in order to understand the experiences of others. As Strauss (1987) suggested "mine your experience, there is potential gold there" (p. 11). Later, in Chapter Five, I explicate how I used my experiences and knowledge while simultaneously preventing its intrusion into data analysis.

The last reason I chose this approach is the power of concepts. In CSGT's view, concepts are words that stand for events and actions, and form the basis for generating common understanding of the phenomena (Corbin, 2009). Despite multiple interpretations available from one set of data (Ember & Ember, 2009; Greener, 2011), the meaning of concepts can be arrived at through discourse as humans share a common culture out of which common constructions arise (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Concepts can provide a language that can be used for discussion and debate leading to the development of shared understanding

and meanings (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Concepts remain the foundation of CSGT, and hence, data analysis will rest upon the discovery of concepts which can represent participants' actions in this study.

I chose CSGT because this approach helps to 1) embrace taking the role of the other and give a voice to participants, 2) examine 'social process' within contexts, 3) acknowledge my input in shaping the research itself, and 4) develop concepts which can explain a studied world.

Corbin and Strauss' Grounded Theory and Occupational Science

As noted in Chapter One, it is by nature difficult to clarify the term occupation as it encompasses multiple dimensions related to performance, circumstance and personal importance (Christiansen & Baum, 1997a; Iwama, 2005). Because of this aspect, it is suggested that occupation should be understood as a concept (Creek, 2010). Additionally, the profound link between meaning and occupation is inextricably interwoven into who we are (Townsend & Polatajko, 2007). Life is given meaning by what we do (Hasselkus & Rosa, 1997) and this meaning will be a hallmark feature in people's lives (Whiteford, 2007). Occupations should, therefore, have meaning to the individual, so enriching their lives (Hinojosa et al., 2003; Schwartz, 2003).

Occupational scientists work on conceptualising all activities humans do to occupy themselves and identifying occupation's many dimensions, for a full appreciation of the phenomenon, whilst exploring occupation's richness in symbolic meanings (Hocking & Wright-St Clair, 2011; Laliberte Rudman et al., 2008; Rowles, 2008). In other words, occupational scientists have two major tasks; 'conceptualising occupations' and 'exploring meanings of occupations' (Hasselkus, 2011; Kielhofner, 2009). This requires occupational scientists to employ methodological approaches which can observe behaviours in natural settings as well as understand meanings humans attach to those behaviours.

CSGT can assist occupational scientists to accomplish these major tasks. First, as CSGT aims to examine a process of meaning-making through social interaction, CSGT will help to explore meanings humans attach to occupations that involve or are understood in relation to interaction with others. Second, the interplay of 'deduction' and 'induction' in GT, whereby a theoretical conjecture is offered from data analysis (induction), and is validated in the field (deduction) (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), makes it possible to develop concepts from

"the detailed descriptive to the more abstract" (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 15). This will assist occupational scientists to define occupation abstractly at the conceptual level.

Lastly, the relationship between the individual, the environment, and occupation is a central domain of interest of occupational science, as Molineux and Whiteford (2006) have postulated:

> When we consider occupation and its centrality not only on people's lives but in society per se, a research agenda to further understand it must necessarily address those structural issues that enable or preclude people from engaging in occupation as well as individual ones. (p. 304)

CSGT has the potential to broaden knowledge of structural issues of occupation as this methodology is designed to examine actors' behaviours within the larger social context (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Strauss, 1987). CSGT is a useful methodology in exploring how people orchestrate occupations under the diverse social structural conditions in their daily life. This is particularly relevant when understanding occupational issues of immigrants as the immigration process occurs at both the individual and societal levels (Berry, 1997; Hall & Kardulias, 2010).

In the following pages, I explicate the GT theory methods employed in this study, including the location of the research, participant recruitment, and methods used for gathering the data.

Data Collection

This section is comprised of the locations in which this study was conducted, the recruitment of participants and the rationale for participant selection and sources of data. I will also explain methods of collecting data, as pertaining to this study.

Locations of the Research

This study has been conducted in three cities within the North Island of New Zealand; a metropolitan city (A), a provincial city with a developing ethnic community (B), and a provincial city with a small ethnic population (C). Despite the fact that Korean immigrants live all over New Zealand, these three cities were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, the majority of Korean immigrants have settled in city A (Statistics New Zealand, 2013c). This resulted in the well-established Korean enclave, where almost all Korean resources were available for them to continue their lives with as little disruption as possible. In comparison to

city A, city B is smaller, has a growing number of Korean immigrants, which is currently developing the Korean enclave, where only some Korean resources are available. City C was chosen because of the non-existence of a Korean enclave, with comparably fewer Korean immigrants residing in this city, and where few Korean resources are available. The variance in geographical and population size of these cities might produce different experiences of settling in New Zealand.

Secondly, in this study, sampling data is "not a site or persons per se … but concepts" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 151). By using a strategy of theoretical sampling; a method of data collection based on concepts (Charmaz, 2014), I planned to collect data based on concepts I discovered during analysis. It was deemed that these three sites would be sufficient with regard to collecting a wide range of data which offer variation or different situations on discovered concepts. It was anticipated that the variation in conditions of city A, city B, and city C would maximise the opportunity to delineate the concepts the study would reveal. At the same time, I had to be practical because of cost and time limitations.

Participant Selection

To be eligible for inclusion in this study, participants were required to satisfy the following criteria: 1) *Have immigrated to New Zealand since 2000*, 2) *Be residing within the cities of A, B, or C*, and 3) *Be aged 30 years and over*. The first criteria required participants to have voluntarily immigrated to New Zealand from 2000 onwards. Given that the majority of Korean immigrants have arrived here since the late 1990s (Chang et al., 2006), it is conceivable that people who immigrated earlier than 2000 might have very different experiences from those who immigrated later when the full range of ethnic resources was available. However, I was also aware that it is crucial to see whether there might be similarities and differences between Korean immigrants who had emigrated before 2000 and after 2000, in order to capture the complexity of the settlement process; and thus included the locations of city B and C, where accessibility of ethnic resources would be similar to those before 2000.

In setting the third criteria, I assumed that if someone was currently aged 20-29 years, they would have been between the ages of 10-19 when they arrived in New Zealand; fitting the category of minors or accompanying family members. Given the notion that we act based on meanings of those situations (Blumer, 1969), accompanying family members might have had very different experiences of settlement from their parents who voluntarily decided to

immigrate. The purpose of the study is to capture a process of how individuals respond to the situations, prompted by their own action (immigration decision). Thus, I wanted to interview Korean immigrants aged 30 years and over who voluntarily chose to immigrate.

It was problematic to determine the number of participants at the beginning of the study as GT researchers should continue data collection until they reach theoretical saturation. Initially, ethical approval was established, followed by Creswell's (2007) recommendation and consultation with supervisors, of between 20-25 participants; yet, the final sample size and composition were indeterminate and would continue until all the concepts were well defined and explained. In total, 25 participants were recruited as I reached theoretical saturation following analysis of the 25th interview.

Recruiting Participants

It is suggested that the researcher initially choose participants based on purposive sampling whereby they can use their expertise about some group to select subjects who represent a studied population (Bouma & Ling, 2004; Berg, 2007). Later, recruiting participants becomes more heterogeneous based on theoretical relevance; that is, the analyst concurrently decides what data to collect next and where to find participants whilst analysing data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This circular process of sampling continues until the researcher reaches the point of saturation in which all the concepts are well defined and explained (Alston & Bowles, 1998; Giddings & Woods, 2000). Purposive and theoretical sampling were used to recruit participants in this study.

Purposive sampling

In the initial data collection, I used my knowledge about the Korean community to recruit participants. Firstly, several announcements were made in the Korean community to promote the study. I attended a total of five Korean community meetings such as 'KCWG' (the Korean Community Wellness Group) and 'Saewoomtor' (a Korean project of Likeminds, Likemine), to inform people of the study and request assistance with locating potential participants. Secondly, AUTEC-approved fliers were displayed in a variety of Korean shops, providing a summary of details of the study as well as contact details for the researcher (Appendix B). Lastly, AUTEC-approved information sheets (IS) which had been translated into Korean (Appendix C), were given to friends and colleagues to pass on to anyone they knew who may be interested in participating.

Four participants were initially recruited through this process. When potential participants agreed to consider participating, I posted them an information package with free postage including an IS and the demographic data form (Appendix D), to read and return to me. When I received the completed form, I called them to ask whether they had any questions about the study. Based on the returned demographic data forms, I arranged the interviews in terms of their age, marital status, gender and length of stay in New Zealand which would provide the most fruitful data in helping to answer the research questions. At each interview, two versions of the consent form - Korean and English (Appendix E, F) were presented. Participants could opt for one version to read and sign depending on their preference. The same process was repeated at the beginning of each interview until I had completed my 25th interview in February 2013.

Theoretical sampling

A subsequent strategy of recruiting participants is theoretical sampling which is "a hallmark of grounded theory" (Nayar, 2009, p. 84). At this stage, concepts derived from analysis and questions about those concepts determine the next round of data collection (Morse, 2007; Stern, 2009). This strategy is designed to collect data in significant categories, for the generation of its properties and dimensions (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Property refers to characteristics of a category, whilst dimension is described as the range along which general properties of a category vary (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Through delineation of properties and dimensions, the analysts "differentiate a category from other categories and give it precision" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 117), leading to increased understanding of the developing theory.

From the first day of data gathering, I analysed the collected data and gradually developed concepts such as 'living in drudgery', 'living in an Island' and 'family reliance'. Then, I intended to collect further data that would provide information about concepts which I believed to be significant. I looked for data which would help to discover how those concepts varied under different conditions. For example, when the concept of 'family reliance' emerged strongly during analysis, I purposefully recruited a person who arrived without existing family networks, in order to maximise opportunities to elaborate on the concept of 'family reliance'.

The individuals to be recruited in the next interview were based on what was discovered during the previous analysis. In other words, recruiting participants in this study was responsive to data analysis (Strauss, 1987). I recruited a person whose situation might

offer a variation to the concepts developed in the previous analysis, so I could maximise the opportunity to discover new properties and dimensions about those concepts. I believe that with each additional property and dimensional variation, I can increase my knowledge about the concept. Yet, it was not easy to find such people because theoretical sampling is to collect data according to concepts, not anyone from a general population (Charmaz, 2000). Additionally, Koreans' strong reluctance to bring personal issues to strangers is a powerful inhibitor in this process (Choi, 2001). Difficulty in recruiting the right participants often delayed the whole research process.

To facilitate recruitment, I began using an intermediary. I approached some Korean community leaders who I thought might help to find potential participants. Through this effort, two intermediaries agreed to assist this study. When I informed them of the profile of people I wished to talk to, the intermediaries approached people they knew who fitted that profile using their own networks, and explained about the study. If potential participants confirmed that they wished to be part of the study, the intermediaries passed on their contact details to me. Once I had obtained their contact details, I made a telephone call to each potential participant to introduce myself and explain the study again. Following the initial call, each participant was sent an information package including the IS and a demographic data form. All prospective participants were given at least two weeks between receiving the package, and being asked whether they wished to participate in the study. On receipt of the returned demographic data form, I contacted them to show my appreciation of their interest in participating and to arrange a time for an interview.

The assistance of two intermediaries was successful and I was able to find another 21 participants without a lengthy delay. At the end of each interview I requested permission to contact each participant for further inquiry if anything needed to be clarified. Participants, including the two intermediaries, were also given a petrol voucher of modest value ($20) to indicate my appreciation of their time and their contribution to the study.

Participants' characteristics

All of the 25 participants in the study were born in South Korea, and have lived in New Zealand since 2000. Their ages range from 32 to 58 years. Ten of them are male, the rest are female. The majority of them came to New Zealand with their children, except for two participants who made the journey on their own, and two who gave birth to their first child in New Zealand. Of the 25 Korean immigrants, 19 resided in city A, whilst 4 lived in city C. Only 2 participants settled in city B. Their employment status varied; 12 were employed or

self-employed, 7 were students, and 6 were fulltime house wives. Two of the major Korean religious groups were represented; Christians (not indicating their denomination) and Catholics. Participants' characteristics are explicated in Appendix G. I have used pseudonyms for participants, but have excluded their place of residence, as this may identify them.

Sources of Data

Glaser and Strauss (1967) postulated that different kinds of data give the analyst different views from which to understand a category and to develop its properties. Accordingly, many alternative data sources are suggested in GT including interviews, observations, videos, documents, and memoirs (Chamberlain, 1999). It is recommended that GT researchers use a combination of one or more of these sources, depending upon the substantive field which they investigate, in order to have insight into, and be able to give meaning to, the events and happenings in the studied world (Charmaz, 2006; Stern, 2009). In this study, semi structured interviews were the main source of data alongside participant observations, memoirs and articles from ethnic newspapers.

Semi-structured interviews

Given that GT research values people's stories, as it is they who will guide theory and be influenced by it (Corbin, 2009), participants should be free to speak of their own experiences and to use their own language in ways that are meaningful to them. GT researchers believe that "people have the right to let their voice be heard" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 29). Accordingly, it is suggested that "participants are given considerable control over the course of the interview" (Corbin & Morse, 2003, p. 339). In the interview, participants were encouraged to tell their story as they see it, experience it, and interpret it.

It is, however, a common feature that participants are unaware of what they will share with the researcher at the start of an interview (Creswell, 2007). I prepared indicative questions in advance (Appendix H) such as 'can you tell me about your previous lifestyle in Korea?' Later, this form of statement naturally created subsequent questions such as 'can you tell me about what made you decide to immigrate to New Zealand?' and 'can you tell me about your meaningful occupations during those days?' These statements were used as a means of encouraging participants to feel free to share their own experiences.

I soon found that some participants struggled to understand the term occupation. One example was when I asked one of participants in this study, Kevin, 'do you recall any meaningful occupations in Korea?' He had difficulty in clarifying the idea of occupation and subsequently replied, 'what you mean by occupation?' I realised that the term occupation was questioned without establishing some sense of common ground with participants. Given that occupation is about 'what we normally do every-day' in this study, I modified the indicative questions, giving participants a chance to talk about what activities they do in their life situations. I began the next set of interviews with the modified indicative questions such as 'tell me about your typical day?' or 'tell me about what you do these days?' in order to listen to their actual experiences of those activities.

As such, semi-structured interviews, whereby I initially set the direction of the interview, were conducted in this study. Semi-structured interviews were used as a means of data collection because they enable "probing for more information and clarification of answers" (Barriball & While, 1994, p. 330). Using indicative questions, I established what would be studied and opened the conversation. Nonetheless, I kept in mind that the most data dense interviews are those that are not dictated by a predetermined set of questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Apart from indicative questions, participants decided where to begin their narratives, what topics to include, the order in which the topics were introduced, and the amount of detail they wished to share.

To facilitate this process, I established a rapport during the pre-interview phase because without it, it would be less likely that participants would discuss the meaning of their experiences (Creswell, 2007). To do so, I offered refreshments and referred to familiar cultural elements that the participants and I would share. As the interview progressed with a degree of comfort and trust, I began to ask specific questions to elaborate on concepts which arose during the course of the previous analysis process. For instance, one of my concepts was 'Sugar Coated World' as a critical determinant of immigration to New Zealand. To develop properties of this concept, I questioned Sue:

> R: What did you think about New Zealand prior to immigration?
> Sue: New Zealand is often described as a last remaining paradise on earth in magazines or on the internet in Korea which I didn't verify at that time.
> (R = researcher)

In order to elaborate the concept of 'Sugar Coated World', I questioned Anne regarding the dimensions of this concept;

> R: How did you choose New Zealand?

Anne: When we were thinking of immigration, coincidently, my husband watched a TV programme about a caravan trip in New Zealand. In the programme, people travelled all around New Zealand, showing beautiful scenery. After watching the programme, my husband was very impressed with New Zealand. One day, he told me 'let's go to New Zealand'.

Interviews were arranged with the priority on participants' comfort and convenience. Participants chose the date, time, and premises for interviews. 7 interviews were conducted in my office as there was a meeting room available, whereas 13 interviews were conducted in participants' houses. The remainder were conducted in a meeting room at the public library. In some cases, interviews would include personal issues which had the potential to trigger emotional responses, thereby posing a potential risk to me as a researcher. The ethics proposal required that I would take specific steps to ensure my own safety during the interview. Accordingly, I prepared the 'Interview schedule report form' (Appendix I). I notified my supervisor of the time and the location of the interview. The interviews took place over three years between July 2011 and February 2013.

Each interview lasted approximately 60 to 90 minutes. Part of the informed consent process included giving a thorough explanation of the study and informing participants of their rights to withdraw from the interview at any time. As explained previously, the majority of the participants were recruited through intermediaries; therefore, there was a possibility that participants might have felt pressured into being interviewed. To address this, I intentionally repeated to the participants that they were free to decline answering questions that might make them feel uncomfortable. Once I was confident that any concerns about coercion, confidentiality, and anonymity were resolved, the participants were asked to sign the consent form. This process is especially important if the interview referral is obtained from an agency, or as is the case in this study, from an intermediary (Corbin & Morse, 2003).

Although the researcher is fluent in both languages; English and Korean, all interviews were conducted in Korean, as this was what the participants requested. The interviews were audio-taped and translated verbatim. Participants were informed about this process and given the opportunity to receive a copy of their interview transcript to check for accuracy. Only one participant requested copies of their transcripts. Following analysis of the 25th interview, I concluded that I had reached theoretical saturation in which all major concepts were well defined and explained. At this point, I stopped recruiting participants and no further interviews were conducted.

Participant observation

Field observation was conducted for two reasons. Firstly, it is not unusual for participants to say they do one thing when in reality they do something else. Participants may not be consciously aware of, or be able to articulate, the subtleties of what goes on in interactions between themselves and others. Secondly, it was anticipated that participants may hesitate to share their story, although confidentiality was assured, because of the relatively small size of the Korean community. To address these issues, field observation provided an insightful opportunity to see the actual situation and informants in person (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I designed 'Participant observation notes' (Appendix J). These notes were used as primary data for comparative analysis.

In total, 5 field observations, a total of 6 hours, were spent at both the individual and community level, including participants' homes, Korean supermarkets, and Korean churches. These field observations put me right where the action occurred, in a place where I could see what was going on. For example, several participants identified 'the feeling of isolation' while they settled in New Zealand. I initially conceptualised this as a consequence of social exclusion. Following the interviews, I asked two participants to arrange the observation in order to spend some time with them. While I was with them, I came to appreciate that their feeling of isolation was partially as a result of 'accessibility to their old me'. At their homes, I found that they had set up Korean TV and listened to radio in Korean. They also used the 070 telephone which allowed them to have a local number in Korea. This helped them to contact people in Korea at free or local call rates. They were unlikely to be involved in the host community unless it was necessary.

Given that a range of data is required in order to capture the complexity of reality being studied (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), I began to wonder if I could conduct field observations without accompanying participants to public places. It seemed logical for me to visit as many public places as possible, such as Korean restaurants, supermarkets, and churches for field observations as it would provide a valuable opportunity to see what was happening in the Korean community. After a discussion with my supervisors, I asked the Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences representative on the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) for her opinion. Her response was as below:

> From an ethics perspective observation in a public place does not need ethical approval particularly in the locations you have mentioned. Sometimes though it is a courtesy to have an information sheet ready so if you are asked what you are doing (for example if your observations are quite obvious) that you can

inform people of the purpose of your presence in that public place (Personal Communication on 10 August, 2012)

Since then, I have conducted 3 field observations without a participant's presence, in order to ensure conceptual development and density on emerging concepts. For instance, as previously noted, one of the emerging concepts was 'accessibility to the old me', contributing to participants being excluded from the host society. To develop properties of this concept, I visited local Korean supermarkets. These field observations assisted me to understand the level of accessibility to ethnic resources and how Korean immigrants could easily continue their old lifestyle in New Zealand.

Other sources of data

According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), theory based on diverse slices of data can cope with more diversity in conditions and exceptions to hypotheses. Charmaz (2014) also attested that the generation of theory is most effective when it rests upon the search for comparative materials which can yield great depth of substantive knowledge. From this perspective, I used technical and non-technical literature, including biographies, TV reports, memoirs, and ethnic newspapers, in order to make comparisons and to catch subtle nuances in data.

These kinds of data were particularly useful for understanding the experiences of Korean immigrants, as participants tended to share only the positive aspects of their lives. For example, when participants occasionally expressed 'hardship' of life, they rarely revealed any specific cases. Participants often hesitated to provide enough details with which I could develop properties and dimensions of the concept of 'hardship'. I assumed that participants might feel ashamed of sharing their stories because of their concern of confidentiality. For this reason, I used a range of data to expand my knowledge about properties and dimensions of 'hardship' such as memoirs from 'The Korean History Book' in 2007 and a Sunday program on TVOne, titled 'Korean goose mums in New Zealand' in 2013.

Overview of Data Collection

Data collection occurred over 21 months. During this period, data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously. To generate theory, I divided data collection into three phases. The first phase comprised the initial four interviews in which I employed intensive analysis for the purpose of developing emerging concepts. At this stage, I was able to develop significant concepts. For instance, I felt excited to discover a concept of 'Losing Autonomy'.

This concept was part of a process of how participants create their place in a new environment. Within this concept, I began to have significant subcategories such as 'Sugar Coated World' (condition), 'Relying on Others' (action), and 'Changed Identity' (consequences).

The second phase of data collection involved a further 16 interviews. Because I had significant concepts, I arranged interviews with people who could provide similarities and differences in these major concepts. For example, as 'Accessibility to the old me' was one of concepts I wish to elaborate on, I travelled to city B and city C where ethnic resources were limited or rare. This helped to gain invaluable insights of this concept. Meanwhile, I recognised that I spent too much time in translating entire interviews into Korean and English. This often delayed a subsequent analysis. After consultation with my supervisors, I decided not to translate the whole interview into English from the 7th interview whilst ensuring that I did my best to retain the substance of the interview. I transcribed the whole interview into Korean but translated only important parts into English. The example of the interview translation at this stage is as below:

> 좋을때도 있고 나쁠때도 있습니다. 애들보면 좋을때도 있지만 아시다시피 이나라에서 직장다니며 돈벌면서 산다는게 힘든 것 같아요. 한국 생각도 많이 나고요 (Korean)
>
> Living in New Zealand? It has been up and down. You know, sometimes good and sometimes bad. When I see how my children grow up here, I feel good and happy. But as you know, in New Zealand, it is virtually impossible to make money while working as a salaried man. It makes me feel frustrated. I often think of returning to Korea (English). (Aaron)

At this stage, I obtained major concepts such as 'Regaining Control' or 'Valuing Self'. These concepts began to demonstrate their significance in this study. Using the analytic tools of 'asking questions' and 'making comparisons', I elaborated on these concepts until I reached conceptual saturation.

The third phase of data collection involved a further 5 interviews when I began to integrate major concepts. These interviews were helpful for checking a range of variability. The analysis of these interviews assisted me in sorting out the relationships among the major concepts, contributing to pulling the other categories together to form an explanatory whole by providing considerable variation within categories. I was able to integrate major concepts and refine a relational statement that could explain 'what is going on' in a general sense in the studied world; that is, **'A Process of Regaining Control: A Journey of Valuing Self'**.

Ethical Consideration

Ethical approval was granted on 14th April 2011 (ref. 11/61) by AUTEC (Appendix K). The process of preparing for this ethics application provided an opportunity, before the research begins, to identify the practical matters involved in conducting the research and to protect the researcher and participants from any anticipated harm. At this stage, the three main areas brought into ethical consideration are 'maintaining confidentiality', 'cultural sensitivity', and 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi'. Each of the ethical considerations in this study is discussed below.

Maintaining Confidentiality

The Korean community throughout New Zealand is relatively small; hence, there is a high possibility of knowing who is who within the Korean community. Therefore, maintaining a participant's confidentiality is crucial in this study. To protect their identities, the participants only used their name when they completed consent forms and demographic data forms. After they had completed the forms, each participant was given a participant number on their interview transcripts, and was addressed in a culturally appropriate manner as 'sir' or 'madam' (선생님 또는 사모님 in Korean) during the interviews; and thus only the researcher knows their identity. I also intentionally gave participants only English names with pseudonyms, so that people's identities, namely, those who may use the same Korean names within the Korean community, can still be protected in articles or presentations. In addition to this, I have excluded their place of residence in this study, as this may identify them.

The four interviews were translated into English by a translator who completed a 'Confidentiality Agreement' (Appendix L) until I began to translate only important parts into English whilst transcribing the whole interview into Korean. Throughout the research process, I locked material pertaining to the study, including 'consent forms', 'demographic data forms', 'audio-files', and 'typed transcripts of interviews' in a secure place which only I and my supervisors were able to access. These materials will be destroyed after 6 years, in accordance with the requirements of AUTEC.

Cultural Sensitivity

To be culturally sensitive, the researcher should be able to identify participants' cultural needs, in particular when studying different cultural groups (Te Pou, 2010). With this in mind, Korean versions of the study flier (Appendix B), the information sheet (Appendix C),

demographic data form (Appendix D), and consent form (Appendix E) were designed in consultation with two Korean cultural advisors who signed a 'Cultural Consultation Agreement' (Appendix M). Throughout the research, cultural consultation was regularly held and issues regarding conflicts or potentially coercive influences were discussed with the cultural advisors. Cultural consideration was also given to the preferences of the potential participants as far as cultural consultation. I prepared the list of Korean counselling services, so that if any participants showed signs of distress, I could offer and arrange counselling services in Korean (Appendix N) alongside free counselling sessions through the AUT Counselling Service (Appendix O).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Given the notion that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a figurehead for all development in New Zealand (Ruwhiu, 2001), then magnifying its spirit is a responsibility that we all take on as New Zealanders. This means that all research projects in New Zealand should be anchored within the parameters of the Treaty (van Heugten, 2001). Accordingly, in the context of the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the process and findings of research in New Zealand should respect Māori partnership, participation and protection.

I actively sought knowledge of the Māori worldview by participating in training about Te Tiriti o Waitangi at my workplace. Although there was little possibility of involving Māori throughout the research process, it was anticipated that Korean immigrants might have stories about interacting with Māori as neighbours, colleagues, or partners through inter-marriage. Provision was, therefore, made in the study for appropriate guidance from a Māori advisor who signed a 'Cultural Consultation Agreement' (Appendix P). Any issues arising regarding the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi during the study were to be taken to her. During the study, there was no finding which had the potential to undermine the Māori worldview and disrespect Māori partnership, participation and protection.

Frameworks for Trustworthiness

In this methodology, the theory is co-constructed by the researcher (Charmaz, 2014). The problem arises during this process that all descriptions of qualitative research inevitably have a particular perspective (Perakyla, 2004) as "we cannot completely divorce ourselves from who we are" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 47). Accordingly, qualitative researchers aim to

represent the reality of people being studied rather than reproduce it (Corbin, 2009; de Vaus, 2001).

Yet, it is still critical to present findings of the research in some reliable ways in which researchers enhance their ability to represent the social world that is being studied; that is, how they promise the trustworthiness of the study. Four criteria have been proposed to enhance the trustworthiness of qualitative inquiry – 'credibility', 'transferability', 'dependability', and 'confirmability', which have replaced the concetps 'validity', 'generalizability', 'reliability', and 'objectivity' in the conventional positivist paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

Credibility

Credibility refers to the degree to which researchers' claims about knowledge correspond to the reality being studied (Cho & Trent, 2006). Accordingly, it focuses on establishing "a match between the constructed realities of respondents and those realities represented by the researchers" (Sinkovics, Penz, & Ghauri, 2008, p. 699). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested strategies to achieve credibility as 'prolonged engagement', 'member checking', and 'peer debriefing'; thus, what is found should accurately reflect what is being studied.

Firstly, I have engaged in this study for the last three years. As the theory developed, I repeatedly listened to all interviews; going back to the data to gather more information which would confirm my tentative hypotheses. The strategies of grounded theory helped me to immerse myself in the analytic process, and its emphasis on comparative methods enhanced my findings to reflect the participants' worldviews (Charmaz, 2000; Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Secondly, member checking - "taking ideas back to research participants" for their confirmation (Charmaz, 2006, p. 111). When I interviewed participants, I asked them to review the findings later. Only one participant agreed to give me her feedback. I had to find another way to ensure member checking; that is, inviting them to the presentation. Some of the participants attended my presentations. After the presentations, I asked them for their feedback on site and gave them my email address in case they had any further feedback. Through this process, I had obtained conclusive feedback that the reconstructions of their stories were fair even if they could not see their own details in them.

Thirdly, peer debriefing – receiving a critique against emergent findings (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). A grounded theory group at AUT was used to receive a critique by peers experienced in qualitative research. I have attended this forum monthly since 2011. At the

meeting, peers provided a critique on my findings whilst they checked whether my inference was grounded in the data. I also have presented findings at five international conferences. In consultation with international scholars, I had invaluable opportunities to think of how my findings correspond with the participants' worldviews.

In summary, using the strategies of grounded theory, I ensured that the participants' realities are seen in the interpretations brought forth by me. Member checking was used to ensure an accurate reflection of the participants' perception of their reality. Through peer debriefing, I had opportunities to have my emergent findings critiqued. These processes enabled me to have credibility in my interpretation of the participants' realities.

Transferability

According to Ryan and Bernard (2000), transferability refers to the degree to which meaning and interpretation of events in individuals' lives can be transferred to other contexts. In qualitative research, transferability has replaced generalizability because it is not possible to generalise meanings of individual cases, and in fact may have done serious damage to individual persons (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

To enhance transferability, Sinkovics et al (2008) suggested that doing a thorough job of describing the research context is necessary. In the beginning of this chapter, I outlined the strength of CSGT methodology; that is, analysing process within the larger context (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Using an analytic tool of 'a paradigm' and 'the conditional/consequential matrix', I provide sufficient detail of the context of the studied world (see chapter 5). This makes it possible for people to decide whether the findings of this study can justifiably be applied to other settings. I also used multiple sources of data in this study such as interviews, field observations, TV reports, memoirs, and articles from ethnic newspapers, in order to understand participants' realities from their point of view. Data from these different sources strengthened this study's transferability to other settings.

In order to assess the extent to which findings may be true of people in other settings, similar projects in different environments could well be of great value (Shenton, 2004); hence, further research is required to obtain transferability of the theory to a larger population, such as immigrants from developing countries and western countries; for example, immigrants having no difficulty using the English language and sharing British-ness. However, as grounded theory largely provides inductive guidelines to build middle-range frameworks (Charmaz, 2000), I believe that my study provides a baseline understanding with

which the results of subsequent work should be compared. This will address the issue of transferability.

Dependability

Dependability refers to the ways in which the researcher accounts for changing conditions in the phenomenon chosen and continually refines understanding of the setting (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Qualitative researchers believe that uniformity of what is being measured is only possible in the laboratory (de Vaus, 2001). In contrast, the social world is always changing, constructed by people's experiences (Charmaz, 2006); thus, dependability attests that systematic and well-documented methods can account for research subjectivities (O'Leary, 2004).

Dependability can be achieved through triangulation; the act of bringing more than one source of data to bear on a single point (Perakyla, 2004). It is a deliberate process to collect data from a wide range of different sources (Mays & Pope, 1995). In the present study, using the idea of a paradigm (mutual relationships between process and structure), I explored how conditions differentiated actors' responses and obtained multiple views on the situation. Multiple sources of data such as field observations and ethnic media articles also helped me to cope with the complexity in participants' situations. Peer checking is another strategy of triangulation (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). As previously described, I attended a grounded theory group at AUT. I occasionally brought some text from my interviews to the meeting to be analysed by each member. This collaborative work with peers enabled me to discern which interpretation was most consistent in various situations; thus enhancing triangulation and the dependability of this study.

The adequacy of transcripts is important with regard to dependability. Because dependability is to assure research subjectivities (Perakyla, 2004), the transcripts have to consistently capture what is being said in the interview. Ensuring that data are accurate is, indeed, a cardinal principle in social science (Christians, 2000). In this study, however, it was problematic because "there is no such thing as a direct translation" in cross cultural studies (Stern, 2009, p. 57). To ensure accuracy of data, I used the procedure of 'back-translation' that is designed to provide the same result on repeated trials of translation. For example, the whole scripts of the first four interviews were translated line by line into English by the translator. Then, I did a back-translation (English to Korean). This procedure ensured that the translation I used was consistent with participants' meanings expressed in the interviews.

Confirmability

According to Shenton (2004), confirmability refers to checking whether logical inferences of the researcher make sense to someone else. Confirmability can be understood as the way in which qualitative researchers parallel the traditional concept of objectivity (Cho & Trent, 2006). To obtain confirmability, researchers need to demonstrate that their data and the interpretations drawn from them are rooted in circumstances and conditions outside of their own imagination (Sinkovics et al., 2008). From this perspective, confirmability is about being recognised by others whilst researchers distance themselves from what they know and thereby represent the participants' world fairly.

Within grounded theory, a variety of analytic tools have been proposed to provide a foundation for confirmability. In particular, 'constant comparison', 'obtaining multiple viewpoints', 'writing reflexive memos', and 'maintaining an attitude of scepticism' were used in this study. Throughout this study, I met my supervisors on a regular basis. These monthly supervisions were invaluable because my supervisors played the role of critics who thoughtfully questioned the research analysis. Whilst I answered their questions, I had opportunities to convey my rendering of the participants' world sense to others, in this case, my supervisors. In this current chapter, I have outlined how I invited participants to presentations in order to be true to their stories. I also regularly presented my preliminary findings to different audiences such as other PhD students or Korean health professionals. These efforts enabled my findings to be recognised by those who worked in the field from which the theory was developed.

In addition, as we do not separate who we are from the analysis (Corbin, 2009), I used reflexive memos. I periodically stepped back and asked 'what is going on here?' having an opportunity to understand how my beliefs and values influenced the analysis. I also maintained an attitude of scepticism. It involved my scrutiny; that is, a self-reflexive stance which informs how the researcher influences the research process (Stern, 2009). This is a memo I wrote when I brought my scepticism to analysis:

> 1.08.2011: It is interesting to know why she decided to stay here while being scared of her children's changed identity. Despite her husband's strong opposition, why she refused to go back to Korea. Was it merely because of her children's well-being? Or did she have another reason? There must be something else which I didn't know yet. This question reminds me that the experience of settlement maybe not that negative or stressful as I assumed. It may also include positive things enough to let her stay here. I need to find the answer for this.

As such, I regarded all theoretical explanations as provisional until they made sense to participants or peers. Throughout this process, I prevented my personal bias from contaminating the results. These strategies enhanced my ability to listen to the words of participants and to make their voice independent of mine. I believe this will address the issue of confirmability of this study.

Conclusion

This chapter includes four sections. In the first two sections, the methodology and methods used in this study have been explained. I discussed the links between GT, symbolic interactionism, and occupational science, followed by the explanation of data collection. This discussion summarised the fact that people make meaning by interaction largely using occupation whilst being inseparable from societal factors. This conclusion justified the choice of Corbin and Strauss' GT in this study because of its emphasis on a process within a structure. The rationale of participants' criteria and the circular nature of data collection in GT were presented. I overviewed how recruitment strategies were used in this study.

In the following two sections, ethical considerations and the trustworthiness of the study were explained. Delineating ethical considerations was useful for identifying any harm which may occur, to protect both the researcher and participants. Given that the findings should fairly represent the essence of the participants' realities, I illuminated how I enhanced the trustworthiness of the study by using the terms 'credibility', 'transferability', 'dependability', and 'confirmability'.

In the next Chapter, I will describe how I actually analysed the data using different coding processes and how I generated a theory whereby I discovered the process in which Korean immigrants create a place in New Zealand.

Chapter Five: GENERATING THE GROUNDED THEORY

In Chapter Five, I present the data analysis used to generate the grounded theory. This chapter involves two sections. The first section outlines the data analysis following grounded theory methods as explicated by Corbin and Strauss (1998, 2008) including an explanation of coding processes and writing memos. In the second section, I introduce a theory I developed during the analysis with an exemplar; **'Regaining Control: A Journey of Valuing Self'**.

Data Analysis

The analytic process of GT involves a researcher-driven thinking (Charmaz, 2014). Accordingly, GT researchers should not become so obsessed with a set of analytic procedures that the fluid and dynamic nature of qualitative analysis is lost (Corbin, 2009). As Strauss (1987) stated "standardisation of methods would only constrain and even stifle a social researcher's best efforts" (p. 7). In this regard, it is suggested that GT researchers use methods of analysis based on their own preference (Charmaz, 2000).

I employed procedures for analysis detailed in CSGT. I found CSGT helpful when doing analysis as it guides the way in which analysis has to be done on text (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Corbin, 2009). This addresses a criticism of uncertainty and confusion in doing actual analysis in GT (Birks & Mills, 2011; Bowers & Schatzman, 2009). I begin by discussing coding processes and later explain memo writing, which is designed to facilitate the coding process.

Coding Processes

Coding is defined as the core process in grounded theory. It refers to "the analytic processes through which data are fractured, conceptualised, and integrated to form theory" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 3). It is coding through which the conceptual abstraction of data emerges and its reintegration as theory happens (Holton, 2007; Saldana, 2009). According to Charmaz (2000), coding is a process of deriving and developing concepts from data:

> Through coding, we start to define and categorise our data. In grounded theory coding, we create codes as we study our data. We do not, or should not, paste catchy concepts on our data. We should interact with our data and pose questions to them while coding them. Coding helps us to gain a new perspective on our material and to focus further data collection, and may lead us in unforeseen directions. (p. 515)

Through the process of coding, GT researchers ask analytic questions of the data they have gathered which not only further their understanding of studied life but also assist them directly with subsequent data-gathering toward the analytic issues they are defining (Charmaz, 2014).

In CSGT, the coding process is comprised of three phases of coding namely 'open', 'axial', and 'selective' coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Through these stages of coding, researchers develop categories (open coding), interconnect those categories (axial coding), and build a theory that connects major categories, with a discursive set of theoretical propositions (selective coding) (Creswell, 2007; Holton, 2007). In so doing, researchers develop concepts from the descriptive level to the more abstract level whilst they avoid jumping precipitously to their own theoretical conclusions (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Chamberlain, 1999).

Open coding

The coding process begins by using open coding, which is the first stage of analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In open coding, data are broken down into discrete parts, followed by close examination and constant comparison of similarities and differences, thereby allowing all possible theoretical directions to be explored (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In other words, during this initial coding, GT researchers examine "fragments of data – words, lines, segments, and incidents – closely for their analytic import" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 109).
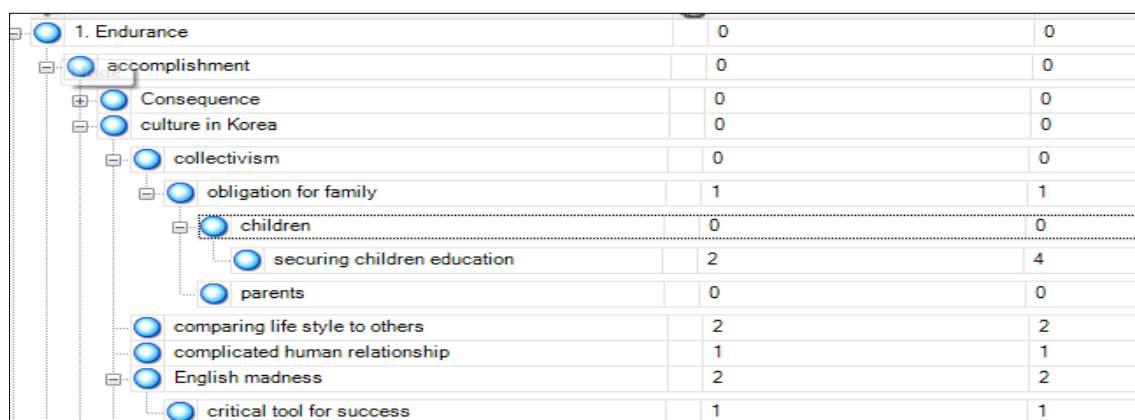
To begin open coding, the text is carefully examined to develop initial codes, based on the participants' action/interaction within structural conditions since it explains the 'how' by which persons handle situations (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The interview transcripts are, thus, broken down line by line and then sentence by sentence in order to identify words or sentences describing action/interaction, feelings, and events of participants (Kim, 2004). This enables researchers to grasp participants' viewpoints and give voice to them in the analysis (Corbin, 2009). Through this process, researchers develop lists of open codes which later provide the basis for more abstract interpretations of data and theory development (Chamberlain, 1999).

I examined the interview transcripts line by line first. I separated pieces of data in the form of a word or phrase which indicated an action. These codes are often identified as 'in-vivo codes' drawn directly from the participants' comments (Charmaz, 2006). An 'in-vivo code' is a word or a short sentence that portrays what is happening, often quite close to the

original words of the participants (Stanley & Cheek, 2003). These open codes formed categories under which I grouped those codes according to shared properties. Later, using these categories, I developed concepts - "words that stand for ideas contained in data" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 159).

For example, when open coding my first interview, I used a small selection of raw data using gerunds whilst focusing on the participant's action and interaction. This helped me to scrutinise the data in order to appreciate the essence of what is being said in the raw data. Examples of such gerunds in the first interview were '*leaving home early*', '*coming home late*', '*working on Saturdays*', '*having own time only on Sundays*', and '*repeating this lifestyle for ten years*'. The open codes sharing common characteristics were then grouped into more abstract categories such as '*working excessively*' and '*enduring*'. Then, these categories led to develop the concept of '*living in drudgery*'. The concept of 'living in drudgery' abstractly stood for ideas contained in the data and represented how the participants responded to their old lifestyle in South Korea prior to immigration.

As the analysis proceeded, I had difficulty in organising hundreds of open codes. The more codes I obtained, the more difficulty I had in managing those codes. I did not anticipate this problem. I assumed that I would be able to manage all codes and concepts using a notebook and pen. After I conducted the 7th interview, I found myself getting frustrated at spending too much time in trying to find in-vivo codes in texts when I related those direct quotations to the specific concepts. In supervision, I was advised to use the NVivo programme. The benefit of using this software is that it helps to 1) focus on analysis, 2) save time in administrative tasks, 3) interrogate data, and 4) uncover subtle connections in ways that simply are not possible manually (QSR, 2013). Attending two training courses of NVivo at AUT in 2012-13 enhanced my confidence in managing and retrieving the data using this programme.

1. Endurance	0	0
accomplishment	0	0
Consequence	0	0
culture in Korea	0	0
collectivism	0	0
obligation for family	1	1
children	0	0
securing children education	2	4
parents	0	0
comparing life style to others	2	2
complicated human relationship	1	1
English madness	2	2
critical tool for success	1	1

Figure 2. An example of the NVivo programme

Figure 2 shows the example of how I used the NVivo programme to manage the data. I found using the NVivo programme fruitful in restoring and retrieving the data. However, this does not mean that this software analysed the data for me. It is merely a tool which can be used to facilitate a thinking process (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). It is up to 'me' to do the thinking about 'what is going on' with the data and how to interpret it.

Axial coding

Axial coding happens concurrently with open coding and works by comparing categories and identifying subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In axial coding, categories are related to one another through refining either categories or subcategories along the lines of their properties and dimensions in order to develop more precise and complete explanations about phenomena (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). This is part of a process to develop and refine concepts such as when, where, why and how those concepts are likely to occur (Kim, 2004).

Once I had completed the open coding, I obtained categories with which I began to engage in the process of constant comparison. Constant comparison includes "coding a unit of data and comparing it with all the other units of data coded in that category" (Stanley & Cheek, 2003, p. 144). Additionally, constant comparison not only includes comparing incident to incident to clarify categories, but also includes the making of a 'theoretical comparison' to stimulate thinking about properties and dimensions of categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). It is a systematic tool with which the analyst can move from a description of the participants' categories to a theoretical level (Charmaz, 2006). I compared the categories to each other, with the result that some categories were subsumed under more abstract categories as conditions, actions/interactions, or consequences of those specific concepts.

In axial coding, I made connections between a category and its sub-categories whilst being open to all possible theoretical directions (Charmaz, 2000). I compared categories along the lines of properties (the specific characteristics of a category) and dimensions (the location of a property along a continuum or range). Later I found some categories to be significant. These categories had the ability to position other categories as its subcategories, to answer questions such as when, why, how and with what consequences of the concept; thus having greater explanatory power (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). For example, I discovered that participants held a strong attachment to their traditions due to categories of 'language barriers', 'easy accessibility', 'economic benefit', and 'unfamiliarity with new surroundings'.

I conceptualised this phenomenon as 'maintaining the old-me'. I subsumed these categories as properties or dimensions of the concept of 'maintaining the old-me'. As such, by comparing categories at the property and dimensional levels, I was able to develop more abstract concepts that encapsulated and explained the phenomenon (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

Given that humans are social creatures (Bowers, 1988), it is anticipated that minimising structural conditions will short-circuit the full explanation of the phenomenon (Strauss, 1987). Accordingly, during the axial coding, I focused on answering questions such as why and how this happens, under what conditions and with what consequences. The idea of a 'paradigm' and 'the conditional/consequential matrix' were used to obtain an understanding of the circumstances that surround events. By using these analytic tools, I worked on discovering influential relationships among the categories. I kept in mind what Strauss and Corbin (1998) said to us; "if one studies structure only, then one learns why but not how certain events occur. If one studies process only, then one understand how persons act/interact but not why" (p. 127).

For me, participants' actions are always interwoven with structure as the wide range of contextual conditions determine an individual's action/interaction (Corbin, 2009). The idea of a 'paradigm' becomes significant as an analytic stance in this study. This analytic tool helped me to relate process with structure which participants had gone through whilst they established a home in New Zealand.
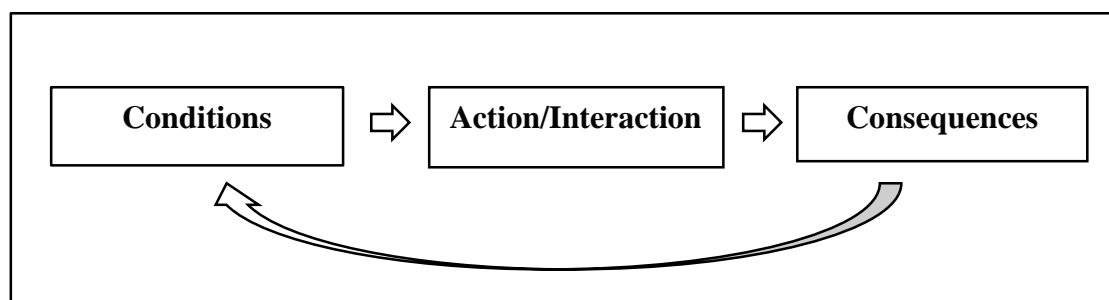
Figure 3. The idea of a 'paradigm'

This figure indicates that the full range of conditions influence actions/interactions and the widespread nature of consequences flow out of these. These consequences give rise to a new set of conditions which frames the next actions/interactions.

The idea of a 'paradigm' is that it is an "analytic stance that helps to systematically gather and order data in such a way that structure and process are integrated" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 128). This analytic tool facilitates a set of questions that help the researcher to draw out the conditional factors and identify relationships between process and structure

(Corbin & Strauss, 2008). It is the analytic stance I used to obtain an understanding of the circumstances that surround the participants and therefore it enriches the analysis. The basic components of the paradigm are 'conditions', 'action/interaction', and 'consequences'.

Conditions are sets of events that create the situations, and to a certain extent, explain why and how persons respond in certain ways (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Action/interaction occurs within a set of conditions. They are strategic responses made by individuals to problems that arise under those conditions. Whenever there is action/interaction in response to a problem, there are ranges of consequences (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Using the idea of a 'paradigm', I identified conditions and then linked them with the process in which the participants were engaged. Through this, I was able to see what kind of consequences participants encountered as a result of their actions. The example is shown in Figure 4.
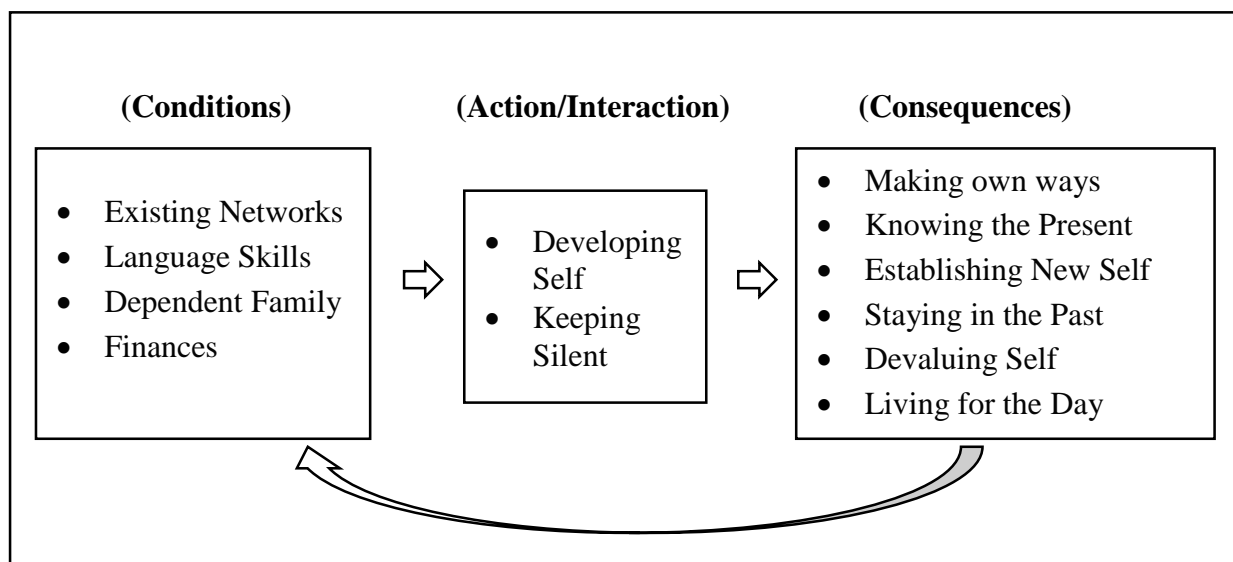
Figure 4. The example of a 'paradigm' in analysis of 'losing autonomy'

Figure 4 demonstrates how participants took different actions in response to the situations affected by various conditions and as a consequence experienced different outcomes. This is congruent with the assumption of symbolic interactionism theoretically underpinning this study that "we act according to how we defined the situation" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 272), whilst interacting with socio-environments (Stryker, 1980, 1987).

In this study, the concept of 'losing autonomy' appeared significant when participants settled in New Zealand, yet different stories about 'losing autonomy' existed depending on individuals' circumstances. By questioning why and how using the 'paradigm', I could understand that 'losing autonomy' was largely conditioned by 'existing networks', 'language

skills', 'dependent family', and 'finances'. Because of the different level of conditions, participants reacted differently to address the problem of 'losing autonomy'. Some used a strategy of 'keeping silent' because of their 'limited finance' and 'lack of language skills'. Others, who had existing networks or better language skills, were more likely to take actions which would 'develop self' such as 'taking a course' or 'expanding networks'. Later, participants experienced different consequences. The first group's outcomes were 'staying in the past', 'devaluing self', and 'living for the day' whilst the second group experienced 'making own ways', 'knowing the present', and 'establishing new self'.

As shown above, I engaged in axial coding using the idea of a 'paradigm' as a tool of constant comparison, to obtain insights about categories. There were significant conditions that influenced the situations, the actions for addressing the situations, and the consequences as a result of undertaking the specific strategy. Using theoretical sampling, I sought more data to elaborate on the categories. In this way, open coding and axial coding are not separate processes, but spontaneously related to each other during analysis (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Through this process, I found that some of the categories emerged as main categories while others became their subcategories.

Selective coding

Selective coding is a sophisticated process that follows categories selected during axial coding. It is a process of refining the theory by integrating categories, yielding a core category, and validating relationships through abstraction of data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In selective coding, the researcher decides which category is central to the research project. This theoretical category then specifies the possible relationship between categories developed in axial coding. Selective coding is a stage during which the researcher confirms the central category that pulls all other categories together as hypotheses to be integrated into a theory (Charmaz, 2006).

This central category is integrative. It lends form to major categories which the researcher has collected during axial coding. All hypotheses and propositions are continuously checked against incoming data, and modified, extended, or deleted as necessary to verify this central category until the theoretical account is saturated; that is, the point in category development at which "there are no gaps in the theory and all categories can be linked meaningfully together" (Chamberlain, 1999, p. 186). The central category arises from the data, linking the various pieces of data together, and explains much of the variation of the

data; thus, this central category helps to tell an analytic story that has coherence (Stanley & Cheek, 2003; Strauss, 1987). Hence, the central category not only conceptualises how substantive categories are related, but also moves the analytic story in a theoretical direction (Charmaz, 2006).

After being immersed in analysis, I generated a central category; the statement that can represent the main theme of the research (Corbin, 2009). Using the strategy of writing a storyline (Appendix Q), I wrote a few pages of describing what seems to occur between categories. Through this process, I named **'Valuing Self'** as the central category of this study. The term 'Valuing Self' is abstract enough to include all the significant categories and still be applicable to all cases in the study. Next, I identified **'Regaining Control'** as a core process of this study, containing two sets of sub-processes, in this study; **'Being a Tightrope Walker'** and **'Making a Commitment'**. Meanwhile, salient conditions form the structural context in which participants find themselves; **'Enacting Korean Ways'** or **'Enacting New Zealand Ways'**. These contexts demand that participants take respective strategies with regard to 'Regaining Control' in their lives, resulting in very different consequences.

I will explain the central category, salient conditions, and the core process with its sub-processes, and different strategies with its consequences in the following four chapters.
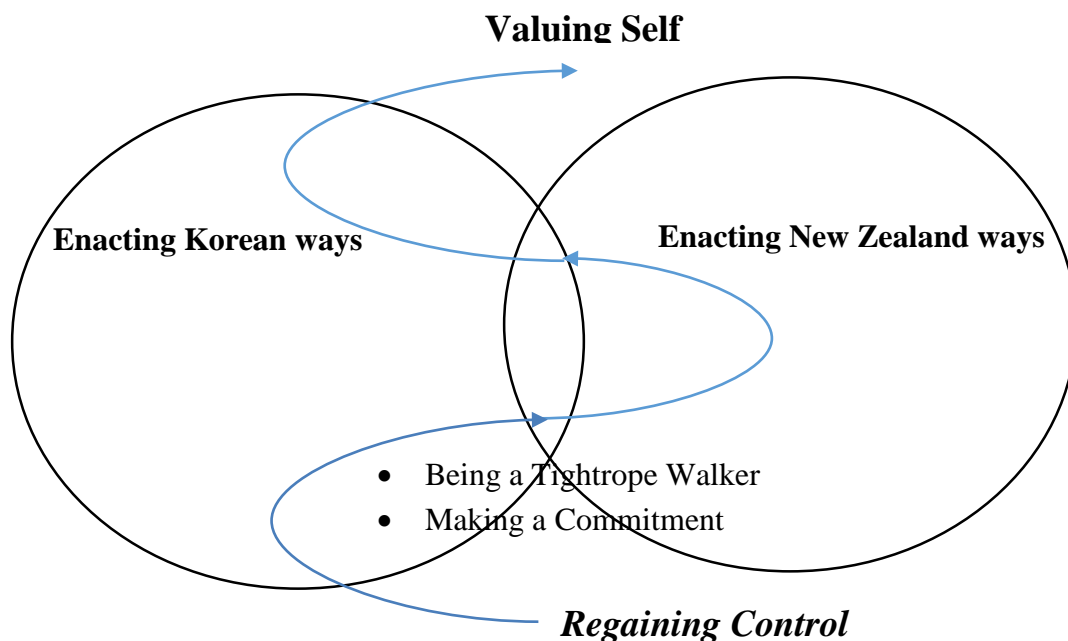
Figure 5. A process of Regaining Control

The central category – 'Valuing Self' and core process –'Regaining Control' are diagrammatically pictured in Figure 5. It is important to remember that Figure 5 is not

intended to indicate that this core process is always developmental or progressive; rather it moves upward for a while and then turns downward. The process of 'Regaining Control' proceeds circularly whilst participants engage in different structural contexts until they finally arrive at a place whereby they hope to value themselves.

Coding of this study is progressive based on the analysis, providing the opportunity for me to effectively interact with emerging concepts. Through these three stages of coding, I came to learn how to interpret abstractions and construct a theory rather than providing the descriptive details of the studied world. The three phases of coding helped to 1) construct a set of well-developed categories, and 2) systematically interrelate with them through statements of relationship, and thus 3) verify a theoretical explanation against incoming data.

As such, coding is a process of generating, developing, and verifying concepts – "a process that builds over time and with the acquisition of data" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 57). It is a thinking process which examines something in order to find out what it is and how it works (Charmaz, 2006). Over the last twenty-four months, I have engaged in this emergent process. I broke data down into its various components. I examined those components in order to identify categories and their properties and dimensions. Then, I made inferences about the world I studied using the acquired knowledge of those categories along with my experiential knowledge. From this perspective, coding is "the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 113).

Through these three stages of coding, I eventually discovered the central category and the social process of this study; **'Regaining Control: A Journey of Valuing Self'**. This statement is abstract enough to encapsulate the essence of my participants' settlement experiences in New Zealand. This is one plausible explanation for what is going on when Korean immigrants create a home in New Zealand, as interpreted through this analytic process.

Memo Writing

Memo writing is a way of preserving emerging ideas and hypotheses about the data as the analysis proceeds. As it prompts researchers to analyse their data, memo writing is a central process in all GT approaches (Saldana, 2009); that is, "the pivotal intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts of papers" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 162). Analysts should take as much time as necessary to reflect and carry their thinking to its most logical conclusions (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

According to Lempert (2007), memo writing helps to spark researchers' thinking and encourages them to look at their data in new ways. As ideas strike the analysts, they have to be recorded. If not, these possibly invaluable ideas may be forgotten and lost. GT researchers are expected to frequently stop coding and record a memo of their ideas, and return to the field to collect more data based on their memos. In this way, the ideas which arise as a result of analysing the data are grounded in the data (Stanley & Cheek, 2003). Strauss and Corbin (1998) posited the importance of memo writing as:

> Brought into that interaction is the analytic gestalt, which includes not only who the analyst is but also the evolution of thinking that occurs over time through immersion in the data and the cumulative body of findings that have been recorded in memos. (p. 144)

Given that the analytic process is first and foremost a thinking process (Charmaz, 2000), the very act of writing a memo is designed to force analysts to think about data and to tap the initial freshness of their theoretical notions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Bowers (1988) suggested that writing a memo can be used to 1) record the development of the theory, 2) record categories and ideas that seem to be unrelated to the emerging theory for possible reintegration at a later point, 3) record methodological decisions and problems. Accordingly, memos vary depending on their purpose and degree of conceptualisation. I used three different types of memos as guided by Corbin and Strauss (2008); 'analytic memo', 'reflexive memo', and 'summary memo'.

In analytic memos, I recorded my thoughts on paper at the conceptual level whenever I was stimulated by an idea while analysing data. Keeping analytic memos helped me to grasp meaning and enabled me to respond to what was being said in the data. I tried to be less concerned about my English grammar on my memos as this concern often stifled creativity and froze my thoughts. This first example demonstrates how an analytic memo helped me to develop concepts rather than describe raw data:

> 4.8.11: in the interview, she took action to solve her situation –re-establishing a relationship with her children. Rather than keeping her cultural identity, she tried to change herself. While she tried to accept their behavioural changes, she continued to improve her status. This strategy provided her with a new direction for her life: separating herself from her family – a process of 'we' to 'I'. Later, I found that she didn't use the term 'we' anymore, rather, she used 'I' or 'my life'. I named this process of negotiating a new identity as *'Establishing new self'*.

In reflexive memos, I sought ways of demonstrating my personal investments in the research. As "findings are a product of data plus what the researcher brings to the analysis" (Corbin &

Strauss, 2008, p. 33), this reflexive stance informs how researchers conduct their research, relate to the research participants, and represent them in written reports (Charmaz, 2006). By writing a reflexive memo, I was able to reflect on how my thinking influenced the research process. Thus, these memos are vital for identifying any forcing incidents while analysing data (Gergen & Gergen, 2000). The second example is a memo I wrote when I brought my experience to the analysis. Whenever I used my experience, I tried to be self-reflexive so that I could check my influence on the data. This process continued throughout the data analysis.

> 14.07.11: In these first few lines, he explained "the situation" at the time he decided to immigrate. He identified himself as an ordinary salaried man in Korea at that time, working almost all weekdays; 'living in drudgery'. His previous life pattern in Korea **looked familiar to me as I had been in a similar situation**. His story explained how he worked and managed his private life. The only day he could rest or spend with his family was Sundays. It looks very strict or impossible to Western people, but this is how it was. It was a typical lifestyle of an ordinary salaried man in Korea because of the highly competitive environment. I could imagine and understand what it looked like to be living in Korea.

In summary memos, I synthesised the content of several memos. As the analysis moved along, I took more time to sit down and write a summary memo of where the analysis was at that point. These summary memos, with some diagrams, helped me later when I integrated major concepts. The memo below shows how I synthesised the content of several memos. Figure 6 also displays how I visualised emerging concepts using a diagram.

> 27.07.12: 'living in drudgery' means that a participant endured a lot of pressures and stresses to take on cultural responsibility. He was psychologically exhausted, waiting for a trigger. As a trigger arose suddenly, it prompted a quick decision compounded by the sugar coated image of New Zealand, resulting in less preparation and minimum expectations about their new country. As a consequence, loss of autonomy was inevitable. Their new situations became problematic and persons were unable to foresee their future. Taking action to solve problems followed. In particular, they preferred to maintain 'the old me' - keeping their previous identity. Gradually, they mastered their physical environment and started thinking of regaining self – *accepting and adapting their new identity in a new situation*.
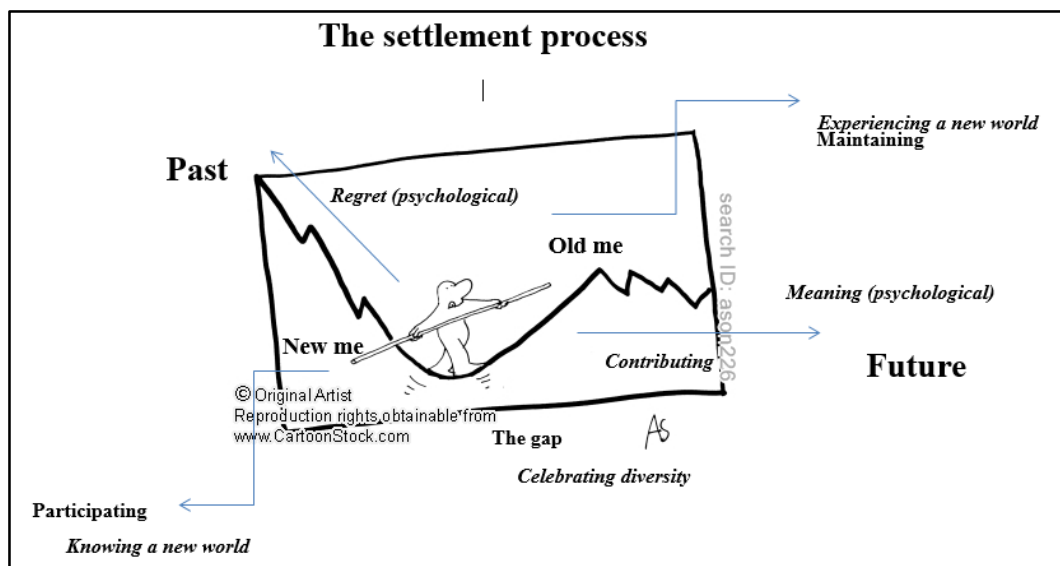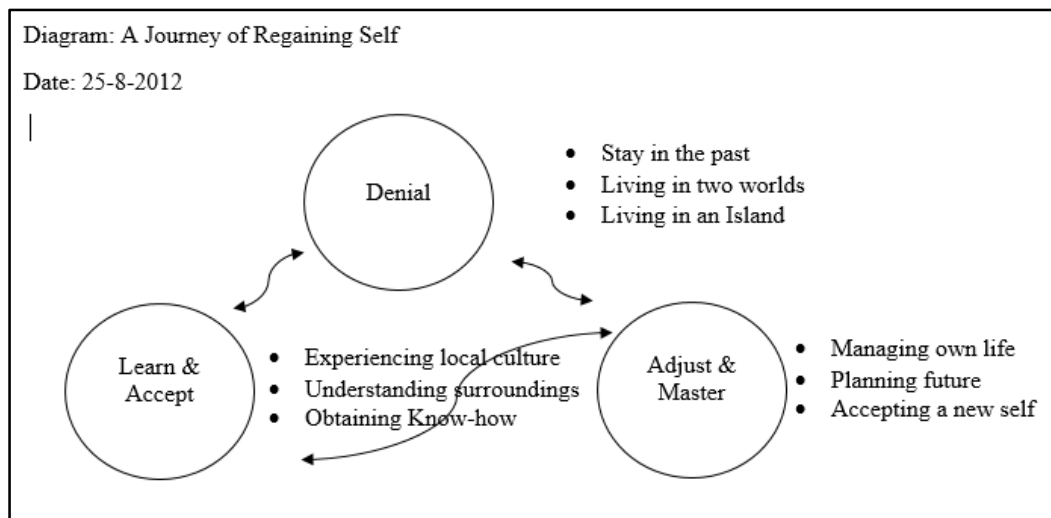
Figure 6. The examples of diagrams in summary memo

Glaser and Strauss (1967) urged us to "stop coding and record a memo on your ideas" (p. 107). In all stages of analysis, memos provide a storehouse of analytic ideas that can be sorted, ordered, reordered, and retrieved according to the evolving analytic scheme (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). By sorting memos by hand, I was able to build piles of thoughts about the data. Later, the discussions in my memos provided the content behind the categories, which became the major story of the theory. In this way, memos laid a foundation in relation to generating a substantive GT from the beginning to working paper (Glaser, 2013).

I also came to appreciate that there are no wrong or poorly written memos. I tried to get into the habit of writing memos, even simply jotting down my ideas on post-it paper first, reminding myself that "it is not the form of memos that is important, but the actual doing of

them" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 118). Glaser (2013) also encouraged GT researchers to keep memoing without pressure of formalising memoing style:

> They are normatively and automatically private. Their style is free. Memos can take any form, shape or whatever without being critiqued or evaluated. They have no perfection. They give autonomy and freedom to the researcher. (p. 1)

I acknowledge that there is nothing magical about writing memos. I just had to make a constant effort to write whatever was in my head. My memos and diagrams sometimes appeared simple and awkward, but I kept getting into the habit of writing memos and gradually gained the confidence to develop my own style of memo writing and drawing diagrams. Those memos and diagrams helped me to track analytical insights and reduce the data to their essence throughout the research process.

In the following section, I will overview the theory that is a product of the integration of different categories through constant comparisons and memo writing; **'Regaining Control: A Journey of Valuing Self'**. This statement encapsulates the underlying social processes shaping interaction and behavioural patterns of participants in the study.

The Theory – An Overview

I have titled a substantive theory which stands for the experiences of Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand as **'Regaining Control: A Journey of Valuing Self'**. Participants in this study reported that they continually engaged in a process of 'Regaining Control' in activities with which they 'Value Themselves' in their new society. It explains the journey of how Korean immigrants choose activities and what meaning they give to those activities. The significant elements of this theory include the central category, the core process, and salient conditions.

Firstly, the central category represents the main theme shared by participants and becomes the basis for the generation of theory (Stanley & Cheek, 2003). The central category ties all other categories together to form an explanatory whole (Chamberlain, 1999), and consequently captures the essence of 'what is going on' in the research field (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I named the central category of the study - **'Valuing Self'**. This abstraction has relevance for, and is applicable to, all cases in this study in a general sense. It is the purpose to which Korean immigrants aspire whilst they maintain a vibrant relationship with their social surroundings.

Secondly, the core process is that which accounts for a basic social process in which participants engage over time (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Consistent with symbolic interactionism, GT researchers assume that humans are able to respond to their situations (Charmaz, 2014). Accordingly, the core process refers to on-going actions undertaken by participants in response to the situations in which they find themselves. In this study, I have titled the core process - **'Regaining Control'**. This core process demonstrates participants' inter/actions in order to reach a purpose, for Korean immigrants, 'Valuing Self'.

Thirdly, our actions never ensue in a vacuum, instead actions are always situated in a context of invisible personal and societal determinants (Stadnyk et al., 2010). A number of salient conditions impact on participants' adjustments to a new cultural milieu; **'Minimum Expectations for a New Life'**, **'Sugar Coated World'**, **'Language Barriers'**, **'Ethnocentric Attitude'**, **'Confucianism'**, **'Existing Networks'**, and **'Korean Enclave'**. These micro and macro conditions are inevitably intertwined and create structural contexts which serve to influence the way in which participants respond to situations.

The Central Category: 'Valuing Self'

The abstract 'Valuing Self' is the purpose which participants pursue when they settle in New Zealand. They continually search for a place whereby they can be recognised and concurrently valued again as members of the society. 'Valuing Self' lies in a dynamic relationship between the unique person and their ability, with regard to performing activities in two dimensions; 'Domestic Sphere' and 'Societal Sphere'. The location, in which they wish to be valued and make a contribution, is situated at one of three levels, namely Micro (person/family), Meso (ethnic community) and Macro (society), affected by many factors such as personal preference, abilities, skill, and culture.

The reasons for immigrating to New Zealand vary so much depending on individuals' desires and circumstances. The majority of participants, however, chose New Zealand with the hope of finding a more stress-free lifestyle compared to that of Korea whilst appreciating what the country offered to their offspring such as the English language and the country's peaceful nature. During their preparation, participants were often exposed to overly optimistic stories. They predicted that they would continue their lives without major hassles, such as finding a job quickly and building new networks easily. Because of this, many participants were less prepared with how to do things that were reflective of New Zealand society. Their optimism largely influenced how participants re-established a new place in

New Zealand, wherein their own networks were yet to be established and racial prejudice existed against them.

The reality that participants encountered was they had to endure several disadvantages, compounded by their ethnic minority status. The possibility of social participation seemed to be limited by fear induced by judgement and cultural misunderstanding. Participants became vulnerable to the challenges of coping with significant socio-environmental changes in order to continue their daily living in the home and community. In many cases, they experienced a range of losses related to changes of their previously held roles and resources as a result of a lack of local knowledge and social networks. These experiences were associated with a range of discrediting episodes of participants' lives, negatively affecting their well-being in New Zealand.

Conflicts occurred when discrepancies existed between new cultural demands and their traditional roles. Many participants had to endure a loss of autonomy and concurrently began to devalue themselves. In response, they initially worked on valuing self within the Domestic Sphere whilst seeking ethnic resources, that is, a culturally familiar environment in which to engage in activities that involved drawing on traditional knowledge. It provided time to be familiar with new surroundings. Through obtaining a level of mastery, participants extended a possibility of finding a place in the Societal Sphere, where they could be valued by making a contribution in various ways. In Chapter Six, I will detail a description of the central category - 'Valuing Self', the purpose for which participants engaged in activities in their new home country.

Core Process: 'Regaining Control'

'Regaining Control' is a basic social process undertaken by participants in this study. It is a means of obtaining the best way to perform activities in which they have to engage, whilst they seek an opportunity to make themselves feel valued in a new environment. Participants continually engage in this process depending on availability, possibility and inevitability of those activities, through the interplay of the Old World and New World perspective.

The process of 'Regaining Control' includes two sets of sub-processes. These sub-processes constitute the participants' action/interactional mechanisms for carrying out the core process. They are 'Being a Tightrope Walker' and 'Making a Commitment', describing evolving sequences of participants' actions in response to the specific context when they work on regaining control in their lives. Each sub-process appears differently as different

strategies are taken through the interplay between the Old and New World, shifting in and out of Domestic and Societal Spheres.

The process of 'Regaining Control' is circular, possibly never ending. Participants constantly change their strategies of Regaining Control in response to shifts in the context. In this sense, it is a continual process of steps, as one need is fulfilled and the participants seek to fulfil the next need. This finding is consistent with the idea of symbolic interactionism that people construct new meanings or reconfirm past meanings through acting (Blumer, 1969). Participants engage in this process through assigning priority and meaning to activities which assist them to arrive at a place in which they wish to be recognised and valued. They determine the activities in which they hope to regain control, depending on where they find this place. The process of 'Regaining Control', therefore, exists in the transactional relationship between the person, environment and activity.

Once participants have identified a place of Valuing Self, they work on 'Regaining Control' in performing activities which help them to arrive at that place. To do so, they traverse two world perspectives to find the best way of doing those activities (Being a Tightrope Walker) with a different level of commitment (Making a Commitment). In Chapter Eight, I will explain the core process and its sub-processes.

The Salient Conditions

The process of 'Regaining Control' is situated within a range of conditions. Given that any action is inseparable from the specific characteristics of a social reality (Iwama, 2010; Stryker, 1980), it is crucial to explore significant conditions in which situations arise, in order to understand the participants' experiences of settling in New Zealand. An understanding of the circumstances in which participants are situated will enrich the analysis of how they respond to the situation.

In this study, the analysis finds seven salient conditions from the participants' stories despite the fact that each participant's circumstances are heterogeneous. They are 'Minimum Expectations for a New Life', 'Sugar Coated World', 'Language Barriers', 'Ethnocentric Attitude', 'Confucianism', 'Existing Networks', and 'Korean Enclave'. Rather than directly relating to participants' situations, these micro and macro conditions form the structural contexts which influence how participants interpret the situations and how they engage in activities; thus, having the potential to determine the process of 'Regaining Control'.

Structural context

'Context' refers to the sets of salient conditions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). By presenting the significant conditions that support, facilitate or hinder the overall process, context has the potential to alter or shift the nature of the core process. In this way, the process is always located in a context (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). There are two major structural contexts which significantly impact on the process of 'Regaining Control' in this study; namely 'Enacting Korean Ways' and 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. Participants engage in one of two structural contexts alternatively which they feel will have the best results in relation to Regaining Control over their lives.

Structural context: Enacting Korean Ways

'Enacting Korean Ways' is a 'structural context' in which participants usually behave reflective of their Old World perspective. For some participants, settling in New Zealand includes everyday challenges with regard to supporting their lives in the home and community. They are less ready to adapt to new ways of doing things as a result of internal conditions such as 'Language Barriers' and limited 'Existing Networks'. They experience a sense of losing control over their lives as they are no longer capable of performing previously valued and accustomed activities. Through engaging in a structural context of 'Enacting Korean Ways', what participants aim for is to sustain a sense of continuity of themselves in a new country by using their previous knowledge and resources.

Within this context, participants hold a strong attachment to their own culture. They are likely to engage in activities that are familiar to them, as part of maintaining a sense of safety and receiving support in a new country. At times, the participants have employed different strategies such as 'Recycling the Old-me', 'Prioritising' and 'Keeping Silent'. For participants who are less ready to adapt to a new culture, doing activities representative of the Korean culture enables them to retain a sense of control in their lives. The structural context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' can, therefore, be interpreted as a symbol of participation in activities that involve drawing on traditions and previous knowledge.

In return, the price participants have to pay is severe in that they largely remain in a spectator role in their new community. Staying in a context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' is often associated with the terms 'isolation' and 'separation'. Participants have had less opportunity to learn and less motivation to adapt to activities reflective of the host society. Within this structural context, participants limit their choices in doing necessary activities as

they prefer to continue with familiar things using their previous knowledge; for example, only shopping and working within the Korean enclave, resulting in the devaluation of self. Participants are often subjected to consequences such as 'Staying in the Past', and 'Living for the Day', 'Devaluing Self', and 'Creating Pressure'.

Structural context: Enacting New Zealand Ways

One of the positive outcomes from the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' is that participants gradually increase their level of mastery in their new surroundings. The participants obtain local knowledge and skills to do things reflective of the host society. At this time, some participants recognise that their full participation in their new society would be impossible as long as they behaved in Korean ways. Participants, therefore, begin to seek opportunities beyond the scope of their tradition by being involved in the host community. For example, some seek training courses to improve their local knowledge and some actively take part in community programmes. This becomes part of the conditions which frame the next action and interactional sequence whereby participants demonstrate an adaptive capacity to adjust to a new environment.

The context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' refers to participants' attitude to learn how to behave in a way that is reflective of the host society. What the participants aim for is to be involved in the community and become members of society. Within this context, different strategies are used by the participants such as 'Searching for Alternatives', 'Constant Experimenting', and 'Hanging on'. By employing these strategies, the participants accumulate knowledge which enables them to 'Make Own Ways'. Whilst they are exposed to their new culture, the participants come to 'Know the Present' as well as experience a changed self, leading to 'Establishing New Self' which is separate from their tradition. This structural context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' is described by the participants as the ideal context in which to regain full control in their lives because they can identify the merits and demerits of the specific activities from Two World perspectives.

The process of 'Regaining Control' is occasionally progressive but usually circular within these structural contexts; 'Enacting Korean Ways' and 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. Participants move upward on one of these contexts for a while and then turn downward to another context. Participants engage in each context at different times of their lives whilst interacting with salient conditions. What context the participant chooses to engage in depends on its possibility and availability in combination with participants' individual preference. In

Chapter Seven, I will explain these seven conditions further as well as how structural contexts formed by these conditions impact on the process of 'Regaining Control'.

Regaining Control through the Interplay of Two Worlds: An Exemplar

In this paragraph, I have chosen an excerpt from the interview with Clara. I believe that this excerpt presents how she engages in a process of 'Regaining Control' while she interacts within Two World perspectives, for the purpose of 'Valuing Herself' in New Zealand.

> I often found myself a second class citizen. It wasn't about race or finance at all. It was about expressing myself. I wasn't able to explain myself because of my English. I love this country so much. I really want to be a full member of this country. To do so, I have to meet and know as many people as I can. However, because of my English, it wasn't easy to approach people, or, even when I met people, they disappeared soon after a short conversation because they didn't understand me. People didn't wait for my response … You know, there were many things I had to deal with on a daily basis, for example, making an inquiry, a booking or even complaints, but I couldn't do it myself. I had to rely on my husband. In Korea, I didn't have any problem with it. If I liked it, I said I liked it, if I didn't like it, I said so. But here, I wasn't able to freely express myself anymore. Initially, I enrolled in an English course. I hoped this course would help to improve my English, but there were not many chances to meet local people there. Then, I decided to get a job. I thought it would help me to meet people and practice English. This was why I took a paper in (Subject) because this paper seemed to promise a job. For me, getting a job wasn't all about money. It was about being a full member of society again. For me, being a full member of this society means I am able to express myself whenever I want to and do whatever I want to do. Yes, it is all about expressing myself freely and fully. You know, I can do whatever I want without any hassle at home. I am a free human being as long as I stay at home. But as soon as I come out, I am unable to explain myself. I have to rely on others. This is what I mean by being a second class citizen. (Clara)

This lengthy excerpt tells how Clara had lost control in her life and the impact this had on her identity. In her interview, Clara explained the process of 'Regaining Control' by making constant efforts to juggle herself between two worlds. For example, she consciously chose those activities that seemed to enhance interaction with people, as her poor language skills disadvantaged her and resulted in her social exclusion. The activity wherein Clara chose to regain control was study. The subject she chose to study included skill development and an opportunity to communicate with the outside world. Her choice of this activity was also influenced by her cultural values, that is, study is one of the occupations traditionally valued in Korea. Clara engaged in study as she expected this would help to improve her English and

concurrently enhance her interactional skills, which would assist her in understanding a new environment. In this sense, Clara chose the activity of study, as it would allow her to regain control in a new environment whilst maintaining her cultural beliefs and values.

The beginning point of Clara's losing control lay in the language barriers; a critical component for human beings, as it allows one to imagine and perceive a reality and to exercise self-direction (Charmaz, 2014). This is particularly relevant in the New Zealand context, because English is the medium for all forms of social interaction, and so her lack of English skills contributed to her losing control in her life. She gradually lost autonomy in doing activities which often required social and communication skills in English. In response, Clara initially stayed within the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' where she could freely express herself. Within this context, she was able to maintain the status of a full human being; a person who is able to *'express self freely and fully'*. As she recounted, the home was a place in which Clara could retain a sense of control in her life without pressure or fear of being rejected, as *'I could do whatever I wanted without any hassle at home. I am a free human being as long as I stay at home'*.

Ironically, living within this structural context contributed to losing autonomy and had an adverse impact on her identity. She came to realise that as long as she remained within this context, she would be a sojourner to this society as fewer opportunities were available for interacting with the new world. Additionally, she had to rely on others' support when she communicated with the outside world. For Clara, adapting to life changes became difficult when she faced multiple losses in her life because of her lack of English skills. She defined the impact of losing autonomy on herself as causing low self-esteem, stating that *'I often found myself a second class citizen'*. Her journey to 'Valuing Herself' by engaging in a process of 'Regaining Control' began at this point. She consciously sought the activities with which she could enhance interaction with people outside of her comfort zone.

However, her efforts to regain control by learning the local language often conflicted with the 'Ethnocentric Attitude', one of the salient conditions of the New World. Interaction with people is critical when practising the local language; yet this stereotypical attitude often led to Clara being excluded from interaction with people *'when I met people, they disappeared soon after a short conversation because they didn't understand me'*. In New Zealand, there is less tolerance toward speakers for whom English is their second language. Thus, if someone displays an inability to speak fluent English, he or she is at higher risk of being categorised as abnormal and subsequently of being discriminated against. Rather than being encouraging, the host society was not ready to welcome Clara' efforts to communicate

with them and showed little patience with trying to understand her as *'People didn't wait for my response'*.

This feeling of rejection influenced Clara's decision in choosing an alternative activity in respect of 'Regaining Control'; that is, to study in a specific subject which seemed to provide a qualification and the promise a job in the future. In this way, the meaning of work for Clara, as a Korean immigrant regaining control in her life in a new country, is best interpreted in a structural context *'For me, getting a job wasn't all about money. It was about becoming a full member of society again'*. The activity Clara had taken in the process of 'Regaining Control' has involved a chain reaction of the two world perspectives within both the domestic and societal environment. As Clara commented, the majority of Korean immigrants engage in activities which will enable them to regain control of their lives through the interplay of Two Worlds to varying degrees, in association with their personal desire and accessibility and availability of those activities.

The participants have continually made efforts to regain control in doing things through the interplay of Two Worlds until they arrive at a place where they can value themselves. It is possibly a never ending process as people's values constantly change over their lifetime. By engaging in the process of 'Regaining Control', participants strongly desired to make a contribution to their new country and subsequently be recognised as full members of the society. They worked on arriving at a place of 'Valuing Self' through finding activities with which they celebrate their trans-nationality. Participants consciously sought a place to be valued and constantly made efforts towards 'Regaining Control' in relevant activities in order to achieve this.

In this study, participants indicated that mastering new surroundings was not the ultimate goal which they hoped to achieve. Rather, they continually searched for a place where they could realise the possibility of contributing to society and, as a consequence, be recognised and valued for who they are. In many instances, even if participants had already obtained a feeling of mastery over their surroundings, they did not find a place where they could value themselves by celebrating their trans-nationality. In such cases, participants explored places, particularly within their old world dimension, sometimes even returning to Korea where their foreign experiences would be valued. It is, therefore, crucial to understand that for Korean immigrants, successful settlement is more than mastering their new surroundings, in particular getting a job; rather it is all about finding the best place which allows them to feel valued as members of society through engaging in the process of 'Regaining Control'.

Summary

This chapter is comprised of two sections. In the first section, I provided the detail of the data analysis. Three stages of coding were conducted in this study; 'open', 'axial', and 'selective'. In open coding, data were broken down into discrete parts, followed by close examination to obtain a range of categories. In axial coding, coding occurred around the axis of a category. Using constant comparisons, I linked categories to their sub-categories to delineate the concepts. In selective coding, I developed and refined a theory by integrating categories. Additionally, memo writing preserved all emerging ideas and hypotheses about the data. As ideas struck me, I took as much time as necessary to record and reflect them to their most logical conclusions.

In the second section, I have provided an overview of a theory which explains the experiences of Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand; **'Regaining Control: A Journey of Valuing Self'**. Participants constantly search for a place to value themselves in New Zealand while they engage in a process of 'Regaining Control' through the interplay of their Old World and New World perspectives. Their decision regarding which world they would be involved in is largely determined by seven salient conditions. The central category – 'Valuing Self' and core process – 'Regaining Control' are depicted in an exemplar of Clara's interview. For her, engaging in a process of 'Regaining Control' is circular whilst she searches for a place whereby she wishes to be recognised and valued again as a member of society.

In Chapter Six, I provide a detailed description of the research findings. I begin by explaining the central category of this study – 'Valuing Self'; the purpose which Korean immigrants hope to achieve in their new country.

Chapter Six: RESEARCH FINDINGS – PART 1

During this research project, it has become evident that Korean immigrants continually engage in activities to transform their lives in New Zealand, either by retaining the Old World perspective or by adapting to the New Zealand perspective. Since their arrival, participants have become involved in a broad array of activities by interchangeably interacting with those perspectives, as a way of viewing and engaging with their situation. The outcome of this study, then, is a substantive grounded theory; a theory derived from one substantive area, the Korean population in New Zealand. To illuminate their experiences of settling in New Zealand, I have titled this theory **'Regaining Control: A Journey of Valuing Self'**.

The purpose of this study was to explore the following; 'How do Korean immigrants settle in New Zealand?' In this study, underpinned by symbolic interactionism, humans are believed to be actors who actively respond to situations on the basis of the meaning of those situations. To examine this phenomenon, I found the activity that they engage in critical, as it is a means of responding to situations and allows them to sustain life. For this reason, I used an occupational lens in order to analyse what is actually happening during the settlement process.

Accordingly, this study was designed to answer the following three research questions: (1) What are Korean immigrants' experiences of re-establishing activities in New Zealand? (2) What activities do they find meaningful in their life? (3) What has helped and hindered them in performing those activities in their new context? Secondary questions then emerged, such as: (4) How do they engage in activities on a daily basis? (5) For what purpose do they engage in those activities? (6) Under what conditions do they change their pattern of engaging in activities? (7) How do they opt for either the Old World perspective or the New World perspective to perform those activities? This chapter begins by answering some of these questions.

This is the first of four findings chapters. In this chapter, I present the central category – 'Valuing Self', which appears to have the highest potential to represent the purpose all participants wish to accomplish. There are two sub-categories of Valuing Self; 'Regaining Autonomy' and 'Making a Contribution'. This chapter includes two sections. In the first section I will explain the sub-category of Valuing Self - 'Regaining Autonomy' and its sub-categories. In the second section I will elaborate on another sub-category of Valuing Self – 'Making a Contribution' and its sub-categories.

The remaining three findings chapters will overview different parts of the theory. In Chapter Seven I will explain the salient conditions which form two sets of structural contexts. In Chapter Eight, I will discuss the core process of this study – 'Regaining Control' through which participants respond to the situation, with the purpose of 'Valuing Self' in their new country. In Chapter Nine, I will examine the consequences produced by different strategies of 'Regaining Control' within a structural context.

The Central Category: Valuing Self

> For me, meaningful life is about being recognised here. I want to feel that I contribute to the community where I live. Since I have lived here, I feel that I have suddenly become a useless person because I am part of an ethnic minority. I sometimes feel powerless. This never happened when I lived in Korea. I would like to find something, you know, that I can contribute to society. (Mike)

The term 'Valuing Self' has the greatest explanatory relevance to capture repertoires of Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand. Participants continually search for a place whereby they can be accepted and valued again as members of society. 'Valuing Self' is, therefore, largely the purpose participants wish to accomplish in their new country. In this study, this central category appeared frequently within all interviews with regard to the purpose they hoped to achieve through a process of Regaining Control.

Initially, newly arrived Korean immigrants tended to value themselves within the Domestic Sphere due to their lack of local knowledge, compounded by language barriers. Upon arrival, dramatic changes occurred in relation to their engagement in daily activities with which they previously fulfilled their social roles and consequently obtained meaning in life. Participants found that daily interactions and routines did not always exist in ways that they would have wanted, *'Everything was different from what I had expected'* (Ruth). This put great pressure on them in relation to continuing their lives, *'I felt panic because I had to do so many things to survive'* (Sue) and *'I felt completely lost, kind of like being lost in a dark hole. I didn't know what to do at all'* (Carl). At this time, the location where they wished to 'Value Self' was situated in the Domestic Sphere because of their immediate needs; that is to say, ensuring their survival and securing their family's well-being in a new environment.

Their knowledge and experiences, derived from the process of Regaining Control within the domestic dimension, enabled participants to gain a level of mastery in their new surroundings. This accumulated experience helped some of the participants to search for a

place where they hoped to value themselves within the wider community *'I believed my experience would be helpful and beneficial to New Zealand … I found a place where I can contribute my knowledge and experience'* (Asma). Another example was Marie's choice to study counselling. Whilst she engaged in activities within the Korean enclave in her city, Marie witnessed that there were less cultural services available for Korean immigrants. This experience led her to engage in study and find a place whereby she hoped to value herself:

> Many people suffered from daily stresses but couldn't get proper service or support because of language and cultural differences. I have witnessed people with mild early depression who have ended up with worse depression. Yet, we didn't have any Korean counsellors here … That was why I chose to study counselling. I wanted to be the first Korean counsellor in city B. (Marie)

As Asma and Marie discussed, for Korean immigrants a successful settlement was not all about the mastery of physical surroundings nor the adjustment to a new culture. Instead, it was about changing their destination for a location whereby they hoped to value themselves. Some were satisfied with 'Valuing Self' within the Domestic Sphere. They often prioritised activities in which they worked on 'Regaining Control' with regard to enhancing their family's well-being. Some of the participants began to seek a place for 'Valuing Self' beyond their home, which led to further life satisfaction. The scope within which they wished to 'Value Self' unavoidably varied depending on personal preferences, circumstances, experience, skills and societal conditions.

The concept of 'Valuing Self' is comprised of two sets of major categories, namely 'Regaining Autonomy' which has been accomplished largely by a level of mastery in new surroundings, and 'Making a Contribution' where they hoped their presence would be recognised and accepted. The major categories of 'Valuing Self' and its sub-categories are detailed in Table 2.

Table 2

Categories and Sub-categories of Valuing Self

Categories	Sub-categories
Regaining Autonomy	Gaining Familiarity
	Changing Self
Making a Contribution	Finding a Place to Belong
	Maximising Trans-nationality

Purpose: Regaining Autonomy

In this study, despite their different circumstances, participants shared similar levels of frustration in relation to fitting into a lifestyle reflective of New Zealand society. Their shared frustration was the fact that they became increasingly incompetent in continuing their previously accustomed and valued roles since immigrating to a new culture presented an immediate challenge in preserving cultural traditions. This experience became worse because there were few informal support networks, compounded by their lack of preparation. Through this experience, participants found themselves losing control in activities which had previously enhanced their social identity. In some instances, they had to redefine their identities. Jenney explained how her identity was crafted by her inability to parent her children:

> I used to be a super mum in Korea. I did everything for my children, including their school work ... But here, I didn't know the New Zealand education system. When they asked me, I often made mistakes. My authority as a mum collapsed. My children started to look down on me. (Jenny)

For adult Korean immigrants who held Confucian values, parenting was one of the core occupations which fulfilled their social identity and gave meaning to their lives. Participants wished to retain a sense of control in those activities which were relevant to parenting and which consequently enhanced their identity. However, unfamiliarity with their new surroundings often hindered them from parenting as they would in Korea, contributing to the devaluation of self. Carl shared his frustrating experience of powerlessness in parenting because of his limited English skills:

> When my children began school, they didn't speak English. How stressful it was for them! I could see it on their faces. However, I couldn't teach them English because I didn't speak English. I also couldn't afford to pay for private lessons. I just let them go into the middle of jungle and hoped they would survive. I just repeated to them, 'It is all about your future'. (Carl)

Knowledge of parenting, which once made them proud of themselves, became an area of incompetence. Participants frequently had to seek assistance '*When my children brought a letter, I didn't understand it ... Most of the time I had to ask my work colleagues*' (Asma). In particular, when they performed those activities using their cultural values, conflict occurred between them and their children and even the school, which emphasised individual autonomy and personal choice. Jenny explained how her parenting skills were judged by the school when she had an argument with her teenage daughter regarding having a boyfriend:

> The teacher told my daughter that she did not understand me. She said to my daughter "I don't understand your mum". She asked my daughter "Are all Asian mums like your mum?" She told my daughter that it is ok to have a boyfriend. She said that "Your mum was wrong, your mum needs to change". My daughter came to think that I am wrong and she is right. (Jenny)

As such, many Korean immigrants became less competent in maintaining their previously valued and accustomed activities which were critical in fulfilling their social roles. These social roles were powerful sources which enhanced their identity. They came to be subjected to the negative consequences of not fulfilling social roles, such as 'Devaluing Self'. They had lost control in the decision making process because they were not able to make informed and un-coerced decisions. Korean immigrants experienced a sense of 'Losing Autonomy' in the decision making process whilst they had to rely on others' assistance. At this stage, 'Regaining Autonomy' was crucial and became their first priority as they pursued a place of 'Valuing Self' in New Zealand.

By 'Regaining Autonomy', what participants hoped they would accomplish was to be an autonomous person again, acting solely for the sake of doing things independently from others' coercion, *'I checked it myself. I called them to ask or visited their website. I checked the accuracy of that information by using my own eyes and ears, not from someone else'* (Jacob). Bob also explained how he became an autonomous person again:

> I don't need others' assistance now when I decide something. I check it myself. I visit the place to check it face to face. I don't care whether they have Korean staff or not anymore. For example, when I planned to learn cooking, I visited a local restaurant first and asked them about job prosperity. (Bob)

For Bob and Jacob, what 'Regaining Autonomy' meant to them was to be able to regain a feeling of control in their actions. As such, Korean immigrants hoped to be autonomous individuals again who could rely on their own powers when forming opinions, making choices and taking actions. From this perspective, the sub-categories associated with 'Regaining Autonomy' are: 'Gaining Familiarity' and 'Changing Self'. Each of these is discussed below.

Sub-category: Gaining familiarity

To have the ability to make informed and un-coerced decisions, it was essential that participants get to know their New World perspectives. Initially, they worked on learning about their physical surroundings, such as supermarkets, bus stations, schools and medical centres. However, mastering only these physical surroundings was never enough to 'Regain

Autonomy'. They had to become accustomed to the activities reflective of the society, so that they would be aware of what behaviours and performances were applicable within particular settings. To be an autonomous person again, participants had to be familiar with both their new surroundings and culture in relation to performing activities which were necessary to carry out their social roles. In this sense, 'Gaining Familiarity' is one of the significant sub-categories for 'Regaining Autonomy'.

Familiarity refers to having a thorough knowledge of something. It is the outcome of repeated and frequent exposure to something within their new community whilst having friendly relationships and close acquaintances with locals. Their lack of preparation, however, compounded by their limited language skills, hindered them from approaching local people and subsequently getting to know the community. In fact, Korean immigrants often found themselves in a state of anxiety whilst being exposed to new things in order to 'Gain Familiarity' within their new surroundings. Carl disclosed how he felt anxious when he had to learn about his new home perspectives, *'It was difficult to understand what was going on because I couldn't understand English. I became worried about how to live here'* (Carl).

At this stage, a strategy of 'Relying on others' was commonly used to get familiar with their new surroundings. Some were lucky to have existing networks (family and friends who were already living in New Zealand), so that they could rely on their advice and support. When participants had to engage in activities which were not familiar to them, this network was a major source of emotional, economic and practical support, *'My sister-in-law arranged almost everything for us'* (Kerry). Some arranged an informant or a settlement advisor within the Korean community. They often provided transport from the airport when they first arrived, organised a temporary accommodation, and gave necessary information with regard to 'Gaining Familiarity', *'We found someone here through networking in Korea. We didn't know him but he was a friend of one of my friends … He picked us up at the airport and arranged a rental house'* (Ruth). Their support was helpful for continuing on with lives in a new country. Nevertheless, this strategy of 'Relying on others' was never sufficient to 'Gain Familiarity' to the extent whereby participants could fully understand their new community.

To fully understand their new community, participants had to make an effort to interact with the outside world such as by visiting local supermarkets, travelling around, being a volunteer or engaging in employment or study. *'When I worked … I learnt how to interact with other people here'* (Sandra) and *'The biggest difference after completing my course, was that I became more knowledgeable of what was going on in the society'* (Kevin). Through constantly interacting with locals, participants were able to learn how they behave

according to the new culture. In this way, 'Gaining Familiarity' involved not only knowing where they were situated but also having an appreciation of the new culture by making efforts to directly engage with the outside world, as this experience contributed to enhancing participants' abilities to make informed decisions.

The ways of 'Gaining Familiarity' varied. In some instances, participants only needed time and minimal effort to get used to it, for example, adapting to the weather. The weather in New Zealand was one of first things Korean immigrants found problematic to adjust to, *'When I came to New Zealand, I found the winter was much colder than in Korea'* (Lucia). Simon also recounted how he felt frustrated with long rainy days in winter, *'New Zealand weather was very strange. I came here in July. It rained almost all day and every-day for 3 months. What on earth! I couldn't imagine this kind of weather'*. Sooner or later, many Korean immigrants became familiar with this weather with minimal effort possibly because there was nothing they could do to change this environment, *'As time has gone by, I have become more used to this weather. So if I feel cold now, I simply wear more clothes'* (Sue) and *'These days, I buy ugg boots from a local shoe shop to prepare for the cold days in winter'* (Lucia).

For many Korean immigrants, however, 'Gaining Familiarity' involved a continual process of experimenting and re-learning *'There were lots of local brands with which I wasn't familiar … Of course, I made many mistakes because I didn't know those products … mistakenly bought wrong products'* (Kerry). Re-learning included, for example, continuous practice of skills and undertaking education to improve their knowledge or skills. Through this process, participants were eventually able to 'Gain Familiarity' in specific areas. For example, Tom practiced driving daily to be familiar with new driving direction and roads:

> Driving was very hard. I kept studying and memorising the map before I went to work. I drove the same roads during the day for a month before I worked there at night to be familiarised with those areas and feel ok. (Tom)

From this perspective, 'Gaining Familiarity' was critical with regard to 'Regaining Autonomy', as they came to know their physical surroundings, adapt to their new culture, and subsequently appreciate what to do and how to do things in particular occupations such as shopping, cooking, and driving. Additionally, if 'Gaining Familiarity' was achieved through direct interaction with the host community, it provided extra benefits, for example, practicing English with native speakers or expanding networks within the community. *'My daughter worked in a local restaurant. This helped to improve her English a lot because she could practice English with real people in a real situation'* (Joy). Asma also commented on how

her working experience at the local shop benefited the process of 'Gaining Familiarity'. She was able to understand her new home and its culture. This experience eventually helped her to find a life direction, which led to her planning what to do for her future:

> When I worked there, I met many local people and could understand their world. That experience helped me to know what was going on and how I lived here. You know, it helped me to plan my life myself. Now I know where my life is heading. (Asma)

The challenges that accompanied 'Gaining Familiarity' were, however, often associated with distress, anxiety and hardship. Participants inevitably encountered obstacles whilst they engaged in activities in order to understand their community, *'Learning English is not easy especially at my age'* (Carl) and *'Study was very hard for me. I left home very early and came back late. I think I went to the campus for 365 days'* (Aaron). Kevin, who was the breadwinner in his family, also spoke about pressure and his anxiety when he decided to study again with regard to knowing the community:

> The fact that we had to live with debt was a big concern when I decided to study … I was also not sure whether I could finish my study or not. I was afraid of my ability to follow the course. (Kevin)

As such, the process of experimenting and re-learning, through which many Korean immigrants succeeded in 'Gaining Familiarity', was sometimes joyful and sometimes distressing.

Participants felt settled and demonstrated an increased life satisfaction when they became familiar with their new surroundings and culture, *'I learnt from my actual experiences and got more accurate information. About 2 years later, I felt much more settled'* (Aaron) and *'Since I have been able to control my life, I feel much happier in New Zealand than in Korea'* (Asma). At this stage, some participants came to appreciate what this country offered them, such as family time *'What I gained here is more family time'* (Donna), schools for their offspring *'My children love their school. I was very impressed with how teachers educated them. They always encourage children here'* (Anne), natural environment *'Clean air and quiet'* (Tom), and the social welfare system *'New Zealand has a good social welfare system for us'* (Jill). Sandra explained how she appreciated her children's happiness in New Zealand:

> When I hear my daughter's laugh on her way home from school, I feel very happy. You know, I did make the right choice, kind of thing. I don't know what makes her happy at school. She is always happy to go to school. I can hear her laugh from the corner of the street every afternoon after school, and

my young baby runs to her because she knows it's her sister. The scene makes
me happy to be here. (Sandra)

These positive experiences contributed to some participants accepting this land as their new home, *'New Zealand is no longer a strange place. This is my home where I choose to live'* (Sue), and they were determined to make their best efforts to settle in New Zealand, *'I try to do my best to live here because I chose New Zealand. It was my decision to come'* (Donna).

Through this constant process of interacting with the outside world, participants gradually recognised that their sense of self had been changed as a result of being exposed to a new culture. 'Gaining Familiarity' with their new world perspectives impacted on how they began to see themselves differently and in turn how they were viewed by others. Thus, 'Changing Self' was also part of 'Regaining Autonomy'.

Sub-category: Changing self

Back in Korea, participants often prioritised their family's well-being and took a serious view of social relationships, influenced by their tradition, Confucianism. Participants used to derive their meaning and purpose in life from being a productive member of the family. They were in a position that often put the group first to ensure harmony of the family in the form of solidarity, loyalty, interdependence and obedience. In many instances, participants sacrificed their lives in the name of family prior to immigration.

For male participants, who viewed themselves as the *'breadwinner for my family'* (Kevin), work was the major activity which fulfilled their social role. *'I spent most of my time at work. It was about 13 hours a day'* (Tom) and *'I usually left home for work at around 8 am and came home at around 9pm. I also worked on Saturdays until 3 or 4 pm'* (Kevin). Female participants, whose main task was looking after family, sacrificed themselves in the name of their family's well-being, *'I lived for my children and husband. I had never thought of myself at that time'* (Jenny) and *'As a mother, my children's happiness was my happiness'* (Marie). In this study, many participants voiced how their lives became meaningless and less satisfactory whilst they complied with traditional values *'There was no time for us. It wasn't the lifestyle which I dreamed of'* (Judy).

Alongside 'Gaining Familiarity', participants gradually changed their old worldview, as they began to adapt to the New Zealand perspective. In contrast to their tradition, individualism underpins New Zealand society, which emphasises individuals' rights to live it as they see fit and to act on their own judgement. In New Zealand, the value of individual

autonomy and choice strongly influences activities that are expected of people and the role dimensions that underlie them, *'Kiwi people behave very individualistic such as paying bills separately'* (Ant). While engaging in the process of 'Gaining Familiarity', participants began to adapt to this perspective. Jenny detailed how she changed her worldview while she struggled with her children, who had already adapted to the new world perspective *'Whilst I struggled with my children, I realised that my life is mine, your life is yours'*. Jacob also found that he felt free from the constraints of social relationships and subsequently thought less about others' judgements:

> I don't care what people think about me at all. This is something I like most about living in New Zealand. As long as I live here, I don't need to worry about what people think of me. Here, I just focus on my happiness. It is my life. (Jacob)

For Jacob and Jenny, 'Changing Self' meant they began to accept the New Zealand culture by separating themselves from their traditions. Simon explained how other Korean immigrants had become reflective of the New Zealand culture, *'Korean immigrants, who had been living here, had changed, become more individualistic'*. Participants, then, sought life meaning and purpose from the stand point of their newly changed self.

For some Korean immigrants, it was frustrating to accept their changed self, which totally differed from their previous one in Korea *'Although I raise my children here, I sometimes feel sad and disappointed from them. They show no respect for me. I think my authority is at the bottom'* (Aaron). For Jenny, her new self, imposed by others because of her limited English skills, was hard to accept *'My child's friends, they were young. They thought I was a retard because I couldn't speak English well. They bullied my daughter, and she felt ashamed of me. Later, she didn't like me to turn up at school'* (Jenny). Ant also presented how he changed his view of himself as he no longer maintained his role as a breadwinner in the home. Although he accepted the equality of gender roles, which were reflective of the New Zealand perspective, by engaging in household chores, he defined himself as hopeless in employment:

> In the past, I never did household chores. According to Korean proverbs, if a man helped with household chores, he would lose his gender. Now, I realised that is wrong. I think gender doesn't matter ... I do housework a lot such as cooking, washing dishes or folding clothes. But my wife is still nagging me because I don't bring money home. Because I can't speak English, making money is out of my control. (Ant)

For these participants, 'Changing Self' accompanied a feeling of powerlessness that had the potential to undermine their self-esteem. In response to the difficulty in adjusting to their newly changed self, which was often devalued, some of the participants wished to stay within the domestic sphere, including home and the Korean enclave, where they were able to maintain their old identity. The domestic sphere was a place where they could retain their old self by practicing traditional values, having traditional foods, preserving their language, and avoiding unwanted changes in social roles. Some participants, however, realised that as long as they wished to maintain their old identity, there was less opportunity for them to be involved in their new country. One example was Hanna, who eventually found herself isolated from the community as she wished to maintain the Korean lifestyle:

> I mostly stayed home, watching Korean TV and reading Korean books. I asked myself 'What am I doing here?' My life shouldn't be this way. It was a kind of awakening moment. I have to live in New Zealand, possibly for another 20 years until my children finish their school. I have to know the community. It won't happen as long as I speak Korean and watch Korean TV. (Hanna)

For some participants, including Hanna, this awakening moment acted as a catalyst and they began to find a way of engaging in their new community, with the hope of being accepted as members of society in the future. Through this process, participants were able to determine who they wanted to be in this country. 'Changing Self' was a critical component to 'Regaining Autonomy', as participants prioritised activities in areas of 'Regaining Autonomy', from the standpoint of their newly changed self in New Zealand. Sue explained how her newly changed self was willing to be a member of society rather than being a bystander, which influenced her decision to engage in an English course:

> To be honest, the concept of 'Kiwi' is still unfamiliar to me. However, I recently thought that I have to live together with them … Since then, I have started to learn English … I used to think speaking English was stressful and made me tired. Now, I think speaking English is natural or necessary if I want to communicate or associate with other people. (Sue)

With regard to 'Regaining Autonomy', Korean immigrants continually engaged in a process of 'Gaining Familiarity', leading to 'Changing Self'. Through this process, participants were ready to behave in a way that was reflective of the New Zealand perspective and gradually changed their worldview. They began to seek a location whereby they hoped to value themselves from the standpoint of their newly changed self. Once they decided on the location for 'Valuing Self', participants worked on 'Making a Contribution'; that is, they made the most of the different skills they had to offer, to reach that location. Accordingly,

'Making a Contribution' is another significant category of 'Valuing Self'. The purpose of 'Making a Contribution' is to make their presence recognisable in a place where they feel they belong by maximising their trans-nationality.

Purpose: Making a Contribution

Through 'Regaining Autonomy', what participants acquired was a feeling of mastery in their new surroundings, to varying degrees. They came to locate their newly changed self somewhere between their Old World and New World perspective. Some participants, of course, still struggled with the process of 'Gaining Familiarity' and subsequently were not ready to think of 'Changing Self'. For them, the purpose of settlement still remained at the level of mastering new surroundings. Therefore, 'Gaining Familiarity' might be their priority for 'Regaining Autonomy' in decision making process.

In this study, most of the participants indicated that they came to be familiar with their new surroundings after struggling for a period. They came to appreciate where they were and how to continue with their lives. For them, 'Regaining Autonomy' meant reaching a point of getting to know their community, which led to having an ability to make a decision without others' assistance *'I feel more settled than before. For me, feeling settled means I get to know the community'* (Kerry) and *'Now I go to see a GP by myself ... I don't ask my brother-in-law for interpretation as I basically understand what my GP says to me'* (Ant). In this sense, the outcome of 'Regaining Autonomy' was to understand what is appropriate within particular settings in the community and to ensure a sense of safety in their new home. Through this experience, some participants eventually had an opportunity to foresee their future *'Previously, I didn't know what would happen tomorrow. But now, I can foresee the situation ... I can plan what I do for tomorrow'* (Jacob) and *'I could understand the bigger picture of how this society runs'* (Sandra).

This was not, however, the final outcome which many Korean immigrants wished to achieve in New Zealand. In many cases, although participants found their lives stable and predictable, they constantly showed their willingness to go further, to go beyond the scope of 'Regaining Autonomy'. Indeed, many Korean immigrants hoped to find a place of 'Making a Contribution' so that their presence would be recognised and they would once again feel valued as members of society. Gary explained how Korean immigrants began to be involved in the community through activities at the Korean School in city B, so they felt valued again as members of society by 'Making a Contribution' to the community:

I think the Korean School plays an important role in interacting with locals. The school set up Korean classes in which local people can learn Korean. They also established a Korea-New Zealand Friendship Association through which they have regular meetings with the Korean War veterans. As far as I know, they meet once a month. (Gary)

Where participants hoped to 'Make a Contribution' depended on their level of 'Regaining Autonomy' and individual preferences. In some instances, participants were satisfied with 'Making a Contribution' within the home even after mastering their new environments. Kevin recounted how he hoped to make a contribution to his family's well-being:

My life has become more stable. So I have plenty of time to think about my future. I've been thinking about how I meet the needs of my children as they grow up. Now, I can support them as a father ... And I also want to care for my wife as she had breast cancer in the past. (Kevin)

For Kevin, a stable life did not complete his journey of settlement. Rather, he consciously sought a place where he could be a productive member of the family. Then he made a plan to 'Make a Contribution' in order to have his presence recognised here. In other words, alongside 'Regaining Autonomy', participants continually sought a place where they could 'Make a Contribution' and subsequently could feel valued. For some participants, including Marie, this place was family *'As a mother, my role was teaching my children Korean. I put a lot of effort into this ... My plan was to help them to master Korean before it was too late'* (Marie). They worked on 'Making a Contribution' with regard to enhancing family cohesion and harmony, which they valued the most prior to coming to New Zealand.

On the other hand, some participants wished to 'Make a Contribution' beyond the domestic sphere such as within the community and society. Once participants felt safe in their new surroundings, they began to seek a place in society where they could contribute, *'I would like to find something, you know, that I can contribute to society'* (Mike). Kevin also disclosed his willingness to 'Make a Contribution' to his ethnic community after he secured his family's well-being, *'I am actively involved in the community meetings. There, I explain what happens in the host community to other Koreans who are still isolated ... I am happy to support Korean people'.* Where participants hoped to 'Make a Contribution' was largely determined by their experience of interacting with the outside world. In other words, the more they interact with the community, the more possibilities there are that they will find a place to 'Make a Contribution'.

As such, participants largely worked on 'Making a Contribution' to make their presence recognised in the place where they felt they belonged. A feeling of belonging was,

therefore, a critical component in relation to identifying a location whereby they wished to 'Make a Contribution'. Whether that would be within the domestic sphere or societal sphere depended on personal circumstances and preferences. The places and resources that determined a level of 'Making a Contribution' are presented as the sub-categories: 'Finding a Place to Belong' and 'Maximising Trans-nationality'.

Sub-category: Finding a place to belong

As previously described in Chapter One, a sense of belonging refers to 'being a natural member of the specific place'. People generally develop a sense of belonging when they accord meaning to particular spaces, facilitated by social interactions. In the beginning of the settlement, participants often showed a strong attachment to their own culture. This can be interpreted as them still feeling a sense of belonging to their Old World, where they grew up and developed their sense of self, as they had not yet made the necessary adjustments to the New World. As a result, participants tended to seek a place to 'Make a Contribution' according to their Old World perspective, where *'Men's jobs are typically making money for their family and women's jobs are looking after the family'* (Donna). In this instance, their Old World perspective still determined the value, suitability and acceptability of the specific activities in a new country.

Coming to New Zealand did not necessarily mean that participants left their traditions behind. They felt a strong sense of belonging to their Old World where they could practice their traditions. Their traditions still significantly influenced where and how they hoped to 'Make a Contribution' in New Zealand, in particular with regard to their children's educational success, which was one of core values from their Old World perspective *'Of course, our first priority was to find a school for my son. We looked for a school first and then found a house in that school zone'* (Tom). Before they adapted to the New World perspective, the domestic sphere seemed to be the place in which Korean immigrants desired to 'Belong' and concurrently 'Make a Contribution' in a new country.

However, conflict and hardship were often associated with negative outcomes when participants worked on 'Making a Contribution' with a different social position within this domestic sphere. Sometimes they encountered judgement if they performed activities to 'Make a Contribution' when approaching these activities from their traditional point of view rather than from the New Zealand perspective of individual autonomy and choice. Simon

explained how people misjudged his goodwill in wanting to get to know his neighbours when he ran his retail shop using his traditional beliefs:

> I think understanding local culture was harder than the language barriers. You know, I used to treat my customers according to my culture. For example, I normally gave free lollies to children because they were cute. But, their parents often didn't understand my intention. They were very sceptical about why I gave their children lollies. I only wanted to build relationships with them. But they were very clear about the boundaries between personal and business. (Simon)

Tom also voiced his hardship when he supported his son in education. Immigrating to New Zealand meant that his economic condition had dramatically changed. He was underemployed and sometimes forced to live by using his savings. Yet, he still hoped to 'Make a Contribution' by securing his son's educational success. For Tom, 'Making a Contribution' in the home was associated with sacrifice in the name of family, just like he did in Korea:

> When he was in Year 6, he wanted to go to a private school. We were in big trouble. We thought the matter over and over … But he insisted on going there. Anyway, we sold our house to pay his tuition fees because it was all about his education. Honestly, I am worried about how I will pay it in future. (Tom)

Upon arrival, many participants went through a process of devaluing their social status. They were no longer in a position that maintained autonomy in their daily decisions because of their lack of local knowledge and English skills. They had difficulty in retaining their middle class status as they could not maintain the same or similar level of employment *'Our household income was suddenly reduced because we couldn't maintain the double income anymore'* (Sue) and *'Our living situation got harder, I mean financially. When we came, we didn't work ... So we didn't have any regular income'* (Judy). Yet, participants still belonged to their Old World and consequently hoped to 'Make a Contribution' according to their traditional values.

Another example was Donna. She was in tears when she explained her efforts to 'Make a Contribution' in the home, particularly with regard to parenting. As a mother, she joined the local kids club, where most mothers were European, assuming that it would help her daughter to socialise with other children. In order to ensure her daughter's well-being, Donna had to endure a feeling of isolation while she attended the club:

> I wanted my daughter to play with other babies. So I attended the kids club …
> I was the only Korean there. While the babies played, the mothers usually had
> tea together. You can't imagine how I felt then. I couldn't get along with them

because of my English. Whenever they had a coffee, I often felt left out. It was more than a feeling of being isolated (tearful). You know the way they looked at me. It was kind of like being left alone among them. In those days, I cried a lot after I came home from the programme. (Donna)

As Donna described, many participants found that the 'Domestic Sphere' was a place where they felt they belonged in the beginning of their settlement. Yet, their devalued social status often led to a form of endurance and sacrifice whilst they worked on 'Making a Contribution' within this sphere, in particular securing their family's well-being.

It was not all negative however. In many cases, the efforts of 'Making a Contribution' in the home related to involvement in the community. In fact, in many cases, the home was a starting point for getting to know their community and a medium of interacting with the outside world. Donna explained how activities which contributed to looking after their families would motivate Korean female immigrants to be involved in the community:

Women basically look after their families. I don't mean women, but mums. This job cannot be stopped. Mums have to do something for their family … Although they arrived yesterday, mums have to prepare meals for the family, which includes doing the cooking and shopping. So, while they practice these roles, they gradually learn how to keep those activities here. This is why women settle in this community faster than men. (Donna)

Through engaging in activities for 'Making a Contribution' within the home, participants had more opportunities to interact with the community. As Sandra indicated *'I sometimes took my baby to local baby programmes such as 'Mainly Music' where the staff played with my baby'*, the home played a key role in connecting participants with the present environment to which they had to adjust. This contributed to them re-establishing their own networks and getting to know their new world *'Because my children have local friends, I could get close to Kiwi parents. Through those contacts, there were a lot of opportunities to understand their culture'* (Mike).

For some participants, while they were exposed to New World perspectives, they determined a place where they hoped to 'Belong' within Self, as Jenny and Jacob previously explained *'My life is mine, your life is yours'* (Jenny) and *'I don't care what people think about me at all'* (Jacob). Clara also commented on how she accepted individualism, in opposition to her tradition that parents normally support almost everything for their offspring *'In our culture, children expect full financial support from their parents including a house at their wedding'* (Kevin). When her adult child asked about the possibility of joining her in New Zealand, she clearly expressed her newly changed self *'I advised him to wait until he had saved enough money for his family. I told him not to expect support from us'* (Clara). For

them, the place where they hoped to 'Make a Contribution' was located within Self. They usually chose activities that could develop self which they traditionally subordinated to the interests of the family as a whole:

> You know, when I was young, I failed to go to university which was what I really wanted to do … Since then, I have always kept in mind that I would study again if I had a chance. This is my chance to pursue my dream. I really enjoy every moment of my study. (Marie)

> Another thing that I really enjoy here is that I can study no matter how old I am. You know, although I loved to study, there was no need for me to study again in Korea. I never thought I could study again … You know, even if I complete the course, then what? What can I do with it in Korea? But here, I recognised my hidden talent, you know, my passion for study. (Clara)

For Marie and Clara, the place where they wished to 'Make a Contribution' was located within themselves. They were determined to pursue their dream in the area of personal development while they appreciated the possibilities New Zealand made available. In this sense, by adapting to the New World perspective, participants increased their opportunity to find a place they wished to 'Belong' to from the domestic sphere to self. Many Korean immigrants began to relish this independence from their Old World perspective which largely emphasised 'family orientation' whilst they adapted to the New World perspective which often focused on 'the primary importance of the individual'. The place they wished to 'Belong' to was no longer limited to the home; rather they prioritised and engaged in activities which developed self.

In some instances, participants found a place to 'Belong' in the community while they made a constant commitment to be involved in activities such as volunteering or working. Donna, who had engaged in school volunteering for the last five years, now accepted New Zealand as a country where she had to live, *'I try to think of positive reasons to live here'*. For Ruth, experience derived from working with local seniors at work guided her to find a place of 'Belonging' within the community. She was determined to keep visiting them although she had voluntarily quit her job:

> At my work, most of the patients were elderly. I loved to care for them. You know, one senior lady always held my hands and cried whenever I visited her room. I liked to have a chat with them. I felt rewarded when I looked after them … Anyway, since I quit my job, I have been back to work several times because I missed them. (Ruth)

Another example was Clara's involvement in a local disability non-governmental organisation (NGO). While she was volunteering there, she found that it was a place where

she wished to 'Belong' within the community. Now, she voluntarily translates their magazines into Korean; that is, she engaged in a process of 'Making a Contribution' with her transnational knowledge within the community. Clara found that this place became a part of her new home to which she could form an emotional attachment:

> Three years ago, I started as a volunteer at a local disability centre … While I was volunteering, I could look at my life and appreciate how lucky I am … I always want to go there. Even if I can't make time to go because of my study, my heart is always with them. For the last three years, I have helped them to publish their magazine in Korean because I am good at reading. You know, many Kiwis just do their best with a humble mind, helping others in need as long as they can. This is why I love New Zealand so much. (Clara)

Sub-category: Maximising trans-nationality

To 'Make a Contribution' where they hoped to 'Belong', participants had to do their best, using all available knowledge and resources, as the reality they encountered was much harsher than they expected before they left Korea. They often found themselves dealing with a life of economic struggle and hardship, isolated and marginalised in their new society. At this stage, participants worked on 'Maximising Trans-nationality' to solve the problems with regard to 'Making a Contribution' to a place where they felt they could 'Belong' such as the home and community.

In the beginning of their settlement, participants worked on 'Maximising Trans-nationality', mostly within the domestic sphere, with the purpose of stabilising their family's well-being. They often used their transnational knowledge to retain control in performing activities which consisted of cultural roles in an unfamiliar society. For example, in a way of fulfilling their cultural role '*I am the head of the family*' (Carl), the men often focused on finding employment although they were not ready to do so, but soon found it impossible because of their unrecognised foreign credentials and the economic situation of New Zealand '*I had an internationally recognised license called SAP, but I couldn't use this license here because it was unrecognised*' (Aaron) and '*Because of the small size of the New Zealand population, there is less opportunity to make money from a business. You know, even if we were to open a business, there would be few customers available*' (Simon).

In response, many participants approached the Korean enclave for a job or to set up a business, where they could 'Maximise Trans-nationality'; that is, they could use their previous qualification, skills and experience. For Tom and Kevin, finding a job was necessary to support their families; yet it was hard to find it within the mainstream. Kevin used his previous networks in Korea to set up a business, '*I set up a business which consults*

immigration and international students, and also arranges a golf tour, mainly targeting Koreans in Korea'. Tom 'Maximised his Trans-nationality' to get a job by using his Korean Master's Degree in Mathematics to get a teaching position in a private tutoring school for Korean children *'My job was home tutoring. I visited Korean children to teach mathematics'*.

In contrast, the women, who traditionally took on the primary responsibility of looking after the family, 'Maximised their Trans-nationality' by using their previous knowledge, to make sure their family were taken care of in areas such as preparing meals and raising children. For Kerry and Lucia, parenting was challenging without the benefits of an extended family in New Zealand. They also found it difficult because of the language barrier and limited networks. They used their internet skills to seek relevant information from Korea *'Whenever I had questions about raising a baby, I often googled them in Korean and found most of the answers'* (Kerry). Lucia explained how she obtained necessary information with regard to parenting in New Zealand:

> There was a website called 'Mums-Holic'. It was a website that operated in Korea. They have a sub-directory for Korean mothers in New Zealand. They provided useful information. If I needed to know something, I submitted my questions on that website. People immediately answered my questions. It helped me solve many problems regarding raising a baby here. (Lucia)

As such, Korean immigrants worked on finding solutions to ensure their roles within the domestic sphere by 'Maximising Trans-nationality', initially using their previous knowledge, networks, and experience to solve problems on a daily basis.

In many cases, participants 'Maximised Trans-nationality' to continue activities reflective of their traditions, in particular enhancing child education as most of the participants had school-aged children. Yet, they often felt powerless in continuing with parenting which they traditionally valued *'I couldn't understand school letters'* (Ant). Korean parents often found supporting children beyond their control, *'There was nothing else I could do for them'* (Joy). In response, they 'Maximised their Trans-nationality', that is, they used whatever they felt capable of, from their previous knowledge and resources, to cover their limitations. For Tom, it was problematic to discuss his son's learning progress with his teacher because of language barriers. He used his reading skills to understand what his son learnt at school *'Because I can read English, I check his school notes. So I know how he is doing at school ... If I need to know something, I often read his school notes'*. Joy also used her knowledge of cooking Korean foods to ease her children's stress as she was not able to help them with their school subjects:

I didn't push them to study because I knew they had a hard time at school … I prepared delicious Korean foods when they came home. There was nothing else I could do for them. We also played HwaToo (Korean style Majong) to release their stress from school. I focused on providing that kind of emotional support. (Joy)

Some participants worked on enhancing their children's Korean-ness by 'Maximising Trans-nationality', as they believed parents had a responsibility to transmit cultural traditions to younger generations. Additionally, there was a strong desire for many participants to have their children maintain their Korean identity *'I personally think my son is not a 'Kiwi'. He is a Korean because he has a Korean heritage'* (Sue) and *'Although my children live here, they are Korean … They have to remember that'* (Marie). This was partially a result of some of the Korean immigrants' bystander attitudes in New Zealand, *'I am not a Kiwi. I am a visitor here. The longer I live here, the more confident I am that I will never be a Kiwi'* (Aaron) and *'I don't think Asians or other ethnic people are Kiwi. They are immigrants or strangers like me. For me, a Kiwi is a white European'* (Joy). For them, the identity 'Kiwi' could not be their new identity. It was, therefore, logical that they hoped to instil the Korean culture into their children. Asma and Gary presented how they used their transnational knowledge to enrich their children's Korean identity:

I think my children would have a half identity if they lost their Korean culture. I always spoke Korean at home, but it wasn't enough for them to learn Korean ... I initially sent them to a Korean school where they learnt Korean. And whenever my husband came here from Korea, I asked him to bring Korean TV programmes, as many as possible. We watched those programmes together to improve their knowledge of Korea. (Asma)

My children gradually forgot the Korean language. I became worried about their lack of understanding of the Korean culture. You know, they are Koreans ... This is why I started to watch Korean TV programmes together with them and explained what the story was about. (Gary)

Not all Korean immigrants engaged in 'Maximising Trans-nationality' merely to maintain their cultural identity within the domestic sphere. Some began to 'Maximise Trans-nationality' to promote cultural diversity within the community whilst they interacted with local people. They introduced the Korean culture to local people, so that the community could enhance its ability to understand the cultural diversity. For example, while shopping in their towns, Hanna and Asma introduced Korean food preparation styles to local shops. This helped local retailers get to know Korean dishes and eventually have the Korean style foods on their shelf *'I used to order Korean style cabbage and radish. Then, the local retailer went to the city to get it alongside their own products'* (Hanna) and *'They came to know our taste.*

They even displayed 'Samgyeopsal' (Korean style pork belly) on their shelf. I think they still sell it'. 'Maximising Trans-nationality' can be an opportunity for celebrating diversity whereby participants contribute to enhancing multiculturalism where ethnic people can be legitimate members of society while retaining their own language, foods and traditions.

Some of the participants began to engage in 'Maximising Trans-nationality' to make a contribution within the society. As detailed previously, Clara voluntarily translated a magazine into Korean for the local disability NGO, 'Making a Contribution' to the society with her transnational knowledge. As such, Korean immigrants continually sought a place where they could 'Make a Contribution' by 'Maximising Trans-nationality'. In the beginning, most participants 'Maximised their Trans-nationality' to ensure their survival, mostly within the home. Then, they began to 'Maximise Trans-nationality' to make a difference in the community, based on their experiences interacting with the New World. Hanna talked of her plan to assist senior Korean immigrants through her transnational experience as an immigrant:

> I once joined in a local library programme, called 'Reading for You', as a volunteer. Most participants were elderly people. While I coordinated the programme, I could understand the concerns of many senior immigrants whose English wasn't enough. They came to me to ask for help. They brought lots of issues because they didn't know where they could get help … It was a kind of turning point in my life so I decided to study more to help them with proper knowledge. (Hanna)

As Hanna explained, her ethnic minority became beneficial when she worked on 'Maximising Trans-nationality'. Her experience as an immigrant assisted her to be sympathetic to other immigrants' situations and enhanced her competencies to work with them. Hanna found a place where she hoped to make a difference in the community by 'Maximising Trans-nationality'; that is, working with senior immigrants, using her cultural understanding and experience.

Some participants, of course, 'Maximised Trans-nationality' in 'Making a Contribution' to their living, in particular, running their business. Jacob presented how he used his transnational knowledge when he and his business partner ran a trading company between New Zealand and Korea '*Our role is clearly divided. I take on the local role, you know, I have my own network and local information about New Zealand'*. Donna used her Korean skills when she provided piano lessons to other Korean immigrants '*I have provided piano lessons to Korean children. Korean mothers asked me to teach their children because they don't need to speak English to me'*. By 'Maximising Trans-nationality', Jacob and

Donna promoted their businesses. Jacob used his transnational knowledge such as being bilingual to trade products between two countries. Donna used her Korean skills to serve people who were reluctant to approach services in English because of their limited language skills.

Lastly, 'Maximising Trans-nationality' also contributed to Korean immigrants finding a place where they felt recognised and valued as members of society. For Ant, 'Maximising Trans-nationality' meant he was willing to share his transnational knowledge about 'Taekwondo' at local cultural festivals. This experience helped him to be recognised and as a result, he had an opportunity to value himself as a member of his community in city C:

> Since I started Taekwondo lessons, I have met many local people. And I have had many opportunities to participate in local events … Whenever there is cultural festival in my town, I am invited to demonstrate my 'Taekwondo' skills. I don't care how much they pay me. For me, it is all about sharing my talent with people. (Ant)

Summary

In this Chapter, I outlined the central category in this study - 'Valuing Self'. The central category explains that Korean immigrants continually pursued opportunities whereby they could value themselves as members of society. 'Regaining Autonomy' and 'Making a Contribution' are key elements of 'Valuing Self'. These major categories include the sub-categories of 'Gaining Familiarity', 'Changing Self', 'Finding a Place to Belong', and 'Maximising Trans-nationality'.

In the next chapter, I will explore the salient conditions which were located between the micro and macro level: 'Minimum Expectations for a New Life', 'Sugar Coated World', 'Language Barriers', 'Ethnocentric Attitude', 'Confucianism', 'Existing Networks', and 'Korean Enclave'. They formed the structural contexts, namely 'Enacting Korean Ways' and 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' in which Korean immigrants employed different strategies as part of 'Regaining Control' in their lives.

Chapter Seven: RESEARCH FINDINGS – PART II

In this chapter, I present conditions and contexts in which Korean immigrants create a home in New Zealand. This chapter is comprised of two parts. In the first part, I explain the salient conditions which appear frequently in participants' journeys of settling their new home. In the second part, I elaborate on structural contexts formed by these salient conditions in which participants perceive the situations.

Salient Conditions

Participants of this study reported that adjustment to a new culture is not only determined by their capacity to perceive his or her situation but is also intensely influenced by societal factors. Accordingly, it is crucial to explore salient conditions in which situations arise and to which Korean immigrants respond, in order to understand their journeys of Valuing Self in New Zealand. An understanding of the circumstances which they encounter will enrich the analysis of how Korean immigrants create and respond to everyday situations.

In this study, there are seven salient conditions located between the micro (person's livelihood), meso (attitudes and resources in the wider community), and macro level (the socio-political systems). They are **'Minimum Expectations for a New Life'**, **'Sugar Coated World'**, **'Language Barriers'**, **'Ethnocentric Attitude'**, **'Confucianism'**, **'Existing Networks'** (Family and Friends), and **'Korean Enclave'**. The process of Regaining Control was situated within a range of these conditions. Figure 7 depicts how these micro and macro conditions fuse to create situations where participants' actions are located.
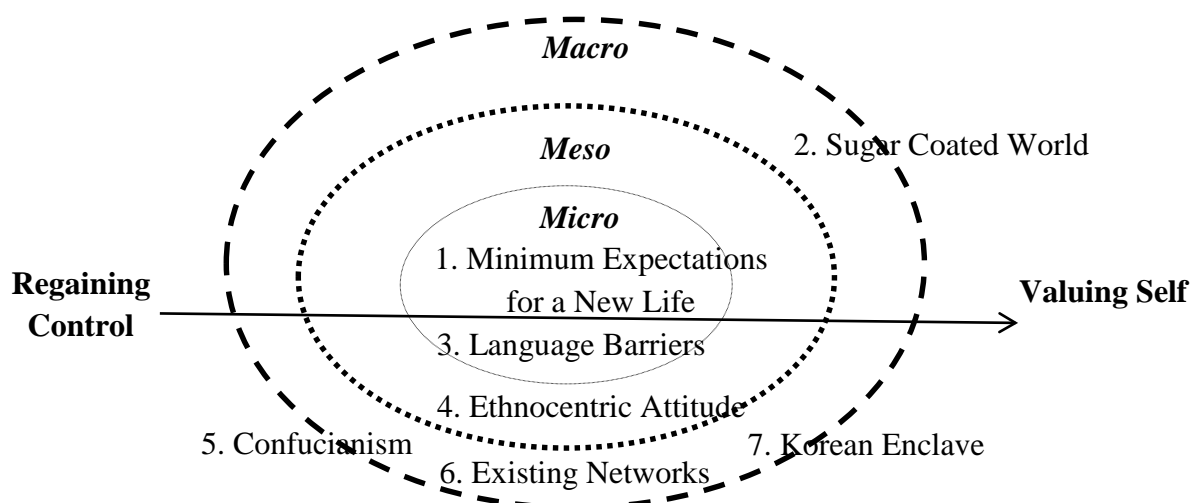
Figure 7. Micro and Macro Conditions

Minimum Expectations for a New Life

The Republic of Korea (South Korea), the place they left behind, is a country which has achieved the extraordinary economic growth that contributed to many of its citizens being able to increase their personal wealth (detailed in Chapter Four). Yet, the reality for many Korean immigrants was surviving in a highly competitive society. As Marie recalled, competition may start as early as pre-school as there is no room for failure in the Korean society, *'Although my children were 2 and 4 years old, they already had to compete with other children'*. The lack of a social welfare system also increased the pressure on individuals to be responsible for their own involvement within this competitive society. The reality which participants had to endure was that they had to engage in competition on a daily basis with others for their survival; hence, *'Life in Korea is very stressful and complicated'* (Simon).

To succeed in such a competitive environment, the term 'fitting into the system' had been one of the strong social codes of many Korean immigrants' behaviours. Donna commented on how her friends in Korea still maintained the same busy lifestyle as she had 10 years ago, *'They were so busy at work or looking after the children. You know, everything had to be in order for success in Korea'*. Participants often immersed themselves in the activities which helped to secure their future. For the men, the only way they could achieve this seemed to be by focusing on work. This led to working excessively long hours, *'Korean fathers usually work all day'* (Bob). Mike also described how his personal life was affected by work in Korea prior to his immigration to New Zealand, *'In Korea, because you have to be loyal to work, there are many events you have to get involved in after work hours such as funerals, colleagues' birthday parties and weddings. There was no personal life'*.

In many cases, Korean immigrants carried their psychological burdens while they dealt with pressure to accomplish something for the future, *'It wasn't about physical hardship. It was about psychological exhaustion'* (Jacob). Thus, Korean immigrants often found their lives less and less meaningful whilst they immersed themselves in activities necessary to fulfil their social roles. The concept of 'Living in Drudgery' encapsulates the participants' lives in Korea, *'My life was repetitive, you know, waking up in the morning, going to work, and coming home at night … Although my day was always busy, every-day was the same and it was monotonous'* (Tom). Jenny explained how she had lost herself when she was fulfilling her role as a mother to secure her family's future:

> I got up in the morning, prepared my children for school, and helped my husband to get ready for work. That was all I did for my day, nothing unusual.

Frankly, I had no idea about my well-being. I just did my job, thinking it was my destiny. (Jenny)

In this study, many participants revealed that anxiety and pressure about securing their future came to be a part of their lifestyle in Korea, *'I always had a feeling that I was being pursued by something'* (Kevin). Nevertheless, they continued with this repetitive lifestyle while suppressing their desire to change their life, so as not to jeopardise the peace in the family, *'I had always kept in mind that one day in my life I would live in another country'* (Sue). The reasons Korean immigrants broke out of this suppression, which resulted in departing from their home country were diverse, depending on their individual circumstances. Most participants in this study, however, reported 'Encountering Uncertainty' about their future, particularly for their children, as a major trigger for their decision to move to another country. Jenny and Kevin voiced how they decided to immigrate to New Zealand in spite of having a relatively secured life in Korea:

I was very disappointed in my children's performance at school. I became anxious that they might not go to University. Whenever I worried that they couldn't go to University, I hoped they would learn English overseas and go to University there. (Jenny)

The reason I decided to immigrate was because of my second child. His mental development was very slow. We took him to a number of hospitals in order to examine his health condition. We were so worried as to whether or not he would survive the competitive society in Korea. (Kevin)

As detailed above, the main reason Korean immigrants endure their stressful life was to secure the family future, particularly for their children, as they often prioritised the family's well-being. Thus, when they became uncertain about their children's future, Korean immigrants realised that their efforts to endure stress were pointless and meaningless. This often threatened their well-being. It is, therefore, logical that 'Encountering Uncertainty' in this area was enough to motivate them to instigate a change *'The reason I decided on immigration was ... I was not happy with the educational system after my son started a school'* (Tom), and *'I decided to immigrate because of my children ... I didn't like the Korean educational system in which I was brought up. I didn't want my children to go through the same process'* (Mike).

Of course, in some instances, the participants faced uncertainty in their own life such as financial hardship or loss of employment. They decided on immigration with the hope of changing their lives for themselves. In particular, given that re-starting life at middle age was almost impossible in Korea, *'I was over 55 when I had to shut down my business. It was too*

late for us to start from the bottom again in Korea' (Simon), some participants sought a place overseas where they wished to re-start their life after their social status was dramatically altered. Clara also explained how her husband, who was unwilling to immigrate, finally agreed to immigrate to New Zealand after his social status changed due to sudden retirement:

> When I suggested to him that we move to New Zealand, he didn't like that idea. We didn't decide on immigration until he retired. Things changed when he retired. It was unexpected and sudden. You know, after retirement, his situation had changed significantly … He became unsatisfied with it. (Clara)

Once they decided on immigration after 'Encountering Uncertainty' in their lives, participants showed their strong desire to have a quality of life. For them, immigration was not about pursuing financial prosperity but rather, dreaming of a relaxed lifestyle by escaping from their stressful lifestyle in Korea. As a consequence, many Korean immigrants held 'Minimum Expectations for a New Life' including 'more time with family', 'less competition in society', 'less working hours', and 'a secure social welfare'. As Judy and Clara explained, after a mode of survival in Korea, they had a 'Minimum Expectation for Their New Life'; that was, more precious time with family or a leisurely lifestyle, *'There was no time for family. It wasn't a lifestyle which I dreamed of. I prayed to God to help me change my life'* (Judy) and *'I suggested to my husband that we just go to New Zealand and play golf and travel around for a while'* (Clara). Kevin also presented how his 'Minimum Expectation for a New Life' was met by his informant's comment about New Zealand:

> My godfather's family lived in Christchurch. He was aware of my difficult situation. When he came to Korea, he suggested that I come to NZ. He said it is 'not too bad' living in New Zealand. It is just a small country. (Kevin)

There was, however, one thing they would not compromise; that was, securing their children's well-being. Influenced by Confucianism, one of the most fundamental social values in the Korean culture, most Korean parents placed this social value as a core element of their minimum expectations when they chose a place to immigrate, *'I want to support my son in whatever he wants to do. I believe that is our duty as parents'* (Tom). Korean immigrants, therefore, tend to choose a place to immigrate where they both secure their children's well-being by having access to educational opportunities in English and ease their life stress as explained by Jill:

> We chose New Zealand because of the children's education and the welfare system. My husband told me that New Zealand would be good for our three children's education and would be good for us because of its social welfare system. If we think of business opportunity, I mean making money, New

Zealand wouldn't be a good place. But, if we consider children's education and quality of lifestyle, New Zealand is the best place to live for us. (Jill)

In this sense, the real attraction, and the more compelling reason to decide on immigration was that participants dreamt of a less stressful lifestyle, with the prospect of a good education that the country offered their children. Marie also explained how she decided to immigrate for her children's well-being:

Whenever I thought of my children's future in Korea, their future seemed to be very gloomy. I was worried about how they would survive in such a highly competitive society ... You know, living in Korea means my children have to endure a lot of stress as I did in my childhood … My children's well-being was the main reason for immigration. (Marie)

Participants' 'Minimum Expectations for a New Life' significantly impacted on their decision about where they hoped to immigrate and how they prepared to settle in a new country. As their 'Minimum Expectations for a New Life' included mainly having a peaceful and relaxed lifestyle, with the prospect of a good education for their children, Korean immigrants recounted that New Zealand's positive reputation was replete with reasons for attracting their attention.

Sugar Coated World

When participants planned their immigration, they did not have the specific name of the country for their destination yet, *'Without any preferred country, I just planned to move to another country'* (Sue). Because most of the participants were from a middle social class in Korea, they had several choices with regard to their new country, *'When I thought of living overseas, I had a choice of where to live, such as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, you know, these are all safe places'* (Anne). Korean immigrants began to search for a country to move to, in particular among Western countries as they were optimistically exposed to the Western lifestyle through their limited experience such as being language students or travellers. In her interview, Hanna explained that her expectation of living in a Western country was formed through her direct experience as a language student:

I once lived in Canada for 6 months in order to study English. It was so nice. This experience enabled me to fantasise about living overseas. Since then, I had had vague expectations of living overseas. You know, whenever I felt stressed in Korea, I said to myself 'Ah I would love to live in another country'. (Hanna)

Some participants also idolised the Western lifestyle through their indirect experience of it, such as reading books or watching TV programmes. From these experiences, participants had an optimistic view of Western life *'I like reading and I read lots of Western books. This made me envious of the Western lifestyle. I always dreamt of living overseas'* (Clara). Additionally, moving to an English speaking country seemed to be promising, as English was a means of securing their off-spring's future in Korea, *'You know, in Korea, speaking fluent English guarantees one a good job'* (Jenny). For them, their new home would be a place in a Western country, in particular an English speaking country which they assumed would satisfy their minimum expectations of quality lifestyle whilst securing their children's future.

Among many Western countries where English is officially spoken, New Zealand seemed to be outstanding, advertised as a 'Sugar Coated World'. Indeed, in Korea, New Zealand was promoted as one of the best places to live in the world, *'New Zealand is often described as the last remaining paradise on earth in Korea'* (Sue). Immigration agents also promoted New Zealand as a place with lots of opportunities, including free education for children *'I was advised that if I worked here, my children could attend school for free. It sounded very promising, free English education overseas, why didn't I take this opportunity?'* (Asma) and *'When I consulted with immigration advisors, they suggested a lot of opportunities, you know, mainly successful and optimistic. Their suggestions sounded very promising'* (Gary). For many Korean immigrants, the offers New Zealand made were too good to resist when they sought a place for their new home. Tom and Jenny explained how they chose New Zealand out of many Western countries:

> America seems to be dangerous, you know, guns and shooting. Canada? I didn't want to live there because of the harsh weather. It is too cold. Australia! My wife didn't like living in Australia because of snakes and crocodiles … So, New Zealand was the only place left for us … Living in New Zealand looked peaceful, you know, sheep and cows are wandering in green meadows. It was enough to attract us who were fed up with our busy lifestyle in Seoul. (Tom)

> I did not do a lot of research about other countries. But, I know America is a dangerous country in terms of safety. Canada, its environment is not so good. It is cold in winter. In the case of Australia, when I was planning my immigration, there was a TV programme about Korean students' gang groups and crimes. But, information about New Zealand always presented images as a good country where one could live peacefully and safely. (Jenny)

New Zealand's reputation as 'green' and 'clean' and its spoken language, English, was enough to attract Korean immigrants' attention. The consequences of the image of 'Sugar Coated World' were, however, severe when they settled, as the participants did not seriously

consider or anticipate the result of immigration such as losing their social status or social networks, *'I didn't realise that living as a language student would be very different from living as an immigrant'* (Hanna). Marie explained how she was overly optimistic prior to immigrating to New Zealand:

> I dreamt of 'La vie en rose'. … I imagined that if I could go to New Zealand, there would be sheep wandering on green grass, and my children would be joyfully playing with bare feet. I would also speak English well sooner or later … I didn't predict something wrong happening to us. (Marie)

As a result of envisaging a 'Sugar Coated World', Korean immigrants typically lacked planning about how they would live in New Zealand. In fact, many participants identified that they did not have a specific goal or plan for their new life when they departed from their home *'I just simply held an attitude of 'go and find out what happens'. I wasn't serious about immigration'* (Tom) and *'I came here without any specific plan'* (Kevin). As such, their decision about coming to New Zealand was often naïve.

As Marie, Tom and Kevin presented above, many Korean immigrants left their home with a great sense of optimism alongside a belief that they could return to Korea if needed. Participants tended to regard immigration in the same light as moving to another town; hence they may return if things differed from their expectations, *'I thought I can always go back to Korea if it is too hard to live here'* (Mike) and *'I kept it in mind that if something turned out to be too hard to bear, I could easily return to Korea anytime. I was so naïve'* (Marie). Accordingly, in some cases, it involved just a few months of planning and preparation *'It took one month to decide to immigrate and pack all our stuff. We made the decision to immigrate in May and arrived in New Zealand in November'*. (Anne)

The Sugar Coated portrayal of New Zealand as pure, safe and peaceful contributed to Korean immigrants regarding immigration to New Zealand as entering a paradise whereby their quality of life would be guaranteed and their children's future would be secured. As a consequence, participants often arrived in New Zealand without enough information and preparation. Asma and Ruth voiced how they were insufficiently informed prior to immigration to New Zealand, *'I didn't even know where New Zealand was and who the Kiwis were. I just searched for the necessary information for 2 weeks before I came here'* (Asma), and *'I thought New Zealand was one of the beautiful countries in Europe'* (Ruth).

It is, therefore, logical that they were in a vulnerable position when it came to adapting to things reflective of New Zealand society. In many instances, participants found the adjustment to their new home beyond their control. They were not sure what behaviours

and performances were appropriate within specific settings, as they did not anticipate or prepare for it. Additionally, their lack of local knowledge weakened the participants' capacity to continue their lives. As Ruth detailed when speaking about her first few days in New Zealand, the reality Korean immigrants had to encounter was very different from their expectations:

> When I first came here, I couldn't sleep at all because I was so scared. I will never forget the first two nights. It had rained all day and was very cold … Everything was different from what I had expected. I didn't know where to start. I asked my Lord, my Lord, please tell me what this situation means? (Ruth)

As such, re-establishing the new home without proper preparation and local knowledge often led to a state of panic *'I came here with a teenage dream … The reality wasn't like that at all'* (Sue), and *'It was hard, very hard. I was always afraid or fearful in my mind'* (Jenny). As Sue and Jenny discussed, problems often arose due to their lack of preparation, having stressful and deleterious effects on their well-being, as a person's quality of life is influenced by his or her experiences of success in activities on a daily basis.

What many participants of this study did not consider seriously was that relocating themselves into New Zealand society inevitably involved a process of adjustment to a new culture, influenced by a number of interrelated factors such as language, attitudes towards immigrants, existing networks, and the nature of social support.

Language Barriers

Given that it is largely through language that humans come to understand other people, for Korean immigrants, having local language skills (English) is one of key components of interacting with their new country. In this study, however, most of the participants demonstrated their inability to speak English. In some instances, participants could speak only a few English words, enough to maintain their survival *'You know, the only sentence I could say when I came here was I am a boy and you're a girl'* (Carl) and *'When I turned the TV on here, I didn't understand a single word that people said on the programmes'* (Clara). 'Language Barriers' were the first major challenge Korean immigrants had to deal with in New Zealand.

For example, their lack of language skills set constraints when it came to expressing themselves *'I wasn't able to explain myself because of my English'* (Clara), when performing social roles *'I witnessed that some Korean children didn't go to school for parent teacher*

interviews because their parents couldn't speak English. Their school didn't ask their parents to come because of language barriers' (Lucia); when looking for a job, '*Who would hire me unless I spoke English just like native speakers*' (Bob); and interacting with local people '*It was embarrassing when I didn't understand the conversation ... I often left the place if I didn't understand them, saying 'sorry'. This experience made me avoid local people*' (Carl). As such, 'Language Barriers' contributed to participants losing control in almost all aspects of their lives.

Participants' feelings of isolation also increased dramatically as relations with neighbours were often curtailed because of 'Language Barriers', '*I meet Kiwis everyday but it is hard to get to know them or get close to them*' (Joy). 'Language Barriers' often traumatised participants' living in their new community, as Marie explained '*For the first few years, English haunted me. It was very hard to live here because of English*'.

For many Korean immigrants, however, 'Language Barriers' were relevant only with regard to their ability to speak English because they were relatively competent in reading English, '*I bought and read the New Zealand Herald to get information here*' (Joy) or '*Although I don't speak fluent English, I was good at reading and writing English*' (Gary). In this study, participants identified 'Language Barriers' as not being able to speak English. Indeed, most of the participants went through a high level of the Korean educational system which emphasised reading skills in English, '*When we learnt English at school, we were normally taught only written English, focusing on grammar, not speaking or listening at all*' (Simon). This means that some of the participants were too cautious to speak English although they were able to communicate in English at some level. Marie and Clara shared how they felt pressured to use English without grammatical errors:

> I couldn't open my mouth when I talked to locals for the first two years. I was scared of making mistakes. To be honest, I thought that my English wasn't too bad … But I never had an experience of speaking English with native speakers. (Marie)

> I always kept in mind that I had to speak a full sentence in English. You know, I couldn't imagine that I could communicate with others using only a few English words. I always tried to make a full sentence in my head before I said something. (Clara)

In this sense, some participants found that their English course, which mostly focuses on grammar and reading skills, was not helpful for improving their language skills, as Donna explained '*Learning English at school isn't enough. It is a kind of artificial situation*'. Many participants reported that they had few opportunities to practise their English skills in real

situations with native speakers *'Although I have learnt English over the last few years, there are not many opportunities to practice it … This is why my English still remains at a beginner's level'* (Carl) and *'I enrolled in an English course. I hoped this course would help to improve my English, but there were not many chances to meet people there'* (Clara).

In response to this, some sought a place where they could practice English with local people in real situations, as they believed this would help to increase their speaking skills in English *'I always encourage Korean mums to participate in as many school events as they can. I personally think it is far better than attending language school to learn English'* (Donna). In particular, to overcome the pressure of speaking fluent English, participants tended to socialise with local citizens with whom they could ease their nervousness of using incorrect English grammar, *'It is much easier to form friendships with seniors. They are friendly and like to have a chat in English'* (Anne). Aaron explained how the locals' welcoming attitude helped him to practise his English and eventually get to know the community:

> We were the only Asian family in town. Because of that, local people found our existence interesting. They were so kind and always helped us when I had a problem. I could easily develop friendships with my neighbours. It was good for me to practise English with them … I gradually understood their way of thinking. (Aaron)

Ethnocentric Attitude

Alongside of not knowing what and how to do things in New Zealand, participants also found their lives stressful because of a perceived prejudiced social reception towards them in New Zealand. The relatively new presence of Asian immigrants contributed to New Zealanders having judgemental attitudes towards different cultures, *'My children don't take Korean food to school for lunch. They refuse to bring Korean food. They said their friends don't like it because it is smelly'* (Carl) and *'As I know, some teachers said they don't like Korean food when they were offered a Korean style lunch box by Korean parents. They returned the lunchbox to the children'* (Anne). Participants felt that New Zealanders tended to maintain an 'Ethnocentric Attitude'; often comparing how people in other cultures might behave based on assumptions derived from their own perceptions.

For example, speaking English is the norm regardless of one's ethnicity in New Zealand. There is less tolerance toward non-English speakers, with an attitude of 'Cannot be bothered', *'People came to my shop and spoke English very fast. Then they complained when I didn't understand them'* (Simon). As such, the 'Ethnocentric Attitude' served as a

mechanism of exclusion, as Korean immigrants had less opportunity to demonstrate their potential until they were able to prove themselves in English. This ideology, in many circumstances, has been used as a justification for New Zealanders to exclude Asians' qualifications and experiences. Clara explained the reason why she was opposed to her adult child coming to New Zealand:

> Of course, my son wants to come to New Zealand. He graduated from a top university in Korea. He has a bright future there … If he comes to New Zealand, he has to start from scratch again. He has to speak English fluently. How about his qualification? Is it recognised here? You know, he has to start again from the bottom just like I did years ago. To get a job, he first has to learn English and obtain a qualification here. (Clara)

Having an 'Ethnocentric Attitude', New Zealanders are sceptical of overseas qualifications and experiences until proven in English. It is ironic that Korean immigrants' qualifications and work experiences, which made them eligible to come to New Zealand, suddenly become meaningless and useless when they actually arrive. In other words, this 'Ethnocentric Attitude' has shaped the ways in which Korean immigrants presented themselves, often accompanied by negative consequences such as their qualifications being unrecognised or their traditions being undervalued. Judy and Lucia illuminated how their nursing qualifications were overshadowed due to their English language incompetency, as this is a requirement of the Health Practitioners Competence Assurance Act in New Zealand *'I planned to work as a nurse here. I have an American Nursing Certificate. It doesn't matter in New Zealand. Here, I have to prepare for the IELTS score or study again'* (Judy).

> I used to work with foreigners in Korea. So I thought my English was good enough for communication purposes. But the New Zealand Nursing Association has a high expectation in terms of language. I once rang them to ask how to be a registered nurse here. They told me I have to have a 7.0 IELTS score. (Lucia)

This 'Ethnocentric Attitude' often hindered them from finding a job or setting up their own business in which they could use their transnational knowledge. As a result, many Korean immigrants ended up either in a labour intensive business or in menial jobs which they could start immediately, such as cleaning or working in a Korean restaurant. Hanna detailed what her brother had to go through after coming to New Zealand:

> My brother had to start from scratch just like we did years ago. I was so sad to see how he started his life here. He graduated from one of the top universities in Korea and had a good job there. But here, his first job was as a furniture remover. When I saw him moving furniture, I was terribly sad … It is not the country which I dreamt of. But it is a reality I have to live with as an immigrant. (Hanna)

As Hanna described, the reality that Korean immigrants had experienced in New Zealand was that it was no longer 'paradise'. Many things differed from their expectations. Rather than finding a relaxed lifestyle, they had to solve problems associated with the 'Ethnocentric Attitude', compounded by their limited local knowledge and support. Many participants realised that they had to start their new life from the bottom with things such as learning English, enrolling in a course to get a qualification, or taking unwanted jobs in which local people did not want to engage anymore, *'I think we, as immigrants, normally take the unwanted jobs, you know, jobs which local people don't want anymore, often involving physical labour'* (Anne). This experience often led to less life satisfaction and low self-esteem, *'I became a foreign labourer. People looked down on me. To be honest, if I were them, I would do the same because I am a foreign labourer'*. Judy also voiced how she viewed her life after starting her job in an unskilled sector, *'I came here for a better lifestyle, but the reality that I have to endure is that I now have a lower quality of life'*.

As such, because of the 'Ethnocentric Attitude' of this society, Korean immigrants constantly experienced limited opportunities for sustaining control in many aspects of their lives, such as work, preparing meals, and parenting. This included not only their qualification being unrecognised but also unwelcoming attitudes and discrimination against them, *'If I make a mistake while driving, people often blow the horn or yell at me. If Kiwis make the same mistake, they are generous to each other. It is a very different story'* (Hanna). Donna described how she experienced this discriminatory attitude on a daily basis:

> You have to deal with different attitudes toward us. I would rather say it is discrimination. For example, shop keepers' attitudes are totally different compared to how they are with local people. Sometimes, I have also experienced their cold reception because I am Asian. As I know, many people would agree with this kind of unfair situation, you know they treat us differently. (Donna)

For many participants, having to deal with this 'Ethnocentric Attitude' was the single most important factor in determining their life chances, as well as their dignity, identity, and self-esteem. This prejudiced attitude towards participants contributes to them accepting their other-ness in a powerless manner, *'You know, I have to endure these small disadvantages because I live in a foreign country'* (Anne). Some participants began to feel regret over coming to New Zealand, *'I've been thinking of going back to Korea'* (Tom) whilst enduring the resulting psychological burden, and carried a feeling of sorrow *'I sometimes feel like I am an orphan in a foreign country'* (Ruth) and *'I always carry a kind of sorrow in my mind. It is inevitable if you live in a foreign country'* (Donna).

Confucianism: Prioritising Family

In this study, Korean immigrants usually described themselves as being strongly family-oriented, which emanated from Confucian teachings on social relationships. Accordingly, participants strongly maintained values of family centrality by emphasising subordination of the individual to the family. As 'Confucianism' left profound traces on the Korean society in its hierarchicalism, age and gender bias, reverence for parents, and emphasis on education, what Korean immigrants chose for their lives was strongly determined by these Confucian values and ethics.

Although 'Confucianism' is eroding within Korean society, influenced by Western values, most participants imported this cultural belief to New Zealand. Donna previously explained her Confucian idea of gender role, *'Men's jobs are typically making money for their family and women's jobs are looking after the family'*. As such, the core value of being family-oriented meant participants had to properly fulfil these obligations for the family. In other words, whilst they settled, the individual's needs and desires were subordinated to the interests of the family as a whole. Nevertheless, different cultures, different social statuses, and different role expectations all served to hinder participants from achieving fulfilment in their cultural roles. Jill explained how the language barrier limited parenting:

> When we had to meet our children's teachers, my husband normally went to school because I wasn't sure of my English. If he couldn't make time, I had to meet the teachers with my children, so that they could interpret for me. (Jill)

In particular, because of their inability to obtain employment, Korean immigrants were more likely to be financially strapped, *'We have spent almost all of our money that we brought in when we came here. There is nothing left to spend anymore'* (Judy). Participants often experienced financial burdens since they found living costs such as renting and tuition fees more expensive than they were able to afford *'Living costs were more expensive than we expected'* (Ruth) and *'I almost ran out of money'* (Carl). For participants who experienced financial difficulty, finding employment was critical to maintaining the position in the family and upholding Confucian values, *'I had to find work immediately. Otherwise, it would be very easy to spend all of our money in a year'* (Carl).

According to 'Confucianism', the sexual division of labour exists in the family, as Donna noted above. Admittedly, financial difficulty put more pressure on Korean male immigrants, in particular those who imported their Confucian values, *'I am the head of the family'* (Carl). These participants faced challenges in meeting their culturally-shaped expectations for what they thought they should be doing for the family. For them, finding a

way to support the family became their priority as this was the only way to fulfil their cultural roles, '*I did whatever I could to make money because I had to support my family*' (Aaron). Although they brought money from Korea in order to live, without a sustainable income for a period of time '*I had some money which I brought in when I came*' (Ant), Korean male immigrants often felt anxious; therefore, immediately sought employment which would help to fulfil their cultural roles.

An overall sense of frustration ensued in relation to continuing their cultural roles based on Confucian values. This situation was often accompanied by feelings of regret. The prospect of returning to their life's previous path seemed to be the only solution '*We planned to go back to Korea because many things were so different from what we imagined*' (Sue) and '*We think of returning to Korea*' (Anne). In the meantime, because of the philosophies of 'Confucianism', many participants decided to stay in New Zealand although they struggled with the transition. They chose to stay because of their children's well-being, as educating children was one of the parents' main responsibilities due to their belief of 'Confucianism'. In some instances, watching the children's happiness was enough to justify their decision to stay in New Zealand '*My son loved his school. He didn't even take his school uniform off on the weekend. He really loved his school*' (Sue). Anne explained the reason she decided to stay despite struggling in New Zealand:

> The main reason we decided to stay was because my son loves his school ... He is 8 years old. He really loves New Zealand. He said he doesn't want to return to Korea, even for a visit. He said he would rather die here than go back to Korea (laugh). (Anne)

As a consequence of their decision to stay, many Korean immigrants had to accept changes in their social position within both their family and society. Without local knowledge and support, they were often incompetent with performing previously accustomed activities. This experience was compounded by their inability to advocate for themselves because of language barriers. For example, some became incompetent with their parenting, as they struggled to adapt to New Zealand perspectives. There was a role reversal within the family where children became interpreters for their parents '*When my wife was admitted to hospital, I had to ask my son for help because he spoke English well*' (Carl). In some cases, participants' parenting skills were also judged by others '*My daughter's teacher tried to control my parenting skills, indicating what I have to do for my daughter at home*' (Jenny).

This occasionally led to a process of devaluing self as Aaron presented. He explained how he felt devalued while he could not fulfil his cultural roles, in this case meeting the financial needs for his family:

> My authority as a father became questionable. My wife often blamed me, saying "because of you, we have a hard time here" … Sadly, I can't disagree with her. It is my fault that I gave them a hard time financially. (Aaron)

Whilst Korean immigrants maintained a belief in 'Confucianism', a sense of losing control in performing culturally valued activities contributed to them devaluing themselves in the home and community.

Existing Networks: Family and Friends

In response to their incompetency in managing situations, participants often relied on others' assistance in dealing with daily challenges. Since they were not able to make informed decisions, this strategy was commonly employed whilst participants learnt about their new surroundings. In this regard, 'Existing Networks' (family and friends who were already residing in New Zealand) was a critical factor when participants sought support in learning how to do things reflective of New Zealand society, as they could seek advice or support from them. Having 'Existing Networks' helped them to ease into a process of gaining familiarity with their new environment, *'I had a close friend here. She helped me a lot, with almost everything'* (Joy) and *'I help my friend because he can't speak English ... I provide practical information which I've learnt over the last 10 years'* (Jacob).

In this study, 'Existing Networks' remained the cornerstone of all types of support, offering mutual and constant assistance when participants settled. Indeed, family and friends played a key role in easing the process of Regaining Control, as they could be a reliable source of support and information. Jill explained how she opened a business easily because of the support of a sister who already lived in New Zealand:

> My sister suggested that a sushi shop would be good for us. Because she was already living here, she knew what kind of business would suit us better than we did. She arranged the sushi shop for us before we came and we just signed when we arrived. I think we were lucky to have a family here. They made our settlement smooth. I didn't have much hassle when I settled here. (Jill)

In this sense, the size of the primary network has been found to be a significant factor in promoting settlement. Many Korean immigrants, however, found themselves alone in this country, *'We are all alone far from our home country'* (Kevin), and *'I don't have friends*

here' (Tom). As a result, participants had to rebuild networks, *'I had to rebuild my personal networks from scratch again'* (Mike).

In response to non-'Existing Networks', some participants actively sought an informant using their wider networks *'My husband knew someone here. He wasn't his friend. But they used to work in the same field in Korea, so they knew each other. Before we came, my husband contacted him to ask for his help'* (Clara) or pre-arranged a settlement service to assist them with learning about their new surroundings *'We arranged the settlement service … Because we had young children, we needed their assistance to avoid any hassle if possible'* (Anne). This service was often designed to provide a brief orientation with regard to where to access necessary resources to continue their lives. Ruth detailed how she received advice from her settlement advisor *'He spent 3 hours with us … He gave us a brief orientation regarding issues such as where Pak'n'Save and the Korean shops are'*.

Although this information was never enough for them to become familiar with their new surroundings or in some cases they had to take the risk of losing their autonomy, as they sometimes had to follow what instructions they were given, *'I settled in City C because my sister said so … Although I didn't have any relevant experience, I opened [this business] because she said so'* (Carl), at least it was helpful for survival. For Korean immigrants who did not have 'Existing Networks', this brief orientation was all the help they had received to assist them to settle, leading them to the Korean Enclave where they could use their previous knowledge, including language skills, to continue their lives in New Zealand.

Korean Enclave

For many participants, the beginning of their settlement was frustrating due to their limited local knowledge and language skills, compounded by insufficient networks. At this stage, what participants most valued was being able to continue their lives in a new environment. As part of this plan, Korean immigrants tended to stay in the 'Korean Enclave'. It was a place where their Korean-ness was visible and audible. By providing a haven of 'Korean-ness', the 'Korean Enclave' contributed to participants retaining a feeling of control in an unfamiliar society.

The current Korean community is very different from the one which existed in the late 1980s in which Korean resources were rare *'I still remember those days. Back then, we used to bring 'choco-pie' when we were invited to Korean friends because that product was rare here'* (Mike). There has been a dramatic increase in Korean immigrants, Korean retail

establishments and cultural events in Auckland since 2000. As a result, most participants have not had any trouble finding or purchasing the basic elements with regard to continuing their lives '*It is easy to buy Korean groceries anytime*' (Kerry). Within the 'Korean Enclave', participants could apply familiar strategies when doing things which helped to maintain continuity in their new environment. The purpose of visiting the enclave was to engage in activities reflective of their Old World perspective, as part of creating the impression they sought to make. In this sense, the 'Korean Enclave' was a place where participants were not afraid to speak their own language and try out their identity that was different from others.

There are other benefits to being involved within the 'Korean Enclave', for example, some were prepared to take up the challenge of getting involved in the community while they supported each other and shared useful information and skills with other Koreans, '*Many community programmes were available for Koreans at Korean churches such as free English classes or other settlement support*' (Joy) and '*We try to transform Kiwi ingredients to Korean styles. And if we find it good, we share the recipe with other Koreans*' (Asma). Gary also explained how he used his English skills to share local information with other Korean immigrants:

> I normally read a local newspaper. You know, City B changes so fast. What was once a farm area has very quickly become a town. I like to know how this city will change in the future. In a local newspaper, the mayor provides his development plan. For this reason, I regularly read his article and explain it to my Korean friends … I read a local newspaper and inform them of local news on a regular basis. (Gary)

This strategy helped participants to gain knowledge in finding alternative ways of doing things, leading to increased competency. In this sense, the 'Korean Enclave' was an important source of social support, functioning as a transnational medium between their Old World and the New World. Carl also explained how he was informed through the ethnic church, '*Church is the best place to get information for living here. This place helps us a lot to find sources. For example, where I can apply for a job or where I can find a good school for my children*'. By participating in the 'Korean Enclave', participants were actually better able to adapt to the new and unfamiliar environment.

As Asma, Gary and Carl discussed, the 'Korean Enclave' provided a positive environment whereby participants were able to develop skills and behaviours reflective of New Zealand society. Indeed, ethnic attachment should be understood to be a way of maintaining continuity whilst retaining a feeling of security. While they gradually obtained mastery in performing daily activities within the 'Korean Enclave', participants were ready to

adapt to the New Zealand culture. The 'Korean Enclave' was a place where participants could learn how to manage their own lives with less frustration and gain various levels of mastery. For many Korean immigrants, ethnic attachment was a coping skill which enabled them to maintain continuity and it served as a starting point for 'Regaining Control' until they were in a position to make their own choice, *'Now, I can choose a Kiwi or a Korean GP. I don't stick to a Korean GP anymore. I find no difference between them'* (Kerry).

These seven salient conditions detailed above were almost always connected to each other as one condition often led to another, and then to another, like links in a chain. Their relations to each other were not in a cause and effect fashion. In addition, rather than directly relating to participants' situations, these sets of conditions created a structural context which influenced the way participants chose and performed activities as they worked on 'Regaining Control' in their lives.

Structural Context

There were two significant structural contexts formed by these seven salient conditions; namely, 'Enacting Korean Ways' and 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. The process of Regaining Control was always situated within a scope of these structural contexts. Participants alternatively engaged in different contexts. Sometimes they were forced to engage in the specific context because of their inability to engage in another context. Sometimes they voluntarily opted for one of these contexts because the specific context had more benefits compared to another context. These structural contexts, of course, were intertwined and influenced each other to varying degrees so that it sometimes became difficult to separate one from the other.

The first context was 'Enacting Korean Ways'. Within this context, participants consciously employed traditional ways, merely interacting with a culturally familiar environment, in order to maintain the continuity of themselves in unfamiliar environments. The second context was 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. Within this context, participants were exposed to the new culture, leading to having a readiness to behave in New Zealand ways. By alternatively engaging in the two contexts, some participants eventually came to identify beneficial ways of Regaining Control over their lives.

A Structural Context: Enacting Korean Ways

In the beginning of the settlement process, conditions such as 'Language Barriers', 'Korean Enclave' and 'Ethnocentric Attitude', contributed to creating an environment in which Korean immigrants wished to maintain a strong attachment to their past knowledge and experience, '*I didn't know what to do here at all. It was hard to understand what was going on because I couldn't understand English*' (Carl). Their optimism soon disappeared as the reality they had to bear was harsher than expected. For many participants, re-establishing a home in New Zealand meant that they had to survive without much local knowledge and support. Subsequently some found themselves in a panic '*Recalling our early days in New Zealand, we found ourselves with nowhere to go. With young children … I didn't know how to live here*' (Marie).

In response to this situation, participants stayed in the structural context of 'Enacting Korean Ways', in which their culture of origin largely determined their behaviour. Within this context, participants were able to appreciate what behaviours were appropriate within particular settings. Through engaging in this context, participants mostly behaved in Korean ways using their previous knowledge and experience. Within this context, the main purpose participants aimed to achieve was to obtain a sense of safety in unfamiliar settings by mostly approaching the 'Korean Enclave' where they could easily find a haven of Korean-ness '*We could get almost all services we needed from the Korean Yellow pages. Whenever we needed something, we opened the Pages and found it in Korean*' (Clara).

For participants who experienced a great deal of stress related to being immersed in a new culture, such as being forced to speak English and adapting to new social norms, engaging in this context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' was possibly the only way to retain control in their lives by performing activities reflective of their Old World perspective with which they were familiar in Korea; for example, preparing traditional food, watching Korean TV programmes and reading Korean newspapers. Donna explained how her parents engaged in this context because of their limited local skills and networks, '*Because of their English and old age, it is much harder for them to go out and find daily activities in the community … They just stay home and watch Korean TV all day*'.

As Donna explained, engaging in this context meant that participants largely employed their Old World perspective and resources that they could understand and share, with regard to continuing with activities necessary for their survival. This also helped them to establish social relationships with other Koreans in an unfamiliar environment. Sue and Anne

voiced how they eased their loneliness by forming relationships within this context, '*We often met up with other Koreans to hangout, you know, a kind of eating and playing together. I also watched a lot of Korean videos at home*' (Sue) and '*We have dinner with Korean neighbours, almost once a week*' (Anne). As such, the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' meant that participants mostly interacted with their Old World although they physically lived in New Zealand.

Within this context, participants worked on finding an appropriate way to continue daily activities using their previous knowledge, while this often resulted in their past experience and ethnic resources determining those activities in New Zealand. For participants who lived a distance from the Korean Enclave, engaging in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' required an effort on their part to obtain ethnic resources, either from the Korean Enclave in a big city or from their home country '*I used to travel to City A to buy Korean groceries. You know, it is much cheaper*' (Asma) and '*My mother-in-law sends us Korean foods such as anchovy, salted fishes, and laver*' (Jill).

In the meantime, participants gradually gained familiarity with their new surroundings and obtained know-how with utilising local resources, which enabled them to continue their lifestyle. In this sense, for some participants, engaging in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' was necessary until they were ready to adapt to the New World perspective. For example, whereas in the past Asma would drive several hours to find ethnic resources, she now knew how she could modify local ingredients to prepare Korean food. For her, living in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' was initially crucial to continue her life in the unfamiliar environment, but it was temporary until she understood a way of connecting to the present environment:

> I don't go to City A often anymore as I have learnt how to cook Korean meals with local ingredients. For example, I know how I make '*Kimchi*' with local cabbages. And if we have a party, we often eat 'Samgyeopsal' (Korean style pork belly) but only frozen ones are available here and are expensive in Korean supermarkets. So we buy a big portion of pork belly from a local shop and slice it to make it similar to the Korean style. (Asma)

Some participants, of course, preferred to continue with activities within the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' regardless of their length of stay in New Zealand such as preparing meals or parenting, '*My family have Korean style meals three times a day, I mean, breakfast, lunch and dinner*' (Donna) and '*I am a Korean father to my daughters and also a Korean son to my parents at least in my home, I don't need to change this as long as we are happy with it at home*' (Jacob). In these cases, they often wished to behave in Korean ways by practicing

traditional values and preserving their language despite resultant disadvantages such as less opportunities to be involved in the community *'My uncle lived here for almost 10 years, but couldn't speak one word in English'* (Aaron).

Many participants, however, recognised disadvantages of engaging in this structural context and found themselves devalued and isolated from the host community, *'There was no difference if I stayed within the Korean community. It was just like living in an Island, being isolated from NZ mainstream society'* (Kevin). As a consequence, some participants began to move into a different context – 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. Asma explained how she felt devalued by her children whilst she stayed within the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways'. This experience motivated her to move to the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways':

> I quit my job at the Korean shop because there was no chance to learn or improve English. Since my children went to school, their English had improved much more than mine. My English hadn't improved much because I worked only for Koreans. When we went to the shops, I realised that my children started to be ashamed of my English. I told myself 'it isn't right'. I thought if I want to live here, I have to be fluent in English. You know I have to be competent in communicating in English. That was why I left my job and took a course to learn English for a while. (Asma)

For Kevin and Asma, this awakening moment encouraged them to find a way of being involved in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways', with a hope of 'Valuing Self' in New Zealand. In this sense, for many Korean immigrants, engaging in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' was a prerequisite to moving to the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'.

A Structural Context: Enacting New Zealand Ways

In this study, Korean immigrants usually preserved Korean ways of doing things until they gained familiarity with their new surroundings and culture. Some participants expected that they would learn how to behave in New Zealand ways as time went by only putting in a small effort. As noted previously, Marie explained how she expected to learn how to do things reflective of New Zealand ways, *'I imagined that if I could go to New Zealand … I would also speak English well sooner or later, maybe 1 year later because of living in an English speaking country'*.

Participants, however, realised that their full participation in the society would be impossible without making an effort to learn the New Zealand perspective whilst merely staying in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways'. In some cases, Korean immigrants had to

endure the disadvantageous results of behaving in Korean ways, such as stressful social relationships as they had done in Korea '*When I worked for a Korean company, it was a kind of psychological matter. You know, it was kind of ruining and draining my soul*' (Jacob). In this case, some participants began to seek an opportunity to engage in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. They made constant efforts to be involved in the community where they could minimise the resultant disadvantages of behaving in Korean ways, '*If I keep going in this way, I will be a sojourner here forever. I needed to find some way to be a part of society*' (Hanna).

For some participants, engaging in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' was not optional because ethnic resources were unavailable or limited, '*Sometimes I have to speak English such as when visiting the GP. In this case, I speak English because I can't avoid it*' (Marie). Although they were not ready to behave in New Zealand ways, participants, particularly those who had dependant family members, had to do their best to do things reflective of New Zealand perspectives to ensure the family's well-being. Hanna explained how she had to take a risk of making a mistake in order to prepare meals for her family without having enough local knowledge:

> Of course, I made a lot of mistakes because I didn't know the local products. For example, I bought a cream product with a strawberry picture on it. I presumed it might be strawberry flavoured milk. But it was a yogurt. It was just a small mistake. I mistakenly bought the wrong products. (Hanna)

Within this context, participants, in some cases, realised that their valued roles such as care-giving were restricted, as they were not competent to follow New Zealand ways, '*All I can do for her is to transport her*' (Sandra) and '*It was hard for my children to study at school because they didn't understand English. They were often upset. However, there was nothing I could do for them because I didn't speak English either*' (Ant). Nevertheless, participants did their best to engage in this context for the family's well-being '*When my daughter played netball, I couldn't fully support her because of my English. But I always prepared water bottles for the whole team*' (Marie). Donna also explained why she kept volunteering at her children's school despite her anxiety, '*I know the outcomes of this will be good for me and my children as I can closely observe how they are doing at school*'.

In this sense, having a dependant family encouraged Korean immigrants to behave in New Zealand ways. For example, they had to do the grocery shopping, arrange schooling and visit the GP within the community to ensure the family's well-being. As Kerry explained, many Korean immigrants started to learn how to get involved in the context of 'Enacting

New Zealand Ways' in the name of their family's well-being, and began to experience the benefits of this context:

> I attended a local kids club for my baby. There I met other Kiwi mothers. I sometimes talked to them but it was just a greeting … Anyway, it was still helpful to me because at least I met local people. Otherwise, I never had a chance to meet Kiwis. I could also learn some of the local culture because we had a party or made scones together. I could experience a little about how Kiwis live at the local kids club. (Kerry)

The timing of when participants began to engage in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' varied. Some had to engage in this context immediately although they were not ready to adapt to things reflective of New Zealand perspectives. Some participants decided to engage in this context after they experienced resultant disadvantages of living in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways'.

As a way of engaging in this context, participants often chose study, volunteering and work in the host community wherein they could meet their new neighbours and learn about the society, *'I chose this subject because this course provides a broad knowledge of society … I expected that I could learn how this society runs through this course'* (Sandra) and *'Through volunteering at school, I learnt that understanding their culture is more important than English. You know, I came to understand what many Kiwi parents think'* (Donna).

Korean immigrants, however, found this challenging, associated with conditions such as 'Language Barriers' and 'Ethnocentric Attitude'. For example, when participants engaged in their children's school, they often felt anxious because of their language barriers, *'At the school interview, the only thing I could do was smile. I felt ashamed and hesitated to talk to the teachers'* (Asma) and *'Teachers sometimes speak fast. I used to pretend I could understand them'* (Carl). In response, participants later invented a way to ease language barriers such as double checking, *'If I didn't understand what teachers said to me, my children explained what they said. I asked the teachers to slow down and say it again'* (Carl), attending physical activity, *'Of course, the language barrier is always my concern. This is why I chose to help at the Library or Art class which doesn't require a high level of English skill'* (Donna), or using visual materials *'When I was a parent teacher in class for one hour … Because of language barriers, I prepared only a basic conversation but provided a lot of traditional Korean physical activities'* (Asma).

In addition, the anxiety from engaging in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' appeared to diminish when they experienced support from a non-judgemental attitude. For example, rather than judging her language skills, Lucia's midwife did her best to

communicate with her. This experience helped her to gain the confidence to meet her midwife without her husband's presence:

> I used to meet my midwife with my husband. I was worried about being embarrassed if I didn't understand her. My husband accompanied me several times … As our meetings happened regularly, she came to realise that I didn't speak English well. She tried to understand me. She even used body language when I didn't understand her. (Lucia)

Another example was Asma's daughter's teachers. They encouraged her to engage in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' by celebrating her trans-nationality. This experience later contributed to her finding a place where she hoped to value herself by celebrating diversity in society. In this sense, how participants lived in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' was significantly determined by a level of societal attitude towards Korean immigrants:

> My daughters' teachers encouraged me a lot. They didn't look down on me. They said "don't be shy of your English. It is your second language. You are better than us because we speak only English". Since then, I changed my mind. I tried to participate in school as much as possible, such as at the school gala with other Korean mums and putting stickers on books at the library. (Asma)

In some instances, staying in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' was the participants' first priority when they settled. With conditions, such as having fluent language skills and 'Existing Networks', some participants easily mastered their physical surroundings and found fewer reasons to stay in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways', *'My settlement wasn't too hard because my family already lived here. Because of them, I could prepare my study whilst still in Korea and immediately started a course at University'* (Mike). Judy, who had a sister living in New Zealand, explained how she valued living in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' to be a part of the community; hence, she intentionally avoided staying in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways':

> When I first came here, I didn't attend Korean church. I thought if I came to a foreign country, I had to know the local community. Otherwise, why did I come here? I mean if I wanted to live only with other Koreans, I would have stayed in Korea … I didn't want to live only within the Korean community. You know, I came to a foreign country. This meant I had to get out of my comfort zone. Otherwise why I am here? That is why I attended a local church. (Judy)

The outcomes of engaging in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' were significant. Participants who chose to be involved in this context were more likely to learn their new world perspectives through directly interacting with the community. For example, Mike

learnt about the local culture through interacting with other Kiwi parents *'Through those contacts, there were a lot of opportunities to understand their culture'*. Donna was able to get to know the local culture through newly established networks with local people through attending community programmes, *'Because I had attended the community programmes for 2 years, I learnt how to understand their culture'*. Sandra also explained how she came to know her community through a network she built at her workplace *'When I worked, I learnt how to interact with others. I also met many nice people there. So I could get information about the community from them'*.

By engaging in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways', Korean immigrants could have more opportunities to interact with the host community. Through this, they were able to establish their own networks outside of their ethnic community. These experiences and networks enabled them to appreciate the appropriateness of their new society. For many participants, engaging in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' was a pathway to Knowing their Present.

Summary

This chapter explains the salient conditions; 'Minimum Expectations for a New Life', 'Sugar Coated World', 'Language Barriers', 'Ethnocentric Attitude', 'Confucianism', 'Existing Networks', and 'Korean Enclave'. These salient conditions were almost always connected to each other and formed the structural contexts of 'Enacting Korean Ways' and 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. By alternatively engaging in one of these contexts, Korean immigrants sought beneficial ways with regard to 'Regaining Control' over their lives in New Zealand.

In Chapter Eight, I will present the core process of this study – 'Regaining Control', and explain its sub-processes – 'Being a Tightrope Walker' and 'Making a Commitment' with associated strategies within different structural contexts.

Chapter Eight: RESEARCH FINDINGS – PART III

In this chapter, I present the core process of this study: A process of Regaining Control. This process accounts for a basic social process in which participants engage over time whilst they settle in New Zealand. Then, I explain its sub-processes that constitute participants' action/interactional mechanisms for carrying out the core process. Under each of the sub-processes, participants employ different strategies that delineate how the sub-processes are actually carried out within different contexts.

This chapter includes three sections. In the first section, I will present the process of Regaining Control. In the second section, I will explain the sub-processes of Regaining Control: 'Being a Tightrope Walker' and 'Making a Commitment'. In the third section, I will discuss strategies with which Korean immigrants engage in each sub-processes whilst interacting with different structural contexts: 'Recycling the Old-me', 'Prioritising', 'Keeping Silent', 'Searching for Alternatives', 'Constant Experimenting' and 'Hanging on'.

Core Process: A Process of Regaining Control

The term 'Regaining Control' encapsulates on-going actions undertaken by participants in response to situations despite the fact that conditions vary over time. Given the fact that 'Valuing Self' is indicative of the purpose of Korean immigrants' settlement in New Zealand, a process of Regaining Control can be described as a means of achieving this goal. Korean immigrants constantly engage in this core process with the associated sub-processes, through the interplay of their Old World and New World perspective.

The interplay between two world perspectives, Korea and New Zealand, means that participants have to achieve a balance in relation to regaining control over activities within multiple interrelated structural dimensions of these Two Worlds, leading to dynamic modifications of their performance of activities on a daily basis. This process is conceptualised as **'Regaining Control through the Interplay of Two Worlds'**, and significantly impacts upon the availability, probability and predictability of activities for individual Korean immigrants. It is diagrammatically depicted in Figure 8.
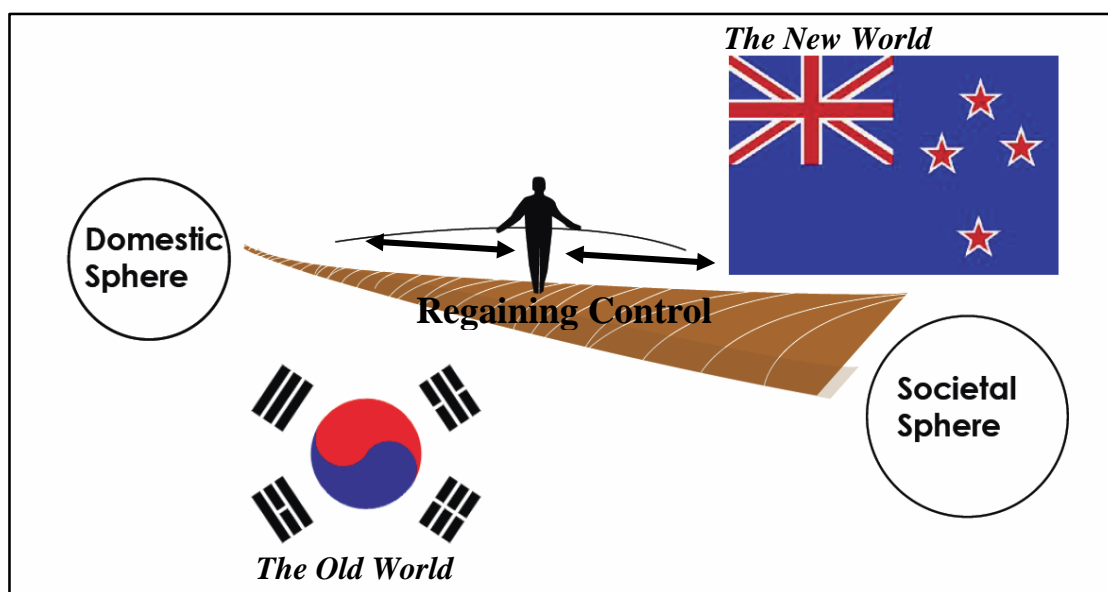
Figure 8. Regaining Control through the Interplay of Two Worlds

'Regaining Control' is a constant process that requires cognitive efforts to perform daily activities in relation to continuing their lives in New Zealand. It is a journey of finding the best way to perform daily activities through opting for the most promising perspective from Two Worlds.

The ability to perform those activities exists within the dynamic relationship between the participants and particular contexts. Participants bring elements of both worlds, of being both a Korean immigrant and a New Zealand resident, into daily activities that they have to perform within their daily living. The process of Regaining Control, through the interplay of Two Worlds, is an on-going, possibly never ending process, as humans' needs, values and priorities continually change according to their stage of life and changing external circumstances.

In the development of this core process of Regaining Control, the word 'Regain' is defined as 'to get again; recover; to succeed in reaching again; get back to' (Oxford Dictionary, 2009). It is a deliberate action which participants take in response to situations, through the interplay of Two Worlds by abandoning, maintaining, learning, adopting, modifying, avoiding and blending, all of which are considered useful in performing activities. The word 'Control' is an object to the action. In this core process, the focus of action is on control of the things they do; that is, retaining autonomy by having the ability to make an informed and un-coerced decision. The word 'Interplay' is the movement in which participants make a decision about activities and how to perform those activities. It is a participant's selective action and re-action influenced by his/her experiences, needs, beliefs

and skills, interacting within a broader context. The outcomes of the movement, therefore, can be subjective depending upon how the participant defines it, and the meanings that he/she gives those situations.

In the context of this study, 'Two Worlds' is described as a participant's choices of behaving in either Korean or New Zealand ways. The word 'World' consists of 'culture' and 'space'. Firstly, culture is not limited to traditions or customs, rather culture is the setting in which individuals grow and develop. Accordingly, culture is highly correlated with a person's thoughts, behaviour, and decision-making as well as how they define the situation. Culture, therefore, determines the value and acceptability of particular activities. Secondly, space is not only limited to spatial dimension but also to spatial clusters which provide positive opportunities for increased chances of doing activities. Spatial dimension means a location where participants hope to regain control in activities such as those common in domestic and societal domains. Spatial clusters are defined as a source of resources within which Korean immigrants endeavour to 'Regain Control'; hence, spatial clusters influence participants' choices of the specific activities and ways of engaging in those activities.

In the subsequent discussion, I will explain each dimension of the process of Regaining Control. Each dimension exists in an intricate and delicate relationship with the others. Indeed, focusing upon one aspect in isolation is problematic and not advisable in order to adequately understand the process of Regaining Control.

The Old World: Being a Korean

Immigrating from one culture to another presents an immediate challenge to participants' cultural traditions and worldview. Participants encountered different social norms of the receiving society. They had to consciously find ways of being reflective of those norms, to manage the impression they sought to make in their new home. Additionally, as immigration alters the structure of the social network of individuals, everyday interaction and routines undertaken in their previous homes were disrupted or perhaps no longer available in desired ways.

As a result, challenges inevitably occurred on a daily basis with regard to continuing their lives in both home and community. Participants often found engaging in activities, which were necessary to continue life, beyond their control. They were not aware of the appropriateness of specific behaviours within particular settings in New Zealand. This contributed to a loss of autonomy when they had to perform specific activities, which led to

the lowering of the quality of their lives. In response to this situation, participants tended to utilise their previous knowledge and skills in continuing daily activities. Because of their limited control over their new environment, participants consciously decided to be Korean and concurrently behaved in Korean ways, in relation to the continuity of their lives in a new country.

From this regard, the Old World largely determined the kinds of activities that were expected of people and the role dimensions that underlie them; thereby, strongly influencing the way of engaging in daily activities. The Old World was a prerequisite to maintaining a sense of internal and external continuity in the beginning of their settlement. To retain internal continuity, participants used their familiar skills such as eating Korean foods, reading Korean books, listening to Korean music, and preserving the Korean language. To maintain external continuity, they often associated with people who shared the same culture whilst seeking a culturally familiar environment.

The Old World was crucial, particularly if participants did not possess enough knowledge and skills to perform necessary activities that facilitate living a satisfactory life in their new country. Within the Old World dimension, there are three significant elements; 'Confucianism', 'the History of the Korean Community', and 'the Korean Enclave'. The elements of the Old World are depicted in figure 9.
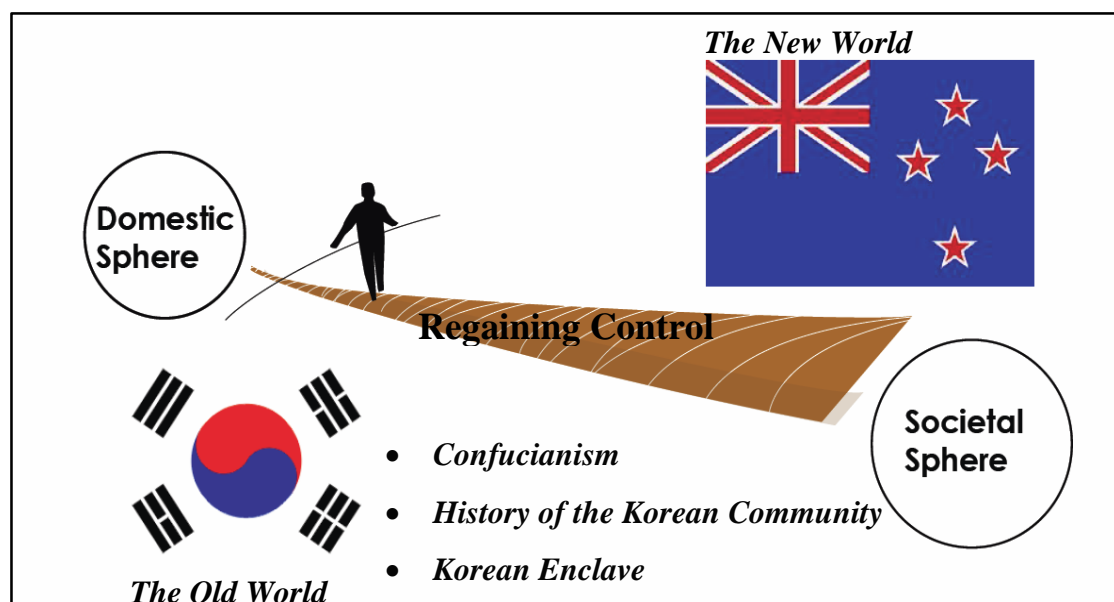
Figure 9. Regaining Control through the Old World

The value of 'Confucianism' appeared to be outstanding when participants chose to engage in activities. It is a moral philosophy that emphasises subordination of the individual to the

family. As discussed in Chapter Seven, for many Korean immigrants, 'Confucianism' guided the conditions of their existence including the gender division of labour, a hierarchical and authoritarian family system, and the value of filial piety. Influenced by this belief, participants defined their social roles and took actions in order to fulfil those roles. 'Confucianism', therefore, significantly influenced the value and acceptability of particular activities and determined participants' choices of activities. It is the principle of giving the family priority over each individual in it; that is, the family's well-being remained the cornerstone of all types of their activities whilst they settled in a new environment.

In this study, participants reported that particular activity-related responsibilities came about as a direct result of the basic philosophy of Confucianism. For example, the core value of Confucianism is to properly fulfil one's family obligations, and the concept of 'breadwinner' is usually expected to be met by males as opposed to that of parenting which is traditionally regarded as the mother's activity in Korea. Accordingly, male Korean immigrants who had a dependent family tended to find employment immediately regardless of their readiness to do so, often leading to them finding a job within the Korean Enclave, where their previous knowledge was still recognisable. Conversely, female Korean immigrants who had dependent children were more likely to approach New Zealand society than the women who came alone, and perhaps found themselves pressured into performing activities with regard to parenting immediately although they did not yet have any proper knowledge. As such, every participant had a spiritual aspect which determined what was valued and meaningful to them; hence, this aspect provided the foundation for the perceived purpose of the specific activities.

A second aspect of the Old World is 'the History of the Korean Community' in New Zealand. Their history is relatively short, as many Korean immigrants have lived here for less than two decades. There were two negative consequences to having a short history in New Zealand. Firstly, the majority of participants were first-generation who were monolingual and spent a considerable part of their lives in one culture and as a consequence, they held a strong attachment to their own culture. Secondly, the Korean community has not yet established its own social networks. This has resulted in limited information and support being available within the Korean community. Indeed, many participants reported that they had to find solutions to performing daily activities with limited social capital.

A third aspect of the Old World is the 'Korean Enclave' where almost all services can be delivered in Korean. Given that Korean immigrants had a limited ability to do things reflective of the host society, the 'Korean Enclave' provides spaces and ethnic resources,

helping participants to retain control in performing specific activities such as grocery shopping, hairdressing, dining-out, and employment. The 'Korean Enclave' is a place where participants felt that they actively participated in the community and attained personal fulfilment. The 'Korean Enclave' is, therefore, a critical part of the Old World whereby participants can be Korean, holding onto their traditions and values, to continue their lives.

Additionally, the 'Korean Enclave' provided a pathway to integration into society. For example, ethnic business provided apprenticeships where participants could demonstrate their potential using their previous credentials. Networks within the Korean community supported the development of trading niches unavailable to mainstream entrepreneurs. Some organisations within the Korean community arranged workshops where participants learnt about the existing systems of the receiving society, such as 'Korean Health Days' and 'Workshops for Jobseekers'. In doing so, the 'Korean Enclave' contributed to Korean immigrants moving into the New World. Within this dimension, participants gathered to share information and support each other, initially to survive and later to find a way to be involved in the host community.

Korean immigrants, however, may encounter negative consequences of the Old World. Firstly, there was less opportunity for them to develop the host-country language which is critical for performing activities reflective of New Zealand society, as English was not typically spoken in the Old World dimension. Secondly, as the 'Korean Enclave' served almost all of the Korean immigrants' needs, participants may have had less motivation to approach the host community. Within the Old World, participants largely continued with their lives using the traditional knowledge they brought into New Zealand; hence, fewer opportunities were available for them to learn about what they needed to change in order to reflect their present situations. This aspect of the Old World dimension often orients Korean immigrants towards being a Korean in New Zealand.

The New World: Being a New Zealand resident

In this study, the New World is identified as a destination at which many Korean immigrants desire to arrive, endeavouring to commit to a process of Regaining Control for the purpose of Valuing Self. Whilst participants maintained a sense of safety within the Old World, they were exposed to and gradually became ready to adapt to different social norms and behaviours that fitted into the New World. This helped some Korean immigrants to gain familiarity with their new community and to establish their own networks with the host

society. Through this experience, many participants eventually defined the New World as an ideal location wherein they hoped to find a place where they could value themselves.

To make their presence acceptable and recognisable within the New World, participants had to understand what behaviours and performances were appropriate within particular settings. To gain this knowledge, continual interaction with the receiving community was necessary, strongly influenced by the country's characteristics such as the societal attitude toward immigrants and the nature of social supports within the New World dimension. The key elements of the New World are 'the British Dominant Society', 'the Ethnocentric Attitude', and 'the Formation of a Multi-cultural Society'. These elements impacted both positively and negatively upon the process of Regaining Control. The elements of the New World dimension are depicted in Figure 10.
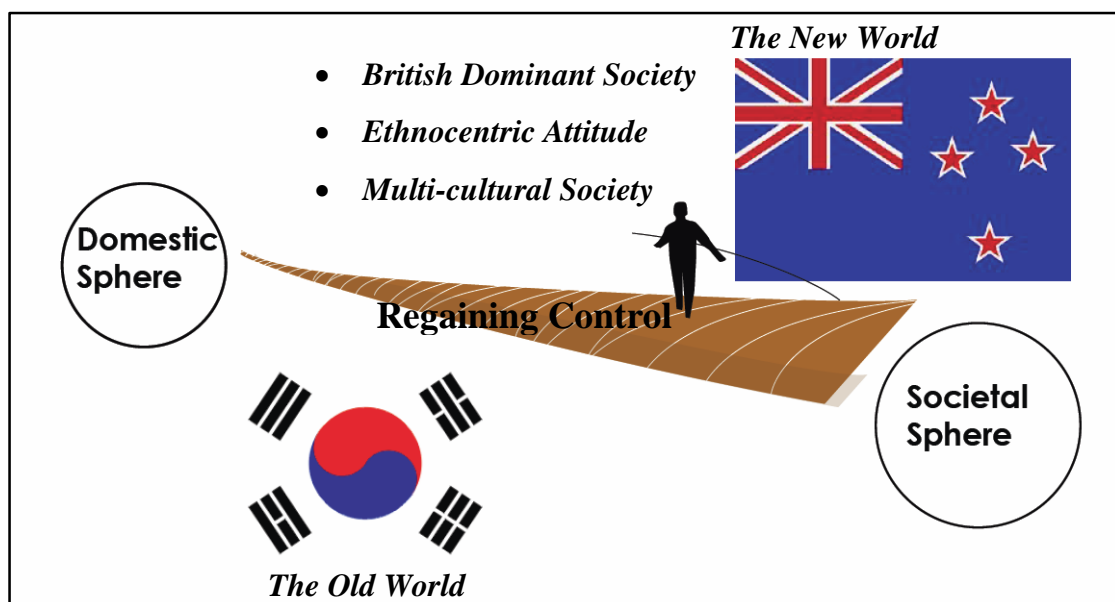
Figure 10. Regaining Control through the New World

The first feature of the New World dimension is 'the British Dominant Society'. As detailed in Chapter Two, the signing of the Treaty in 1840 fundamentally contributed to making New Zealand the Britain in the Pacific Ocean. The entry into New Zealand for Asian immigrants has been determined by the British majority's interests. As a consequence, power imbalance and institutional racism have existed towards Asian immigrants in New Zealand from the beginning of their arrival. Despite anti-discrimination legislation, equal treatment for all its residents regardless of ethnicity is not yet in place. This is a challenge for Korean immigrants who wish to maintain their traditional values. In this study, as members of a minority group, participants revealed that they had to work on 'Regaining Control' in situations where their

traditions were often judged negatively by the British majority whilst learning and adapting to the host culture.

Another feature of the New World dimension is 'the Ethnocentric Attitude'. The term 'ethno centrism' is a specific expression in the form of Anglo-New Zealand nationalism; that is, a sense of 'otherness' when encountering people of different ethnic origins. In Chapter Two, it is suggested that New Zealand was not a country which embraced people from all over the world with alacrity. There were not many available opportunities for New Zealanders to be exposed to others' cultures in the history of New Zealand. The result is likely to be a fragmented knowledge of others' culture. There are dangers in people making comparisons with how people in other cultures might behave based on assumptions derived from their own perceptions of British-ness. This has contributed to the fact that many New Zealanders may be ignorant or less tolerant towards cultural differences.

These pervasive societal attitudes have a profound effect on how Korean immigrants view themselves and are viewed by others. It is assumed, until proven otherwise, that Koreans' responses, thoughts, opinions and life experiences will have little in common with those of New Zealanders. For example, the 'Ethnocentric Attitude' expressed by New Zealanders often contributed to participants' life experience being underestimated or rejected. Their foreign credentials were rarely recognised here until proven in English. Such experiences produced avoidance of social interaction with members of the New Zealand public and a high level of ethnic attachment; this has an adverse impact on the process of Regaining Control.

'Multi-cultural society' is a positive aspect of the New World dimension. In this multi-cultural society, it is acknowledged that celebrating ethnic diversity would help New Zealand to move forward culturally, economically, and socially. The benefits of ethnic diversity have been gradually recognised for national prosperity. Concurrently, the government has begun to ensure a responsiveness to ethnic immigrants' cultural needs and support them to find a place for their culture within New Zealand society.

'Multi-cultural society' can be supportive for Korean immigrants in the process of Regaining Control over their lives, as other members of society come to appreciate the importance of engaging in activities within the Korean culture. This will be a support for Korean immigrants in integrating into their new home country without fear of being assimilated. Based on multiculturalism, Korean immigrants expect to receive equal respect when they perform activities according to their traditions and values. However, the promise of a 'Multi-cultural society' has not spread nationwide. Progress towards building

relationships between ethnic and mainstream communities has differed significantly nationwide. This study has found that there were noticeable differences in being free to express cultural identities in City A, City B, and City C, adversely affecting the process of Regaining Control.

The Domestic Sphere

The 'Domestic Sphere' refers to locations wherein Korean immigrants hoped to maintain control by mostly employing their traditions. Within this sphere, Korean immigrants sustained the continuity of themselves by preserving familiar things such as language, food, and traditional values. This was a place whereby they were freely able to express their old identity without fear of making mistakes or attracting judgement by others. As Korean immigrants were already familiar with ways of performing within the 'Domestic Sphere', there was a high likelihood for them to retain autonomy within this sphere.

Additionally, Korean immigrants began to adjust themselves to a new environment while they worked on 'Regaining Control' within this sphere. In many cases, Korean immigrants used the 'Domestic Sphere' as a stepping stone to gain mastery in their new environment. This sphere was a starting point for many participants in learning how to perform activities reflective of New Zealand society. This sphere is, therefore, a critical element in adjusting to new surroundings. Its key component is 'the home' and is pictured in Figure 11.
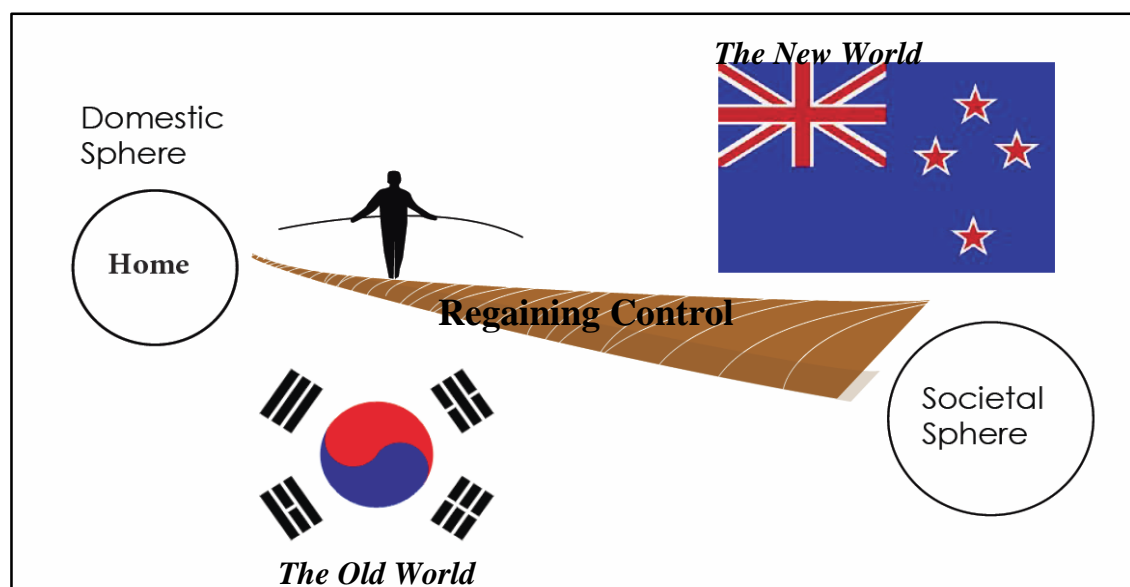
Figure 11. Regaining Control – The Domestic Sphere

The home is a primary social institution that plays a central role in securing a livelihood for individuals throughout the life cycle, meeting individuals' affective needs and serving as a primary arena of socialisation and identity formation. The home is an important and meaningful place of shelter for many Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand. It is a place in which participants are able to preserve their cultural identity. It is within the home that they can hold a sense of control without concern of societal judgement. The key feature of the home, therefore, is the sense of cultural identity and safety.

Within the home, participants largely interacted with the Old World. For instance, they spoke only Korean at home, to avoid language difficulties and ensure that their offspring continued to be exposed to their traditions. Participants had Korean meals on a daily basis, and imported ethnic products from Korea such as clothes, cosmetics, and steam rice cookers. Some participants used modern technology, including 070 Internet phones or Skype, to stay connected to their family and friends in Korea. Another example was that participants watched Korean TV programmes, using a high speed internet or through Freeview channels, to receive information about their home country and ease their loneliness. Within the home, they could repeat their previous lifestyle again as they had in Korea.

The home was possibly the only place where Korean immigrants were able to maintain full control in doing things reflective of their cultural traditions. Yet, in the settlement process, the family members inevitably underwent changes because they were continually exposed to the New World outside the home such as work or school. The progress of family members' adaptation unavoidably differed depending on the individual's situation. For example, school-aged children may be exposed to the New World more than their parents who stayed in the Korean Enclave to earn their living. As a result, within the home, there were issues regarding changing options, modes of negotiation, and tension and power shifts for its members based on family members' respective progress of adaptation.

The Societal Sphere

In this study, New Zealand society is a location where participants were willing to participate and establish a new life. Although challenges existed because of discrepancies between new cultural demands and traditional roles, the majority of participants identified the society as a place where they desired to make a contribution and subsequently be recognised as fellow members of society again. In other words, participants wished to find a place whereby they

valued themselves within the 'Societal Sphere'. Within the 'Societal Sphere', the key component is 'community' and is depicted in figure 12.
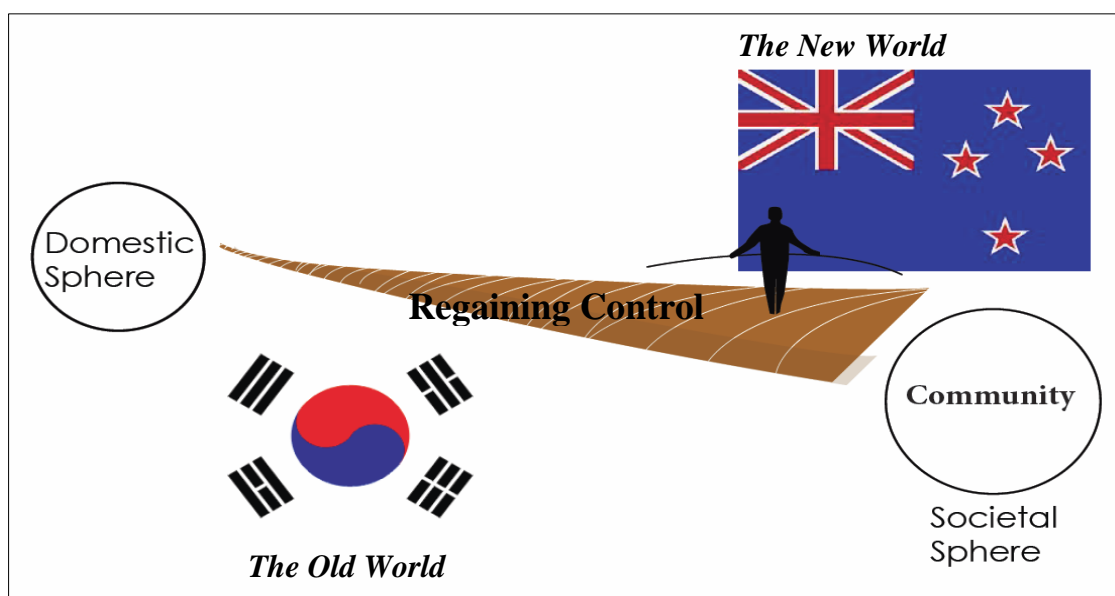
Figure 12. Regaining Control – The Societal Sphere

The community is a social unit of society. Dictionary definitions of 'community' include a geographical district as well as the people within the neighbourhood (Oxford Dictionary, 2009). It is a place where people interact and share a populated environment. Accordingly, within the community, there are numbers of groups such as schools, churches, sport clubs, workplaces and hospitals. In this way, the community characteristics are strongly associated with the experiences of Korean immigrants while they interact with its members.

Participants defined the community as an ideal place to be involved and create new networks. Accordingly, they constantly worked on being involved in the community with the purpose of having their presence recognised through making a contribution. Yet, as I have already presented in this current chapter, British-ness was largely structured into the way in which social institutions operated within the community, often disrupting participants' involvement in the host community. For instance, a high level of English skills was required in the host community. This resulted in some participants feeling unwelcomed because of their limited English skills and they were less informed about the availability of community resources because information was often only available in English.

Another example is regulations which demand fluent English skills such as the Health Practitioners Competence Assurance Act. These regulations limit the Korean immigrants who had previous knowledge and experience in the same fields in New Zealand such as nursing,

teaching, and social work. As such, in many cases, this feature of the host community determined the level of involvement of Korean immigrants. Nevertheless, participants reported that the host community was a destination where they wished to be accepted and valued through a process of Regaining Control using all of their strengths available from both world perspectives.

I have elaborated on four dimensions of Regaining Control; the Old World, the New World, the Domestic Sphere, and the Societal Sphere. Participants constantly shift in and out of these four dimensions through opting for the most promising dimension in order to regain control over their lives. These dimensions provide the setting in which participants engage in sub-processes for carrying out the process of Regaining Control.

The process of Regaining Control is comprised of two major sub-processes namely 'Being a Tightrope Walker' and 'Making a Commitment'. These sub-processes indicate how participants adjust their actions to stay aligned with the flow of the core process. Under each of the sub-processes, participants employ different strategies which explain how the sub-processes are actually carried out within different structural contexts; 'Recycling the Old-me', 'Prioritising', 'Keeping Silent' under a structural context of 'Enacting Korean Ways', and 'Searching for Alternatives', 'Constant Experimenting', 'Hanging on' under a structural context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. Figure 13 illustrates how participants engage in the sub-processes of Regaining Control – 'Being a Tightrope Walker' and 'Making a Commitment', with different strategies within each structural context.
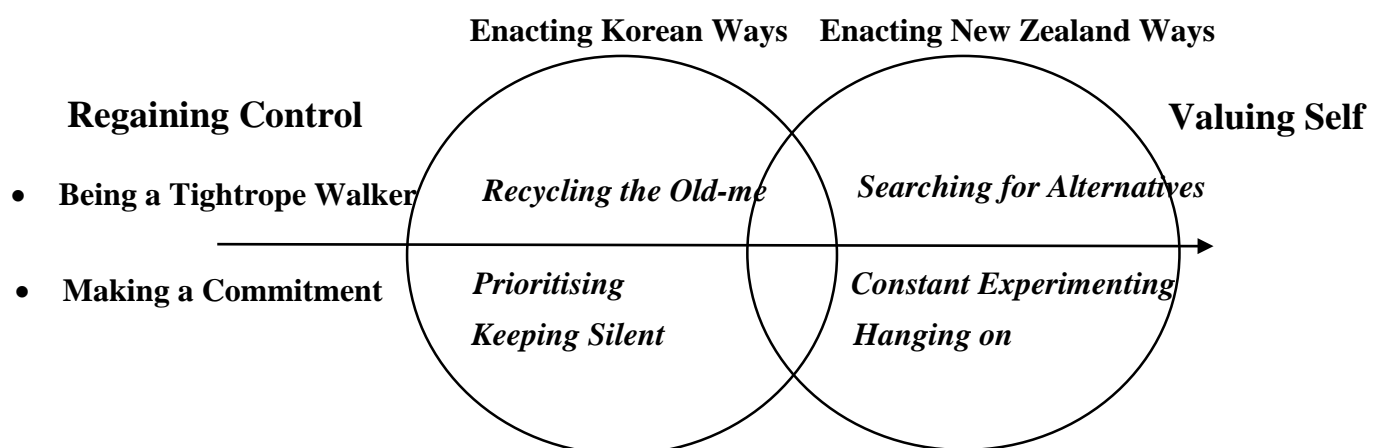
Figure 13. Sub-processes of Regaining Control and its strategies

Sub-processes of Regaining Control

Two sets of sub-processes comprise the process of Regaining Control. The first sub-process is 'Being a Tightrope Walker'. This sub-process means that participants consciously move in and out of different aspects of each culture with regard to performing activities which are necessary to continue their lives in New Zealand. The second sub-process is 'Making a Commitment'. This sub-process delineates how participants engage in the process of Regaining Control by making their best efforts, based on their assessment of self-efficacy. These sub-processes are detailed in Table 3.

Table 3

Sub-processes of Regaining Control

Core Process	Sub-process	Strategies
Regaining Control	Being a Tightrope Walker	Recycling the Old-me, Searching for Alternatives
	Making a Commitment	Prioritising, Keeping Silent Constant Experimenting, Hanging on

Sub-process I: Being a Tightrope Walker

Upon arrival, participants recounted that they gave of their best in order to be familiar with their new surroundings as well as new home perspectives. Coming to New Zealand, however, did not mean that they easily started to adjust themselves according to a new culture. Challenges occurred on a daily basis when they adapted to their new lifestyle. A level of anxiety existed, as many things were different from their expectations, '*I felt stuck in a dark hole'* (Marie). Ruth explained her feelings of frustration after she realised that the reality of this country differed greatly from her expectations, '*Everything was different from what I expected in Korea. I didn't know where to start'* (Ruth).

The key point of this sub-process, therefore, was that Korean immigrants consciously sought all available resources from their Past and Present, to sustain their lives in New Zealand. In this way, 'Being a Tightrope Walker' refers to opting for Korean ways or New Zealand ways with regard to 'Regaining Control' in their new environment. As 'Tightrope Walkers', participants indicated that they initially preferred to use Korean ways to continue their lives. Accordingly, their old cultural values and previous knowledge dominated what

they did and how they behaved in New Zealand. For many Korean immigrants, it seemed to be an inevitable choice because of their insufficient local knowledge. Asma used a metaphor of licking the surface of a water melon when she explained how unaware she was of New Zealand society, *'I didn't even know where New Zealand was and who Kiwis were. I just searched for the necessary information for 2 weeks before I came here. It was kind of like licking the surface of a water melon'*.

At this stage, many participants consciously sought places and resources which related to their Old World perspective, often leading them to the Korean Enclave where they fully expressed themselves and easily understood others' behaviours. Some participants made an effort to keep in touch with their homeland to import ethnic resources *'My family regularly sends Korean foods such as anchovy, salted fishes, and laver'* (Sue). Kerry and Jill explained that they used a Korean hair salon because they were able to fully express themselves, *'I use a Korean hair salon because I can communicate and understand them 100%'* (Kerry).

> I don't go local hair dressers because of language barriers. It is not easy to explain what I want in detail. It is hard to express subtlety. For example, if I dye my hair brown, it is very hard to explain how I want my hair brown. You know, sometimes it's too dark or too bright ... You can't expect the best result when you use a local hair salon. For this reason, I normally visit a Korean hair salon. I can easily and fully explain exactly what I want if I go there. (Jill)

While they felt safe in undertaking necessary activities within the Old World dimensions, participants indicated that they were trying localised ways of doing things. As 'Tightrope Walkers', participants began to experiment with New Zealand ways after self-assessment of their effectiveness, or encountering difficulties in performing specific activities in Korean ways, *'I go to a local barbershop because we don't have a Korean shop in City C'* (Simon). Donna, who used to import ethnic resources from Korea, illuminated how she gradually learnt about local ways to prepare meals for her family:

> For the first two years, I really missed some of the Korean foods. I often asked my mum to send them from Korea. But now … I have come to know the local ingredients, and I have learnt how to make Korean foods with these local ingredients. Actually, it is much easier to make Korean foods with local ingredients than wait for food parcels to arrive from Korea. (Donna)

As Donna explained, knowing their Present meant that Korean immigrants did not have to enact Korean ways anymore. They came to appreciate how to behave reflective of New Zealand society in particular settings. At this time, participants reported that they gained the ability to make a balance between the Old World and New World in relation to 'Regaining

Control' in their lives in New Zealand. Korean immigrants reached a point where they did not have to adhere only to their past knowledge whilst they continued their lives in the present environment.

In this study, however, participants also reported that they did not recklessly follow new cultural perspectives by abandoning their old world perspectives. Instead, in many cases, they learnt how to traverse 'Korean ways' and 'New Zealand ways' in relation to 'Regaining Control' as there were merits and demerits of each world. In other words, Korean immigrants engaged in a process of 'Being a Tightrope Walker', to obtain the best possible outcomes in doing things from either their Old World or New World perspective. Mike explained how he opted for two different world perspectives on a daily basis in order to continue his life in New Zealand, as described below:

> Here in New Zealand, I have to choose between being a Korean or a New Zealander several times a day. When I go home, I am Korean. I am a Korean father to my children, a Korean husband to my wife, and also a Korean son to my parents. But, when I go to work, I have to be a Kiwi and behave just like them. (Mike)

From this regard, the process of 'Being a Tightrope Walker' was not a dichotomous choice. Rather, it was a deliberate action employed by many Korean immigrants until they had gained an accumulation of knowledge, which ensured that they would not fall off one side and become isolated from the other world.

Sub-process II: Making a Commitment

A second sub-process which Korean immigrants undertook as part of 'Regaining Control' involved 'Making a Commitment'. This sub-process depicts how participants took responsibility for their lives by putting in their best effort in relation to the process of Regaining Control. Their level of 'Making a Commitment' depended on the individual participant's willingness, abilities and circumstances including skills, knowledge, networks, and personal motivation. Participants, therefore, engaged in this sub-process with an attitude of being an active responder or observer based on his or her ability to perform activities in specific situations.

In this study, the domains wherein participants worked to 'Make a Commitment' largely depended on what world perspective they were working from. At the beginning of their settlement, participants seemed to identify domains wherein they hoped to 'Make a Commitment' based on their cultural belief in which the sexual division of labour exists in

the family. For example, a father might 'Make a Commitment' to find employment in order to fulfil his responsibility as the breadwinner of his family, *'I was desperate to find employment. I told myself I can do whatever to make money to support my family'* (Carl). Alternatively, a mother might 'Make a Commitment' to looking after the family as part of fulfilling her responsibility, *'As a mother, I want to know the school system here … Whenever I meet Korean students at church, I ask them what they learn. I already learnt how to make a lunch order. I am preparing this for my baby'* (Lucia). As such, at the beginning of their settlement, many participants chose domains of 'Making a Commitment' in the home, in a name of the family's well-being.

Through being exposed to the New Zealand perspective, some Korean immigrants reported that they had opportunities to 'Make a Commitment' beyond the home. Some participants began to demonstrate their willingness to 'Make a Commitment' within the community, for the purpose of valuing themselves as members of New Zealand society. Mike chose a domain wherein he hoped to 'Make a Commitment' in a local school, as he wished to contribute to this country, *'I helped at my children's school event. I picked up rubbish and cleaned the grounds. It was a small job but I felt great because I found something I could do for others in this society'*. In this case, if participants experienced supportive or affable attitudes from others, they were likely to be active in the process of 'Making a Commitment'. Marie explained how her classmates' support encouraged her to make a commitment to study, *'Whenever I felt down, they encouraged me a lot, saying 'you can do it' … They helped me a lot both practically and psychologically'* (Marie).

However, some participants were not as lucky as Marie. Korean immigrants recounted that their insufficient language skills and locals' prejudices often hindered them from finding a place wherein they hoped to 'Make a Commitment' beyond the home, *'To find a volunteer job, I visited the local CAB to get some information but it wasn't easy to be a volunteer because they required English skills'* (Hanna). Judy explained how her husband was treated unfairly whilst he made a commitment to work because of his ethnic minority status, *'My husband works at a local café. He was sometimes treated unfairly but didn't complain. If he complained, he wouldn't get a reference there. Without it, it is hard to get a job as an immigrant'*. Ruth also disclosed her experience of encountering staff members' prejudiced attitudes when she made a commitment to perform her job at the local rest-home:

> I have too many examples of episodes of when she bullied me. For example, she always followed me to monitor my performance. She wasn't my manager. She was just staff just like me. If she found that I worked a little differently

from what she thought, she often told me off, 'why did you do this or you shouldn't do this'. She didn't give me a chance to explain. (Ruth)

As a result, there were times when participants were passively dedicated to this sub-process of 'Making a Commitment'. Some participants became reluctant to take responsibility for specific activities. They often relied on others' assistance and support by using their language barriers as an excuse, *'My wife feels easily tired when she handles paper work in English. She doesn't want to do those things, saying it is too stressful'* (Carl). In other words, some participants deliberately chose this passive stance when they had to 'Make a Commitment', in order to avoid difficulties and hassles. Jill, because of her limited English, hesitated to 'Make a Commitment' to continue her domestic roles such as checking children's school reports and paying bills, leading to role negotiations with her husband, *'My husband did almost everything regarding English such as school, bank or taxes. I was reluctant to do those things because I was scared of making mistakes in English'*.

In this study, 'Being a Tightrope Walker' and 'Making a Commitment' were identified as major sub-processes of Regaining Control. Participants constantly engaged in these sub-processes, in order to stay aligned with the process of Regaining Control. In the meantime, these sub-processes appeared in different ways within the different structural contexts – 'Enacting Korean Ways' and 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. Each sub-process, therefore, included the associated strategies that explained how participants actually responded to the situation in which they found themselves. In the next section, I will discuss each of these strategies.

Strategies

As noted above, a strategy refers to participants' actions/interactions that occur over time and space, changing or sometimes remaining the same in response to the context. Under each sub-process, different strategies were employed such as 'Recycling the Old-me', 'Prioritising', 'Keeping Silent', 'Searching for Alternatives', 'Constant Experimenting', and 'Hanging on', depending on which structural context participants located themselves in.

Strategies under a Structural Context of Enacting Korean Ways

At the beginning of their settlement, behaving in Korean ways might be the only option available for many Korean immigrants who came to New Zealand without proper

preparation. Accordingly, they engaged in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' and used different strategies depending on their ability and situational conditions in relation to 'Regaining Control' over their lives as depicted in Table 4.

Table 4

Strategies of each sub-process under the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways'

Sub-process	Strategies
Being a Tightrope Walker	Recycling the Old-me
Making a Commitment	Prioritising, Keeping Silent

Being a tightrope walker: Recycling the old-me

> For the first three years, it was very hard to adapt to changes. Every night, I dreamt that I lived in Korea with my family and friends. I was very lonely because I didn't have family or friends here ... I felt anxious because I had to do so many things to survive. (Sue)

As Sue explained, Korean immigrants encountered great pressure when continuing their lives in unfamiliar surroundings. At this time, 'Recycling the Old-me' was a common strategy undertaken by newly arrived participants. 'Recycling the Old-me' meant that participants' traditional and cultural values dominated their life pattern, such as with domestic roles, parenting, meals and even entertaining. Participants manifested their strong preference for this strategy although they were physically away from their home country and their position in society had dramatically changed after immigration.

In many instances, this strategy of 'Recycling the Old-me' seemed to be unavoidable for participants, in particular those who were deficient in local knowledge and had no plans, *'I didn't know anything about City C. I was not prepared at all'* (Ant) and *'I did not have enough information about New Zealand'* (Kevin). For participants like Ant and Kevin, the strategy of 'Recycling the Old-me' was the only option to ensure their survival in New Zealand. Accordingly, many Korean immigrants actively sought ethnic resources with which they could utilise their past experiences and knowledge. This resulted in the development of the Korean Enclave over the last few decades to a point whereby they could trade almost all ethnic resources. Anne indicated how it has become convenient to buy ethnic groceries over the last few years:

There is no difficulty at all getting Korean groceries here. Just some are more expensive than in Korea ... For the first two or three years, my mother used to send those foods from Korea. Now, even when she offers to post those foods, I refuse her offer. I told her that I would rather buy those products here because it is more convenient and sometimes even cheaper. (Anne)

Particularly in City A, where most Korean immigrants have congregated to live, participants disclosed that there was no problem with obtaining ethnic resources, as there were many ethnic supermarkets and businesses operating here. Kerry and Lucia, who had settled in City A, commented on their experience of seeking Korean groceries '*It is easy to buy Korean groceries anytime*' (Kerry) and '*I have had no difficulty with buying Korean ingredients here. Korean shops even sell salted cabbages, so I can easily make Kimchi at home*' (Lucia).

However, there were cities where Korean resources were not so easily accessible and available. In this instance, participants made regular efforts to access ethnic resources in order to be able to 'Recycle the old-me' such as 'traveling to City A', 'organising a bulk order' or 'stockpiling processed foods'*, 'I visit City A to buy things that are unavailable in my town such as delicious Korean style pan cakes and Koreans books, as we don't have Korean book shops here*' (Gary). Carl explained how Korean immigrants residing in a rural city formed a syndicate to obtain ethnic resources from a bigger city, in this case, City A:

We contact Korean supermarkets in City A to make an order. If we order more than $100, we can get a free delivery. So we often order processed foods such as 'Gochoojang' to make an order of over $100. Sometimes, we gather people at the church to make an order together. When the products arrive, we share them. (Carl)

Over all, these days, most of the participants identified that they do not have any serious problems in relation to 'Recycling the Old-me' since accessing ethnic resources is convenient throughout New Zealand. Of course, some Korean immigrants connected with their family or friends in Korea if they had concerns about its cost and freshness. In cases such as these, participants requested and received these resources directly from Korea such as Kerry and Lucia who preferred fresh and homemade products from Korea:

Whenever I have guests from Korea, I ask them to bring some products such as dried fish or cosmetics. They are much fresher and cheaper than here. I know I can buy those products here. But it is much more expensive, so I ask them to bring those things when they come to New Zealand. (Kerry)

My husband likes to have home-made bean paste 'DeonJang'. He doesn't like the factory-processed one. My father sends it once a year, about 20 kg or 40 kg a year. Other than that, we normally buy Korean ingredients from local shops. (Lucia)

The strategy of 'Recycling the Old-me' was deliberately chosen by participants who wished to retain control in their lives using their existing knowledge and networks. By 'Recycling the Old-me', what participants aimed to achieve was to continue their lives without the immediate pressure of adapting to New World perspectives. In this regard, the strategy of 'Recycling the Old-me' was a first step for many Korean immigrants to 'Regain Control' in their new society.

Making a commitment: Prioritising

When struggling to continue with necessary daily activities, participants reported that they tended to prioritise activities which they hoped to regain control, particularly based on their cultural values. In this study, many participants prioritised their activities in order to comply with the belief of Confucianism.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, Confucianism, which traditionally underpins Korean society, believes that people derive their meaning in life from being a productive member of the family. Activities within the home, therefore, were those activities which participants initially prioritised to 'Make a Commitment' for the purpose of 'Regaining Control'. Then, they consciously sought familiar resources within the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways', in order to succeed regularly in those activities. This experience led to a sense of continuity of self as they were able to fulfil their cultural roles. In this sense, 'Prioritising' meant that Korean immigrants selected activities which contributed to maintaining a sense of continuity of self in a new society.

For male Korean immigrants, who had been head of their family in Korea, finding a job seemed to be their first priority to 'Make a Commitment' in New Zealand. Yet, language barriers, compounded by unrecognised qualifications, often hindered them from applying for the same or similar types of job as they would have had in Korea. As a result, to continue this prioritised activity, many participants made a commitment by the fact that they '*Had to start from the bottom again*' (Clara). Some participants engaged in menial jobs, like Bob who had to accept a cleaning position to support his family '*I just do this job because I have to support my family*'. Anne also offered an explanation regarding her husband's work status, '*Although my husband works, it isn't a good job. He has worked as a delivery driver. It is very different from his previous work in Korea*'. As such, the male participants often prioritised employment to make a commitment as they believed it was a way of taking responsibility for their cultural roles.

Another example of 'Prioritising' was the example of female Korean immigrants who cared for their family, as they believed their role was traditionally to look after the family. In this study, female participants often prioritised activities in this domain and made a commitment to continue with these activities often using their previous knowledge, *'I had to use my previous knowledge when I went shopping … I often bought food that I already knew such as pizza or pasta which I had experienced in Korea'* (Kerry). For Hanna, who was new to the local brands, preparing meals was challenging. However, she did her best to carry out this activity as this was her priority, sometimes asking locals' advice or experimenting with new products:

> There were so many different products at the supermarket. I was confused because I didn't know the local products yet. There were lots of new brands with which I wasn't familiar … I didn't hesitate to ask local people if I didn't know the products. Of course, I made many mistakes because I didn't know the products. (Hanna)

For young mothers, parenting was the domain they had to prioritise as they had to look after their children most days. Disrupted social networks meant that they had to raise their children without the support from their family they had had in Korea *'When I lived in Korea, my mother in law looked after my children'* (Kevin). Raising children in New Zealand, therefore, as a mother without support from her family, was a daily challenge. Sandra disclosed how it was hard to raise her new baby without her mother's support:

> It was very hard to raise a baby myself here. It was much harder than I expected. Although I gave birth to my oldest daughter 12 years ago, it wasn't too hard because of the support from my mother ... However, when I had a baby here, I didn't have any family here to help me. I had to do everything regarding raising my baby. I never knew how hard it was. (Sandra)

In response to this situation, they made a commitment to continue with all relevant activities regarding parenting. For example, some participants worked on building a parenting network with other Korean mothers as this network could be a source of information and support with regard to this prioritised activity, *'I was introduced to a Korean young mothers' group in my town. You know, because we were all young mothers, I felt comfortable to share and socialise with them'* (Marie). This commitment eventually helped them to fulfil their cultural roles by easing their concerns and worries about raising children alone in a new country, *'When I was busy, I asked other mums to pick up my children. Later I did the same when they were busy'* (Jill). Anne also explained the benefits she experienced from her newly established networks:

> My daughter was once admitted to hospital. I didn't know how long it would take … I had no one to look after my son at home. I rang my Korean

neighbours to ask for help. They looked after my son until I got back home. They fed and washed my son just like theirs. (Anne)

In terms of 'Making a Commitment', 'Prioritising' meant that participants ranked the activities that they immediately engaged in, in order to continue their cultural roles due to their limited control over their new environment. Then they gave of their best to perform those prioritised activities using all available resources, mostly through interacting with the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways'.

Making a commitment: Keeping silent

Without enough information, it was very hard and stressful for me to settle my family here. Now I have been diagnosed with diabetes. I assume that my diabetes is a result of anxiety and stress from those periods. (Ant)

As Ant shared in his story, when Korean immigrants settled themselves in their new community, it seemed to be inevitable that they experienced a high level of stress, hardship and conflict. In many cases, Korean immigrants tended to cope with this stressful situation mostly by behaving in Korean ways. Accordingly, the Korean culture, with its traditional emphasis on social harmony, strongly influenced how participants responded to the stressful situation or conflict.

In this study, 'Keeping Silent' was described as a coping strategy which participants employed to deal with conflicting relationships, in order to maintain their value of social harmony. For Korean immigrants, this strategy was not unusual to manage conflicting relationships. This was a strategy which underpinned Korean society where endurance was their best virtue in maintaining social harmony, *'I am not good at making complaints because I have been educated to endure or be modest from my parents'* (Donna).

Firstly, participants used this strategy when they interacted with other Korean immigrants. As the Korean community is small enough to '*Know who is who within the Korean community'* (Jacob), participants were concerned with being a target of gossip *'City B is a small city. This means word can spread fast. There is a lot of gossip behind our backs'* (Gary), and *'You know, if I talked about something with other Koreans, eventually everyone would get to know that'* (Marie). This concern led to the prevalence of diplomatic relationships that Korean immigrants created, whereby they merely shared positive stories but were reluctant to share their problems with others, *'People I met in New Zealand weren't close enough for me to open up about my stress. I had to be careful to share my personal stuff with them'* (Sue). As a result, participants often 'Kept Silent' when they had problems *'I had*

never sought help from the outside because the Korean community was really small. I didn't want other people to know our situation' (Jenny) or some tried to 'Keep Silent' by enduring those stresses themselves *'Whenever I felt down, I often went for a drive. I also went to the cinema. I didn't care what movie was on. I just sat there and watched it'* (Asma).

Secondly, participants indicated that they employed this strategy of 'Keeping silent' when they dealt with problematic situations with local people in the host community, where they were often accused of having a lack of language skills. Sue explained how she used to 'Keep Silent' when she encountered unfair situations:

> When I thought my son was treated unfairly by his private tutor, I couldn't complain or stand up. I just avoided or accepted that situation, saying to myself 'I have to put up with this disadvantage because I can't speak English'. And I cut the relationship with them. No more contact with them. (Sue)

As long as Korean immigrants behaved in Korean ways, 'Keeping Silent' would be their first and foremost strategy to handle stressful and problematic situations in New Zealand. For Judy and Ruth, who worked for local rest-homes, 'Keeping Silent' was their strategy when they encountered unfairness at work:

> Sometimes it is hard to understand their behaviours. But I was unable to express my feelings because of my English. When they look down on me, I don't want to negotiate or explain my feelings. I usually keep silent and shut down my heart. (Judy)

> I tried to avoid her. As you know, it is typical for Koreans. I was too worried about damaging the relationship. I was too concerned that if I said something against her, she would take it personally. So I often endure and just do what she says to me although I think it is unfair. (Ruth)

Within the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways', participants reported that they largely used their previous knowledge and traditional values to continue with necessary daily activities. Participants employed different strategies within this context in relation to 'Regaining Control' over their lives such as 'Recycling the Old-me', 'Prioritising', and 'Keeping Silent'. Whilst they employed these strategies from the perspective of their Old World, participants came to figure out how to modify their lifestyle reflective of New Zealand society, as Carl and Donna described, using the example of how their daily meal pattern changed, *'We don't cling to Korean style meals anymore. During the week I usually have 'Bob' (rice), but I also have bread with jam on Saturdays and Sundays'* (Carl) and *'My family doesn't stick to rice anymore. Sometimes, we have pizza or pasta. We don't eat Kimchi as much as we did in the past. Instead we eat fresh salad'* (Donna).

Strategies under a Structural Context of Enacting New Zealand Ways

As Carl and Donna disclosed above, engaging in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' did not necessarily mean that Korean immigrants only adhered to their old culture regardless of a length of their stay in New Zealand. In many cases, participants got to know their new surroundings and became eager to know neighbourhoods. Accordingly, they used different strategies in order to be involved in the host community. Table 5 detailed the specific strategies within the structural context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'.

Table 5

Strategies of each sub-process under the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'

Sub-process	Strategies
Being a Tightrope Walker	Searching for Alternatives
Making a Commitment	Constant Experimenting, Hanging on

Being a tightrope walker: Searching for alternatives

> There were lots of Koreans in this area in City A. If I lived in this city, there would have been no chance to speak English and learn the local culture … That was why I chose [my town]. I expected if I live in [this town], I could easily improve my English and learn how Kiwis live because there were no Koreans there. (Aaron)

As Aaron explained, there was time for Korean immigrants to be involved in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways' when they hoped to fully participate in New Zealand's society. For those participants, who had strong networks or better English skills, they were more active in their approach to the host community even though they were not fully ready to adapt to perspectives of the receiving society. Gary, who had local language skills, actively tried to approach the host community:

> I attended a class just 2 days after I arrived in New Zealand. For me, English wasn't an issue at all. When I worked in Korea, I used to read and write academic articles in English. Although I might not speak English fluently, I was good at reading and writing in English. (Gary)

In this study, however, the majority of participants initially reported that they were monolingual and as a result, they used a strategy of 'Recycling the Old-me', in order to get to know their new society. Accordingly, participants employed this strategy of 'Searching for

Alternatives' in their new community only when they experienced difficulties in behaving in Korean ways. Indeed, participants indicated that they usually began to 'Search for Alternatives' if there was no possibility of continuing with their Korean ways in the community.

For example, having Korean style food was sometimes challenging with regard to its availability, cost or freshness *'It is a little hard to buy Korean groceries in City C. We don't have many Korean supermarkets here'* (Asma). Whilst participants initially made a commitment to gain ethnic resources by travelling to a bigger city, some participants began to 'Search for Alternatives' in their host community. Some visited local ethnic vendors *'Chinese vendors at Sunday markets because they normally sell similar style vegies to Korean vegies'* (Simon). Some simplified or modified their menus to a Kiwi style. Judy and Ant explained how they simplified and modified their meals because of costs and availability, *'We used to have Korean style meals all day. It did cost us a lot ... My husband suggested that we could save money if we tried Kiwi style meals'* (Judy) and *'Because of its cost and availability, we make meals simple. We avoid causing food waste. It is interesting that most Koreans have similar very simple menus at their homes in my city because of this situation'* (Ant).

Korean immigrants also used this strategy of 'Searching for Alternatives' in relation to handling financial hardship. Having a position in employment was one of the difficult challenges because of their limited language skills *'I didn't even think or plan to apply to mainstream companies because I thought my English wasn't good enough to do so'* (Aaron) or the New Zealand economic situation *'New Zealand is not an ideal place for business because of the size of New Zealand's economy'* (Simon). As a result, many participants 'Sought for Alternatives' with regard to financial affordability; for example, bringing over their savings *'It was impossible for me to get a job here. I still have to bring money in from Korea'* (Ant) or asking help from their family in Korea *'When my children had to see a dentist, it was more than we could afford. I had to ask our parents for help and they paid for it'* (Marie).

Of course, some participants immediately began to find a way to afford their living costs such as setting up a business in the host community through networking within the Korean community, *'In fact, I bought my cleaning business from a Korean owner whom I met at church'* (Carl). This effort, however, led to a high risk of failure, less life satisfaction, and eventually uncertainty about the future. In her interview, Clara explained how she witnessed other Korean immigrants taking risks by jumping into the business sector without proper knowledge:

People often started their business immediately without proper preparation. As I know, most of them came from the white collar sector in Korea. They didn't have any experience in managing a business. This meant less chance of success in their business here. They often wasted their money or just lived with minimum profits. As far as I know, not many people succeeded with their business here. (Clara)

As Clara pointed out, for many Korean immigrants, starting a position in the productive areas often involved a high risk of failure, accompanied by further financial hardship *'Although I work hard here, my life condition gets tougher and tougher. There is no hope of making money here'* (Simon) and *'I think it is almost impossible to make money here even though I am working all day'* (Aaron). Anne explained how she gave up her hope of maintaining financial sustainability in New Zealand:

I think we can't make money as long as we live here. You know, if I need $1,000 a month for a living, this means I have to earn at least $1,200 a month to prepare for emergency situations such as unexpected bills. But here, you always earn exactly $1000 a month, no matter how hard you work to make money. You know it is hard to save for the future. (Anne)

At this time, some participants began to 'Search for Alternatives' with which they could continue productive activities, particularly within the education sector. Participants believed that study would help them to get a job in the future without the risk factor. Again, Clara disclosed why she chose study as an alternative way to secure her future, *'If we study, there is no risk of wasting money. Study also helps us to improve English, gain knowledge and get a qualification. You know, as long as we study, nothing would get worse'*. As such, Korean immigrants engaged in study as an alternative way to start productive activities in New Zealand. For them, study was an activity in which they could feel productive whilst appreciating what the host society offered to them, *'Thanks to the student allowance … I could finish the two year course of my study'* (Kevin) and *'I appreciate New Zealand's tertiary education system which is friendly to adult students and offers assistance such as student loans and allowances'* (Hanna).

Another example of 'Searching for Alternatives' was found in a process of re-building networks in the community. Given the fact that immigration was associated with losing their own networks which they took for granted in their home country *'In Korea, I had lots of friends. It was just like air. But here, I had lost the entire network* (Mike), this loss contributed to feelings of loneliness and homesickness. Aaron explained why he still longed for his mother country because of losing his networks in New Zealand, *'I prefer living in Korea because I love to hang out with friends. You know, in New Zealand, there are limited*

opportunities to hang out with people. That is why I am not happy with living in New Zealand'.

In response, Korean immigrants initially re-established networks with other Korean immigrants as they easily understood each other. In some cases, this relationship successfully replaced their old networks. For Gary, his new network was strong enough to accept his friends as his new family members *'I have a close relationship with the other Korean families. They are like my cousins here'* (Gary). However, for some participants, re-building relationships with other Korean immigrants was not easy because of differences in age, background and current situations, and as a result, they kept their distance from other Korean immigrants, *'I tried to avoid people who consider others' age. They expected younger people to respect them because they are older than them. I felt uncomfortable about this'* (Carl). Mike and Bob explained why they hesitated to approach other Korean immigrants:

> I agree that it is hard to make friends here. You know although we are Koreans, we don't have the same background or anything in common such as similar childhood experiences. The only thing we can share is the fact that we are all immigrants. (Mike)

> Although we are the same age, it is difficult for me to approach them because our circumstances are different. You know, being the same age doesn't mean we share the same interests. We all have different issues, especially with regard to our visa status, so I have to be careful when I talk to other people. (Bob)

As an alternative to this, participants began to seek friendships in their neighbourhood. In some cases, participants reported that they experienced cultural differences or sometimes even encountered feelings of rejection *'It is not easy to build a relationship with locals. I don't think it's because of my English, rather it is about cultural differences'* (Gary), and *'I was embarrassed when I didn't understand what they said to me. If I didn't follow the conversation, people often left me. I often felt let down'* (Carl), however, many participants made a concerted effort to get to know local people, *'I visited my neighbour almost every day to get to know her'* (Clara).

In particular, they targeted people they found affable to approach *'A lady who lived next door to me always tried to understand me. She often interpreted situations in order to understand what I said to her'* (Lucia). Anne was also passionate in her approach to local seniors as they often displayed a welcoming attitude. In her case, she even shared her success of building friendships with other Korean immigrants:

> From my own experience, it is much easier to build a friendship with seniors. They are friendly. I always suggest to Korean mothers that they should have a

chat with local seniors, so that they can build a relationship. To be honest, because of my advice, some Korean mothers now have good relationships with local seniors. (Anne)

Judy was able to find an alternative place - a multicultural church, whose members had similar experiences of being immigrants, to build her networks in New Zealand *'Because most of the members are immigrants, they easily understand my situations. Whenever I have a problem, I ask my church members for help … They understand my situations well'*. As a result of this concerted effort, some participants were able to re-build their networks and eventually gained a feeling of belonging to their new community *'I often share my food with my neighbour … She appreciates my food and brings back something such as lemons or muffins. I have a good relationship with her'* (Jill). Sandra also appreciated her new friendships which eased her loneliness and accepted them as her new family members:

I am lucky to have friendly neighbours. They are English and Fijian. Since we met 6 years ago, we have maintained a good relationship. In fact, they are like my family here. Their children and my children play together. They even sleep in my house and ours do the same in their house. We also have dinner together maybe once a week. (Sandra)

Making a commitment: Constant experimenting

In this study, participants generally found their efforts to settle were much easier when they had local language skills, *'I have a Master's degree in English. Hence, it was not too hard for me to arrange a rental house, connect power or telephone, when I settled here'* (Sandra), and *'My husband was good at English. He could manage the situations in English … There was no hassle when we settled here'* (Clara). Having strong networks also contributed to easing their frustration while they settled in New Zealand. Donna, whose family members lived here, experienced less frustration, as she had thoughtful support and guidance whilst she learnt a way of doing things reflective of New Zealand society *'Because my parents in law had lived here, we didn't experience any big hassles when we settled'*.

Other than these cases, Korean immigrants had to make a commitment to understand their present situations. Yet, the way they learnt their present situations was limited by the ethnic sources such as reading ethnic newspapers or attending an ethnic church, *'I normally receive information from the Korean magazines'* (Judy) and *'To get information, I used to rely on the Korean newspapers'* (Kerry). However, this information was never enough to fully understand their current society as the ethnic media often focused on news about Korea

'I normally receive information from the Korean website or ethnic newspapers. But it is often limited and mostly about Korea' (Carl).

As a result, participants employed a strategy of 'Constant Experimenting', taking whatever they believed to be beneficial in order to know how to behave in New Zealand ways whilst at the same time being in a vulnerable position of making mistakes when they chose activities to try. An example of 'Constant Experimenting' was Kevin and Jacob. They used this strategy until they found a place whereby they could be recognised and feel valued, such as taking several courses or working for different companies in the last 10 years. This meant that they constantly experimented with different activities available to them in their new community. Indeed they rarely stopped 'Experimenting' *'Yes, I worked continuously even if nothing was certain'* (Kevin). Jacob also explained how he constantly engaged in different activities in productive areas until he finally found a place which satisfied his expectation:

> I was always busy doing something during the last 10 years. I came here in 2001. I studied 'subject' for 4 years. Then I worked for a Korean company for another 3 years before I set up my own business for international students. (Jacob)

Some participants were not lucky enough to have desirable outcomes by 'Constantly Experimenting'. There was a risk of inaccuracy regarding information from the Korean community with the result that some participants' efforts were fruitless as *'Half of their advice was correct and the other half was wrong'* (Gary). For example, Aaron and Bob invested years in a specific course after they heard promising news from Korean networks *'He told me this course promises a job because it is on the work shortage list'* (Aaron). After completing the course, however, they found the information inaccurate and failed to get a job *'People said I would easily get a job if I choose an IT course. In fact, it wasn't that easy. After completing my course, I couldn't get a job'* (Bob). There were risks of making a commitment which would end up being unproductive as participants were vulnerable to unreliable information. Aaron shared his disappointment when he failed to find a job after completing his studies:

> It was very hard for me to study again here at my age ... But I did my best and received good results from University … However, I couldn't get a job after graduation. I was so disappointed with myself. (Aaron)

Making a commitment: Hanging on

There is no doubt that Korean immigrants had a strong desire to participate in their community *'I like to know my community and integrate into this society'* (Hanna). Indeed,

many participants reported that they accepted New Zealand as their new home and wished to be members of this society, *'Nowadays, I feel New Zealand is my home'* (Sue) and *'I really want to be a full member of this country'* (Clara). Yet, their minority status often hampered their involvement in the host community through issues such as language barriers, lack of networks and even discrimination, *'Regardless of my talent or skills, I would end up working with the same ethnic people because I am an immigrant. I have to work only for other Koreans'* (Bob).

For example, for Marie, the inability to speak fluent English was a challenging experience, leading to powerlessness, as she could not freely express herself in the class *'I read lots of books. My knowledge is better than other students. But when I have discussions with them, I can't fully explain my opinion. It makes me powerless'*. Hanna, who took a course at University, had to endure her classmates' judgemental attitude towards her:

> People think I can't do it or am less competent to do assignments or presentations. You know, whenever we have group work or presentations, I and other Asian students are always the last ones to be chosen. We are often chosen when people don't have any choice. (Hanna)

In this situation, some participants commented that they waited for the right time to get involved in the community while they mostly engaged in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways', *'Because I teach Korean children at night, I can't study now. If I study, I will feel tired at night. So I am waiting for the right time to study'* (Tom). In some instances, participants attributed language barriers to their avoidance of being involved in the community. Jenny described how her church members used language barriers as an excuse to avoid getting involved in New Zealand:

> I know many people at my church. They keep an attitude that "I can't do it because of my English". They just give up or even don't want to try things because of their English. Their excuse is always 'I can't speak English'. But they don't even try to learn English. (Jenny)

Of course, for some participants, their individual circumstances such as finance or visa conditions played a key motivator in getting involved in the community. For Jill, setting up a sushi shop in the community was not optional. She was ready to take the challenge due to her financial crisis in Korea:

> Before we came, our situation was very hard in Korea. I even couldn't afford to pay my children's tuition fees. I prayed to God to help us. I prayed to God to give us a chance to live here. I knew it would be hard to live here because I couldn't speak English, but I had an attitude of 'I will do whatever I can do for our new life' here. (Jill)

For Jill, who was a house wife in Korea, running a sushi business was a big challenge with her limited language and sushi skills, resulting in intensive labour with regard to running a business. Rather than giving up, she used the strategy of 'Hanging on' until she gained a 'Know-how' *'For the first two years, I worked 13 hours a day. I left home early and stayed there until 7 pm ... I did my best to run my shop'*. Another example was Hanna who had to deal with her classmates' judgemental attitude. She used this strategy of 'Hanging on' until her classmates accepted her as a classmate:

> I pushed myself harder and harder. I have done my best over the last two years, showing them my potential. You know, for presentations, the other students normally read their paper but I prepared and memorized the whole script before I presented mine. (Hanna)

As such, some participants used a strategy of 'Hanging on' in order overcome difficulties in problematic situations rather than avoiding those situations. They were strongly self-determined when they were involved in the host community. By using a strategy of 'Hanging on', participants dealt with challenges caused by language barriers or feelings of rejection. Many Korean immigrants kept this strategy of 'Hanging on' until they could master a situation they found problematic.

It was also found that participants actively employed this strategy of 'Hanging on' if they engaged in activities which were meaningful to them. Marie, who had to care for her two children, was so determined to study as she believed this could fulfil her dream in the future *'I can endure and even feel happy as this is what I want to do ... If I don't study now, I may regret it when I get old'*. Asma, who was *'so scared about driving on the opposite side'*, was also determined to drive her children out of the town as much as possible in order to give them good stories to share at school, *'At school, children normally shared what they did during the weekend. I wanted to give my children many episodes for that. That was why we travelled a lot during the weekend although I didn't even know the road signs properly'*. This experience enhanced their willingness to 'Hang on' to solve problems despite difficulties.

Donna also spoke of her experience of 'Hanging on'. Whilst struggling with English, she had difficulty engaging in volunteering where she hoped to value herself. Using the strategy of 'Hanging on', she engaged in this activity, in particular in physical areas such as 'putting stickers on books' where she could ease language barriers:

> I think volunteering is part of the NZ culture, you know, contributing to the society. It helped me to get to know the local culture. Of course, the language barrier was always my concern. Whenever I receive letters from school looking for volunteers, I ask myself again and again 'Can I do it?' ... This was

why I chose and participated in helping at the library or art class which didn't require fluent English. (Donna)

In this sense, there was a high possibility of adopting this strategy of 'Hanging on' to overcome challenges if participants engaged in a process of performing roles in which they made themselves valued in their new country. Using a strategy of 'Hanging on', what participants aimed for was to master behaviours reflective of New Zealand society and thereby become its members.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the basic social process that Korean immigrants undertook in order to respond to situations during the period of their settlement. A process of Regaining Control is identified as the core process in this study including four significant dimensions; the Old World, the New World, the Domestic Sphere, and the Societal Sphere. Participants continually traversed these four dimensions in relation to the process of Regaining Control.

The process of Regaining Control includes two sets of sub-processes; 'Being a Tightrope Walker' and 'Making a Commitment'. Participants engage in these sub-processes, through the interplay between the Old World and New World perspective. These sub-processes explain in more detail how the process of Regaining Control is manifested over time and space. Under each sub-process, participants employ different strategies; 'Recycling the Old-me', 'Prioritising', 'Keeping silent', 'Searching for alternatives', 'Constant experimenting', and 'Hanging on'. These strategies illuminate how the sub-processes are actually carried out within different contexts.

In Chapter Nine, I will discuss consequences of participants' respective strategies within different structural contexts.

Chapter Nine: RESEARCH FINDINGS – PART IV

In this last chapter of research findings, I present the consequences of employing specific strategies. Whenever there is action/interaction or even a lack of it taken in response to the situations, there will be a range of consequences, some of which might be intended and others not. These consequences, then, bring about changes in the contexts, thus becoming part of the conditions framing the next action and interactional sequences.

Consequences of Strategies under the Context of Enacting Korean Ways

Under a structural context of 'Enacting Korean Ways', participants used strategies - 'Recycling the Old-me', 'Prioritising', and 'Keeping silent', in response to the situations they found problematic. These strategies delineated how they behaved in Korean ways, particularly when it was similar to how they would have done it in Korea. Whilst they employed these strategies, participants experienced different consequences. They were 'Gaining Know-how', 'Devaluing Self', 'Staying in the Past', 'Living for the Day', and 'Creating Pressure' as depicted in Table 6.

Table 6

Consequences of Strategies under the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways'

Strategies	Consequences
Recycling the Old-me	Gaining Know-how
	Devaluing Self
Prioritising	Staying in the Past
	Living for the Day
Keeping Silent	Creating Pressure

Consequence: Gaining Know-how

'Gaining Know-how' is one of the positive outcomes Korean immigrants have experienced by employing strategies associated with their Old World perspectives. Know-how refers to the accumulated knowledge which participants have obtained through their various efforts and experiences whilst they settle in New Zealand.

In the beginning of their settlement, many Korean immigrants, who had insufficient knowledge and networks, recounted that they experienced their new community largely through their ethnic enclave as it was generally designed for *'Supporting each other'* (Anne). Of course, some participants used their own networks. Asma explained how her friends helped her to get to know her new physical surroundings. She still appreciates their support and occasionally contacts them whenever she is in need of assistance to solve problems:

> During those early days, I rang him whenever I was in trouble. I still ring him if I have problems to solve. He and his wife always look after us as if they were my older brother or sister. Because of their support, we were able to live here without great concerns or fear. (Asma)

Participants who had no close networks in New Zealand often sought informants through networking within the Korean community, *'We looked for someone who lived in New Zealand. We found someone later, you know a friend of one of my friends'* (Ruth), or recruited others' support, *'I hired a Korean settlement advisor. I paid him $3000. He arranged a school for my children, helped me to get to know the local shops, banking, and so on'* (Ant). Alternatively, some participants employed their traditional belief in studying in relation to learning about their new society, leading to them attending local tertiary courses. Kevin chose courses with a purpose of knowing his host society *'In a number of ways, my course encouraged me to learn more about New Zealand. It was also a good chance to overcome my language barrier to a certain degree'*.

As such, to get to know their new home, participants enacted Korean ways such as receiving support from their own networks or the Korean enclave and exercising their traditional value of formal study. Marie explained how she mastered her new surroundings by associating with other Koreans in her town, *'I learnt how to make Kimchi here from one of our Korean neighbours. They also helped us to set up the business. You know, they gave us a lot of useful information'*. These experiences heightened their ability to gain familiarity in their new surroundings and as a consequence, participants reached a point of 'Gaining Know-how' with regard to continuing with activities. Jill described how she obtained 'Know-how' to run her sushi business after three years of endurance in order to enhance the family well-being based on a belief of Confucianism:

> I found standing all day very hard. When I made sushi, I had to stand up for most of the day. You can't imagine how hard it was … I didn't have any know-how of how to make sushi. It took me 3 years to obtain know-how. Once I had this, I felt ok. I found standing all day relatively ok. (Jill)

For Korean immigrants, 'Gaining Know-how' helped them to reach a point whereby they could master their current situation to some degree. 'Gaining Know-how' meant that participants obtained an ability to assess the situations with accumulated knowledge derived from their experiences whilst employing strategies associated with the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' *'People I met in a Korean church showed me where I could buy some stuff or learn English. Actually they helped me to know the community. I really appreciate their support'* (Ruth). Although this accumulated knowledge was not enough to completely master situations, *'Now, I can understand what my GP says to me because he usually uses the same words. It is kind of guessing but enough to understand him',* many participants were ready to re-engage in a decision making process with support from other Korean immigrants.

With this accumulated knowledge, some of the participants began to take ownership of a process of Regaining Control and gradually behaved in a way reflective of New Zealand perspectives, as they experienced limitations of behaving in Korean ways. Bob disclosed how he started to take ownership after he encountered unreliable information within the Korean community when choosing a course:

> When I had to choose a subject to study … People suggested an IT course would help me to easily get a job. In fact, it wasn't that easy. I couldn't get a job … Since then, I explored job markets by myself. I directly visited places where I wanted to work to get information. (Bob)

Consequence: Devaluing Self

In this study, behaving in Korean ways was critical for most participants with regard to retaining a sense of control, leading to frequent interaction with the Korean community. The Korean community offered countless benefits, ranging from emotional support to job offers. For example, Simon, who experienced economic hardship and isolation, found engaging in a context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' helpful to ease his stress, in particular attending a mass in Korean, *'So many concerns and worries weigh heavily upon me ... I found attending a Korean mass released my stress. I feel healed after a mass'.* Asma also recounted how Korean church provided emotional support:

> At mass, I mean Korean mass. The Korean priest tells us helpful stories about immigrants' lives. He understands how our life is hard and lonely. Especially, here in City C, we are small in numbers. The priest holds our hand and blesses us individually. We are just like a family. (Asma)

Korean immigrants, however, revealed that they had to pay the price whilst they preserved Korean ways. As they interacted only with other Koreans, the consequence was that

participants tended to isolate themselves from the host community, leading to a lack of interaction with their present situations. In some cases, participants were not able to fully understand their new community no matter how long they had been present in New Zealand society. Aaron voiced how his uncle had to endure isolation whilst he retained a strong tie with the Korean community:

> I'll tell you my uncle's story. Even though he had lived here for about 10 years, he still couldn't speak even one word of English. I once asked my uncle why he couldn't speak English. He said to me that there were not many opportunities for him to meet Kiwis. (Aaron)

As Aaron described, the flipside of conserving Korean ways was that there were less opportunities to be involved and learn how to behave reflective of New Zealand perspectives. Although Korean immigrants gained 'know-how' by using different strategies associated with the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways', this accumulated knowledge was not enough to solve all the problems because their local knowledge was often derived from indirect experiences, leading to a partial understanding of their new community, *'I usually receive information about outside world from Korean newspapers'* (Simon) and *'I gather necessary information through communicating with other Koreans. I analyse it by myself for my purpose. It is a kind of analogy'* (Ant).

Their knowledge was insufficient to deal with everyday situations. Although participants came to master their new surroundings at some level, this did not necessarily mean that they obtained the status of an autonomous person again. When they found problematic situations which they could not handle with their 'know-how', this situation made them powerless during the decision making process and forced them to devalue themselves by following what others told them to do. Participants had to be dutiful to what other people said to them to deal with those problems, *'She briefly explained what this was about and said to me to sign it. I just signed it because she said so'* (Simon). The term 'Devaluing Self' was used to explain how participants kept their voices silent and degraded social roles because of their inability to handle the Present.

Another example of 'Devaluing Self' was found in the role negotiation within the home. In this study, it was not unusual to find that the progress of the children's English skills was faster than their parents, as children had to be involved in the educational sectors. Given that English was a critical tool for interaction with the wider community, some participants had to ask their children for assistance to communicate with the host society. In other words, participants devalued their parental authority because of their inability to handle

the situations in English. For Carl and Joy, their parental roles were devalued as a result of asking for their children's assistance:

> I was even afraid to go to the shops by myself. Cashiers always asked extra questions for which I hadn't prepared an answer. In those days, I always went to the shops with my children because their English was better than mine. (Carl)

> We travelled a lot. Although I couldn't speak English well, it wasn't problem. I often used body language to communicate with others ... But my daughter spoke good English, so she often represented us when we had to communicate with others. (Joy)

As part of 'Devaluing Self', participants also often experienced being judged for the skills and knowledge which they used when performing activities. For example, continuing parenting, a culturally meaningful occupation for many Korean immigrants, seemed to be doubted by others, requiring role-negotiation between parents and children. Asma explained how her family GP devalued her role as a mother, assuming that she could not represent her children because of her limited English skills *'When I visited the GP for my children, the GP normally doesn't talk to me. He assumes that I can't understand him. As my children speak English well, he normally talks to them'*. Lucia also illustrated how immigrant children began to devalue their own parents because of the parents' limited English skills:

> One day, my niece asked me to come to her school instead of her mother. I didn't know why. Later, she told me that her teacher assumed her mother was a disabled person because she didn't speak English at all. She didn't like her mother to come to her school, even to pick her up. (Lucia)

This experience of 'Devaluing Self' gradually reduced their self-esteem and devalued themselves further. Aaron recounted how his view on himself dramatically changed after he devalued himself in finding employment:

> When I apply for a job, people don't care about my work experience and capacity. They disadvantage me because of my skin colour … I am not sure it is right or wrong, but it is my experience. I am a stranger in this country, so I can't beat local people because they have networks, you know, they know who is who. (Aaron)

In this study, many participants reported the devaluation of self as part of the price they had to pay as a result of behaving in Korean ways. Nevertheless, for some participants, the experience of 'Devaluing Self' actually contributed to facilitating their involvement in the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. Rather than passively accepting their devalued self, some participants began to approach the host community, to increase their local knowledge and skills for the purpose of 'Valuing Self' again. For instance, Clara, who felt

devalued by herself *'I often found myself a second class citizen',* used this disappointing moment as a motivator to learn New Zealand perspectives, *'I study because I like to develop myself. My goal of study is about developing myself'* (Clara).

Consequence: Staying in the Past

'Staying in the Past' meant that Korean immigrants did not divorce themselves from who they were and what they knew, thus strongly maintaining their traditional ties in New Zealand. Accordingly, their culture of origin dictated how they behave on a daily basis; that is to say, they were 'Staying in the Past' in their present environment. Carl and Ant explained how they Stayed in the Past although they lived in a place where they dreamt of starting a new life; for example, Carl adhered to Korean food, *'My wife and I have Korean style dishes every day. We think that Bob (rice) is a main source of our energy. I believe Koreans should eat Bob (rice) every day'* (Carl), whereas Ant merely interacted with other Koreans, *'For the first three years, I met a lot of other Koreans. We drank, played golf and went fishing together'*. As such, many Korean immigrants 'Stayed in the Past' regardless of their length of time living in New Zealand whilst they preserved their traditions and cemented relationships with other Koreans.

This experience resulted in Korean immigrants congregating in City A, partly for the convenience of associating with other Korean immigrants and trading ethnic resources in order to 'Stay in the Past'. In this sense, living in City A meant that many Korean immigrants were able to 'Stay in the Past' easily by accessing ethnic resources; thus, replicating their old lifestyle, *'Living in City A is like living in Korea … Koreans in City A repeat the Korean lifestyle of Korea'* (Gary). Marie and Asma also expressed how living in City A was similar to living in Korea based on their experience:

> I think City A is a smaller version of Korea. As I know, living in this city is very similar to Korea. You know, children have to go to private tutoring after schools because of the fierce competition … In City A, there are so many Korean students, in some cases, 10 Korean students in a class. It puts extra pressure on them because they have to compete with each other. (Marie)

> Living in City A is same as living in Korea. If you live in City A, you have to stick to a Korean lifestyle because many Koreans live there ... My children would have to take private tutoring to be able to compete ... If I lived in City A, I would be a mean urban mum just like people in Korea. This is why I prefer living in City C. (Asma)

In addition, many participants likely ended up working within the Korean enclave, *'My husband works for the Korean wholesale company and I work for the Korean restaurant'* (Anne). This experience contributed to participants 'Staying in the Past'. That is to say, because many of the businesses which they worked for provided only marginal profits as their serving population was relatively small, many Korean immigrants had to be highly competitive and work excessively long hours, which once again complicated their relationships in New Zealand. Jacob explained why he had to resign at the Korean company. For him, working for the Korean company was the same as 'Staying in the Past':

> I had worked for a Korean company for about 3 years. While I worked there, I found my life was exactly the same as it had been in Korea. It was a psychological matter. You know, working for them was kind of ruining and drying my soul ... I asked myself 'did I come here to live this way again?' (Jacob)

For some participants, 'Staying in the Past' meant that they had to accept disadvantages as a result of being a Korean in New Zealand. For Carl's children, being 'the other' in class made them vulnerable to discrimination, *'My children don't like to take Korean foods to school for their lunch. They refuse to bring it. They said that their friends don't like it because it is smelly'* (Carl). For Ant, it was about devaluing Korean-ness in the language skills, *'I think Koreans can never beat Kiwis in English. Their language skills are as far apart as earth is from the heavens'*. Consequently, Aaron concluded that Korean immigrants had to accept disadvantages which they never overcome in a labour market:

> We cannot compete with Kiwis. They are tolerant towards each other. If something needs to be solved, they work smoothly using their own networks. This enables them to succeed here. For this reason, I saw many Koreans including 1.5 generation fail to get a job here even though they had better qualifications and fluent English skills. To be honest, as a service user, I also hire Kiwis because they solve problems smoothly. (Aaron)

These negative outcomes of 'Staying in the Past' persisted until participants began to move onto a different perspective – 'New Zealand Ways'.

Consequence: Living for the Day

As noted previously, in this study, many participants disclosed that they were less informed about what happened in the receiving community, as they usually gathered local information from ethnic resources such as ethnic newspapers or word of mouth in the Korean community. Sole reliance on ethnic resources often led them astray in directions that had little or no

bearing on their present situations. Admittedly, this made participants less well informed when reflecting on their present situations, *'To get information, I rely on the Korean newspapers. I think this is why I don't know much about NZ society despite my 10 years in New Zealand'* (Kerry). Some participants began to encounter uncertainty in their lives because they were not sure of what was going on in their new home. They were anxious as they could not foresee where they may end in New Zealand *'I often said to myself "what do I have to do for a living here". I sit on the beach and worry about my future'* (Tom).

As such, by behaving in Korean ways, what participants had to endure was uncertainty in their current situations, with the result that many Korean immigrants had difficulties in planning their future. Kevin, who now works for a mainstream company after graduating from a local university, described his previous life in the Korean community, *'It was just like living for a day'*. In some cases, they powerlessly dealt with the uncertainty of their lives. For Simon, running a Korean restaurant was uncertain but he did not have solutions to get out of this situation:

> My business is getting worse day by day. I have to work 12 hours a day, opening at 9 am and closing the door at 9 pm, to make money. Despite working long hours, there is nothing left in my pocket after I've paid the rent and other expenditures. I feel powerless …. These days, I consider closing my shop. My life gets harder and harder. I just want to escape this situation but don't know what to do now. (Simon)

In response to these feelings of powerlessness in the Present, many participants tried to occupy themselves with activities in order to fill their day. Because they were unable to foresee and plan their future, Korean immigrants reported that they tended to select activities which assisted them with 'Living for the Day'. Tom delineated how he constantly engaged in activities to occupy himself during the day:

> Since I have lived here, I don't have a long term plan for my life. Of course, I do have a daily plan, you know, what I am going to do today, for example, going to the post-shop to pay my bills, do the washing, or mowing. I just do whatever I need to do each moment. I have become a person who lives one day at a time. (Tom)

Given that participants were not able to know the present situation, it seemed inevitable that participants lived without a long term plan for their lives in New Zealand; that is conceptualised as 'Living for the Day', until they were able to understand the Present and foresee their future. At times, some Korean immigrants took up the challenge to learn about New Zealand ways, hoping this perspective would increase the possibility of knowing the community and concurrently planning their future. Joy shared her experience of how she

overcame the uncertainty of her life by engaging in study, as a way of getting to know her new society:

> I rather say 'don't give up because of English', take the proper steps to overcome it. Undertake a tertiary education. This will take 3 or 4 years but will help you get to know the community, find a new job and improve your quality of life ... I often advise people to start right now before it's too late. (Joy)

Consequence: Creating Pressure

For many Korean immigrants, coming to New Zealand meant their existing networks were disrupted or entirely lost. Kevin explained how his family were alone in New Zealand without any close networks, *'We have to support each other as we don't have any family or friends here. Only four of us live here'*. In this sense, it is logical that Korean immigrants had to deal with everyday situations by themselves. Thus, it was critical that every family member should actively engage in a process of creating a home regardless of their readiness and ability. Individual members had to take responsibility for what they were expected to do within the New Zealand context.

Initially, participants did their best to take responsibility for continuing their cultural roles although it sometimes became problematic due to language barriers and their limited local knowledge. Ruth explained how her limited local knowledge impacted on her living in winter in New Zealand, *'Although we had a fireplace at home, we didn't know where to buy fire wood. It was July and very cold. I couldn't sleep at all'*. In response, some participants actively engaged in the context of 'Enacting Korean Ways' to continue their roles, for instance, a father tried to find a job within the 'Korean Enclave', where he could use his previous qualification, to fulfil his responsibility as the breadwinner of the family. Alternatively, a mother shopped for Korean groceries with which she could prepare meals as part of taking her responsibility in looking after family in a new environment.

However, participants disclosed that they sometimes had to interact with the outside world, whereby speaking English was compulsory for activities such as managing bills or attending parent meetings at school. At this time, their language barriers often hindered them from being able to continue in their roles. In many cases, participants, who were less competent in speaking English, indicated that they felt anxious in these situations. As a result, role-negotiation occurred in the home as they had to rely on other family members because of different acculturative progress, eventually leading to a power shift within the family system,

'I am always thankful that my daughter learnt English so quickly. Since then, she manages almost everything regarding English' (Ruth).

This example revealed that if someone in the family was not competent in performing their roles, this often 'Created Pressure' on other family members to replace them in their roles. Marie explained how she 'Created Pressure' onto her husband whilst she was reluctant to communicate with the outside world, *'My husband did almost everything requiring English such as school, banking or taxes. I was reluctant to do those things because I was scared of making mistakes in English. I know I relied on him too much'* (Marie).

Different levels of progress in local knowledge often 'Created Pressure' in the home. In this study, the person who spoke better English in the family normally took the role in representing their family to the outside world. For Joy, parenting was challenging when her son was in trouble at school. Yet, her inability to speak English hindered her from approaching teachers. Instead, she had to ask her daughter for help, 'Creating Pressure' onto her to represent her mother at school:

> My son found it difficult to get along with friends. There were many ***students at school ... They often bullied my son because he didn't smoke or drink with them. He became a quiet and introverted person … I didn't go to school to meet his teacher. I wasn't involved in his school at all because I didn't know the school system. Instead, I asked my daughter to take good care of him at school. (Joy)

Another example was handling the transport in the New Zealand context where public transport is not as convenient as it was in Korea. Without existing networks, having the ability to mobilise oneself was one of the necessary skills while Korean immigrants settled. Otherwise, they often had to rely on other family members when they had to visit the community *'My parents were reluctant to drive. I had to support them with transportation because of a lack of public transport'* (Mike). For Bob, due to his wife's inability to drive, he had to transport her whenever she needed to be involved in the community such as visiting a GP and going to the local shops *'I have to ask my boss for a half day off so I can take her to the GP if my baby is sick. I also drive her to the shops every weekend because she can't drive'*.

As such, some participants were not ready to hold their roles and took a passive stance when they had to take responsibility for the continuation of their roles in the home. This situation often resulted in 'Creating Pressure' onto other family members. Carl explained how he felt pressured as he sometimes found his workloads in the home too much to handle:

I do all the paper work such as the power bill, telephone, and so forth. My wife doesn't speak English. She felt easily stressed when she did these jobs ... Sometimes I feel overloaded. I once asked my wife to choose one, you know, either 'learning English' or 'finding a job'. Anyway, if we have to do something in English, I do it because I speak English better than her. (Carl)

In some cases, participants stated that they 'Created Pressure' internally, in particular when they renegotiated their domestic roles based on their cultural values. For example, Korean immigrant women felt pressured to re-negotiate the domestic roles with their partners because of their husbands' patriarchal belief. Whilst they settled in New Zealand, some women began to engage in productive activities such as study or work. This required the women to share their domestic roles in order to continue with those activities, *'I had to manage dual tasks as a mum and student. I didn't want to compromise one for another. But sometimes it was out of my control'* (Hanna). Yet, because of their husbands' gender bias between what the men and women were supposed to do in the home, some female participants felt pressured to re-negotiate the roles in the home with their husbands. Jill shared how she was stressed when she re-negotiated domestic roles with her husband:

It sometimes seemed to be unfair that I had to do all housework after long hours at the shop. We should share housework. It is fair. I don't think I need to remind him of this. Yet, sometimes it wasn't that way. For example, when I saw him rest while I prepared dinner in the kitchen, that situation often prompted an argument. I blamed him, saying 'how could you sit here because we work together during a day'. (Jill)

When Korean immigrants initially worked on 'Regaining Control', they did not separate themselves from what they already knew and often behaved in Korean ways, in order to continue their lives with a sense of safety. They employed the different strategies of 'Recycling the Old-me', 'Prioritising' and 'Keeping Silent' depending on the situation in which they found themselves. These strategies assisted them in 'Gaining Know-how' without immediate pressure to adapt to New World perspectives. However, sole reliance on these strategies which were largely associated with Old World perspectives, also led to negative consequences such as 'Devaluing Self', 'Staying in the Past', 'Living for the Day', and 'Creating Pressure' on others.

Consequences of Strategies under the Context of Enacting New Zealand Ways

As discussed in Chapter Eight, participants used strategies of 'Searching for Alternatives', 'Constant Experimenting', and 'Hanging on' within a structural context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways', as part of undertaking the process of Regaining Control. These strategies explained how Korean immigrants worked on behaving in New Zealand ways. There are different consequences as a result of these strategies; 'Making Own Ways', 'Knowing the Present', and 'Establishing New Self', as depicted in Table 7.

Table 7

Consequences of Strategies under the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'

Strategies	Consequences
Searching for Alternatives	Making Own Ways
Constant Experimenting	Knowing the Present
Hanging On	Establishing New Self

Consequence: Making Own Ways

In the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways', Korean immigrants reported that they gradually learnt how to behave in ways reflective of New Zealand society whilst using the associated strategies identified above. This helped the majority of participants to improve their ability to figure out how to balance between the Two World perspectives - Korean Ways or New Zealand Ways. Participants became able to appreciate the merits and demerits of each world, knowing that relying on one world perspective resulted in falling off one side and being isolated from the other world. With this accumulated knowledge, they gained the ability to balance this out with regard to continuing their lives in New Zealand as freely as possible.

'Making Own Ways' meant that Korean immigrants were able to select ways from both worlds which brought about the most beneficial outcomes when they worked on 'Regaining Control' in their lives. Knowledge, which they had gained through their involvement in the host community, assisted them not to rely on their previous experience but enabled them to choose ways which promised the most beneficial outcomes for their actions from Two World perspectives. Aaron, after moving to a town where other Korean immigrants rarely lived, learnt local ways and later gained knowledge which helped him to

master situations, *'Doing things for myself without other Koreans' support in [my town]
helped to improve my English and allowed me to obtain accurate information from my direct
experiences. Two years later, I felt settled'*. In this sense, 'Making Own Ways' was a means
of enhancing their ability to effectively deal with present situations.

Examples of 'Making Own Ways' existed in a range of various activities, as
participants had to make choices on a daily basis to continue their lives. The first example of
'Making Own Ways' was their changed view on the specific object – 'English'. Given that
English was one of major barriers in 'Regaining Control', many participants were eager to
improve this skill. Yet, they retained an old perspective on English which largely emphasised
grammar skills *'As a Korean, we all learnt English at school, in particular, grammar'*
(Marie), leading to them putting too much stress on speaking English based on correct
grammar *'I never imagined that I could communicate with others with only a few English
words'* (Clara). As a result, many participants were unenthusiastic to be involved in
conversation until they felt ready to speak fluent English. Kerry indicated how she isolated
herself because of this concern:

> I avoid Kiwis because of lack of confidence in my English skills. I know I can
> speak English at some levels if I wish to do so. But I am always worried that
> people will laugh at me if I make mistakes when I speak English. I know I
> should be confident in myself but it isn't easy. (Kerry)

Their desire to be a fluent English speaker, ironically, slowed down their progress of
improving English as they often missed a chance to practise English in a real situation. In this
case, 'Making Own Ways' meant that participants began to view English differently, in
particular easing the pressure on speaking English fluently through their experience of
interacting with the host community. Lucia disclosed how she made her own way to ease the
pressure on speaking English correctly through constant networking with Kiwi neighbours:

> I used to visit my neighbour to talk. She often interpreted situations to
> understand what I said to her. From this experience, I talked to myself 'if
> foreigners spoke Korean, I would try to understand them. So I think although I
> speak English poorly, Kiwis will try to understand me. Since then, I felt less
> anxious when I communicated with local people with my basic level of
> English skill. (Lucia)

Donna found her own way to understand local people from the cultural angle as she was
'Thinking that understanding their culture is more important than English'. For her, 'Making
Own Ways' meant she established her own way to communicate with people by releasing the
pressure of speaking fluent English. Jenny, who once *'Respected people who spoke English
well … dreamed that I could speak perfect English just like them',* also had her own way to

ease the pressure after she graduated University, *'I don't put much emphasis on English anymore ... English is only a tool. I accept my English isn't perfect, but I am proud of my English as I did my best to learn it'* (Jenny).

Accessing ethnic resources was another example of 'Making Own Ways'. In Simon's town in New Zealand, obtaining ethnic resources was problematic as they had to pay extra delivery costs *'Its costs are inevitably more expensive than City A, about 15% or 20% because of the delivery cost'* (Simon). 'Making Own Ways' meant that some participants in this city established a syndicate to make bulk orders for free delivery. Others successfully replaced ethnic resources with alternative local resources, such as Asma learning how to *'make Kimchi with local cabbages'*. For her, 'Making Own Ways' meant that she had a choice of resources from the Two Worlds. As a result, participants, who had difficulty accessing ethnic resources, did not have to travel a long distance for Korean products or compromise their diet because of a shortage of Korean groceries.

Apart from finding their own ways to solve daily problems, for participants who had to follow others' instruction due to their insufficient local knowledge *'When I didn't know enough about New Zealand situations, I just followed what my agency told me to do'* (Bob), 'Making Own Ways' meant that they were able to regain a sense of control in the decision making processes using their accumulated knowledge. At this time, rather than merely relying on others' suggestion or advice, participants became able to evaluate information from diverse sources. This experience enabled Jacob to gain a sense of control when he chose activities for his future:

> To be honest, I never believe 'word of mouth' which is prevalent within the Korean community. When my wife or parents tell me 'someone said .....' I never trust it. I keep that information in my mind until I need it. Then if I need it, I check it myself by calling to ask or checking their website. I like to check the accuracy of that information using my eyes and ears. (Jacob)

Through learning how to behave in New Zealand ways, what participants gained was knowledge of evaluating the merits and demerits of the Two World perspectives. They established their own ways of balancing the Two Worlds which will bring about the best outcomes with regard to continuing activities on a daily basis.

As such, 'Making Own Ways' contributed to stabilising their lives as they became able to control their lives. This experience eventually led them to having time to think of where they make a contribution for the purpose of 'Valuing Self' in their new country. Some participants hoped to 'Make a Contribution' to family as they had immigrated for their

family's well-being *'I spend most of time with my children rather than going fishing, golfing or drinking with others ... This is the lifestyle I'm having now. I like it that way'* (Mike).

In some instances, participants began to share their knowledge of 'Making Own Ways' with other Korean immigrants in relation to 'Making a Contribution' to their own community. Anne, who made her own ways to improve her English, donated this skill to teach other Korean mothers *'I used to teach English to other Korean mothers for free, you know with a book of Grammar in Use'*. Jenny, who found study was beneficial to get to know the society, hoped to share her own ways to get involved in the community. By sharing her experience of 'Making Own Ways', she wanted to be a role model, inspiring other Korean immigrants to take challenges just like she did in the past, *'I always said to them. Look at me. You know, I did, so why can't you do it. It is important to respect yourself and encourage yourself to move on'.*

Given that Korean immigrants have not yet established sufficient social networks to support each other *'We don't have someone who already works in the mainstream and could help us to join that field yet'* (Anne), sharing this knowledge of 'Making Own Ways' is critical for other Korean immigrants to know how to be involved in the host community *'I often read interviews in Korean magazines where many people, who already work in their fields, provide their experiences and job prospects'* (Bob). As such, some participants, who 'Made Their Own Ways' to continue their lives, ease their fellow Korean immigrants' acculturative stresses and inspire them to participate in the community. By doing this, they 'Made a Contribution' to developing an inclusive society where all people fully participate in the social and economic life of their communities.

Consequence: Knowing the Present

Another consequence of strategies associated with the context of 'Enacting New Zealand Ways', was that Korean immigrants came to know what was happening in the Present through engagement in events or activities in the host community. Donna shared how attending community programmes assisted her to establish relationships and consequently understand the new culture:

> While I attended community programmes for the last 2 years, I learnt to understand their culture ... The more I understood their culture, the more comfortable I felt to talk to them. I learnt how to approach them and how they react in such situations ... It was a starting point for me to know someone in my community. (Donna)

Korean immigrants began to obtain useful local knowledge through their newly established networks with locals. This knowledge enabled them to get to know their present situation. In other words, by engaging in the host community, some participants came to expand their networks outside of the ethnic community which contributed to them 'Knowing the Present'. Sandra explained how she came to appreciate her new community while she worked at a mainstream workplace *'When I worked, I met many nice people and learnt how to interact with them. I also could get information about the community from them'*.

'Knowing the Present' meant that participants became aware of what was going on in the receiving community, which led to them 'Regaining Control' of their current situation. One example was the participants' ability to manipulate their shopping pattern. Previously, not knowing the community, they doubted the wisdom of their earlier purchasing decisions *'I spent money carelessly. I bought things without thinking carefully as I didn't know about the buying power of NZ dollars or NZ's market prices'* (Joy), leading to a high risk of financial loss *'I think we got ripped off or paid more than we had to pay'* (Hanna) and *'We bought junk which locals would never buy'* (Ruth). In this sense, 'Knowing the Present' enhanced their ability to assess their choice and to make informed decisions. Joy and Lucia explained their recent spending after being aware of what was going on in their community, *'I normally wait until the end of year to buy books as Whitcoulls has great bargains then'* (Joy) and *'When we need to buy something, we usually wait until the sales. We wait until Briscoes or Farmers have sales'* (Lucia). As such, participants began to take ownership of their lives after 'Knowing the Present'.

The ability to 'Know the Present' also assisted participants to get a life direction based on assessment of their present situations. Previously, many participants reported that they felt uncertainty in the Present or were too busy to learn about their new surroundings. Accordingly, there was no time to think of their future, resulting in 'Living for the Day'. This occasionally left their lives in New Zealand in limbo *'I can't find any solution to solve this problem. I am in limbo with deciding whether I go back to Korea or not'* (Tom). 'Knowing the Present' meant they came to manage current situations and became competent with predicting what would happen in their near future, *'I can organise my schedule now as I can see what will happen tomorrow at work'* (Kevin). Jacob also explained how his work experience with locals helped him to analyse current situations and plan for his life in New Zealand:

> My business partners are on holiday … There is nothing I can do now, except having a break just like them. This is the first time for me that I can take a

break with peace of mind. I've played with my children and been camping with them. I should have chosen this lifestyle earlier, why now? Now, I can predict what will happen tomorrow. This means I can plan for my near future. (Jacob)

In this sense, by 'Knowing the Present', Korean immigrants were able to ease their anxiety for their uncertain future. With knowledge of what is going on in the Present, they were able to foresee their near future and prepare their lives with a life direction. Asma described how her ability of 'Knowing the Present' assisted her to appreciate her current situation and eventually increase her life satisfaction in New Zealand:

When I worked at the local tourist attraction, I met many locals. I could gradually understand their world. This experience helped me to know what is going on and how I have to live here. It helps me to plan my life as I know where my life is heading now. Since I can manage and predict my life, I feel much happier … I am happy with my current life. (Asma)

Consequence: Establishing New Self

Whilst being exposed to New Zealand perspectives, some participants disclosed that they began to embrace norms and values of New Zealand society. At this time, participants often compared New World perspectives to the ones they inherited in Korea. Some participants tended to relish independence from their Old World perspectives, as they learnt the differences between two perspectives. For them, the collectivist view of the world was fading whilst they accepted the individualism underpinning their new country. In this sense, the more they 'Engage in New Zealand Ways', the more chances Korean immigrants have of 'Establishing New Self' reflective of New Zealand perspectives.

For some participants, 'Establishing New Self' meant that they were able to ease the pressure of self-consciousness. Brought up in a collective society, Korean immigrants often felt pressured to keep face in society '*In Korea, we often feel pressured to show up others'* (Anne). In a materialistic society where the acquisition of symbols of wealth such as expensive cars or designer bags was important, people were accustomed to comparing their lives to others' possessions in order to keep up appearances, often leading to less life satisfaction. Clara, who came from the upper class in Korea, explained how she was dissatisfied with her life as she often compared her life to others:

In Korea, we are all related to each other. It is inevitable we compare our life to others. Sometimes I felt that I lived only to compare my life to others' … To be honest, I had never been happy with what I had in Korea. I always pursued more and more, you know, to get something that I didn't have. (Clara)

By embracing the New World perspectives, some participants 'Established New Self' which was less concerned with self-consciousness, *'I don't need to consider how others think of me anymore'* (Anne). They began to appreciate the importance of their own and family happiness. Jacob and Anne shared how their 'Newly Established Self' accepted second-hand products as they did not have to live in a materialistic society anymore:

> My golf clubs are mostly second-hand or given by friends. I don't care as long as I can play with them. But, when you play with people in the field, people often show up, saying how much their golf clubs cost. I don't feel jealous at all. It doesn't matter ... I just enjoy playing golf for myself. I don't play golf to show people up. (Jacob)

> Here, it is common to buy second-hand products. So, I am not offended when someone offers those products. In Korea, people normally don't give their unwanted products to their neighbours because it may offend people. But here, because I knew some international student families, they often gave us some products such as clothes, home appliances or even furniture when they returned to Korea. Now, I don't hesitate to accept their offer. (Anne)

In addition, some participants began to view the situations from the standpoint of their 'Newly Established Self' on gender roles. This helped them to re-negotiate their roles in the home as clear gender boundaries were eroding within this 'Newly Established Self'. Donna explained how her parents-in-law changed their traditional views:

> My parents-in-law, their generation! They never imagined that husbands could do housework. But while we have lived here, they witnessed how the Kiwi neighbours live. For Kiwis, it is natural that husbands do housework after they come home … My parents-in-law came to think why not my son? Now, they don't mind if my husband does some of the housework. (Donna)

As such, the majority of participants reported a successful role re-negotiation in the home after a period of adjustment. In many instances, Korean immigrants shared responsibility with regard to maintaining the home *'I used to do all housework in Korea. But here my husband helps me a lot with housework'* (Joy) and *'My husband helps me a lot such as cleaning and washing dishes. Actually he is a person doing those jobs here'* (Sue).

In some cases, however, accepting other family members' 'Newly Established Self' was not received well in the home, prompting disappointment, tension and domestic arguments about the extent of role re-negotiation *'I know my husband changed a lot, but it is still not enough for me. As he grew up in Korea, it is hard for him to completely change'* (Hanna). Jenny also explained how she had to deal with her husband's patriarchal values with her 'Newly Established Self':

When my husband joined us 3 years later, it wasn't good ... You know, I already became an individualistic person. When he came, he tried to dominate my life again. He didn't change at all. He wanted to decide almost everything about my life … It was just like the old days in Korea. Later, I found I acted the same way towards him as my daughters did to me in the past. I said to him 'Don't tell me what to do'. (Jenny)

'Establishing New Self' was also closely related to the opportunity of developing self, as participants were likely to focus on their own happiness alongside the family's well-being. Accordingly, they sought a chance to develop their hidden talents or accomplish their forgotten dreams which they had to give up in the past. In this sense, a process of 'Establishing New Self' could be a positive experience of developing self. Tom, whilst he shared the housework, discovered his interest in gardening and actively engaged in this area, *'I found my new hobby which I didn't realise before, that is, gardening. I like to watch flowers. I find pruning fun and interesting ... I didn't have any chance to have that kind of experience in Seoul'* (Tom).

For participants, who had to give up study because of the conservative Korean culture on productivity *'In Korea, we were often encouraged to take subjects which promised a successful future or more job opportunities after graduation'* (Hanna), 'Newly Established Self' meant they had an opportunity to pursue their forgotten dream again, *'I enjoyed learning English. You know, I got married early. I had to give up studying. I had kept a dream of learning English in mind. So learning English again was fun for me'* (Jenny), and *'Here I could pursue my dream again regardless of age. The thing I mostly appreciate about living in New Zealand is that I can study at anytime'* (Clara). By being a recipient of a student loan and allowance, some participants engaged in study to achieve their life dream, eventually leading to developing self, *'I always kept in mind that I would study again if I had a chance. This is my chance to start again with what I want to study'* (Marie).

Through 'Establishing New Self', Korean immigrants spontaneously separated themselves from their Old World perspectives wherein people were often closely related, *'Koreans don't have clear boundaries ... It sometimes causes gossips and argument'* (Judy), and attached to self-consciousness in the materialistic society *'The reason I repeatedly talk about a car is that Koreans usually consider their car as their social status. So, many people want to drive a luxurious car to show others up'* (Jacob). Some participants, then, came to appreciate the positive aspects of their new country and as a result, they began to accept New Zealand as their home, *'Nowadays, I feel New Zealand is my home'* (Sue). For them, 'Newly Established Self' meant that they were ready to embrace the positive-ness of the New World.

Clara and Ant explained how they valued their New World and tried to be members of the new society:

> I appreciate what I have now … You now, in New Zealand, many people do their best with a humble mind, just helping others in need as long as they can. I want to be like them. This is why I love New Zealand so much. (Clara)

> Kiwis have warm hearts. They never make a wry face when I ask for help ... If they find someone in need, they just help. They don't expect any reward. I am impressed. I really respect the Kiwi culture. I have learnt that attitude. So I try to help others and participate in local events if they need my talent. I do my best with pleasure. That is all. I don't expect them to pay me or appreciate my attendance. (Ant)

Conclusion

In this last chapter of research findings, I present consequences of the strategies under different structural contexts. When participants engaged in each context, they used strategies respectively in relation to 'Regaining Control' over their lives, leading to varying consequences. They were 'Gaining Know-how', 'Devaluing Self', 'Staying in the Past', 'Living for the Day', 'Creating Pressure', 'Making Own Ways', 'Knowing the Present', and 'Establishing New Self'.

These consequences became part of the conditions which framed the next action and interactional sequence whereby participants demonstrated an adaptive capacity to adjust to situations. In this sense, conditions, actions and consequences in this study were not deterministic; rather they were closely related to each other by creating the next set of events to which participants responded through modifying their actions.

Chapter Ten: DISCUSSION

Summary of the Theory

The literature reviewed suggested that immigration is a process of adaptation in which occupation can be a mediating device (Berry, 1997; 2009; Johansson et al., 2013). It is a life-transition that inevitably disrupts people's daily interaction, and consequently challenges their identity and well-being. The lens of occupational science was chosen to analyse the data in this study as I believe that immigrants negotiate integration through occupation following immigration (Huot et al., 2013).

Using an occupational lens had a significant bearing on the exploration of the experiences of Korean immigrants. The participants in this study provided accounts of their occupational experiences; that is to say, through what activities they worked on re-establishing their lives in the New Zealand context. This offered a possible route forward to understanding the processes Korean immigrants engaged in during their settlement process.

Through this research, I found that the concept of 'Valuing Self' symbolised what Korean immigrants pursued during the settlement process. They consciously engaged in activities with which they could value themselves, in order to be members of their new society. The core process the participants undertook to accomplish this purpose was 'Regaining Control'. It was a circular process in which they continually moved in and out of four dimensions; 'the Old World', 'the New World', 'the Domestic Sphere' and 'the Societal Sphere'. This process was comprised of two sets of sub-processes; 'Being a Tightrope Walker' and 'Making a Commitment'. The former referred to finding the balance between the two cultures, whereas the latter was defined as an attitude of being an active responder or observer in relation to 'Regaining Control'.

There were seven salient conditions which denoted aspects of the person's biology and their Old World and New World perspectives; 'Minimum Expectations for a New Life', 'Sugar Coated World', 'Language Barriers', 'Ethnocentric Attitude', 'Confucianism', 'Existing Networks', and 'Korean Enclave'. These conditions largely impacted on the process of Regaining Control by forming a structural context; 'Enacting Korean Ways' and 'Enacting New Zealand Ways'. Under each structural context, participants employed different strategies such as 'Recycling the Old me', 'Prioritising', 'Keeping Silent', 'Searching for Alternatives', 'Constant Experimenting', and 'Hanging on'. These strategies

explained how the process of Regaining Control was actually carried out in response to the situations they encountered.

Employing a specific strategy within the New Zealand context resulted in a range of consequences; 'Gaining Know-how', 'Devaluing Self', 'Staying in the Past', 'Living for the Day', 'Creating Pressure', 'Making Own Ways', 'Knowing the Present' and 'Establishing New Self'. For example, the participants who kept silent when they responded to problems due to language barriers were likely to devalue themselves. In contrast, having existing networks helped participants to search for alternatives in the host community; hence, it was critical with regard to making their own ways in unfamiliar surroundings. Then, these consequences created sequential conditions for the participants' next actions. From this regard, the process of Regaining Control might be a never ending process whilst being closely interwoven with socio-environmental factors.

In this study, participants entering New Zealand made many more statements regarding 'loss and lack of control' and 'anxiety and fear of losing control' than statements reflecting 'having control'. The findings revealed that to regain a feeling of control, participants continuously engaged in multiple and diverse interrelated structural dimensions of Two Worlds; Korea and New Zealand. Through traversing between these Two Worlds, participants came increasingly to regain control over activities which guided them to the place where they felt they belonged. 'Regaining Control' was a theory of how the participants in this study worked towards 'Valuing Self' by learning and adjusting their ways of performing activities in New Zealand.

In Chapter Ten, I present two vital conclusions derived from the course of this study. The first conclusion is that the current models of acculturation have limited applicability in the context of globalisation whereby international borders become more and more insignificant (Spellman, 2008). For the participants in this study, settlement is about 'Regaining Control' in their lives, as a sense of control is a pivotal contributor to their identity and well-being (Lachman & Prenda Firth, 2004). The current models of acculturation do not capture the dynamic process of how immigrants maintain a sense of control within the globalised context. The second conclusion is that the process of Regaining Control is inseparable from societal contexts. This process is always intertwined with persons' experiences of their outside world. All environments, therefore, have forces that support and impede an individual's participation in society (Marvasti, 2006). These key conclusions will be discussed in the next sections.

Following the discussion of these conclusions, I will outline the implications of the findings of this study for the settlement support services, social policy and occupational science. The rigour of the research process will then be addressed in order to present how well the theory can be related to the everyday experience of Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand.

Regaining Control: A Supplement to Models of Acculturation

The first conclusion of this study revisits the current concept of acculturation which predominantly presents a psychological perspective (Berry, 1994, 1997; Santisteban & Mitrani, 2002). Since it was introduced in the 1930s, the term 'acculturation' has undoubtedly become a core construct in contemporary immigration studies (Trimble, 2002). According to Berry (2001), acculturation is about "the management of group relations in culturally plural societies" (p. 616). Based on the literature reviewed and the findings of this study, I suggest that current understanding of acculturation has limitations in explaining the experiences of immigrants in the context of globalisation and fails to describe immigrants' settlement from a viewpoint of maintaining a sense of control in everyday activities.

The Globalised Context

In immigration studies, it is assumed that acculturation occurs as a result of continuous contact between two different cultures including the adjustment of attitudes, values, behaviours, language and cultural identity (Choi & Thomas, 2009; Hernandez, 2009). Yet, emphasis has often been placed on a change in the psychology of the acculturating individuals (Berry et al. 1987; Boyle et al., 1998). Accordingly, the current models of acculturation tend to focus on immigrants' changing behavioural repertoire and its related stresses, such as anxiety or depression whilst they work on being more appropriate in the new setting (Berry, 1997; Ward et al., 2001).

In many instances, acculturation denotes a process of assimilation of acculturating individuals (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000), "whereby immigrants change their behaviour and attitudes toward those of the host society" (Rogler et al., 1991, p. 585). Despite the fact that acculturation is viewed as a reciprocal process (Berry, 2001), in which both the acculturating individual and the receiving society make adaptations towards each other (Suleman & Whiteford, 2013), it is commonly believed that immigrants eventually become assimilated to

a new culture by accepting the standpoint of others in their new country (Deutscher, 2004). In this regard, the current models of acculturation usually attempt to isolate the acculturating individual, questioning the ways in which individual immigrants respond to pressure to give up their culture and assimilate into the culture of the larger society (Birman, 1994).

I would argue that assimilation rarely happens in the context of globalisation. Propelled by developments in transportation and communications, the ideology of globalisation visualises a borderless world which has a huge impact on the lives of people worldwide (Asaba et al., 2010; Frank, 2013). Within the context of globalisation, it is almost impossible for immigrants to be totally disconnected from the origin of their world. Instead, they are able to frequently communicate with their Old World via diverse technologies, and thus adapting to a new culture becomes less of a necessity during the acculturation process. In reality of the 21st century, acculturation is no longer a product of mere interaction between immigrants and the receiving country. This means researchers in immigration studies have to reconsider the traditional belief of acculturation models, that the acculturative process of immigration is a unidirectional course of cultural change eventually resulting in full assimilation (Choi & Thomas, 2009; Trimble, 2002).

For many participants in this study, immigration seemed to be borderless in that their interaction with the host community became more optional, in many cases, whilst they were easily able to be connected to their Old World using high technology communication and the well-established ethnic enclave, *'I use an 070 internet telephone. It is a local number in Korea. I can talk to my family almost every second day'* (Ruth) and *'Almost everything was fairly easy to get ... No hassle at all as many Korean shops and restaurants were available'* (Joy). Within the globalised context, the majority of participants in this study felt less immediate pressure to adapt to their New World perspectives. Even Simon, who lived in a small city where an ethnic enclave was not yet established, explained how he could easily maintain his previous lifestyle, in particular with regard to the supply of ethnic resources:

> I don't have any problem accessing Korean newspapers and eating Korean food at home. I should say, I have 80% Korean food and 20% Kiwi style food, you know just fresh bread or meat. I normally order Korean groceries from Korean wholesale companies in City A. They deliver Korean products alongside Korean newspapers weekly down here. (Simon)

As Simon outlined, it becomes convenient for many immigrants to preserve their traditions without immediate pressure to learn about those of the host society in the globalised context; that is to say, immigrants are easily able to maintain their traditions and culture unless being prompted to adapt to the host culture.

For many of the participants in this study, globalisation has come to symbolise how easy it is to access and maintain their Old World perspectives. Globalisation has the effect of strengthening their traditions in New Zealand. By making a borderless world, globalisation contributes to producing diversified sources of identity. Accordingly, when discussing the acculturation process, many of the participants, including Sue, reported that they felt less pressured about putting themselves into the four categories of the acculturation models whilst creating their identity in much larger international spaces.

> I think my son is not a 'Kiwi'. He grew up here and has many friends. New Zealand is his hometown. But he is Korean because he has a Korean heritage. You know, we live in a global world. He can live anywhere in the world if he wants. I hope that my son lives in New Zealand with the pride of having a Korean heritage. It doesn't matter which country he lives in. (Sue)

In this interview, analysing Sue's experience from the standpoint of traditional models of acculturation (Berry, 1994), it could be interpreted that Sue experienced a high level of separation, as she denied her son's new identity. In contrast, she also felt integrated, as she was able to accept that her son lives in a new country through constantly interacting with members of the host society. The difficulty is that the current models of acculturation do not reflect the borderless-ness within the context of globalisation. For Sue, the necessity of adapting to a new culture becomes less meaningful since she can maintain frequent connections with her Old World.

Additionally, immigration is still believed to be a movement from less developed countries to countries with more resources (Dovidio & Esses, 2001; Hernandez, 2009). Gupta's statement in 2013 explained how cross-cultural researchers stereotype immigration in the 21st century; that is, "immigration is largely a uni-directional phenomenon with people migrating from low and middle-income and less industrialized countries to high income, highly industrialized and technologically advanced countries" (p. 1). From this perspective, immigrants are often viewed as people who hope to settle in the host country and become fully assimilated within several generations. Yet, it has to be acknowledged that in this globalised context, "there are also those immigrants who view themselves as temporary visitors and harbour intentions of eventually returning home" (Deutscher, 2004, p. 445). It is their definition of themselves as sojourners that determines their identity and governs their relationship to the host society.

It can be argued that if researchers conceptualise and measure individual acculturation in a uni-linear way without considering this changing world, merely focusing on acculturative strategies of 'assimilation', 'separation', 'marginalisation' and 'integration' (Birman, 1994;

Buddington, 2002; Krishnan & Berry, 1992), those studies will lack the ability to examine changing societal settings in which immigrants create a home in a new environment. Nonetheless, most current research on immigration is only appropriate to typical immigration situations; that is, "immigrants are poorer, less well-educated, political refugees, or otherwise needy compared with the receiving society" (Pratto & Lemieux, 2001, p. 427).

In now revisiting the concept of acculturation, it becomes apparent that the various situational factors, in particular those associated with globalisation, must be considered (Frank, 2013). Indeed, Berry (1994) asserted two decades ago that a joint interest in societal and biological influences on individual behaviour appeared necessary. Lazarus (1997) subsequently attempted to capture societal variations when individuals adapt to social malaise and relocation, and the fact that the acculturation process is interwoven with societal variables is increasingly recognised (Bhugra, 2004; Trimble, 2002). The new perspective contributed by this study is that researchers should consider the availability and accessibility of the immigrants' culture of origin within the context of globalisation. In this way, a complete study of acculturation should consider political, economic, and demographic conditions being faced by immigrants within the context of globalisation and link the background contextual variables to each acculturation strategy.

Acculturation: A Process of Regaining Control

The findings of this research supplement a long-standing concept of acculturation as an explanation of the immigration process. Based on the findings of this study, I suggest that the process of acculturation has to be re-considered depending on the immigrants' level of perceived control. Given that the amount of control one has in any given situation is subject to different interpretations (Lachman & Weaver, 1998), perceived control is not a measure of the skills people hold but a belief in relation to what they can do with whatever skills they possess under different sets of conditions. This shift in emphasis will enhance the knowledge of acculturation which, as mentioned, largely focuses on an acculturating individual's psychological process (Birman, 1994; Boyle et al., 1998).

The findings of this study reveal that participants settling in New Zealand work on 'Regaining Control' which entails ongoing movement between the Two World perspectives. Participants exercise choices over what they do by searching for the most promising ways, through behaving in Korean ways or New Zealand ways. Within this framework, the acculturation process can be a selective process available to immigrants, based on their

assessment of their capacities to handle the situation. In this regard, participants engaged in a process of acculturation according to their sense of control. This perspective aligns with the acculturation strategies of 'assimilation', 'separation', 'marginalisation' and 'integration'; yet the focus is different. Where Berry's model emphasises possible outcomes of an acculturating individual's psychological changes (Berry, 1994, 1997, 2008), the participants of this study employ acculturation strategies with regard to 'Regaining Control' in their lives.

Upon arrival, the majority of the participants reported a sense of powerlessness or helplessness in mastering their new surroundings, which seems to be closely related to the term 'control' (Skinner, 1996). Over a prolonged period of time, Korean immigrants used acculturation strategies ranging from 'assimilation' to 'integration' alternatively when they worked on 'Regaining Control' over specific activities. These strategies are participants' selective patterns of action to retain or regain control in their lives, rather than resultant outcomes of their actions. Preferences for one strategy over others rest on the participants' perceived control in activities which are helpful in terms of fulfilling their social role. Thus, I suggest that acculturation has to be understood based on an immigrant's sense of control in their lives in a new country.

Control

> God knows all things before they come to pass … There must therefore be nothing depending on the free exercise of our own wills, for our wills themselves are included in that order of causes which is certain to God, and is embraced by his foreknowledge. (Cottingham, 1996, p. 217)

As noted earlier, it was once assumed that the doings of mortals were subject to something called 'fate'. Chrysippus, the leading Stoic philosopher, asserted that "fate is a certain natural everlasting ordering of the whole; one set of things follows on and succeeds another, and the interconnection is inviolable" (cited in Cottingham, 1996, p. 215). According to this deterministic view, everything that happens is predetermined by a combination of antecedent conditions and the laws of nature (Callender, 2010); hence, everything is beyond our control and one's fate is unalterable.

This belief in supernatural systems of control gave way to conceptions that acknowledged people's power to shape their own destiny, as humans' knowledge of nature developed through civilisation (Brunner, 1995). For example, libertarian free-will argues that the causal chain that leads to action terminates in the choices for the agent, and these choices are not effects of prior causes (Callender, 2010). It is now recognised that humans strive to

control the events that affect their lives (Bandura, 1997) and attempt to gain control by influencing existing realities via their actions (Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984). This means that people have the capacity to be the original sources of their actions. This philosophical view is consistent with symbolic interactionism that humans are actors who invoke motives as a way of explaining or accounting for their past actions (Blumer, 1969; Charmaz, 2014).

In the history of philosophy, tedious discussion occurred between determinists and the proponents of free-will, eventually leading to 'Compatibilism'. Compatibilism refers to a belief that moral responsibility is compatible with deterministic causation (Callender, 2010). According to this perspective, humans can be considered to be morally responsible for their actions only if there are alternative possibilities open to them and they have the ability to do otherwise (Cottingham, 1996). This belief declares that the striving for control over life circumstances permeates almost everything people do throughout their life course (Bandura, 1997). As a result, many theories about 'control' have been proposed over the years and conclude that a sense of control is a pivotal contributor to a wide variety of behaviours and to both mental and physical well-being, which are essential elements of quality of life (Hugman, 1991; Tayor & Brown, 1988).

Given that a sense of control is central in human lives (Bandura, 1997), there is heterogeneity among the constructs researchers use to describe control. One set of these constructs is based on the term control such as personal control, sense of control, locus of control, illusory control, primary control, secondary control, and proxy control (Shapiro, Schwartz, & Astin, 1996). The other set of constructs does not explicitly use the word control but nevertheless seems closely related to the set that does; it includes helplessness, efficacy, agency, capacity, mastery, and outcome expectancy (Skinner, 1996). These findings strongly support the importance of control in humans' lives, in that "a person's sense of control can have pronounced effects on morbidity and mortality" (Shapiro et al., 1996, p. 1215). Research on a variety of diseases has already indicated the importance of control in moderating health outcomes (Lachman & Prenda Firth, 2004; Lachman & Weaver, 1998a; Wallston, 1992).

In this regard, the last set of related, but distinct, constructs focuses on the question of why people seek a sense of control and why these perceptions should have such a pervasive impact on the immigration process. One explanation holds that "all people innately desire to engage in effective interactions with the environment, interactions in which they experience themselves as producing desired effects and preventing undesired effects" (Skinner, 1996, p.

557). Given that a sense of control is an important mediator of behaviours in many domains of living (McAvay, Seeman, & Rodin, 1996), one indicator of successful adaptation may be the ability to select domains of functioning in which it is possible to maximise one's ability to control outcomes. Nayar et al. (2012) postulated that as long as immigrants are able to choose occupations in accordance with their knowledge and values, they have the ability to maintain their well-being. What these authors emphasised was the importance of having the possibility of choice. This strategic selection of life domains in itself may be a clear manifestation of one's ability to take control over the immigration process.

As such, it is believed that a sense of control influences the initiation of behaviours and the amount of effort expended in the face of demanding situations (Bandura, 1997). In this way, the sense of control provides the motivation to cope and take action even in the face of great adversity (Lachman & Prenda Firth, 2004). The findings of this study align with this belief, in that Korean immigrants employed acculturation strategies according to their perceived control. For example, a high sense of mastery and a belief in low external constraints were beneficial for Korean immigrants in maintaining cultural integrity, as well as in becoming an integral part of a larger societal framework. Jacob disclosed how his sense of control in his life contributed to having behavioural patterns reflective of the host society – a stage of integration based on Berry's acculturation model:

> I find everything is ok these days. That doesn't mean I have enough money. What I mean is I changed my life expectation just like the Kiwis. You know, I experienced good and bad things in the last ten years whilst I worked with other Koreans or New Zealanders. This experience helped me to have my own way of thinking about my life here. I don't worry about my future too much now. What I learnt from my experience is don't take it seriously and just let it happen. I would say my recent life is very similar to the lifestyle of which I dreamt before I came to New Zealand. (Jacob)

Those who had a greater sense of control, including Jacob, were more likely to take action and believed that what they do makes a difference. Therefore, a sense of control seems to be pivotal to their journey of Valuing Self. Asma, who mastered her new culture through interacting with local people, worked on making a difference in her new home country with her trans-nationality:

> I used to be a kindergarten teacher in Korea. I would like to bring the Korean education system here. In general, the New Zealand system is excellent but something is missing … I witnessed there were not many programmes available for children to develop their potential here. In contrast, we have many programmes and resources in Korea … It would be good for NZ if I could introduce those programmes. I believe my experience in Korea would benefit children here. This is why I chose to study teaching at Uni. (Asma)

Asma's perspective outlined above is in accordance with a belief that integration is associated with minimal stress levels, with regard to maintaining control over their lives, and is also mutually transforming not only the immigrant culture but also the host culture (Berry, 2001; Choi & Thomas, 2009; Deutscher, 2004).

In contrast, those participants who had a helpless orientation and failed to see a contingency between their actions and outcomes were less active in taking actions reflective of the new society. Instead, they chose to be separated by placing value on holding on to their original culture, whilst at the same time wishing to avoid interaction with others. Ant, who lost control in his parenting, tried to remain connected with his own ethnic group in order to retain control – a stage of separation (Berry, 1994).

> I couldn't do anything for my children because I didn't speak English. When I didn't understand the school letters, I often knocked on other Koreans' doors. I had to rely on their advice … There is nothing I can do for my children, you know just keep the faith that 'time will tell' ... I didn't care about their school performance as long as they went to school. (Ant)

As such, the majority of Korean immigrants engaged in the acculturation process, based on their level of perceived control. The findings of this study suggest that the acculturation process should be re-considered as a pathway of 'Regaining Control' in problematic situations as a result of the merging of two cultural systems.

Participants use a strategy of 'assimilation', 'separation', 'marginalisation', and 'integration' based on their assessment of their efficacy in the situation. Consistent with symbolic interactionism, which holds that humans act toward things on the basis of the meanings those things have for them (Blumer, 1969), it is a sense of control that gives meaning to their behavioural patterns and determines participants' strategies of acculturation. These insights into the advantages of attending to immigrants' sense of control during the settlement process raise questions about the activities that they had difficulties continuing with, regardless of their knowledge and skills.

Valuing Self: Occupational Justice in the Context of Immigration

The second key conclusion reached over the course of this study enriches the knowledge of occupational justice. The concept of occupational justice encapsulates concerns about inequitable occupational opportunities. Based on the literature reviewed and the findings of this study, I would argue that the current occupational justice frameworks developed by Wilcock (1998), Townsend and Wilcock (2004), Stadnyk et al. (2010), and Whiteford (2010),

do not adequately reflect the occupational experience of immigrants around the globe. The findings of this study add an insight into knowledge of occupational justice; that is, occupational injustice from the standpoint of immigrants.

Occupational Justice

Since it was introduced in the 1980s, occupational science has opened up "new ways to explore the complexities of human engagement in occupations" (Wright-St Clair & Hocking, 2014, p. 83). One example of that is occupational justice, a concept that arose in the 1990s when Townsend and Wilcock sought a language to raise concerns about unfair distribution of the benefits and burdens associated with human occupations. This concept speaks to "issues of difference and social inclusion, taking individual and group differences in occupational participation into account" (Townsend & Whiteford, 2005, p. 112). This is a critical perspective of social structures that emphasises what people do in relation with societal conditions (Molineux & Whiteford, 2006). Accordingly, occupational justice favours the enablement of different accessibility to occupation (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004).

Given the fact that occupations are "the means by which people confront and solve problematic situations in their lives" (Dewey, 1958, cited in Frank, 2013, p. 229), occupational justice highlights an individual's choice in accepting opportunities that enrich their occupational potential by promoting social, political, and economic changes (Galvaan, 2012). The concept of occupational justice rests on "a utopian vision of an occupationally just world" (Stadnyk et al., 2010, p. 330). It is designed to bring to public awareness the knowledge that occupational injustice persists when participation in occupations is confined, restricted, or disrupted; when people are marginalised and excluded from valued occupations; or when people's experience of occupation is alienating or exploitative (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004).

Consistent with pragmatism, which assumes that social progress is possible (Mead, 1934), occupational scientists believe that the resulting change comes by doing something; that is to say, through occupation (Frank, 2013). Choosing occupations, nevertheless, is a complex, socio-culturally situated matter. In this way, occupational justice focuses on 'occupational equity', which does not mean that all people are able to do exactly the same things; rather it calls for a justice of difference that ensures the prerequisites of life to be met according to needs, and matches meaning with competences and values (Wilcock, 2006). Galvaan (2012) also postulated that "issues of equity of access and justice need to be

acknowledged in any discussion of what constitutes occupational choice and how it can best be understood" (p. 152). This is particularly important for marginalised groups, including ethnic immigrants, since their rights and power to excise preferences related to occupations may not happen.

To date, four significant manifestations of occupational injustice have emerged, namely 'occupational alienation', 'occupational deprivation', 'occupational marginalisation', and 'occupational imbalance' (Townsend & Whiteford, 2005). Occupational alienation refers to a sense that a person's occupations are meaningless and unfulfilling, associated with a feeling of powerlessness in relation to altering the situation, whereas occupational deprivation describes "a state of prolonged preclusion from engagement in occupations of necessity or meaning due to factors which stand outside of the control of the individual" (Whiteford, 2000, p. 201). Occupational marginalisation ensues when people are not given the opportunity to participate in culturally valued occupations (Creek, 2010). Occupational imbalance refers to the allocation of time used for particular purposes with terms such as 'over-occupied' and 'under-occupied' (Stadnyk et al., 2010). The essence of these four concepts is that occupational injustice is socially structured, leading to stressful occupational experiences and deleterious health outcomes.

Through occupation, humans create the circumstances of their everyday existence in the world (Johnson & Yerxa, 1989). Thus, it is logical that persons who are denied access to valued occupations may experience a reduction in quality of life (Kielhofner, 2009). The findings of this study reveal that societal conditions such as a monolingual context and preferential employment of people with local experience prevented Korean immigrants from living out their occupational lives to the fullest extent and as a result, their quality of life was decreased. This finding points to the impact of contextual factors on occupation, in particular with regard to occupational deprivation. As Frank (2013) asserted, "the concept of an occupation cannot really stand alone without specifying its relationship within a given context" (p. 232), thus occupational scientists need to be fully aware of the contextual factors that determine possibilities for participating in various occupations (Stadnyk et al., 2010; Wilcock, 2006).

The occupational deprivation of Korean immigrants

According to Wilcock (2006), deprivation implies dispossession, divestment, confiscation, and the influence of an external agency that keeps a person from acquiring, using, or enjoying

something. In line with this, the concept of occupational deprivation is based on a belief that individuals' performance of necessary or meaningful occupations can be restricted by their environment (Whiteford, 2010), even when they have the capacity to execute a particular activity (Law et al., 1998; Wilcock, 1998). Currently, the analysis of occupational deprivation is mainly based on six factors; 'geographic isolation', 'unsatisfactory conditions of employment', 'incarceration', 'sex-role stereotyping', 'disability', and 'refugeeism' (Whiteford, 2004, 2010).

Occupational deprivation is contrasted with occupational disruption, a concept occupational scientists predominantly use to depict the immigration process (Gupta & Sullivan, 2013; Nayar & Sterling, 2013). The most important distinction is that occupational disruption is temporary and the individual has some control, whereas occupational deprivation is prolonged and due to external or environmental factors over which the individual has little or no control. Of course, it is undeniable that the majority of the participants in this study experienced occupational disruption for a period time, affecting almost all aspects of their lives including involvement in leisure activities and difficulty in paid-work. Connor Schisler and Polatajko (2002) explained this occupational disruption as being a result of immigration, and used the terms things 'altered', 'abandoned' or 'newly added'.

In this study, Korean immigrants made their best efforts to manage disrupted occupations and in fact, many of them eventually demonstrated an adaptive capacity in adjusting to occupational disruption. In many cases, participants came to be able to make occupational choices again dependent on the realities of their new society. For example, Carl was able to resume the disrupted activities by practicing or learning skills.

> I have learnt English from a Kiwi teacher once a week. You know, speaking English is a critical component if I want to live here. Although I make slow progress, I think it is better than giving up … I think I can understand about 60% of what people say now. It is huge progress for me. (Carl)

This finding aligns with the assumption that humans have the ability to negotiate their occupation in response to the environment (Kielhofner, 2009; Yerxa et al., 1990), acting upon a situation as autonomous individuals capable of making their own choices (Frank, 2013; Johansson et al., 2013). Because of this, many studies of immigration define the immigration process as temporal, in which individual immigrants re-configure their daily occupational lives with some level of control, and thus taking responsibility for the results of their actions (Bhugra, 2006; Brown, 2008; Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002; Gupta & Sullivan, 2013).

Nevertheless, some societal factors such as discrimination and racism are known to contribute to declining participation of ethnic minorities in society (Mueller, 2006; Tsai & Coleman, 1999). The findings of this study also discovered that participation in the specific activities was barred by external forces. Participants of this study recounted that some environmental features led to occupational deprivation, as their participation in the specific occupations was impeded by the characteristics of the environment in which it occurred.

One example of occupational deprivation was a lack of opportunity to engage with the host society despite their willingness to do so. The majority of the participants reported that one of the greatest problems in their lives in New Zealand was social isolation. Kevin explained how Korean immigrants were socially isolated from New Zealand society, describing it as *'Living like in an Island'*. They had difficulty in building relationships with local people because of differences between the cultures, locals' tendencies to stereotype Asian immigrants, and language barriers. Joy commented on her perception of the local people, *'Kiwis are neighbours whom I cannot easily approach'*.

Not being able to socialise with other people diminishes opportunities for social interaction, which influences how immigrants integrate into the receiving society (Lee & Hernandez, 2009). This externally structured social isolation potentially determines the participants' identity, leading to them maintaining a spectator's status, *'I am a stranger or visitor here'* (Aaron). Gary explained how he felt distant from local people because of cultural differences:

> I have known them for several years, yet I am still maintaining a diplomatic relationship with them, you know I just know their names. I reckon it is because of cultural differences. It is hard to understand the way of their thinking. (Gary)

Another example of occupational deprivation is related to employment. For many Korean immigrants, finding a job was one of the most challenging experiences due to lack of recognition of their qualifications (discussed in Chapter Two). Judy, who used to work as a nurse, found her job in a local rest home as a caregiver because her nursing experience was unvalued in New Zealand, *'I was a care-giver. I knew it was much lower compared to my nursing qualification. But my nursing qualification wasn't recognised here'*. Lucia also found her nursing career meaningless in New Zealand until she could prove her skills in English. She planned to devalue her skills in order to find employment in the future, *'If I can't work as a nurse, I may try to find a job in elderly care. I think I can still work as a nurse assistant in those fields'*.

As such, the most common and visible type of employment problem in this study was underemployment. Given that personal identity is based largely on economic activity (Rebeiro et al., 2001; Whiteford, 2010), what happened when participants were deprived of access to equivalent employment was that they began to devalue themselves, which was then coupled with a sense of powerlessness in life. Bob voiced how his perception of self dramatically changed as a result of his difficulties with employment, *'I became a foreign labourer. People looked down on me'*. This difficulty in securing employment also meant that many participants could not plan their routines. For participants who were unemployed, one day was much the same as the next, leading to them living day by day. Tom previously explained how he structured his day whilst he was unemployed, *'I have a daily plan, you know, what I am going to do today, for example, going to the post-shop to pay my bills, doing the washing, or mowing. I just do whatever I need to do each moment'*.

Additionally, gender was witnessed as one of the contributing factors of occupational deprivation in this study. The term gender refers to "all the duties, rights, and behaviours a culture considers appropriate for males and females" (Dion & Dion, 2001, p. 511), leading to sex-role stereotyping in choosing occupations by providing the social judgements about what men and women typically should and should not do (Wilcock, 1998). Given that child rearing is still regarded as the occupational domain of women in the Korean tradition (Gee, 2000; Lou & Chi, 2012), some Korean women faced distinct challenges in balancing traditional gender roles. Some had to stay at home to look after the children, postponing or abandoning outside activities, *'I had to look after my baby by myself. I felt very isolated. I stayed home alone almost all day because she was too young to go out'* (Sandra), whilst some endured stress from ongoing domestic roles alongside being engaged in a productive activity. Hanna recounted her experience of rearing her children whilst she engaged in study, *'I found myself as a super mum. I had to manage dual tasks as a mum and a student'*.

It is difficult for someone who has not been an immigrant, in particular an ethnic immigrant, to understand what it is like to be deprived of participation in lifelong valued occupations. Upon settlement in a host country, Korean immigrants inevitably encounter some societal conditions with which they cannot cope. They have a higher risk of experiencing occupational deprivation due to their status of ethnic minority in a new country. Occupational deprivation seemed to be compounded when the host society expressed indifference and hostility towards them, *'There is an invisible different attitude towards us, I rather say it is discrimination'* (Donna) and *'I know not all Kiwis are like this. But some people have a kind of white supremacist attitude'* (Simon). Social isolation, coupled with

discrimination, meant that many Korean immigrants were not able to participate fully in occupations of meaning and necessity in the context of their new country.

Despite their efforts to improve their knowledge and skills, participants' narrative accounts of their lives pointed to the attitudes of local people as one of the biggest barriers to participation in the host society. Stereotyped perceptions and discrimination towards them served to constrain Korean immigrants from fully accessing and engaging in occupations of meaning and choice. The point needs to be emphasised that being an immigrant does not necessarily create occupational deprivation, but the social exclusion and discrimination they faced contributed to their experience of occupational deprivation.

As such, the societal environment is what really enables or constrains occupational opportunities for Korean immigrants, for whom the importance of finding meaning through occupation is one factor in response to occupational deprivation. The purpose of Valuing Self as members of this society was identified as essential to those participating in this study. In the next section, I recommend how society's readiness and responsiveness might be increased, by exploring the implications of the findings of this study to settlement services and social policy.

Implications of this Study

The findings of this study contribute to both national and international understanding about the immigration process. At a national level, the findings have potential in relation to the current settlement support services and decisions of social policy. Internationally, the process of Regaining Control holds implications for the field of occupational science.

Implications for Immigrants' Settlement Support Services

In New Zealand, the emphasis of the government is no longer solely on bringing immigrants into the country but on ensuring that immigrants are included in and accepted by the receiving society (The Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2002). Accordingly, a large range of settlement services have been established to accommodate their everyday needs. As presented earlier, the New Zealand Settlement Strategy (NZSS) was launched in 2004 and has been implemented through regional settlement plans. In combination with regional strategies, the NZSS was designed to assist immigrants in fully participating and contributing to society by 1) feeling welcome and accepted, 2) being in the right job, 3) being housed well, 4) speaking

and understanding New Zealand English, 5) knowing how to access information and services, and 6) understanding the New Zealand way of life and knowing that they are contributing to it (Department of Labour, 2007).

The focus of the NZSS is on welcoming and helping newcomers to learn how to do things in New Zealand. The NZSS clearly addresses newcomers' needs for information regarding jobs, housing, schools, and health systems, through provision by settlement information centres. As discussed in Chapter Two, Settlement Support New Zealand (SSNZ) sets up a clear point of contact for newcomers through 18 offices nationwide (Immigration New Zealand, 2014a). Further, the local government provides settlement support via Citizens Advice Bureau offices. Many local NGOs, such as the Chinese New Settlers Services Trust, Asian Family Services, and Auckland Regional Migrant Services, offer useful workshops to assist with getting to know New Zealand society. Recently New Zealand Immigration also launched a website 'New Zealand Now', which offers guidance on how to live in New Zealand. Access to essential information with regard to establishing a home in New Zealand is in place, as a result of the efforts of national and regional government and NGO settlement services.

This national strategy aligns with the settlement process that the participants in this study discussed; that is, 'Regaining Control' in activities reflective of New Zealand perspectives. However, the findings of this study indicate that implementation of this strategy is insufficient. A number of the participants, including those who came after the NZSS was put in place nationwide, experienced difficulties with regard to building new networks and finding employment outside of the Korean community. Additionally, they reported that they had to deal with discrimination in the host community. Therefore, a comprehensive scrutiny should be given to the existing resources and services in order to address the needs and demands of immigrants. It is suggested that the progress towards implementation of the NZSS should be regularly reviewed from the standpoint of immigrants, particularly its service users - newly arrived immigrants.

In particular, the participants in this study revealed that there was a paucity of services that provided a demonstration of how to do things in their community. Instead, they had to rely on personal networks or hire a settlement advisor who physically accompanied them to find a house, arrange schools for their children, and learn how and where to shop. Marie explained how she arranged support through personal networks, *'My cousin knew someone in New Zealand … He helped us a lot to settle here, including where to shop and how to set up a business here'*. After this short period, most of the participants had to find solutions by

themselves with language barriers and limited local knowledge. Thus, it would appear necessary that alongside the settlement services detailed above, Korean immigrants need more support which is designed to demonstrate or accompany them in their learning of the wider host community.

For example, the government currently provides a 6 week orientation course for newly arrived refugees at the Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre, which includes information necessary for successful integration into the wider New Zealand community (Nash, 2005). More importantly, whilst refugees stay in the camp, they are connected with local volunteers who can accompany them as their friends or relatives until they settle in their new home. This friendship with local people is proven to provide not only an opportunity to be familiar with the norms of the receiving society but also, through positive encounters, ease the difficulties that immigrants may experience (Choi & Thomas, 2009; Hernandez, 2009). Given that the majority of Korean immigrants are the first generation and thus do not have existing networks here, this kind of thoughtful service would offer the assurance that there is someone who can be called on for help when the challenges are too great to bear.

When considering the goal of 'being in the right job', as part of the NZSS, the current focus of the support services is mainly on writing a CV or connecting potential employers with new immigrants. This study suggests that the word 'right' should be emphasised when settlement services help immigrants to find employment. The findings of this study disclosed that many participants experienced 'status inconsistency', which occurs when high education is combined with low income or occupation, leading to devaluation of self and social isolation (Min, 1984; Song, 2004). The excerpt from Aaron's interview illuminated how he experienced status inconsistency whilst he had to work in an unskilled field:

> Although I applied for several jobs after graduation, I couldn't get a job. In those days, I did whatever I could do for money. I washed dishes, and was a delivery driver. When I did such menial jobs, I worked only at Kiwi shops because of my self-respect. My self-respect didn't allow me to work at Korean shops for those kinds of jobs. I intentionally sought a job in a place where no one would know me. (Aaron)

Given that people's paid employment has assumed a central position in how we identify ourselves (Whiteford, 2010), engaging in work which prompts 'status inconsistency' adversely impacts on the participants' journeys of 'Valuing Self' in New Zealand. Judy explained the importance of finding the 'right' job, *'My job is far below my qualification. They pay me a little ... It makes me upset. I came here for a better life but actually have to endure a low life'*. As such, for many Korean immigrants, finding a job is obviously crucial

because it facilitates successful settlement (Suto, 2013), but it is equally important to have the job they feel they deserve. This finding leads to a recommendation that immigrants' previous life story including qualifications and work experiences should be considered when job searching programmes for new comers are developed.

The ability to speak the local language positively functions with regard to immigrants' socio-cultural adjustment to the new community (Clement, Noels, & Deneault, 2001). Indeed, all participants in this study acknowledged that learning English was vital to their ability to resettle. Accordingly, many participants indicated that their first step in New Zealand had been to enrol in some form of English language classes. From this perspective, 'speaking and understanding New Zealand English', as part of the NZSS, aligns with aspects of the settlement process that the participants in this study discussed. Currently, a range of English language classes are available through such places as secondary schools, private training agencies and community groups (Auckland Regional Migrant Services, 2014).

However, some participants of this study recounted that they found attending those English classes less effective for improving their language skills and demanded more opportunities to practice English in real situations. As Donna explained, *'Learning English in class isn't enough. It is an artificial situation. We should learn how to communicate with local people'*. Additionally, the majority of participants held a level of English skills, in particular grammar and reading, as these skills were a compulsory part of the educational system in Korea, *'As a Korean, we all learnt English at school, in particular, grammar'* (Marie). Hence, some participants were good at reading in English and used these skills to manage problems on a daily basis. For example, Anne explained how she used her reading skills to understand the situation:

> Watching the news on TV is still challenging. I normally read subtitles to fully understand what they said. If I don't understand the news in which I am interested, I open the New Zealand Herald website. I read related articles to fully understand what it is about. (Anne)

To speak and understand New Zealand English, what Korean immigrants needed to do was to practice English in conversations in real situations, as the accents and expressions which existed were different from the English language they had learnt in Korea, *'I found Kiwis' accents and expressions were different from American English'* (Lucia).

Alongside attending English classes, what participants in this study wished to have was an opportunity to freely practice their English skills. The first step would be to initiate English learning programmes in which Korean immigrants can improve their English

speaking skills at schools through engaging in conversations in English. At the local level, community forums are suggested in partnership with the local community, where they frequently interact with native English speaking neighbours without fear of making grammatical errors. This effort will help Korean immigrants to integrate into the host community.

Implications for Social Policy

> The receiving communities of migrants need to be well prepared if they are to accept immigrants and refugees. Host populations need to be educated through publicity campaigns and integration projects to assist the settlement process for immigrants and refugees. Host children need to know more about the lives and customs of children from different ethnic backgrounds. (Nash, 2005, p. 152)

In many countries, immigrants are known to be the subject of discrimination and racism, leading to them having a sense of being politically or economically second-rate citizens (Mueller, 2006). Accordingly, a receiving society fails to improve immigrants' quality of life. New Zealand is no exception because the concept of Anglo-New Zealand identity is so prevalent that ethnic immigrants experience a sense of otherness in their new community, to the extent that "Asian identity carries phenotypical markers" (McKinnon, 1996, 116). It is a breach of the United Nations' human rights which declare that all human beings are equal in dignity and rights (United Nations, 2014).

In response to discrimination and racism against ethnic people in society, United Nations (2012) recommended inter/national actions to combat racism and related intolerance, in order to ensure the full enjoyment of all human rights. As a member of the United Nations, the New Zealand government has an obligation to make all members of society equal in dignity and rights by fighting against racism and racial discrimination. At a government level, the findings of this study have implications for policy makers, starting from how cultural training is in place at school, to increase society's responsiveness to immigrants' cultural needs for the promotion and protection of their human rights.

In the current social policy, the government emphasises multiculturalism which aims to embrace and celebrate the cultural diversity in society (Cheyne et al., 2008). Indeed, UNESCO (2002) suggested that cultural diversity widens the range of options to grow everyone in society; that is to say, "it is one of the roots of development, understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory

intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence" (p. 4). As part of promoting diversity in society, the government has actively worked with ethnic communities on the 'Building Bridges Programme' since 2005, which was designed to create meaningful collaboration to support the maintenance of New Zealand's social harmony (The Office of Ethnic Affairs, 2014).

What this programme pursues is that all members of New Zealand society are able to understand each other regardless of their cultural backgrounds. It is consistent with the United Nations' Human Rights Education and Training (HRET) which highlights 'respect', 'tolerance' and 'recognition' of others' culture (United Nations, 2011). The findings of this study also indicate that immigrants' successful settlement greatly depends on the attitude and readiness of the host society to recognise and accept immigrants' traditions. This suggests that all members of the receiving society have to have an opportunity to experience and understand newcomers' culture and tradition in a manner that leads them to having positive attitudes towards engaging with ethnic immigrants.

Nevertheless, given the findings of this study, I would challenge policy makers to heighten cultural training in education in relation to enhancing diversity in society. Although HRET is viewed as a way of bringing coherence to a society (United Nations, 2011), there is a critique for a lack of structure in Asian studies within the educational system in New Zealand (Bloomfield, 1998). As discussed in Chapter Two, many New Zealanders have never encountered Asian-ness in their life (McKinnon, 1996; Spoonly & Gendall, 2010). The only place they can learn about Asian culture may be a class through the school curriculum. Yet, few resources reflecting the new realities of New Zealand's relationships with Asia have appeared. Currently the teachers, rather than the curriculum itself, are responsible for planning the Asian component in their programme to ensure that students have an adequate understanding of the Asian world (NZAsia Foundation, 2009).

In reality, students come to their class knowing little about Asian culture. Most teachers, however, indicated they also have little background for teaching about Asia because there were no in-depth Asian studies within their university degrees or teaching diplomas (Bloomfield, 1998). As a result, teachers often teach about Asian people and cultures as 'some' content within thematic studies such as 'disasters' or 'immigration'. The main emphasis of these studies appears to be on the students' own communities, with some reference to Asian situations by way of comparison. Asian studies, as currently carried out, provide students with fragments of knowledge, rather than helping them move towards understanding the diversity within the society (McKinnon, 1996). There are few opportunities

to learn Asian cultures in line with the principles of HRET; 'respect', 'tolerance' and 'recognition'; rather a danger exists in students making comparisons with how people in other cultures might behave based on assumptions derived from their own experiences and perceptions.

For example, Korean immigrant parents in this study expressed concerns that their traditional ways of engaging in specific occupations were judged from locals' ethnocentric perspectives such as their parenting *'The teacher said to my daughter … Are all Asian mums like your mum? … Your mum is wrong'* (Jenny) and the way they prepared meals for their children, *'My children didn't want to take Korean food for their lunch … Their friends said it is smelly or yucky'* (Marie). There is a need to address New Zealanders' ethnocentric attitude through a balanced programme which requires some holistic in-depth community studies where students are likely to explore the culture from the others' shoes. Studies with a primary focus on a specific Asian cultural setting or community have to be redesigned to help students to gain an understanding of all aspects of others' cultures and eventually accept others' differences as equal. As UNESCO (2002) argued, "the defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity" (p. 4).

Given that understanding various cultures is vital for people to be more open-minded towards differences (Seol, 2005), education is the key to achieving this and its importance should be reflected in the New Zealand curriculum. The findings of this study suggest that educating Asian cultures in school programmes with relevant resources would be necessary for all members of the host society to adequately understand their Asian neighbours. Indeed, as a member of the United Nations, training about other cultures is the New Zealand government's obligation, in order to comply with the article 5 of HRET; this is to say, "Education and training should embrace and enrich, as well as draw inspiration from, the diversity of civilizations, religions, cultures and traditions of different countries, as it is reflected in the universality of human rights" (United Nations, 2011, p. 5). In particular, cultural training courses about Asian cultures should be immediately considered in Health Sciences and Social Sciences such as Nursing, Occupational Therapy, Social Work and Teaching, where a high level of cultural competency is required in a multicultural society.

Social policy should provide for Korean immigrants having pride in their culture and being part of the cultural diversity in this country. It is highly recommended that the New Zealand and local governments cooperate, in order to develop programmes and guidelines on promoting and educating cultural differences. This effort will ultimately enhance harmonious race relations of New Zealand society and contribute to accomplishing New Zealand's social

goal; that is, "building an inclusive society where all people are able to participate in the social and economic life of their communities" (Ministry of Social Development, 2003, p. 10).

Implications for Occupational Science

When occupational science was founded as an academic discipline, Yerxa et al. (1990) claimed that human behaviour cannot be separated from contextual influences. Accordingly, the influence of the individual's societal context has been theorised from an occupational perspective over the past two decades. Theories include the 'Person Environment Occupational Performance' (Christiansen & Baum, 1997b), 'Ecology of Human Performance' (Dunn, Brown, & McGuigan, 1994), 'Model of Human Occupation' (Kielhofner, 2008), and 'Person-Environment-Occupation Model' (Law et al., 1996).

Inspired by these theories, many occupational scientists began to study societal contexts to promote participation in society (Brown, 2008; Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002; Forsyth & Kielhofner, 2006; Frank, 2013; Huot & Laliberte Rudman, 2010; Law et al., 1997; Nayar et al., 2012; Stadnyk et al., 2010; Whiteford et al., 2005). What these authors concluded through their research was that it was clear that no occupation is independent from the societal factors in which it occurs.

Given the findings of this study, as guided by symbolic interactionism, I found that through occupation, immigrants create the circumstances of their everyday lives whilst affirming meaning in life. This is conceptualised as a process of Regaining Control through which societal conditions often prompt occupational deprivation. The findings disclose that immigrants experience a state of prolonged preclusion from engaging in their necessary or meaningful occupations due to factors outside of their control. The findings will assist occupational scientists, who mostly have training in occupational therapy, to go beyond their traditional focus on persons and to view the societal environments as an integral part of occupational performance, by confirming that occupation is best considered in context (Hocking & Wright-St. Clair, 2011). This contributes to addressing a critique that occupational scientists have given insufficient attention to environmental factors (Christiansen & Baum, 1997b), particularly with regard to how they determine possibilities for participating in various occupations.

Additionally, knowledge about the impact of immigration on people's occupations is beginning to emerge from on-going research (Farias & Asaba, 2013). For example, Connor

Schisler and Polatajko (2002), who explored how immigrants adapt to those occupational changes using the idea of 'things same', 'things altered', 'things added', and 'things abandoned', broadened knowledge of immigration. Nayar et al's (2012) study into the pathway of Indian women immigrants' participation in daily occupations contributed to discovering what immigrants do to assist them to settle and commit to their new home country. The concept of 'negotiating integration through occupation following immigration', which was introduced by Huot et al. (2013), also provides an informative way of viewing the settlement process. These scholars suggested that employing an occupational lens to immigration provides more in-depth knowledge about what is happening during the settlement process.

The findings of this study support their findings that engaging in occupations, which make immigrants feel valued, helps to achieve positive changes in their lives in a new country. In taking an occupational lens, this study demonstrates that the discipline of occupational science can enrich immigration studies and contribute to immigrants' well-being, with the understanding of meaning immigrants give to occupations in their new country.

Literature reviewed in this study indicates that using occupation as a unit of analysis can provide insights into the relationships of occupations, identity reconstruction and social integration in the immigration process (Brown, 2008; Gupta & Sullivan, 2013; Nayar, 2009). I believe the challenge for future occupational scientists is to build a particular way of thinking about diverse factors which inevitably influence occupational performance. Participants in this study disclosed that their actions are consequences not only of factors inside the person, but also of characteristics of the person's context, including the nature of any task in which the person is engaged. The findings of this study will help occupational science researchers to learn about how the person's culture, physical, social, and institutional environments impact on the activities and roles that the person defines as important.

Having suggested the key conclusions and implications of the study findings for both the national and international level such as settlement support services, social policy of New Zealand, and occupational science research, I now move onto the strengths and limitations of this study.

Strengths: Rigour of the Study

To enhance the rigour of this study, as I detailed in Chapter Four, Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria for developing trustworthiness of a qualitative inquiry were drawn upon during the analytic process; that is, 'credibility', 'transferability', 'dependability', and 'confirmability'.

Credibility and Transferability

For fitting the explanation into the studied world, Lincoln and Guba (1985) advised strategies such as 'prolonged engagement', 'member checking', and 'peer debriefing'; thus, what is found should accurately reflect what is being studied (Cho & Trent, 2006). Through extended engagement in the analysis process over the last three years, I listened to each participant's interview more than five times. I continuously returned to the data whilst I developed and refined theoretical concepts so that those concepts reflected the participants' realities.

Credibility of this study has also been attained by member checking. In this study the participants had the opportunity to check that the summaries of the findings reflected their views and experiences. Furthermore, some participants attended my presentations in which they confirmed that the theory of 'Regaining Control' reconstructed their stories of the settlement process.

Through attending a grounded theory group at AUT, academic colleagues checked whether my inferences were grounded in the data. Since 2012, I have presented the findings of this study at eight conferences at both the national and international level, through which I was able to reflect on constructive critiques of my theoretical explanation from scholars who work in relevant fields. These presentations are listed in Appendix R.

Transferability of a theory is judged by its ability to provide applicability to other populations (de Vaus, 2001). Although further research is required to obtain transferability of the theory to a larger population, the findings of this study fit with previous research exploring the everyday experiences of refugees and immigrants. Connor Schisler and Polatajko (2002) suggested that changes inevitably ensue in everyday occupations when an individual's environment is significantly altered. Their findings indicated that socio-environmental changes that refugees from Burundi encountered influenced all aspects of their everyday occupations, adversely impacting on their perceptions of themselves. The process of Regaining Control in this study which is inseparable from societal contexts aligns with their work.

In 2012, Nayar et al. described that Indian immigrant women navigate cultural spaces when they create a place in a new country. The authors suggested that the Indian immigrant women experienced three phases of adaptation; that is, 'preserving familiar occupations within familiar environments', 'exploring new skills to perform occupations in the New Zealand way', and 'undertaking challenging roles in the new environment'. They highlighted how these immigrants attempt to combine elements of both cultures in their everyday occupations whilst emphasising the importance of having the possibility of choice. Their idea is evidently embodied in the findings of this study; that is, 'Regaining Control' is a transactional process through which participants search for the best possible solutions to manage situations from Two Worlds; Korea and New Zealand.

Dependability and Confirmability

Triangulation, "a research strategy that involves using several methods to reveal multiple aspects of a single empirical reality" (Miller & Fox, 2004, p. 35), was used to establish dependability and confirmability of this study. As detailed in Chapter Four, dependability is the ability of theory to capture the fullness of the studied experience (Perakyla, 2004), whereas confirmability is about checking logical inferences of the theory (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

During the analysis process, using the idea of a paradigm, I explored how conditions differentiate participants' actions. I also obtained multiple sources of data through field observations. In total, 5 field observations were conducted at both the individual and community level. These field observations helped me to capture the complexity of the participants' realities. At the grounded theory group at AUT, peers analysed some of the texts from my interviews and debated my interpretation. This collaborative work allowed me to discern which interpretation was most consistent in various situations; thus enhancing triangulation to establish the dependability of this study.

To increase the confirmability of the analysis, a reflective approach was continuously applied (Finlay, 1998). Throughout the theoretical development, I met with my supervisors on a regular basis. Through these monthly supervisions, my supervisors questioned and provided a critique of the research analysis. Questions and comments from these interactions were invaluable in further constant comparative analysis when I reflected on their perspectives on my theoretical development. Whilst I responded to their questions, I was able to make my rendering of the participants' world logical. Furthermore, I periodically stepped

back and asked 'what is going on here?' and maintained a self-reflexive stance. This helped me to distance myself from the analysis process and check my influence on the interpretation of studied world.

In this current chapter, I have outlined where I presented the findings of this study to other researchers. These opportunities enabled my theoretical explanation of the studied world to be acknowledged by people who worked in the field from which the theory was developed. The positive feedback from audiences at the presentations provided strong support for the dependability and confirmability of this study.

During the analysis process, I kept in mind that researchers cannot separate who they are from the analysis (Corbin, 2009). I used strategies detailed above in order to enhance the trustworthiness of this study. Through this process, I was able to represent the participants' realities from their perspectives. In doing so, the theory of this study – 'Regaining Control: A Journey of Valuing Self', obtained conclusive feedback from the participants of this study that this reconstruction accurately conceptualised their stories even if they could not find their details in it.

Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Further Research

Potential bias may exist since grounded theory is associated with the interpretive paradigm in which the researcher takes the part of co-constructor of the thesis (Charmaz, 2006; Grant & Giddings, 2002). In this study, the analysis is situated in the constant interplay between myself as the researcher and the data; hence, one of the limitations aligns with what Ember and Ember attested, "no one expects perfect replication" (2009, p. 154). Because of this, self-reflectivity and sensitivity were emphasised in this study through making constant comparisons and finding variations widely based on theoretical grounds. This effort allowed the findings of this study to represent the participants' reality fairly.

The participant criteria in this study was designed to recruit people aged over 30 years old who had immigrated to New Zealand since 2000. The age of 25 participants in this study ranged between 32 to 58 years old. By excluding adolescent and senior Korean immigrants who have also been through the settlement process, the findings of this study have limitations with regard to representing their settlement process. Those who came to New Zealand before 2000, when the Korean presence in this society was extremely small, might have had different experiences regarding their settlement in New Zealand. Exploring the theory of

'Valuing Self' across a range of ages and periods can be another research avenue to be pursued.

All of the study participants resided within three cities in the North Island of New Zealand. Thus, the findings may not fully embody stories of Korean immigrants who settled outside of these locations. From a point of symbolic interactionism, settlement inevitably involves the interaction with local people and resources (Valenta, 2009). This means that research of Korean immigrants from different cities within New Zealand would contribute to the breadth and depth of the findings of this study, as local people in each city may have different characteristics.

Despite the fact that participants were offered interviews in English or Korean, as the researcher was fluent in both languages, research data were mainly obtained in Korean. Hence there is the limitation that what participants expressed in their interviews might not fully translate into English. Although I did my best to translate what participants wished to pass on to me by carefully selecting their words in English and validating them through a process of back-translation, this study is limited by the fact that a direct translation is almost impossible in cross cultural studies (Stern, 2009) because differences in expressions exist between Korean and English.

Further research is suggested with regard to the impact of the ethnic enclave. This study shows that the Korean community currently satisfies almost all aspects of daily needs of Korean immigrants and hugely impacts on the lives of Korean immigrants in New Zealand. Indeed, ethnic services are vital for many Korean immigrants to continue with their lives in unfamiliar settings, yet it is often emphasised that ethnic enclaves eventually bring about social isolation (Berry, 2008). There is a paucity of knowledge about their positive roles in relation to the integration into the host society (Mueller, 2006), as they often ease the settlement process. Hence both positive and negative functions of the Korean enclave should be explored further.

Conclusion

The 25 participants in this study have contributed their experiences of settlement to the development of a theory. Each participant's story was different, based on their respective circumstances. This made their strategies unique in order to respond to situations whilst settling in a new country. During the analysis process, however, the major concept emerged that represented their actions and the purpose they hoped to achieve through undertaking

those actions – 'Regaining Control: A Journey of Valuing Self'. This statement provides one plausible explanation of how Korean immigrants create a home in the New Zealand context.

By the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand is a country which from the beginning allows people to stay connected with their cultural origins. The discourses accrued from biculturalism hold society accountable to all races in New Zealand for meeting their particular needs according to their cultural backgrounds. The government promises an inclusive society where all people, regardless of their ethnicity, are able to fully participate in society. Understanding the process of Regaining Control will enhance society's responsiveness with regard to supporting newcomers to ease the settlement process and be members of their new community.

Using grounded theory methodology, this study provided a starting point for understanding the social process in which Korean immigrants engaged within a New Zealand context. Although challenges existed on a daily basis, the participants in this study demonstrated their willingness to value themselves through which they created a feeling of belonging in their new country. For Korean immigrants, their journey of settlement is not limited to the point of mastery in new surroundings; instead, they continuously search for a place where they can obtain a feeling of 'Valuing Self' as members of society whilst navigating within the Two Worlds perspectives in relation to 'Regaining Control' over their lives.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Names of New Zealand veterans who sacrificed their lives in the Korean War

Dedicated to the members of the Royal New Zealand Army who served in the Korean war and in particular to 33 soldiers who sacrificed their lives in the conflict

Allnatt, Edward William

Bailey, Allwyn

Berry, Peter Rex

Burborough, John Ewing

Carson, Ramon Deane

Clark, Ivo Raymond

Compton, Robert Edward

Cook, Gordon Brian

Cooper, Leslie John

Cooper, William Henry

Dickson, Wallace Bruce

Fielden, Dennis Siddall

Frith, Mervyn Frederick

Griffiths, Eric James

Hamilton, William Todd Lawson Richardson

Humm, Herbert Lester

Jackson, Donald Cameron

Long, Richard George

MacDonald, Ronald

Marchioni, Robert Edward

May, Arthur

McDonald, Ray

McKandry, John Lawrence

McLaughlin, Edward Michael Noel

McRae, John

Mollinson, Peter James

Mortimer, Raymond Herbert

Murray, Lyn

Ngatai, Dickson

O'Neil, Thomas Mervyn

Parker, Frederick William

Percival, Frank Osmond

Poynton, Frederick Terence

Quintall, Brian Charles

Reid, Reginald James

Rodgers, Douglas Neville

Scahill, James Martin Conrad

Shortland, Joseph

Taiatini, Thomas Te Hau

Taylor, Colin Franklin

Thomas, Graham Rangi Morrison

Unsworth, Robert James

Vugler, Cedric John

Waitapu, Dennis

Watson, Jefford Rex

Whangapirita, Bryce

Wicksteed, Barton

Appendix B: AUTEC Approved Flier for recruitment

Are you a Korean immigrant over 30 years old?

Did you arrive in New Zealand after 2000?

Do you live in the North Island of New Zealand?

My name is Hagyun Kim and I am studying for a PhD at AUT. I am inviting you to participate in the research project I am undertaking on the everyday activity experiences of Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand.

The aim is to understand what your experience has been of establishing meaningful activities in New Zealand and what has helped or hindered you in finding meaningful activities. The findings of this research will assist Korean immigrants to make informed decisions about choosing activities, and contribute to policy and service development to address Korean and other ethnic people's full participation in New Zealand.

If you arrived in New Zealand after 2000, and are currently residing in the North Island of New Zealand, you are welcome to participate in this research.

Please contact me: Hagyun Kim

Phone: 09 443 3700 (ext, 317)

Email: mdx7485@aut.ac.nz

Simply leave your contact detail, so I can get back to you!!!

Your participation and assistance in this research would be greatly appreciated.

Hagyun Kim 4433700 (ext, 317) Email:mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	Hagyun Kim 4433700 (ext, 317) Email:mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	Hagyun Kim 4433700 (ext, 317) Email:mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	Hagyun Kim 4433700 (ext, 317) Email:mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	Hagyun Kim 4433700 (ext, 317) Email:mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	Hagyun Kim 4433700 (ext, 317) Email:mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	Hagyun Kim 4433700 (ext, 317) Email:mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	Hagyun Kim 4433700 (ext, 317) Email:mdx7485@aut.ac.nz

2000 년 이후 뉴질랜드에 이민을 오신

북섬 거주의 30 세이상의 한국인 이민자 분을 초대합니다

안녕하십니까? 교민 여러분.

저는 현재 AUT 에서 박사과정을 전공하고 있는 김하균입니다. 여러분을 제가 연구중인 - 한국인 이민자들의 뉴질랜드 정착간 일상 생활 경험 연구 - 에 초대합니다.

본 연구 목적은 한국인 이민자들이 뉴질랜드에서 의미 있는 일상 생활을 찾는 과정 속의 경험과, 그 과정 속에서 도움이 되었던 사례와 그 반대의 사례들을 연구 파악하는데 있습니다. 본 연구의 결과물은 한국인 이민자 분들이 일상 생활 활동을 찾고 결정하는데 유용한 정보를 제공할 것이며, 나아가 한국인 이민자 뿐만 아니라 다른 나라 출신 이민자의 정착 및 참여를 돕기 위한 정책 및 서비스 개발에도 유용한 자료로 사용될 것입니다.

만약 여러분이 2000 년 이후 뉴질랜드에 이민 오셔서 북섬에 거주하고 계시다면 본 연구에 참여를 부탁 드립니다.

연락처: 김하균, 전화: 09 443 3700 (교환, 317), 이메일: mdx7485@aut.ac.nz

김하균 4433700 (교환, 317) 이메일: mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	김하균 4433700 (교환, 317) 이메일: mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	김하균 4433700 (교환, 317) 이메일: mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	김하균 4433700 (교환, 317) 이메일: mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	김하균 4433700 (교환, 317) 이메일: mdx7485@aut.ac.nz	김하균 4433700 (교환, 317) 이메일: mdx7485@aut.ac.nz

간단한 연락처를 남겨주시면 제가 연락을 드리겠습니다.

여러분의 관심 및 참여에 미리 감사를 전합니다.

Appendix C: Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

AUT
UNIVERSITY
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI O TAMAKI MAKAU RAU

Date Information Sheet Produced:

27/02/2011

Project Title

The experience of everyday activities of recent Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand

An Invitation

This letter is to invite you to participate in the research project I am undertaking on the experiences of Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand. My name is Hagyun Kim and I am studying for a PhD at AUT. I am conducting this project under the supervision of Associate Professor Clare Hocking, AUT University, North Shore Campus.

It is intended that this research will contribute to understanding Korean immigrants' experiences of everyday activities while settling in New Zealand. If you arrived in New Zealand after 2000, you are welcome to participate in this research.

I will assure that your participation is voluntary and that you may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection without any adverse consequences.

What is the purpose of this research?

To understand what Korean immigrants' experience has been of establishing meaningful activities in their new country and what has helped or hindered them in finding meaningful activities.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

I would like to talk to up to 25 Koreans who have immigrated to New Zealand after 2000, and are currently residing in the North Island of New Zealand. You may have heard about this project through my diverse advertisements such as Korean newspapers advertisements, local Korean grocery shop flyers, or by word of mouth.

If you are over 30 years old and interested in this project, your participation and assistance in this research would be greatly welcomed.

What will happen in this research?

Your involvement in the research would consist of approximately 60-90 minutes interview and the participant observation. The interview will be conducted in Korean or English depending on which you prefer, focusing on the story that you want to tell about your experiences of doing things while settling in New Zealand. Your interview will be digitally

audio-taped, and later transcribed by a translator in case your interview is conducted in Korean. The tape record will be immediately turned off at any time during the interview if you so wish. It is important to note that you have the right to refuse to answer any questions and to end the interview at any time. Regarding the participant observation, I will take notes of what I observe throughout your interview, and may follow you into the field such as your workplaces or living areas if necessary. I would ask you to accompany while you participate in occupations at home and in the community in order to observe what happens, such as following you to a social gathering or observing how you prepare a meal.

You will receive a copy of your interview transcript, which you are welcome to comment on, and even ask for things to be omitted. During analysing data, I may request a second interview (maximum 30 minutes) to clarify things from the first interview. After the research is completed a summary of the findings will be made available to you, if you wish. The interviews would be held at a place and time that is convenient to you.

What are the discomforts and risks?

Being interviewed may bring up experiences from the past, causing discomfort as this study aims to hear your lived-experience. For example, you may be upset when you recall certain experiences while explaining what has hindered you in finding meaningful activities while settling New Zealand.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

When there are signs of distress, you or the researcher may choose to stop the interview. Later, we will discuss making a decision about whether we keep the interview. If required, a free counselling session can be arranged through the AUT Counselling Service or the professional counselling services in Korean. You can withdraw your participation at any time from the study without any adverse consequences.

What are the benefits?

It is anticipated that the finding of this research will assist Korean immigrants to make informed decisions about choosing meaningful activities, and contribute to policy and service development to address Korean and other ethnic people's full participation in New Zealand.

How will my privacy be protected?

You can be assured that all the information you provide is confidential and your identity will be protected at all times. To ensure this, names or places which could reveal your identity will be changed or omitted. You will also be required to use your name only when you complete "consent forms" and "demographic data forms" which I will keep in a secure place. Then, you will be given a participant number and be named in a culturally appropriate manner as "sir or madam" - during the interviews to protect your identity, with the intention that no one can hear your real name in the audio-taped data. A translator in this study will also be required to complete a "Confidentiality Agreement". After the study, your transcript, audio-tape, demographic data form and consent form will be transferred to a secure place at AUT where only the researcher and the supervisor can access it

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The only foreseeable cost associated with this research is the amount of time required for the interview and the participant observation. This will be approximately 60-90 minutes for an interview, 30 minutes for second interview, and 60 minutes for a participant observation. I appreciate that your time is donated voluntarily for this research.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You will have at least two weeks between receiving the information sheet, and being asked whether you want to participate in the study. There is also an opportunity to any questions about the study before you give consent.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

You can complete and send back the "Consent Form" and "Demographic Data Form" in the stamped addressed envelope, or contact me by phone or email. You will be asked to sign the form prior to the interview so that the researcher can explain the study again and answer any further questions if you may have. We can arrange the interviews at a place and time that is convenient to you.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

You will receive feedback on the results of this project, if you wish. This is listed in "Consent Form" and will be discussed again at the interview.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Clare Hocking, Clare.hocking@aut.ac.nz, 09) 921-9162.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, *madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz* , 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Hagyun Kim,

Ph: 443 3700 (ext 317)

Email: hagyun.kim@connectsr.org.nz

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Clare Hocking, Associate Professor

Department of Occupational Science and Therapy

Auckland University of Technology

Private Bag 92 006

Ph: 09) 921-9162

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 23 May 2011,

AUTEC Reference number 11/61.

리서치 안내서

안내서 작성일

27/02/2011

리서치 제목

한국인 이민자들의 뉴질랜드 정착간 일상 생활 변화 연구

초청장

안녕하십니까? 교민 여러분.

제 이름은 김 하균입니다. 저는 현재 AUT 에서 Clare Hocking 교수의 지도아래 박사 과정을 전공하고 있습니다. 이 안내서는 제가 진행하고 있는 연구; 한국인 이민자들의 일상 생활 변화 - 에 여러분의 참여를 부탁 드리기 위하여 작성 되어 졌습니다.

본 연구는 한국인 이민자들이 뉴질랜드 이민 정착간 겪는 일상 생활의 변화를 이해하는데 기여함을 목적으로 하고 있습니다. 만약 여러분이 2000 년 이후 뉴질랜드에 이민을 오셔서 살고 계시다면 여러분의 참여를 부탁 드립니다.

여러분의 참여는 100% 본인의 뜻에 따라 결정하실 수 있으며, 원하시면 언제든 어떠한 책임 소재 없이 참여를 중단하실 수 있습니다.

연구 목적

본 연구 목적은 한국인 이민자들이 뉴질랜드에서 의미 있는 일상 생활을 찾는 과정 속의 경험과, 그 과정 속에서 도움이 되었던 사례와 그 반대의 사례들을 연구 파악하는데 있습니다.

연구 대상 인원

본 연구는 2000 년 이후로 뉴질랜드에 이민을 오신 북섬 거주의 25 명 내외의 이민자 분의 참여를 기다리고 있습니다. 본 연구에 대한 정보는 한국인 언론 매체, 한국인 식품점 광고 전단, 그리고 지인을 통하여 얻으실 수 있습니다. 만약 여러분이 30 세 이상이시고 본 연구에 관심이 있으시다면 적극적인 참여를 부탁 드립니다.

참여 과정

여러분이 참여는 약 60 분에서 90 분간의 인터뷰와 연구 관찰로 이루어집니다. 인터뷰는 여러분의 선택에 따라 한국어 혹은 영어로 이루어지며, 인터뷰의 초점은 여러분이 이민 후 겪으시는 일상

생활에 대한 경험을 듣기 위함입니다. 여러분의 인터뷰는 디지털 녹음기로 녹음 되어질 것이며 한국어로 인터뷰시에는 전문 번역사를 통한 번역이 이루어 질 것입니다. 인터뷰 녹음은 여러분의 의향에 따라 인터뷰 중 언제든 즉시 중단 되어질 수 있으며 여러분은 원치 않는 질문에 답변을 거절 하시거나 인터뷰를 언제든지 종료하실 수 있습니다. 연구 관찰에 대하여는 연구자는 인터뷰 시 본인의 관찰 내용을 노트 메모할 것이며 필요 시 여러분의 생활 공간이나 직장등을 동행 관찰 할 수 있도록 요청 할 수 있습니다. 여러분이 가정 또는 커뮤니티에서 겪으시는 일들을 (사회적 모임 또는 식사준비과정) 관찰하기 위하여 여러분께 동행을 요청할 수 있습니다.

여러분은 인터뷰 번역본 사본을 받으실 것이며 번역본에 대한 여러분의 의견 반영 및 생략을 요구 하실 수 있습니다. 인터뷰 분석 시 연구자는 필요에 따라 첫 번째 인터뷰 내용 확인을 위하여 두 번째 인터뷰(약 30 분 소요 예상)를 요청할 수 있습니다. 연구 종료 후 본 연구의 결과물에 대한 열람도 여러분의 의사에 따라 가능합니다. 인터뷰는 여러분이 원하시는 곳에서 행하여 질 것 입니다.

참여 과정중 위험 및 부정적인 영향

본 연구의 목적이 여러분의 다양한 경험을 듣고자 함으로, 인터뷰 중 여러분이 혹시 불편함 느끼실 수 있습니다. 예를 들어 여러분이 이민 후 의미 있는 일상 생활을 찾는데 방해되었던 경험을 설명 하실 때 그 기억에 대한 언짢은 기분을 느끼실 수 있습니다.

참여 과정중 이러한 위험에 대한 대비책

인터뷰시 이러한 불편함의 징후들이 관찰된다면 여러분 혹은 연구자가 인터뷰를 종료할 수 있으며 인터뷰 지속 여부는 향후 다시 여러분과 논의 할 것입니다. 필요 시 여러분이 적절한 상담 서비스를 받으실 수 있도록 AUT 카운셀링 서비스 또는 한국인 카운셀링 서비스가 제공되어 질 것입니다. 여러분은 원하시면 언제든 어떠한 책임 소재 없이 연구 참여를 중단하실 수 있습니다.

연구 성과에 대한 가치

본 연구의 결과물은 한국인 이민자 분들이 본인에게 의미 있는 일상 생활을 찾고 결정하는데 유용한 정보를 제공할 것이며, 나아가 한국인 이민자 뿐만 아니라 다른 나라 출신 이민자의 현지 정착 및 참여를 돕기 위한 정책 및 서비스 개발에도 유용한 자료로 사용될 수 있을 것이라 예상됩니다.

개인 비밀 보장

여러분이 제공한 모든 정보는 어떠한 경우에도 보호될 것이며 여러분의 신원 또한 항상 비밀 보장되어 질 것입니다. 비밀 보장을 지키기 위하여 혹시 여러분의 신원을 알 수 있을만한 이름이나 장소 등은 변경 또는 삭제 될 것입니다. 여러분의 실명은 연구 참여 동의서와 통계 조사표에만 기재되며 안전한 곳에 보관됩니다. 인터뷰시 여러분의 비밀 보장을 위하여 여러분은 참여번호를 부여 받으실 것이며, 호칭 또한 문화적으로 적합한 호칭인 "선생님" 또는 "사모님"으로 불려 지실 것입니다. 번역가는 비밀 보장을 위하여 비밀 보장 각서를 작성하도록 할 것입니다. 연구 종료 후에는 여러분 관련 서류들; 인터뷰 번역본, 오디오 파일, 연구 참여 동의서, 통계조사표-은 연구원과 지도 교수만이 열람 가능한 AUT 캠퍼스안 안전한 공간에 보관 될 것입니다.

참여 비용

예상되는 참여 비용은 인터뷰와 연구 관찰에 필요한 여러분의 시간입니다. 각각의 예상 소요시간은 첫 번째 인터뷰: 약 60 분에서 90 분간, 두 번째 인터뷰: 약 30 분 (필요시), 그리고 연구 관찰: 약 60 분이 예상됩니다. 여러분의 자발적인 시간 투자에 감사 드립니다.

참여시 참고사항

여러분은 연구 참여 결정을 위하여 2 주일간의 시간를 가지실 수 있으며, 이후 참여 여부에 대한 결정을 하실 수 있습니다. 또한 참여 동의 전 어떠한 의문사항에 대하여도 문의 하실 수 있습니다.

참여 동의 방법

안내장과 함께 보내드린 "연구 참여 동의서"와 "통계 조사표"를 기재하신 후 동봉된 우편 봉투(우표 포함)에 넣으신 후 제게 보내 주시거나, 혹은 전화나 이메일로 연락 주십시오. 연구 참여 동의서에 서명은 인터뷰 전에 서명 하실 것을 권하여 드립니다. 그럼으로써 연구자는 다시 한번 여러분께 연구에 대한 설명과 여러분의 추가적인 질문에도 답변을 드리도록 하겠습니다. 인터뷰 날짜와 장소는 여러분의 편의에 맞게 조정하겠습니다.

연구 결과 수령 여부

여러분의 희망에 따라 본 연구의 결과물을 받으실 수 있으며 이러한 권리는 "연구 참여 동의서"에 기재되어 있으며, 인터뷰시 다시 한번 논의 되어 질 것입니다.

연구에 대하여 신고 사항이 있으시다면?

본 연구 주제에 대한 모든 불편 및 의심 사항은 지도 교수, Clare Hocking: 연락처 09) 921-9162 또는 이메일 Clare.hocking@aut.ac.nz 로 하시면 됩니다.

본 연구 실행에 대한 모든 불편 및 의심 사항은 AUTEC, 담당 직원 Madeline Banda: 연락처 09) 921-9999 (교환 8044), 또는 이메일 *madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz* 로 하시면 됩니다.

본 연구에 관한 추가 정보가 필요하시면 아래 연락처로 연락 주십시요

김 하균: 09) 443-3700 (교환 317) 또는 이메일 hagyun.kim@connectsr.org.nz

Clare Hocking: 09) 921-9162

Department of Occupational Science and Therapy, Auckland University of Technology

본 연구 주제는 AUT 대학 윤리 위원회 심의를 통과하였으며 (승인일: 2011-05-23), AUTEC 통과 번호는 (11/61)입니다.

Appendix D: Demographic Data Form

Demographic Data Form

AUT
UNIVERSITY
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI O TAMAKI MAKAU RAU

Name:

Age:

Gender: Male (   ), Female (   )

Marital status: Single (   ), Single Parent (   ), De facto (   ), Married (   )

-If you have children, how many children do you have?

When did you arrive in New Zealand (Year only):

Religion:

Employment status:

Would you like to be interviewed (please circle one);

     -At Home   -At AUT   - At another arranged location

-If you circled At Home or Other Location please include your

home/other location address:

Signed:

Date:

통계 조사표

성명:

나이:

성별: 남(   ), 여(   )

결혼 유무: 독신(   ), 편부모 (   ), 동거 (   ), 기혼(   )

-자녀가 있을 시, 부양 자녀 수?

뉴질랜드 이민 년도 (년도만 표기):

종교:

취업 상태:

인터뷰 장소로 희망하시는 곳을 표기 바랍니다;

　　　　　　　　　　-자택 　 -AUT 　 -기타 희망 장소

-자택 및 기타 희망 장소를 선택하신 분은 주소를 표기하여 주십시오:

서명 (Signature):

기재일 (Date):

Appendix E: Consent Form (Korean)

연구 참여 동의서

연구 주제: 한국인 이민자들의 뉴질랜드 정착간 일상 생활 변화 연구

연구 지도 교수: 클레어 호킹 (Clare Hocking)

연구자: 김 하균(Hagyun Kim)

○   본인은 2011 년 2 월 27 일자 발행의 리서치 안내서를 제공 받았으며, 이를 읽고 본 연구에 관련된 제반 사항을 이해하였습니다.

○   본인은 질문을 할 기회와 그 질문에 관련된 적절한 답변을 들을 기회를 가졌습니다.

○   본인은 인터뷰시 노트가 행하여 질 것이며, 인터뷰가 녹음되고 번역될 것이라는 것을 이해합니다.

○   본인은 연구 자료 수집 종료 전에 언제든 연구 참여 중단 및 자료 회수를 어떠한 불이익 없이 요구할 수 있다는 것을 이해합니다.

○   본인은 연구 참여 중단시, 관련된 모든 자료들 (인터뷰 테이프 및 번역본 등)은 폐기되는 것을 이해합니다.

○   본인은 연구 참여에 동의합니다.

○   본인은 연구 결과물의 사본을 수령하기를 희망합니다: 예(   ), 아니오(   )

연구 참여자 사인: ………………………………………………………………………………………………

연구 참여자 성명: ………………………………………………………………………………………………

연구 참여자 인적 사항:

………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………

작성일 :

본 연구는 AUT 리서치 윤리 위원회의 승인을 받았습니다. 승인 번호(11/61)

주의 사항 : 연구 참여자는 반드시 동의서의 사본을 수령하시길 바랍니다.

Appendix F: Consent Form (English)

Consent Form

Project title: The experience of everyday activities of recent Korean immigrants
                   settling in New Zealand

Project Supervisor: Clare Hocking

Researcher: Hagyun Kim

○   I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the
        Information Sheet dated 27/2/2011.

○   I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

○   I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-
        taped and transcribed.

○   I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project
        at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

○   If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts
        thereof, will be destroyed.

○   I agree to take part in this research.

○   I wish to receive a copy of a report from the research (please tick one): Yes○   No○

Participant's signature:
        ....………………………………………………………

Participant's name:
        ....………………………………………………………

Participant's Contact Details:

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 23 May 2011

AUTEC Reference number 11/61

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix G: Participants' Characteristics

Participants' demographic data

Pseudonyms	Gender	Age	Marital status	No. of Children	Religion	Year of Arrival	Employment
Kevin	Male	47	Married	2	Catholic	2001	Employed
Jenny	Female	44	Married	2	Christian	2001	Student
Tom	Male	42	Married	1	Christian	2004	Self-employed
Sue	Female	43	Married	1	Christian	2004	Student
Joy	Female	55	Married	2	Catholic	2000	Employed
Mike	Male	40	Married	2	Catholic	2000	Student
Aaron	Male	41	Married	2	Catholic	2002	Employed
Lucia	Female	32	Married	1	Christian	2010	Housewife
Bob	Male	34	Married	1	Christian	2006	Employed
Judy	Female	45	Married	0	Christian	2008	Employed
Kerry	Female	38	Married	2	Catholic	2003	Housewife
Anne	Female	38	Married	2	None	2008	Employed
Jill	Female	50	Married	3	Christian	2003	Housewife
Simon	Male	58	Married	0	Catholic	2007	Self-employed
Ant	Male	57	Married	2	Christian	2002	Self-employed
Carl	Male	42	Married	2	Christian	2006	Self-employed
Asma	Female	44	Married	2	Catholic	2000	Student
Ruth	Female	44	Married	2	Christian	2006	Housewife
Marie	Female	40	Married	2	Catholic	2002	Student
Gary	Male	49	Married	2	Catholic	2002	Self-employed
Donna	Female	40	Married	2	Catholic	2000	Housewife
Sandra	Female	42	Married	2	Unknown	2006	Housewife
Hanna	Female	37	Married	2	Catholic	2002	Student
Clara	Female	57	Married	0	Catholic	2004	Student
Jacob	Male	42	Married	2	Catholic	2001	Self-employed

Appendix H: Indicative Questions

Indicative Questions

The researcher will conduct a narrative interview with open-ended questions, allowing the participants more freedom to speak to their own experiences and use their own language in ways that are meaningful to them.

To understand what Korean immigrants' experience has been of establishing meaningful occupations in New Zealand and what has helped or hindered them in finding meaningful occupations, questions will be designed to hear the participants' story regarding the occupational experiences while settling New Zealand.

At the first stage, questions will be focused on:
1) The story about your immigration?
- What was your previous lifestyle in Korea
- What were your meaningful activities in Korea
- What made you decide to immigrate in New Zealand

At the second stage, in relation to the experience of re-establishing meaningful activities in New Zealand, the researcher will question to hear what the participants think are meaningful activities in a given situation, and learn what differences between their previous concepts of meaningful activity and current one in New Zealand. Questions will be:
2) Their story about meaningful activities in New Zealand
-What do you do every day?
- Are there any changes of those activities compared to your previous lifestyle in Korea?
- If yes: how did it change?

At the final stage, the researcher would like to question about what has helped or hindered them in finding meaningful activities in a given situation. Questions will be:
3) What factors effected you positively or negatively while trying to find meaningful activities (including employment) in New Zealand.
- Do you think you have found meaningful activities currently?

- If yes:
What is it?
How did you find it? Do you think you had any strategies for that?
What has helped in finding those meaningful activities?

- If no:
What kind of efforts have you tried to find meaningful activities?
What hindered you in finding meaningful activities?
What would be helpful in finding a meaningful activity?

Appendix I: Interview Schedule Report

Interview Schedule Report

Researcher: Hagyun Kim

Supervisor: Clare Hocking

No	Interview time	Finish time (estimated)	Location	Any safety concerns?
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				

Appendix J: Participant Observation Notes

OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

How the observation will occur?

Participant observation will be conducted as it helps the researcher learn the perspectives held by the study population. The researcher will ask to accompany participants while they participate in occupations at home and in the community so that the researcher can observe what happens. Prospective participants in this study will be fully informed about participant observation through "the participant information sheet". The researcher will also inform them again before when starting the interview.

The focus of the observation

From the standpoint of symbolic interactionism, meaning arises in the process of social interaction. Humans act toward things based on the meaning, and the meaning of such things is a result of social interaction. These meanings are modified through an interpretive process when the person deals with the things he/she encounters. Thus, the focus of participant observation in this study will be *the process* of interpretation rather than to a description of a setting. The researcher will focus on observing how Korean participants handle or modify their daily activities based on the process of interpretation through social interaction as immigration requires major changes in an individual immigrant's everyday activities.

Who will be observed and where the observation occur?

The researcher will be observing participants at home and in the community, places such as their workplaces or living areas as well as during the interview. The researcher will follow them into the field in order to capture the operating situation from the standpoint of the participants, such as how they prepare a meal or act at a social gathering. It is emphasised that different participants have different vantage points.

If the observations occur in the participants' workplace, the researcher will ask permission from their employer or supervisor. The researcher will ask the participants contact details of their employer or supervisor, and contact them to ask permission over the phone, specifying that the researcher will not make notes about what anyone else is doing, also offering to send a copy of the participant information sheet for their understanding of this study. Furthermore, in terms of protecting non-participants in the same area, the researcher will not directly observe or record any information about other people present in participant's workplace.

The researcher will make careful, objective notes about what I see, recording all accounts such as informal conversation and interaction with other members in the community. For the purpose of this, the researcher will use a "*Participant Observations Note*" to record significant processes occurring in the field.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION NOTE

Participant No: **Activity:**

Observation Date: **Starting Time:**   **Finishing Time:**

Location:

People Present:

Description of environment (e.g. layout, any physical patterns, significant objects in the area, placement of people and furniture):

Non-verbal behaviour (e.g. tone of voice, posture, facial expressions, eye movements, body movements, mood and hand gestures):

Content of activity (e.g. reactions, planning, motivation or involvement of others):

Researcher's impressions (e.g. participant's responses to certain people, events, or objects):

Analysis: (e.g. researcher's questions, tentative hunches, trends in data, emerging patterns):

Situational problems (e.g. timing of activity, interruptions, available material of decision making):

Appendix K: Ethical Approval from AUTEC

MEMORANDUM

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

To:	Clare Hocking
From:	**Dr Rosemary Godbold and Madeline Banda Executive Secretary, AUTEC**
Date:	23 May 2011
Subject:	Ethics Application Number 11/61 **The experience of everyday activities of recent Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand.**

Dear Clare

Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. We are pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) at their meeting on 28 March 2011 and that on 19 April 2011, we approved your ethics application. This delegated approval is made in accordance with section 5.3.2.3 of AUTEC's *Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures* and is subject to endorsement at AUTEC's meeting on 13 June 2011.

Your ethics application is approved for a period of three years until 19 April 2014.

We advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 19 April 2012;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics/ethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 19 April 2012 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

Please note that AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this.

When communicating with us about this application, we ask that you use the application number and study title to enable us to provide you with prompt service. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact Charles Grinter, Ethics Coordinator, by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 8860.

On behalf of AUTEC and ourselves, we wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely

Dr Rosemary Godbold and Madeline Banda
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee
Cc: Hagyun Kim hagyun.kim@connectsr.org.nz

Appendix L: Confidentiality Agreement

Confidentiality Agreement

Project title: The experience of everyday activities of recent Korean immigrants
                   settling in New Zealand

Project Supervisor: Clare Hocking

Researcher: Hagyun Kim

○   I understand that all the material I will be asked to transcribe is confidential.

○   I understand that the contents of the tapes or recordings can only be discussed with the researchers.

○   I will not keep any copies of the transcripts nor allow third parties access to them.

Transcriber's signature : ....……………………………………………………

Transcriber's name : ....……………………………………………………

Transcriber's Contact Details:

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

Date:

Project Supervisor's Contact Details:

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

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…………………………………………………………………………………………..

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 23 May 2011

AUTEC Reference number 11/61

Note: The Transcriber should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix M: Cultural Consultation Agreement (Korean)

Cultural Consultation Agreement

For Korean cultural advisor

Project title: The experience of everyday activities of recent Korean immigrants

                      settling in New Zealand

Project Supervisor: Clare Hocking

Researcher: Hagyun Kim

○   I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the
        Information Sheet dated   /   /   .

○   I agree to provide cultural consultation when the researcher brings cultural issues that arise
        during the research regarding the Korean community.

○   I understand that the researcher does not provide actual data such as interview transcripts
        and consent form, as participants' confidentiality must to be protected at all times.

○   I wish to receive a copy of a report from the research (please tick one): Yes○   No○

Cultural Advisor's signature:

....……………………………………………………

Cultural Advisor's name: ....…………………………………………………………

Cultural Advisor's contact details:

…………………………………………………………………………………..

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…………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………..

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on23 May 2011

AUTEC Reference number 11/61

Appendix N: List of Korean Counsellors

List of counselling Services in Korean

Organisation	Name	Contact Detail	Fee
Counselling service	Hyeeun Kim	027 340 1035	
Asian Family Service	Gus Lim	369 0614~5	Free
Connect Recovery	Dominic Hwang	443 3700	Free
North Shore Women's Centre	Julia Kwon	444 2922	Free
Asian Community Services Trust	YoungHee Han	570 9099	Free
	Joanna Jensen		

Appendix O: AUT Counselling Service

MEMORANDUM

TO   Hagyun Kim

FROM   Kevin Baker

SUBJECT Psychological support for research participants

DATE   23 February 2011

Dear Hagyun

I would like to confirm that Health, Counselling and Wellbeing are able to offer confidential counselling support for the participants in your AUT research project entitled:

"The experience of everyday activities of recent Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand."

The free counselling will be provided by our professional counsellors for a maximum of **three** sessions and must be in relation to issues arising from their participation in your research project.

Please inform your participants:

- They will need to contact our centres at WB219 or AS104 or phone **09 921 9992 City Campus** or **09 921 9998 North Shore campus** to make an appointment
- They will need to let the receptionist know that they are a research participant
- They will need to provide your contact details to confirm this
- They can find out more information about our counsellors and the option of online counselling on our website: **http://www.aut.ac.nz/students/student_services/health_counselling_and_wellbeing**

Yours sincerely

Kevin Baker

Head of Counselling

Health, Counselling and Wellbeing

Appendix P: Cultural Consultation Agreement (Māori)

Cultural Consultation Agreement

For Māori cultural advisor

Project title: The experience of everyday activities of recent Korean immigrants

                    settling in New Zealand

Project Supervisor: Clare Hocking

Researcher: Hagyun Kim

○   I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the
       Information Sheet dated   /   /   .

○   I agree to provide cultural consultation when the researcher brings cultural issues that arise
       during the research regarding the Maori community.

○   I understand that the researcher does not provide actual data such as interview transcripts
       and consent form, as participants' confidentiality must to be protected at all times.

○   I wish to receive a copy of a report from the research (please tick one): Yes○   No○

Cultural Advisor's signature:

....

Cultural Advisor's name: ....……………………………………………………………

Cultural Advisor's contact details:

……………………………………………………………………………………………..

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……………………………………………………………………………………………..

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on23 May 2011

AUTEC Reference number 11/61

Appendix Q: Storyline

Upon arrival, the process of putting roots down starts. In this process, so many things differ from what participants expected in Korea. Indeed, they inevitably experience big changes in daily occupations and unable to cope with these changes. Because they don't have networks and don't speak English enough, they feel lost for a while. They are not sure of what they have to do and even where to start.

Luckily, some participants have a family or friends here whom they can rely on. Or some participants maintain a status of the sojourner. This means they don't need to start their life immediately. They don't engage in a real situation. Instead, they hire someone who accompanies them to settle here. However, most of participants come to create a home here. They have to settle immediately by themselves. From interviews, participants mentioned that they found themselves 'we are all alone here'. This means they have to make their decisions and take a full responsibility of its consequences in New Zealand. It is not easy for them as they have limited local knowledge and language skill. For this reason, participants often rely on others to get necessary information. They could be a family, friend, or even a settlement advisor. For example, it is common that when participants arrive, they seek support in order to perform some critical occupations in order to continue life such as banking, renting, arranging a school, shopping for meals or setting up a business. The difference is a period and quality of support. How long they can rely on their support? If participants have a family or very close friends, it can be long enough as they can ask help or support anytime. Consequently, for them, the settlement process is smooth without big hassles. However, except them, most of the participants received a brief support just one day or one week from a settlement advisor. They have to start a new life without enough information. All they received was very basic information in terms of continuing life. This is designed for survival. Therefore, without enough information and skill, their early settlement is frustrating as participants mentioned, 'everyday is challenging' or 'everyday is up and down'. They have to rely on others' support in performing some critical occupations as mentioned above, leading to a loss of autonomy. Otherwise, they have to take a risk on their decision.

In addition, New Zealanders are ethnocentric. There is a less tolerance towards differences. As soon as they arrive in this country, participants immediately become others. In New Zealand, people are not familiar with second language speakers of English. Speaking fluent English is very necessary to live here. Otherwise, it is likely that they are to be avoided, looked down or even discriminated. Some said that there is a trend of lording over new comers in New Zealand. Becoming others means participants' experience and skills are judged or undervalued. For example, parenting skills, once proud mothers in Korea, some were treated as a disabled mother at their children's school such as 'your mum is dumb'. Consequently, children don't want their mother's presence at school. Furthermore, there are less opportunities for work. Their work experience and qualification are not recognised here. Participants have to start from scratch again. They engage in a process of devaluing self by being others in this ethnocentric society.

Although participants initially received support, it was too brief and temporary. Participants have to settle by themselves as they are 'all alone in New Zealand'. In addition, their language

difficulty hinders them from actively getting information by themselves. They become a half deaf (in-vivo) in New Zealand, not knowing what is happening around, consequently, relying on others' support. In this process, a lack of local knowledge and networks led to a process of losing autonomy in performing occupations. Being treated as the others, having a different culture and a lack of English skills all relate to a process of being devalued and judged. Therefore, early period of the settlement, participants experience a process of 'losing control in performing daily occupations and losing self - feeling less existence of self'.

However, no matter what happens today and tomorrow, participants have to continue with their lives here. Otherwise, they have to return to Korea. To settle without proper local knowledge, it seems to be inevitable for them to find necessary resources within the Korean enclave. The Korean enclave is a place where they can use their previous knowledge and language in performing daily occupations. For example, participants can find necessary resources at Korean Yellow pages. Within the Korean enclave, they can communicate in Korean; hence, they fully understand the situations. This helps participants to maintain a level of control in their lives. In this sense, the Korean enclave helps participants to ease anxiety. It is a place for participants to meet people, make new friends, and know the community through sharing information in Korean. It is also critical for participants to feel connected and reduce their loneliness. In particular, the church plays a key role. In my interview, positive aspects of the church were heard in City C. There, the role of the church is all about 'gathering and supporting each other'. In City C, participants appreciate that the church provides customised services such as providing information, offering a job, and even cultural training to 1.5 generations.

Nowadays, the Korean enclave is well established. It provides almost all aspects of human occupations such as leisure, self-care and even productivity in New Zealand. For example, participants joined a soccer or golf club to play together. Of course, there is no difficulty in finding ethnic resources in relation to self-care. It is easy to access and even cheaper. In New Zealand, particularly in City A, no problem to get ethnic resources in performing occupations in self-care. Korean supermarkets are everywhere. Due to a high value of NZ dollars, its prices are also cheaper than local shops. Although there are some difficulties in City B and C regarding access to ethnic resources, it is basically a matter of time, distance, and cost. Participants, who live in those cities, can make an order to shops in City A. Ethnic resources are delivered weekly from City A. In terms of productivity, the Korean enclave provides a place to start a job or set up a business. Within the enclave, participants can get a job (Korean shops or restaurants), set up or buy a business where they can run with limited language skills. The Korean enclave is a place where they can live with their limited English skills as they often serve for the only Koreans. Therefore, participants likely stay in the old world to continue their life. In this sense, the Korean enclave is prerequisite to settle in a new country.

However, some of negative outcomes emerge as a result of staying within the Korean enclave. They are 'intimacy', 'accountability', and 'living like in Korea'. Firstly, intimacy, while making friends in the Korean enclave, they often cross boundary and exchange privacy. At this stage, participants experience the dilemma of 'intimacy'. Making new Korean friends can be good to release

loneliness and support each other. In some cases, they become kinds of new cousins in New Zealand. However, as the Korean community is very small, confidentiality issue occurs. Everyone knows who is who. They experienced that people would talk about their lives. In addition, although they share the culture, they also have a very different background and belief; hence very different expectation exists. As a result, while they engage in the Korean enclave such as Alumni or a church service, they tend to maintain a diplomatic relationship. This means if something happens to them, participants often <u>keep it silent</u> rather than sharing their problems.

Secondly, participants experienced an issue regarding 'accountability'. As the Korean community has a short history in New Zealand, much information available to them within this dimension was unreliable such as 'word of mouth', and 'someone said….' It is not validated from direct experience. Much information is inaccurate. It is often misleading and generates wrong consequences.

Thirdly, while participants engaged in employment in the Korean enclave, those jobs are generally un-skilled or completely different from what they had had in Korea. Some participants degrade themselves to get a job in the host community such as someone, who had a nursing certificate, ended up working as a carer at rest-homes. It is common for many Korean immigrants to end up under-employed because of language barriers and unrecognised qualifications. This process led to them devaluing themselves; In-vivo - 'they look down on me because I am just a foreign labourer'. It clearly impacts on their self-esteem. In addition, although the Korean enclave provides an opportunity to start a new life, it often brings unfairness and complicated social relationship. Because they often served only for the Korean community, its market is small. Consequently, competition is high. Once close friends, they have to compete with each other to run their business. It brings a complicated relationship. Furthermore, there is an issue of exploitation. It is initially easy to get a job in the Korean enclave. However, because of their limited skills and even visa conditions, people are often treated unfairly. In this study, participants revealed that it was common to breach local law such as excessive working hours, minimum wage or statutory holidays because the boss knows their situations - unable to make a complaint. Basically, participants find their situation just like living in Korea – uncertain for their future. While they work for the Korean enclave, they are more likely experiencing complicated relationships, working in under-employment, excessive working hours, uncertainty for keeping that job, and unfair relationship. It is about exhausting as they already experienced in Korea in the past.

Although the Korean enclave plays a significant role when participants settle here with limited knowledge and skills, they should stay there temporally. While they stay in the Korean enclave, participants often experience 'intimacy', 'accountability', and 'living like in Korea'. The enclave doesn't provide many opportunities to interact with local people; hence, as long as participants stay in the enclave, there are less chances to live as a full member of this society. Later, participants found that they had to endure the disadvantages as they had no choice but to endure in the Korean enclave.

In this study, participants didn't predict any role changes in the home prior to immigration. Indeed, while they settled, they clearly intended to maintain cultural roles such as the breadwinner for a father and looking after the family for a mother. In particular, as they came for their children's future,

values of parenting are still significant in many occasions. For example, they chose a house to live within good school zone areas or arranged private tutoring although they were in debt. However, different progress of English skills prompted role negotiations in the home. Husbands, who are no longer in a position to support a family, had to take part of some domestic occupations such as cooking or washing. On the other hand, wives, who have no English skills, had to rely on their husbands or children to solve some occupational problems such as paying bills or interviewing teachers, which were traditionally theirs in Korea. For this reason, some participants mentioned that the early settlement was like a honeymoon period, which meant they had to negotiate roles in the home. In addition, a progress of English skills also prompted a power shift in the home. It was common that a person, who was able to speak English better, generally managed almost all occupations related to the outside world. Children learnt English quicker than their parents because they had more opportunities to participate in the society, in particular school. Sometimes, children did some occupations for their parents such as interpreting at a hospital or school. It seems to be natural that power shifts to a person who speaks English better in the home. Role negotiation seems to be inevitable, but sometimes argument erupts when members cling to maintaining cultural roles.

Although the Korean enclave is prerequisite for Korean immigrants to settle, in particular people who need to start their lives immediately, it also isolates participants from the host society. First of all, as they often interact only with other Koreans and communicate in Korean, there are less chances to improve English. Participants mentioned that they learnt grammar at school in Korea and capable to read English, even local newspapers. However, it is critical to interact with local people to improve English, particularly speaking. While participants live within the Korean enclave, they didn't know what happens around. They often received information only through the Korean media. As long as they stay within the ethnic enclave, they can survive but experience isolation – 'just like living in an island'. Because participants don't know what happens around, there is less opportunity to develop self in a new country. They don't have a clear direction for what to do for a living in the future. Their strategy for this situation is just 'living one day at a time'. They are not able to predict or plan for their future. Instead, they focus on today.

As time goes by, they are gradually familiar with the local community, for example, when, where and what to buy. Participants came to know their surroundings. They get used to the new environment. At this stage, participants feel a level of mastery at some degree. Some describe they felt settled in a new country. In most of daily occupations such as shopping, church, driving, school, participants became able to perform those occupations even though its choices are still limited. However, they still drift the society. What I mean is they know what is going on through limited contacts such as ethnic media, personal contact, or previous experience, but they don't fully understand the current situation. Their relationship with locals is also still occasional, for example, saying 'hello' or 'short conversation'. They don't have many contacts with local people; consequently don't know the community in detail. They know what to do today or maybe tomorrow (short period), but they don't have a clear vision for their life in New Zealand. They just imitate what other people do in a new country, using limited knowledge. Because they can't predict the future here, their future seems to be uncertain. They put themselves in a limbo in the decision, whether they have to return to

Korea or stay. Many participants decided to stay by appreciating what they have obtained here, particularly children's well-being (school, safety, English) and beautiful scenery. Although they felt uncertain for their lives, their children's happiness made them to stay here. They were also aware that they were away too long from their home country, worrying about 'what to do when they return to Korea'. In this process, there were not many things they can do to change their life. They felt stuck and continued to live one day at a time. Some participants did leisure activities such as tramping or golf in order to forget their daily stress. In particular, playing golf compensated what they lost in New Zealand because it is too expensive in Korea. Leisure became escapism from the reality rather than pursuing joyfulness.

While they felt ready to interact with local people, some participants chose study, which sounds promising in terms of job prosperity. Study is an occupation Korean immigrants traditionally value. Some also tried to attend local programmes. However, their efforts were often hampered by many factors, in some cases, it was very subtle. Participants reported that there was an invisible wall between them and local people. Participants often felt embarrassed when they engaged in a conversation or felt left out alone in the corner because of local people's intolerance. Consequently, they barricaded themselves again. They didn't want to engage with locals, isolating themselves from the host society. Indeed, they often felt afraid of being embarrassed or rejected when they approached the receiving community. Some participants interpreted this as racism or discrimination. In addition, unrecognised qualification also impeded them from finding a job. In this case, they didn't have a choice but stayed within the Korean enclave where they didn't need to worry about being embarrassed or rejected. However, they were also very aware that as long as they lived within the enclave, their English wasn't improved. Consequently, there was no development for themselves in a new country. As long as they stay in the enclave, they know what to do today – living one day at a time, but can't secure their future.

In the meantime, some participants began to challenge these situations. This initially required self-awareness; that is, the attitude of 'have a go' and 'desire to escape the comfortable zone'. They knew that maintaining Korean ways at home, watching Korean TV programmes at home, didn't help them to integrate into the host community. There is no hope to be a full member of the society. In particular, they felt left behind when they witnessed their children's progress of English skills. In some cases, their own children judged or looked down them because of their limited English skills. In this case, three occupations emerged significantly in terms of engaging in a real world to develop self as 'volunteering', 'study' and 'work'. Through participation in these occupations, participants obtained a level of mastery in a new situation. It was more than knowing what to do. It was about knowing the society – where they are in the current situation - through direct interaction with local people. By volunteering, people often felt they did something to contribute to the community. One participant recalled this experience as 'finding something to do for the society'. It is an opportunity for participants to value themselves, regaining a feeling of their existence in the world. Some participants also found a place where they belonged to by obtaining attachment to that place. Through work, they met people and practiced English. By building a relationship with colleagues, they got accurate information about the society and they obtained useful knowledge. In addition, while they obtained accurate knowledge

and enough language skills, they established a new identity, separating themselves from other Koreans. They became independent from their old traditions. At this stage, they don't endure complicated relationships anymore. Through volunteering and working, participants obtained knowledge about the society, leading to an ability to have a choice and make a voice. This process ultimately led to them regaining control in their lives. Through engaging in a receiving community by volunteering and working, participants practiced English, built networks, got accurate information, and consequently were able to make a choice and voice. In this sense, the settlement means more than knowing what to do. It is an ability of controlling their life and of planning their future. In this process, participants found a place they hoped to value themselves. Although their life isn't financially improved yet, their lives became stable. They didn't compare their lives to others' anymore and managed it themselves. In this process, one of strategies is that participants cling to their own minimum expectation for a new life prior to immigration, that is, more family time and having a relaxed lifestyle. Participants felt settled because they were in charge of their lives, being able to have a choice, make a decision, and predict consequences.

Valuing self is what participants wanted to accomplish in this country. While they engaged in the host community, they witnessed a gap which they could contribute to fill with their trans-national experience. For example, participants witnessed a gap in providing counselling for immigrants or addressing social issues. They chose to study to fill those gaps. In this sense, ethnic minority is no longer pulling them down. Instead, their unique and direct experience can help them find what they want to do and contribute to their new home country. In this sense, participants celebrate their diversity. Some participants are aware of the importance of local qualification in order to engage in a real world. For them, study is a way to value themselves so that they can engage in a real world in future, expecting regaining control in life. It is all about 'valuing themselves through regaining control over their lives, in particular occupations with which they can achieve this goal'.

Appendix R: List of Conferences

Year	Title	Location
2012	The occupational experiences of Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand	AUT University, Auckland, New Zealand.
2012	The immigrant process of Korean immigrants in New Zealand	The 5th Asian Health and Well-being Conference, Auckland, New Zealand.
2012	Developing understandings of Korean immigrants' settlement process: An occupational science perspective	KSAA Conference, Canberra, Australia.
2013	Enhancing well-being through everyday activities: Understanding Korean immigrants' settlement process	The 20th New Zealand Asian Studies Society International Conference, Auckland, New Zealand.
2013	Attending to immigrants' everyday activities: A new perspective on supporting participation	Social Workers Registration Board Conference, Wellington, New Zealand.
2013	Promised Land, Disrupted Lives: A journey of Valuing Self	The New Settlers Access Grid Seminar Series, Auckland, New Zealand.
2013	The occupational journey of Korean immigrants settling in New Zealand	AUT University, Auckland, New Zealand.
2014	Attending to immigrants' everyday activities: A new perspective on enhancing immigrants' well-being	KAME International Conference, Seoul, Korea.

Appendix S: The Example of Open Coding

Initial Opening Coding (I)

Research : long-distance relationship

Interview (8-7-2011) 가족과 아내 :

Ref: Reflexive memo
RM: Research memo
AM: Analytic memo

K: researcher
I: Interviewee

I: No, my husband opposed the immigration. Rather, he suggested transferring my children to another school. But, I did not like his opinion. Even though he opposed my decision, we came to NZ. He stayed in Korea.

K: So. It must be big decision for you, especially your husband opposed your decision.

I: Yes

K: So, did you have any goal or expectation before coming to NZ?

I: Ummm. Basically, my expectation or goal was all about a better future for my children. Coming to NZ would be a stepping stone for their successful life. I thought they could go to a good university and get a good job. Umme we came here because of that expectation, but.... Anyway, we came here with that expectation.

K: I believe we all have our own opinion. When you decided to immigrate to NZ, your husband still opposed your decision. It was your own idea for successful life for your children. So what was a successful life for your children at that time for you?

I: At that time, my children's school performances were not so good, got worst. Thus, I became anxious that they might not be able to go to university in Korea.
Whenever I worried that my children couldn't go to university, you know, in Korea, speaking English well. Anyway, you know, speaking English fluently guarantee a good job. And possibly being able to go to university here. That was my goal.

I understand that English language ability is appreciated and recognized as a valuable ability in Korea and Japan. I can't agree with you more for that. As you may know, there are many countries where English is their first language such as UK, USA, Canada and Australia. Did you have any reason to choose NZ among other countries?

Kim Hagyun 28/7/11 1:08 PM
Comment [7]: Again, it was my problem – too much talk. Try to summarize. Maybe because I was nervous. Next time just ask simply!!!

02386992 28/7/11 1:08 PM
Comment [8]: Need to research what's the meaning of going to uni in Korea? High competition?

02386992 28/7/11 1:08 PM
Comment [9]: Again. Too early to summarize or influence my perspective on her.

Handwritten annotations (left margin):

husband opposing to the right coming to NZ
caring to be alone with children
having a long distance relationship
being recognized with traditional cultural roles

expecting better future for children
positioning herself – no goal for her
– just career –

expecting children to have a successful life
going to University
getting a good job

having poor school performance
feeling anxious for children's future
finding solutions to children's future
– graduating University in Overseas
– speaking English

Handwritten annotations (right margin):

int :
Korean Woman – no longer passive
active, able to negotiate, make a decision

Being recognized with traditional cultural role
Weighing up children's education opportunity
having a long distance relationship
was it all about her decision, or defining her exactly what happened at that time

Q1.

maintaining cultural roles
Securing children's future
providing foundations for children's successful life

Experiencing children's future at able
Finding solutions overseas
pursuing cultural norms in Korea : successful life
• University
• English proficiency
identifying requirements for children's successful life

Dimension of better future consequences
– speaking English fluently → get a good job
– going to University → successful life

parents' duty : supporting them to achieve their path

Yellow sticky note (handwritten):

Why her husband opposed?
– money
– not valuing overseas study
– having different perspectives on children's education

compared to for #1,
(why someone posted all staff to come)
why someone stay and sent his family

Handwritten at bottom:

Good University = successful life
qualification : 좋은 대학 – 좋은 직장 – 성공적인 삶

negotiation
husband

재미있는 = 세미있는
" I = children" – status.

Interview (8-7-2011)

K: researcher
I: Interviewee

Ref: Reflexive memo
RM: Research memo
AM: Analytic memo

I: Ah... I did not have full research for other countries. But, we know USA is recognized as a dangerous country in terms of safety. Canada, ummme environment not so good. In case of Australia, when I was thinking of immigration, I watched a TV programme that some Korean students in Australia organized gang groups, and committed crimes. But, information about NZ always presents a good country to live, peaceful and safe image.

K: So, you did not have proper information about NZ nor any personal informant in NZ. You knew NZ only through your own understanding and mass media.

I: Yes.

K: So, you came to NZ for immigration without any previous visit.

I: Yes. Initially we came here as international students with some help of agency. One year later, we decided to immigrate to NZ, so changed our status, applying for a residency.

K: You said that you came to NZ with a big plan or high expectation. What was look like your typical day in NZ after coming to NZ?

I: first year, I was too busy to think about my day because I changed my mind. I applied for a residency. Thus, I had to prepare IELTS test for my residence application.

K: So, did you prepare IELTS test?

I: Yes. Because my husband did not support my plan. I had to go through all immigration process by myself. I spent most of my first year in NZ by preparing IELTS. so I didn't have time to think about my day. However, after I received proper score of IELTS and got a residency, I had feeling of joy and achievement. Since then, 2 or 3 years on, I felt many thing changed in my life.

Kim, Hagyun 28/7/11 1:08 PM
Comment [14]: I don't understand why I interrupt her. I should ask what changed. It was a key point of my study. But I actually interrupted her. Rather than encouraging her to keep going, feeling distressed at the moment.

Lists of Initial Codes

Appendix T: The Example of Axial Coding

Initial Axial Coding (I)

his culture. keeping cultural : Not challenging

Stay in the past

Analyze place to escape
good and better place
Deciding immigration
: not too bad
: small country

impulsive
making a quick decision
unprepared well
lack of information
having no clear (goal/plan)

condition
easy access to NZ
NZ international reputation

Becoming a trigger : appraisal for future
- appraisal for future
- His hard work - meaningless

valuing :
escape for
good and better place
for family

- Dimensions : less (competitive
personal transparency)
personal expectation (Not prosperity)
- having minimum expectation

Initial Axial Coding (II)

Diagram 2

- Lack of Support
  - We are all alone
  - no negotiator

- not ready to meet ethnic people (cultural responsiveness)
  - cultural responsiveness condition:
    (Local)
    (Minority Status)
    - Lack of motivation
    - language barrier.
  - different culture
  - Becoming inappropriate cultural support

Losing cultural identity
- losing authority
- inability to introduce family.
- different process to gain local knowledge
  (power shift): husband → wife
  parents → children
- conflict, arguments.

Feeling fear of family Break-up
consequence

Developing new identity
- starting point to look at myself.
- pursuing own happiness.
- Balancing "sacrifice" and "my life"
- self-control.

Accepting changes
Strategy:
- accepting
- new identity (Passive)
- taking responsibility
- forced by children and locals.

Losing Autonomy
- being judged
- being monitored.
- misunderstanding
- "Re-establishing relationship"

Identity problems
- identifying problems to keep self in a new situation
  - English proficiency
  - lack of local knowledge.

Valuing myself (active)
① solve these problems
  - obtaining local knowledge.
  - identifying problems, skills.
② master and change a situation
③ providing achievement: Reflecting personal experience

meaningful occupation

Regaining self
→ consequence: different interpretation

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Initial Axial Coding (III)

Memo: 1

Date: 25-8-2011

Title: summary of categories

Experiencing old identity → new category (gender?)

- accepting cultural identity
- maintaining family
- securing family culture & patternised.
* Tired to exhausted.
  Loss meaningful
  being self

- Denial stage.
  extra pressure.
  living in two worlds
  - keep cultural values
- Lack of support
- re-establish relation ship
- experiencing minority status
- keep unsolved problems
  - "Trigger" uncertainty
  - "depression"

- Learn to accept stage.
  Accepting changes.
  Learn local cultures.
- Losing Autonomy
- obtain skills
- improve self value
- forced to change
- manage life back
- regaining self control

- Master to change
- provide achievement
- Self": own happiness
- Building new identity

new insight:
- collectivism.
- Confucius culture.
- industrialized society.
- high competition?

Dimension of new situation
- peaceful
- safe
- high education possibility
- English speaking

can't ask for help
(living on an Island)
Small community

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Initial Axial Coding (IV)

Diagram 3

Title: living in the small community

Date: 25-8-2011

Living in the small community

Small market
- High competition
- Marginal profit
- Working excessive hours
- *Keep diplomatic relationship*

uncertainty

Intimate relationship
- Know each other
- Possibility being a gossip
- Lack of professions
- *Avoid seeking help*

keeping close

Local Attention
- Unknown population
- Lack of attention
- Inappropriate support
- *Unpractical support*
- *Losing Autonomy*

Isolation: keep problems at home

Appendix U: Diagram Development

Example of developing diagram using Matrix (I)

Diagram 2

Title: the conditional/consequential matrix: immigration decision

Date: 25-8-2011

NZ international
Reputation:
Clean Green

Immigration policy

Lack of information

Aging population Easy access Not too bad Immigration Decision: Quick & Reckless

Uncertain future

Vanish racial preference

Peaceful & Safe Shortage of workforce

Minimum expectations

Lack of preparation

No clear goal

Lack of information
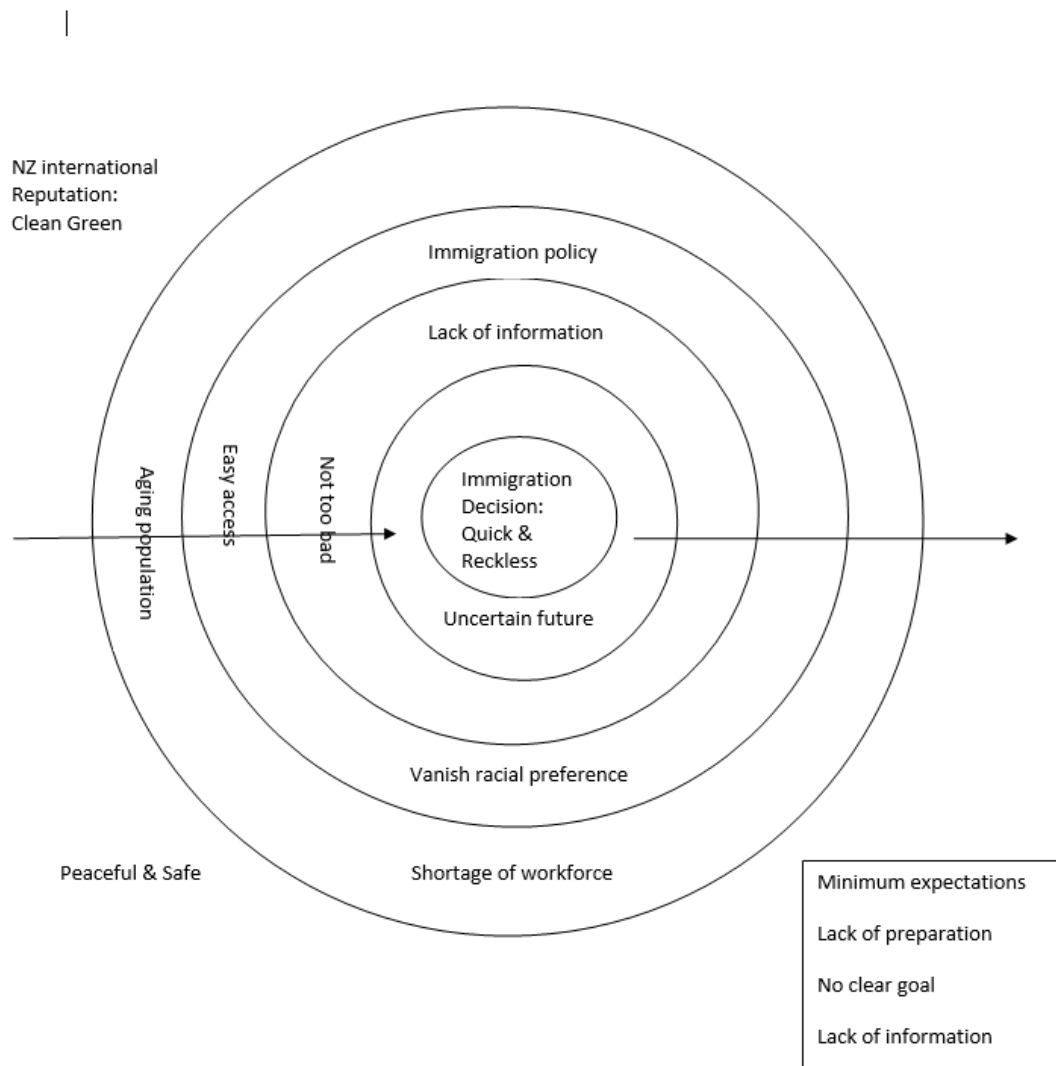
Example of developing diagram using Matrix (II)

Diagram 1

Title: the conditional/consequential matrix: accepting cultural identity

Date: 25-8-2011

Prior to immigration: Living in Drudgery

accepting cultural roles

Suppressing desire to change life style

working excessive hours

living in the drudgery

dreaming of overseas living

experiencing burdened

Repeating lifestyle

feeling pressured

Encountering Uncertainty

Business hardship

Family reunion

long for a better place for off spring (safe, education, and future)

Deciding Immigration

expriencing a trigger

being unsatisfied with schools

receiving positive information of overseas living

dreaming of overseas living

Existing immigrants

International reputation

sugar coated world

Sitting on a fence

less prepared

Minimum Expectations

making impulsive decision

less informed

making a quick and reckless decision

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The settlement process: Experiencing real world in New Zealand

Frustraion

Learning/Participating in the Old World

Accepting/Adjusting

Mastering/Revaluing Self

a level of mastery

taking unskilled or unwanted job for living

feeling comfortable

taking a hunch for understanding surroundings

unfinished settlement

adjusting and adapting to changes

low self-esteem

sacrificing self for off spring

accepting loss

compensating loss

finding a gap of the host society

feeling rooted

valuing self

using transnational knowledge

sharing own experiences with others

contributing to the host society

Appendix V: Theory Overview Diagram

Initial Selective Coding

Engaging in known ways

Engaging in new uncertain ways.

Regaining control

Being a tightrope walker

Making a commitment

Enacting the old me

Keeping alive (enduring) relying on

expanding understanding by direct experience

Accumulated knowledge

searching for alternatives.

keeping on trying

Hanging on

gaining Accumulated knowledge

Making own ways sharing.

knowing the pretext (scheduling getting, life direction

Finding new self embrace N3 Values of independence and self-reliance

- joining a membership

volunteer.

gaining know-how

Direct experience

Whenever a setback

Consequences

Maintaining minimum control

staying in the past

Developing self

living for the day

Being the pressure

Difficulties adjusting may be linked to the organisation of immigrant family life

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The process of Regaining Control

Salient Conditions:
Minimum Expectations, Language Barrier, Sugar Coated World, Ethnocentric Attitude,
Confucianism, Existing Networks, Korean Enclave.

Regaining Control

Engaging in Korean Ways

Consequences

- Gaining Know-how
- Devaluing Self
- Staying in the Past
- Living for the Day
- Creating Pressure

Being a Tightrope Walker

Recycling the Old-me

Making a Commitment

Prioritising

Keeping Silent

Engaging in New Zealand Ways

Being a Tightrope Walker

Searching for Alternatives

Making a Commitment

Constant Experimenting

Hanging on

Consequences

- Making Own Ways
- Knowing the Present
- Changing Self

Valuing Self

Regaining Autonomy

Gaining Familiarity

Re-establishing Self

Making a Contribution

Finding a Place to belong

Maximising Trans-nationality

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