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Hybridising identities by Korean mothers and daughters in New Zealand

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Abstract

The population in the Pacific region is becoming increasingly diverse. In New Zealand, Asian migrants now make up almost 10% of the total population. Among them, women and second generation migrants are often described as most vulnerable to acculturation stress and identity confusions due to cultural conflicts, intergenerational issues and discrimination. However, their resilience to overcome these difficulties and their processes to construct alternative identities are not well understood. My study particularly concerns identity issues of Korean women migrants in New Zealand. The aim of this study is to understand how they deal with the challenges and re-construct their identities. For this purpose, this study draws on theories of hybridizing selves, the dialogical self and the interactive nature of culture. Six Korean mothers and six Korean young adult daughters were interviewed. Photographs and personal items were used to facilitate the interview conversations. To undertake the analyses, this study draws on frameworks suggested by discourse analysis and narrative analysis, and is underpinned by a social constructionist approach. Informed by a discursive approach, the researcher was aware of the potentials and constraints in the social and cultural context of the participants' everyday lives. Informed by a narrative approach, the researcher could explore participants' active roles in constructing their own stories. The findings demonstrate that these women are in the process of constructing hybrid identities. By constructing hybrid identities, they can avoid the strictures of being either 'authentic' Koreans or 'assimilated' Westernised women. Instead, they create flexible, positive selves, negotiating gender, ethnicity, and the power structures experienced in Western dominant society. The findings also show that mothers and daughters negotiate identities in various ways. Mothers construct the sense of being in a minority in ways that allow them to claim their strength and overcome powerlessness attached to their minority status. They also strategically construct others as the same as themselves to restore a sense of equality and to claim their rights in a Western country. Daughters construct themselves as being different from both 'typical' Koreans and their western peers, and then this dislocation is used to create a space to allow their own ways of adjustment. Daughters also describe their difficulties in carrying out adult roles in the family, but this construction turns into a sense of worthiness as a valuable contributor to the family. Regarding their future plans, daughters strategically use their hybrid identities to form positive self images as competent young women in an international context. Hybridised identities are also constructed with regard to intergenerational interactions within the family: mothers formulate ways of hybridizing children based on both Korean and Western notions of parenting, which becomes their way to be good mothers in the western society; daughters draw on both the notions of being a good, caring daughter in Korean terms and being

an independent woman in New Zealand in order to negotiate their relationships with parents. To conclude, this study documents how culture is not a set of inherent traits of an ethnic group but is interactive, shifting and performative. Also migrant women are to be seen as active negotiators in identity construction rather than victims of acculturation stress. These findings have implications for health professionals in New Zealand who are interested in assisting migrants in developing flexibility and resilience. The implications for appropriate cultural competence in professional psychological practice are discussed in terms of the broader understanding of culture and the importance of reflectivity for practice.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The migration process can be challenging for Asian women. Challenges occur inside and outside of their families, including having to re-arrange gender and intergenerational boundaries within the family and encountering stereotypes of Asian women in the host society. These challenges do not necessarily lead to negative results in their lives but could create possibilities for these women in formulating new identities after migration. Understanding how migrant women deal with adjustment challenges and create resiliency is an important task for researchers and health professionals to assist migrants in growing strengths. In New Zealand, with the recent increase of Asian migrants, understanding these migrants' psychological journey becomes a critical issue. Reflecting on this, my study aims to understand how Korean women who have recently immigrated develop confidence and flexibilities through their migration experiences. The study also discusses the implications for mental health professionals working with Korean and other Asian women migrants. In this introductory chapter, I discuss recent changes in immigration trends, particularly the noticeable increase in the Korean population in New Zealand. Then I review the literature on mental health issues for Asian migrant women and second generations. This leads to the next discussion; about culture, gender and self, which becomes a theoretical base for my study. I also introduce the social and cultural background to provide an understanding of modern Korean migrant women. This chapter ends by highlighting the aims of this study.

Changes in immigration trends

Recently, the faces of New Zealand have become more diverse than before with the sudden influx of people from Asian countries. The recent census shows that Asians are the fastest growing ethnic group in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). In the 2006 Census, Asians made up 9.2% of the total population of the country, with 354,553 people, an increase from 167,070 in 1991. Among all ethnic groups in New Zealand the Asian population is projected to grow the fastest; with a predicted increase of about 120% to 600,000 in 2021 (Statistics New Zealand, 2005). Statistics New Zealand (2006) shows that these new migrants from Asian countries are quite young, with a median age of 28.7 compared to 36.9 in the European population. Thirty percent of Asian people in New Zealand are aged between 15 and 29 years. Many of them reside in Auckland; one out of five people (18.9%) in this city identify themselves as Asians. Thus, the majority of the Asian people in New Zealand are very recent

migrants that arrived less than 10-15 years ago and make up a quite youthful community, with the majority living in Auckland city.

Koreans are the fastest growing group of Asian people, making up the third largest community amongst Asian migrant communities in New Zealand. The number of Koreans in New Zealand was 30,792 in 2006, an increase of more than 30 times since 1991 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). It is reported that on the North Shore area, the suburb of Auckland where the majority of Koreans live, the Korean language is the second most widely used language and is spoken by 2.8% people (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The fact that they live closely within the local area of Auckland means that they enjoy a good deal of cultural resources and build cultural community in this area. However Koreans are very recent arrivals in this country compared to other bigger Asian groups such as Chinese and Indians. This may mean that they have difficulties in adjusting to the host society with language and social economical changes. They are at the beginning of a process, vigorously dealing with various challenges to make sense of new cultural input as well as personal and familial changes in a new society.

The increase of Asian migrants is a relatively new phenomenon in this country. Traditionally European countries and the Pacific Islands have been the source countries for New Zealand migrants. The recent increase of Asian migrants was initiated by new migration policy in 1996, which opened the door to countries other than the traditional source countries (Bedford, Ho, & Lidgard, 2000). This is in fact an international phenomenon; many countries start adopting flexible entry policies to accommodate their needs in the labour market (Bauer, Lofstrom, & Zimmermann, 2001). Governments limit or allow the flow of international migrants and these decisions are based on the resources individuals bring with them to the country. In this trend, people with sizeable resources, such as skills and capital assets, are able to identify and maximise employment chances and further opportunities. These new migrants appear to move ahead easily, motivated by relaxed lifestyles, good children's education and a better natural environment (Friesen, 2008).

However in this migrant trend, not all migrants have the same opportunities to meet their expectations and dreams. One of the variations is observed between Asian migrants and European migrants in the same country. As a result of European migrants' cultural backgrounds being closer in type to the dominant group in New Zealand, these migrants seem to have smoother cultural adjustments and structural integration (e.g., employment) to the mainstream society than other ethnic groups (Henderson, 2004). In comparison, for Asians, the barriers to entering the main stream society come from issues like cultural and language differences and racial discrimination (Harris et al., 2006; Ho, Au, Bedford, & Cooper, 2002). With these cultural

and racial issues, Asian migrants are less likely to be satisfied with their lives in New Zealand than European migrants (Department of Labour, 2009).

The more recent Asian migrants' communities differ from earlier settler communities. There have been transformations in community to more family-oriented organisation, reflecting the more recent increase of women and younger migrants. In earlier times workers were mainly male adults, such as Chinese miners in Central Otago and Indian workers from Fiji (Taher, 1970). However, with increasing numbers of business migrants, skilled migrants, academic migrants and their partners and children, the migrant community has changed; it is now more family-oriented and more gender balanced (Zhou, 2006). Family interactions, the role of women and gender issues are therefore increasingly important for understanding these migrants' adjustment processes. For example, individuals may experience changes in gender and age roles within the family after migration (Yee, DeBaryshe, Yuen, Kim, & McCubbin, 2007). It is not uncommon for women to become the breadwinner if her husband cannot find work, or if his sole income is insufficient, and often young or teenaged children help their parents with using the English language, playing adult roles. These role changes could impact on their identities as women or children.

Rapid advances in transportation and communication technology have also influenced the new migrants' lives significantly. Recently New Zealand scholars used the term 'transnational' to understand recent migrants (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008; Ho & Bedford, 2008). Transnationals are people who can maintain their ties to the home country through communication technology and the ease of travelling between borders (Glick Schiller, 1995). As a result, for many new migrants, the traditional ideas of permanent immigration, such as physical isolation from the home country and psychological isolation in the host country, may not be the norm any more. New migrants move and communicate between countries easily using internet and various means of communication. While cultural resources from both countries are accessible simultaneously, it is also possible that the authenticity of the ethnic culture can be blurred by the continuous contacts between countries. Bartley and Spoonley (2008) note, by observing transnational studies on recent Asian migrants in New Zealand, that there is ambivalence about the conventional idea of assimilation to the host society. New migrants live in a cultural context very different from their previous one. Thus they may draw on new ways to develop their identities in the cultural relationships rather than conventional way of assimilating into a new culture at the cost of the culture of origin.

In summary, the changes in immigration trends in New Zealand require creative approaches to understanding the lives of migrants. Recent Asian migrants tend to have more socio-economic

and cultural resources in comparison to earlier Asian settlers. Technological advancement also changes the context of cultural negotiation whereby physical distances from the home culture is less of a problem than in earlier times. There are, however, cultural differences that Asian migrants find challenging, including discrimination, compared to European migrants. In addition adjustment processes for recent Asian migrants are not just individual or male-oriented processes, but are complex and enriched by family, intergenerational and gender issues. These changes have meaningful implications for understanding the adjustment of recent Asian migrants. Firstly the increase of women, youth and family populations in the Asian migrant community highlights the need for further research on these populations. On one hand, their cultural social resources are more visible and accessible than before, but on the other hand there are issues of discrimination and cultural differences between the country of origin and the host country, particularly for Asian migrants living in an European country. Finally, research on the identity negotiation processes requires approaches that are sensitive and responsive to the constantly changing historical, cultural and gender issues that actively influence Asian migrants' adjustment processes and experiences.

Culture, migration and mental health

In dominant psychology literature, migration has been considered to cause acculturation stress and consequently psychological difficulties for the migrant individuals. Acculturation is defined by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936) as “those phenomena which result when individuals from different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (p. 149). As part of the acculturation process, Marsella and Yamada (2000) note that mental health issues may occur when people from the minority culture are required to adapt and adjust to the worldviews of the dominant group. There is pressure for them to conform and accommodate to the dominant culture's way of life, as a result of which individuals from the minority culture may feel their identity and meanings are lost or devalued. When it goes too far, these individuals may experience uncertainty, anger, resentment and despair (Marsella & Yamada, 2000). The acculturation process and its consequences on mental health has long been an interest of psychologists and mental health researchers. In particular, women and second generations in the migrant families have been found to be vulnerable to the acculturation stress. In this section, I will review findings in psychology literature which attempt to understand the relationships between culture, immigration and mental health of women and second generations.

Acculturation stress for migrant women and second generation

One of the dominant theoretical approaches that explains acculturation process as being

associated with mental health problems is the stress, coping and adjustment approach (Berry, 2006; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Here acculturative stress is proposed to explain the problematic aspects of acculturation (Berry, 2006). The acculturation stress refers to affective, behavioural, psychological changes brought by the intercultural contacts (Berry, 2006; Sam, 2006b). This acculturation stress is linked to mental health problems through the way people deal with negative experiences by engaging with various coping strategies (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). When it leads to a negative form of adjustment, mental health problems can occur - such as depression (associated with cultural loss) or anxiety (associated with uncertainty about the new future after migration) (Berry, 2006). Four main strategies to deal with acculturation stress are supported by Berry and his colleague (1988): integration, separation, assimilation and marginalization. If immigrants have an integration strategy, maintaining a home culture as well as the culture of the host society, it could lead to more favourable adjustment outcomes compared to other strategies such as separation (rejecting host culture, accepting home culture), assimilation (rejecting home culture, accepting host culture) or marginalisation (rejecting both). These four strategies are found to be able to predict acculturation outcomes such as changes in subjective wellbeing (Zheng, Sang, & Wang, 2003), friendship patterns (Berry et al., 1989), the level of psychological distress (Ward & Kennedy, 1994), self-esteem (Eyou, Adair, & Dixon, 2000) and subjective reports on adjustment (Kim, 2007).

Following this theoretical approach, various cultural factors have been identified as relating to the acculturation process. Also women and second generations are found to be particularly vulnerable to experiencing acculturation stress due to some of those cultural and migration related factors. From a literature review on Asian migrants' mental health issues in New Zealand, Ho and Bedford (2002) identified that such factors as language difficulties, employment problems, disruptions of family and of social support networks, as well as experiences prior to migration affect the mental health of women and second generations in Asian migrant families. These factors are similarly identified in the U.S. (Kramer, Kwong, Lee, & Chung, 2002). They point out that age and gender are important factors increasing vulnerabilities to mental health issues highlighting possible difficulties experienced by migrant women and second generation migrants. One reason is that women have to deal with dual tasks of maintaining domestic roles while being forced to adapt to new gender roles in the new culture (Ho et al., 2002). Also children, adolescents and young adults in the second generation may be put into a difficult position as they are in the developmental process of developing a coherent identity while having to adapt to new cultural expectations (Yeh, 2003). Those issues are discussed in the following section.

Gender and mental health issues

Typically, men have been reported as acculturating more rapidly than women as they engage in outside work while women do the domestic work (Kramer et al., 2002). However there have been changes in the gender roles that women occupy where women increasingly enter the work force and therefore adopt the host society culture more easily than previous time (Curran, Shafer, Donato, & Garip, 2006). Despite this, migration studies suggest that women tend to be still bound with traditional gendered roles and likely to experience mental health issues (Ho et al., 2002; Kramer et al., 2002; Sam 2006a).

The difficulties that migrant women face are known to be raised through their having dual tasks. On one hand, the domestic role remains as a women's role, requiring them to learn skills of housekeeping and child-rearing in a new cultural system; on the other hand, due to the changes in social status after migration, they are also forced to seek jobs in order to help the family financially (Ho et al., 2002). In addition, childbirth and childcare contribute to difficulties for women wanting to re-train themselves by learning the English language, driving and entering into adult education in the host society. These factors result in a high rate of women's underemployment or unemployment, maintaining a vicious cycle. Evans' study (1984) of immigrant women in Australia showed that with each child a woman has, her employment participation decreases by about 3%. Language is a common difficulty for Asian migrant women. The language barrier causes not only communication difficulties but also other secondary issues. For example, first generation women tend to have less opportunity to learn the new language than men and their children and may have consequent problems finding employment and building social networks (Ho, Cheung, Bedford, & Leung, 2000). Also, those with limited English need to rely on their children or husbands to access mainstream services which increases dependence and intergenerational problems within the family (Strom, Buki, & Strom, 1997).

The ability to use English effectively was found to be positively related with the degree of self-esteem for Chinese migrants in the U.S. (Schnittker, 2002). Amongst Asian groups in New Zealand, Koreans, because the majority of them arrived in New Zealand within the past 10-15 years, were found to have greater difficulties learning English than Indians and Chinese who, as groups, have a longer history of settlement. One of five Korean men aged over 15 years reported that they could not speak English and there was even higher proportion of women who could not speak English (Ho et al., 2002). Existing literature suggests that people with limited English may find extra difficulties in adjustment and recent Korean migrants, and women migrants are more likely to struggle with these challenges. In addition, with the lack of English language skills and access to the mainstream society and being cut off from their previous social network

after migration, these migrant women can easily become isolated (Jirojwong & Manderson, 2001).

Psychologically, Asian women also experience conflicts of self-image. It is suggested that as ideal individuals in western society, independence, achievement and self-sufficiency are important, which may conflict with the values held as ideal for women in Asian cultures where interdependence, collective values are more respected (Kramer et al., 2002). Kramer and his colleagues (2002) elaborate that these conflicting ideals can play out in various ways including: (1) teenage girls may withdraw or act out due to this conflict between two cultures; and (2) wives working outside the home may compare their status to that of their husband, resulting in relationship problems.

Intergenerational issues in the migrant family

Studies suggest that over time, the emotional and cultural distance between parents and children in migrant families becomes larger (Qin-Hilliard, 2006; Sam, 2006). The parents carry the traditional values, which are different from the values their children are exposed to at school and in their peer groups. For example, Asian parents may expect that their children are compliant towards their elders, however these values may conflict with Western values such as independence and assertiveness that the children are exposed to at school (Zhou, 2006). For the parents' generation, education would be seen as important in terms of keeping face of the family, while their children may see education as limiting to individual freedom (Kramer et al., 2002). In addition, as parents need to work hard in the foreign country as the first generation, children are expected to fill the dream of being a model migrant in the host society in return (Zhou, 2006).

Second generations in migrant families may have doubled pressures while they are already dealing with developmental challenges in the transition to adulthood. It is also known that migrants' children often are expected to support their families, playing such roles as interpreting language and looking after siblings while parents work long hours. The clash of family obligation would pose particular challenges on migrant youth. While migrant teenagers and young adults are in the stage of forming a sense of identity, having different ideas about their ideal selves in and outside home would be difficult (Yeh, 2003; Yeh & Hwang, 2000). For example, Yeh (2003), in a study of 319 Korean, Chinese and Japanese secondary students in the U.S.A, found that age and acculturative stress were positively related with their mental health symptoms. The authors conclude that, while the pressure from peers and society to form a coherent sense of identity is stressful enough for these youth, the increased obligation from family conflicts with the western value of independency required for that age, which becomes

an extra strain on them. Phinney, Ong and Madden (2000) support the case for considering intergenerational issues. They compared immigrant families and non-immigrant families in the U.S. and found that value discrepancy between parents and children was higher in immigrant families, indicating that these immigrant families face intergenerational challenges. Intergenerational issues are therefore not to be undermined but a critical factor for migrant parents as well as for their children in their subjective experiences of successful migration.

In summary, the existing literature on mental health for migrants suggests that there are various issues that put Asian migrant women and second generation in a vulnerable position as a result of cultural and migration stressors. In addition, it suggests that recent migrants, like Korean-New Zealanders, face more difficulties due to their short history in New Zealand compared to other migrant groups. The issues discussed above highlight the probable problems that migrant women and youth encounter in terms of their mental health. Useful insights from the previous study include about the difficulties that women and second generations may experience within and outside of the family, also the needs to understand ways they could build their strengths while dealing with the difficulties. It would be particularly important to see their active roles in dealing with these challenging issues in order to assist them in developing resilience. In the next section, I will discuss why we need further consideration of migrants' adjustment processes.

Are migrant women and teenagers necessarily vulnerable to mental health problems?

One of the early studies of migrants with mental illness is Odegard's paper "Emigration and insanity: A study of mental disease among a Norwegian-born population in Minnesota" in 1932. The author reported that immigrants were liable to have a high incidence of schizophrenia, because this illness predisposes individuals towards migration and also interferes with their adjustment in their host societies. While this study sounds biased and presents a negative view towards migrants at this time, more than a half century later studies dominant in psychology may not have moved on too far from that view. For example, Chiu (2006) argues that dominant psychology studies continue to reproduce negative views on migrants and that there is a need to redirect such research. I will discuss the main points made by such a critique of traditional mental health research on migrants, addressing issues of (1) promoting negative perspectives on migrants' mental status with little empirical basis; (2) treating migrant women as passive victims; and (3) insufficient exploration of the complexity of identity negotiations.

Firstly, research on migrant mental health tends to focus on migrants' perceived deficiencies and therefore presents negative views of migrants. While there are some studies supporting the idea

that migrants are more vulnerable to mental illness than host populations (Cantor-Graaf, Pedersen, McNeil, & Mortensen, 2003; Harrison et al., 1997), findings are inconsistent and contradictory (Sam, 2006). Through a review of Asian mental health literature, Ho and colleagues (Ho et al., 2002) conclude that the prevalence of mental illness in migrant groups does not significantly differ from that in the host society. Also, the assessment models used are not consistent and the concepts of mental illness vary across cultures in which self-reporting on mental illness may be difficult to generalise from (Rudmin, 2009; Sam, 2006). In addition, Kuo and Tsai (1986) point out that researchers exclusively conducted studies on the drawbacks of migratory experience in a pessimistic fashion. As a consequence they note that “one danger is that social change itself will automatically be assumed as ‘bad’ for one’s health and well-being; another is that significant variables and factors related to successful adaptation and resettlement may be ignored and missed” (Kuo & Tsai, 1986, p. 133). Chiu (2006) also questions whether migration is necessarily bad for mental health, pointing out the lack of research on resilience and other positive characteristics of migrants. As Chiu emphasized, understanding resilience in migrants is important in assisting them to develop confidence, a key consideration for mental health practitioners working with migrants. Thus, as much as pathology, studies on positive characteristics such as migrant resilience are required in order to gain balance in psychological research and its application to promoting migrants’ mental health.

Secondly, while research emphasizes migrants’ vulnerabilities, migrant women and second generations are more easily treated as victims. The adverse circumstances that migrant women and their children face may not necessarily mean that they are merely passive recipients of the adverse factors. Studies suggest that migrant girls often excel academically over their peers and over male migrants at school (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Qin-Hilliard, 2003 ; Rong & Brown, 2001). Also while dealing with conflicting expectations inside and outside the ethnic community, migrant women can grow in flexibility; moving between different cultures more easily than their counterparts (Bhatia & Ram, 2004; Malhi, Boon, & Rogers, 2009; Sakamoto, 2006). These studies indicate that migrant women deploy their resources to deal with challenges created by migration. In a literature review on psychology studies of immigrant women, Suarez-Orozco (2006) argue that there would be resilience of Asian migrant women arising through the course of migration and adjustment that need to be differently understood from the ways male migrants and European women deal with adverse factors. Therefore, while previous studies are useful in terms of providing insight into the difficult factors faced by women migrants and youth, their active roles in dealing with the challenges require further study.

Finally, problems with traditionally negative views of migrants’ mental health, and lack of studies on their resilience, lead to the suspicion that there are insufficiencies in previous

approaches to exploring the complexity of migrants' lives. In a critical paper on acculturation studies in psychology, Chirkov (2009) argues that dominant psychology research drawing on the acculturation model is conducted through mainly the mode of 'explanation', rather than on one of 'understanding'. The difference between these two modes is that the mode of explanation tries to identify universal rules in the course of acculturation, while the mode of understanding explores the socially constructed meanings of acculturation by migrant themselves. Focusing on universal rules across different individual migrants is limiting when individual complexities are taken into account. For example, other scholars, in the similar vein to Chirkov's criticisms, expressed concerns that important issues like gender, ethnicity and power embedded in migrants' everyday lives are reduced to separate variables and therefore the complicated nature of individuals' negotiations in dealing with these issues cannot be fully explored (Bhatia & Ram, 2004; Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Bhatia and Ram (2004) further argue that issues of gender, ethnicity and minority position are not just static factors but rather they are very much part of everyday life for migrants and these meanings are constantly re-negotiated. This insight suggests alternative ways of doing research about migrants and their mental health, research that moves away from explanatory and descriptive approaches towards understanding and explorative approaches. Identifying factors in the causal relationships with mental health can be part of descriptive studies, but understanding how migrants deal with these 'factors' and adversities would require exploratory approaches.

In conclusion, while previous studies on migration and mental health provides valuable information about difficulties and risk factors, there is also a need to explore migrants' resilience and their creative ways of dealing with those difficulties and risks. In particular, Asian migrant women and second generations appear to face conflicts and challenges that are different from male migrants or European women. This also suggests Asian migrant women and second generations have their own ways of dealing with and negotiating migration challenges.

Culture and mental health practice

I have discussed that differences between cultures can be starting points for adjustment difficulties and conflicts to occur. Also, dealing with conflicts and differences is an important task for people facing these issues. This is a similar issue for the mental health professionals working in multicultural context. Once cultural differences amongst people over the world are recognized by Western mental health practitioners and researchers, the previous way of defining mental illness and treatment comes to in question. Also, as we live in a time when people move between cultures easily, culture and cultural contacts become very important considerations in understanding people's well-being. Emil Kraepelin, known as a pioneer of modern Western psychiatry, is amongst the very first people who recognised cultural differences in

psychopathology (Jilek, 1995). In the early of 1900s, Kraepelin travelled from his home in Germany to Asia and North America, experienced ways of expressing illness in these areas were not same as those in Germany and Europe and suggested the importance of having a specialty within psychiatry created to study cultural differences (Marsella & Yamada, 2000). Since then cultural differences, particularly ones between Western and non-Western cultures, have been one of the main issues of mental health study for migrants.

As Kraepelin learned, cultures have different ways of understanding and expressing illness and discomfort, thus the traditional western approach may not be generalized to people from the other side of the world. An example would be the meaning of happiness and suffering. Buddhist philosophy illuminates and accepts the inevitability of suffering in human lives while the philosophical background of Western psychotherapy would encourage teaching people how to end the suffering and restore happiness (De Wit, 1996). This indicates that the way of understanding the subjective world and the way of knowing and dealing with the psychological distress are different. The specific way of understanding psychopathology in Western philosophy has led to awareness of the knowledge in psychiatry being ethnocentric and biased. Kirmayer (1998) wrote about his dilemma facing the multicultural environment while doing his medical practice held by the traditional Western perspectives:

While cultural psychiatry aims to understand problems in context, diagnoses is essentialising: referring to decontextualised entities whose characteristic can be studied independently of the particulars of a person's life and social circumstances. The entities of the DSM implicitly situate human problems within the brain or the psychology of the individual, while many human problems brought to psychiatrists are located in the patterns of interaction in families, communities or wider social spheres. (p. 342)

His reflection shows the different ways of knowing in different cultures where the biological model does not fit into those issues, and which can be made sense of by understanding the complex contexts where people's everyday interactions occur. In this line, Hoshmand (2006) notes that, although being aware of cultural differences may be a step forward from being blind to them, dominant psychology research focusing on the cultural differences may increase the likelihood of studying the "other" by predominantly Western assumptions and standards.

As an attempt to avoid this ethnocentric tendency in mental health practice, there has been a movement of scholars and health practitioners towards developing the concept of cultural competency (Sue et al., 1982; Sue & Sue, 2008). Of this framework, cultural competency consists with three different levels of competency: firstly culturally competent practitioners are

those actively engaged in the process of becoming aware of his or her own assumptions about human behaviour and values; secondly, they actively attempt to understand the worldviews of their culturally different clients; and thirdly they are in the process of actively developing and practicing appropriate strategies and skills in working with culturally diverse clients. With the increase of migrants, the American Psychology Association (2003) has also published guidelines on multicultural education, training, research and organizational change. The New Zealand Psychologists Board (2006) has also updated the Core Competencies for the Practice of Psychology in New Zealand with an emphasis on cultural competency. The contents of the cultural competency are in line with Sue's cultural competency model in that practitioners are required to engage in cultural learning, develop self awareness of differences in world views and develop appropriate skills. This set of cultural competencies becomes a frequently commented on guideline for mental health practitioners in New Zealand with the increasing number of clients from various cultural regions such as Asian countries.

The framework of cultural competency is based on the understanding of cultures as having a different essence from one another, so that practitioners need to understand the cultural characteristics of the other group. Also, mental health practitioners are guided to focus on the differences between the culture of the client and one of the practitioner. This appears however, still based on the way of knowing the culture as fixed and inherent characteristics of a group of people. As Hoshmand (2006) points out, scientifically depicted difference is not enough to account for the possibilities of culture as negotiated identity and reality. Thus cultural competency requires more than mere understanding descriptive differences between cultures. This study will discuss this issue further in the final chapter on the cultural competency. In the next section, I will extend my argument further, drawing on critical views on culture and self.

Culture and self

When the experiences of Asian migrant women are discussed in psychology, the most widely used idea is the existence of cultural differences between western and non-western cultures. With this assumption about cultural dichotomy, psychologists have proposed that there are different acculturation strategies people may adopt to deal with the two distinctive cultures. However, the process of how their acculturation strategies are constructed and negotiated are less discussed. Also their everyday lives where these negotiations occur are little known. In order to explore the processes of growing resiliences in migrants' everyday lives, this study seeks to go beyond traditional understandings of cultural dichotomy and the acculturation model. I discuss my argument further in this section.

Questioning cultural dichotomy

Psychology has frequently focused on looking at ways of experiencing the self in a Western cultural context as opposed to a non-Western cultural context. One widely-used concept for this task is the dichotomy of individualism and collectivism. A distinction is drawn between individualists valuing personal goals over the goals of collectives while collectivists make no distinctions between personal and collective goals or, even if they do, they subordinate their personal goals in favour of collective goals (Triandis, 1989). Collectivism is shown to be dominant in Latin American, Asian and African cultures whereas individualism is presented as prevalent in North American and Northern and Western European cultures (Triandis, 1989).

These different views of the self in Western and non-western countries are further elaborated by Markus and Kitayama (1991). The authors described differences between understanding the self as independent and interdependent. The Eastern view of the self as interdependent is characterised as focusing on the relatedness of individuals to each other, and attending to the harmonious interdependence. In contrast, the Western view of the self as independent is illustrated as seeking to maintain independence from others, by attending to the self and by discovering unique inner attributes. Here the autonomous entity of the self comprises a unique configuration of internal attributes (e.g., traits, abilities, motives, and values) and behaves as a consequence of these internal attributes (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Markus, Mullally and Kitayama (1997) suggest that different cultural values play roles in understanding selves in context by informing people what they should be doing and how to be 'good', 'appropriate', and 'moral'. The authors argue that what most psychologists know as the nature of human behaviour is actually based on the Western view of the self as independent and autonomous.

The distinctions between individualists and collectivists have contributed to developing insights into various ways of shaping appropriate selfhood in different cultures. However despite this, the dichotomy of individualism and collectivism has been challenged in terms of whether this simple division is enough to explain modern people's identity changes living in the globalised world. Whether individualism or collectivism can sufficiently present an inherent state of a group of people needs to be investigated further as people are increasingly mixing and interacting internationally. Interaction across geographical areas and cultural areas indicate that complexity in the relationship between culture and self would be beyond the simplicity of binary explanation. Also, a critical stance has been drawn around the historical use of the theory of cultural dichotomy in relation to racial issues.

For example, the anthropologist Wolf (1982) asserts that historical reflection is helpful to understand the way cultural dichotomy has constructed understanding of Western and non-

western relations. Wolf argued that people in the present, as well as from the past, are always mixing and interacting internationally, and that there have always been consequences of these international interactions. Despite these connections, Wolf observed that scholars historically persisted in seeing dynamic and interconnected phenomena as if they were static and disconnected things. He suggests that this is perhaps due to the way in which history was taught in Western countries. Drawing on “analytical history” (Wolf, 1982, p. ix), he states that people in Western countries have been taught, inside and outside the classroom, that there exists an entity called the West, as a society and civilization, independent of and in opposition to ‘other’ societies and civilizations. The history taught is a tale about how the virtuous win out over the bad guys and how the winners prove that they are good by winning. In such a winner’s history however, there are no chapters for ‘others’ and even that each winner is only “a precursor of the final apotheosis and not a manifold of social and cultural processes at work in their own time and place” (Wolf, 1982, p. 5). Then, in this story telling, a false model of the world is created where “East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet” (p. 6, Wolf, 1982). In this way a quintessential West is shaped in opposition to an equally quintessential East. Wolf’s historical reflection on cultural dichotomy critiques the convenient use of the concept of cultural dichotomy. The implication for psychology is that, by using this cultural dichotomy uncritically, we may promote a false model: the reality in which people are categorized into the West and the non-West as if the distinction had always existed and that people are presumed to be homogeneous within each of these groups.

Further criticism from the psychology of a dichotomy of cultures is that it misses out the ongoing processes of negotiating selves and treats culture as a stable entity of the individual. Hermans and Kempen (1998; 2001) argue that cultural dichotomies fail to see the fusing and flowing processes of hybridization of the self in a global context. Here, the phenomenon of hybridization refers to the processes of recombining existing forms and practices into new forms and practices, and of creating multiple identities (Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Pieterse, 1995). This active process of mixing and moving between different identities and creating the third is not new but has been little recognised in psychology studies. Attempts to understand this process have fallen into labelling and categorising certain attitudes rather than understanding the process itself as meaningful and worthy of further study. For example integration in the acculturation model refers to the individual’s attitude to adopting both cultures, which leads to successful adjustment outcomes (Berry, 2006). However, this appears again to be simplifying the process of cultural negotiations into a linear relationship between attitudes to acculturation and psychological well-being. Hybridization would be better understood as a process, rather than as an achievable state by which we can access the active negotiations of migrants, depending on the different issues and given contexts. As Hermans and Kempen (1998)

suggested: our understanding can be broadened by shifting from a comparison between different cultures of the groups towards the study of cultural processes where people constantly interact each other.

In summary, the concept of cultural dichotomy has contributed to our understanding that the world is not organised with only one way of knowing. However, this idea imposes a boundary between western and non-western worlds that seems to be consolidated through the western history of differentiating 'winners' from others. The byproduct of the concept of such cultural dichotomy includes reducing culture to the inherent state of others. Migrants and non-western people could be seen in this way as a homogenous group of people who are assumed to share internalised cultural notions. By treating culture in this way, culture as interactive, flexible, and negotiable is less recognised - despite modern people in the world living in culturally dynamic times.

Acculturation model and an essentialised notion of culture

The acculturation model has been used in the cross-cultural psychology field to predict migrants' mental health and successful adjustment (Berry, 1997). The acculturation model assumes that migrant individuals are in a process of change from culture A (the society of origin) to culture B (the society of settlement) (Berry, 2005). Regarding this way of understanding culture and the acculturation process, Hunt, Schneider, and Comer (2004) point out that this model is based on the assumption that there are two distinct cultures, of A and B, and that measuring the separate aspects of each is possible. They make the point that there are problems in using the terms of 'ethnic culture' and 'mainstream culture' as if objective representations of each culture existing. From an example of Mexican migrants in the United States (Hunt et al., 2004), the authors argue that the idea that people of Mexican heritage as being new to the US undermines the important historical and geographic links between two countries. For instance, Mexicans have been living side-by-side in many parts of the US and intermarrying with people of Anglo origins, which indicates a mixing of influences from both countries for many generations. In addition Mexicans have actively participated in global culture, indicating that it is impossible to separate the influences of Western European cultures from other sources of cultural influence. Therefore, treating Anglo and Mexican cultures as distinct cultures can be arbitrary. Hunt et al. (2004) conclude that using acculturation as a variable in health research is based on stereotypes about marginalised people, where objective representation of a culture does not exist.

Rudmin (2009) suggests problems in the continued use of the acculturation model in looking at mental health issues for ethnic minority people. The author notes that it is not only immigrant

individuals that engage with cultural leaning and change. Instead, most people experience cultural change and negotiate new meanings accordingly. Rudmin uses the example of a 60-year-old American woman who was born and is resident in Chicago and a 60-year-old Chinese woman who immigrated to Chicago, both of whom learn to like visits from a gay grandson and his husband. Then the author argues that the reason for the concept of acculturation being used with ethnic minorities originates in old Colonial old beliefs about aboriginal and immigrant minorities. That is, that the assimilation of immigrants to the host society would reduce problems for the host society. This criticism leads to re-consideration of the use of the acculturation model with ethnic minorities, as it reinforces the idea that those people are problematic or abnormal until they are westernised.

In deeper consideration of the acculturation model and traditional cross-cultural studies, there is an issue with its theoretical basis - the essentialist view of the self and of culture. While the acculturation model assumes that migrants are in a linear process of change from culture A to culture B, the self is seen as an independent entity that chooses acculturation strategies. Also, culture here is seen as a static set of ideas and practice that may influence the acculturation outcome. Bhatia and Ram (2001) note that:

[In the traditional acculturation model,] culture and history are variables that enable the 'display' of the pre-given properties of the acculturating self but these very variables are not taken to be inextricably interwoven with the self. The historical and political aspects of immigration rarely enter the discussion, and when they do, they are classified as group variables (Bhatia & Ram, 2001, p. 5).

The point Bhatia and Ram make here is that in the acculturation model, ironically, culture is not fully explored but reduced down to a single factor. Individuals are treated as governed by a universal law, regardless of different politics or histories embedded in their cultures. As Markus and Kitayama (1991) previously pointed out, this way of understanding the self in the dominant approach of acculturation is very much at the core of the positivist tradition in Western society.

Critical review of the traditional acculturation model reveals that this model is not neutral but reflects instead the essentialised view of the self dominant in Western philosophy. The unique process of migrants' self negotiation comparing the past and the present, the home country and the host county, the self and other would disappear, while individuals with free will are treated as the only reality. In order to move beyond this singular understanding of a linear acculturation processes and to capture the complexity of migrants' self negotiation processes, different approaches are required. Instead of using the essentialised understanding of 'culture', it would

be important to consider a new concept of culture in psychology research.

Hybridising in multiple cultural dialogues

With increasing awareness of the nature of cultural interactions and multiple identities, hybridisation has become a widely used concept in identity exploration. Hybridisation is described as 'the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices' (Rowe & Schelling, 1991, p. 231). This recombination of the existing practices of self formation entails transformation of selves as well as others in interactions (Papastergiadis, 2000; Pieterse, 1995). Pieterse (1995) argues that not only do people from 'non-Western' cultures move toward Western practices, people of 'Western' culture also are influenced by others and experience transformations of identities. In this sense, as Kraidy (2002) commented, the phenomenon of hybrid identity challenges the authenticity of culture regardless of which culture the individual belongs to. Hybridisation, then, can be seen as a way of challenging previous assumptions and limitations, to further extend opportunities for flexible identity negotiations rather than merely producing a mixture of different cultural ingredients. Bhada emphasises hybridity as a 'third space' opening 'the way to conceptualizing an international culture' (1994, p. 37). The interactive nature of hybridity emphasises the communication process within and between subject(s). In this sense, hybridity comes into social practice as a dialogical process between subjects (Bhadha, 1994).

The interactive aspects of identity is also suggested by Hermans and Kempen's dialogical model (2001; 1998). The dialogical model proposes the presence of multiple voices within the self. They argue that this is different from seeing the self as controlled by a single commanding author. Rather, there are multiple voices within the self related to their social positions with gender, race and power. For example, there are multiple I positions as an Asian-American woman whose identity is constructed in relation to European Americans, as well as to European females or to males. This model emphasises that dialogue and negotiation between these different I positions do not occur harmoniously, but power relationships come into self-negotiation processes. For example, the dialogical self would have voices as a member of social groups (e.g., women, mothers, workers, and university students) with the sense of belonging governed by social dichotomies, such as male versus female, young versus old, or white versus black (Sampson, 1993). There is a master term (e.g., young) possessing particular properties that the opposite term (e.g., old) lacks. In this sense, the opposite term is negatively defined, rather than being defined in its own right. The power of an I position (e.g., young or old), therefore, is contingent on socially and culturally imposed weighting in different social groups. Thus according to the dialogical model, the different voices in the self are in a dialogical and negotiating process while this process is influenced by the order and dominance of different

social groups. This understanding of the multiple dialogical I suggests different perspective from the idea that the individual can be defined by inherent traits or biological categories. Also, these multiple voices can conflict and negotiate, indicating the interactive nature of identity negotiation processes.

In migration studies, postcolonial context is taken into consideration to help understand dominance and power issues in migrants' selves. For example, Bhatia and Ram (2009) describe that a diasporic condition is formed where people migrate to western countries, imagining the luxurious lives in the imperial cities such as London. However, in English cities, racial ideology is continuously reproduced to maintain the racial privilege of the dominant culture. This racial ideology is legitimised by, and fertilises the notion of, cultural dichotomies of white versus non-white. In this case, images of the other as primitive were constructed through the English eye. Hall (1991) asserts that "identity is constructed through the narrow eye of the negative" and "it has to go through the eye of the needle of the other before it can construct itself (1991, p. 21). This implies that expressions of the self and of others are constructed and negotiated through certain lenses and formed historically and politically. As Bhatia and Ram (2009) suggest, the concept of diasporic condition indicates that all ideas related to acculturation or immigrant identity are located within a historical context that is politically bound up with a set of power positions.

The idea of hybridising selves, the theory of the dialogical self and the way historical context influences the way of viewing the self and others offer ways of linking migrant identity negotiations into a broader context. The notion of hybrid identity opens a new level of understanding migrant selves, who constantly construct and re-construct an alternative. In addition, asymmetry among one's multiple voices in the dialogical self theory means that migrant individuals' self negotiations are located within institutional positions and power relationships. It tells us that people do not construct hybrid identities in an empty and neutral space, but that this process is attached to culture, history and to political relationships. Among the multiple voices in the dialogic self, some voices would have more chance to be expressed, heard and answered. This social power or dominance in different contexts is an integral part of understanding the process of constructing selves. It is particularly relevant for this study of Korean migrant women in an European society. The meanings of being Asian migrant women can be understood in relation to the cultural, historical and political contexts they live in.

Dilemma of analysing gender in relation to culture

The relationship between gender and culture has been increasingly recognised but remains problematic. Narayan (2000) describes this issue by showing how many contemporary feminists

try to solve “the problems of imposing sameness across women from all different cultural groups” but “fail to register that certain scripts of differences can be no less problematic” (p. 1083). The first problem in assuming ‘sameness’ for all women is rooted in an essentialised idea of gender. In gender essentialism, gender is treated as ‘a constant, generalisable experience and social position’ (Burman, Gowrisunkur, & Sangha, 1998, p. 234). The problem with this is that racialised identities are obscured, while the dominant white, middle-class experience of gender becomes seen as a norm (Burman et al., 1998). Dongxiao Qin (2004) elaborates on this, asserting that ideas about sameness across women reflect the essentialist view of the individuals - that each is universally the same and independent from context and history.

It would be problematic to use the essentialist view to describe women of ethnic minorities whose lives are constantly involved with issues such as race, culture, minority, and class. For example, if the issues of Asian women in the U.S are treated as the same as for European women, it becomes difficult to take into account important factors such as the influence of racial discrimination from the host societies, gendered oppression within the ethnic community. In this sense, applying essentialising labels such as ‘autonomy’, ‘independency’ to measure the normality of the psychology of Asian migrant women may be no more than the convenient application of dominant western cultural norms to others. A similar argument is made by Gill (2008), who highlights the need for scepticism in imposing such terms as ‘autonomy’ and ‘choice’ on the complex lived experience of modern women. These criticisms underline the need to review the use of these terms as analytical frames for studies of non-Western migrant women.

The second problem with assuming ‘differences’ between women from different cultures is that it may result in no more than replacing essentialist views of gender and self with that of cultural dichotomy (Narayan, 2000). Similar to gender-essentialism, cultural dichotomy views an ethnic group of women as homogenous within a specific culture, which could ignore any heterogeneity within the groups. It subsumes all subjective experiences of gender, race, class, ethnicity and power under the name of culture (Qin, 2004). This criticism resonates with the problem of cultural dichotomy, in which the complexity of the ethnic migrant is simplified by categorising Western culture and non-Western culture. As Narayan (1998) elaborated, categorising women as ‘Indian women’ or ‘Muslim women’ may create the assumption that these categories are merely representations of specific cultural scripts. This creates another problem, in addition to the problem of treating individuals as context-free autonomous beings. The problem, as Majumda (2007) describes, is in making individual women ‘the focus of a fixed subjectivity’ (p. 317). In this case, narrowing everything down to culture obscures the opportunity to access the role of migrant women in negotiating their identities in the context of race, gender and power.

As Gill (2008) notes, the dilemma for researchers using gender and/or culture as analytical frames is that, although assuming women's behaviour solely as an outcome of cultural influence would be too simplistic an hypothesis, we may not be able to reject the terrain of culture altogether. What we need to be cautious about is that in mental health research it is too easy to reinforce the idea that 'white' women develop and behave in normal ways, while women of colour are exceptions to the norm who are affected by 'cultural' variables. In this sense, mental health researchers are cautioned to be rather critical of literature on Asian migrant women described as at higher risk of mental illness. The pitfall is a continued generation of what Phoenix (1987) called the 'normalised absence/ pathologised presence' (p. 51) of coloured women in academic research. Using gender as the main focus while ignoring race and cultural issues could lead to the misunderstanding that all racial and other issues are merely offshoots of patriarchal dominance rather than constitutive of a complex matrix of various issues (Qin, 2004). For critical researchers, the task would be to look for ways to avoid an essentialist view of the self, culture and gender and to engage with women's complicated processes of negotiating identities and power.

Critical studies to deconstruct essential views on self, culture and gender

There are a few studies that move beyond essentialist views of the self, gender and culture and that suggest the interactivity and multiplicity of identity negotiations in migrant women. For example, as an attempt to deconstruct essentialist views of gender, Qin-Hilliard (2004) introduces his qualitative study of Chinese women students' self-transformation processes in the U.S.A. The findings indicate that self-transformation processes are closely related with experiences of power, caused by becoming part of a minority group in western society after being in the majority in their homeland. Participants in this study were perceived by host society members as rare, alien and poor, and themselves experienced being 'othered' through issues of race, class, language and ethnicity. The author concludes that it is more than gender issues that affect the process of self-transformation after migration and suggests that researchers attend to these issues of power. This study invites us to look at broader contexts, including not only gender but also power issues and where migrant women are located in relation to the host society.

Categorising women in relation to culture can impose 'stereotypes' on them, leading to heterogeneity and individuals' negotiations being ignored. For example, there are artificial divisions imposed upon Asian women, either as westernised women who are modern and educated or traditional women who are backward and uneducated (Majumdar, 2007). Studies that challenge these stereotypes include Sakamoto's study (2006) of Japanese women and their academic migrant husbands in the U.S. The author suggests that those women suddenly

experience emptiness when having to introduce themselves as a fulltime housewife to their husbands' American colleagues. If these women are seen as merely representing a stereotyped image of passive Asian housewives, their active negotiations and conflicting minds can be undermined. Instead, the author proposes that through negotiating different conceptions of self and in taking on new roles, these women gain perspectives on their own culture as well as on American culture, in which they come to re-evaluate both. The author finds that these re-evaluations and renegotiations of self constantly occur. There is no stable trait that they ultimately reach, but that negotiation was itself a process of adjusting for these women.

In Pyke and Johnson's (2003) work with young Korean and Vietnamese women in the U.S.A., a similar finding is reported in that the participants were not uniformly 'traditional' or 'westernised'. Instead, located somewhere between being 'traditional' or 'westernised', they use their knowledge about what is seen as appropriate in specific contexts and then change their behaviour depending on whom they are interacting with. At home they become 'traditional', while at school they prefer to act the same as western girls. A similar finding is also reported by Malhi, Boon and Rogers (2009) in their study of South Asian Canadian women. These authors emphasise that the changing position between being Canadian and being South Asian women is related to who they interact with and that these identities are a result of a process of creating, negotiating, and accounting for their ethnic identities. An interesting study by Qin-Hilliard (2009) shows that, rather than stereotypes that reflect inherited traits of Asian migrants, the migrants react to stereotypes while negotiating their positions in the host society. In his study of 72 Chinese girls and boys in the U.S.A., he found that they were aware of stereotypes about Chinese women being 'old fashioned', 'passive' and of Chinese boys being 'nerdy', 'bookish' and 'non-masculine'. The boys resist these stereotypes by trying to be 'macho' and by joining sports clubs. Also, girls react by working hard at school to combat a sense of inferiority and to gain support from home. These studies show that the identities of migrants are not simply defined by cultural stereotypes but are constantly changing in relation to their subjective experiences of otherness and issues of gender, ethnicity and power. Also from these studies comes the idea that seemingly bicultural status or uni-cultural status is a temporary state in a wider process of negotiating their identities, and as such is always subject to change depending on the time and the context it occurs within. It appears that, for these modern Asian women, drawing on traditional and western images interchangeably is a strategy for negotiation of the self in the migrant context.

Alternative to the traditional understanding of culture and gender is the understanding of culture and gender are socially constructed. This is a different understanding in that, while not abandoning culture or gender, these concepts are understood as being an embodied and socially

constructed practice, and are therefore flexible. Ahmed, Reavey and Majumda (2009), who worked with British South Asian women survivors of sexual violence, suggest that 'culture' is constructed in a such a way as to blame the violence on women. The authors also found that a rigid and unchangeable notion of culture, as constructed in participants' talk, was part of the problem of culture. This led to these women's constructions of ambiguity about a 'culture' that is both to be accepted as well as challenged, which engenders possibilities to actively do something about the culture. The point highlighted by this study is that the way culture is presented is part of a process of constructing the nature of culture rather than culture constructing the nature of these women's lives. Thus culture can be seen as flexible, socially constructed and changeable. By offering a different interpretation of culture like this, the authors conclude that researchers and health practitioners need to understand how 'culture' operates in migrant women's lives and to openly talk about the possibilities for re-aligning self-positions. This study opens up a way of engaging with interactive and flexible culture, by which we can more effectively engage with migrant women's processes of constructing meaning.

Studies that highlight flexibility in culture and gender offer a different way of understanding migrant women's lives. The literature discussed above provide alternative ways to conduct my study. Firstly, experience of gender can be understood in the context of the power, ethnicity and culture experienced as an ethnic minority. Next, culture is soft, flexible, socially constructed and negotiable. Finally, we need to attend to the process of individuals' negotiations of culture, where we explore what they do with culture rather than what culture says about them. Next, before I move onto the research data and discussion of this process, I will briefly introduce the social and cultural background of Korea and relevant gender issues for modern Korean women.

Modern Korean women facing multiple self images

Korean migrant women in modern society have experienced various forms of selfhood through new cultural input, from both within and outside of national boundaries. It is therefore helpful to look at the cultural notions related to gender in modern Korean society. Historically, notions of collectivism have been a powerful mechanism for maintaining the Korean societal system. Especially during the time of the last dynasty of Korea between 1392-1897, Confucianism was the most preferred philosophical material and was used to build political order in society. This philosophical approach therefore played a significant role in shaping the ideal of womanhood in Korea (M. Y. Kim, 2004). Within this value system, achieving a harmonious society was based on complicated role systems (King & Bond, 1985). With such emphasis, the role of the women was defined as a supporting one; women supported parents, husbands, and children in the family

to achieve harmonious role distribution (Deuchler, 1992). However, Shim (2001) critiqued this sharp distinction in gender roles between men and women as historically sustaining a hierarchical order of gender. More importantly, the notion of harmony becomes a moral issue for women living in a society ordered by Confucianism. If they are not able to fulfil the roles expected of them, women would experience the moral dilemma of not being able to contribute to the collective goodness derived from building a harmonious family and society (Shim, 2001).

However, Korean society has been changing rapidly with industrialisation and with increasing interactions with other cultures. In particular, the oppressed position of women in Korean society under Confucianism has been re-evaluated. The early critical movement was influenced by western feminism in the 1970s and by the growth of women graduates and scholars in Korea afterwards (Jang, 1999). The western discourses of individualism provided Korean feminists with useful vocabularies such as women's 'rights', 'autonomy' and 'participation'. In this sense, new western notions became powerful tools for counteracting traditionally oppressive ones.

Conversely, Tae (2004) argues that westernisation brings to the fore new oppressive forces for Korean women. In a self-reflective writing on attending an international feminism conference, she notes the ironic experience of not being able to voice her opinion easily, because of her limitations with the English language in a predominantly English-dominated academic culture. The author wrote that she suddenly experienced difficulty in feeling as if she belonged, and questioned how the dominance of the English language in certain contexts can affect Asian women's sense of self in an international context. Indeed, qualification in western countries and being able to use the English language as others do would imply better chances in employment and in meeting men with high mobile status. In addition, as Tae reflected, there are always conflicting voices in their own minds between the traditional self and the westernised self, by which neither is absolutely preferable but are negotiated carefully according to context.

When Asian women migrate to a Western society, they encounter an array of life changes and different expectations on self and others. Conflict occurs between being 'traditional/ authentic' and being assimilated and becoming the same as women from the host society. For recent Korean migrant women, most of their lives have been spent in modern Korea so that the recent social and cultural changes in modern Korea have been part of their experience. These migrant women of the first generation then raise their children in a Western society, possibly hoping that their daughters and sons can be equipped with powerful western resources (Jeon, 2007). In doing so they also face dramatic changes in their relationships with their children, husband and themselves brought about by the new culture (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). The traditional boundaries of family structure are challenged and may need to be re-arranged. Their old

resources may not be useful as they were before.

Dealing with conflicting messages on selfhood is a challenging process for a second generation migrants as well (Dion, 2006; Dion & Dion, 2001). While they may engage with the outside world more than their parents' generations do, they are still deeply involved with cultural practices of gender in the family, including parental attempts to pass on traditional virtues to their daughters (Pyke & Johnson, 2003; Qin-Hilliard, 2003). In particular, Korean migrants as a group are recent migrants, most with only 10-15 years of living in New Zealand. Although there are a few second generation people coming up, most children in Korean migrant families can be more accurately termed the 1.5 generation, those who were born in, and spent their young childhood in, Korea (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008). On one hand their experience is similar to that described in previous literature on second generation migrants. On the other hand, having lived in Korea as young people, and having to learn both a new language and different cultural expectations as teenagers, creates unique challenges for this 1.5 generation (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008; Park, 1999).

To conclude, Korean migrant women as first and 1.5 generations face conflicting self images between cultures and generations. However we do not know much about how these conflicts and challenges in selfhood are dealt with and how various ideas of being a 'right' woman between generations and between two cultures influence these Korean migrant women in the family. In addition, changes in the international environment, with advanced communication technologies and globalisation, create differences in terms of the cultural resources available to these migrant women. In order to understand their resilience and strength, it is therefore important to engage with the process of how confidence is created in dealing with conflict and uncertainty and how various cultural resources are used. With this background understanding about Korean migrant women, and my own interests in the processes that create strengths in dealing with migration challenges, this study is initiated with three main aims, discussed next.

Aims of the study

This study has three broad aims: to understand the ways first generation Korean mothers and the 1.5 generation daughters in New Zealand deal with migration related challenges and grow resilience; to understand how culture is constructed in migrants' everyday lives; and to suggest implications for culturally competent practice in mental health settings.

Firstly, this study aims to understand how the migrant women negotiate the conflicts and

challenges in shaping selfhood. In other words, my question is, how they deal with these uncertainties and contradictions but still grow in confidence when they are in difficult and rupturing experiences with high levels of uncertainty. This present study does not intend to identify risk or protective factors, or to define a desired end point of acculturation state. Rather, I am interested in how the migrant women become aware of, and more competent in, the practice of negotiating and becoming resilient despite uncertainties in their identities, in a sense that they may not ever arrive at a stable and completed end point of defining who they are.

Secondly, this study aims to understand how culture can be understood in migrants' lives. I have discussed how cultural dichotomy has not provided sufficient accounts to explain the complexity of migrants' experiences. Rather, the cultural dichotomy and traditional acculturation model reflect a western view of the self and culture, assuming the existence of the unity of an ethnic group distinctive from 'Whiteness'. This research draws on a critical view of this traditional understanding of culture and takes an alternative approach to understand how 'culture' is constructed and re-constructed in migrants' everyday lives.

Finally, the study aims to make suggestions for culturally competent practice in New Zealand mental health settings. This aim is raised through my question about how to relate the understanding of a flexible and dialogical self to the competent practice of mental health services for migrant women in New Zealand. Culturally competent practice remains an important ethical agenda for health workers in this country. While cultural competency is discussed in close relation to indigenous people of New Zealand, Asian migrants are relatively new people with different historical and cultural backgrounds, requiring further consideration to ensure to culturally competent practice in New Zealand. This study is also a journey of myself as a Korean-born and raised clinical psychology doctoral student trained in the New Zealand system, and therefore a meaningful place to share my work in understanding culture and 'culturally competent' mental health practice. I will discuss this further in the clinical implications section, in the latter part of this study.

Chapter 2. Methodology

This research uses qualitative methods to understand Korean migrant women's adjustment experiences and identity negotiation processes after moving to New Zealand. The research project is influenced by social constructionist thinking; that knowing is not directly derived by the force of nature but is constructed through people's interactions and is bound with cultural and historical contexts (Gergen, 1973, 1985). In this sense, a social 'reality' is not a universal fact but comes with various forms and meanings, dependant on people and their cultural and social contexts. This fluidity and multiplicity of meaning, particularly of the multiplicity of migrants' identities, are what this study focuses on. In this sense, the use of qualitative methodology is an attempt to understand how existing 'rules', norms and lay knowledge are drawn on when migrants make sense of the world and the self. This approach is different from using a descriptive approach only, as the focus is not on finding and describing general rules. Instead, this is explorative approach - useful in understanding the experiences of migrants who face new sets of values and social practices after migration (Chirkov, 2009). As Hermans (2001) stipulated, an explorative approach is useful for migrant research because it is concerned with how people's experience of cultural contacts creates an agentic space in which migrants negotiate previous knowledge and social practices (Hermans, 2001).

The analytical insights of this study are influenced by discourse analysis (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2007) as well as narrative analysis (Etherington, 2005). When I am looking at discourses, analyses are not restricted to discursive text but also look at the process of subjective meanings being negotiated in the broader contexts of power, history and culture, that is, as elaborated in Foucauldian discourse analysis (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2007). Following this, my analytical intention is to understand "the relationship between discourse and how people think or feel (subjectivity), what they do (practice) and the material conditions with which such experiences may take place" (Willig, 2004, p. 157). The rhetorical constructions of participants' accounts can be understood as the narratives by which existing and new meanings are narrated by the participants. Talk makes up valuable 'local' stories that are the sites where participants deal with constraints and create alternative stories in their everyday lives (Etherington, 2005). Here the events in their stories do not exist as facts reported but "the experience of an event that becomes a story" and participants' accounts are "performative, offering frames for human actions" (Hiles & Cermak, 2007, p. 149). Therefore I expect that, while the discourse analysis perspective offers a critical view on the constraints as well as the potential with discourses available to the participants, the narrative perspective would provide

me with a way to understand their talk as sense-making processes about socially and culturally grounded realities.

The research method is influenced by feminist critiques on treating research participants as objects 'to be studied' (Crotty, 2001). Instead, this study is based on the understanding that people's everyday interactions, including the research interactions, are the sites where knowledge is constructed, in which an equal relationship in constructing knowledge is acknowledged as interaction between the researcher and the participants. Thus, this study attempts to understand participants' active roles and uses various levels of reflexivity. For example, participants are encouraged to engage with their own reflections by having two interviews rather than having one, in order to have more chances to engage and reflect on the research and to allow more in-depth conversations. Also, using photographs and objects that are brought by participants enables participants to use active voices in the research conversation (Wang, 1999). In addition, the analysis is based on the researcher's observations and reflections on interactions between the researcher and the participants during the research process, so that the role of the researcher in producing interview data is also examined (Davies et al., 2004). These various modes of qualitative method could provide more comprehensive understanding of participants' actions than focusing on verbal texts alone (Griffin, 2000). Next, I will explain who the participants are and the actual research process.

Participants

Twelve Korean women (six mothers and six daughters) participated in this research in 2008. At the time of interview, they all lived in Auckland. Among them were eight women living in the North Shore area, where the majority of Korean migrants reside. The rest of the participants lived in the Central, West or South areas of Auckland. The age of mothers ranged from 40 to 48, and the age of the daughters were between 19 and 20 except one, a 17 year old college student. The mothers were first generation migrants and all had teenage children who were living with them. The daughters were 1.5 generation migrants who migrated to New Zealand as children or teenagers and were all living with their parents at home at the time of the interviews. Mother and daughter participants were not restricted to mothers and daughters from same family. I believed this wider scope was necessary because I did not intend to conceptualise particular issues within a family, but rather to understand how people construct experiences within and outside the family. It happened that two mothers and two daughters came from the same families while all other eight women were from eight different families.

The time period that the participants' had been living in New Zealand for ranged from four to ten years. This relatively short period of residence (ten years or less) was required at the time of

participant recruitment. The intention was to recruit recent migrants for the research with the expectation that they would be engaging rigorously with the psychological and social process of cultural transitions, while those who lived longer or over generations might be in different, less rigorously engaged, stages of adjustment. In addition, the majority of Korean migrants in New Zealand are recent migrants, having arrived in the last ten to fifteen years, and so it makes sense to target participants from this group. Owing to the relatively short period time in New Zealand, Korean was identified as the first language for all participants. Mothers and daughters expressed that Korean was their everyday language at home and preferred to use Korean during the interviews.

In terms of their main jobs, among six mother participants, two of them were working as health professionals, two had clerical or labour jobs, and the other two were fulltime housewives. Among six daughter participants, except for one college student, all were university students at the time of the interview. I did not specifically ask for household income figures due to participants' sensitivity to the subject and the difficulties in keeping anonymity within the small research population. However, during the recruiting process and interviewing, the researcher became aware that all participants had afforded the costly family migration, settled down in middle-class residential areas, had regular household incomes generated by themselves or/and other family members and all could afford to support tertiary educations for their children.

Procedure

All the participants were contacted directly and indirectly through my personal contacts in Korean community. The possible participants were firstly contacted via phone, had the research explained briefly to them and were asked to an initial meeting. On their agreement, a meeting was arranged where the research information sheet (Appendix 1) was provided, with verbal explanations given and participant questions answered. Interviews commenced after the participant gave written consent to participating. There were four participants who came from the same families, two mothers and two daughters, however the interviews were conducted individually and the stories from each participant were not exposed to the other family member. An exception was one interview where a mother and a daughter were happy to join together for a combined interview when I visited their house for second interview. I considered this appropriate as it happened naturally and with mutual consent and I had held first individual interviews with each of them already. All the rest of interviews were conducted individually at places the participants felt comfortable in, either at their homes or at coffee shops near their homes.

The interview methods involved semi-structured interviews using topic questions prepared by

the researcher (Appendix 6) and photographs and objects that were prepared and provided by the participants. The Korean mother and daughter participants were initially asked about their migration processes and about changes in their lives outside and inside families. They were asked to take or bring photos that would show something representative of their migrant lives and also to bring memorable objects brought from Korea to the second interview. Second interviews were arranged within intervals of less than two weeks in order to have reasonable continuity from the first meeting. Of twelve participants eleven participants were met with twice, the exception being one young participant who made only the first meeting. The second interviews involved discussions around the photos and the objects and included considering the reasons they were chosen and any reflections or memories relating to the photos and objects. As the participants talked about personal stories and memories related to the photos and objects, I intended this conversation to be more participant-directed, interactional and explorative rather than a one-directional conversation led by the researcher. The second interview was also intended to give an opportunity to reflect on the first interview by the participant and the researcher.

I also respected the flow of talk during the conversations, and encouraged participants to continue their stories while undertaking semi-structured interviews. Themes and accounts given by participants were often mixed and conflicting during interviews. I consider the fragmented talks and mixed stories as valuable data because the variations and fragments are a big part of people's making sense of processes in their everyday lives (Sermijin, Devlieger, & Loots, 2008).

Each interviews took between 60 minutes to 90 minutes.. I recorded all the interviews using a digital recorder. The interviews and transcriptions were all done in Korean. I translated into English only those parts that I decided to cite within the thesis. I found this procedure effective because Korean was the first language for the participants and is also my first language, so that data in the form of Korean language made more sense to me.

Ethics in procedure

The research procedure followed the research proposal approved by the university Ethics Committee in 2007. The research is planned and conducted based on the main principles of ethical research which include (1) respect for participants, (2) informed and voluntary consent, (3) confidentiality and (4) cultural awareness of the culture of participants and the researcher. Firstly, in terms of respecting participants, they were advised not to respond to any questions they felt uncomfortable with and were given a list of agencies they can access professional support, including migration services, for any needs identified during the research participation. They also received a summary of the research findings through their stated preferred methods

e.g., email, post. Secondly, as a process of gaining informed and voluntary consent, verbal and written information was given to the participants before the interviews commenced. All the written information was presented in Korean as well as English (Appendix 1). Thirdly, to maintain confidentiality, I used consent forms (Appendix 3,4) through which participants would have chances to review the photos and objects to be used for the research. The identifiable information, such as names of the participants and faces in the photos, are all deleted or disguised and pseudonyms are used instead. The recorded data and photos were stored in electric form on the researcher's personal computer and password protected. The objects were also photographed by the researcher or the participant and stored in the same way. Original films and photos were all returned to the participants in the second meeting or posted after the interview. All the data will be destroyed five years after the study is published. Finally, in terms of cultural awareness, the researcher was aware of the fact that participants would vary in terms of their cultural preference, so that I had to be careful not to make assumptions based on the fact that I am from a same ethnic culture. On the other hand, because the researcher and the participants share the same ethnicity, language and gender, the researcher was able to take culturally appropriate attitudes when there was uneasiness and where sensitive issues were discussed or raised.

Analysis procedure

For the actual analysis, I attempted to engage with the data at deeper levels. Kidder and Fine (1987) suggested different levels of doing qualitative research, describing qualitative research with a big Q and with a small q. The big Q refers to inductive work, hypothesis generation and exploration of meaning, while the small q is about the structured research and starts with a hypothesis to be tested. This study is derived from the big Q research approach; engaging with the data to gain new insights into the ways in which participants construct meaning and/or experience their world (Crotty, 2001). To this end, this study involved three levels of qualitative analysis: (1) identifying the main themes with common challenges and positive voices in the construction of migration experiences; (2) understanding the meanings of them, the ways these challenges and strengths are narrated and the ways their identities are negotiated; and (3) reflecting on my interactions with the participants and on the existing literature.

The first stage is a descriptive analytical stage, in which I engaged with the data at the level of identifying common issues and topics in participants' construction of migration experiences. I identified the main themes by repeatedly reading 23 interview transcriptions of mother and daughter participants. In this repeated reading, I identified keywords that frequently appeared and that had meaningful connections to other parts of the conversation, such as English language, career, lonely, friends, hometown etc. I reversed this process to review the whole

transcription using computer searching tools to locate these keywords in the whole body of transcriptions. Then the conversations around the keywords identified were carefully re-read to understand the contextual meanings. I identified about 20 themes, and found that there were similar themes across the transcriptions, such as cultural shock, a sense of being an outsider, and intergenerational differences. With more understanding about the themes across mothers and daughters I also identified differences between mothers and daughters for example, regarding the meanings of chastity and ideas of roles within the family. This level of understanding the data helped me to develop a thematic summary of the contents raised in the interviews. I listed them all and then, rather than starting to describe each theme, I went on to see if there were any connections between different themes and how each theme was related to the participants' lives subjectively. That led me to the second stage of analysis: understanding the ways in which those themes are constructed and used in participants' identity negotiations.

In the second stage of the analysis I went further, with a set of questions such as why different topics and themes were raised, what specific situations were involved, how their subjective positions shifted while during talk, and what were the functions of those shifts. My research notes during the interviews and transcribing were very useful, as I had been documenting my observations during the interview as well as noting my thoughts while transcribing. This process helped me to see what the participants do in talking about culture, family and other things. I found that there were many changes in self-positioning made during an interview, such as shifts from being embarrassed as a mother to presenting herself as a confident mother. I looked closely at the functions of these kinds of shifts in the self, for example, where a mother would confirm a traditional notion of being a faithful wife and then in the next moment present herself as a modern, westernised woman. I found those observations useful to understanding what they try to achieve by drawing different cultural ideas between Korean culture and Western culture. I noted these ideas down and categorised similar actions the participants engaged in. This stage of analysis led me to deeper understanding of the data than merely explaining the contents of it.

The next stage of the analysis is reflecting on the interactions between me and the participants. I found that participants spoke to me regarding to my personal background as a woman, Korean, researcher, psychology student and so on. My background with gender, ethnicity, class, age all seemed to matter to them in terms of negotiating who they were during the interview interactions with me. For example, a young student talked to me viewing me as a senior student at university, rather than as an 'objective' researcher. She changed her positions between professional relationship (being a participant) and a 'sister' like relationship (being a younger Korean woman) in order to communicate and seek assurance while talking about her migrant experiences. I also reflected on my personal process during the whole research process,

including meeting participants and reading related literature. In this way I gradually developed a deeper understanding of my own process of negotiating self, which helped me to understand mutually occurring processes for participants. In this sense, reflexivity is a critical tool of analysis as well as a meta-analytical process synthesising the first and second levels of analysis. These different levels of analysis are not clearly separated, but mixed and re-visited throughout the research process. Because of the critical role of reflexivity in my analysis process, I will start the next chapter with an explanation of how reflexivity guided me to the current analysis. Next, I move onto my analysis of mothers and daughters. Although there are similar themes and functions between the mothers' talk and daughters' talk, they also drew from different discourses in their talking about migration and self. Due to the different social and cultural resources they drew on, I decided to divide my analysis section into mothers and daughters, discussing each of them separately and then summarising these at the end.

Chapter 3. Analysis

Reflexivity and analysis strategy

Negotiating between insider and outsider

The process of analysing the interview data is closely related to the repeated reflections on my role in the research. It would have been very difficult to do research about Korean migrant women without reflecting on my experience of being a Korean woman researcher. This is a similar feeling reported by Julie Matthews (2008), a feminist researcher raised in an Anglo-Japanese background. When she was writing her thesis on young Asian women, she raised the question of “how to write the story of ‘their’ lives, that at times felt like the story of my life, without writing my story and without completely disregarding it?” (p. 252). Literature on reflexive research gives me a tool that helps me to discuss my role as the researcher doing research on Korean women. Regarding reflexive research practice, Etherington (2004b) notes that

By including my part in the conversations you can see how I have influenced the shape and outcome of the conversations and the co-construction of meanings. This transparency also allows you, the reader, to enter into the meaning-making process as you recognise your own connections with the stories. (p. 46)

Regarding reflective research, feminist research addresses the potential power issues between researcher and participants in this artificial setting, and positions reflexivity on the researchers’ own backgrounds as ethically important. Equality between researcher and researched could be partly achieved through transparency about the researcher’s values and lies behind interpretations, so that this transparency allows both sides to be seen and to take responsibility for their contributions to the research (Crotty, 1998; Etherington, 2004b). Etherington (2007) also notes that in the practice of reflexive research, the researcher needs to be aware of the personal, social and cultural contexts in which we live and to understand how these affect our conduct, interpretations and representations of research stories.

Drawing on this view of doing reflective research, I discuss my positions as an insider as well as an outsider and how these positions influence the research process, including interactions between the researcher and participants.

My being a Korean migrant female student guided me to attend to the processes that migrant women deal with in their everyday lives, rather than to a definition of 'who they are'. I was a doctoral student in clinical psychology at Massey University on the North Shore of Auckland, where the majority of recent Korean migrants in New Zealand live. While local people easily see Korean migrants and their families in the community, in the psychology department there are relatively few Korean students as compared to other departments. I am quite visible as a Korean, as well as a recent migrant, looking and speaking differently. This circumstance provides me with ample opportunities being aware of the self and the differences I bring to the fore in this context. This is not only how I look, but also as being raised in Korea and having lived there for 27 years; the ethnicity of being Korean was such an embodied experience that I often had to break out from my unconscious process of being a Korean woman and explore how this has related to my current life in New Zealand. While I have never had all the answers about the self, I also encountered many questions from others; such as what Korean culture is, why Koreans are here, why they endeavour to overcome the difficulties of language and how they could their own county to further children's schooling, whether the children were then happy with this, whether Korean women still serve their husbands in the traditional sense, and so on. I felt obliged to know the answer to these questions and was sometimes frustrated by not having an answer. I sometimes actively looked for chances to interact with other Korean migrants who study or work in the mainstream society to share my experiences with, and as a result I found that most of us had similar questions and no definite answers.

While communicating with myself and with others, it becomes questionable as to whether to treat categories such as culture and gender as if they have truthful essences defining them. Although I was aware of my being a Korean, the Korean identity has never been a complete explanation for what I feel, think and do. While I and my Korean women friends may resist or assert being Korean women, we were never able to define the 'authentic Korean woman', and yet we still needed Korean indigenous terms to express our thoughts and emotions. I abandoned my interest in looking for an answer to define what Korean women are. Instead I become more attracted to explaining my discomfort with binary definitions of, for example, Korean women/ non-Korean women or Westernised woman/ traditional woman. I also wondered, as all this discomfort was built after my migration, what pushes me to feel obligated to explain Korean culture and how I could explain that I am living with it rather than being defined by it.

My training background is clinical psychology which is based on the science-practitioner model and emphasizes Western scientific approaches to the human mind. I make a judgment that my research questions are more closely related with the social constructionist view to understand the flexibility of the world, and this is better attended to through a qualitative approach. I had a

clear idea that my research, with qualitative inquiry, would contribute to making sense of the issues of Asian migrants present in clinical settings. This follows from the idea of Carr (2000), who suggests that the formulations of a client's difficulties are social constructions in which value can be judged by the usefulness depending on cases and situations, not by any hidden 'truth' or 'secret'. Harper (2004) notes that this social constructionist perspective allows the clinical psychology trainees 'to use other theories in pragmatic and flexible manner rather than seeing the theories or formulations which flow from them as, in some foundationalist sense, 'true'' (p.161).

The insights of social constructionism in clinical psychology have given me a tool for linking my research inquiry to the psychology of migrants. My research inquiry challenges 'an implicit naively realist epistemology' (Harper, 2007, p. 430). Instead of looking for a real answer to all the questions, my research involves constant revisits to my epistemological stand point; my role in the research and its influences on the current interactions with participants and research analysis. This also frees me from the dilemma of the idea of the 'best' views of the 'margins' (Gill et al., 2008); the problem of seeking a position to transcend subjective positions of the researcher's cultural and epistemological positions to attain an objectivity. Rather, I use reflexivity to make clear my cultural and epistemological positions that drive the research.

Indeed, during the research interactions, I was not viewed as a mere objective and cold researcher by participants. I will introduce a few examples of interactions between me and the participants, which highlight the changing views on who I am and were sources of identity negotiations for both parties during the research process. The first one occurred when I interviewed a mother participant at her home. I introduced myself and she obviously knew I had been raised in Korea and was a recent migrant, similar to her. She started talking about her difficulties with English and paused saying "well, you know that" with friendly eye contact, indicating that I would know what she meant because coming from a same country she did not need to explain. This was a challenging moment for me as a researcher, as I expected rich descriptions of her own thoughts and feelings. I then replied "can you tell me what it was like?" hoping she could tell me more. However she shifted quickly saying that "oh, you are a doctoral student, of course you won't have any problem with English". Her view of me suddenly shifted to someone belonging to another world different from hers. I then felt the difficulty of not knowing how to pursue my inquiry without giving an impression that I did not understand. In this interaction my social locations, being a Korean woman but coming from a New Zealand university affected participants' talk and how I responded to them.

It is reported elsewhere that a researcher from the same minority group as the participants may

reduce tension between the researcher and the researched (Thapar-Björkert & Henry, 2004). However, these authors noted that power in research relationships was never evenly or statically distributed when they went out to see participants. Instead, it complicates and fluctuates depending on different identities and different power relations at play. In a similar experience reported by Ochieng (2010), when the author was in the field he often encountered answers like “You know what I mean” (p. 1729). He wrote his reflection about the process of having to pursue inquiries and further that his own identity was in negotiation through his multifaceted relationships with participants and with himself. Those experiences are similar to mine: as in the above interactions, my multiple identities of age, gender, ethnicity and academic qualifications were negotiated while talking with research participants. This reminds me of the discussion of Hollway and Jefferson (2000), who assert that the participants know who they are and are able to clearly communicate with the researcher. Participants play active roles in the ‘meaning-making’ process, and so does the researcher. Therefore research data is produced, rather than collected (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). In my research too, the participants were not passive objects to be researched but offered their stories while managing the power relations between themselves and the researcher. I responded as a researcher trying to gain more data, and also felt vulnerable as a younger woman belonging to the same cultural community and looked for ways to defend myself. This kind of negotiation was subtle but influential, in that often the conversation itself was disrupted through those moments and re-directed in order to recover or renegotiate changing power relations. This reflection has been a tool for me to see what was going on, and why I and the participants reacted in that way, opening the door to the subjective nature of meanings of language, gender, power and self monitoring.

Another such an occasion was with one of the daughter participants. I asked her about her future plans and she turned the question back on me: “What about you? After you finish this doctoral qualification, will you go back to Korea or remain in New Zealand?” Suddenly a few thoughts came to mind, including some potential power and boundary issues: the participant wanting to know about me turned the interview direction the other way around; and my being older and a doctoral researcher could mean she would be influenced by what I said in response. I could refuse to answer, or disclose myself a little bit by answering her questions. If I refused to answer, would it mean that I am using my power of the researcher and of being old? Would she be upset, feel that it was unfair or think I am too cold? If I talk about myself, might she think “look, even a senior student doesn’t know what to do”. What if she wants to know more about me and this interview gets messy? Or whatever I say, would we be mature enough to handle and continue the interview?

The interview situation is indeed ‘an unnatural social situation, introduced by a researcher, for

the purpose of polite interrogation' (Kellehear, 1996, p. 98). This daughter participant, although agreeing to participate in the research after being informed of the research purposes, challenged this artificial nature of the situation where I present myself as the naïve researcher as if I do not know the issues that young Korean women face in New Zealand. Rather than being interrogated by me, the participant was offering a discussion about how Korean female university students deal with pressures to compete with other Western peers in the New Zealand job market and if there was more potential in Korea or somewhere else. In fact, these things are actually what she talked about regarding her future concerns later on.

In the above interview situations, I decided to go with the flow of the conversation. I shared some personal experience of my own migration with the participants. I also commented on the conversational flow as it moved toward some overarching issues, which appeared to be some form of self analysis during the interview, looking over the bigger issues like gender, minority and culture in migrants' lives. By doing that, we were able to 'create a sense of conversation rather than interview' (Etherington, 2004a). Also this mutual understanding about the topic helps both parties take ownership of the interpretation of the issues of gender and minority, going beyond just describing the issues. In this sense, as Ellis and Berger (2003) suggested, 'the researcher's disclosures are more than tactics to encourage the participants to open up' (p.162). Rather, 'the researcher often feels a reciprocal desire to disclose, given an intimacy of the details being shared by the interviewee', which helps to see 'how the researcher uses the knowledge of the self or the topic at hand to understand what the interviewee was saying' (Ellis & Berger, 2003, p. 162). This self-disclosure and reciprocal interaction was indeed helpful for me in engaging with the participants and discussing and understanding the topics at a deeper level.

I also consider those situations to be ethically important moments. Guillemin and Gillam (2004) suggest that in the qualitative research context, unexpected situations occur and the researcher needs to make immediate decisions. These situations are ethically important moments because the ethical dilemma occurring in real interactions between people are not necessarily solved by the procedural ethics. The authors distinguish between procedural ethics and ethics in practice to explain these kinds of dilemmas. Procedural ethics are those required for ethics committee approval based on the principals of minimising harm, informed consent, and protection of privacy. 'Ethics in practice' is required in the field where unexpected questions or disclosures are characteristic. If procedural ethics provides me with basic guidance to conduct the research safely and professionally within the western academic system, reflexivity in practice enables me to be aware of culturally appropriate interactions with participants. Negotiating my political position, along with age, gender, ethnicity, and professional position was an important part of forming appropriate and effective relationships with the participants.

In this research, I used photos and objects which I asked participants to bring to the interview. This was a tool to facilitate the interview conversation as natural, and also to gain rich description on participants' 'seemingly' too common experiences for Korean migrants. From my previous research with Korean astronaut mothers for my Master's thesis (Jeon, 2007), I became sensitive to situations where participants answered with very simple sentences denoting 'you know what I say'. This happened as Korean women participants believed I would know what they meant, as an insider of the ethnic group, and did not make attempts to elaborate by saying "well, you know". However if I were to stop there, assuming that I know what they meant, I may lose the richer discursive constructions of the participant. This time when I met with Korean women, the participants choose what to bring and explained their choices of items to me. For example, one daughter participant showed me a photo with a flower, about which I could not guess anything before she explained. While talking about photographs, the interviews became a more natural conversational situation, where participants could lead and could take ownership of the conversation. In this process, rather than limiting their answers with "you know" statements based on our similarities, they had chances for discussions to "make claims, to explain, interpret and ultimately take responsibility for them" (Hodgetts, Radely, Chamberlain, & Hodgetts, 2007, p. 712).

In the use of photographs I also had valuable opportunities to access, at multiple levels, participants' everyday experiences: the memory related with the photo or objects; the earlier moment they thought back to when they chose a photo or the objects for the research; and the time when they talked about these to me during the interview. These different levels were revealed while participants talked about the reasons they chose their objects or photos, about which the participants gave their own analyses. Therefore, the use of photographs and objects was part of the process of making their everyday lives visible and offered both the participants and the researcher the role of interpreter. In this sense, photographs were not analysed in terms of the authenticity of the pictures. I could obtain meaningful descriptions and reflections on participants' everyday lives through "understanding with the photographs and corresponding accounts about the lives of the respondents concerned" (Hodgetts et al., 2007, p. 712).

In summary, I have discussed my personal background, the philosophical ideas behind the research and how I was located in relation to, and interacted with, participants during the analysis processes. The process of research has been a constant examination of myself at work, influenced by my belief that understanding the flexible nature of meaning construction processes that are central to this research. Importantly, I used reflexivity as an analytical tool while my ambivalent positions as an insider and an outsider are negotiated. Davies and

colleagues (2004) noted the ambivalent practice “between reflexivity as a mode of controlling and making oneself appropriate to the culture or context, and reflexivity as liberating oneself from the determining force of discourse and culture” (p. 377). Although the practice of coming closer to and further from the data has been not an easy task, this enabled me to engage with my research in a meaningful way, rather than disengaging from and objectifying the data. Also reflexive research helps me to challenge any power asymmetry in the relationships between the researcher and the researched by attending to the mutual contributions of both parties in conducting research. Reflexivity becomes ‘a strategy to deconstruct the author’s authority’ (Finlay, 2002), and demonstrates the different ways in which participants’ exercise power in the production of the ‘product’ of the research (Thapar-Björkert & Henry, 2004). The implication is, by demonstrating the participants exercise of power, as Thapar-Björkert and Henry (2004) noted, that we can challenge the tendency to construct Asian women as passive recipients. To conclude, this view of reflexivity helps me to attend to the participants’ agency, while not losing insight into the influential issues of power, gender and minority.

Mothers: Creating agentic motherhood

In the Korean mothers' accounts, the selves are rhetorically constructed in describing their migrant lives; as having difficulties as well as pulling out strengths. Doing domestic work, without sufficient support from outside, has hampered them from going out learning new skills. However, their identity negotiations constantly occur, implicitly and explicitly, through interacting with 'Westernised' children and with western systems and people. Their identities are shaped through various cultural ideas surrounding Korean women and related notions of being a good mother. In this section I will discuss identity negotiations as experienced through facing different cultures, and how the values of being a good mother are changed and re-negotiated.

Being minority vs Claiming strength

The mother participants describe the uneasiness of their lives as Asian migrants. However this uneasiness is presented as something that they have to accept and get strong enough to deal with. Their hardships include difficulties in communicating in English and in dealing with their position as a minority. In talking about these difficulties, the women claim and describe their strengths in dealing with them. These two different selves, struggling but strong enough to deal with challenges, are not separate; they co-exist as parts of their lives as migrants. This next extract shows the struggle of one mother after migration:

One day, when we came back from grocery shopping, my [teenage] daughters told me that I shouldn't have spoken to the cashier like that. (Munhee, 40)

Referring to an incident at a local supermarket Munhee describes the difficulties she had due to her limited English language skills. The exchange with the shop attendant made her daughters feel embarrassed and Munhee still remembers this quite vividly. While it was distressing, she then provides explanations for the experience:

I just didn't have a chance to learn English properly; I was busy looking after kids. You know... it's not easy doing something else here without any one around. [...] I know I may sound strange and funny as my daughters say. Well... if it was so bad then they had to say something for me, right? But I was the one anyway who sorted out things. ... (Munhee, 40)

In Munhee's talk, the difficulties of trying to speak a new language is presented as a kind of a side effect of her having to stay at home looking after two children, without any extra help, in a foreign country. This is not Munhee as a person lacking in skills, it is the context that is held as

causing difficulties. In this construction, difficulties are a somewhat inevitable result and have to be accepted. Similar experiences are described by other mothers:

Sometime my kids say to me “how come we still go to English school?” It’s pretty upsetting though. I have been working hard to support them, which took the time I needed to learn English away from me for long time. (Youngsu, 48)

However the above extracts also show that such inevitable difficulties do not necessarily mean that the women passively give up control over their lives. Rather, these extracts reflect the way that the women construct agency through the difficulties they had experienced so far as mothers in a foreign context. This is clearly exemplified by the feelings they reported afterwards. Although their limited English language made their children embarrassed, the mothers expressed their emotions to the interviewer in a controlled manner, and indeed use these stories to reinforce what they have done as mothers in a foreign country. Despite all the difficulties, they were the ones who ‘sorted out’ things and ‘worked hard’ to provide for their children. Munhee later showed a traditional Korean costume that her mother gave to her when she left Korea (Photograph 1).

The fact that Munhee visits her own memory of her relationship with her mother shows the strength that she is pulling out of challenging situations to make sense of her own mothering. The authority of and respect for mothers is well advocated in the Korean culture (Park & Kim,



Photograph 1. Munhee shows the Korean costume her mother gave her. She said the costume had not been worn here in New Zealand but was kept to remind her of her mother. Munhee spoke of her own motherhood in New Zealand as it was different from the motherhood that she learned from her own mother. She is teased for her different English accent by her daughters, and as a result Munhee finds her own image as a respectful mother threatened. However, she challenges this threat by constructing her strength and her authority as a mother.

2004), and Munhee also expected to have this as a norm for herself. However the motherhood she experiences in New Zealand does not simply match with what she expected from her past experience in Korea. While encountering this change could be a difficult process sometimes, these migrant mothers also have chances to re-evaluate themselves according to the situation given. This reflects the notion of ‘two opposing cultural frames of reference’ (Ogbu, 1987; Qin-Hilliard, 2006) in which migrants draw on both frames of reference; one is considered appropriate by their own ethnic culture while the other as appropriate in the host culture. The idea of dual frames of reference indicates that rather than holding onto one frame, migrants move back and forward across different sets of value systems to make sense of various situations. Munhee re-evaluates her own hard work as a mother in the adversity posed by the migration. Then, rather than embarrassment or inadequacy, she expresses her capability of doing her job despite such difficulties, and claims her right to be respected.

In the following extract, Korean migrant mothers voice that their sense of freedom is constrained by institutional policies that are imposed on minority migrants. Youngsu introduces us to her journey of gaining her nursing registration in New Zealand. Youngsu showed the suitcase that she used when she migrated to New Zealand and described the meaning of visiting Korea from choice.

It reminds me that I have a place to go. I want to visit there when I feel ready, when I feel proud. I don't want to go back through having no choice. Well... indeed many of my friends left New Zealand because they couldn't make it here. You know, like they couldn't get the residency visa, some people couldn't get through English tests [to apply the visa]. I thought if you work hard things will be fine but sometimes it's not, it's out of my hands.[...]

I got a PR[Permanent residency visa] relatively ok but [to get a nursing job] it took me three years. It's because of the English test. The policies on this [English language requirement] kept changing too. I was nearly about to give up several times.

Maybe it's because, as people say, 42 is too late to learn a new language. But still, failing several times is really shameful. I just kept going [...] because I didn't want to be a loser and I wanted to show something to myself. (Youngsu, 48)

It is difficult for ethnic minority migrants to debate the need for learning English language in moving to English-speaking countries. This is reflected in Youngsu's reaction to the institutional controls on entering the country, and to the job market using language tests. When participants talk about the required tests for language proficiency, rather than debating the need for this, they turned the problem onto themselves, e.g., “42 is too late to learn a new language” and “I don't want to be a loser”. Here, having to go through language tests is not just a settlement issue but



Photograph 2. Youngsu brought to the interview this bag that she used in immigrating to New Zealand. She said that this bag meant that she had a place to visit. For her the visit to Korea should be proudly made through her choice rather than from any pressure of having to return.

also psychological issue, exemplified by Youngsu's feeling of having a lack of control. Also the extract indicates the difference between speaking English well and having a standard of language use insisted on by law. As reported by ethnic minorities in the U.S.A (Citrin, Reingold, Walters, & Green, 1990), when they were required to use English as the official language, ethnic minorities experience power inequality through the regulations and controls of the host society imposed through language requirements for valid participation in that society.

While she addresses these adversities brought about by institutional control and having to survive in the new country, the Korean woman participant constructs herself as not giving up but 'just kept going'. She constructs and expresses perseverance in getting through hardship with determination to visit her home country through personal choice. In this sense, her assertion that she 'just kept going' is in line with Mina's assertion that 'it's me that sorted out things', where they accept adversity while constructing a strong sense of self in order to deal with the reality. Youngsu's suitcase still occupying a corner of her house metaphorically shows her complicated relationship to a sense of being out of control and the determination to create her own freedom. Similar constructions of self, drawing on a different solution, were talked about by another woman regarding her experience of using the English language and her career.

I needed to pass an English test, which means I had to study all over again to get the same professional registration as I had in Korea. It was too much I thought. I don't want to spend years to pass a language test and then have to study again. That's why I chose a rather short course and then got a job. I am happy with my decision. Although I am not doing exactly the

same work as I did in Korea, I still went through many challenges to get this job. (Gisuk, 45)

Here Gisuk also talks about her difficulties in getting decent job due to the language issue, as well as her professional qualification being unrecognised in New Zealand. She then constructed her decision as an optimal choice, where she traded her time spent on language examinations to pursuing another career choice. The drawbacks for her of having a less recognised job here turned out to be as a result of her choice, for good reason, and her confidence is constructed from having been through a challenging process to re-start a professional life in New Zealand.

The Korean working mothers' talk about English and institutional barriers to their adjustment reflects the notion of the 'fatalism' and 'positive thoughts' posed by Bolam and colleagues (2003), who argue that marginalised people may become 'fatalistic' in accepting their limited control over currently adverse conditions. However, this acceptance is not necessarily negative but can be used as grounds to construct 'positive thought' about 'their personal agency, to present morally worthy images of the self' (Bolam et al., 2003, p. 26). The moral presentations sustained in these accounts of the participants included being a respected mother and a responsible migrant while dealing with migration challenges.

The Korean women's stories about their mothering and settlement experiences in New Zealand show the way that they develop resilience and positive strengths. They also show that difficulties are present in their everyday lives and are closely connected with being migrants from an Asian country. These two different selves, positive and under stress, are neither separate nor do they necessarily indicate an incompatible relationship between the two. Rather, multiple selves interact with and inform each other. The process of negotiating various self images is closely related to participants' relationship with the host society, experiencing and creating their power as minority women.

Being a powerless woman vs being equal to others

Participants talked about migration in such a way as to offer chances to re-think gendered practice inside and outside family. For example, the outside world of New Zealand society provides new gendered frames that are different from traditional Korean ones. However, participants also found similarities in the experience of women across the two cultures, which they then used to promote a sense of equal position to western women. I will discuss how the participants' constructions of gender, culture and a sense of minority intersect to provide a site of negotiation for their identities. Gisuk, who works in a local company, talks about her understandings of gender equality in New Zealand:

I thought they would be very different from us, having no problems with women's rights. Well,

now I think differently. The women at my work go home and cook for their husbands. They are the main ones picking up kids at school and doing housework... So it seems like people are not that different living in the same world. We are pretty much the same. My thinking is gradually changed, like, before I was reluctant to bring a Korean lunch to work, but now I don't care. Others' foods smell too. I don't want to cook Western food just because my food makes a different smell. (Gisuk, 45)

In this account, the Western image of women is made and re-made by the participant. By constructing the essential images of 'superiority' of Western women and then de-constructing this with an idea of 'they are not different from us', she formulates a sense of belonging as a woman in general and therefore avoids the unwanted image of 'inferiority' as an ethnic minority. This reflects the strategic notion of 'I am a human being like you' as described by O'Sullivan-Lago and colleagues (2008), who argue that people in different cultures use this notion as a strategy for challenging stereotypes made through defining groups as having distinct 'essences'. Using this notion of 'we are all human', different cultures are de-essentialised by viewing the others as equal to the self (O'Sullivan-Lago et al., 2008). Applying this idea, Gisuk's construction of being 'pretty much the same' as western women is understood as the participant's social action - restoring her sense of equality to claim her rights at work as 'a same person'. This also shows that the essentialised notion of 'all women are the same' is indeed socially constructed by Korean women participants during the process of negotiating and challenging a sense of minority. In this construction, rather than having culture and gender define who she is, we look instead at what she does. She becomes someone who is insightful about stereotyped and rigid ideas and expressive about flexibilities, which contributes to her constructing a self image that challenges a view of the passive and inferior Asian woman. The next extract shows one mother enjoying local facilities, constructed as a way of participating in New Zealand culture the same way as others do:

I enjoy going out to the park with other mothers. We have lots of fun, chatting, going to a nice café, to a park. We've known each other for years here. I feel quite comfortable with them. It would be a bit difficult to get along with mothers who had just arrived from Korea. (Munhee, 40)

Photograph 3 was taken when Munhee went to Albert Park in Central Auckland with her girlfriends. Here, by enjoying local amenities, she shares the space with members of the host society and a sense of citizenship is constructed through participating in the local culture. In addition, they make the outing a private matter among Korean friends, privileging their ethnic identity. In this sense, interacting with Korean friends and enjoying local facilities provides a

social space for them in which to navigate different cultures and to construct a hybridised identity. This is similar to the strategic identity construction of ethnic minority through ‘privileging the site of their ethnic community’ while ‘living in the white suburb’ proposed by Lacy (2004). Interestingly, here being a Korean woman does not mean that all Koreans are the same. The participant specifies that she feels more belonging with the mothers that have similar acculturation levels than those who have ‘just arrived’. This implies that the sense of being a Korean mother is entangled with, and complicated by, cultural experiences. While constructing herself as participating in local culture while effectively still tied to her ethnic network, but not necessarily categorized as same as all Korean women, she does not need to consider herself as permanently constrained by being either a New Zealander or a Korean. Rather, she strategically finds ways to affirm both affinities for ethnic ties as well a sense of belonging to New Zealand society.

The mothers talked about their self negotiation not only in relation to the host society members but also within the family. While Korean mothers negotiate their gendered and ethnic positions in relation to the people and to other women in the host society, the negotiation process is also closely related to their relations with Korean men and other members of the family.



Photograph 3. Munhee showed this photograph of herself and her girlfriends during an outing in Albert Park in Central Auckland. By sharing public spaces with other local citizens and participating in consumer culture, they strategically construct their sense of belongings to the space of the host society. While using this experience as a chance to network with other Korean mothers at the same time, she privileges ethnic identity.

The next excerpt is derived from a conversation between a mother participant and her daughter. When I asked the mother about any changes between her and her husband after migration, she invited her daughter to the conversation, who had incidentally come into the kitchen while we talked:

Gisuk (mother): Hey, do you think your dad has changed here in New Zealand?

Mihyun (daughter): I think a little bit. Maybe not too much. But he seems better.

Gisuk (mother): He didn't help at home much. He does a bit more now though, I think it was after I was sick for a while. I think he got scared that I got sick [laugh]

Mihyun (daughter): Yes... It's just only us as a family here in New Zealand so he may have got scared [if someone gets sick] and helped you.

Gisuk (mother): (Stopping her daughter) In Korea, it was difficult for him to get involved with housework because he was busy and... he was sort of a man raised in that way anyway.

This conversation was disrupted by the mother at the end, when the daughter sarcastically agreed with her mother that the father had changed because the family did not have any extra help in the foreign country. Although the idea was initially raised by the mother, the mother disputes her daughter and spoke of her husband as just being a normal and traditional Korean male, busy at work, indifferent to domestic business and having been raised to be a man in Korean society. This change in constructing her husband from a man who should change to a person just being normal is interesting. In the former construction her talk indeed may mean that some form of gender role re-negotiation is inevitable in order to maintain the basic functioning of the family. As a migrating family in a foreign country, the reality of 'it's just only us' may mean that family members have to adapt to new roles, to do whatever is necessary in order to survive. This idea is similarly reported in another migrant family study, where support is given to each other because "it's you and me against the world" (Suarez-Orozco & Baolian, 2006, p. 169). This can be seen here as 'fatalistic' flexibility, in which they 'have to' accept new situations and take on new roles seriously, and where in this case the husband is constructed as having to change by participating in domestic work with his wife.

Then, in a shift, the husband is re-constructed as a normal Korean man, 'who has grown up in that way'. Here the implication is that any one raised like him would find it difficult to change his embodied, gendered practice. This suggests that although he is accepting of the new role in a fatalistic way, the change does not automatically come about but requires an effort to make things happen differently. This is a similar strategy to the 'we are not so different' strategy migrants use, mentioned earlier, which is this time applied to the relationship between men and women. Here men and women are not so different in terms of having to deal with unfamiliarity

and with having to step out of their comfort zones. Here positive images of wife and husband are constructed as being active in dealing with challenges, rather than passively succumbing to the circumstances that migration brings to them. Therefore, what she negotiates is not merely a few domestic roles and tasks, but the meaning of being a migrant family in a foreign country.

The complicated constructions of the self and others (for example, husbands) can be untangled by considering the presence of the researcher and the presence of the participant's daughter. While the mother expresses her egalitarian view and is insightful about rigid gendered roles during the interview with me, when talking with her daughter she repositions herself as someone who understands her husband as an embodied gendered self. This can be seen as self-negotiation between different expressions of dealing with meaningful events both inside and outside of her cultural experience. On one hand, her voice is influenced by the outside world, where the rigidity of previous gendered roles is challenged. On the other hand, inside the family, she constructs positive images as parents and migrant family by which maintains the traditional boundaries between parents and children necessary to reinforce the running system of the family.

Mahalingam's idea of 'social essentialism' (2007) is useful for conceptualising these contrasting self constructions. Social essentialism in this sense is the political use of essentialism, in which migrants not only resist their traditional images but also strategically invoke and essentialise these. Gisuk, a Korean migrant mother in New Zealand, essentialises both cultures by stating that 'Western society has no problems with women's rights', and that 'Korean men are difficult to change' and again (de-) essentialises differences (e.g. 'we are not so different as women' and 'we are the same, as human'). This works to effectively allow Gisuk to claim the same rights as western women and to negotiate the family power structure. Essentialising distinctive features between groups may justify one's superiority over the other in which, conversely, 'de-essentialising' is used by the participant to de-construct power inequalities and to promote an egalitarian view. However, de-essentialising can be a kind of essentialising also, by disguising existing power structures and naively stressing the 'sameness' between men and women or between Western and non-Western. Thus, the use of de-essentialising needs to be understood in terms of its functions in context: in the case of Gisuk, the power relations between western women and Korean women and between Korean wives and Korean husbands may have been de-emphasised. Instead, she claims sisterhood among all women in order to challenge a sense of minority, and also claims parental authority in front of the daughter. Power relations are expressed with to stress its constraints on the individual but also in such a way that de-constructs, or resists, these constraints.

This section has discussed a part of the negotiations that Korean migrant women/mothers/wives

deal with in their everyday lives. Egalitarian views on gender and cultures, as well as essentialised ideas on western women and Korean men, are constructed and re-constructed. In addition, by participating in local leisure activities and consumer culture, the women construct a sense of sameness with other citizens in their local society. Thus, while they draw on various and sometimes conflicting positions to negotiate self, their negotiations show the dynamic aspects of social actions that these women engage with. Korean women's use of various cultural notions, and the essentialising of gender and culture, becomes a strategy with which to negotiate the self in multiple relationships with the West women, Korean men, and their own children. Therefore, the process of gender negotiation should be understood as not separated from, but as being in relation to, the power structures in larger contexts e.g., family, ethnic community and the host society.

Folk model of hybridising children

The analysis so far shows that Korean mother participants negotiate their identities - shifting being between passive and active, between inferior and superior and between liberal and traditional. Now I will discuss how their talk around mothering experiences in New Zealand shows similar negotiations with the role of mothering their children in a bicultural context. In this context as well, participants draw on Korean culture and Western culture, essentialising and de-constructing cultural notions. The process of changing as a result, and creating different cultural positions, is closely connected to the way that their children are culturally hybridised.

The following extract shows that hybridity is partly related to the mothers' experiences of uncertainty in raising children in a foreign context:

Our children have changed a lot, very 'kiwi' [New Zealanders] now. They seemed too relaxed. And they "express" it[what they want] to me, [but] Actually, what they say may not be that wrong. Um... there are always two different thoughts I am juggling with. (Sunok, 46)

Sunok expresses ambiguous feelings about whether she insists on too many Korean ways in her mothering of 'westernised' children. In expressing this confusion, she firstly essentialises New Zealand culture. Some of the attitudes she describes for her children, e.g., too relaxed, expressing their own opinions directly, are treated as typical of New Zealand culture. She then compares this 'culture' with Korean culture. A similar construction is made by Suhyun in the following excerpt:

My daughter said that she didn't need to study this, this, and this. Well... in theory she might be right. But I'm not sure whether she needs to learn more than what she just wants. Some people

say that just let them decide. I am confused whether I am thinking too much in a Korean way (Suhyun, 48)

The 'Korean parenting style' here is constructed as more directed, that is, described as an Asian style of parenting such as expecting their children to comply and work hard (Y. S. Park & Kim, 2004). While these mothers express stereotypical ideas of each culture, they also express ambiguity about what they do with these 'cultures'. The mothers question whether or not leaving children to become 'kiwi' is a good thing to do. Here they come to re-negotiate the meanings of being a good mother while living in between two cultures, and raise questions about the rightness of one way over the other.

Korean mothers not only challenge traditional values but also re-emphasise them. The next extract by Sunok shows the way that she re-realises her own cultural values. When I asked her to show me photos to encourage talk about her migrant life, Sunok showed this photo (photograph 4) of her husband's family visiting New Zealand a few years ago. She said that she wanted her children be close to them so that they could learn about traditional family values:

We don't know whether my children will go back to Korea in the future and live with people who value these traditions. I think they at least should be able to behave appropriately. I let them



Photograph 4. Sunok showed a photo of her extended family visiting New Zealand. She said that she wanted to show her children the family values that she felt should be kept as indigenous values. Her hybridising of two cultures in making up her mothering practice is metaphorically shown in this picture of her family having New Zealand wine over Korean style BBQ.

ring their grandparents during the weekend. It's a kind of training. I hope they do this voluntarily later on. It's going to give them some knowledge of what they need to do for us in the future as well. [...] I wanted to show my children that this is the family, we do not let them go easily but are working on it. I want them to know what the family means in Korea. [...] How I can say...the longer I live outside Korea, the stronger I feel about those values (Sunok, 46)

In this account teaching traditions to children is important for various reasons including a smooth integration into Korean society as well as maintaining intergenerational family connections after migration. She implicitly draws on traditional cultural values such as filial piety and 'jung'. These are indigenous terms that consolidate traditional family values within the ethnic community. To elaborate, filial piety emphasises the priority of respecting and looking after parents ahead of other social obligations; 'jung' is an indigenous term to explain the bonding and interconnectedness among close people, sustained not only through loving and looking after each other but also through shared experience of conflicts and misunderstandings (Choi & Kim, 2006). Usefulness of these values is re-discovered by the mother as a way of connecting with her children, particularly in the migrant context. The authenticity of Korean cultures, then, is constructed as something to be passed onto their children. Similarly, another mother explains the reason that she teaches the Korean way of politeness to her daughter:

I think she will be a Korean. She will do lots of things with Koreans in the rest of her life. So I am very strict, like, when my daughter talks back to adults I correct her not to do this (Munhee, 40).

Here Munhee explains that being able to behave in a culturally appropriate way is important for her daughter in order for her to be accepted in Korean culture. While these mothers talk about the belief that they have to pass on Korean values to their children, this is constructed as being for good reason; maintaining family ties and being accepted in Korean society rather than solely because it is the traditional Korean way. The same mothers then talk about the other things that they do for their children:

I don't want my boys too traditional though. I let them cook, clean and wash dishes. I tell them that you will be doing housework when married. Otherwise, you will not make a happy married life with your wife. (Sunok, 46)

Sunok previously wanted her children to meet family obligations, and she now continues to explain her efforts to encourage her son to adopt modern family values. She emphasises that in the next generation, her son would live with his modernised partner. She purposely blends

modernised gender roles with traditional family values. Her role is constructed as one that forms hybrid identities for her children to prepare them for their futures in an increasingly globalised and westernised society. In the next extract, Munhee similarly constructs her mothering role in relation to raising her daughter in New Zealand:

I have changed here ... I mean meeting a good man was important for women, at least when I was there [Korea]. But in a western world, whether you are a man or a woman, independence is important, standing on your own. I want her to be independent and to have her own professional career. (Munhee, 40)

Munhee constructs the modernised western women as independent and competent, opposite to the Korean ideal of polite and compliant women previously spoken of. She emphasises both gendered images as acceptable in order to live comfortably in both cultures. Here mothers use various essentialised images about what makes up the ideal male and female roles in two cultures and re-formulate them into a future picture for their children. In this way, what they do is understood as attempts to be good mothers, corresponding to current international society. Moving backward and forward between two different cultural images can be seen as these mothers' negotiating being a good mother, hybridising ways of doing motherhood. In this sense, this form of hybridisation of motherhood becomes a new way of 'doing good mothering' for Korean women raising children in the Western society.

This section shows that for Korean women self negotiation is entangled with their experiences of motherhood. There are uncertainties in motherhood that initiate hybridisation efforts, creating rather flexible and strategic motherhood. In this sense, what they do through hybridising can be understood as following strategies of being 'folk anthropologists' as described by (Mahalingam, 2006). Mahalingam notes that migrants develop insights into cultures while dealing with dual worldviews. As they live in the comparative cultural context, this context influences how they represent their home culture while they try to understand the host culture. Korean migrant mothers encounter many situations that lead to re-realising their cultural values, having to explain their own culture and also make sense of what they see as new. In these repeated experiences, Korean mother migrants become 'folk anthropologists', developing their own meta-understanding of cultures in order to better explain their own behaviour. The mothers also take an active role in facilitating the hybridisation of their children through their mothering practice. They do this consciously, expressing legitimate purpose and strategic intent derived from newly developed ideas about how to best provide for their children in the Western society. This new idea of motherhood is formed through a 'newer appreciation of culture' that is reflected on and re-explained and not merely from following a set of traditional cultural

practices and values (Mahalingam & Haritatos, 2006). Therefore, what they try to do for their children is their embodied experience of Westernisation that is reflected in their practices of motherhood.

To summarise, the Korean mothers' accounts of migration draws on a number of strategies for negotiating hybrid identities. The hardship of migration is constructed in a fatalistic way, but is also transformed as a space where they create strong and responsible migrant selves. Also the idea of 'we are not different as a person' was useful in restoring a sense of their individual rights and as a way to frame the difficult tasks of re-negotiating gender for women and men. This process of re-appreciating and re-negotiating various ideas of culture and gender roles can be conceptualised as hybrid identity construction. These hybrid identities are closely related to the self-evaluation process of practicing being a 'good' mother. Through moving between drawing from two different cultures, these mothers construct their moral images of good mother, that is, they reflect their embodied experience of power and gender as Asian women. These mothers' negotiations of being a good mother can be understood as the agentic practice of dealing with power, gender and minority issues, in which hybridising children becomes an important task of their mothering practice.

Daughters: Forming strategic hybridity

Similar to the way that mothers in this study construct new identities through drawing on their lived experiences of two cultural contexts, Korean young adult daughter participants, as members of the 1.5 generation described by Spoonley and Bartley (2008) construct their unfamiliarity with the new context and about changed roles within the family. Having to make sense of ambiguous positioning both inside and outside of the family is constructed through drawing on various cultural notions to creatively engender identity negotiation. However, the daughters draw on different cultural resources than mother participants and therefore have different ways of dealing with the power issues created by being younger migrants. Although this process is not an easy one, the daughters also talk about their skills and experiences in mixing differences and creating their own ways of being in-between. Hybrid identity is a process of negotiation, as well as a strategy to maximise their potential in a modern and more globalised world. In this section I will discuss how these daughter participants talk about these challenges and potential in relation to hybrid identity negotiations.

Being different vs Claiming agency

Migrating to New Zealand as young girls, the young Korean adult daughters experience themselves as different from others as foreigners. However by realising that they are different, they start to re-think taken-for-granted understandings about the self and others and begin to develop strategies that make sense of the self and others. Mina's account of a photograph (Photograph 6) depicts a simple experience that she still remembers and that reminds her of being a foreigner:

This flower came through our fence from the neighbour's garden. My grandmother found it so beautiful and was wondering whether we could pull it closer. Well, I and my mother thought, no she shouldn't. [Now thinking back,] it's actually quite funny because it wasn't that big deal for



Photograph 5. A flower is growing in Mina's neighbourhood. The family had a small argument about whether they would offend the neighbour by pulling it closer. This incident reminds her that being a foreigner it is difficult to take even small things for granted.

all the family to gather around and talk. I took this photo as it reminded me of the day we were gathered around the fence. (Mina, 19)

The sense of being dislocated in these surroundings would not be noticed if they were not aware of being new people in the neighbourhood. Mina took this photograph because it was a moment of watching her family being foreigners and being uncertain as to what was considered acceptable in the new neighbourhood. Similar experiences were often expressed by other daughter migrants, entering into the New Zealand school system and having their physical difference and different ways of presenting themselves become very apparent:

When you are at school, you may speak with same accents. But everyone would notice we are Asians by the hair and skin. (Hyunsu, 19)

It's not being shy or that we don't have things to say. That's just normal for us in Korea. But here you need to say very clearly 'yes', 'no' or what you want. (Ensung, 19)

These excerpts show that these young women came to realise that their ways of being were not the norm in the host society. These experiences of difference reflect the ideas of O'Sullivan-Lago and colleagues (2008) who suggest that this is 'experiencing an individual-level break in cultural continuity' from contact with different cultures. Dealing with this discontinuity and attendant uncertainties about self image can be stressful and anxiety-provoking, but it also invokes social action in that these migrant individuals re-think, re-watch and sometimes become meta-analytic about the meanings of their existence in multiple cultural contexts. This process can create a space where these young migrants negotiate their own meanings of the ideal self and become strategic about dealing with the uncertainty that follows from it (O'Sullivan-Lago et al., 2008). The next extract shows a daughter participant's reflections on her experiences of migration:

I take lots of time to think about myself and my life, why I am here. I sometimes think I did not succeed [in assimilating] because I am still mostly Korean spending lots of time with my Korean friends talking in Korean.[but] Actually I feel grateful that I am here. My personality has changed in a more positive way, I enjoy more hobbies and there are different opportunities here as well. (Ensung, 19)

This excerpt highlights the participant's uncertainty about the meaning of 'successful' migration and how she attempts to resolve this uncertainty. Ensung wonders if her remaining ethnic identity means that she has not been successful as a migrant, indirectly showing her sense of

guilt about not completely assimilating into New Zealand society. However, this negative self image is then transformed into a positive one, where she actively creates her own way of adjusting. Her adjustment is shaped through moving between two cultures: maintaining the sense of being a Korean and adapting to a new life style, as exemplified here in enjoying more hobbies and appreciating new opportunities. In doing so, the ‘originality’ of successful adjustment is negotiated by the participant. Her statement about being in between becomes strategic positioning, where she resists a sense of obligation to assimilate and instead creates a sense of agency to elaborate on her own way of negotiating the self. This expression of being in between is, as Bhadha (1994) notes, politically crucial for these young individuals, as it offers them the opportunity to think beyond originality but initiates and legitimises their new identities.

It is also noted that identity negotiation occurs where there is a sense of obligation to assimilate into the host society and recognition of the discomfort with the pressure to do so. Verkuyten (2005, 2007) suggests that this is a dilemma experienced by modern voluntary migrants. He argues that migrants feel obligated and/or are expected or required to adopt the host culture, especially under the title of ‘volunteer’ migrants. This positioning as volunteer migrants could limit their ethnic identity, putting pressure on them to assimilate into the mainstream culture while at the same time obscuring the role of the host society in tolerating cultural differences (Verkuyten, 2005). The next extract shows how the responsible self is constructed in relation to others in the host society. The participant, a university student when interviewed, talks about her time at college a few years ago:

*I didn't make many kiwi friends there. But I think they [local people and students] were not different, they also seemed to have feelings toward us, trying to keep away from us. [...] things happen, like one day my little brother came home gutted. He said his kiwi friends called him “ ** Asian”. So I had to tell him “Don't get upset. If you go to college and become a senior, people will be different. They mature and get better.”[...] . You would get very different treatment if you were a blonde girl. I sort of managed this with some tricks, like talking extra friendly [...]. (Ensung, 19)*

This extract shows how Ensung is in two minds about what she experiences as an Asian student in Western society. She tries to present a balanced view in talking about both sides. She expresses that integration is not only her responsibility but also the responsibility of members of host society. By constructing responsibilities on both sides, she actively negotiates her role in resisting total responsibility for assimilation being laid on her shoulders. She also emphasises her effort to change herself to be closer with people at school. In this sense, this is not only her responsibility but also the responsibility of others to work on negating the stereotypes about

each other. This is the same strategy mentioned earlier, where migrants shape the commonness between themselves and others as people (O'Sullivan-Lago et al., 2008). This time the daughter participant, drawing on the idea of 'we are the same' in terms of facing different cultures, constructs shared responsibilities for working on these unfamiliarities.

Now I'm looking back, they were indeed good friends. We just didn't know how to get along with them. I sometime find little gifts that they gave me for my birthdays or something. When I look at them I think we tried anyway, and now we could do better. (Mina, 19)

Mina talks about her memories of friends at her first school in New Zealand. She said that she was lonely and found it difficult to make friends. Then she reflects that now she sees that it was no-one's fault because she and the local students at school were not used to getting along with each other. This is similar to Ensung's talk above, where her brothers and his classmates were young and needing maturity to help them get to know each other. By constructing the self and others as having the same difficulties, tensions between them are reduced and the person gains a rather more balanced view of the problem. Also these young migrants manage their positive self images insightfully and as a process of making progress.

The extracts in this section show ways that discontinuity in cultural experience and conflicting self images are negotiated in Korean migrant young adults' lives. The daughter participants experience the outside world more often than their parents, dealing with different views on the ideal self. So their accounts allow us to see how they make sense of selves in engaging with various relationships with others. This is not a linear developmental course towards an end goal of integration, but rather, as Hermans (2001) notes, it is a dialogical process between different ideas about Korean culture and New Zealand culture, current self and future self, adolescents and adults, and responsible migrants and responsible host society members. In this negotiation, they transform the selves from being pressured to assimilate to stating their unique hybrid identities as being in-between, which shifts the image of others as oppressors to positioning both parties as ordinary people needing to adjust and understand each other.

Doing daughter's role vs Taking on adult roles

The earlier analysis with mother participants indicates that renegotiating gender roles in the migrant family is invoked by adjustment needs. In renegotiating gender roles, migrant women reinterpret gendered norms from a different perspective. Daughter participants add another layer into negotiating gender for migrant women; that is, reinterpreting their roles as daughters while taking on adult roles in the family. Having new roles is then linked to challenging the normative expectations about being a good daughter.

When we came the first time, there was none [...] My mum didn't speak English at all, and I couldn't let my younger sister do the job. So I looked after everything... talking to agencies, school teachers...now I'm working in my parent's shop whenever I have time after classes at uni. I am twice as busy as other students.[...] They[New Zealand peers at school] just don't understand what we[Koreans] do in the family. Basically I would say it's "me" bringing my family here [...] What is frustrating is that when I tell my dad about what I know, he doesn't listen. He listens to his friends though. I think he tries to be the head of the family. He doesn't accept that, about some issues here in New Zealand, I may know more than him (Hyunsu, 19)

This excerpt is consistent with commonly reported findings in migrant studies; that migrant children have increased responsibility in family roles such as caring for siblings and helping parents with their English (Fuligni, Yip, & Tseng, 2002; Suarez-Orozco & Baolian, 2006; Christine J. Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008). To explain the background of these migrant children come to be doing adult work, scholars suggest the important role of filial piety in the collectivistic culture (Kwan, 2000; Christine J. Yeh et al., 2008). In this sense, migrant children are often expected to help the parents and to prioritise family interests over personal ones. Zhou (2006) notes that Asian migrant children may feel indebtedness for their parents, believing that their parents sacrificed their comfortable lives for their children's future. Hyunsu's account also implies cultural values about being a 'good daughter' prioritising family needs and helping parents deal with circumstances brought about by migration. However, what they do is neither simply explained as fatalistic acceptance of new roles nor as deriving solely from traditional expectations.

Although she had to do more work, Hyunsu claims that she is practically the 'one who brought the family to New Zealand'. She transforms her position from 'having to work more' to 'worthy contributor to the family's adjustment'. In addition, she challenges her father's authority and the traditional norm of being a compliant daughter. In this process, she creates a rather strong sense of self deserving to be respected for her contribution to her family. This is in line with the idea that, while migrant children take more adult roles, they also grow a sense of being in control and of worthiness in contributing to the family (Suarez-Orozco & Baolian, 2006). In addition, it is a way of negotiating their Korean identity in relation to the host society, drawing on the moral superiority of her doing the tough job for her family. By expressing that she works hard for the family, she compares herself as far busier than other students, who may even not understand her. Thus the participant negotiates the meanings of a being good daughter, not only in relation to her family but also to the host society. The next extract shows another way of dealing with their images inside and outside of the family:

My mother thinks if I have a boy friend, it means I'm going to get married with him. But I don't. I need to experience before making a good decision. But I don't need to bother my parents. So I won't tell them even if I have one. (Seohee, 19)

Seohee talks about the way she deals with romantic relationships that is different from how they are framed by her Korean mother. By not revealing her dating to her mother, she can avoid the expectations of her parents' control over her. She constructs this in a way that suggests she is also preventing 'unnecessary' hassles for her mother. Pyke and Johnson (2003) report a similar negotiation among Korean second generation women in the U.S.A: that they construct the conservativeness and rigidity of gendered norms of Korea and then purposefully shift between two cultural positions. Similarly Seohee negotiates her gendered identity by taking a liberal and westernised position outside the family, while still playing the good daughter role within her family. The daughter participant's construction of her relationships with parents is not mere rebellion or manipulation; it is controlled and somewhat reflective of her understanding of how different cultures are meaningful to her. The next extract shows how conflict and misunderstanding become chances to observe and understand their parents:

My parents sometimes invite kiwi neighbours and let me sit there as an interpreter. I really hate it. It's really boring. However, I shouldn't complain maybe. Sometimes they impress me, like one day I realised that my mother knows all the English names of vegetable and plants that I couldn't even name. She wasn't like this before. So I realised that she was making an effort. (Mina, 19)

This excerpt shows that Mina's understanding of her parents as previously somewhat monolithic and negative is changing to a more realistic understanding as she gains insight into the personal processes that her parents are going through. There is the daughter's realisation that the mother has made an effort as a migrant, a similar process to what the daughter participants themselves are going through. While migration provides this young migrant daughter with a source of conflict, this also provides an opportunity for her to better understand her parents. The daughter participant makes sense of this as sharing common processes as migrants with her parents, developing resilience in their relationship through the effects of migration. In this sense, emphasising the sameness between her and her parents as being migrants could be a strategy for forming constructive relationships in the family.

My mum and dad go there[beach] often. They may not have come to New Zealand if the country was too busy and competitive. [...] I hardly saw my Dad in Korea. I didn't know him very much. Here he is different. [...] My dad says that he feels happier here. It's not easy for him to say that

because actually he gave up his job in Korea and can't find that decent job here. You know, watching Dad makes me feel strong (Ensung, 20).

Ensung describes observing the process in which her father has become a different person now; previously a high-powered businessman, he moves to and accepts his new job as a cleaner in New Zealand but is happy with his new life. Language difficulties and unrecognised qualifications in Western society might have caused employment problems for his father here. The fact that her father has had to change his job status could have caused much distress for her family. However Ensung appears to understand that instead of working too much and 'being too busy', her father has made a conscious choice to enjoy or to actively accept the new life style in New Zealand. In doing so, Ensung constructs herself, not as a distressed daughter but as a strong and supportive daughter. Here being a good daughter is not just about being compliant but is also about becoming mature and insightful into her parent's identity negotiations.

This section suggests that daughter migrants are not merely victims of traditional cultural obligations or migration stress. They actively engage in negotiations of gender, power structures and ethnic identity both inside and outside of the family. The meanings of being a good daught-



Photograph 6. Ensung showed a photograph of her parents and friends having relaxing time on a nearby beach. Her father, a previously high-powered businessman in Korea, now works as a cleaner in New Zealand. However, she shows her understanding that while he has given up his previous job status, he now enjoys a more relaxed lifestyle as a result. The daughter develops her insights into the nature of the migration process, interacting with different contexts and negotiating positioning.

er are actively created and negotiated in this context, rather than defined solely by traditional norms. For example, in their relationship with parents, they might have taken for granted established parent/daughter roles. However, in New Zealand, these daughters take new roles in the family and develop sensitivity to migration, culture and gender issues. In addition, over time, their parents' personal processes of struggling and dealing with challenging circumstances become more visible to these daughters than before. This is similar to the idea of 'folk anthropologists' (Mahalingam, 2007), discussed earlier. The daughters are, in this sense, young folk anthropologists, developing understanding of changed circumstances and insight into the migration process. Understating their parents as going through similar processes of adjustment as they do becomes a strategy for creating new relationship with their parents, cooperating yet integrating new understanding of their right to be respected in new ways. Dion (2006) has suggested that while migrant daughters face tensions with their parents, they come to make sense of these conflicts, with increasing maturity and insight into their own culture. Therefore the Korean daughters negotiate the meaning of being good daughters rather than just following traditional norms as imposed by traditional culture, which becomes a process of personal growth increasing flexibility and taking ownership of their adjustment processes.

Hybridising as a strategy

The Korean young adult daughters' accounts showed us that they draw on both western and traditional resources to make sense of being different in New Zealand. These hybrid identity negotiations are part of a process of re-interpreting and re-stating the sense of self in their migrating families. In this section, I will discuss participants' awareness of their hybrid identities and the creative use of this awareness in dealing with the current and future self in a multicultural context.

This is taken at my ball party. They are all my Korean friends. It was really fun. You shouldn't sit quietly, as if typical Koreans, but dance and have fun. These three girls in the centre are new ones to New Zealand. They were shy. Actually, first time I was shy too and felt uncomfortable too. I was wearing a dress covering all my body. But this time I put on this [pointing out her in the very left]. I didn't feel shy at all [Ensung, 19].

The above excerpt shows how participants negotiate between being 'typical Koreans' and being westernised'. Ensung describes what is typical for Asian girls (e.g., sitting quietly and covering the body) and for western girls (e.g., wearing a western dress, dancing and having fun). She then gives an account of the change she has made: being comfortable wearing western dress and having fun as different from the new Korean girls who came to the party and behaved more like she used to during their first time. She is aware of this change and shares her excitement with



Photograph 7. Ensung (far left) went to her college ball party with her Korean girlfriends. She pointed out that the three girls in the middle were new to New Zealand and were shy. In comparison, she and the other friend were comfortable with western dress and had fun dancing. Ensung resists 'typical' passive images of Asian girls, while sharing her process of forming a hybrid identity, along with her Korean peers.

her Korean friends that are at the same level of acculturation. She constructs these changes as not being completely Korean or Western but somewhere 'in between'. Here, the hybrid identity is meaningful as 'the transformation of existing cultural practices into new ones and creation of multiple identities' (Hermans, 2001, p. 267). Chapman (2004) notes that a hybrid identity empowers 1.5 and second generation migrants and provides spaces in which they can voice their cultural identities. This idea can be applied to Ensung's construction of the self: western culture and Korean culture become resources available for her to use creatively rather than rigid frames to fit herself into.

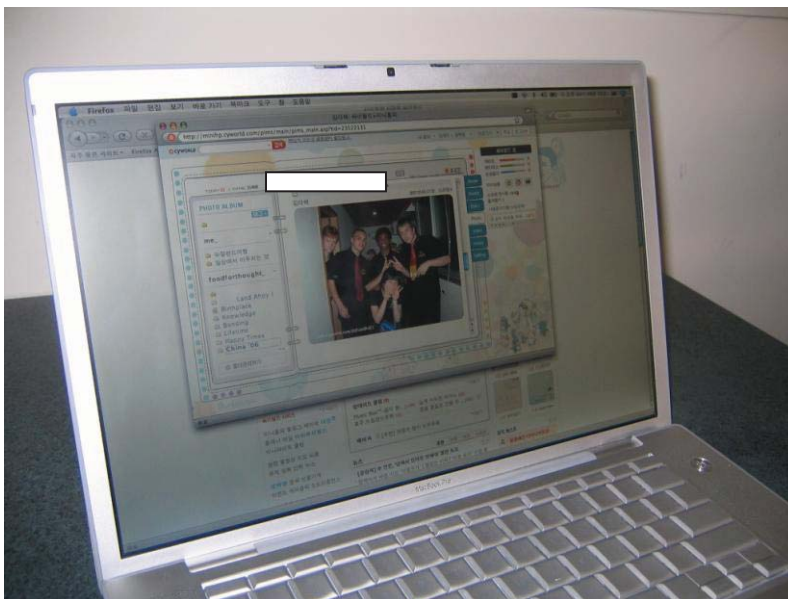
This multiple identity construction is also an interactional process, shared among peer migrants in her ethnic community. Phillips and Potter (2009) note that it is a form of sharing common experiences of differences, in which hybrid identities become a "yardstick with which to forge friendships" among migrant students (p. 679). A similar function of hybrid identity is discussed earlier in relation to participant mothers' accounts of outings with other Korean mothers, in which socialising with other Korean migrants becomes a site to navigate and establish their hybridities. This explains how an ethnic network is not simply in isolation from the mainstream, but can be a space in which to negotiate and confirm hybrid identities. Hybridising identity is not an individual process, but is an interactive process of sharing, observing and copying each other's doing - constructing hybridity becomes a feature of migrant culture that migrant

individuals creatively engage with.

Understanding hybridity as a feature of migrant culture highlights its dynamic nature and relationship to wider social contexts, that is, different from the notion of individuals having a stable identity status. The next extract, by Hyunsu, shows her experience of hybrid-identity formation as an Asian female graduate dealing with the pressure and potentials in her future career:

I wasn't sure whether I could get a job in New Zealand. People say that why they would pick me up if there are Kiwis applying for the same job. I think we look different and the way we do and think is also different. And... actually there are not many jobs here and they are a bit boring too. So I don't think I would live in New Zealand forever. While in New Zealand, I am still thinking about Korea and eat Korean food. I am not the same as Kiwis anyway. So going to Korea is quite a possible option. Um...if I go and get a job in Korea, I can show respect for older, senior people. But even if I do that, I don't want to give up myself, don't want to cross the line. (Hyunsu, 20)

Hyunsu expresses concerns about the possible disadvantages of being an Asian in a Western society, and then she turns to the opportunities and advantages of returning to Korea. This could be understood in the sense that due to the discrimination they experience, young migrants may reject one culture over the other. However, there is another way to look at it: this is a part of Hyunsu's negotiation process rather than the reaching of an ultimate decision. The way that she negotiates is consistent with other migrant constructions of experiencing differences and



Photograph 8. Younghee showed her internet homepage where she put her photos of herself with international friends. Her hybrid identity is publicised through this on-line medium. The young migrants treat hybrid-identities as commodities that they possess, sell and identify themselves.

forming an agentic self. In Hyunshu's account, essentialised ideas about both cultures are presented to clearly pose different choices, and then the agentic self negotiates between the two rather than confirming one true ethnic identity over one another. For example, she essentialises each culture differently; New Zealand is boring with a lack of opportunities whereas Korea is vibrant; New Zealand respects individual rights whereas Korean culture may require her to "give up herself" subsuming her own opinion to uphold the group. In this essentialising of culture, her hybridised identities are made: while in New Zealand she is still Korean, and in Korea she would retain her western self, not giving up her individual rights despite traditional authority figures.

Hyunshu's ability to cross over between two worlds would be privileged in the international job market, creating agency. Indeed, young migrants treat hybridity as if it is a commodity that is useful for constructing successful adaption in the globalised world. The next extract, by Younghee, shows that she becomes aware of these cultural assets, and consciously emphasises her hybrid identity as a valuable asset that she possesses:

I've been to China once with my college friends and realised that I can understand their culture easily. I feel like I am a chameleon, changing myself so easily. I put this [Photograph 9] [on her personal webpage] to share with my Korean friends. I want to go to Korea, I could teach English and have fun with friends. I also want to go other bigger countries. That's the benefit from me having grown up in New Zealand. I have more opportunities speaking two languages and communicating with people from various cultures. I have advantages in this sense. Then later on I can also choose to come back to New Zealand (Younghee, 20)

Younghee talked excitedly about being multicultural throughout the interview. In particular, about her capacity to adapt as if "being a chameleon" because she could adjust to various cultural settings in an international job market. In this construction, flexibility and hybrid identity are treated as a commodity that she possesses and sells. A culturally viable and competent self is publicised through her internet homepage, through which she shows off what her friends in Korea, and her local friends in New Zealand, may not have. Plaza (2006) finds similar representations of hybrid-identity among young second generation migrants; that the hybrid-identity is a valuable product in their lives, necessary to 'make it' or succeed in a host society. In this study, Korean young migrants make use of their hybrid identity to construct a promising future in multiple cultural contexts.

In this section, Korean daughter migrants show that they go through constant reformulations of new hybridised identities, based on their ethnic origin and closeness to the dominant social and

cultural capital (Plaza, 2006, p. 227). While construction of hybrid identity is understood as the process of negotiating between cultures and power relations, hybridisation is also used as a strategy that these young migrants utilise. These two different features of hybrid identities however are not in a conflicting relationship; they interrelate and allow these migrants to forge possibilities, creating spaces for their viable cultural identities to be recognised.

To summarise, I have discussed the ways that Korean young adult daughters interact with their families and the people in their ethnic community and in their host society. They become aware of being different and of being in a minority. As migrant youth, they describe both a sense of responsibility to assimilate into mainstream society and an obligation to help their parents. Although these are constructed in a fatalistic way as inevitable, the Korean young adult daughters construct active roles to deal with this dilemma and claim their equal rights, drawing from the notion that 'we are same as our parents' and that 'other local peers are not different from us' while going through challenging transitions. In doing so, they actively engage in making sense of dealing with the transitions between two cultures in the process of constructing hybrid identities. This process does not always cause disadvantages for these migrants; instead they construct hybridity as a set of skills use to earn opportunities in multicultural contexts.

The daughters' experiences of hybridity identity construction are different from the Korean mothers'. Daughter participants are less confined by either cultural rigidity or a lack of cultural resources. Hybridity for them is a strategy for re-stating their positions in the international society and for asserting their viability across different cultures. In this sense, the weight of dealing with power issues between ethnic migrants and the host society is not the same as it is experienced by the mothers. The power structures between cultures are rather soft, or changeable, for these daughter generations. Just as mothers and daughters are different, hybridisation is not a uniform practice for all migrants but is a process involving multiple approaches, depending on the social cultural contexts the individuals live in.

Summary

Accounts from mothers and daughters about their migration experiences suggest that there are similarities as well as differences between the two groups of participants. There are similar themes across both groups, for example, language and cultural differences, intergenerational issues, and in gender and age roles. Similarity is also found in terms of mothers and daughters both strategically constructing hybrid identities to create confident and images of self. For both mothers and daughters, networking with other Korean peers is a way of sharing their hybrid identities, which are constructed as not being either authentic Kouserean or as completely assimilated New Zealanders. However, my analysis shows that mothers and daughters do this negotiation in different ways. For mothers, their identity as Korean is shaped through their history of growing up in Korea, in which they retain more stories to tell about being Korean women and mothers. Also, being a Korean is strongly linked to their memories of being part of a dominant group, through which they construct a sense of continuity and empowerment using the traditional values from Korea. On the other hand, they experience unfamiliarity and inadequacy in the new cultural context. For the daughters, that also use their memories of Korea to identify themselves as Korean, this identity is constructed as more flexible as compared to their mothers. Also, in New Zealand they develop stronger voices as they grow older and learn new sets of skills that are useful in the new country. These differences are reflected by the way that mothers negotiate their migrant identities in a private and controlled way and in their domestic space. For daughters, these negotiations and constructions are more visible, not only because they are more often physically engaged outside the family but also they have western skills that allow them to exert more freedom and to use outside resources more effectively. The similarities and differences between mothers and daughters suggest the participants' active roles in negotiating selfhood, but also specificity, in relation to the various social and cultural resources available to them.

Chapter 4. Conclusions

This study started with the aim of, through interviewing six Korean mothers and six young adult daughters living in New Zealand, understanding the process of dealing with migration challenges and growing resiliences and how it contributes to our understanding of culture. The challenges that participants described include as a sense of being different and of being in the minority, changes in gender and age roles and family social status, and generational differences. However these challenges are described not as negative images of themselves. Instead, they are constructed in a way to create their strengths. Therefore I conclude that, despite the migration challenges, participants play active roles in constructing a third position of hybrid identity between western culture and Korean culture, between women and men, and between parents and children, which becomes their resiliences. What they do in this negotiation process was not consistent with either Korean traditional images of good women or Western ones but constantly shifted between them, changing and evolving. In this process of constant negotiation, participants created various forms of hybrid identities. Constructing creative hybrid identities is not about achieving an end state of completing an integrated self but can be better understood as a process of negotiating between different cultural resources. Also, hybrid identity construction was used as a strategy for the migrant selves to challenge the 'authentic' or 'assimilated' cultural identity. The finding of participants' hybridising their cultural identities provide new understanding of culture that is flexible and interactive. In this conclusion chapter, I will elaborate my findings. The last aim of this study, applying these findings to clinical implications, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Folk anthropologists, resisting and asserting

The participants became strategic in dealing with uncertainty as migrants into a new society. As suggested by the notion of folk anthropologists (Mahalingam, 2006), these Korean migrant mothers and daughters can be seen as folk anthropologists – meaning that people who encounter differences develop their own insights and strategies in multiple contexts. This study also suggests that migrants encounter many situations and opportunities to make sense of specific cultural notions previously taken for granted, and in this process they become strategic in drawing on different cultural resources to deal with everyday challenges and questions. Similar ideas are those of shift parentneses (Brinkmann, 2008; Märtsin, 2010; O'Sullivan-Lago et al., 2008) who suggest that the uncertainty experienced by migrants in cultural transitions motivate these individuals to seek out certain forms of action and become strategic. This idea guides us to

see the individuals' actions in dealing with the uncertainty and creating useful strategies (Bhadha, 1994; Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Both Korean mothers and daughters talked about a sense of being different and a sense of being in a minority that required them to make sense of discomfort and powerlessness. Korean migrant women, then, take action to re-construct and negotiate self images. This is exemplified by their rhetorical constructions of 'positive fatalism' (Bolam et al., 2003), in which their distressful experiences are constructed in such a way as to create more positive images of themselves as strong and responsible in order to deal with the distress. This is different to seeing them as simply victims of oppression or as being passively constrained by culture, instead it is understood as how they experience and negotiate different self images and positions depending on the situations at play.

While participants negotiate selves in their new context, certain cultural notions and values are purposefully drawn upon. For example, Western discourses such as being responsible and independent individuals are drawn on to voice their sense of agency in opposition to being 'passive' Asian women. Furthermore, cultural notions from their home country, such as 'respectful mother', 'faithful daughter', filial piety and 'jung' become useful resources to voice their psychological strengths and moral superiority in relation to the host society. While certain cultural notions create a sense of agency, it is noted that these notions are sometimes treated as if they hold a truth or essence of the culture by participants. Drawing on the idea of the folk anthropologist, Mahalingham (2007) argues that the 'deployment of essentialism becomes ideological – a transformation from essentialism being merely a cognitive tool to strategic deployment' (p. 308). He noted that while cognitive essentialism (that is, treating a group of people homogenous based on biological bases such as race and sex) is used by dominant groups to justify their social status, marginalised people use this essentialism to 'oppress, assert and resist the oppressive stereotypes resulting from the essentialist bias'. This is called 'social essentialism' (Mahalingam, 2007, p. 303). The Korean migrant women's deriving a representation of self using traditional norms can be understood as being on a different level to the political use of essentialism as it is addressed in Mahalingam's social essentialism.

From the perspective of 'social essentialism', participants not only essentialise selves but also others. For example, that sometimes husbands who do not engage with housework is described as being a typical Korean man and treated as difficult to change. Also, members of the host society are described as homogeneously 'powered' people who hold strong stereotypes about Asians. These rather fixed representations of the self and of others can be understood as the migrants' social practice using 'essentialism' - in which they purposely voice their marginalised positions and create resistance. They sometimes construct negative images of Korean culture versus positive images of New Zealand., e.g., the Korean life style is too busy and allows no

family space, versus New Zealand life style is relaxed, peaceful and alternative; Korean culture is oppressive to women versus New Zealand has no inequality issues for women. These constructions were effectively used by participants when they considered the benefits versus the losses provided by migrating to New Zealand. Here their 'folk' theories of society are used to essentialise different categories at different degrees, while their understanding becomes enriched and customised through their migration experiences (Hirschfeld, 1996, 2001). This observation of the use of essentialism offers flexible understanding about the role of stereotyping and essentialising, and how appropriating certain stereotyped images is related to people's subjective relationship to power, gender and migration.

Hybrid identities as a process and a strategy

My findings demonstrate that the participants' identity constructions are in a negotiated process across different essentialised biases, while the existence of power asymmetry provides certain conditions and motivations. In other words, identity negotiations can be conceptualised as the constructing of hybrid identities that shift between different beliefs and self images in different power relations. Here, hybrid identity constructions occur in spaces of not only having dual citizenships between Korean and New Zealand, but also between the positioning of womanhood and manhood and between parenthood and childhood. These, previously seemingly stable, categories are unveiled as unstable and socially constructed, so Korean migrant participants come to re-negotiate these in various structural relationships.

Through naming this negotiating and re-negotiating process as forming a hybrid identity, the migrants become free from the idea of a unitary identity. They do not need to be defined as 'pure' Korean women or as ideally Westernised liberal women. This hybridisation has the functions of challenging the authenticity of culture (Mahalingam, 2008), abandoning the burden of responsibility for the culture (Mercer, 2002), resisting the centrality of Whiteness (Root, 1999), and opening a third space through which to negotiate and celebrate their being 'in-between' (Bhadha, 1994). This would apply similarly to the way that the rigid boundaries between men and women and between parents and children become negotiable. In this sense, the concept of hybrid identity is agentic, it is the performative, voicing of what the individuals do in the various interactions.

The process of negotiating and constructing hybrid identities is not a simple or linear one. The migrants get closer to both cultures and realise that some cultural beliefs seem less truthful but, at the same time, that some are more useful than previously appreciated. This process involves stepping outside a monolithic cultural zone and taking a third position. Bhatia and Ram (2004) noted this process as combinations of "culture shedding" or "some behavioural shift" or the

“unlearning of one’s previous repertoire”, implying that these migrants ‘float in and out of cultures’ whenever it is needed (Bhatia & Ram, 2004, p. 237). This is how meanings are constructed and how the previous meanings and behaviours are replaced with new sets of cultural ideas and behaviours. This process can be painful and complicated while different ideas and selves collide and negotiate with each other, and many conflicts do not necessarily reach resolution. In this sense, hybrid identity construction is very different from a stable middle stage of cultural ‘integration’. Hybrid identity construction is not a process that moves toward an ideal end stage where conflicts are silenced and differences are unified. Rather, it is a constant process of moving backward and forward between different selves and between the past and the present, which can be painful at times and require some form of supports.

Interestingly, the concept of hybrid identity is used as if it is a set of skills or a valuable product by the Korean migrant participants. With the possibilities provided by the hybrid identity, migrants create an image of being good migrants, developing valuable skills in a modern globalised context. Korean migrant mothers showed their desire to hybridise their children to be accepted in both, Western and Korean cultures. The Korean daughters sell their Western resources in international job markets as if it guarantees them better opportunities. In this work, the concept of hybrid identity is treated as a cultural product, wrapped with various cultural flavours.

When hybrid identity becomes a cultural product, Wang and Yeh (2005) note that there are different levels of using hybrid characters. One is simply adopting the popularity of hybridity at a superficial level and another one is in reflecting the complicated history of dual citizenships influencing the aims and production of cultural products. A similar argument is that hybridity being used as ‘a descriptive device’ versus being used as ‘communicative space or practice’(Kraidy, 2002). Kraidy notes that with the use of ‘hybridity’ as a merely descriptive device people with local culture are described as the passive recipients of global texts, in which hybridity becomes no more than another neocolonial discourse. A similar idea is also suggested by Papastergiadis (2005) who made a distinction between ‘compliant and critical hybridity’ (p. 51). The problem with compliant, uncritical and descriptive use of hybridity is that such use undermines its significance as social practice (Kraidy, 2002). Meaning is developed, as I have discussed above, through engagements with complicated and painful processes of unlearning selves, resisting existing power structures and in creating alternatives. In this sense, hybridity is a ‘widely employed and disputed term in postcolonial theory’ (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998, p. 118), in which the critical understanding of hybrid identity is politically important.

The ‘superficial’ but political use of hybridity is not necessarily driven by external ‘others’ only.

When Korean migrant participants negotiate their hybridity, there is a sense of responsibility attached to it, that is, individual responsibilities to be good mothers and good migrants and to be appropriately assimilated into globalised society. Whatever is out there, to survive they need to be responsible for their own survival by sometimes adopting existing hegemony and changing behaviour accordingly. This can be seen as a top-down process of hybridising in which they work toward hybridisation. However it is also bottom-up process, hybridising while they face conflict and confusion in their everyday lives and negotiate their hybrid identities to be functional in the given context. These two processes of hybridising mutually co-exist, creating interactive selves (Bhadha, 1994).

Critical understanding of hybridity has important implications. Firstly, although the participants sometimes fit themselves into the hegemony of globalisation, it can also be understood as a temporary negotiation in a given context. As Kraidy (2002) notes this form of hybridity is a temporary form, one of many practices of hegemony, rather than a stable end state like integration or assimilation. With this understanding of hybridity as negotiated process we can avoid seeing migrants as merely passive recipients of neo-colonial global messages. Secondly, their efforts to deal with globalised messages are invoked and sustained through a sense of responsibility to be 'Westernised'/'globalised'/'assimilated'. Without understanding of these pressures embedded in the hybridity, this would be an uncritical use of it. In this use of the concept of hybridity may, rather than engendering further possibilities, reduce structural issues down to the individual responsibility and contribute to increased anxiety, enhancing 'not diversity but domination' (Oliveria, 1995, p. 129). Seeing hybridity as merely 'observing, cataloguing and celebrating multicultural mixture' is naïve in the sense that 'the inequality that often characterises these mixtures is glossed over' (Kraidy, 2002, p. 318). The danger could have been posed if the hybridity that involves active negotiations in the political context is not acknowledged. The Korean migrants construct various hybridities which processes occur while they reflect on their experiences of marginalisation in the Western society. In dealing with a sense of discrimination and marginalisation, being hybrid can be understood as their strategy to survive or a way to sell their flexibilities and cultural mobilities.

Multiple subjectivities in identity negotiations

This current study shows that the I and other's positions are constantly changing in Korean migrant women's identity constructions. As Bhatia and Ram note (2004), the changing positioning of self and other does not mean shifting between internalised traits or between different roles. The voices of 'others' do not necessarily exist externally but are understood as others-in-selves; as different subjectivities having their own stories, histories and politics (Hermans, 2001; Salgado & Hermans, 2005). Therefore, the changes in positions of self and

others mean that the dialogical and negotiated process of identity construction occurs at the border between the self and the social (Bhatia & Ram, 2004). For example, the I accepting what it is to be a good traditional daughter while claiming a right to wear western dress; the I resisting parent's authority while at the same time understanding parents' personal processes; others bullying siblings and yet changing over time to become more empathetic. The dialogue between different subjectivities is not necessarily predictable but creates meanings in terms of a sense of identity and growth.

Further implications of dialogical identity negotiation is that it challenges the traditional approaches that seek causal relationships between social 'variables' and identity formation. The complexity of the dialog reflects what Hall (1985) notes as 'no necessary correspondence' (p. 104) between various social relations. There is no one author that has absolute control over shaping stories or that is fully conscious of the story direction: instead there are exchanges between various consciousness (Bakhtin, 1984). This is in line with the argument of Hermans and colleagues (1992), that the I is always a process of positioning and repositioning in the presence of others (Hermans, Kempen, & Van Loon, 1992). However, this relational identity negotiation does not mean relativism. Indeed, sometimes the negotiation appears quite uni-directional while one voice is dominant over others. Bhatia and Ram (2004) note that any given individual I, depending on the sociocultural constraints, can take positions of not only agreement but also contradiction to another I position. This contradiction occurs because some positions are considered more appropriate and effective or more dominant and privileged than others (Hermans & Kempen, 1998). The study illustrates that participants engage with the self-evaluation process of what is good, appropriate and privileged in context, resisting or asserting values to successfully function in that context. It indicates that the agency of migrants is constructed in negotiating self through self-evaluations, while interacting with the social cultural contexts that influence the sense of self.

Qualitative approach as an effective tool for migrant research

This research drew on qualitative methods. The usage and usefulness can be summarised in several ways. Firstly, it was useful to look at how participants draw on discursive resources available in their cultural and social contexts. It was particularly suitable for migrant research as migrants encounter various discourses around ethnicity, gender and identities in new cultural and social contexts. I also borrowed from the ideas of narrative analysis, that is seeing participants as a story teller constructing their own stories rather than recalling facts, which guided me to interpret their talk as a way of making sense of socially-constructed realities. However, rather than following the time-sequence of their stories as commonly suggested in narrative analysis, my analysis focused on interpreting various ways of constructing their

identities, which worked better to explore the processes of hybridising practice. Secondly, two qualitative methods, in-depth interviews and material items were used and found to be effective. Participants were each interviewed twice providing time between these two interviews for the participants and the researcher to have opportunities to reflect on the first interviews. This process helped the researcher and participants have in-depth conversations in the second interview. Also the use of visual items – asking participants to bring photos and personal items to the interviews – encouraged participants to become more active rather than passive in their interactions with the researcher. Finally, reflexivity has been an important analytical tool. I found that the interview data was influenced by the interactions between participants and the researcher. Participants actively constructed and re-constructed their identities as the researched, a young woman, a full time mother, a Korean woman, a modernised Western woman, and so on, while interacting with me. My professional as well as personal backgrounds regarding age, gender, social status and ethnicity mattered, in the sense that I needed to be aware of how those multiple positions of the researcher influenced the data production. This was evident in that the research interaction between participants and the researcher was a process of co-constructing meaningful data and therefore making this process visible and transparent became, not only an ethical issue (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004), but also a useful strategy to understand the identity negotiation process of the participants.

Limitations of the study

This study is based on 12 Korean women living in Auckland from middle-class families. This study has implications for migrant women who have reasonable material resources to afford more than basic levels of lifestyle, such as tertiary education for their children. In addition the participants all lived in Auckland, where a large Korean ethnic community is established and that has the most culturally diverse population in the country. Thus, this study shows the effect of material and cultural resources in these migrants' negotiations of identity. I would argue Korean migrant women from lower social economical status or living in the countryside or smaller communities may have different resources and experiences from the women in this study.

Considerations for further studies

This study also poses interesting questions around hybridity that could be extended by further studies. It is certain that there are increasingly more international contacts, networks and organisations where people from different cultures interact with each other (Hermans, 2001). Interpersonal contacts across different cultures could change previously held and expressed meanings and practices, which attracts many researchers into this area of study. Many international people have greater resources to voice themselves through various mediums -

including internet, ethnic networking, pop culture and so on. On the other hand, these cultural contacts and different practices bring uncertainty and raise a need to resolve the ambiguity, which in turn brings further changes and negotiations. Therefore, hybridity has always existed alongside cultural contact but has never been the same in its forms and meanings; it is bound with other issues at play. Studying how various forms of hybrid identity are negotiated through interactions at school, family, internet pages and international organizations as well as in the clinical setting could inform us more about the functions and process of these negotiations. This will provide us with opportunities to reflect on how we do, learn, and change through these interactions.

This study has implications in terms of how we can understand what it means for Korean women to live with migration-related challenges and how they become strategic and flexible in this context. A vast number of mental health studies have informed us about the difficulties that Asian migrant women encounter in Western society. This study offers another level of insight about what those difficulties mean to these women and what they do with these experiences. Rather than being victims of acculturations stress, this study shows they are reflective and become folk anthropologists drawing on various cultural essentialised ideas to negotiate their identities. This negotiation can be understood as a process related to dealing with holding challenging positions as ethnic minority women, as well as a strategy for creating a positive and agentic self. These understandings have much to offer mental health professionals working with Asian migrant women in New Zealand that I will discuss next.

Chapter 5. Implications for cultural competence in New Zealand

In this section, I will discuss the final aim of my study; exploring the clinical implications for mental health professionals working with Asian migrants in New Zealand. ‘Cultural competency’ was recently given as a major priority as part of psychologists’ core competencies in New Zealand (New Zealand Psychologists Board, May 2006, p. 58). With the increase in numbers of migrants from Asian countries to New Zealand, cultural competence is expected to address issues facing mental health practitioners and trainers working with Asian clients (Nayar, Tse, & Sobrun-Maharaj, 2009). With this awareness, the question of how to work with people from different cultural backgrounds has been increasingly discussed in recent New Zealand literature (Aye & Guerin, 2001; Cleland, 2004; Williams & Cleland, 2007; Williams, Foo, & Haarhoff, 2006). Common issues that are emphasised in clinical guidelines include the need for practitioners to be aware of Asian traditional values and the different understandings about mental health in Asian culture. Often the recommendations made include practitioners being aware of their own cultural bias, their need to and seek advice from cultural advisors. Similar guidelines are seen in the section of Cultural Competencies in the Core Competencies for the Practice of Psychology in New Zealand (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006).

The main features in those guidelines are adopted in the mental health services and training courses in New Zealand, and are often the basis for what trainee psychologists learn about culturally competent practice. While these guidelines provide clinicians and trainees with valuable practical protocols to refer to, now having done my research with Korean migrant women in New Zealand, I am motivated to add more recommendations related to my research findings. The addition that I want to make stems from how clinicians could understand the interactive and changing process of self-negotiations for migrants in New Zealand context. My research findings suggest that culture is not static but negotiated by migrants and that migrants constantly re-formulate hybrid identities in relation to issues of power, gender and ethnicity while they interact with people. I will discuss how these findings can contribute to furthering understanding of culturally competent practice in New Zealand.

Critical perspectives on culture and cultural competency

The concept of cultural competence is derived from Sue’s model (Sue, Bingham, Porche-Burke, & Vasquez, 1999) which states that the use of such a model would help to “produce psychologists with the awareness, knowledge, and skills to function in a pluralistic society” (p. 1068). Similarly, cultural competence is defined in the Core Competencies for the Practice of

Psychology in New Zealand as “having the awareness, knowledge and skills necessary to perform a myriad of psychological tasks that recognise the diverse worldviews and practices of oneself and of clients from different ethnic/ cultural backgrounds” (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006, p. 15). These definitions provide us with a systemic view for understanding how cultural competency is theorised and are divided into different dimensions (e.g., awareness, knowledge, skills) that constitute the model. Also, these core competencies provide a comprehensive list of the knowledge and skills that practitioners need to be aware of. Despite this, a critical question is whether the current emphasis on ‘cultural competency’ is sufficiently comprehensive in preparing us to deal with the complexity of cultural negotiations that the practitioner and the clients encounter.

One of the reasons I raise this question is whether current considerations of ‘cultural competence’ are based on the concept of culture as knowable and learnt, rather than as dynamic and to be explored in terms of the everyday negotiations in people’s social interactions. So my question concerns how culturally competent practice is done, rather than being merely about the definition of ‘cultural competency’. The problem is that if we treat culture as something that reduces it down to a set of information about ethnicity, we are more likely to perpetuate ideas of an ‘authentic, essentialist, deeply spiritual other’ (Smith, 1999, p. 72), maintaining stereotypes about a person based on their race or nationality. A similar concern is suggested by Browne and Varcoe (2006), in Canada, who argue that although health practitioners working with aboriginal people are encouraged to acknowledge peoples’ diet preferences, communication styles, family dynamics, culturally-based responses to pain, childbirth, childrearing and so on, the question remains as to “how we engage with ideas about culture without reducing people to stereotypes and without invoking damaging assumptions about culture and differences.” If cultural competency is based on the notion that culture ‘exists in a timeless and unchangeable vacuum outside of patriarchy, racism, imperialism’ (Razack, 1998, p. 58), the answer would be far from satisfying.

Smith (1999) has cautioned that once we are caught by such a rigid understanding of culture, the inevitable result is “silencing and making invisible the presence of other groups within the aboriginal society” (p. 72). These criticisms can also be applied to individuals from other ethnic minority groups than Canadian aboriginal people. For example, a Korean migrant woman’s identity negotiations would be obscured if stereotyped images of passive and compliant ‘Asian women’ are too rigidly held by the practitioner or the intervening organisation; and a young second generation person’s hybrid identity construction processes may be silenced if ethnic ‘authenticity’ is too powerful a discourse that allows only limited options for understanding them as either being an ‘authentic’ Korean, or being the same as other white peers.

In this sense cultural competency that focuses on learning ‘the authentic truth’ about a group of people is based on ‘culture’, that is, fixed information about a certain group of people. This is more likely to be defined as the culture with a big ‘C’ that refers the objective aspects of culture such as literature, language, music and so on (Bennett, 1988). In contrast, I would like to draw on the notion of culture with small ‘c’ that refers rather subjective experiences shared by groups of people and focuses on the people’s interactions and intercultural experiences (Bennett, 1988). The point of using culture with small ‘c’ is to understand culture as situated in people’s everyday lives. In this everyday process, people negotiate and construct various small cultures and multiple cultural identities. As this study suggests, migrants draw on many cultural values from a variety of sources to justify and explain their actions. Thus, culture is not fixed but seen as shifting, moving, and fusing in migrants’ narratives. By exploring culture using this view we can access people’s accounts of “the possibilities and significance of culture as negotiated identity and social reality” (Hoshmand, 2006, p. 7). This implies a need to turn our focus to the processes rooted in culture. Hermans (2001), in trying to avoid the limited descriptive understanding of cultural differences, similarly poses the idea of a dialogical self engaging with cultural contact zones. These attempts resonate with Vygotsky’s (1978) notion of the higher psychological functions of human development that are culturally and socially mediated, rather than being solely biologically grounded. He argues that in order to understand the higher psychological functions rooted in society and culture, processes that determine subjective reality should be the main focus of analysis rather than focusing on or identifying fixed and stable external impositions. These thinkers guide us toward looking at culture as a performative process, enabling us to work more meaningfully with people that apparently actively utilise multiple cultures.

Critical use of cultural advisor/ supervision

Guidelines for culturally competent practice include developing cultural knowledge, such as understanding the different cultural values brought by the clients (New Zealand Psychologists Board, 2006). In relation to learning about cultural factors, seeking cultural advice or supervision is often recommended for clinicians that encounter clients with a different culture than the clinician’s own. While it might provide the practitioner with valuable information about the ethnic culture of the people they work with, I suggest that it should go further than just becoming informed of specific cultural differences. In this process of gaining knowledge about the different culture, the caution is to avoid the view that the client has inherent qualities that can be discovered and learnt by the clinicians. It is observed that in my research participants were not to be defined through their ethnic cultural characteristics. Rather the multiple cultures available to them became resources to negotiate and construct their identities. Through interacting with the researcher and talking about others, they actively negotiate their identities in

relation to the researcher and the social and political context they live in. Therefore understanding what they do and how they relate to the practitioner is critical. Without engaging with this negotiation process, seeking cultural advice may result in a limited understanding that reinforces stereotypes about certain cultural groups (Vertovec, 1999). The emphasis needs to be drawn onto the active interactions between the practitioner and the client rather than focusing on cultural differences between them.

Having reflective discussion about interactions between the practitioner and the client needs to be seen as part of culturally competent practice. As Amhed and colleagues (2009) assert, culture is socially constructed by the person who is talking about it, and there are ambiguities and flexibilities at play where people interpret cultural practice. The clinical practitioner's role is to understand these ambiguities and to understand what the person does with the culture (Ahmed, Reavey & Majumdar, 2009). Also with the ambiguities acknowledged, there is a possibility to change and re-write meanings towards rather a favourable way. The construction of meanings would occur while the client interacts and talks with the practitioner. This means that, while we need to understand the different set of cultural values and behaviour of the client, the meanings of the values and behaviour represented by the client are negotiated and constructed while interacting with the practitioner. This is different from only learning about cultural values; it suggests understanding what they mean to the client and to the framing of therapeutic relationships. I see this understanding useful for cultural supervision and the provision of cultural advice, in that supervisors or advisors can be the third party for discussions about how the culture works in making sense of the presenting issues as well as forming therapeutic relationships between practitioners and clients.

While working with people who derive their behaviour from different value systems, therapists may need to re-evaluate the personal values that shape their clinical practice. In therapeutic interaction, various issues are taken into consideration when looking at negotiations of selves and these include the gender and ethnic background of the therapist as well as the therapist as a person (Riggs, 2004). Practitioner and client interact at various levels; not simply as the objective professional and the 'ill' patient. Also being aware of the multiplicity of the self, and how relationships are changed is a useful tool in understanding the interactions between the practitioner and the client. It is not only clients but also psychologists who negotiate the therapeutic relationship, using the culture of therapy. It also can be said that questioning one's own personal values could position the clinician in a vulnerable position (Sonn, 2004). In this sense, supervision is a good place to address those issues and to further develop competency. Cultural supervision, then, is a place to exchange clinical insights into understanding the client's unique way of presenting cultures, what the clients do within cultures and how the therapist

reacts to this or initiates certain forms of relationship during the therapy interaction.

Therapy as a cultural enterprise

The reflective way of working with clients from different cultures underlies the sense that psychotherapy itself is a cultural enterprise (Hoshmand, 2006; White, 1997; Zielke & Straub, 2008). This is because what is understood as normal, common, and ordinary versus abnormal, uncommon, and disordered is established in culture and society (Hoshmand, 2006). White (1997) described the culture of psychotherapy and professional disciplines in the following way:

Upon entering the culture of psychotherapy, in various contexts and as part of training and supervision, it is not at all uncommon for a person to be subject to systems of understanding that are pathologising of the significant relationships in their lives...entry into the culture of psychotherapy is associated with an induction, in which the more local or folk knowledges that have been generated in a person's history are marginalized, often disqualified, and displaced by the formal and expert knowledge of the professional disciplines, and by a shift in what counts in regard to the significant memberships of a person's life. In this process the associations of the monoculture of psychotherapy are substituted for the diverse, historical and local associations of people's lives (pp. 12-13)

Here, White asserts that the monoculture of psychotherapy highlights its exclusive evaluation systems that exist in professional groups. Also, he states that certain patterns of practice result in pathologising and disqualifying other's diverse life stories. Browne and Varcoe's (2006) paper points out there are myths of 'interesting, exotic others' 'dancing and singing' constructed in health practitioners' accounts when working with aboriginal people. Browne and Varcoe explain that these accounts can be understood as an exhibition of real respect for the aboriginal culture, but that they also reinforce stereotypes of ethnic culture. The point made is that practitioners need to be aware of the functions of the constructions of others, which could inadvertently reproduce potentially harmful discourses (Browne & Varcoe, 2006). Another way of looking at this construction of others is that while the ethnic minority people are viewed as 'more spiritual', more 'interesting' or more 'cultural', the European majority people are also objectified as having 'no culture' (McConaghy, 2000, p. 42) and as the norm. This is an example of the dominant culture and discourses being so normalised that people within mainstream culture have difficulty seeing themselves as embedded in the culture (McConaghy, 2000). Also, by not seeing the self as living in a culturally mediated reality, practitioners within the dominant culture may run the risk of not sufficiently exploring various ways of understandings, coming to believe that what they know and are trained to do is generally applicable to diverse people (Browne & Varcoe, 2006).

Also, there is not only power over others or over clients but also in relation to being part of a professional group, because eligibility requirements for membership imposes serious restrictions on professional selves (White, 1997). Indeed, Riggs (2004) questions whose culture makes up the monoculturalism of psychology, arguing that “although ‘white culture’ is indeed a complex set of practices..., ‘whiteness’ as a form of institutionalized power is reliant upon the (mis)-representation of white culture as a homogenous entity” (2004, p. 120). Thus, even though the white dominant culture has been the basis for the development of psychotherapy, this ‘whiteness’ is not a manifold of the complex and diverse set of practices within the white ethnic groups; it includes the reductive notion of culture as separating certain groups of people from the other (Riggs, 2004).

The idea in psychology of ‘objective’ practitioners treating ‘ill’ patients, therefore becomes subject to necessary re-formulation. In the western model of psychotherapy, psychologists are presumed to be able to ‘help’ others and to use various tools to diagnose and treat ‘disorders’ (Parker, 1999; Riggs, 2004). This idea is based on the western notion of an autonomous self, in that people should take responsibility for their lives and be able to control and comprehend their inner processes (Zielke & Straub, 2008). Following from this, it is understandable that the myth of the ‘superpsychologist’ (Deeley, Donoghue, & Taylor, 1988) is sustained even though it is an unrealistic expectation for trainees and psychologists. Similarly, Riggs (2004) notes that the idea of being a super-practitioner does not match with his practical experience when working with cultural issues. He asserts that his clinical experiences require more complicated positions than being an ‘objective’ practitioner. Mcleod (2006) also described his experiences as a member of ‘a globalised, international discipline-based “club”’ becoming ‘distanced from the everyday culture’(p. 59) of both himself and the client. He reflected that his culturally informed practice was only possible through critical reflexivity, by which practitioners examine the ways in which their own cultural identity shapes their practice. For example, he noted that power relations between the practitioner and client have been identified as sustaining psychopathology and normality as universal to anyone and any situation. This led him to develop reflective practice on the power issues in therapeutic relationship (Mcleod, 2006). Regarding the issues of power in professional practice, there is an helpful insight suggested by Christopher Sonn (2004). He illustrates his own positions in multiple power relationships while working with Australian aboriginal people as a black psychologist. While he was not a white psychologist, he did not have the same history of colonisation as the aboriginal people he worked with; while he could empathise with their experiences as coloured people, he was also part of an institution that held power and privilege over marginalised people. These reflections on the culture of psychotherapy and on power issues have meaningful implications for culturally competent practice. Recognising the importance of being continuously reflective on the interactions during practice,

Rudkin (2000) notes that as there is no secret truth written inside the envelope when psychologists go out to the field. Cultural competency is about developing reflective practice to consider how value systems and power relations are negotiated during therapy.

Reflexivity for culturally competent practice

The discussion so far suggests that cultural competence comes through deconstructing culture and psychotherapy. In order to do this, the therapist needs to constantly question what they know, what they do not know and what their values, experiences and biases are that influence therapy interactions. Harper (2004) explains that reflective practitioners reflect on their own work from a number of perspectives, such as thinking about the influence of personal experiences on interpreting their work. This is about understanding clients' 'reality' as different from the practitioner's, and also importantly being able to discuss it. In this way, critical and reflective practitioners could move beyond a static and narrow understanding of cultural competence through engaging with a more reflexive and critical stance (Chantler, 2005; Sonn, 2004). This is not to suggest that practitioners should reject the benefits of knowing about specific cultural knowledge, it is rather an attempt to re-interpret cultural competency through a meta-theoretical approach (Hoshmand, 1996). Critical and reflexive cultural competency is a meta-theoretical approach because it is not only about knowing the relationship between cultural factors and people's behaviour, it is also about being aware of how the discourses of Western therapy enter into the evaluation of cultural narratives (Hoshmand, 1996).

Through this study, I have come so far to the point that culture is not static, and culturally competent practice does not need to be framed by a static notion of culture and of being an 'objective' clinician. Rather, cultural competency requires that practitioners deconstruct what we know about different cultures, including the culture of psychotherapy, so that "a willingness to feel uncomfortable, lost and uncertain, vulnerable, and to feel powerless" is a part of the competency (Sonn, 2004). The process of deconstructing and reconstructing cultural competency also requires a perceptual shift - from traditional cultural dichotomy approaches to understanding culture as activities, reflective actions, and enacted performances. By making this shift, we can open up different ways of knowing, thinking, and doing culturally competent practice as health practitioners.

This study stemmed from my own discomfort with the narrow definition of culture and with a view of migrant women as victims of acculturation stress. The study findings suggest that culture is flexible and negotiated. Cultural values become resources to negotiate their identities in politically and historically meaningful contexts. The acculturation process can be painful and cause psychological conflicts; however it does not mean that the process results in a necessary

‘vulnerability’. It is not helpful to pathologise migrants although they might need appropriate support at times. The appropriate support can be wisely made when practitioners can draw on the resilience and strength that the migrant clients create in dealing with conflicts and difficulties. It may be useful to see migrancy as a complex and active process of negotiating their identities and creating possibilities rather than a pathologising process. Understanding the interactive process of adjustment and personal growth offers valuable insights into the culturally competent practice. Culturally competent practice would be built on through being actively reflective on the practitioners’ interactions with the client, remaining aware of the practitioners’ values and social positions influencing their clinical practice.

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Appendix 1

[Print on Massey University departmental letterhead]

[Logo, name and address of Department/School/Institute/Section]

Participant Information sheet

“What makes us strong?”

Korean migrant mothers and daughters’

Adjustment experience in New Zealand

About the researcher

My name is Hyunok Jeon. I am the researcher of this project which I am doing as part of my Doctoral thesis supervised by Professor Kerry Chamberlain and Doctor Kerry Gibson. As a researcher, I am interested in individual changes as well as family changes that immigrants experience after migration. Through my academic activity, I would like to contribute to an understanding of Korean migrants and promoting their well-being in New Zealand.

The research

Koreans are the third largest group among Asian immigrants in New Zealand and on the North Shore, Korean is the second language spoken. However, what Korean immigrant families experience, their difficulties and strengths, are not well researched. Even for yourself, you may find that there are things different from what you expected before migration. There might be good things as well as things that are challenging due to cultural differences and environmental changes. Most migrants face these issues in their everyday lives and find their own ways to manage. Mothers and adolescent girls may have unique issues to deal with as well. The purpose of this study is to listen to your experience of finding your own ways to live as a Korean mother or as an adolescent girl in New Zealand and, furthermore, to understand strengths for you as a migrant. I hope my research findings will contribute to understanding Korean immigrant’s family lives and to helping to deliver more appropriate services for them.

How you become part of this study

You are eligible to participate in this study if (1) you are a Korean mother with adolescent children or (2) you are a Korean female adolescent living with your parent(s). Also you need to have lived in New Zealand more than three years and not more than ten years.

If you wish to take part in the research, this is what will be involved in your participation:

I will meet with you at least twice.

In the first meeting, I will explain about this study and will ask you about differences in your life between in Korea and in New Zealand. I will ask you to show any objects you brought from Korea so that we could talk about the meanings in those. At the end of the interview, I will ask if I can take photographs of the objects that you showed me.

Then as a preparation of the second meeting, I will ask you take photos that will show your life and your family’s life in New Zealand. Then, we will make time to meet you in two weeks.

In the second meeting, we will talk about the photos that you have taken. I will encourage you to tell me why you took the photos, and what are the meanings of them. I also like you to tell me

about your family life after migration in terms of how you have been dealing with new challenges in New Zealand.

For each photograph, you will have chances to delete any if you do not want me to use them in the research publication or to mark the part that you do not want exposed such as faces or names. Also, any identifying features of other people in the photos, other than yours, will be automatically disguised by the researcher when used in the publication unless they want to show their faces in the publication.

I expect each interview will take about 1 hour, and you may need to spend some time to take photos before we meet again.

All the conversation during the interview will be recorded and transcribed by the researcher for analysis.

You will be offered a supermarket voucher worth 30 dollars for your contribution to this study.

As the interview may involve talk about life difficulties you have been experiencing or experienced in the past, you may feel some degree of discomfort. If so, you can withdraw from the interview any time and refuse to talk about any topics you feel uncomfortable with. Also, you can raise any concerns during interview and I will give you contact details of appropriate services that might be helpful.

Your Rights

- Your identifying information will be kept confidential. The data will be stored in a secure place and the researcher and the supervisors are the only people who will have access to them. No names will be used to identify the tapes or photographs or in any reports. Although some brief excerpts from the transcripts may be used in the research, they will not have any identifiable personal information.
- You can ask any questions about the study at any time during participation
- You can decline to answer any particular question.
- You can ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during our discussion.
- You will have chances to review and give permission for those photos that you agree can be used in publications.
- You will have chances to mark on parts of the photos to be disguised when used in publication.
- You can completely withdraw from the study (within 2 weeks of the interview) and I will destroy all the data from you.
- The researcher will send a summary of the project findings within 6 months of publication.

If you have any questions or concerns, then please contact me or you can also contact my supervisor.

Hyunok Jeon
E-mail: shine1338@gmail.com
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Supervisors

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This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application 08/018. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Dianne Gardner, Acting Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x 41225 email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz..

[Print on Massey University departmental letterhead]
[Logo, name and address of Department/School/Institute/Section]

연구 안내지

“이민 생활, 우리를 힘들게 그러나 강하게 만드는 것은 무엇인가?”

엄마와 심대 딸의 뉴질랜드 적응하기

연구자 소개

저는 메시 대학에서 임상 심리학 박사과정(Doctorate of Clinical Psychology)을 공부 중인 전 현직입니다. 저는 고향을 떠난 이민자들이 겪는 개인적, 인간적인 성장 및 변화, 또 새 사회에서 이민 가정이 겪는 적응의 과정이 인생을 이해하는데 있어 많은 배움을 준다고 믿고 있습니다. 이 같은 변화와 성장을 연구함으로써 이민자 스스로에게도 도움이 되고 한국에서 이민을 원하는 이들 혹은 뉴질랜드 현지 사회의 정책 입안 및 관련 서비스에 도움이 되는 연구 활동을 하고자 합니다.

연구 소개

현재 한국인은 뉴질랜드 아시아 이민자들 중에 세번째로 그 인구가 많고 노스쇼어 시티에서는 영어 다음으로 많이 쓰이는 언어가 한국어라고 합니다. 그러나 이런 인구 비율에 비해 실제 한국인 이민자들의 삶에 대해서는 현지 사회에 잘 알려져 있지 않습니다. 이민 가정이 겪는 경험이 현지 가정들과 다르다는 것은 알려져 있으나 대개 부정적인 면만 부각되거나 현실감이 떨어지는 경우가 많습니다. 실제 본인 스스로도 이민 오시기 전과 이민 후의 생활이 많이 다르다는 것을 느끼시리라 봅니다. 연구가 실질적인 경험담과 매일 실제로 부딪히는 어려움과 보람, 즐거움 등을 종합적으로 조망함으로써 이민 생활의 건강함과 어려움을 동시에 전달할 수 있기를 바랍니다. 특히 한국 가정의 여성, 어머니들과 심대 딸들이 겪는 문제를 부각함으로써 그들의 어려움과 동시에 강점을 이해하는데 도움이 되기를 바랍니다. 본 연구는 케리 챔벌린 교수와 케리 김슨 박사의 지도 아래 진행되고 있습니다.

연구에 다음과 같이 참가하시게 됩니다.

제가 인터뷰하고자 하는 분들은 (1) 청소년 자녀를 둔 한국인 어머니와 (2) 한 부모 혹은 양쪽 부모님과 거주하는 청소년 여학생 (15-20세)입니다. 뉴질랜드에 오신지 적어도 3년 이상 10년 이하이신 분들을 만나고 있습니다.

연구에 참가하시게 되면 다음과 같은 과정이 진행됩니다.

적어도 두 번의 만남이 진행됩니다.

처음 만남에서는 제가 어떤 연구를 하려고 하는지 소개하게 되는데 한국에서의 생활과 현재를 한번 비교해보고 한국에서 가지고 오고 싶었던 것, 그렇지 않은 것들을 생각해보심사 하고 부탁드립니다. 혹시 여러분이 한국에서 가지고 온 물건이나 사진 중에 여러분의 이야기가 담겨 있는 것들이 있다면 직접 보며 대화를 할 수 있으면 합니다. 마치기 전에 제가 물건들 중 여러분이 승락하신 것들에 한해 사진을 찍어올까 하는데 그 때 자세히 논의하겠습니다.

다음 과정은 두 번째 인터뷰 전에 여러분의 뉴질랜드에서의 생활, 가정에서의 일상적인 삶의 단

편을 보여주는 사진을 형식에 관계없이 자유롭게 편안하게 찍어주시는 것이 그 것입니다. 사진 장수에는 제한이 없습니다. 이 두번째 인터뷰는 약 2주 이내에 편하신 시간이면 됩니다.

두번째 만남에서는 준비하신 사진들을 두고 함께 이야기하는 것입니다. 그 사진을 찍은 이유, 의미 등을 이야기하는 것입니다. 여러분의 이민 생활과 기억 남는 사건들, 나름의 삶의 방식이 담겨있는 대화가 오가기를 바랍니다.

일단 사진이 개인적인 것이라서 사생활 보호에 각별히 신경을 쓰고자 합니다. 설사 같이 본 사진이라고 하더라도 연구 출판에 이용되지 않기를 원하시는 것들은 그 자리에서 삭제하겠습니다. 또 지우고 싶은 부분이 있으시면 사진에 표시를 해주시면 제가 그렇게 처리하도록 하겠습니다. 얼굴이나 이름 등이 사진에 있는 경우 판단을 해주시면 됩니다. 본인 외에 다른 사람들의 얼굴이나 이름이 들어간 사진의 경우는 제가 알아서 그 부분을 지울 것입니다만 당사자가 얼굴이 보여지길 원한다면 그냥 두겠습니다.

인터뷰는 각 약 한 시간 정도, 길게는 2시간 까지도 걸릴 수 있으며 사이에 직접 사진을 찍으시는 시간이 필요합니다.

인터뷰에서 오간 대화는 녹음을 하게 되며 연구를 위한 녹체는 제가 직접합니다.

연구에 참가해주신 것을 고맙게 생각하며 30불 상당의 쇼핑몰 상품권을 드립니다.

경험담을 말씀하시다 보면 힘든 기억 등이 떠오를 수 있고 불편하신 주제가 나올 수 도 있으니 언제든지 그런 경우는 인터뷰나 해당 주제에 대한 대화를 그만두기를 요청하실 수 있습니다. 혹시 어떤 문제나 걱정이 나서는다면 제가 연락하실 만한 기관 및 개인의 연락처를 드릴 테니 도움이 되길 바랍니다.

여러분의 권리

- 여러분의 이름과 주소를 포함한 개인 정보는 절대로 알려지지 않습니다. 모든 정보는 안전한 장소에 보관됩니다. 이름이나 인터뷰 혹은 사진을 통해 알려질 수 있는 모든 개인정보는 수정되어 개인 정보가 남지 않는 과정을 받게 됩니다. 간단한 인용문이 연구 논문에 쓰일 수 있으나 개인 이름이나 정보는 누설되지 않습니다.
- 언제든지 궁금한 점은 질문을 해주시기 바랍니다.
- 인터뷰 도중 말씀하시기 불편한 경우가 생기면 답하기를 거부하거나
- 인터뷰 중 녹음기를 꺼주실 것을 요구하실 수 있습니다.
- 논문 출판에 사용될 사진을 보시고 연구 출판에 사용해도 되는 사진을 결정하게 됩니다.
- 출판 가능 사진 중 삭제하고 싶으신 부분을 표시해주시면 적당한 처리를 거치게 됩니다.
- 인터뷰가 끝난 후 2주 내에 원하시면 참가를 무효로 하실 수 있습니다. 모든 자료는 파기 됩니다.
- 연구가 끝난 후 6개월 이내로 요약본을 보내드리겠습니다.

만약 본 연구에 대한 궁금하시거나 염려되시는 점이 있으시면 저나 저의 지도 교수에게 연락주시면 감사하겠습니다.

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Clinical Psychologist

Director of Centre for Psychology, Massey University

E-mail: k.l.gibson@massey.ac.nz

Phone: 09-414-0800(ext 41241)

*이 연구는 메시 대학 윤리 위원회의 심의를 통과한 연구입니다 (Northern, Application 08/018).
나서는 문제가 있으시면 Dr Dianne Gardner, 메시대학 윤리 위원회 임시 위원장에게 문의 주시
기 바랍니다. 09 414 0800 x9070, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz.*

Appendix 2

[Print on Massey University departmental letterhead]

[Logo, name and address of Department/School/Institute/Section]

Korean migrant mothers and daughters’ adjustment experience in New Zealand

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Part 1 (Before commencing the research)

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name – printed

Part 2 (After discussing the photographs)

I have had the opportunity to review the photographs used in the interview and to delete any that I do not want to be used in any way in the study. I agree that all other photographs remaining can be used in the publications from the research. I also have had opportunities to review the copies of photos and to mark the parts of photos that should be disguised to protect my personal information. Only the following photos can be used in any publications that are produced from the research:

Photo ID	Descriptor	To be disguised

Signature:

Date:

[Print on Massey University departmental letterhead]

[Logo, name and address of Department/School/Institute/Section]

한국 어머니와 청소년들의 이민 적응 및 가족관계에 대한 연구

연구 참가 허가서(참가자 개인용)

1. 연구 참가 전

본인은 본 연구에 대한 내용을 상세히 안내한 연구 안내지를 읽었습니다. 본인의 궁금한 점들에 대해 만족스런 답을 얻었으며 앞으로도 언제든지 궁금한 점을 질문할 수 있다는 것을 알고 있습니다.

연구 안내지에 명시된 내용에 따라 본 연구에 참가할 것을 동의합니다.

사인 :

날짜:

이름:

2. 사진에 대해 토론한 후

인터뷰에 사용할 사진들을 검토했으며 그 중 연구에 사용되길 원치 않는 사진들은 삭제했습니다. 나머지 사진들은 연구 출판에 사용할 것을 허가합니다. 또 출판 가능한 사진들 중 개인정보 보호 차원에서 다시 한번 사진을 훑어보고 수정이 요구되는 부분을 표시했습니다. 따라서 이 논문 관련 출판에 사용될 사진들은 아래 것들만 허가하겠습니다.

사진 번호	사진 내용	수정이 필요한 사진

사인:

날짜:

Appendix 3

[Print on Massey University departmental letterhead]

[Logo, name and address of Department/School/Institute/Section]

Korean migrant mothers and daughters’ adjustment experience in New Zealand

CONSENT FORM – Photographs of objects

I have had the opportunity to review the photographs of the objects that were used in the interview and to delete any that I do not want to be used in any way in the study. I agree that all other photographs remaining can be used in the publications from the research. I also have had opportunities to review the copies of photos and to mark the parts of photos that should be disguised to protect my personal information. Only the following photos can be used in any publications that are produced from the research:

Photo ID	Descriptor	To be disguised

Signature:

Date:

Full Name:

[Print on Massey University departmental letterhead]

[Logo, name and address of Department/School/Institute/Section]

한국 어머니와 청소년들의 이민 적응 및 가족관계에 대한 연구

개인 물건을 찍은 사진에 대한 사용 허가서

지난 인터뷰 당시 논의했던 물건들을 찍은 사진들을 검토했으며 그 중 연구에 사용되길 원치 않는 사진들은 삭제했습니다. 나머지 사진들은 연구 출판에 사용할 것을 허가합니다. 또 출판 가능한 사진들 중 개인정보 보호 차원에서 다시 한번 사진을 훑어보고 수정이 요구되는 부분을 표시했습니다. 따라서 이 논문 관련 출판에 사용될 사진들은 아래 것들만 허가하겠습니다.

사진 번호	사진 내용	수정이 필요한 사진

사인:

날짜:

이름

Appendix 4

[Print on Massey University departmental letterhead]

[Logo, name and address of Department/School/Institute/Section]

**Korean migrant mothers and daughters’
adjustment experience in New Zealand****CONSENT FORM for Non- participant**

I have had the opportunity to review the photographs that contain identifying information of myself. Only the following photos can be used in any publications that are produced from the research:

Photo ID	Descriptor

Signature:

Date:

Full Name – printed

[Print on Massey University departmental letterhead]

[Logo, name and address of Department/School/Institute/Section]

한국 어머니와 청소년들의 이민 적응 및 가족관계에 대한 연구

사진 사용 허가서 (연구 참가자가 아닌 경우)

본인은 본인의 개인 정보가 들어있는 아래 사진을 살펴볼 기회를 가졌으며 이 연구 관련 출판에 사용하는 것을 허가합니다.

사진 번호	사진 내용

사인:

날짜:

이름:

Appendix 5

[Print on Massey University departmental letterhead]

[Logo, name and address of Department/School/Institute/Section]

Korean migrant mothers and daughters’ adjustment experience in New Zealand

CONSENT FORM-for parents/care giver

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

As his/her care giver, I agree that the person, _____ participates in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name – printed:

[Print on Massey University departmental letterhead]

[Logo, name and address of Department/School/Institute/Section]

한국 어머니와 청소년들의 이민 적응 및 가족관계에 대한 연구

연구 참가 허가서- 참가자 부모 및 보호자

본인은 본 연구에 대한 내용을 상세히 안내한 연구 안내지를 읽었습니다. 본인의 궁금한 점들에 대해 만족스런 답을 얻었습니다.

본인은 보호자 자격으로 _____가 연구 안내지에 명시된 내용에 따라 본 연구에 참가할 것에 동의합니다.

사인 :

날짜:

이름:

Appendix 6

Interview topics

First Interview

1. Expectations on your migration
2. Differences between your experiences before and after migration
3. Any personal changes after migration (job, study, family relationships, feelings, etc.)
4. Experiences of dealing with challenges after migration

Second Interview

1. Any reflections from the first interview
2. Reasons to bring the items from Korea
3. Reasons to take the particular photos
4. Current plans or thoughts/ reflections on the interviews

Appendix 7

한국어 서비스 건강 관련 기관 (오클랜드)

Health Service organizations with Korean practitioners (AK)

어린이, 청소년, 가족을 보호하기 위한 정부 기관 Child, Youth and Family Service 한국인 사회복지사 직통전화번호 09-917-5342 09- 917-5355 0508 family (0508326459)	Child, Youth and Family Service Direct phone numbers for Korean social workers: 09-917-5342 09- 917-5355 0508 family (0508326459)
알코올 및 마약, 기타 중독 관련 상담 (무료) Community Alcohol and Drug Services (CADS) 09- 845 -1819	Community Alcohol and Drug Services (CADS) (Asian counselling service, Korean psychotherapist) 09- 845 -1819
문제성 도박 상담 (무료, 도박자 및 가족, 친구 상담 가능) Problem Gambling Foundation of NZ 0800-862-342	Problem Gambling Foundation of NZ (Asian counseling service, Korean counselors) 0800-862-342
각종 민원 상담 (무료) CAB Multi-Lingual Information Service (MLIS) (한국어 서비스 가능) 09- 625- 3090 (ext. 704)	Multi-Lingual Information Service (MLIS) NZ Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux (Korean language service) 09- 625 3090 (ext. 704)
사고 치료 시 정부 보조 신청 Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) (아시아인 커뮤니티 코오디네이터, 한국 문화 자문 직원이 있으므로 필요한 경우 상담 요청) 데이비드 리, 엘리자베스 리 09 -915 1758 0800-101-996	Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) (Asian Community Co-ordinator, Korean cultural advisor in Auckland) David Lee, Elizabeth Lee 09 915 1758 0800-101-996
임종을 앞둔 이나 임종 전 혹은 후 가족들을 위한 상담 및 적절한 서비스 조언 South Auckland Hospice (한국인 상담사 근무) 김혜은 09-268-8260	South Auckland Hospice (Grief counselling) Hyeeun Kim 09-268-8260
와이타마타 병원 아시아인 서비스 Waitamata Health District Board -아시아인 팀 운영(신체적/정신적 질환 관련) -한국어 통역 및 번역 서비스 가능 (의사 만날 때, 전화 문의때, 약속 잡을때, 병원 관련 문건의 번역이 필요할 때) -외출이 힘든 환자 (신체적 정신적 질환)를 위한 가정 방문 서비스도 가능 (한국인 사회복지사 근무) -가정의를 통하거나 직접 전화로 문의해서 위 서비스를 요청하시면 됩니다. 09- 486- 8314 or 09- 488- 4663 http://www.asianhealthservices.co.nz/ -아시아인 정신건강 팀 09-486-8920	Waitamata Health District Board -Asian mental health team and Asian health team with Korean social workers and interpreters -Providing Korean interpreting service (on site, telephone, making appointment, translating document) regarding use of WHDB services -Providing home visiting services for people with physical and mental health difficulties (Korean workers available) -You can access above service through GP or consult them directly on the numbers below: 09- 486- 8314, 09- 488- 4663 http://www.asianhealthservices.co.nz/ - Asian Mental Health Client Support & Coordination Service 09-486-8920
정신건강서비스 AMHS	AMHS -Residential and Home visiting services

-집에서 돌보기 어려운 환자들을 위해 숙박과 치료를 겸하는 시설도 있고 가정 방문 서비스도 있습니다. -한국인 사회 복지사 근무 09- 443- 3700	for people with mental health difficulties -Asian team with Korean social workers 09- 443- 3700
각종 정신 건강 관련 검사 Centre for Psychology at Massey University (정신건강 진단 및 치료, 가족, 어린이, 청소년, 개인 상담) 09-441-8175	Centre for Psychology at Massey University (Psychological assessment, Family, children, adolescents, individual counseling) 09 441 8175

한국인 개인 상담사 (오uckland)

Korean Counsellors (AK)

김혜은 뉴질랜드 카운슬링 협회 정회원 부부 상담, 가족 상담, 호스피스 관련 임종 상담, 임종후 가족 상담, 이민 과정에서 초래된 문제 심리 상담, 어린이와 청소년 상담 (5 살 이상), 부모 교육, 문화 적응 문제 상담, 학교 상담, 각종 컨설팅과 교육, 그룹 상담, 중독 상담, 상담자 교육을 위한 슈퍼비전, 우울증, 분노와 자기 조절 상담, 정서불안 문제 상담, 꿈 해석과 심리 치료, 모래 놀이 치료, 그림 치료 등. 09-268-8260 0273-40-1035	Hyeeun Kim Counsellor, MNZAC Couple issues, family counselling, grief and loss, migration related issues, working with children (5 year old +) and teenagers, parenting programme, cross cultural issues, school counselling, consultation and education, group facilitation, addiction, clinical supervision, anger issues, anxiety issues, dream work, sandtray therapy, Interactive Drawing Therapy, etc./ Working at South Auckland Hospice work. 09-268-8260 mob. 0273-40-1035
임동환 (영어이름 Gus) 뉴질랜드 카운슬링 협회 정회원 사회복지사 협회 정회원 상담: 개인정서불안, 유학부적응, 부부상담, 가족상담, 중독상담, 화조절상담, 청소년 상담(개인이나 단체 가능) 교육: 이민자 부모교육 특강, 상담 및 사회복지관련 슈퍼비전, 도박중독상담관련 교육, 의사소통 훈련 연락처: 09-476-8040/ 0272409577	Donghwan Lim (Gus) Counsellor, MNZAC, MANZASW Counseling: Anxiety, depression, immigrant/international students adjustment issues, couple issues, parent-children relationships, family counseling, anger management, youth counseling (individual and group) Education: parenting programme, supervision for students in counseling and social work area, training about counseling with gambling related issues, training for effective communication. 09-476-8040/ 0272409577
정인화 뉴질랜드 카운슬링 협회 및 뉴질랜드 마약 및 알코올 치료사 협회 정회원 개인적 성장, 인간관계, 우울증, 정서불안, 각종 중독 어려움 09-813-2042 , 021-0262-3579	In Hwa Jung Counsellor MNZAC & DAPAANZ Personal growth, relationship, depression and anxiety, addiction/ Working at CADS Central 09-813-2042 , 021-0262-3579
조성현 뉴질랜드 크리스찬 카운셀러 협회 정회원(MNZCCA) 가족 상담, 부부 상담, 남성 상담, 분노 조절 치료 상담자 중심치료, 인지행동치료, 가족치료, 해결중심치료 09- 813-0388, 027-608-6630	Samuel Cho Counsellor, MNZCCA(New Zealand Christian Counselors Association) Families, couple, men, anger management 09- 813-0388, 027-608-6630

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