A Qualitative Study of Coping Strategies among Korean Immigrant Parents in Aotearoa New Zealand

Boram Lee[1] and Jenny L. Vaydich[2]
[1]Department of Early Childhood Education , Woosong University, South Korea.
[2]Department of Psychology, Seattle Pacific University, USA.
(Note: Both authors share first authorship)

Few studies outside of the USA have focused on specific Asian immigrants to understand how Asians of differing ethnic backgrounds cope with their adjustment difficulties. Immigrant coping strategies are of particular importance because immigrants may experience additional stressors as a result of adjusting to a new country. Thus, the purpose of this study was to explore the coping strategies used by Korean immigrants as they negotiated various challenges adjusting to life in a new country. Focus group discussions were conducted with twenty-two Korean immigrants in New Zealand. Two main categories of coping strategies were identified: behavioural coping strategies and cognitive coping strategies. The findings suggest that Korean immigrants employed a variety of strategies to manage various adjustment difficulties. The findings are discussed in relation to cultural influences on coping choices as well as recommendations for counsellors and healthcare providers to consider cultural influences on immigrants' coping strategies and immigrants' evaluations of the appropriateness and utility of various coping strategies.

Keywords: *Adjustment; Coping, Immigration, Korean immigrants. New Zealand.*

Introduction

It is well documented in the literature that cultural transition and adaptation following immigration are generally perceived as potentially stressful events due to a multitude of challenges such as communication problems, unemployment, experiences of discrimination, and societal prejudice (Sue & Sue, 2003; Yeh & Inose, 2002). Immigration among individuals and families continues to grow worldwide (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002), which may lead to a corresponding increase in immigration-related stress. The stress of immigration and cultural adaptation may contribute to Asian immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds, in particular, suffering negative psychological symptoms including anxiety, depression, and social isolation. Integration in a new society is a complex, multifaceted, and multidimensional process that often requires coping with diverse stressors in various aspects of life (Shuval, 1993).

In this period of heightened globalisation, the present wave of immigration differs from previous waves in that contemporary trans-border movements and activities of immigrants have been diversified, and their migratory nature and duration have been changed and extended as a result of the development of information and communication technologies as well as advancements in transportation (Kim, 2011; Oiarzabal & Reips, 2012). These multiplex and flexible forms of global migration have resulted in increased immigration to New Zealand.

Over the past 20 years Asian immigration has grown, driven mainly by increased economic, political, and cultural connections between New Zealand and Asia (Friesen, 2015). Statistics show that from 2001 to 2013 the number of immigrants from four major Asian countries—China, India, the Philippines, and the Republic of Korea (hereafter Korea)—increased from 87,906 to 220,200. Additionally, Statistics New Zealand (2014) forecast that all four ethnic populations in New Zealand are projected to grow by up to 20% in the next 20 years. Among the subgroups of Asian immigrants in New Zealand, Korean immigrants are a relatively young and skilled immigrant group and one of the fastest growing ethnic groups (Chang, Morris, & Vokes, 2006; Statistics New Zealand, 2014).

Most Korean immigrants who come to New Zealand have attained an undergraduate degree or graduate degree and professional work experience in their home country (Chang et al., 2006). Though they must meet immigration criteria, Korean immigrants often experience underemployment and lower income compared to their employment in Korea. Despite facing some challenges, Korean immigrants are becoming more established and choosing to stay in New Zealand longer (Statistics New Zealand, 2018; Yong, 2018).

Although this population comprises a significant proportion of New Zealand society, Korean immigrants and their well-being related to immigration have not been extensively studied in New Zealand. One reason research may be lacking is due to Korean immigrants' relatively short immigration history in New Zealand compared to other Asian groups such as Chinese immigrants (Chang et al., 2006). Much of the research on health and psychological well-being in New Zealand is largely based on studies of its three major ethnic groups: New Zealanders of European descent that comprise the population's majority, Māori, which are the indigenous people of New Zealand and Pacific Islanders (El-Shaden

Tautolo, Schluter, & Sundborn, 2009; Trauer, Eagar, & Mellsop, 2006). With the growth in the number of Korean immigrants in New Zealand further research is needed to improve our understanding of their adjustment and coping within the context of immigration. Thus, the current study focuses on Korean immigrants' experiences and coping strategies as they adjusted to life in New Zealand. Generally, Korean immigrants who live in New Zealand come from a collectivist culture. With collectivism, Koreans tend to put great emphasis on in-group norms and view the in-group as an extension of the self (Triandis, 1994). This collectivistic tendency is well reflected in Confucianism, which stresses the importance of respect for authority and an individual's place in the hierarchy of social and family relationships. For centuries, Confucianism has exerted a strong influence on the governments, societies, educational practices and family life of East Asia, including Korea (Park & Cho, 1995). Moreover, Korean Confucianism posits that the purpose of family life is unity, and emphasises hierarchy in human relations based on age, gender, and inherited social status (Park & Cheah, 2005).

Immigration-related stressors

Immigration has long been considered a stressor because it entails tremendous social and economic costs with uncertain benefits (Beiser, 1999; Ben-Sira, 1997; Lev-Wiesel, 1998). Stressors can be described as any environmental, social, or internal demand that requires individuals to readjust their usual behaviour patterns (Thoits, 1995). The transactional theory, by Lazarus & Folkman (1984) explores the relationship between stress and coping and states that coping becomes prominent when individuals face a major life challenge. Immigration is an example of an experience that could elicit significant stress. As stressors accumulate, individuals may have more difficulty coping with them, or the ability to adjust can be overtaxed, depleting physical and psychological resources. In turn, when perceived demands exceed the ability to cope the probability of negative consequences for the individual's well-being increases (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Berry's acculturation theory (1997) builds upon Lazarus and Folkman's work (1984), stating that immigration can introduce a specific type of stress: acculturative stress. Acculturation or cultural adaptation is viewed as a process individuals go through to manage stressors encountered in their host society.[1] Furthermore, the process of adjusting to a new host country following immigration has been linked to high levels of stress, specifically acculturative stress (Bhugra, 2004; Torres & Rollock, 2004). For example, several studies conducted in New Zealand and the United States have found that Asian immigrants face a number of challenges and adjustment difficulties that may contribute to psychological problems (Cho & Haslam, 2010; Ho, 2004; Jang, Kim, & King-Kallimanis, 2007). Studies have also found Korean immigrants experience high levels of stress and mental

health concerns (e.g., depression and anxiety) related to immigration (Cho & Haslam, 2010; Jang et al., 2007). Additionally, Asian immigrant parents are often at heightened risk for stress as they navigate parenting in a new cultural context. For example, immigrant parents often experience greater difficulties adapting than their children as they transition to their new host country due to limited English proficiency (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Lee & Keown, 2018).

Furthermore, several studies conducted in New Zealand have found that Asian immigrants may experience employment and economic stressors. For example, many Asian immigrants' economic situations after arriving in New Zealand affect their housing arrangements and standard of living, influencing their long-term plans to settle (Yong, 2018). Significant issues that many experience are related to unmet employment expectations, with a profound gap between economic expectations pre- and post-migration. While many anticipate income reduction upon arrival in New Zealand, most are not prepared for the disparity between the level of income and status they had in their home country compared to that in their new host country (Chang et al., 2006; Ho, Cheung, Bedford, & Leung, 2000; Yong, 2018). Although they have qualified to come to New Zealand, due in part to their educational qualifications and professional experiences, they often find it difficult or impossible to secure jobs in their fields (Bartley & Spoonley, 2008; Chang et al., 2006; Ip & Friesen, 2001).

Difficulties gaining employment may also be related to limited English proficiency, lack of local work experience, and racial discrimination and prejudice. Studies involving Korean and other Asian immigrants have revealed evidence of employers' prejudice against applicants without local experience as well as those with a foreign accent, and those more qualified than themselves (Ho, 2004; Ho et al., 2000; Ip & Friesen, 2001; Pernice, Trilin, Henderson, & North, 2000). Thus, experiencing immigration-related issues such as difficulty communicating, racial prejudice, and unemployment constitute significant stressors that might adversely affect well-being, placing Korean immigrants at greater risk for psychological problems. In support of this, Aroian and Norris (2000) reported that exposure to multiple immigration stressors—again, language and employment difficulties and racial discrimination—are closely related to distress and depression among immigrants as they adapt and adjust to their new host country.

Coping strategies used by immigrants

Both the transactional model (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) and acculturation theory (Berry, 1997) view coping as a natural response to stress introduced by the process of cultural adaptation. This process of adopting the values and behaviours of a new culture commonly appears in studies of immigrant stress and coping (Berry, 2006; Hovey, 2000; Ortega et al., 2000; Yakushko, 2010). Coping is viewed as particularly important because it may

---

[1] Within the literature, several terms are used such as host culture, new host culture, host society/country, dominant national culture, or ethnic majority. Within this paper, these terms will be used to refer to the majority cultural group in a country to which an immigrant or migrant may be culturally adapting.

lessen the effects of acculturative stress and support immigrants' cultural adaptation (Kuo, 2014). Furthermore, Rumbaut (1991) has stated that "migration can produce profound psychological distress among the most motivated and well prepared individuals, and even under the most receptive circumstances" (p. 56). Coping, therefore, is considered necessary to help individuals manage psychological distress and adapt to their host country (Berry, 2006).

Immigrants use various coping strategies to deal with immigration-related difficulties, and these efforts have often been categorised within the literature as either effective or ineffective. Ineffective coping strategies— avoiding or withdrawing from different stressors— contribute to the emergence of mental health problems (Busse & O'Mahoney, 2000). Therefore, adopting effective coping strategies is considered important in reducing stress and managing difficult situations, and immigrant parents who cope with parenting stress in adaptive ways might experience stress reduction, which could lead to improved family adjustment. Following exposure to the host culture, Chinese immigrant parents in New Zealand, for example, reconstructed their parenting to enhance their adaptation to living in two cultural contexts (Chan, 2018). In this process, the parents weighed the value of maintaining specific Chinese practices and the benefits of adopting certain practices observed in the host country. After evaluating the beneficial aspects for their children and family, they adopted the practices of the host country they viewed as positive and balanced this with their traditional practices, some of which were no longer perceived as practical and applicable. Consequently, their parenting strategies were adapted to accommodate both cultural contexts.

Adaptive coping strategies are important for immigrant parents to be able to manage and cope with adjustment-related stress to support effective parenting, family adjustment, and work productivity (Penman & Goel, 2017). Coping strategies are also important in supporting immigrants' well-being and mental health (Draganovic, 2011). Despite the important role that adaptive coping strategies may have with regard to health and well-being, few studies have explored the strategies Korean immigrants employ when facing adjustment difficulties (Bae & Panuncio, 2010; Dixon, Tse, Rossen, & Sobrun-Maharaj, 2010). One study of Korean immigrant parents in Canada found that they had learned how to compromise and be resourceful (Bae & Panuncio, 2010). Findings from a New Zealand study demonstrated that immigrant families, including Korean families, used several strategies such as maintaining a positive attitude despite difficulties, availing oneself of family support, working together as a family, and participating in hobbies (Dixon et al., 2010). Findings from these studies provide important information about Korean immigrants' adjustment. A few studies also provide insight into other Asian immigrants' use of coping strategies, showing that immigrants often adopt strategies of seeking social support, attempting to integrate culturally, and practicing their religion (Cheng & Chang 1999; Chung et al. 1998).

Given the increase in global migration, additional studies are needed to explore and better understand how immigrants of varied racial and ethnic backgrounds navigate adjustment difficulties. Few studies have examined immigrants' specific coping strategies when adjusting to life in New Zealand. Even less is known about Korean immigrants in this context. Hence, the current study employed a qualitative approach to explore coping strategies Korean immigrants use to manage challenges as they adjust to life in a new country. Understanding the coping strategies utilised by Korean immigrants may provide information that can inform interventions for reducing stress related to adjustment and improving immigrants' coping ability to enhance their well-being.

METHOD

Participants

Table 1 shows the sample characteristics of the participants. The sample consisted of 22 Korean immigrants (18 females and 4 males) with at least one child. The mean age of the participants was 47 ($SD = 8.01$) and the average number of years they had lived in New Zealand was 13 years. In addition, fourteen mothers and three fathers have received undergraduate degrees while

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the study sample

Immigrant parents	Age	Length of residence in New Zealand	Number of children	Income (in NZD)
Mothers				
Min Ja	53	20 years	2	75,000-100,000
Hyein	49	10 years	2	50,000-75,000
Yumi	39	2.5 years	2	< 25,000
Jung Ha	48	18 years	2	75,000-100,000
Yun Hee	43	18 years	1	> 100,000
Nari	40	3 years	3	Below 25,000
Yungmi	51	17.5 years	3	75,000-100,000
Jihye	53	21 years	2	75,000-100,000
Inhwa	32	10 years	1	25,000-50,000
Suj ka	40	7 years	2	< 25,000
Winnie	48	23 years	4	< 25,000
Daeun	50	5 years	1	25,000-50,000
Jimin	58	18 years	2	25,000-50,000
Na Yeon	-	-	2	-
Wonju	-	-	2	-
Aeri	-	-	1	-
Fathers				
Sungmin	56	13 years	2	25,000-50,000
Juh Ho	37	11 years	2	25,000-50,000
Yunhak	62	19 years	3	50,000-75,000
Yun Su	50	12 years	1	25,000-50,000

Note: All participant names have been changed to pseudonyms. Fourteen mothers and three fathers have received undergraduate degrees while Inhwa was a high school graduate and Yun Su had a postgraduate degree. Three parents did not provide their educational qualifications. In terms of marital status, all were married, while Winnie reported being divorced, and Daeun was widowed.

one mother was a high school graduate and one father had a postgraduate degree. Three parents did not provide their educational qualifications.

Procedure

The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (UAHPEC) in New Zealand approved the study's procedures, and all participants provided written informed consent. Participants were recruited in collaboration with Korean religious organizations, language schools, and community organisations in New Zealand. In addition, online postings informed individuals of the opportunity to participate in the study on local Korean-community websites. A total of six focus groups with 22 Korean immigrants were conducted. Focus groups were held at local Korean organisations or churches. All discussions were conducted in Korean, participants' preferred language, and video-taped with permission from each participant. Focus group discussion topics included: experiences as an immigrant in New Zealand, resources utilised to manage practical issues (e.g., day-to-day issues), and strategies they used to cope with challenges and difficulties they experienced as immigrants. The current paper focuses specifically on the challenges experienced and the coping strategies that they used to manage stressors.

Analytic Process

All focus group discussions were transcribed in Korean and then translated into English by the first author. Translated transcripts were then analysed using inductive content analysis as outlined by Thomas (2006). This approach identifies meaningful themes by analysing translated transcripts systemically. All transcripts were read multiple times to obtain an overall understanding of their content. Based on the initial readings, the first author highlighted key quotations and identified key codes. Data was coded manually. Initial categories, along with associated key coded quotations, were examined and compared. The two authors compared the initial coding categories and discussed each theme. Commonalities and differences in emerging themes were discussed and resolved to ensure the consistency of coding and interpretation. Common themes were grouped to generate broader themes, and the two authors discussed the overall relevance of supporting quotations. Upon completion of coding and classifying themes, these were reviewed and discussed between the researchers. In the event of inconsistencies between the researchers, the transcripts were consulted to clarify any discrepancies. In this process, the two researchers engaged in active dialogue to identify the major themes by recognizing how interactions between themes, experiences and, challenges living in New Zealand disclose the pattern of coping strategies used by Korean immigrants.

ANALYSIS

Participants reported they used different types of coping strategies to manage a wide range of problems they encountered during their adjustment. Two themes and six sub-themes were derived from the analysis of the focus group discussions: behavioural coping strategies and cognitive coping strategies.

Theme 1: Behavioural coping strategies

Behavioural coping strategies were the most frequently endorsed among participants. When managing daily problems, participants reported using two types of behavioural coping strategies: (1) seeking social support and (2) making an active effort to resolve problems.

Seeking social support: Several Korean immigrants mentioned accessing and utilising social support and help from different sources to manage a range of issues including finding a home, buying a car, and choosing a school for their children. Frequently used sources of support included community organisations (e.g., Korean churches), local families, and friends. Korean churches were often mentioned as the first and most informative resource for immigrants. One participant said that the church provided practical information for his family and helpful advice about settling into New Zealand. He also stated that Korean churches often assist new immigrants in their transition, and without such local support new immigrants may experience difficulty navigating challenges once they arrive:

> *Upon arrival in New Zealand, renting a house, finding a job, enrolling children at school, and buying a car were very difficult. However, I received assistance and support from the church regarding these matters. A large number of Korean immigrants attend Korean church and newly arrived immigrants receive assistance and support from people in church who are already settled into New Zealand. I received a lot of help from the church, and the church actively helped me to settle in this country. Newly arrived immigrants who do not join a Korean church and who do not speak English may have a difficult time dealing with these issues (Sungmin, a 56-year-old male).*

Participants also acknowledged that, in addition to giving practical support, the churches also functioned as a provider of emotional support. Many respondents stated they obtained important emotional support within their church community to help them manage their daily stress. One participant said:

> *I talk about a lot of things in church. If I have problems, I share my problems with people at church, and we work things out together (Jun Ho, a 37-year-old male).*

A few respondents reported seeking support from family members and friends who had previously immigrated to New Zealand. These relationships opened opportunities for them to share their personal issues or adaptation-related difficulties. For example, one participant said:

> *My brother came to New Zealand first before I arrived here, so I talked to my brother whenever I had difficulties, and he provided me with information (Min Ja, a 53-year-old female).*

Similarly, Korean community organizations (e.g., Korean-language schools) were also identified as important resources that helped Korean immigrant parents build social support networks to assist them in coping with difficulties. One mother said:

The New Zealand School of Korea is my only community. I really like to interact and communicate with mothers here. I also receive help from the mothers by communicating and sharing information (Yumi, a 39-year-old female).

Making an active effort to resolve problems*:* Several respondents mentioned the need to take specific actions to solve problems, such as gaining meaningful employment and acquiring English-speaking proficiency. Moreover, most participants reported experiencing difficulty finding work in their field of expertise because often their Korean credentials were not recognised by New Zealand employers or because they had insufficient English-speaking language skills. For example, one participant whose husband previously held a professional job in Korea but currently worked in a lower-wage job in New Zealand said:

In general, Korean immigrant parents, including my husband, had high-quality jobs and high social status in Korea. But my husband works at a sushi shop because his credentials are not accepted despite his high educational attainment (Jung ha, a 48-year-old female).

Taking active steps toward solving such problems was a coping strategy commonly used by many Korean immigrants to manage certain stressors. These approaches involved actively working to address challenges or barriers. For example, several respondents reported that they found alternative ways to obtain a job, including studying and taking courses in New Zealand. One participant said that she went back to school so she could go into a different field of work, which ultimately helped her gain her residency. Thus, participants reported using a variety of approaches to find employment. To address language-related difficulties, a few respondents stated that they searched for free English classes offered within the community. However, they reported that such efforts were often unsuccessful because there were few available courses or because the classes were not viewed as helpful for language learning.

There are services available in the community for immigrants to learn and improve their English language skills and there are also many other organisations that are funded to teach English for free. The courses are free to immigrants who have permanent residency. But, there are just too many students in the class so the instructors are not able to pay attention to each student (Yunsu, a 50-year-old male).

Theme 2: Cognitive coping strategies
Several respondents reported utilising cognitive coping strategies to understand and manage the problems they experienced. Based upon the responses, four types of cognitive coping strategies emerged: accepting cultural

differences, engaging in perspective taking, making social comparisons, and using inner strength.

Accepting cultural differences: This subtheme pertained to participants' awareness of basic cultural differences between Korea and New Zealand that they could neither overcome nor ignore. One participant reported he understood the existence of differences in various cultural aspects between the two countries, and he accepted these differences as time passed. He stated that accepting a cultural difference was the best solution to adapt to a new country:

Etiquette, relationships, conversation style, and the people are completely different from Korea, which needed time for me to accept the differences. I'm living in New Zealand now. So, what can I do to make myself adapt to this country? Just accept the differences (Yunhak, a 62-year-old male).

Another participant said she believed that accepting and respecting cultural differences must be a fundamental norm for immigrants and are highly desirable in a multicultural society.

Engaging in perspective taking: Perspective taking is the ability to recognize another person's viewpoint and better empathise with what they are thinking and feeling. A few participants shared their experiences of discrimination and explained how they attempted to adopt another perspective to understand their respective situations. For example, one participant commented that she thought many Asians in New Zealand have also been responsible for such discrimination. She said the influx of Asian immigrants could be seen as a significant threat to the employment of New Zealanders. In the following statement, she shifted away from her own frame of reference and actively projected herself into what she thought was the perspective of other New Zealanders:

You see, [where I live], there are too many Chinese and Koreans. Also, many businesses and companies are owned by Chinese. I think that makes New Zealanders want to leave the area. I don't think New Zealanders want to work or be employed under Chinese. So, in my opinion, I think it's natural for New Zealanders to hate Asians, and I understand why some New Zealanders do not like Asians because Asians are taking over and stealing their jobs (Hye In, a 49-year-old female).

Thus, this participant attempted to consider and understand negative experiences from a different perspective. Similarly, another participant also tried to view recent immigration from the perspective of New Zealanders and suggested she believed some Asian immigrants were responsible for negative treatment.

Many New Zealanders are still nice and kind to Asians. However, there are just too many Asians in this country now. I also think that New Zealanders are losing their jobs because of Asians. So, I have a feeling that New Zealanders don't like Asians anymore. But, I don't really blame New Zealanders for their unfavourable attitudes toward Asians and it is understandable why some are not

friendly to Asians because Asian immigrants also cause many troubles here (Suk Ja, a 40-year-old female)

Making social comparisons: Several Korean immigrants reported being able to view the difficulties they encountered more positively by comparing themselves with others who experienced similar challenges. For example, some participants mentioned that they dealt with their problems by likening their experiences to those of individuals living in Korea, which resulted in a better appreciation of their current situation in New Zealand and made their problems seem less severe. Although many participants said that they experienced issues with regard to adjusting to a new host country, some stated they perceived New Zealand as a safer and less competitive environment that allows both parents and children to enjoy their lives more as opposed to those who were still residing in Korea. For example, one respondent said that the higher quality of life in New Zealand, despite the adverse conditions that came with having a lower income, was more manageable compared to her previous life in Korea where her income was higher. Thus, such social comparisons helped her perceive her current situation in a more optimistic way:

The good thing about living in New Zealand compared to Korea is that I don't have to compete with people, and I can have a relaxed lifestyle and I don't have to be stressed out anymore. I am happy now (Nari, a 40-year-old female).

Another immigrant who distinguished between her working conditions and those of others found herself better off than other immigrants and appeared to be accepting of her current situation as she remarked:

At least I own a small business here. I know some Korean immigrants who do not have proper jobs. Their situations are worse than mine (Yungmi, a 51-year-old female).

Using inner strength: Being able to draw upon inner strength may support an individual's ability to adjust and thrive in the face of adverse circumstances. The majority of participants reported feeling helpless, which was often the result of stress associated with their adjustment to a new culture and performing tasks such as acquiring a new language as well as finding housing and employment. When encountering difficulties as a result of the adaptation process, a few respondents said that they used their willpower to get through difficult transitions. These participants utilized their inner strength and believed they possessed the will and determination to overcome their difficulties and enjoy their lives. One of the respondents said she developed resourcefulness and used her willpower, which made her believe that she was strong enough to handle any challenges that emerged:

So, we have to remind ourselves, 'I have to be strong to live in a foreign country because I can't speak their language.' We have to be ready and equipped with . . . you know, that kind of confidence. 'We can do it' sort of thing (Jihye, a 53-year-old female).

This served as another important coping strategy, as the inner strength they used helped respondents get through stressful life events, as indicated by another participant:

I had many issues in the past 10 years and I went through a stressful time, but I have tried to appreciate my situation and I'm satisfied with my life here now (Inhwa, a 32-year-old female).

DISCUSSION

The current study explored the coping strategies Korean immigrants employed as they navigated challenges associated with immigration and adjustment to a new host country. Participants reported using both behavioural and cognitive coping strategies. In the process of adapting to a new culture, immigrants face many immediate challenges that often require assistance. As a result, behavioural coping strategies to seek social support were used most frequently by Korean immigrants to manage a range of practical issues. Social support was available from different sources, such as family and friends already residing in New Zealand as well as Korean churches. However, for most Korean immigrants the latter emerged as their primary source of social support.

These findings are consistent with those from previous research demonstrating that Korean church networks in New Zealand (Chang et al., 2006) as well as other countries (Bae & Panuncio, 2010; Kim, Sangalang, & Kihl, 2012) serve as a source of considerable assistance to Korean immigrants and help facilitate their transition. Moreover, taking advantage of social support networks is commonly seen as a helpful coping strategy for immigrants, including Korean immigrants. For example, Kim et al. (2012) found that Korean-American immigrants who availed themselves of established social networks had better access to social support and tended to exhibit lower levels of depression compared to those whose social support was insufficient. Furthermore, talking about their problems with others enhanced their sense of belonging in the community and led to positive feelings (Kim et al., 2012). Contrary to some studies indicating that social support may not be effective for Korean-Americans due to Asian cultural norms of "saving face" and being concerned about burdening others with their difficulties (Taylor, Sherman, Kim, Jarcho, & Takagi et al., 2004), the current findings are consistent with those of other studies showing that one's social support network and sense of belonging, combined with relationships with others in the community, such as Korean organisations, serve as important coping strategies among Korean immigrants (Bae & Panuncio, 2010; Chang et al., 2006; Kim et al., 2012).

Another behavioural coping strategy that participants strongly preferred was taking direct action to manage challenges. Many immigrants reported actively taking steps toward solving the problems they encountered. For example, with regard to job-related difficulties and language barriers, many immigrants sought to mitigate their distress by identifying the problem, gathering information, and finding a solution. Although some Korean immigrants attempted to solve their problems directly, it did not always lead to positive results. Some respondents said community-based English classes, at

times, provided inadequate services to address the needs of Korean immigrants as there were too few classes and too many students per teacher.

In addition to behavioural strategies, cognitive strategies were also used by many of the immigrants. The most frequently endorsed cognitive coping strategy in this study was accepting cultural differences. The majority of Korean immigrants reported dealing with undesirable life circumstances as they transitioned into their new host country. Unlike behavioural coping strategies, which helped immigrants actively resolve their problems, accepting cultural differences may have helped some participants deal with situations that could not be changed and, thus, needed to be adapted to or accepted. The authors are not aware of any studies to date that have reported that Asian immigrants in New Zealand use the strategy of accepting cultural differences to deal with stress related to adjustment. Thus, the current findings may provide additional information regarding the range of coping strategies that Korean immigrants may find helpful.

While the immigrants in this study reported using acceptance as a positive strategy, some individuals may experience adverse consequences. In collectivist cultures, people are encouraged to prevent conflict, maintain harmony, and avoid burdening others with their problems (Moore & Constantine, 2005). Hence, to maintain peace and harmony in a new country, some Korean immigrants may conceal the difficulties they experience with regard to cultural differences. This action is related to forbearance coping, which is a common collectivist strategy that involves disguising one's problems and withholding one's emotions to preserve social harmony (Moore & Constantine, 2005; Wei, Liao, Heppner, Chao, & Ku, 2007). In one study, Wei et al. (2007) found that when respondents reported using forbearance coping to manage high-level acculturative stress, this strategy was positively associated with psychological distress. However, this was only found among Chinese international students who did not strongly identify with their heritage culture (Wei et al., 2007). Wei et al. (2007) interpreted these results as indicative of a lack of support from the cultural community. Thus, the impact of acceptance coping may depend on the degree of support from their cultural community as well as the extent to which immigrants maintain their cultural values and behaviours.

Another cognitive strategy that may be culturally preferred by Korean immigrants is perspective taking. Cultural values affect the choice of coping strategies that an individual employs in a given situation (Phillips & Pearson, 1996). The use of perspective-taking is related to Confucian ideals that promote the strengthening of social bonds by increasing perceived self-other overlap (Śleziak, 2013). Koreans may be strongly attuned to others' perspectives because of their cultural imperative to consider a situation from another's point of view and focus attention on others' actions and knowledge (Choi, Chentsova-Dutton, & Parrott, 2016). In the current study, some Korean immigrants attempted to imagine situations from the perspective of another person. When they engaged in perspective taking, they tried to view a situation from the perspective of other New Zealanders to gain a better understanding of their behaviour toward Korean immigrants. Although perspective taking is often associated with positive social outcomes such as increased understanding of others or greater empathy, when used in the manner of some Korean immigrants in this study it may also contribute to rationalizing and accepting experiences of discrimination or unjust treatment. For example, some participants stated that perspective taking helped them understand why some New Zealanders' attitudes toward Asian immigrants were unfavourable and that they themselves were responsible for the discrimination that they faced because so many immigrants had come to New Zealand. Wei et al. (2007) suggest that such internal regulation strategies may not mitigate the acculturative stress of external events like discrimination. Therefore, perspective taking as a coping strategy in this instance may have both positive and negative aspects, especially if it is associated with immigrants accepting and blaming themselves for poor treatment and discrimination.

Some Korean immigrants also reported adopting other cognitive strategies such as comparing themselves to other individuals in similar stressful situations. Social comparisons are known to be effective coping strategies that allow individuals to interpret their difficulties in a positive light by thinking of people who are worse off than themselves. Thus, they are able to feel better about themselves and their situations through social comparisons (Wong, 2002). For example, a study of Mainland Chinese immigrants in Hong Kong found that they employed comparisons in their bid to accept hardships associated with accommodation and employment problems and compared their situations to those of others in similar or more adverse situations (Wong, 2002). In the current study, Korean participants' social comparisons involving those who were still in Korea helped them appreciate their current situation in New Zealand and made them feel better about the stressors they experienced.

Drawing upon inner strength and resourcefulness was another cognitive strategy that was helpful for some immigrants because it provided them with the confidence to believe that they could overcome any challenges that arose. Inner strength, which can be translated as *Nae Gang,* also appears to be culture-specific as revealed in Korean culture. It is argued from a historical perspective that survival in Korean culture is realised through inner strength rather than physical strength. Furthermore, this view has its roots in the internal strife and foreign invasions to which Korea was often subjected throughout history. Hence, Koreans have a tendency to perceive inner strength as being that which enables one to endure difficulty and suffering so as to survive (Yoon & Williams, 2015). Furthermore, adopting an optimistic attitude has been found to be an important resource for coping with acculturative stress among Asian immigrants in New Zealand (Dixon et al., 2010).

The main themes in the current study (e.g., behavioural coping, cognitive coping) fit with Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) seminal work on stress and coping, which states that coping involves cognitions and behaviours that are used to manage emotions or problems directly related to a specific stressor. This study also

contributes to the broader literature connecting Lazarus and Folkman's transactional theory of stress and coping (1984) with Berry's (1997) acculturation theory. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) suggest that coping responses may be needed when an individual experiences a significant life change, such as migration. Both theories recognize, in varying degrees, that acculturative stress is a type of stress that may necessitate certain coping strategies to adjust and adapt to a host culture. Thus, the need to utilise and develop coping responses to manage the accompanying stress of migration and cultural adaptation may be viewed as an expected part of the transition (Donnelly, 2002).

The results of the current study offer important information regarding the experiences and challenges, as well as the coping strategies that Korean immigrants utilise in New Zealand. The findings may be helpful and informative for counsellors or healthcare professionals who hope to understand immigrants' situations and challenges and consider ways to provide culturally appropriate services with the goal of minimising psychological distress. Having an awareness and understanding of both the importance and natural need for coping skills in response to the stress of cultural adaption may be important for those working with Korean immigrants.

Several recommendations can be made based upon the participants' responses. First, the findings of the current study suggest that counsellors and healthcare providers need to be aware that cultural values influence the choice of coping strategies employed by Korean immigrants. When counsellors are working with immigrants, they may be unaware that culture can influence perceptions of stress as well as the coping strategies that are considered acceptable (Aldwin, 1994; Bonnano, 2004), specifically by Korean immigrants. Consequently, they may encourage clients to utilise certain coping strategies that they are not culturally prepared to employ (Wong, 2002).

Although coping strategies may be used in adaptive or maladaptive ways (Yakushko, 2010), it is important that counsellors use caution labelling immigrant coping responses as effective or ineffective without also considering their cultural context. What may appear to be an ineffective strategy may already have been carefully assessed by the individual from multiple perspectives and chosen as the most appropriate given their beliefs, values, and circumstances (Donnelly, 2002). Moreover, some immigrants may have more resources and options available to them in the acculturation process. While others may have fewer available options, including the choice to migrate (Hovey, 2000). All of these factors can influence their experiences of stress and views on the cultural relevance and appropriateness of various coping strategies. Thus, it is important that counsellors understand and appreciate the context in which stressors are appraised and coping strategies are identified and utilised.

Furthermore, research has revealed consistently that Asian immigrants, including Korean immigrants, are reluctant to seek counselling services and professional help (Park & Bernstein, 2008, Sue et al., 2012). This is possibly related to the stigma of seeking professional help for personal problems and the discomfort of participating in programmes and services that support the use of direct and more confrontational methods of coping. It is important to note that culture may influence what resources are viewed as appropriate to utilise (Bonnano, 2004). Therefore, it is imperative that counsellors develop and provide *culturally appropriate interventions* that incorporate goals that are consistent with the clients' cultural values. Additionally, counsellor attitudes towards a client's cultural values and preferences for culturally relevant coping responses can influence the therapeutic alliance and create barriers to accessing resources because immigrants may avoid seeking help if they do not feel that providers understand and support them in their goals (Anderson, 1998).

It is also important for counsellors to identify sources of support and strength for individuals, family, and community networks related to adjustment and coping. Collectivist cultures emphasise family, friends, and groups. Furthermore, each individual is viewed as fundamentally interconnected in a larger social unit. During times of difficulty and crisis, Asians in collectivistic cultures tend to rely on support from extended family members, friends, the community, and organisations (Kramer, Kwong, Lee, & Chung 2002). Due to technological advancements, immigrants may maintain close contact with families and friends in their homeland. They may also rely on their local ethnic community in their host country. These social connections may be important sources of support as immigrants cope with adjusting to a host culture. These relationships should be viewed as a valuable resource that may further support clinical work with immigrants (Schnittker, 2002). Hence, it is advised that counsellors make use of these support systems to increase adherence to treatment.

An awareness of a client's cultural values is important for counsellors to provide culturally appropriate and acceptable services. Although immigrants, particularly recent immigrants, may experience stress as they adapt to a new culture they are also resourceful and can make informed decisions regarding culturally appropriate and supportive resources as they adjust to a host country (Yakushko, 2010). Thus, their coping responses can also be viewed through a lens of strength taking their cultural values, goals, and circumstances into account.

It is also important to note that Korean immigrant experiences are neither static nor universal. Immigrants' cognitive appraisal of stressors and the coping strategies that they use to manage them may change over time because coping is a dynamic process, which is influenced by a multitude of things such as cultural, political, and economic factors (Donnelly, 2002). Depending upon their level of acculturation, an individual may choose one coping strategy in the initial stages following their arrival in a host country and a different strategy after having lived in the country for several years. Thus, coping responses may change within an individual across time as they become more acculturated. A few studies have examined differences in coping strategies based upon individuals' level of acculturation. In a study by Noh and Kasper (2003), problem-focused coping was helpful in buffering the impact of discrimination, but only among more acculturated Korean immigrants. Yoshihama (2002) conducted a study comparing coping strategies among Japanese women in the USA with varying degrees of

acculturation. Active problem-focused coping was associated with less psychological distress among USA-born Japanese women but greater psychological distress among Japanese-born women. Taken together, these findings suggest that coping strategies may be viewed differently among immigrants and may also have different effects depending upon the individual's acculturation and cultural views of various strategies (Kuo, 2014). Thus, a strategy may be adaptive for one individual and not adaptive for another individual. A coping response may also be helpful for an individual early in their adjustment and less helpful later. Taking this into account Deen (2002) suggests counsellors can help recent immigrants develop a 'survival kit' to help them cope with the initial transition. Therefore, the effectiveness of coping responses may vary and must be viewed in the context of an individual's social, cultural, political, economic, and historical circumstances (Donnelly, 2002), with an awareness that immigrant needs may change over time as well as across generations.

Just as second and third generation immigrants may have been born in New Zealand but still experience some degree of cultural stress, the Māori population in New Zealand may also share some similarities in their experiences navigating cultural differences. Both the Māori and Korean immigrants are minority groups within New Zealand that have experienced discrimination and acculturative stress as they culturally adapted to the dominant national culture (Cho & Haslam, 2010; Hirini & Collings, 2005; Sang & Ward, 2006). According to Greenfield (2009), both cultural groups may be considered more interdependent compared to Pākehā in New Zealand, suggesting that they may be culturally different from the dominant national culture. Greenfield (2009) goes on to suggest that intercultural contact may lead to social change and adaptation, and the presence of a dominant group may necessitate changes in cultural values and behaviors on the part of non-dominant group members, which can also include cultural changes in indigenous groups. Thus, Korean immigrants and Māori individuals may develop coping responses to manage stressors related to adapting to or fitting into the dominant national culture. However, there are also significant differences in their experiences as Māori are indigenous to New Zealand, making their cultural experiences different from those of immigrant groups. Though some of the experiences of marginalisation and discrimination may be similar, their needs and culturally relevant coping responses may differ. Thus, it is important for counsellors to appreciate differences in cultural values or the level of acculturation in individuals' choices of coping responses. Individuals from indigenous groups as well as recent immigrants and refugees may experience different stressors that necessitate unique coping responses as they adapt to a dominant national culture.

Lastly, counsellors may also familiarise themselves with Korean resources within the community such as Korean churches, Korean language schools, and other Korean organisations or places serving Korean communities so that they can provide clients with information on local resources if they are interested. Korean churches and community organisations such as Korean-language schools may be key resources on which

to build social support systems and to gain emotional support. Community practitioners could partner with Korean churches and organisations to help them develop social support networks and activities. Collaborations between social services and Korean organisations could also provide broader care that supports immigrant adjustment in a manner that is culturally sensitive, socially supportive, and convenient for immigrant families. Finally, carefully planning the professional guidance and support provided to immigrants during their initial stage of adjustment might significantly reduce the impact of major stressors on immigrants' daily lives. For example, interventions could emphasise the importance of coping strategies and encourage utilising both social support and local resources. Moreover, focusing on developing and strengthening adaptive and culturally appropriate coping strategies would be helpful. These skills could assist immigrant clients in facing multiple stressors related to their adjustment as well as other possible stressors in the future. Therefore, such interventions could help to empower immigrant clients to manage stressors and promote well-being.

However, this study should also be interpreted in light of its limitations. First, the majority of participants were recruited from Korean churches, which provided a range of benefits beyond the spiritual. Those who do not attend church may have different experiences or use different coping strategies. Future research should widen the scope to include respondents from non-religious or non-Christian groups. Next, the participants in this study consisted mainly of immigrants whose average age was 47 years, which restricts the generalisability of the results as coping strategies may vary among individuals in different age groups. Thus, the results should be interpreted cautiously because other immigrants of different age groups may experience varying degrees of adjustment difficulties and use different coping strategies. Moreover, the majority of the participants were female. Thus, the current findings may not apply to Korean male immigrants as they cope with immigration-related stressors. A few mothers in the study suggested that Korean fathers may need additional support transitioning to a new host country. Future studies could focus on the experiences and needs of Korean immigrant males specifically. Finally, the study only examined which coping strategies Korean immigrants said they utilised for managing adjustment difficulties. However, there may be additional benefits of using these coping strategies in broader areas such as social functioning, mental health, and physical health. Thus, it may be helpful for future studies to explore the benefits of using specific coping strategies in regard to health and well-being among immigrants.

Conclusion

This study contributes to the burgeoning interest in understanding behavioural coping and cognitive coping strategies employed by immigrants as well as the influence of culture on coping patterns among Korean immigrants. Our findings suggest that Korean cultural values have an impact on the choice of some coping strategies that immigrants employ to deal with their migration and adjustment-related difficulties. It is

suggested that immigrants should be provided with culturally appropriate counselling so as to understand and learn specific coping strategies to help them manage stressful circumstances during adjustment. It may be helpful for healthcare providers to be aware of the potential importance of utilising both behavioural and cognitive coping strategies as well as being able to connect individuals with local Korean community resources to support them as they manage adjustment related stressors.

References

Aldwin, C. M. (1994). *Stress, coping, and development: An integrative perspective.* New York: Guilford.

Anderson, J.M. (1998). Speaking of illness: Issues of first generation Canadian women—

Implications for patient education and counseling. *Patient Education and Counseling, 33*, 197–207. doi: 10.1016/s0738-3991(98)00019-6

Aroian, K. J., & Norris, A. E. (2000). Resilience, stress, and depression among Russian immigrants to Israel. *Western Journal of Nursing Research, 22*(1), 54–67. doi: 10.1177/01939450022044269

Bae, J., & Panuncio, R. L. (2010). Embracing New Lives as Korean Immigrants in Canada: A Grounded Theory. *Journal of Korean Academy of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing, 19*(4), 466–474.

Bartley, A., & Spoonley, P. (2008). Intergenerational transnationalism: 1.5 generation Asian migrants in New Zealand. *International Migration, 46*(4), 64–83. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2008.00472.x

Beiser, M. (1999). *Strangers at the gate: The "boat people's" first ten years in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ben-Sira, Z. (1997). *Immigration, stress, and readjustment.* West Port, CT: Praeger.

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 46*, 5–43. doi: 10.1080/026999497378467

Berry, J. W. (2006). Stress perspectives on acculturation. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge of acculturation psychology* (pp. 43–57). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Bhugra, D. (2004). Migration and mental health. *Acta psychiatrica Scandinavica, 109*, 243–258. doi: 10.1046/j.0001-690X.2003.00246.x

Bonnano, G. A. (2004). Loss, trauma, and human resilience. American Psychologist, 59, 20–28. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.59.1.20

Busse, D., & O' Mahoney, G. P. (2000). Migration Issues in Mental Health: A Review; 1-er Congreso Virtuale Psiquiatria. February – Mart, inter Salud net.

Chan, A. (2018). Transnational parenting practices of Chinese immigrant families in New Zealand. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood, 19*(3), 219–230. doi: 10.1177/1463949117691204

Chang, S., Morris, C., & Vokes, R. (2006). Korean *migrant families in Christchurch: Expectations and experiences.* Blue Skies Report No 11/06. Wellington, New Zealand: Families Commission.

Cheng, A. T. A., & Chang, J. C. (1999). Mental health aspects of culture and migration (Editorial Review), *Current Opinion in Psychiatry, 12*(2), 217–222.

Cho, Y., & Haslam, N. (2010). Suicidal ideation and distress among immigrant adolescents: The role of acculturation, life stress, and social support. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 39*(4), 370–379. doi: 10.1007/s10964-009-9415-y

Choi, E., Chentsova-Dutton, Y., & Parrott, W. G. (2016). The effectiveness of somatization in communicating distress in Korean and American cultural contexts. *Frontiers in Psychology. 7*:383. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00383

Chung, R. C., Bemak, F., & Kagawa-Singer, M. (1998). Gender differences in psychological distress among Southeast Asian refugees. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 186*(2),112–119. doi: 10.1097/00005053-199802000-00007

Costigan, L., & Dokis, P. (2006). The relations between parent-child acculturationdifferences and adjustment within immigrant Chinese families. *Child Development, 77*(5), 1252–1267. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00932.x

Deen, N. (2002). (Young) Newcomers in European societies: Implications for education andcounselling. International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling, 24, 3–17. doi: 10.1023/A:1015071301684

Dixon, R., Tse, S., Rossen, F., & Sobrun-Maharaj, A. (2010). *Family resilience: The settlement experience for Asian immigrant families in New Zealand.* Families Commission Research and Evaluation Report No 4/10. Wellington, New Zealand: Families Commission.

Donnelly, T. T. (2002). Contextual analysis of coping: implications for immigrants' mental health care. Issues in Mental Health Nursing, 23(7), 715–732. doi: 10.1080/01612840290052848

Draganovic, S. (2011). Mental health and coping strategies of Bosnian immigrants in Switzerland. *Facta Universitatis, 10*(2), 195–202.

El-Shadan Tautolo, E. S., Schluter, P. J., & Sundborn, G. (2009). Mental health well-being amongst fathers within the Pacific Island Families Study. *Pacific Health Dialog, 15*(1), 69–78.

Folkman, S., & Lazarus, R. S. (1985). If it changes it must be a process: A study of emotion and coping during three stages of a college examination. *Journal of personality and social psychology, 48*(1), 150–170. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.48.1.150

Friesen, A. (2015). *Asian Auckland: The Multiple Meanings of Diversity.* Wellington: Asia New Zealand Foundation.

Greenfield, P. M. (2009). Linking social change and developmental change: Shifting pathways of human development. *Developmental Psychology*, *45*(2), 401–418. doi: 10.1037/a0014726

Hirini, P. R., & Collings, S. C. D. (2005). *Whakamomori, he whakaaro, he kōrero noa =: A collection of contemporary views on Māori and suicide*. Ministry of Health.

Ho, E. (2004). Mental health of Asian immigrants in New Zealand: A review of key issues. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, 13*(1), 39–60. doi: 10.1177/011719680401300103

Ho, E., Cheung, E., Bedford, C., & Leung, P. (2000). *Settlement assistance needs of recent*

migrants. University of Waikato, Hamilton: Migration Research Group, Department of Geography and Population Studies Centre and New Zealand Immigration Service.

Hovey, J. D. (2000). Acculturative stress, depression, and suicidal ideation among Central American immigrants. Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, *30*(2),

125–139.

Ip, M., & Friesen, W. (2001). The new Chinese community in New Zealand: Local outcomes of transnationalism. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, 10*(2), 213–240. doi: 10.1177/011719680101000201

Jang, Y., Kim, G., & King-Kallimanis, B. (2007). A bidimensional model of acculturation for Korean American older adults. *Journal of Aging Studies, 21*(3), 267–275. doi: 10.1016/j.jaging.2006.10.004

Kim, Y. (2011). *Transnational migration, media and identity of Asian women: Diasporic daughters.* London: Routledge.

Kim, B. J., Sangalang, C. C., & Kihl, T. (2012). Effects of acculturation and social network support on depression among elderly Korean immigrants. *Aging and Mental Health, 16*(6), 787–794. doi: 10.1080/13607863.2012.660622

Kramer, E. J., Kwong, K., Lee, E., & Chung, H. (2002). Cultural factors influencing the mental health of Asian Americans. *The Western journal of medicine*. *176*(4), 227–231.

Kuo, B. C. (2014) Coping, acculturation, and psychological adaptation among migrants: a theoretical and empirical review and synthesis of the literature. *Health Psychology and Behavioral Medicine, 2*(1), 16–33. doi:10.1080/21642850.2013.843459

Laux, D., & Thieme, K. (2006). Koreans in Greater Los Angeles: Socioeconomic polarization, ethnic attachment and residential patterns. In W. Li (Ed.), *From urban enclave to ethnic suburb: New Asian communities in Pacific Rim Countries*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress Appraisal and Coping.* New York: Springer.

Lee, B., & Keown, L. J. (2018). Challenges and changes in the parenting experiences of Korean immigrants in New Zealand. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, 27*(4), 431–450. doi: 10.1177/0117196818810112

Lev-Wiesel, R. (1998). Coping with the Stress Associated with Forced Relocation in the Golan Heights, Israel. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 34*(2), 143–160. doi: 10.1177/0021886398342002

Min, P. (1998). *Changes and conflicts: In Korean immigrant families in New York.* Boston: Ally and Bacon.

Moore, J. L., & Constantine, M. G. (2005). Development and initial validation of the collectivistic coping style measure with African, Asian, and Latin American international students. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, *27*(4), 329–347. doi: 10.17744/mehc.27.4.frcqxuy1we5nwpqe

Noh, S., & Kaspar, V. (2003). Perceived discrimination & depression: Moderating effects of coping, acculturation, and ethnic support. *American Journal of Public Health, 93*(2), 232–238. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.93.2.232

Oiarzabal, P. J., & Reips, U. (2012). Migration and diaspora in the age of information andcommunication technologies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 38*(9), 1333–1338. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2012.698202

Ortega, A. N., Rosenheck, R., Alegria, M., & Desai, R. A. (2000). Acculturation and the lifetime risk of psychiatric and substance use disorders among Hispanics. *Journal of Nervous & Mental Disease, 188*(11), 728–735. doi: 10.1097/00005053-200011000-00002

Park, I. H., & Cho, L. J. (1995). Confucianism and the Korean family. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 26*(1), 117-134.

Park, S. Y., & Cheah, C. S. L. (2005). Korean mothers' proactive socialisation beliefs regarding preschoolers' social skills. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 29*(1), 24-34. doi: 10.1080/01650250444000306

Penman, J., & Goel, K. (2017). Coping and resilience of rural and regional Australian immigrants: imperatives for successful settlement. *Rural Society, 26*(2), 178–193. doi: 10.1080/10371656.2017.1339406

Pernice, R., Trlin, A., Henderson, A., & North, N. (2000). Employment and mental health of three groups of immigrants to New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 29*(1), 24–29.

Phillips, M. R., & Pearson, V. (1996). Coping in Chinese Communities: The Need for a New Research Agenda. In M. H. Bonds (Ed.), *The Handbook of Chinese Psychology* (pp. 429–440). Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Potocky-Tripodi, M. (2002). *Best practices for social work with refugees and immigrants.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Research New Zealand (2014). *Special report on the 2013 Census of New Zealand's Population and Dwellings.* Wellington: Research New Zealand.

Rumbaut, R. G. (1991). The agony of exile: A study of the migration and adaptation of Indochinese refugee adults and children. In F. L. Ahearn, & J. L. Athey (Eds.), *Refugee children: Theory, research, and services* (pp. 53–91). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Sang, D. L., & Ward, C. (2006). Acculturation in Australia and New Zealand. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology* (1st ed., pp. 253-273). Cambridge University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511489891.021

Schnittker, J. (2002). Acculturation in context: The self-esteem of Chinese immigrants. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 65*(1), 56–76. doi: 10.2307/3090168

Shuval, J. T. (1993). *Migration and stress.* In L. Goldberger & S. Breznitz (Eds.), *Handbook of stress: Theoretical and clinical aspects* (pp. 641–657). New York: Free Press.

Śleziak, T. (2013). The role of Confucianism in contemporary South Korean society. *Annual of Oriental Studies* - Rocznik Orientalistyczny. LXVI. 27–46.

Statistics New Zealand (2014). *New Zealand in profile 2014*. Retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz

Statistics New Zealand (2018). *Ethnic group (total responses) by age group and sex, for the census usually resident population count, 2001, 2006, and 2013 censuses (RC, TA).* Retrieved from http://nzdotstat.stats.govt.nz/wbos/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=TABLECODE802 1#

Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (2003). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice* (4th ed.). John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Taylor, S. E., Sherman, D. K., Kim, H. S., Jarcho, J., Takagi, K., & Dunagan, M. S. (2004). Culture and social support: Who seeks it and why? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87*(3), 354–362. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.87.3.354

Thoits, P. A. (1995). Stress, coping, and social support processes: Where are we? What next? *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 35*(Extra Issue), 53–79.

Thomas, D. R. (2006). A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. *American Journal of Evaluation, 27*(2), 237–246. doi: 10.1177/1098214005283748

Torres, L., & Rollock, D. (2004). Acculturative distress among Hispanics: The role of acculturation, coping, and intercultural competence. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 32*(3), 155–167. doi: 10.1002/j.2161-1912.2004.tb00368.x

Trauer, T., Eagar, K., & Mellsop, G. (2006). Ethnicity, deprivation, and mental health outcomes. *Australian Health Review, 30*(3), 310–321. doi: 10.1071/AH060310

Triandis, H. C. (1994), *Culture and social behavior.* NY: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Wei, M., Liao, K. Y., Heppner, P. P., Chao, R. C., & Ku, T. Y. (2012). Forbearance coping, identification with heritage culture, acculturative stress, and psychological distress among Chinese international students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 59*(1), 97–106. doi: 10.1037/a0025473

Wei, M., Heppner, P. P., Mallen, M. J., Ku, T., Liao, K. Y., & Wu, T. (2007). Acculturative stress, perfectionism, years in the United States, and depression among Chinese international students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*(4), 385–394. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.54.4.385

Wong, D. F. K. (2002). Stage-specific and culture-specific coping strategies used by Mainland Chinese immigrants during resettlement in Hong Kong: A qualitative analysis. *Social Work in Health Care, 35*:(1-2), 479–499, doi: 10.1300/J010v35n01_08

Yakushko. O. (2010). Stress and coping strategies in the lives of recent immigrants: A grounded theory model. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, *32*, 256-273. doi: 10.1007/s10447-010-9105-1

Yeh, C. J., & Inose, M. (2003). International students' reported English fluency, social support satisfaction, and social connectedness as predictors of acculturative stress. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 16*(1), 15–28. doi: 10.1080/0951507031000114058

Yong, S. (2018). *An Asian perspective and the New Zealand treasury living standards framework.* New Zealand Treasury Discussion Paper 18/10. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Government.

Yoon, K. K., & Williams, B. (2015). *Two lenses on the Korean ethos: Key cultural concepts and their appearance in cinema.* Jefferson: McFarland.

Yoshihama, M. (2002). Battered women's coping strategies and psychological distress: Differences by immigrant status. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 30*(3), 429–452. doi:10.1023/A:1015393204820

Corresponding Author
Boram Lee
Department of Early Childhood Education
Woosong University
171 Dongdaejeon-ro, Dong-gu, Daejeon, South Korea, 34606
Email: blee@wsu.ac.kr
Ph: +82-42-630-9372

1

.