The Settlement and Adaptation Needs of Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Families
in Toronto: Pilot Study

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
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The Settlement and Adaptation Needs of 
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Despite the growing number of Korean immigrants to Canada, there is little research on their settlement and adjustment needs. The purpose of this study is to document the settlement and adaptation needs of Korean families living in Toronto and to distinguish between the experiences of Korean newcomer and immigrant families. Semi-structured interviews with six newcomers, ten immigrants, and ten key informants from the Korean community revealed that Korean families living in Toronto had concerns consistent with other immigrant groups. The main difference between these newcomer and immigrant families related to parent-child conflicts. Intergenerational relationships were more strained in immigrant families due to differences in the adjustment and adaptation rates experienced by the two generations. These newcomers were more likely than longer-term immigrants to be actively seeking out ways to integrate socially into mainstream Canadian society while the immigrant respondents were more likely to remain primarily within the Korean community.
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# Table of Contents

Abstract ii

Acknowledgements iii

List of Tables v

List of Appendixes vi

Introduction 1

Review of Literature 5

Characteristics of the Korean Community in Toronto 25

Methods 27

Results 36

Discussion 71

Recommendations 90

Conclusion 95

References 97
List of Tables

Table

1  Asia and Western Cultural Values  13
List of Appendixes

Appendix

I  Flyer for Recruiting Participants  102
II Study Information Sheet  103
III Consent Form for Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Families  104
IV Consent Form for Key Informants in the Korean-Canadian Community  105
V Questionnaire for Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Families  106
VI Questionnaire for Key Informants in the Korean-Canadian Community  115
VII Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Family Demographic Profile  118
VIII Key Informant Profile  120
Introduction

Before the 1970s, the majority of immigrants to Canada originated from European countries. However, the characteristics of immigrants changed significantly after the implementation of Canada’s Immigration Act of 1978. This new policy accepted immigrants based on economic contribution, family reunification, and humanitarianism, thus opening the doors for immigrants who previously had limited access into Canada (Boyd and Vickers, 2000). Over half of the immigrant population who arrived since the 1970s and three-quarters of those who migrated in the 1990s identified themselves as members of a visible minority group (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998).

In 1996, 3.2 million Canadians were immigrants of visible minority groups. They represented 11.2% of the total population in Canada, up from 9.4% in 1991 and 6.3% in 1986. In 1996 the Korean visible minority group represented 2.0% (64,835) of the total population of visible minorities in Canada. Among them, 70.7% were immigrants, 19.7% were Canadian born, and 9.6% were non-permanent residents (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998). Thirty-four percent of the Korean immigrant population immigrated before 1981, 31% between 1981 and 1990 and 35% between 1991 and 1996 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998). In the later 1990s, South Korea was among the top ten countries providing immigrants to Canada. It is projected that by 2002, the number of immigrants

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1 The term “visible minority” is based on the definition in the Employment Equity Act. The act defines visible minorities as “persons other than Aboriginal peoples who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour”. Under this definition, the regulations to the Act specify the following groups as visible minorities: Chinese, South Asians, Blacks, Arabs and the West Arabs, Filipinos, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, Japanese, Koreans, and Pacific Islanders (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1998).

2 According to the Census definition, “immigrants/foreign-born” included those who have been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Sometimes, they have resided in Canada for number of years while some are more recent arrivals. The majority of them are born in countries other than Canada but it also includes those who have been born in Canada (Boyd and Vickers, 2000). This figure is
from Korea will increase and even exceed the number of Korean immigrants to the United States by two-fold (Sohn, 2001).

Many Korean immigrants to Ontario settled in North York, currently a part of the city of Toronto in the Greater Toronto Area. North York was home to the highest number of Korean immigrants in 1996 as well as to almost half (46%) of Korea's recent immigrants\(^3\) (Statistics Canada, 1996). This is evident in the recent development and establishment of small businesses like Korean restaurants, Korean Exchange Bank, as well as grocery stores, hair salons, karaoke entertainment stores, clothing stores, book stores, bakeries, dry cleaners, video rental stores and churches operated by Korean immigrants.

This study seeks to examine the settlement needs and issues among Korean immigrants, particularly as their population in Canada, and specifically in Toronto, is increasingly more visible. There is minimal research studying the settlement and adjustment needs of Korean families in Canada. There are studies of other newcomer groups from South Asia (Desai and Subramanian, 2000; Ku, 2000), the Former-Yugoslavia (George and Tsang, 1998), and Africa (George and Mwarigha, 1999). They have highlighted the needs of newcomers since it is expected that a newcomer needs to acquire "basic" information and skills to become self-sufficient within the first few years of immigration. In effect, this view of settlement only takes into account the initial adjustment period of settlement. This study will differentiate between newcomers and immigrants and compare the groups for differences in settlement and adaptation. As they are defined in government policies (e.g., by Citizenship and Immigration Canada), "newcomers" are defined as having been in Canada up

\(^3\) According to the Census definition, "recent immigrants" included those who have arrived in Canada within five years of census taking. However, this study will limit the definition to up to three years in order to be consistent with how the term "recent immigrant" or "newcomer" is applied in settlement literature.
to three years and “immigrants” as having resided in Canada more than three years (Desai and Subramanian, 2000, Ku, 2000).

There are a handful of studies of Korean immigrants in the United States (e.g., Kim, 1976; Nah, 1993), but none capable of representing the population in Canada. Thus, the literature that is available on Korean immigrant population is inadequate. Historically, the Korean community has attracted less academic attention than most other ethnic groups in North America. Some have suggested that the lack of representation in research is partly due to Korean immigrant community’s tendency to maintain a low political profile (Kim, Sawdy, and Meihoefer, 1982).

Based on studies of other immigrant groups and their settlement and adjustment needs in Toronto (Desai and Subramanian, 2000; George and Mwarigha, 1999; George and Tsang, 1998; Ku, 2000; Michalski and George, 1996; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990) and the two previously mentioned American studies (Kim, 1976; Nah, 1993), it is worth exploring how Korean immigrants in Canada are likely to experience similar settlement and adaptation issues. Such issues include language, employment, housing, family relationships, and adaptation issues.

Thus, the objectives for this study are the following:

1. To explore and document issues including settlement and adjustment needs from the perception of Korean newcomer and immigrant families;

2. To examine differences between newcomer and immigrant families with respect to settlement and adjustment needs;

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*Kim, Sawdy, and Meihoefer (1982) does not specify with which other immigrant group Korean immigrants were compared to when stating the above assumption.*
3. To explore perceptions from key informants in the Korean immigrant community in Toronto regarding settlement and adjustment needs faced by Korean families; and

4. To recommend potential program and policy suggestions to address the needs of both Korean immigrants and newcomer Korean families in the Toronto area.

The three main questions focusing this study are:

1. What are Korean immigrant and newcomer families’ perceptions of their adjustment experience?

2. What are the problems faced by Korean immigrant and newcomer families while adapting? What could potentially contribute to a smoother transition and adjustment process?

3. What kind of challenges do social service agencies face as they try to meet the needs of the Korean immigrant community in Toronto? And how could these challenges be tackled?

The remainder of this report is divided into six sections: literature review, characteristics of the Korean immigrant community in Toronto, methods, findings, discussion, recommendations, and conclusion.
Literature Review

The following section reviews the available literature on settlement and adaptation needs, how these needs affect the process of settlement and adaptation, how these needs manifest themselves among the experiences of Korean newcomer and immigrant families, and an overview of settlement and adaptation theories. Research is drawn from studies of other ethnic groups in Canada or Korean immigrants in the United States due to an absence of resources that specifically address Korean immigrants' settlement and adaptation in Canada. Only articles by Noh, Speechly, Kaspar, and Wu (1992) and Song (1999) address the issues in the Korean community in Toronto. However, their topics specifically address the issue of mental health and church participation. What is lacking in the settlement and adaptation research literature is a separate review of newcomers and immigrants' experiences.

Immigration is characterized by five general experiences that can potentially impede successful settlement and adaptation into a new environment. They include the ability to gain proficiency in the official language used in the host country (George and Mwarigha, 1999; George and Tsang, 1988; Ku, 2000; Michalski and George, 1996; Nah, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996); to attain a job and maintain it (George and Mwarigha, 1999; George and Tsang, 1998, Ku, 2000; Michalski and George, 1996; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990); to find housing (George and Mwarigha, 1999; Michalski and George, 1996); to sustain healthy interpersonal relationships (Desai and Subramanian, 2000; Ku, 2000); and to cope with adjustment stress, (Drachman, Kwon-Ahn, Paulino, 1996; Hurh and Kim, 1990b; Kuo, 1984; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996).
Language

Language is often the first apparent barrier that immigrants from non-English speaking countries encounter (George and Tsang, 1998; Ku, 2000; Nah, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). They struggle to gain fluency and proficiency of the language and to loose their accent when speaking English. Heavy accents makes communication more difficult and causes embarrassment to the speaker. However, the extent that language issues impact on daily livelihood varies with one's place of origin, the degree of prior exposure to the English language, and the grammatical, pronunciation, and alphabetical similarities or differences between the two languages (Ryu and Vann, 1992).

For Korean immigrants who arrive as adults, acquiring a second language poses a difficult challenge especially if they had little exposure to English before immigration. They have serious difficulty grappling with the English language. This has also been the case with Korea’s professional and highly educated immigrants who were more likely to have had language training (Min, 1988). Such difficulties, regardless of the degree or extent of exposure to English relates to fundamental differences between the two languages including their alphabets, pronunciations, and grammatical structures.

Korean immigrants face another challenge. Like other immigrant groups where English is the second language, Korean immigrants are reminded of their struggle to overcome an obvious accent that gives the appearance of a lower aptitude for English.

These factors of fluency and accent that are associated with language acquisition have implications on Korean immigrants social and economic opportunities in Canada (Ku, 2000; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990). For instance, their fluency in the language determines the range of occupational choices available to them regardless of their experiences, overseas
credentials, and education (Nah, 1993). In Canada, among immigrants who spoke neither English nor French, people with lower levels of schooling had higher rates of employment than those who were highly educated. This is possibly explained by the fact that having the appropriate skills for the job takes precedence over education achievements or language proficiency in blue collar jobs. However, educated or not, in both the 1980s and the 1990s, newcomers\(^5\) who could speak English or French were more likely to be employed than those who could not (Badets and Howatson-Leo, 1999).

More specifically, these language issues have tremendous implications on adaptation, such as the ability to maximize benefits from mainstream services offered by the host country, child-parent relationships, and can indirectly influence their level of self-confidence (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996).

**Employment**

Among adult immigrants, economic survival is a primary concern (George and Tsang, 1998; Hurh and Kim, 1984a; Kim, 1981; Min, 1988; Nah, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Many who migrate to North America are not fully aware of the occupational challenges that await them.

Unlike their Canadian born contemporaries, Korean newcomers are at a disadvantage when searching for employment in the labour market. Not only are Korean immigrants faced with language, cultural, and racial barriers, they lack Canadian job experiences and may not have a large network of contacts outside of their immediate ethnic community. Previously acquired occupational skills and educational credentials may not be recognized in the host

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\(^5\) In the article (Badets and Howatson-Leo, 1999), newcomers are defined by the first five years since immigration.
country. The combination of these factors result in limited occupational choices for many newcomers (Badets and Howatson-Leo, 1999; Ku, 2000).

In general, well-educated immigrants face under-employment (Ku, 2000; Nah, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 1996). The type of positions that are available to them are many times, the least desirable and unattractive. These jobs are characterized by long hours extending from early morning to late in the evening, no benefits or holidays, and labour intensive menial work (Badets and Howatson-Leo, 1999; Boyd and Vickers, 2000; Ku, 2000; Nah, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Ryu and Vann, 1992). Professional immigrants who are able to obtain work in their area of expertise often begin at the lowest level in their field regardless of their pre-migration experience or credentials (Ku, 2000; Nah 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996).

In Canada, Badets and Howatson-Leo (1999) reported that newcomers who entered the country during the 1980s and the 1990s had, on average, higher levels of education than Canadian-born people in the same age group (twenty-five to forty-four years). In 1996, for example, the proportion of men with a university degree was twice as high among recent immigrants as among the Canadian-born (36% compared to 18%). Similarly, women who had immigrated recently were more likely than Canadian-born women to have their university education (31% compared with 20%).

Compared to more than 90% of Korean adult immigrants who were engaged in professional occupations in Korea before they migrated, less than half (47%) were able to obtain similar positions in the US in 1980 (US bureau of the Census, 1984 in Kim 1997; Min, 1984). Thus, most college graduates educated in Korea, find that difference in job market requirements make the transfer of their education and work experience to the North
American situation difficult (Kim, 1996). Well qualified new immigrants have been willing to take skilled and semiskilled jobs that do not reflect their education and experience (Badets and Howatson-Leo, 1999).

In many cases, Korean immigrants work as factory laborers, janitors, cashiers, and gas station attendants as these jobs require little or no previous experience and tend to have easier entry requirements than other occupations (Badets and Howatson-Leo, 1999; Min, 1995). Unable to find white-collar occupations, many Korean immigrants have turned to small businesses as an alternative to blue-collar occupations (Min, 1995). Badets and Howatson-Leo (1999) have suggested that immigrants’ occupational status is temporal, meaning that their situation is related to the fact that newcomers tend to go through an adjustment period while they become oriented in their new country. However, the steady high self-employment rate even after many years of settlement among Korean immigrants as well as the demotion of occupational status before migration suggests that Badets and Howatson-Leo’s observations are linear and simplified than things are in the Korean immigrant community.

In the 1980 US Census (Kim, 1997; Min, 1998), it was reported that Korean immigrants held the highest self-employment rate among seventeen recent immigrant groups. Korean immigrants were concentrated in a limited range of small businesses, typically in trade and service businesses like grocery stores, liquor stores, dry cleaners, convenience or variety stores, and fast food restaurants. Similarly, in Toronto, it was reported that in 1994 immigrants from Korea were the third (386)\(^6\) largest source for business

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\(^6\) The difference between the number of business/entrepreneur immigrants from Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan is ten and three fold.
immigrants/entrepreneurs\(^7\) next to Hong Kong (3,077), Taiwan (1,132)\(^8\) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1995 in Board of Trade of Metropolitan Toronto, 1997).

The attraction to small businesses may be in part due to a limited choice of working opportunities and to the minimum level of language skills required for this work. Min (1984) proposes that operating a small business is an appealing option compared to the Korean immigrant’s perception of disadvantage in a non self-employment setting and a sense of status inconsistency. Despite the long work hours with intensive physical labour, Korean immigrants seem to find a greater likelihood of economic upward mobility through small businesses (Min, 1984).

**Housing**

Michalski and George’s (1996) study of culturally diverse immigrants in Ontario found that 39% encountered difficulties looking for housing. In the studies of Korean immigrants in the United States, there was no mention of any issues related to housing. Three possible explanations are that trying to find suitable housing is not a big concern for Korean immigrants, that to talk about the need for housing brings shame to both themselves and their ethnic community, or locating housing is more difficult in Toronto due to its low vacancy rate.

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\(^7\) "Business" immigrants include entrepreneurs, investors, and self-employed (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1995 in Toronto Region Business and Market Guide 1996/97).

\(^8\) Figures refer to the principal applicant only and do not include family members accompanying the business immigrant (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1995 in Toronto Region Business and Market Guide 1996/97).
Interpersonal Relations

Under "interpersonal relations", a discussion of the parent-child dynamics will be followed by that of conjugal dyads. To better understand the cultural influences that have shaped these relationships in Korean society, an outline of Confucius ideology will be presented as a backdrop to the present discussion.

During the settlement and adaptation process, experiences and phenomena that are not particularly unique to immigration such as developmental stressors in children (Toarnino and Chun, 1997), intergenerational issues (Berrol, 1995; Zhou, 1997), and cultural dissonance often become exacerbated and have the potential to lead to serious conflicts in immigrants' family relationships (Kim, Sawdy, and Meihoefer, 1982; Nah, 1993; Song, 1999; Toarnino and Chun, 1997). Thus, immigration brings about various challenges of acculturation, role-clarification, and communication (Song, 1999).

Parent-child Relationship

The conflicts pertaining to lifestyle, attitudes, and cultural values as named above stems from the different rates of acculturation between parents and their children (Toarnino and Chun, 1997). While immigrant parents themselves are struggling to learn many new situational cues for behaviour and interaction in Western society, their children are reacting to new experiences through school and language acquisition (Nah, 1993; Toarnino and Chun, 1997).

The acquisition of language is one of the principal ways that acculturation occurs. However, the different rates of learning between parent and child do not adequately explain their conflicts. But rather, they stem from the child's increased English comprehension coupled with a progressively lower Korean language competence which threaten the parent's
preferred authority structure in the home (Kim, Sawdy, and Meihoefer, 1982). Consequently, parents may feel uncomfortable and/or threatened. In a similar vain, parents' continued use of Korean and lower proficiency in English can create impatience, scorn, or embarrassment for the child (Kim, Sawdy, and Meihoefer, 1982). This is the result of a decreased ability to effectively communicate between the Korean immigrant parent and their children (Jun, 1984). The reversal of parental roles also contributes to the above experience (Zhou, 1997) in that, as the child gains knowledge of the language, the child also procures access to information needed for daily living, which their parents also need. As a result, parents come to rely on their children for such essentials like translations and information.

In the Korean language, more than three classes of nouns and verbs, signifying ranking orders or relationships, reinforces the hierarchical structures imbedded in the Korean culture (Kim, 1996). For example, there is an honorary form to respectfully address those of older or higher socioeconomic status and a more casual mode of speech to approach persons younger or of lower socioeconomic status. On the other hand, such structure and ideology is absent in the English language. But as the traditional Confucian Korean family comes into contact with the North America language and its culture, interactions between parent-child relationships are often challenged and redefined in the new cultural setting (see Table-1):
TABLE 1  Asia and Western Cultural Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional Asian Value</th>
<th>Western Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Situation Centered</strong></td>
<td><strong>Individual Centered</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivity</td>
<td>Individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Identity</td>
<td>Autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement of goals set by others</td>
<td>Achievement of individuals goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligations to group</td>
<td>Trained to be individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duty and Obligation</td>
<td>Rights and Privilege</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational responsibility</td>
<td>Responsible to self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duty to others</td>
<td>Personal rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation based on obligations</td>
<td>Motivation based on feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hierarchy</td>
<td>Equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submissive to authority</td>
<td>Dislike for rules and control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on position in relationships</td>
<td>Play down superiority/inferiority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accepts rules and politeness</td>
<td>Questions authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deferece</td>
<td>Self-Assertion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passivity and yieldedness</td>
<td>Aggressive and expressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adherence to social politeness</td>
<td>Assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis on self effacement</td>
<td>Open and accessible to others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adapted from Ng, 1985 in Yep, Cha, Cho Van Riesen, Jao, and Tokunaga, 1998)

Problems surface when members of the family operate from conflicting reference points, whether from the traditional Korean or the Western framework or when the parental status is challenged. According to Confucius worldview, parenting is an ascribed position that inherently demands respect and holds a certain amount of authority over their children. But this ideology is challenged as children are increasingly influenced by the ideals of independence and equality upheld in North America. Traditional values decline in influence and are less strictly adhered to than they once were in Korea. On the one hand, children gain greater fluency in the language, unconscious comfort with the new culture and its values,
begin to acquire knowledge, information, and, opportunities quicker than that of their parents. Conversely, parents experience a problem in their ability to communicate proficiently in English. This often results in children being in positions where they become translators for their parents. Such role reversal usually leads to greater dependence of parents on child and loss of parental authority (Zhou, 1997). These children bear far greater responsibilities than that of their peers with English-speaking parents (Ryu and Vann, 1992). In this way, language and these related issues have been identified as a source of cultural conflict between parent and the child due to their incongruent rates of acculturation.

Since the fourteenth century, Confucianism has heavily influenced Korean society. For example, it has been most influential in shaping the behavioral pattern and structure of the family and the community (Park and Cho, 1995). Despite influences from the West, the ethics of Confucius remains deeply rooted and still active in Korean society and in the minds of many Korean people. It is the philosophy of respect and honour toward elders and the educated with an emphasis on the importance of family relationships and education. In fact, of the five categories of interpersonal relations that forms the basis of Confucius teachings concerning the duties and obligations of an individual, three are directly related to the family: the first pertain to the relationship between parent and child; second, between husband and wife; and third, between older sibling and younger sibling. These make up the central pillar of Confucianism and the maxims defining the Korean life.

When Confucius ideologies are translated into the home context, children were required to pay the highest respect to parents throughout their parents' lives in addition to the children fulfilling some important obligations to their parents (Min, 1988). One of these obligations included achieving academic success. Korean parents often support their
children financially throughout their education. In return, the children are expected to succeed academically and to obtain occupations that have high status (Kim, 1996; Toarmino and Chun, 1997).

When the civil service examination was introduced in Korea during the 10th century (Park and Cho, 1995), Koreans began emphasizing the exam as the main avenue for social mobility. Historically, the civil service exam provided the only possible avenue for upward social mobility. Academic success was important because it was the means to success, power, and status, thus, great value was placed on educational achievements (Drachman, Kwon-Ahn, and Paulino, 1996; Min, 1988; Min, 1995; Park and Cho, 1995). These values and ideas are still evident today in Korea's educational system (Min, 1998).

In Korea today, academic credentials are so highly valued that the parents' self-esteem is intimately tied to the academic success or failure of their children (Kim, 1996). Since immigrant parents may be lacking some of the traditional sources of self-esteem such as fluency in language, occupational, and social status (as they once had in Korea) and feelings of being undervalued by North American culture, they insist even more strongly that their children excel in school and gain admittance to prestigious universities. The North American educational system, which is viewed as less intense than the Korean education system, is therefore appealing and many parents and children view immigration as a way to overcome the intense competition encountered in Korean schooling (Drachman, Kwon-Ahn, and Paulino, 1996; Kim, 1996).

High parental expectations however, create a situation in which the children feel extremely pressured to succeed (Toarmino and Chun, 1997). Pai, Pemberton, and Worley (1987) report that the high aspiration levels of Korean American youth correspond to the
high expectations of their own parents. Many children appear to achieve their parents’ expectations with respect to school performance. Rue (1993) reports about suicidal depressions that occur among some bright “whiz kids” who are caught between living out their own wishes and the wishes of their parents. Thus, the children of Korean immigrants face challenges growing up between two distinctive cultures but also often have difficulties finding ways to cope with such stressors (Toarmino and Chun, 1997).

Conjugal Relationships

Another area for conflicts arises within conjugal relationships. Confucianism emphasized strict gender roles between the husband and wife, and this principle helped to establish an extreme form of patriarchy in Korea (Min, 1988). In the traditional Korean society, the husband was considered the primary breadwinner, decision maker, and exercised authority over his wife and children. The wife was expected to obey her husband, devoutly serving him and his family members and perpetuate her husband’s family lineage by producing children. A refusal to cook for her husband was construed as a challenge to the established roles of family and to the authority of the husband (Song 1999). Over the years of modernization and economic development in South Korea and the introduction of more liberal and egalitarian views from Western countries, perceptions about the proper role for women and children in the family and society have started to change. However, some (Kim, 1996; Min, 1988; Min, 1995) disagree, suggesting that any signs of shift in thinking is a façade. Confucianism continues to be a powerful force, determining thinking and behaviour in Korea.

However, immigration of Koreans to North America has led to many changes in the traditional Korean family system and structure, one of which is the disruption or reversal of
this conjugal role differentiation. More recently, women who were housewives in Korea often have to take on new roles as co-providers for the family in order to secure financial stability. The 1980 US Census showed that 56% of immigrant Korean married women participated in the labour force. Min (1988) explained that the reason for their post-immigration work had to do with the family’s necessity for economic survival, especially for the large number of Korean families engaged in self-employed, small businesses (Min, 1988; Min, 1995). To succeed in the small business market that requires long hours of operation and small profit margins, cooperation between Korean husbands and wives are imperative (Min, 1988). The wife’s presence and involvement in the small business is so essential to its success that her economic role is viewed typical in the Korean community (Min, 1988).

Korean immigrants occupational adjustment in small business therefore led to a significant modification of the traditional marital role differentiation (Min, 1988).

This shift in women’s role from being more financially dependent on her husband to greater independence and increased earning power fosters changes in the family dynamics and often places a strain on relationships, especially between husband and wife (Light and Bonacich, 1988; Shon and Ja, 1982; Toarmino and Chun, 1997). An increase in Korean immigrant wives’ economic roles combined with husbands’ unwillingness to give up power contributes to marital conflicts (Min, 1995). In addition, as more Korean immigrant women work outside the home, the inflexibility in the home regarding housework becomes another source of strain on the conjugal relationship (Kim and Hurh, 1988). In the United States and Canada, where Korean women work outside the home for as many hours as their husbands, the burden of dual roles creates tension and stress in many wives. Kim and Hurh’s (1988) study found that Korean wife’s paid employment generally has not reduced her home
worker’s role. Whether wives work outside the home or not, they bear the main responsibility for traditional domestic tasks for which the husbands’ help is almost negligible (Min, 1992). Although this trend is not exclusive to immigrants, role strain and overwork seems to be much more stressful for Korean immigrant wives than for US working wives particularly because Korean working wives also experience stress relating to a language barrier and other adjustment problems (Min, 1995).

Tensions and conflicts in some immigrant homes stemming from overwork and work related stress, an increase in Korean immigrant wives’ economic role combined with their husbands’ unwillingness to give up power, and downward mobility due to immigration result in growing problems of divorce and domestic violence (Min, 1992; Min, 1995). In fact, with a higher divorce rate among Korean Americans than Koreans in Korea and a rate that seems to increase the longer Koreans live in the Unites States (Min, 1998; Song 1999), family violence is one of the serious concerns facing Korean immigrant homes today. J. Kim’s study shows that Korean American husbands physically abuse their wives at four times the rate of their American counterparts (1993). Educational background of the husband is not a significant factor, but a high level of stress and adherence to the traditional patriarchal power is.

Adjustment Stress

When the immigration process is combined with uncertainty, language problems, and financial insecurity (which are already sources of great stress), immigrants quickly find themselves in a vulnerable situation:
Migration per se does not predict an increased risk of mental disorder. However, certain contingencies [drop in personal socio-economic status following immigration; inability to speak the language of the host country; separation from family; lack of friendly reception by surrounding host population; isolation from persons of similar cultural background; and adolescent or senior age at tie of migration] may be part of the migration experience. When they occur, they increase the risk of developing mental disorder (Health and Welfare Canada, 1988:1).

Immigration can produce profound psychological distress, even among the most thoroughly prepared, most motivated, and even under the most welcoming of circumstances (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996), particularly during the early years of resettlement and adjustment (Hurh and Kim, 1990b; Kuo, 1984).

The psychological toll of juggling two divergent cultures, learning a new set of behaviour to adapt into the new environment, and adjusting to the reality of cultural conflict and racism can be substantial (Drachman, Kwon-Ahn, and Paulino, 1996; Kim-Goh, 1993; Ku, 2000; Nah, 1993; Sue and Morishima, 1982; Toarmino and Chun, 1997). Furthermore, the cultural and behavioural differences between the two countries provide minimal reference points for immigrants to guide their behaviour and to understand others' behaviours (Nah, 1993). As a result, they are easily misunderstood. They experience rejection or animosity for exhibiting behaviours such as addressing people by their title or last name, not challenging or questioning authority, or avoiding eye contact that are rewarded in Korea but are discouraged or undervalued in the host country.

Such difficulties and distress are reflected in the results of Kuo's (1984) study whereby the Korean sample in Seattle exhibited the highest depression scores in comparison with those of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans. Structural and situational factors seemed to account for Korean immigrants' relatively high rates of depression: shorter length of residence, higher rates of under-employment (higher educational status but low prestige
jobs), limited proficiency in English, and higher concentration in small businesses located in high-risk districts (Kim, 1997; Kuo, 1984). However, as the level of acculturation to mainstream society increases, the level of psychological adjustment in Korean Americans appears to improve. Research indicates that Korean Americans who have lived in the United States longer tend to be happier than the more recent immigrants (Hurh and Kim, 1990b; Toarmino and Chun, 1997). In another study, Hurh and Kim (1990a) found that length of residence per se was not related to Korean immigrant male’s mental health. Rather, job satisfaction and English proficiency accounted for the observed relationship between the length of residence and their mental health. On the other hand, females’ mental health was found to be more related to family or kinship variables than to occupational variables (Hurh and Kim, 1988; Kim and Hurh 1988).

A study conducted in Toronto (Noh, Speechley, Kaspar and Wu, 1992) however, challenges Kuo’s (1984) findings9. Noh et. al. (1992) suggested that Korean immigrants in Toronto are not at a higher risk of depression compared with the general populations of North American communities, which includes foreign and native-born10. One consideration for the differences in finding from Noh et. al.’s (1992) study and Kuo’s (1984) was because immigration from Korea to Canada (or to the United States) was voluntary. A further explanation included the notion that individuals who choose to seek opportunities in a distant and unknown land, and who achieved reasonable success in reaching such goals, may have higher levels of ambition, industry, upward mobility, and adventurousness compared with those not immigrating (Hurh and Kim, 1990b; Kuo, 1984; Kuo and Tsai, 1986; Noh et. al.,

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9 Noh et al. (1992) study reported correlations among continuous measures of depressive symptoms and other variables, whereas other studies like Kuo’s (1984) used dichotomous measures. This may account for the difference in outcome.
10
Likewise, immigrants’ immediate standard of living surpasses that of their past despite their marginalized status, under-employment, and experiences of more severe hardship in their daily lives than the host population (Noh et. al., 1992).

Supports received from the ethnic network, which include members of the church, organized settings facilitating meeting of other Korean immigrants, and extended family, directly influence the mental health of immigrants and also exert indirect stress-buffering effects (Noh, et. al., 1992; Hurh and Kim, 1990b). Hurh and Kim (1990b) found that “regardless of length of residence and assimilation and ethnic attachment for the parent immigration, the majority of respondents’ had social networks and cultural lives that were mainly Korean in nature” (p.31). Much of Korean immigrants’ social lives were centered on the Korean church. A large number of emotionally troubled Korean immigrants tend to turn to Korean churches for support and services (Kim-Goh, 1993; Hurh and Kim, 1984). This is in part due to their reluctance in seeking help from Western mental health service providers because of the negative perceptions they have of mental illness (Sue and McKinney, 1975). In Asian countries like Korea, persons with mental health issues are ostracized, moreover, shame, and disgrace is brought onto the persons’ family (Sue and Morishima, 1992). Conversely, the protective effects of social supports derived from larger, non-Korean networks were minimal (Noh, et. al., 1992; Hurh and Kim, 1990b) since they were unlikely to be surrounded by non-Korean individuals in their work place. If they are self-employed or run a small business, their interactions with people on a peer level are often confined to the weekends or other leisure times which primarily consists of members of their own ethnic community.

10 Kuo’s (1984) study compared the Korean immigrant sample with other immigrants, whereas Noh et. al.’s (1992) comparison group consisted of both foreign and native-born.
Overview of Settlement and Adaptation Theories and Definitions of Terms

Literature on settlement and adaptation needs of newcomers and immigrants can be broadly divided into discussions about theoretical models or the extent to which a newcomer is settled and adapted into the host country. "Settlement", refers to the process of adjustment of newcomers to a new country and culture (Drachman, et. al., 1996) and "adaptation", is broadly conceived as the process in which "immigrants' modify their attitudinal and behavioral patterns in order to maintain and improve their life conditions compatible with the new environment" (Hurh and Kim, 1984a, p.188). Both definitions encapsulates a broad range of experiences related to settlement, for instance, from the more immediate concerns of language, employment, and housing to on-going processes of cultural, political, and social participation in the new country.

Theory-based models break down the settlement process into time-specific stages. Drachman, Kwon-Ahn, and Paulino's (1996) identified three stages, “premigration” or “departure stage”, “transit” or “intermediate stage”, and “resettlement”. The first stage captures events preceding immigration, while the latter two stages applies to posts immigration events. Likewise, Mwarigha (1998) distinguishes between three settlement tasks according to three different time lines. These various stages of migration provide an ideal template for heuristic purposes, however, it is limited by its linearity. In other words, time specific approaches simplify experiences, making it hard to take into account people who find themselves still struggling in the initial stage even after many years in Canada.

The second type of discussion incorporates the use of such terms as acculturation, assimilation, integration, segregation, separation and "adhesive adaptation". During the acculturation process, immigrants modify their former values, customs, and behaviours as
they begin to learn the characteristics of the host society (Hurh and Kim, 1984b; James, 1995; Song, 1999). Assimilation is an aspect of acculturation but differs in that it involves "relinquishing one's cultural identity" (James, 1995, p.7) and merging into the larger society. Gordon (1964) distinguishes even further, between "cultural or behavioural assimilation" and "structural assimilation". "Cultural or behavioural assimilation" denotes the change in immigrants' cultural patterns to resemble the culture of the larger society while "structural assimilation" occurs when ethnic groups participate in the social and economic systems of the larger society.

Integration implies "the maintenance of the cultural integrity of the group, as well as the movement by the group to become an integral part of a larger societal framework" (Henry, Tator, Mattis, and Rees, 2000 in Desai and Subramanian, 2000, p. 27). In other words, groups and individuals can become full participants in the social, economic, cultural, and political life of a society while simultaneously retaining their own cultural identity. Such an arrangement may occur where there is some degree of structural assimilation but little cultural and behavioral assimilation.

Segregation or separation is when there are no positive associations with the host country, accompanied by preservation of ethnic identity and traditions (Hurh and Kim, 1984a). When the dominant group imposes the pattern, segregation occurs to keep people in "their place". On the other hand, the maintenance of a traditional way of life outside full participation in the larger society may derive from a group's desire to lead an independent existence. Thus, separation by the group from the larger society takes place. Thus, segregation and separation differ only with respect to which group or groups have the power to determine the outcome.
Lastly, the term “adhesive adaptation” was introduced by Hurh and Kim (1984a; 1984b) to help understand the unique adaptation patterns of Korean immigrants in North America. It suggests that “certain aspects of the new culture and social relations with members of the host society are added on to the immigrants’ traditional culture and social networks, without replacing or modifying any significant part of the old” (Hurh and Kim, 1984b, p. 162). This concept stems from Gordon’s (1964) distinction between cultural assimilation and structural assimilation mentioned earlier and from the proposition that acculturation is a necessary but not sufficient condition for social assimilation. Hurh and Kim (1984a; 1984b) provides support for this supposition in their examination of six different dimensions (social, economic, cultural, religious, psychological, and family role adjustment) to adaptation (Hurh and Kim, 1984b).

\[11\] In Canada, the term has generally referred to White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant males.
Characteristics of the Korean Immigrant Community in Toronto

To set the stage for this study, the following section will present the characteristics of the Korean population in Toronto from recent government statistics (Statistics Canada, 1994). This includes figures on the Korean immigrant population, their language, marital and family status, and labour force participation, and income levels.

Koreans represented the fifth largest visible minority group in Toronto in 1996. Their population of 28,555 represented 2.1% of the total visible minority population in Toronto. Among the cities encompassing former Metropolitan Toronto, North York had the highest congregation of Korean immigrants (Statistics Canada, 1996). Koreans accounted for 6130 immigrants. Nearly half (46%) of recent immigrants from Korea settled in North York. This accounted for the highest concentration of recent immigrants.

Language

Among the 28,555 Korean visible minority population in Toronto, those who considered Korean as their mother tongue numbered 23,815. Of these, 18,670 spoke Korean at home while the remainder spoke English. The vast majority had basic knowledge of English, but 4,065 could not carry on a conversation in English nor in French. However, the figure representing those who have knowledge of the English language should be interpreted with discretion. Subjective evaluations of one's language abilities are provided on the census questionnaire. Moreover, having knowledge or possessing an ability to conduct a conversation in English does not necessarily equate to a high level of proficiency in the language.

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12 The descriptions presented in this section were adopted from Census Metropolitan Toronto.
Marital Status and Family Status

Less than half (44.8%) of the Korean visible minority group in Toronto was married compared to 1.3% who reported to be separated and 2.0% who were divorced in 1996. Another 2.4% were lone parents and 1.0% living under common-law.

Labour Force Participation and Income

Among the Korean immigrant population who were fifteen years and older in 1996, 42.7% were employed compared to 5.4% who were not employed and another 34.1% who were not pursuing employment (e.g., ineligible to work). Those with full-time jobs accounted for 23.3% of the Korean population in Toronto. A slightly higher percentage (24.4%) of Koreans were employed on a part-time status. Less than a quarter (22.6%) worked in management; 14.0% in business, finance, and administration; and 36.4% in sales and service occupations; and 5.9% in social science, education, government services and religious fields (Statistics Canada, 1994). However, it should be noted that while labour force participation includes individuals as young as fifteen years old, many teenagers may be a source of unpaid “helping hands” in their parents’ business.

The average employment income for individuals working full-time was $28,077 while $13,798 was the average income among individuals employed part-time. The majority of the sources of income (79.1%) for this ethnic group derived from employment while only 12.8% were from government transfer payments.
Methods

This study is an attempt to address the gaps by distinguishing between Korean newcomer and immigrant families' settlement and adaptation needs in Toronto and an evaluation of the currently available social service offered by the Korean community. A qualitative approach is used to collect and document the findings. This method is appropriate in facilitating an in-depth exploration into the complexities and processes of settlement among Korean families in Toronto, within the constraints of a small non-random sample and a nominal budget.

The specific qualitative method of data collection consisted of face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with both immigrants and key-informants. It was useful in obtaining in-depth data quickly. It also allowed the freedom for immediate follow-up and clarification along with the use of probing questions on certain issues and responses. Moreover, face-to-face interviews provided an environment for participants to express their opinions freely.

This study collected data from two groups: Korean families and key informants from the Korean-Canadian community in Toronto. Korean families were divided again into two groups: newcomers who have been in Canada three years or less and immigrants who have been in Canada longer than three years. One member of the family, usually the adult female (mother) was interviewed. Families were defined as units with one or more children between the ages of zero to twenty-nine at the time of the interview and living in either single parent, divorced/separated, widowed or two parent households. The interviews were held over a period of two months and each interview lasted for about an hour to an hour and a half.

The interview schedules (see Appendix V and VI) for both Korean families and key informants had two main components. The first consisted of closed-ended questions
designed to capture participants' demographic information. The latter contained open-ended questions to help gain a fuller understanding of participants' issues and concerns.

**Ethics Approval**

Before any data for the study was collected, ethics approval was sought and received from the Health Science Review Committee at the University of Toronto. A detailed written proposal of the study that described the purpose, usefulness, and risks, and benefits of participants being involved the study was presented. Ethics approval was received in December 2000.

As part of the procedure to minimize potential risk and maximize confidentiality, participants were explicitly told about the purpose of the study and what steps were involved to most effectively ensure their privacy and confidentiality at the start of each interview. For instance, the respondents' information is only presented in aggregate form. The only identifiable information in the data files is a research code and only the researcher has access to their individual responses. The file linking research identifiers and participant names are kept in a double-locked location, separate from the transcripts.

The requirement to report "abusive behaviour" was explained to all participants. There were not any reports of this kind and so no action was taken. Participants were also informed that they had the right to refuse to answer any or all of the questions, to terminate the interview at any time without explanation (understanding that their involvement is voluntary), and free to raise any questions about the research. Consent forms and study information sheets, available in both English and Korean, were handed out at the start of the interviews.
Participants

A combination of approaches was taken to recruit participants.

Recruiting Key Informants

Key informants were recruited from the training program sponsored by Korean-Canadian Telecare Lifeline during the fall of 2000. It was specifically held for English speaking Koreans who were interested in volunteering for an English speaking counselling telephone line for the English speaking Korean-Canadian community. Key informants from the Korean community were involved as speakers on various topics. A snowball sampling technique was also employed to contact possible participants who were not part of the training program. Snowball sampling consisted of the researcher asking participants if they were acquainted with anyone who matched the criteria and would be willing to participate. The criterion to identify key informants was professionals providing front-line social service or indirect services to the Korean-Canadian community in Toronto. Potential participants were contacted by telephone, e-mail and/or in-person. Once the researcher received interest to participate in the study, individuals were contacted by telephone and an appointment for the interview time and location was scheduled. A summary of the study (see Appendix II) and a copy of the flyer (see Appendix I) was faxed, mailed or emailed to them prior to the interviews.

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13 The training program for volunteers began in September and lasts for eight consecutive weeks. The lifeline already has an established Korean speaking line and hopes to start an English speaking line for English speaking members of the Korean-Canadian community.
Recruiting Immigrant Families

Flyers (see Appendix I) describing the purpose of the study and the contact information were circulated by key informants or those in contact with the Korean population in Toronto. Participants were also recruited through the snowball sampling method.

These approaches were used because it is difficult to obtain a random sample of the Korean population in Toronto. Furthermore, these approaches made it more likely that participants who have not accessed settlement or social services will be included in the proposed study.

Characteristics of Key Informants

Of the twenty-six interviews conducted, ten were with key informants from the Korean community in Toronto (see Appendix VIII for a profile of key informants). The key informants included professionals providing front-line psychological and social services or indirect services to the Korean-Canadian community in Toronto. They included a psychiatrist, a researcher in the field of mental health, settlement workers, a lawyer, a pastor, a health promoter, and executive and program directors from different agencies.

Characteristics of Families

The remaining sixteen interviews were with families (see Appendix VII for a profile of the families). Of them, nine mothers and one father were from immigrant families while five mothers and a single couple were from newcomer families. The majority of the time, the female householder was the primary participant on behalf of the family since most Korean immigrants work long hours (Kim and Hurh, 1993), making it highly unlikely to have both spouses available for the interview. Additionally, given the background of Korean culture, it
was difficult for the female researcher to form a rapport with the male household heads and discuss family problems. However, there was one interview with both partners present\textsuperscript{14} and one interview with the male head of the household\textsuperscript{15}.

Among the family sample, the interviewees were all born in Korea, had an average of two children, and all the members of the family were living together in Canada. The average participants were in their forty’s (ranging from twenty’s to fifty’s). The total family income averaged about $30,000. In the immigrant family sample (those who have been in Canada longer three years and longer), five were married, one was widowed, and three were divorced and remained single while one was remarried; eight were actively involved in the Protestant Church, one was affiliated with the Catholic Church, and one was non-religious; and seven were living in rented units/dwellings with the remaining three owning their homes. Of the newcomer sample (those who have been in Canada less than three years), all were married; three were attending Protestant Churches regularly, two were affiliated with the Catholic church, and one was non-religious; and three lived in rented units/dwellings, one lived with extended family members, and two owned their own homes.

Procedure

At the start of the interview, consent forms (see Appendix III and IV) were provided to all participants, including key informants, to read and sign. Detailed notes were taken during the interview and transcribed at the end of each day. No form of audio or video

\textsuperscript{14} Both the partners were able to be present at the time of the interview because at the time of interview they had enough money saved up in investments to support their living.

\textsuperscript{15} The father was interviewed because he was a single parent living with his two children.
taping of the interview was conducted\textsuperscript{16}. Data collection began in January 2001 and concluded at the end of February of that same year, a total of twenty-six interviews.

All the interviews with families and three interviews with key informants were conducted in Korean while the remaining seven key informant interviews were held in English. From this process, three sets of data were gathered from the newcomers, immigrants, and key informants. The quantitative demographic data was compiled to form profiles of the participants. The qualitative data from the interviews were transcribed into thematic coding schemes (Charmaz, 1983; Unrau and Coleman, 1997) and presented by thematic issues in the findings sections of this study. Three main themes from the interviews with the families are discussed. The themes from the key informant data are weaved throughout the discussion section. Eleven sub-themes are presented.

Throughout the research process, steps were taken to answer four questions related to "trustworthiness" (Lincoln and Guba, 1993):

1. How can one establish confidence in the "truth" of the findings of a particular inquiry for the subjects... with which and the context in which the inquiry was carried out?
2. How can one determine the extent to which the findings of a particular inquiry have applicably in other contexts or with other subjects...?
3. How can one determine whether the findings of an inquiry would be repeated if the inquiry were replicated with the same... subjects... in the same ... context?
4. How can one establish the degree to which the findings of an inquiry are determined by the subjects... and conditions of the inquiry and not by the biases, motivations, or perspectives of the inquirer? (p. 290)

These questions address issues of "truth value" or "credibility", "applicability" or "transferability", "consistency" or "dependability", and "neutrality" or "confirmability" respectively, and in affect, help to build a credible argument for the legitimacy and

\textsuperscript{16} Interviews were not audio or video taped because of the concerns expressed by the respondents.
worthiness of qualitative studies (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 in Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, and Allen, 1993; Lincoln and Guba, 1993).

In this study, techniques such as “prolonged engagement”, “persistent observation”, “triangulation” (including “peer debriefing” and “member checking”), and a “reflexive journal” were utilized to answer the first question. The first of these techniques (prolonged engagement) was made possible by the mere fact that the researcher is Korean and had been a part of the Korean immigrant community in Toronto for nearly twenty years. The considerable amount of time immersed in the culture allowed for the researcher to literally, live and breath the Korean immigrant culture on a daily basis, assess for respondent’s distortions, and to build trust rather quickly.

Secondly, persistent observation, which involves “identify[ing] those characteristics and elements in the situation that are most relevant to the problem or issue being pursued and focusing on them in detail” (Lincoln and Guba, 1993: 304), was achieved using a questionnaire (see Appendix V and VI) to guide the interview process. When inconsistent information was found, additional questions were posed to clarify the given content. This information was followed through in subsequent interviews with other respondents to test and differentiate between inappropriate and relevant realities.

Triangulation, the third mode of ascertaining confidence in the accuracy of the findings of this study, was established through informal discussions and member checking. Informal discussions with peers, either members of the Korean immigrant community or professionals working with the Korean immigrant community in a social capacity, occurred regularly. This was helpful in testing working hypotheses and inferences, examining alternate explanations, exposing researcher biases and presuppositions, and finally, creating
opportunities for catharsis. This last function, catharsis, was invaluable to the quality of the study in that it separated personal issues and emotions that may obscure good, impartial judgment. Similarly, member checking with the researcher's supervisors, who are well versed in this field, allowed for the assessment of interpretations, conclusions, and theme categories. For instance, transcriptions of interviews and drafts of the written report were reviewed.

Lastly, documentation of research decisions in the form of a journal form was updated periodically. This form of credibility and accountability is also useful in answering the remaining three questions listed above.

In addition to a reflexive journal, "thick description" was used to address the second inquiry of applicability or transferability (Lincoln and Guba, 1993). Thick description is the descriptive data, such as, characteristics of respondents and the context of their experiences that is required for another researcher to make "a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility" (Lincoln and Guba, 1993: 316).

In order to respond to the issue of dependability and confirmability, an audit trail involving an interview notes, journal, and debriefing notes were used to log the study's process, product and conclusions.

**Limitations**

Several factors in this study restricted the generalizability of the findings to the greater Korean newcomer and immigrant community in North America. For one, the present research was limited to the unique, multi-cultural setting of Toronto. Secondly, due to time constraints, the sample size was kept small, hence a pilot study. Moreover, there were an uneven number of participants in each family group. Lastly, participants were recruited
using a snowball sampling method. This may have interfered with the process of recruiting a diverse yet representative sample of the Korean newcomer and immigrant population.

Another limitation of the study was during data collection. Detailed notes of the interviews were taken as opposed to transcriptions. The drawback to doing the former is the likely loss of relevant data. In addition, the majority of the interviews were conducted in Korean and later translated to English. It is possible that some of the original idioms, meanings, and expressions could have been lost during the translation process.

Participants' concern for privacy also contributed to the limitations of this study. Given Korean community's relatively small (yet growing) population in Toronto, participants may be hesitant to freely disclose information, thoughts, and experiences. The researcher being a member of the ethnic community may also add to the selective disclosure. Moreover, being immersed in a culture for a significant amount of time may lead to oversight or omission of relevant information that might have otherwise caught the attention of someone new to a culture. Thus, a characteristic that is beneficial to the credibility of the study can become a source of hindrance.
Findings

This section focuses on the experiences that ten Korean immigrant (families who have been here longer than three years) and six Korean newcomer families (those who have been in Canada three years and less) faced upon immigration. The three main themes discussed are push and pull factors, settlement issues, and barriers to accessing help. Under the "settlement issues" section, language, employment, housing, education, health, and social involvement issues were addressed. The discussion on language also delved in to the topic of the role of language in employment and familial relationships. And within the "barriers to accessing help" section, Korean community issues, level of professionalism, location, gaps in service, and lack of awareness of services were presented. The differences found between these two groups will be highlighted. Lastly, the interviews were conducted in Korean and transcribed into English.

Push and Pull Factors

For newcomer families, seeking financial prosperity was less of a motivation for moving to Canada than other benefits like Canada’s health care plan, educational system, and lifestyle. The interviews with the following two families indicate a desire to remove their children from Korea’s highly competitive and stressful academic ambiance while escaping the densely populated and hectic lifestyle of Korea.

In the first family, the husband had settled alone in Canada first, before being reunited with the rest of his family six months later. In Korea, he worked with computers and his wife was an acupuncturist. However, in Canada, they have not been able to resume with their occupations; instead, they are over qualified for their jobs in the customer service sector. Presently, their children are in middle school and high school:
When we decided to come here, we didn't have any aspirations to live better. We didn't come here to live better because back in Korea, we had a comfortable lifestyle. But an opportunity arose. My husband came six months beforehand to test out the possibility of living here in Canada. He wanted to see if our kids would benefit from growing up in Canada, if we would find employment, and it would benefit our family in the long haul. Well, he thought it would be good for us to move here. That's why we are here. From the beginning, my husband wanted to study computers in Canada ... Money is not the most important thing for us. It's more important that the family is doing well, or why else would we have come here to Canada? Why come here if it's not for the benefit of the children since we were living a comfortable life in Korea? ... In Korea, the lifestyle is busy and hectic. The country is densely populated and crowded. That's part of the lifestyle in Korea. ... And there are no social or government benefits and so when people visit Canada, they are left with a very good impression. (F03bii)

The next family lived in Vancouver for two years before moving to Toronto six months ago to benefit their son's education. Their son is currently in his first year at the University of Toronto. In Korea, they worked as a pharmacist and bank manager. Currently, they are living on personal savings and investments:

We came here for better opportunities for our son, a wider horizon, greater exposure to the world, and educational opportunities. ... for ourselves, we came for health related reasons because in Korea, the lifestyle is so busy, you can't really enjoy yourself; it's hard to enjoy life. It's better here where you're able to have a more relaxing lifestyle. (F14bv)

Immigrant families who have been here longer than three years had similar experiences. They, too, were attracted to Canada’s social services and the educational opportunities available for their children. However, they expected that there would be more prosperous economic opportunities than were available in Korea. The following family who has been in Canada for more than nineteen years came with aspirations to have financial security and a comfortable life:
When we thought of coming to Canada, we automatically thought of the North American dream, that coming to Canada would open opportunities to earn lots of money, own a business and become well off. ... We expected a better lifestyle, better social system with a retirement plan, better facilities and services for seniors, and better healthcare plan than Korea. (F01ai)

The next family's also has a goal to attain certain economic status. The mother of this family lived in Canada for more than a year as a single woman before returning to Korea. She remained in Korea until she was married and then immigrated more permanently to Canada:

After going back to Korea, I returned again with my 2 kids and husband in late 1995. We first arrived and settled in Vancouver for about 3 to 4 years and then moved to Toronto in 1999. For us now, the issue is how to make money, how can we make a living. (F07av)

Only one out of the ten respondents reported that finding financial prospects was the least of their reasons for immigrating. Instead, they were initially attracted to the lifestyle:

When we first immigrated, we weren't worried about finances because back then, we were well off. We wanted more leisure opportunities in Canada than we had in Korea (F11aviii)

Unfortunately, this family experienced a turn of events. The parents of this family had an unexpected divorce and the father was left with the custody of their two children. Although his background is in computers, he runs a small business that barely helps to pay the bills and provide for the family's needs.

**Settlement Issues**

**Language**

Struggling to gain proficiency in the English language is a common reality for many newcomer and immigrant families. Government sponsored programs like English as a Second Language (ESL), Language Instruction to Newcomers to Canada (LINC), or other forms of English training are offered in various locations throughout the city. They assist
newcomers and immigrants to make the transition from a non-English speaking country. Almost all newcomers participated in LINC classes. However, they feel that the training they received was inadequate. They attributed this result to how the curriculum and classroom were structured. Usually in one class, there are students from various countries with different learning needs. Some of the students were more fluent in the speaking aspect of the language than in writing or grammar, while Korean immigrants and newcomers believed they did relatively well in writing and comprehending correct grammatical sentence structures, but their ability to converse in English was weak. Subsequently, the instructor was unable to meet all their learning needs. Korean immigrant students and newcomers were left feeling ill equipped for real life situations where having command of the English language is vital:

Hearing and listening is difficult which often times leads to miscommunication. I have a hard time making appropriate and correct sentences and having conversations in English. ... I already have a hard time trying to understand English without an accent, so imagine me trying to learn from a teacher who speaks English with an accent. It’s hard. ... I thought that after I took the entry test for LINC, I would be in a class with students who were at a similar level as me, with similar learning needs. I found out that it wasn’t the case. Even though I was in a level three class, the students there were all on different levels and had different learning needs. I feel that I should be in a different class, in a lower level. But because of funding, they put me in a higher level. They want students to graduate faster, which means that the cost of one student is lower than if a student was in the LINC system longer. They care about numbers and how many people go through the program, not about taking the time to make sure the students learn. They want a high turnover rate. (F03bii)

Another family expressed similar concerns regarding English classes:

We found about the ESL program from other residents in the condominium we live in. In the condominium where we live, there are a lot of newly arriving Korean immigrants. We were tested for our level of English. ... but because there are too many people attending, the learning we receive is not adequate. Because the ratio between teacher/instructor to students is high, the
teachers cannot and are not able to be attentive to your individual needs as they can be. If they were able to, that would be helpful. (F14bv)

In fact, immigrant families admit that they have been focused on finding ways to maintain an employed status but also aspiring to a certain level of economic status rather than on learning English. In retrospect, they wished that they had sought out the long-term benefits of gaining mastery over the English language. Henceforth, their advice for newcomer families would be to consider investing in their family’s future by obtaining English proficiency. This is the same family who had dreams of prospering materially. The mother recently started attending ESL classes really for the first time in nineteen years of living in Canada:

I realize that one needs to have mastery over English before moving on, like before finding a job because I realize now that proficiency in the language either closes a lot of doors or opens them. (F01ai)

The next family immigrated thirteen years ago. The mother is a single parent with one adult child and one adolescent. Once a secretary in Korea, she now works in sales:

I find that being able to work and learn English are most important to an immigrant. ... When I first came, I worked at nights. I should have focused on learning English instead and tried earning a degree. Rather, by being focused on earning a living, I resorted to an immediate survival technique. If I could do it over again, I would plan and assess what I want out of life and even if it takes time, I would think about investing for the future. I would have benefited from this kind of advice and guidance. I wish someone had told me to learn English before I start looking for a job so that I could have at least considered this option. The “smart way” to life as an immigrant is to learn the language. Without that, you’ll always struggle and be limited in what you can do. (F04aii)

The unfamiliarity and newness of the language dissipated over time when the families acquired the basic language skills to “get by” in everyday situations, but language issues became a factor in employment and familial relationships.
Employment

Half of the immigrant respondents associated language issues with attaining employment. In contrast, only one newcomer family commented on this issue. For many of the immigrant families in this sample, fluency in the language is critical. Otherwise, employment opportunities are limited to self-employment, menial work, and labouring in over qualified positions. For instance, the husband in the following family was well educated in English. He has a degree in English and was even trained in the States for airplane mechanics. Yet, he only found menial jobs that required long hours, low wages, and grueling physical labour. This is the same family who had aspirations for a more affluent life in Canada:

My husband’s ability to communicate in English was okay. He had good references [from Korea] but because of the recession in Canada, my husband was not accepted for any qualifying work. He also wasn’t able to get a good job because of the English requirement. … Before coming to Canada, my husband also had the experience of going to the States for a couple of years where he learned technical studies. Korea selected him as a representative to study overseas because he was good in English. After studying in the States, he would return [to Korea] to reeducate Korean students. … We looked in the Korean newspaper for possible employment opportunities. The Korean newspapers do not have a large listing of jobs. The kind of jobs they have are menial jobs like cashier, stocker, you know, hands on jobs. You have to look in English newspapers to find good, skilled jobs. We did look at English newspapers but because our English wasn’t good enough, we couldn’t apply for those jobs. So the only things we could find that we were eligible for was low paying, manual labour type of jobs like working in convenience stores. (F01ai)

This next family was mentioned earlier as one that was surprised by the divorce, which left the family financially unprepared. Here, the father describes how he possesses the potential to earn a decent income given his experience and background in computers.
However, he is restricted to operating a small business because of his limited language skills.

This is a story that is common among immigrants:

… immigration experience didn’t go as planned. I never would have imagined that things would be the way things are now days. Things have been difficult. … I have not been able to fulfil what I originally desired and wanted and so now, I end up doing what I don’t want to do or thought I wouldn’t do. “I’m one of them”; I’m no different than any other Korean person who immigrates and opens up a store. … Lacking proficiency in English has been a barrier. And because of my age, I can’t pursue the career path I want. I’m financially unstable now. (F11aviii)

Korean immigrants also expressed a lack of confidence from not being able to have mastery over the language. Consequently, they never applied for positions that they were qualified for because they lacked the language skills. The following families describe the effect language abilities has on their lives:

Trying to find a landscaping job poses challenges. For one, the lack of English proficiency never gave me the hope or courage to even attempt to apply for a position. (F05aiii)

Similarly:

In Korea, I was a secretary but I don’t even dream of pursuing that here in Canada because of the language. That’s why I have to use my body, employ my body for physical labour. (F04aii)

Conversely, there are those who are able to resume where they left off. Such is the case with one newcomer family. The male head of the household had held a highly technical position back in Korea. Without much difficulty, he was able to find work in a familiar field:

We were in Guelph for 2 months. … I attended English school in Guelph then my husband came to Toronto by himself before the rest of the family did. He wanted to see what kind of employment opportunities there were. He had already researched for jobs on the Internet from Guelph and had sent out 6 to 7 resumes. … He didn’t have too hard a time finding employment. We had heard that usually, it’s hard to find the jobs that you’re looking for and that it’s not fast or easy to find employment. But my husband was lucky. He got a job that was in sort of his field… razor cutting, welding, a
high technical position. He enjoys his work. It's not the exact job he had in Korea but it's within the same field. (F02bi)

Familial Relationships

Newcomer families did not suggest that familial relationships were negatively impacted by immigration. For the most part, the children and their parents shared the same language, culture, and even worldview.

On the other hand, most (eight out of ten) of the immigrant families in the sample recounted challenges that were related to the different rates of acculturation experienced between the children and their parents. Children in these families have become fluent in English and in many cases, have a limited knowledge of the Korean language. They are able to carry on a simple, everyday conversation but anything more extensive like expressing their feelings or thoughts is more difficult. Meanwhile, their parents have retained fluency in their former language with a slower rate of acquisition of English. Thus, the primary challenge between children and their parents has been in communication:

The older one speaks more English while the younger one speaks more Korean. So communication with my kids is okay right now.... Everyday communication is manageable, but it's hard for them to communicate deep thoughts and expressions in Korean. (F08avi)

This family came to Canada seventeen years ago. The children were born in Canada. During most of their childhood, they lived with their grandmother, but after the divorce, the mother was granted custody of her children. Likewise, the second family conveyed similar experiences with their child. They immigrated to Canada nineteen years ago. Their children were in Korea until they were eight and six years old:
We have no problems communicating with our older child. Somehow, he hasn’t forgotten Korean. I remember how he used to take night classes for Korean. And one time, he brought home a plaque that he got for writing an essay on “kim-chi”. So he’s fluent in both English and Korean. Our younger child, she’s not as fluent. Although she can carry on a simple conversation, she gets easily frustrated when she’s trying to explain something or have a discussion with us. When she gets frustrated, she’ll start speaking in English and then walk away in the middle of the conversation. I think it’s because she can’t find the right words in Korean to express herself. (F16ax)

Parents are also concerned about how inadequate they feel when it comes to helping their children with homework due to the parents’ limited comprehension of the English language:

I can’t help kids with their school work after a certain grade like high school because of the language. What they are learning and how they learn is different than what I was exposed to in Korea. (F04a(ii)

And:

It would be helpful if there were assistance during school teacher-parent interviews, like if somebody can help translate. Also, if there was help with relating to kids as communication with kids decreases due to widening English and Korean language gaps between the parents and the kids. Less and less, I feel that I can help my kids in school as much as I would like to because of the language issue again. (F05aiii)

Furthermore, language issues are intertwined with cultural issues. In the case of the family who settled in Canada nineteen years ago, they struggle to have some kind of resolution between two opposing cultures and their values. For example, the children in this family grew up greatly influenced by Western culture and its values. They have embraced them as their own worldview while the parents have held onto the cultural patterns of their former country and adapt slowly to that of the West:

Korean parents in Korea are recognized and respected and there is a sense of hierarchy between parents and kids. But kids who have grown up here have a more individual mentality and they hold this kind of worldview. They don’t seem to understand our Korean culture. So, clashes and misunderstandings and quarrels happen. Communication is a big barrier to the parent-child relationship. Along this line, in Korea, the parent’s role is
to be mindful your child’s business, but here, kids say, “it’s not your business”. Thus, there seems to be a cultural difference playing out between kids and parents. I don’t think you can fix it or make one person move to the other side but how do you close the gap between the cultural differences? ... The way kids think differs and sometimes I regret that we do think differently. Perhaps, parents should have taught them Korean values while at home. ... We probably experience immigrant life differently because of our different cultural experiences. So sometimes, I also think that parents need to give into the way culture is in Canada to better understand kids and help kids adjust better to Canadian life. I find that until high school, the parent child relationship is okay. But once they hit university, the communication between kids and parents stop/seize because of the inability of parents to understand the culture in which our kids live in. (F01ai)

Similar concerns were also identified in another family:

My older daughter can speak Korean so I don’t have a problem communicating with her. But I do with my younger daughter. I notice that there is a difference between kids raised in Canada and their parents who were raised in Korea. There is a generation and cultural gap. (F04lii)

Likewise, participants who were either divorced or separated also attributed part of their situation to disparities in culture.

All newcomer families were married compared to five single immigrant parents. Of the single parent homes, four were divorced or separated while living in Canada. Three of the families related their marital circumstances to cultural differences, opposing family goals, and the process of integration between the husband and wife of each couple and not to their rates of language acquisition since both partners’ mother tongue was Korean:

... and in Canada is where I met my husband. Because he left Korea in the 70’s, earlier than me, his views, outlook on life, idea of family relationships, things like that reflected those of Korea in the 70’s. ... It’s almost as he’s time warped. He hasn’t changed. But this differs from my views because I left in a different decade and my views and attitudes reflected that era of Korea. ... There was a gap in my thinking, views, perceptions and my husband’s, which made it difficult for us in our marital relationship. (F06aiv)
Some of the women who are now divorced or separated were in abusive relationships. The abuse began shortly after their immigration to Canada and early on in their marriage. They did not associate the violence to stressors caused by immigration.

**Employment**

Those who had professional or skilled jobs in Korea, such as, acupuncturist, pharmacist, computer programmer, or technical engineer had a hard time finding work in their respective occupations. Many times, their experiences, credentials, and skills were not transferable or acknowledged in Canada. To have these validated qualifications, they are required to reapply for a Canadian license, upgrade their training, or gain work experience in Canada. Thus, concerns about the loss of status and disappointment of not being able to find work that related to their previous vocations were experienced by both immigrant and newcomer families.

The next two families are newcomers to Canada. The parents of first family are currently working as employees of food service business. In Korea, the husband specialized in computers and the wife was an acupuncturist in Korea. They currently work as employees of food service businesses:

... I was an acupuncturist in Korea and my husband was in a computer related line of work. ... Our degrees and experiences from Korean were not acknowledged. We need Ontario licensing to practice but because of our poor English level, we can't go to school to obtain the license that’s needed to resume the same profession we had in Korea. Plus, it’s too time consuming to start over, to go to school and get re-licensed. ... We lost our status and degree here in Canada. ... We would like more recognition, even amongst the Korean community in Canada. We come here to Canada and our life has changed completely. We live a different lifestyle, and we feel like we lost our status, socioeconomic class, respect. ... I'm saddened by the loss ... (F03bii)
The second newcomer family has waited to begin working. They are presently attending

English classes:

We don’t want to leave or throw away what we had in Korea to start all over again in Canada. I’m finding that usually, Korean immigrants resort to lower class jobs. They throw away their education, experience, status to work in small businesses and convenience stores. Koreans are different than Jewish or Russian immigrants who invest in education. So I think that Korean immigrants need to concentrate on learning English and being educated. Rather, I’m finding that Koreans are quick to look for financial opportunities. They are more immediately invested in earning money. (F09biii)

Immigrant families are able to identify with newcomers’ experience of having to begin a new career. The following immigrant families describe how their lives have changed dramatically upon immigration. The first quote is from a single mother with two boys. She divorced her husband after many years of abuse that began in Canada:

   It’s hard now because there are not many opportunities for women wanting to work at my age. I do alterations on a part time basis…. I look in the classifieds and other people help me to look for a job but I haven’t been too successful. I have an Education Diploma from Korea but I can’t use it here. I used to be a teacher before I came here. Now, the worth of my education has dropped. … I experienced stress and depression because I had lost my status, recognition, value, self-worth, and confidence when I came here and became just a housewife and mom…. When you start doing something totally different than what you did in Korea, its disappointing and difficult to adjust both emotionally and mentally. I don’t have the right certification to work here and continue what I did in Korea. It’s hard on my body and mind. And usually the time you do work is not rewarded. You loose one aspect of life, mainly the leisure, pleasure aspect. And it’s sad but you have nothing to show for all the hard work you do. (F08avi)

Likewise, the subsequent immigrant family arrived in Canada with certain expectations and mentality toward employment, only to find out the reality that awaits immigrants in a foreign country:
If you work hard enough, you will be successful—that's what we thought coming to Canada and that was our motto, but because of systemic and structural barriers, this is not true. In Korea, my husband used to be a landscape architect. He didn’t learn how to design using computers. At the time in Korea, doing things by hand was acceptable and widely practiced. But when we came here, we realized that computer skills were needed in order to qualify for landscape designing jobs. ... Plus, if you don't graduate from a school in Canada, it’s hard to compete with others who have received their education here. Now, my husband works as a sushi chef. ... He works twelve hours a day, six days a week. (F05aiii)

There also seems to be some differences between newcomer families and immigrant families. Half of the newcomer families sensed less urgency in finding employment. They were financially secure enough that they did not settle for jobs for which they would be over qualified for and were able to pursue such things as education. For example, the wife of the following family is currently attending English classes and is thinking about volunteering for a non-profit organization. Both her and her husband are currently not working. They have the financial resources to be able to do this:

We’re not yet looking for work. We’re financially able to be not working right now. I’m still thinking about volunteering and I want to go to college. I don’t want to work. ... In Korea, my husband used to work for a company. He’ll probably study here. (F09biii)

The next family is in a similar situation where they are living off of their financial investments and are under no pressure to work:

We’re currently not working. We’re fortunate enough and financially able to live off of investments for now. ... We were thinking about working, like owning a small business but we’re not in a hurry. If the opportunity comes up, we’ll look into it but we’re not in a rush. Plus, I don’t think people will employ us at this age and given our lack of English abilities. ... In Korea, [my wife] was a pharmacist in Chinese medicine. We won’t continue here because the license and practice in Korea is not transferable, but if she could, she would like to continue. (F14bv)

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17 The wife of this family ([F09biitii] did not work in Korea. Her husband was the sole breadwinner for their family of two teenage children.
For the Korean immigrant families, the possibility of returning to school and taking the necessary steps to be re-certified is not feasible. The process of re-certification not only demands a certain level of proficiency in the English language, which many lack, but their financial situation may not permit this. This means that they are more likely to not have the flexibility to pursue their previous occupations. Despite the skills and expertise that they brought over with them to Canada such as teaching, technical, and administrative skills, they find themselves limited to menial customer service jobs like cashiers. Hence, they must be willing to take jobs that are of lower social status and income. These jobs require minimal level of English and do not require high educational accomplishments, skills or prior experience. In return, the pay is low accompanied with long hours and demanding physical labour.

Similar to previous families who have lost their credentials and employability upon immigration, the mother of this family finds work as a cashier in a Korean owned business:

When I first came, I worked at nights when the kids were asleep or during the day when the kids were at school so that I could be home with them when they were not in school ... Working at Korean stores are the easiest. Easy meaning not in terms of amount of labour, but in terms of being hired there and feeling comfortable because once again, there is no language barrier. You don't need strong English skills when working in environments like that. (F04aii)

This father of the following family owns his business. His store offers Internet services, computer repairs, photocopying, photo processing, faxing, postal services and other stationary related items. Unfortunately, the cost of operating this store exceeds his earnings:

I've opened the store for about a year now. And it's not doing as well as I thought, not even enough to support a stable family income. So even if I wanted to take up another job, I can't because I don't have enough money for babysitting costs. When we divorced, my wife took all the money and so now, I have very little money. It's been financially difficult. ... Not only am I emotionally hurt, but financially as well. ... I'm here at the store from
9:30am to 7:00pm. Afterwards, I’m home with the kids helping them with homework and doing house chores. During the weekends, I’m even busier. (F11aviii)

The single mother in the following family describes the need for courage when one has to start over vocationally:

Right now, I’m working part-time so it’s not too many hours and I’m not at an age to retire so it’s financially tight. Once you lose a job and you’re at my age, it’s hard to find another job that’s not so labour intensive. And when you have to watch out for your health, it’s not as easy or your choices are minimal. … I’ve literally had to start all over again; even job wise, in searching for a job, I’ve had to start over. There are employment opportunities but you need courage. And perhaps that’s the hardest part. You need courage and endurance… Since my choices are limited, I have to find more reasons to be encouraged when I can and do find the courage to get a job or do something for myself because if I don’t, than I can’t live. It’s too unbearable. I had to change my frame of mind and begin afresh. To some degree, you have to rely on yourself more because if you rely on others, it may hinder you and get you disappointed more easily. (F08avi)

Thus, for many of the immigrant families, their choices were influenced by the need to work in order to support their families. Whether that meant working as cashiers, seamstress, or as a struggling small business owner, they envisioned for themselves no other options but to work in positions that differed from their foreign occupations.

Housing

Most newcomer and immigrant families found temporary housing with their relatives and friends. The first two quotes are from newcomer families:

We are living with my sisters-in-law right now. We plan to be there for a while before we find a place of our own. (F13biv)

and:

When we first arrived, my husband’s brother helped with housing. We lived together with them for the first forty days. Then we moved out, found a place for rent and a school for the kids. We then purchased our first home, which is conveniently located close to both my kid’s schools. (F15bvi)
while the third and forth are from immigrant families:

After the divorce, I had a hard time finding housing. I stayed with friends. Now I've remarried and am living with my second husband. ... I also stayed at my parents’ home for a while. ... After the divorce, my first husband stayed with his parents. ... When my first husband and I first arrived in Canada, we stayed with his parents until we found our own place to move into. (F10avii)

Likewise, relatives helped the immigrant family below:

When we came to Canada, we stayed with [my brother’s family] for a while. Then they moved and we remained at their apartment and have been there ever since. (F12aviii)

Some immigrant and newcomer families received help from Korean Canadian churches:

Finding housing can be difficult for us because there are three kids in our home. That’s why we came here to the Korean church apartment. ... From Windsor, ... we came to Toronto ... we were referred by a friend at church about applying for an apartment in the Church apartment building. So we did and now we are here. (F05aiii)

and:

When we first came, we stayed at a pastor’s house. We had a church connection when coming to Toronto. Apart from the people we came with from Korea, we didn’t’ know anybody. ... We stayed at the pastor’s house for about a month before we moved into an one bedroom apartment that was vacant in the same building as the pastor’s where we were staying. We stayed there with another family.... So all together, there were eight people in one bedroom apartment – four adults and four kids. ... Then our family moved out. We found the next place through people at church. (F16 ax)

All but one of the newcomer families stayed either with their extended families or with friends before settling in their own home. That family of four had difficulty finding housing. They had neither family nor people they knew who they could rely on for support pre-migration. In Korea, the parents held professional jobs and were well respected in their community. Having a hard time finding housing was an unfamiliar experience for them:
Some people don't realize how hard it is because they have family here in Canada. We had a hard time because we didn't know anyone and didn't have any family. At first, we did what was called a homestead\textsuperscript{18}; it was a one-bedroom basement apartment with shared bathroom and kitchen. This was where my husband lived when he was here by himself. And our family [of four] were there for a while because we had nowhere else to go. … The church we are attending was helpful. … We even stayed at church in the nursery room. While we were staying at the church, we registered for an apartment, which is located behind the church. (F03bii)

Like newcomer families, immigrant families stayed with family, friends, or acquaintances from the Korean Canadian community. But the involvement of social service agencies from the Korean Canadian community seems more prominent among immigrant families than newcomer families. When the following family first arrived in Canada, they literally came with no concrete plans, including housing arrangements. The Korean Canadian Cultural Centre in Toronto became involved with the family and helped them with temporary housing:

Someone at the Korean Cultural centre, a worker connected us to someone who helped us to search in the newspapers for housing. … When we first arrived here, we stayed at a hotel and then afterwards, we stayed at the worker’s home from the Korean community centre’s. (F01ai)

A social worker assisted the next family:

We used to live in Ontario housing apartments. It was referred to me by a social worker. When I first arrived in Toronto, the social worker helped me to get adjusted. (F04aii)

One of the challenges that an immigrant family faced was when they were in a mainstream housing setting, like shelters. In one family, where there was violence, the mother and her children sought help from the Korean Canadian Women’s Association. They referred her to a shelter where she and her children could stay until they were able to find a more permanent home:

\textsuperscript{18} Homestead is a term used to describe shared accommodations. Tenants have their own bedrooms but share
When I first came, I already had a house set up with my husband and mother in law. But it was hard to find housing after separating with my husband mainly because of financial constraints. I notice that in other ethnic communities, they have supports available to help people find housing. Between the time I left my husband and I was looking for housing, I stayed at a women's shelter for five months. At the shelter, they tell you how to go about to find housing. They provide you with information. From KCWA, I used a translator for the women's shelter, like when I was first settling in and learning how to use the resources that were available. I realized that not many women in similar situations as myself use the shelter system because it's so different. There definitely is a cultural difference, like in the food and language. (F08avi)

**Education**

Families expressed their concerns about Canada's educational system. These concerns were more prevalent among newcomer families than immigrant families. Only two immigrant families commented on this topic. Conversely, newcomer families seemed to feel that they were removed from involvement in their children's education. Compared to their situation in Korea where they had regular contact with their children's teachers, they feel removed from their children's education in Canada. This was mainly due to the parents' limited English proficiency. They were also disappointed with their children's curriculum. Parents felt that Canada fell short of Korea's standards for education. The Korean education system is enriched with many extra-curricular educational programs and activities. Moreover, these opportunities for their students are well organized and supported by governmental policies and individually by families:

... we were disappointed with the education system in Canada, like extra curricular activities and academics should be a part of the education curriculum but we found out that they were not very well done. The system here is very elementary compared to Korea's. In Korea, the music program is incorporated into the educational curriculum and there is a wide range of instruments from which children in elementary grades could choose. My kids were even shocked at the difference between the Korean and Canadian the use of common areas such as the kitchen and living room with other tenants.
education system. ... equipment wise, Canadian schools are ill equipped and lack the resources that schools in Korea have. ... Also, I would like to help my kids, I want to be involved with their schooling, like in parent-teacher meetings ... so I try to help my kids with their homework and try to be invested in them and with what they are doing in school. I also try to meet with teachers and discuss with them about my kids. (F02bi)

Moreover,

One of the ways that language becomes a barrier is seen in the effect it has on our family in school, in teacher and parent relationships. This is lacking due to the language barrier. We, the parents don’t have a relationship with our kid’s teachers and this is unfortunate. When there are parent’s nights or meetings, we take a translator to help us. ... We also try to keep updated on what’s going on at school through our kids. (F03bii)

However, the concern about the lack of resources seemed to be shared more amongst families with young children. The point about reduced pressures was emphasized among parents with children in high school or older.

One characteristic that attracted many Korean families to Canada was the lower emphasis Canadian society appeared to place on education. In Korea, immense pressure was placed upon students to be accepted to certain educational institutions and/or be accepted into certain programs. Parents felt that it was healthier for their children to be educated in an environment where their children are more motivated by their interests and pursuit of their dream rather than by societal or group pressures to obtain certain level of education or occupations:

My expectation for the older child is that she would find what she wants to do, find what she enjoys, that there would be a good match with the career path she chooses and what she likes and is good at. In Korea, students have to do what the availing trend is. But here, there is more liberty. Kids can pursue what they enjoy. That’s more motivating for the kids and in turn, they do their best. (F09biii)
Health

For both immigrant and newcomer families, they had no trouble finding family physicians. Either family or friends referred them or they located physicians by themselves using the Korean Canadian newspaper. Most of the family’s doctors were Korean or at least spoke Korean. For instance, some of the families went to see a Chinese doctor who could converse in Korean. Understandably, being able to communicate was the most important criteria when looking for a doctor:

I have a family doctor but he’s Chinese. I’m able to speak to him in Korean. ... It doesn’t matter if the doctor is not Korean, as long as I can communicate with him. That’s important because when you’re sick and something is wrong, you want to describe it as accurately as possible so that the doctor knows exactly what’s wrong and can cure it properly. (F03bii)

I feel nervous if the doctor can’t speak Korean because how are they going to understand me. (F01ai)

I can’t communicate with doctors who speak English but since my written English is better than spoken, I use a dictionary, paper, and pen when I need to interact with non-Korean doctors. ... Most of the time, I need an interpreter or I usually take someone I know, someone, like a friend who can translate for me. Or, I’ll pay for translation services. When I have trouble communicating, I usually have trouble comprehending or listening because the speed at which they speak tends to be too fast for me to catch what they are saying. ... Korean family doctor is important and generally, you feel comfortable with them. I feel that it’s necessary to find a Korean doctor because when you’re sick, you want to be able to communicate what is wrong with you or how you are feeling clearly. Moreover, there are certain expressions and terms in the Korean language that is just impossible to express in English, especially when you have a limited vocabulary. And you can’t do straight translations for some expressions like “gok gok sooshawl” without losing the intended meaning. It’s hard to be detailed. You’re never sure or certain that non-Korean doctors have understood you... you’re left wondering if they have really understood you. (F02bi)
Newcomer families did not mention the need for any other kind of services like counseling services. However, depending on their circumstances, some immigrant families seemed to have had exposure to other services besides that of a physician:

I had telephone consultations with counselors and a psychiatrist from the Korean community ... (F04a11)

In families where there was abuse in the home, divorce, or separation, counseling services with a non-Korean social worker or Korean counselor from KCWA were utilized:

I sought counselling services when I was going through a divorce. I asked them for advice and had discussions with them. I haven't sought counselling services for the kids yet though. (F11a11vii)

I didn't have much interaction with Korean services because my kids interact with an English speaking social worker and child services. ... The church helps a lot by providing me with information, spiritual guidance, and emotional support. ... through my child's school, she receives help and support from an occupational therapist, physiotherapist, speech therapist, and a home worker who works with her after school. These supports are not available in the Korean community. (F06a1iv)

Many resources from the mainstream community were involved in the family quoted above since one of the children had Down syndrome and the other child was developmentally delayed.

Social Involvement

The majority of families were involved in their own ethnic community rather than in mainstream activities. The majority found their social outlet through the ethnic church. Among newcomer families however, a couple of different responses were given. For instance, one family was associated with alumni groups in the Korean community:

My husband is also involved in the Korean soccer team. ... We're also a part of the school alumni group [from Korea] and church alumni from Korea. These alumni meetings are similar to religious activities in that during the meetings, we eat and share news, updates, information, job opportunities,
about how to raise kids, parenting, needs, housing sites, how to obtain driver's license, everything. (F02bi)

For another family, they are associated with the ethnic community by means of a less organized or institutionalized setting. For instance, their current neighbourhood is home to many other Korean new immigrant families. There, they meet Korean families and have no trouble finding an ethnic community there:

We don’t have to go far to find a Korean community. In the neighbourhood, the condominium where we live, there are many Koreans. This has its good aspect, that is, you’re always surrounded by other Korean people and there will always be people who you can go out with or do something with. The negative aspect is that there is a lack of privacy. (F14bv)

Then there are families who purposely disconnected themselves from the ethnic community. They do not find the association personally beneficial:

(Shaking head) We avoid (socializing with Koreans) because since Korea is so small, news or rumors spread like wild fire. So we dislike being around other Koreans. ... At school, there are some Koreans but I have more friends from other countries, so really, there is no opportunity to meet and converse with other Koreans. (F09biii)

At school, I met Koreans but after two weeks of school, I stopped attending because I had to look after my child. ... I’m not particularly fond of the Korean community though. (F13biv)

Compared to a number of different venues newcomer families have for social activities, immigrant families have fewer social outlets. Nine of the ten families said that their ethnic churches were the primary source for community involvement:

The main source of Korean community involvement is in the church. At church, I got information about different things like business and it’s here that I regularly see people and get the need information about daily living in Canada. (F04aii)

Sometimes the church and family was synonymous. When we attended church, all our relatives were there and it was like a family gathering. For example, my grandfather is an elder, my dad is an elder and our family also helped to find and establish the church we are attending right now. (F10 avii)
These families find that apart from being involved in the ethnic church, long work hours and the physical demand of their jobs leave little time or energy to be involved in other community or social activities:

In Korea, we were not too religious. And when I first came, my kids and I attended church with my brother’s family. But later, I wasn’t really interested in attending church until more recently. There is no time to meet people outside of church activities because of work. (F12aviii)

Korean churches are the major social organization that plays a vital role in encouraging the cultivation and maintenance of ethnic ties to their ethnic group in addition to meeting the needs and providing social services for many Korean residents (Hurh and Kim, 1990c; Kim, 1976; Kim and Kim, 1993; Min, 1990; Song, 1999). Compared to about 25% to 47% of the population in Korea who are Christians or affiliated with the church, it is estimated that anywhere between 60% to 80% in the US and Canada are attending Korean ethnic Christian churches (Hurh and Kim, 1984b; Hurh and Kim, 1990b; Kim and Berry, 1986; Min, 1990). It appears that among the Korean population, more Christians tend to immigrate to North America than non-Christians and also, a high proportion of non-Christians joined Korean ethnic churches after immigration (Hurh and Kim, 1984b; Hurh and Kim, 1990c; Min, 1992). There are several explanations for the prominent presence of Christians among Korean immigrants. First, the strong representation of Christianity among the urban, middle-class Korean who also made up a large segment of the population that were likely to immigrate (Min, 1992; Kim, 1981). The 1986 pre-departure survey taken in the US indicates that 58.6% of the 1986 Korean immigrants lived in Seoul and that 71% lived in the four largest metropolitan cities in South Korea. Although Yoon (1991; 1995) notes that while this was the characteristic of Korean immigration prior to 1976, the flowing
years were marked by increasing immigration of the lower class due to changes in the US immigration policy and economic changes in South Korea.

Secondly, many Christians fled from North Korea to South Korea before and during the Korean War (1951 to 1953). North Korean refugees, who have no strong kin and regional ties in South Korea, have immigrated to the United States and Canada in a greater proportion than the general population in South Korea. Thus, many Christians in South Korea were originally from North Korea, making them a displaced people first. Displaced people are more likely to experience another relocation. (Kim, 1981).

Thirdly, Korean Christians, who are more influenced by foreign thought and Westernized and/or modernized than other Koreans, are more likely to choose immigration to the United States than Korean Buddhists, Confucians, or those not affiliated with a religion. One explanation has been that Korean Buddhism has become a “mountain Buddhism” or “temple centered Buddhism” rather than “community Buddhism” of “socially relevant Buddhism” while Christianity in Korea has been oriented toward being socially and politically relevant. Since Christianity is the newest religion to permeate into Korean life compared to Confucianism and Buddhism, which were present before hand, people who turn to Christianity are more likely to be more open-minded and are less likely to be traditionalists. Moreover, traditionalists would be the last people to leave their country in search for a better life. In contrast, Christians would be more likely to try out new concepts and more likely to immigrate (Yoon, 1995).

Fourthly, there is an oversupply of clergy in Korea and not enough pastoral positions for all the theological graduates which means that a number of them will immigrate overseas and hold positions there (Kim, 1991).
Lastly, church has found the perfect formula for overseas living (Song, 1999). Korean immigrants have a "need" for an extended family and a "need" for social structure and hierarchical living rooted in a society primarily influenced by Confucianism. This means that churches are not limited to the provision of spiritual needs¹⁹ but are able to satisfy persons’ need for belonging and emotional support (Hurh and Kim, 1990c). The church also serves many functions such as social, political, ethnic, and psychological (Hurh and Kim, 1984; Hurh and Kim, 1990c; Kim, 1981; Kim, 1991; Kim and Kim, 1993; Park, 1997), becoming a multidimensional institution.

The church functions as a social centre within the ethnic community. They fulfill the need for an extended family, which they find in small group settings facilitated by the church, such as small group bible study and prayer meetings that meet in the home and eating lunch or dinner at church together following Sunday service. This creates a sense of belonging to the ethnic community. Moreover, the church provides social services for recent immigrants. Various family counselling sessions, language assistance and even job referrals are provided for recent immigrants. Needless to say, there is a lot of pressure on the pastoral staff of Korean churches to function not only as spiritual leaders but also social workers.

Ethnic churches provide emotional support and a helping hand to those individual members who are psychologically distressed or experiencing personal crisis in their new environment. They are likely to be the "gate keepers" to mental health services (Kim-Goh, 1993). Since Koreans are not likely to seek out mental health services on their own, the conceptualization of mental illness held by referral source such as the pastoral staff is crucial. In light of the fact that a majority of Korean immigrants attend church and that the Korean

¹⁹ Among the Korean immigrant group, religious motive predominated over the social or psychological motive but social and psychological motives were found to be the second most important reason for attending church
pastors are likely to be the first source of contact for the emotionally troubled (who often require professional mental health treatment), the need for effective utilization of this important referral source becomes even more pressing.

Even though the nature and extent of need-meeting and problem-solving activities vary according to the sensitivity and resourcefulness of the ministers and core church members, Korean churches in North America are visible and vital social organizations. They fill the existing void in Korean communities, in the absence of kinship ties and other networks of help in the new environment (Kim, 1981).

The church is also a means of cultural identification, specifically for language and traditional values. The Korean church teaches Korean language classes, filial piety, and other Korean values, thus playing an educational role outside of the immediate family. It also pays attention to contemporary politics while observing significant historical events in South Korea.

Another important function that Korean churches provide for immigrants is an opportunity for social recognition by other Korean immigrants. Korean immigrants have a need for social organization and hierarchical structure from the influence of Confucianism, which they seek to experience from being in positions of church leadership like elders, deacons, and pastoral staff. Being an elder or deacon provide immigrants a chance to make decisions that affect the direction of the church and its congregation in ways that are much more meaningful to them than the daily, mundane decisions they make for their work (Song, 1999).

The church is where many immigrants seem to congregate to find a sense of cohesiveness, belonging, and community. Unfortunately, key informants have criticized the

(Hurh and Kim, 1984).
church for not integrating into mainstream society. Moreover, key informants find that churches segregates its congregation by way of reserving the parishioners' time commitments, energy, and financial support exclusively, for the purposes of the church:

Large, majority of resources are spent by Korean immigrants to maintain Korean churches. For example, resources like money, time, and brainpower are invested into the church. ... For example, for every 200 people in the Korean immigrant community, there is one religious institution. Think about it. To fully maintain a religious institution, people have to maintain it with their investment of resources. ... If people are involved in their churches, they don't have time for other engagements. Between their business or work and the church, they have no free time, money or ... resources. (Kl 03)

Thus, while the church helps the members of its ethnic community to acculturate and get oriented into the host country on a daily basis by providing information, practical assistance, and emotional support, it seems that they do not assist Korean immigrant families to integrate into the greater community. For instance, the welcoming and helping capacity of the Korean immigrant church is more often than not, limited to the Korean immigrant community or the members of their own congregation and not to members outside its group. This may sound as though the very essence of a church is contradicted, essentially that a church is an institution that is socially responsive to people's needs without judgment or favoritism. However, due largely to language barriers between the Korean immigrant church and the larger English speaking society, the ethnic church and its congregation tend to be segregated/separated from the larger host community. Resources like financial support, time, and commitment that the church has from their congregation are used solely for the utility and needs of the individual church.

Thus, there was no mention of Korean immigrant families in this sample trying to separate or distance themselves from their own ethnic community among immigrant families
even if they were not affiliated with a Korean Canadian church. For one immigrant family who was not associated with a Korean Canadian church, they found their community and social involvement through work. Both the husband and wife worked in Korean owned and operated settings as a reporter and secretary:

... Right now, I’m involved in the Korean community you can say work wise … But my kids are not involved in the Korean community because my husband and I are not either. Apart from our work, we’re not involved with other Koreans. We want them to learn more about the Korean culture. (F07av)

**Barriers to Accessing Help**

Newcomer and immigrant families identified several factors that hindered their access to both social services in their own ethnic community and those open to the general public. Within the Korean community, respondents mentioned issues that are particularly relevant to the Korean community in Toronto, level of professionalism among Korean service agencies, location of services, and lack of services in the Korean community. Their lack of awareness about available services also affected their use of both the ethnic community’s services and those open to the general public. Meanwhile, language was the primary barrier when trying to access mainstream services.

**Issues in the Korean Community**

Both newcomer and immigrant participants touched on some of the specific characteristics of the Korean community in Toronto. One of them pertained to the absence of structured or organized level of collaboration and solidarity within this ethnic community. Although many of the individuals in this study were either working in Korean businesses and/or have settled temporarily in Korean homes, the impression among these respondents is
that mutual aid is sporadic and limited to family members. They attributed divisions within
the community to the fact that the Korean immigrant community in Toronto is relatively
small compared to other Asian immigrant groups, a sense of self-importance based on their
accomplishments from Korea, and that Koreans are coming from a country with intense
competition:

Korean culture is not teamwork or group oriented because individuals have
too much pride in themselves. Each person thinks that they are better the
next person, that's why I think the Korean community can never work
together. That's why churches split, have schisms. Because when people
arrive in Canada, they are usually well educated or skilled. They don't want
to lose their status so they begin to think highly of themselves. Korean
people are strong and stubborn. And you have to realize that Korea itself is
a small country but with lots of people, making it a very densely populated
country. It's very crowded. And so the competition is fiercer. (F01ai)

This group characteristic becomes even clearer when the Korean community is compared to
another ethnic group who exhibits the principles of mutual aid among members of their own
community:

The Chinese community helps people to do well and succeed. And they
even provide work for each other whereas, I think, Koreans are not yet
involved in each other's lives. We don't really take the time to assist and
help each other to do well. Perhaps it's because of the relatively small
number of Koreans in Toronto and so, we still need to grow in numbers....
but still, Koreans need to hire each other, hire other Koreans, instead of
hiring people from other ethnicities. (F14bv)

The following observation pinpoints a specific area in which there is division within
the Korean community. Newcomer and immigrant respondents mutually acknowledged that
this was a source of distress and uneasiness:

It seems that there is division in the Korean community. This acts as a great
barrier as you can imagine, like oil and water... for example, between those
who have been here ten years or longer, they came with little money and
those who are more recent immigrants, they come with more money.
Sometimes there is hostility between these two groups. And we have
experienced it when those who've been here longer feel that they've been
paying taxes all their immigrant life and think that the newcomers don’t really invest or pay their portion of taxes before they are eligible for government pensions. This means that newcomers are taking or dividing up earlier immigrants’ share of the pie. We’re in a bind because when we’re in Korea, we can’t say that we’re leaving because those who are staying get mad at those who leave because while we earn our living there, we’re exporting the cash and spending it in Canada. Thus, they accuse us of abandoning our home country. So it’s an awkward predicament. And we can’t please either side. That’s why some people don’t even tell others that they are leaving or immigrating till the last day/minutes before. (F14 bv)

Level of Professionalism

When trying to build a healthy relationship with its respective community, it is imperative for an agency to have a reputation for professionalism. It is difficult to establish a strong rapport of trust and respect between service providers and their recipients without it. Ultimately, it will affect the service’s accessibility and resourcefulness in a negative way.

The subsequent group of respondents has defined professionalism as penetrating all aspects of a vocation, for instance, from the integrity at the administrative level to the quality of its staff and service:

I had telephone consultations with counselors and a psychiatrist from the Korean community, but I haven’t continued to use the service. In order to continue, I need to feel some confidence and hope that the service they provide will indeed be of help to me. Thus far, I haven’t felt like I could place a lot of confidence in the services that I have accessed. (F04aii)

Likewise, the following participant highlights the importance of genuineness and credentials:

I have not accessed the services that are offered by the Korean community. The help I did receive were mainly through personal contacts and the church. I don’t expect to receive any help either because when I read the Korean newspaper in Toronto and read about the representatives of the Korean community, I feel that there is a discrepancy between what they do and what they say. So [the Korean community is] not helpful to me and I’m not necessarily attracted to the services given the reputations they hold. And plus, these representatives are doing this on a part-time basis since they have their own jobs, which means that they are not professionals in their position.
This makes them less attractive to people like myself to go to them for help. (F02bi)

Moreover, professionalism means being informative, resourceful, and having helpful compassion especially toward families who fall outside of the conventional definition of a family. The following response is from a mother of two children, one of whom has Down syndrome while the other is developmentally delayed:

I find that Koreans are sympathetic but not practically helpful. Thus, it's not necessary or too important that I receive help from the Korean community. Anyhow, I find that other Koreans look down on me. They look at me, my kids as being “special” and that we're in need of sympathy. I think that they lack knowledge; they're ignorant to some things. Thus, I find that Canadians or non-Koreans are supportive of my kids and their needs and of my experiences. ... However, the Korean community has helped me, like when I didn’t have access to a car and someone from church would help me with transportation. ... I find that it is still difficult for special needs kids to be accepted in the Korean community. (F06aiv)

This is from a family whose parents are divorced. They talk about the disparaging attitude toward single parent families:

There was a “shame” factor with being divorced in the Korean community. You can get stress from this. ... Instead of looking down on people who are in divorced families, there should be a welcoming community of Koreans ... like friends, family, “community” support ... (F10avii)

Location

Most of the social services offered by the Korean Canadian service providers are located in and around Toronto’s Korea town, which is in close proximity to the downtown area. For example, the KCWA, YMCA: Korean community services, psychiatric services for the Korean community in Toronto, and the Access Alliance Multicultural Community Health Centre are clustered around this area. However, the majority of newcomer and immigrant families live in more suburban settings. In fact, many newcomer families are settling in the
North York area. Thus, the message from these families is palpable; the available services are inconveniently situated:

If I want to access services in Korean community, I have to go all the way downtown. I live north Scarborough, Markham area, so it’s not very convenient. (F03bii)

A family living in the North York area makes this comment:

The location of Korean services needs to move. ... location, location, location. They have to make it accessible if they want people to use it. (F09biii)

Another concern in relation to locality was the dispersion of services. Although the physical location of the agencies was more centralized, the programs were more fragmented. For example, there is no one-stop, focal site where people can obtain the information they need:

I find too, that services are scattered in different places. They are so scattered. Instead, I wish that there was one central resource center as opposed to having many and having them so scattered. It’s more confusing when the services are scattered. (F08avi)

Gaps in Service

There is a big gap between the number of services and services providers and possible number of clients or customers. Responses suggest that the need for additional services is great and will continue to grow for this community:

And the number of services offered compared to the number of immigrants is not enough. Like, I read in the Korean newspaper ... they said that there are 10,000 Koreans registered to immigrate to Canada, partly because there are rumors in Korea about how good the living condition is in Canada. ... no visa is required to enter Canada and also, it’s more difficult to enter the States. And immigrating to Canada is cheaper. Canada is making themselves cheaper and easier for immigrants to immigrate to. So there will be an increasing amount of people immigrating to Toronto and Canada. (F03bii)
Furthermore,

... [we] need professionals to have knowledge of Koreans, so that they can better understand me. Right now there is limited number of professionals [who have knowledge of the Korean community] in the helping, counseling field. ... There definitely is a great need for counselling, information, and service referrals. (F04a)

Lack of Awareness of Services

Many of the families seem confused and uncertain about what kind of services are available to them both in the Korean agencies in Toronto and those accessible to the general public:

We didn’t access the services as well or as knowledgeably as we would have liked to. We lacked knowledge of the services that were out there. ... I stayed home more because the kids were young so we didn’t even know about the services that were in the Korean community. (F08a)

Sometimes, the families may be discouraged from being interested and motivated to find out more about the different kind of services that are available for them:

I don’t have any concern for the Korean community because I don’t know what their role is. I’m not even aware of what services they offer to the community. ... I did go to KCWA but I heard rumours that they bash men, that it’s a feminist place and people were telling me not to go there. So I went when we were going through the divorce but they were not much help. And I don’t know what the role of KCCA is. (F1a)

Thus, the lack of awareness creates a less likely chance that these families will either seek or have access to help when they need it.

Language

When participants were asked what attracted them to immigrate to Canada, many mentioned Canada’s social services. Unfortunately, they are not able to take advantage of these services because of the apparent language barrier:
Well, even if Canada has good social service system, we can't access them because of English, our communication difficulties and barriers. So I realize more and more that I need English proficiency and confidence. (F13biv)

The second family echoed a similar experience:

I can't access mainstream services because of English, I can't communicate in English. Translators are helpful if they are available like in counseling settings. (F04aii)

In conclusion, the principal difference between Korean newcomer and immigrant families to Canada was how newcomer families seemed to immigrate possessing more capital. They emphasized the importance and quality of education, whether for their children or for themselves. Meanwhile, the majority of immigrant families experienced a different reality. Finding employment took precedence over gaining mastery of the English language. More often then not, they either owned or were employees of Korean owned small businesses regardless of their previous occupations in Korea. Immigrant families were more likely than newcomer families to experience language barriers and cultural differences that are partly related to differences in acculturation.

Newcomer and immigrant families also shared certain experiences. For instance, both newcomer and immigrant families' friends and families assisted them by providing provisional housing, until a more permanent living situation was found. They also had in common Korean-speaking family doctors. Being able to communicate their physicians about their illnesses or symptoms was of immeasurable importance to them. Immigrant families however, seemed to have had had more contact with counselors, mental health professionals, and social services than newcomer families. Both newcomer and immigrant families also stayed socially connected to the Korean ethnic community. However, newcomer families were more candid about their disappointments of the Korean immigrant community. Thus,
their interactions with the Korean immigrant community in Toronto were limited to friends, family, or work.

The remainder of this paper will elaborate on the settlement and adaptation needs of the Korean newcomer and immigrant families in this sample and the differences between these two types of families followed by a section on recommendations for possible services, future research and concluding remarks.
Discussion

This section will address the findings from this study's sample of Korean newcomer and immigrant families with respect to the first three objectives outlined at the beginning of the study. The objectives of the study were 1) to explore and document issues including settlement and adjustment needs from the perception of Korean newcomer and immigrant families, 2) to examine differences between newcomer and immigrant families with respect to settlement and adjustment needs, and 3) to explore perceptions from key informants in the Korean immigrant community in Toronto regarding settlement and adjustment needs faced by Korean families. This is followed by a discussion on the integration of these families referring to theoretical models presented near the beginning of the study. The fourth objective (to recommend potential program and policy suggestions to address the needs of both Korean immigrants and newcomer Korean families in the Toronto area) will be addressed in the "recommendations" section.

Objective One (To explore and document issues including settlement and adjustment needs from the perception of Korean newcomer and immigrant families)

Proficiency in the English language was a predominant settlement and adaptation need for both Korean newcomer and immigrant families in this study. As literature on settlement and adaptation (George and Tsang, 1998; Ku, 2000; Nah, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; Ryu and Vann, 1992) has indicated, language is often the most obvious challenge that immigrants from non-English speaking countries encounter due to the drastic differences in pronunciation, alphabet, and grammar between the two languages. The challenges of learning a new language for these Korean families became apparent, ironically, during their English classes when they realized that their learning needs such as in
conversational English differed from their classmates who had immigrated from other countries.

In addition to the need for fluency in the English language for communication purposes, half of the respondents from this study have attributed their current occupational position to their minimal English skills. The experiences of these Korean families support the idea that language issues have implications on immigrants’ economic opportunities in the host country (Ku, 2000; Nah, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990). Several additional factors identified by Badts and Howatson-Leo (1999) and Ku (2000) also contributed to the limited employment prospects for many of the Korean newcomers and immigrants in this current study. They include the lack of job experiences in the host country, the difficulty for foreign education occupational credentials to be transferred into the North American context because of differences in job market requirements, and the likely absence of a network of contacts outside of the immediate ethnic community. The suggested implications of these situational factors was reflected in the number of Korean newcomers and immigrants in this sample who were willing to take jobs that did not reflect their education and occupational histories. Half of the sample of Korean newcomer and immigrant families were university educated or held technically skilled jobs in Korea but were now working in blue-collar jobs or were self-employed in a small business.

The type of blue collar jobs that these respondents held were characteristic of what researchers (Badets and Howatson-Leo, 1999; Boyd and Vickers, 2000; Ku, 2000; Nah, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; Ryu and Vann, 1992) described as long work days, with no benefits or paid holidays, and labour intensive menial work. Those who were self-employed (a third of the Korean families in this sample) are associated with an immigrant group to have
the highest self-employment rate reported in North America (Kim, 1997; Min, 1998). These respondents’ reasons for operating a small business were partially in response to the limited occupational choices available to them, the minimal language fluency level required for this position, and as Min (1984) suggested, the Korean immigrant’s initial perception of disadvantage in a non self-employed setting and their reliance on economic mobility through small businesses.

The post-immigrant under-employment status created a sense of disappointment and disillusionment for both Korean newcomer and immigrant families in this study. They expressed how the great discrepancy between their occupational status before immigration and post-immigration has lowered their self-confidence to aspire occupationally. Although it was beyond the scope of this study to measure participants’ emotional status, based on previous research in immigrant’s adjustment stress, it seems appropriate to be sensitive to the influences of such situational realities on immigrants. Hurh and Kim (1990b), Kuo (1984), and Portes and Rumbaut (1996) suggest that post-immigrant employment experiences is one piece of the puzzle that is likely to place a newcomer or immigrant in an emotionally or psychologically vulnerable situation. According to Hurh and Kim (1990a), job satisfaction accounted for the observed relationship between the length of residence and Korean male immigrant’s mental health.

Another settlement need identified by Korean newcomer and immigrant families in this study pertained to housing issues. Although the general settlement literature (e.g., Michalski and George, 1996) points to the need for housing, no such reference was made in the Korean immigrant literature review for this study. Based on the findings in this study, some of the earlier hypotheses need revising. For example, the suggestions that housing
matters are not a big concern for Korean immigrants is contradicted by some of the respondents who experienced difficulty finding housing and had offered some suggestions for newcomers in a similar situation. Secondly, the suggestion that to talk about the need for housing brings shame to both themselves and their ethnic community is disputable. Respondents were open to talk about their housing needs, for instance, one mother/wife told of how she found refuge at a women’s shelter during a family crisis.

There were individual variations in housing needs. Some newcomers had hired a liaison already living in the host country to help with the process of finding living accommodations and some accessed temporary mainstream housing services like shelters. Thus, the exact nature of the housing needs of Korean newcomer and immigrant families are not examined in the this study.

Children’s education was another concern that Korean newcomer and immigrant families in this study addressed. They expressed their dissatisfaction with the limited degree of involvement they had in their children’s education. They felt that they were not able to assist with homework due to the language barrier, the differences between the parent’s academic philosophies, and the parent’s limited knowledge of the Canadian school system. Parents of these families expressed a need to be more informed about the educational system in Canada in order to be more involved and helpful in their children’s educational process.

Education is be a great concern for these parents as they associate academics as a means to success, power, and status. In Korea, educational achievements are so highly valued that the parents’ self-esteem is intimately tied to the academic success of failure of their children (Kim, 1996). Immigrant parents who may be lacking some of the traditional sources of self-esteem such as fluency in language, occupational, and social status (as they
once had in Korea) and feelings of being undervalued by North American culture insist that their children excel in school and gain admission to prestigious universities.

Lastly, both these Korean newcomer and immigrant families stayed socially connected to their ethnic community and had weak ties with the larger Canadian community. In many ways, they were marginalized or segregated from the larger social context. A further discussion addressing the implications of their social status for these Korean families will be addressed at the end of this discussion section.

Objective Two (To examine differences between newcomer and immigrant families with respect to settlement and adjustment needs)

Several differences between Korean newcomer and immigrant families were identified in this study; beginning with the intertwining affect of English language proficiency with interpersonal relationship issues such as the parent-child relationships. These newcomer parent-child relationships were not negatively impacted by immigration primarily because children and their parents still shared the same language and culture. Most of the immigrant families in the sample however, recounted challenges that were related to the different rates of acculturation experienced between the children and their parents. As researchers have noted (Jun, 1984; Kim, Sawdy, and Meihoefer, 1982; Zhou, 19971), the child's increased English language comprehension coupled with a progressively lower Korean language competence and the parents' continued use of Korean and lower proficiency in English accounted for the parent and child's decreased ability to communicate effectively and their increased conflicts. The struggle between these immigrant children and their parents also uncovered the inner workings of two opposing cultural value systems. For example, these immigrant parents' reference points are based on the Confucius worldview or
the traditional Asian value system where relational responsibility, submission to authority, emphasis on position in relationships, and acceptance of rules and etiquette are prominent tenets of the system. Meanwhile, their children may associate more with the western value system that promote autonomy, personal rights, assertiveness, plays down status differentials, and questions authority (Ng, 1985 in Yep et. al., 1988). As children grow up in the West and increasingly internalize its values while weakening their ties to traditional Asian cultural values and as the parents retain their roots in their former culture, both the children and parents struggle to create a bridge of understanding and communication between these two different value systems and worldviews.

Kim, Sawdy, and Meihoefer (1982) have suggested that parents’ lack of language proficiency and different rates of acculturation into the host country threaten the parent’s preferred authority structure in the home. In fact, children gain fluency in the language, comfort with the new culture and its values, acquire knowledge, information, and opportunities quicker than their parents, while parents experience a problem in their ability to communicate proficiently in English. This often results in children being in positions where they become translators for their parents. Such role reversal usually leads to greater dependence of parents on children and loss of parental authority (Zhou, 1997). The loss of parental status was seen when some of the Korean immigrant parents felt that they could not help their children with schoolwork. As previously mentioned, these immigrant parents felt limited by a language barrier and lack of understanding of the school system and consequently, they felt helpless and limited in their role as parents.

The interpersonal relationship challenges that this group of Korean immigrant families faced demonstrates that they need to know how to overcome communication barriers
that exist between parents and their children and to understand the other's set of values and perspectives.

Lastly, both groups of Korean families in this study sought out Korean-speaking family physicians, however, the immigrant families had more contact with counselors, mental health professionals, and social services than the newcomer families. Perhaps this is because immigrant families have had a longer period to access services. Nevertheless, this finding is contrary to the conclusions of mental health researchers. Hurh and Kim (1990b) and Kuo (1984) cautioned the first few years of settlement in which newcomers are more susceptible to adjustment stress. In addition, Hurh and Kim (1990b) and Toarino and Chun (1997) have suggested that as the level of acculturation to mainstream society increases, the level of psychological adjustment in Korean immigrants appears to improve. This notion is not supported in this current sample of Korean immigrants. In fact, these immigrant families who have been in the host country past the initial adjustment period are not exempt from adjustment stress. For instance, half of the immigrant families interviewed were single parent families. Of them, four were divorced or separated with three of the families having divorced in the host country. These families emphasized post-immigration acculturation differences in the conjugal relationship in addition to other factors, for the marital breakdown.

Objective Three (To explore perceptions from key informants in the Korean immigrant community in Toronto regarding settlement and adjustment needs faced by Korean families)

Although social and mental health services were identified as important needs, key informants noticed that many Korean immigrants do not access the necessary services. They suggest that Korean newcomer and immigrant families are swayed by the differences that
exist between the eastern and western cultural beliefs and values of medicine, health, and well-being. The views of physical and mental health in the Korean community are adopted from their country of origin. They do not necessarily reform to embrace any new or differing perceptions of health. The first example of this is seen in the model of health care. Korean immigrants are more familiar with the disease, risk-oriented model in which help or medical attention is sought only when there is a distinct problem. While in Canada, a preventive health model of health care is more typical.

Secondly, many Koreans experience psychological symptoms as physical symptoms. Although there is growing awareness and acceptance of Western interpretations of psychological well being among Koreans (besides the more classical, extreme examples of psychological disorders like delusions), more subtle psychological symptoms like depression and anxiety are interpreted as physical illnesses. In oriental cultures, there is no separation between the mind and body. Thus, it is more likely that immigrants will seek out their general practitioners for psychological symptoms that are disguised as physical symptoms or their ministers for spiritual explanations than to seek psychological services. This can result in clients being misdiagnosed, not receiving proper treatment, or being referred to inappropriate services, as one health professional explained:

GPs are not particularly aware and up to date on mental health issues. ... GP dealing with mental health difficulties don’t know how or where to make the referral. ... And ministers are like gatekeepers in the Korean community to emotional and psychological issues but ... churches are in the dark about what resources are available to people to properly refer. (KI 05)

Other factors contributing to participants’ hesitancy toward accessing social services are the concept of shame and “saving face”. They are reluctant to help because their family’s situation or problem may be disclosed to a stranger, bringing dishonour or shame to
the family. Thus, there are many incidences of denial and silence in the Korean community.
The issues of divorce, children smoking or being involved with drugs, or raising children
who are physically or mentally challenged are some examples in this community that are not
openly and respectfully addressed:

   In Korea, people don’t like the less fortunate. They look down on them. For example, they hide the disabled peoples. ... The Korean community might refuse help from [an agency] because of fear that we might bring forth dirty laundry or unpleasant issues from the home in to the public arena. We probably make people feel uncomfortable. ... We’re the target, [an agency] gets targeted with bad rumours from the Korean community because we help victims of abuse... (K1 07)

   Families are also wary about receiving help from certain agencies for fear of being chastised from members in the ethnic community for accessing an agency with a poor reputation. In situations where families chose to seek help, like one immigrant family with a physically challenged and mentally delayed child, they felt that they received more sympathy than practical help.

   Thus, the differences between Eastern and Western view of health along with the notion of shame in the Korean culture affects the use of social services. Likewise, the ability of social service agencies to deliver appropriate and much needed resources is another factor contributing to the Korean community’s service usage patterns. Social service providers and mental health workers in this study acknowledged that structural factors which include gaps in service, poor location of services, lack of professionals, low level of professionalism in the Korean community and funding constraints posed a challenge in their ability to provide and satisfy the social service needs of Toronto’s Korean immigrant community.

   Families and key informants from this study identified similar settlement service needs as George and Michalski (1996) and Ku (2000) did in their studies of social service
agencies in Toronto. George and Michalski (1996) found that the most identifiable gaps between existing newcomer services and emerging needs were predominantly found in vocational counselling, skill training (like job search skills), language training, and general settlement services. Ku (2000) noted that foreign credentials and experience are unrecognized in mainstream society, leaving many overseas-educated immigrants under- or unemployed. Moreover, training fees for updating skills or educational credentials alongside the difficulty of finding child-care while looking for employment lead to greater difficulty in obtaining a job that matches their qualifications (George and Michalski, 1996).

Fragmentation and compartmentalization of services in the ethnic community and physical location are important facets to providing services that are client friendly and convenient. The absence of these elements has impacted both the Korean clients and service providers in this study. To these clients, who are deterred from mainstream services because of language barriers and lack of culturally appropriate services, it means that they will more likely rely on community members to direct them to the appropriate ethno-specific community agencies. According to Ku (2000), this will at least begin the process of finding what they need while not ensuring the clients from wandering around from one agency to another before finally locating the exact services they need. For service providers, it means feeling frustrated and sometimes ineffective as one lawyer expressed; “Even for service providers, we find it hard to find the appropriate services we need to meet our clients’ needs” (KI 02).

George and Michalski (1996) identified additional issues like low salary due to lack of funding, staff burnout, emotional strain, increased workload due to high demand for services, shortage of appropriate skills for staff positions with minimal prospects for
professional training, high staff turnover, and lack of a common vision among the staff causing misunderstandings which affect the quality of service, influence the level of professionalism in the agency, and the agency's reputation in its community. Amid these concerns, it seems that shortage of professional staff and expertise are two of the greatest needs in the Korean immigrant community. For instance, the recommended ratio between mental health workers and potential client population by Health Canada is 1 to 10,000\textsuperscript{20}. Startling enough, the current ratio in the Korean community in Ontario is about 1 to 60,000\textsuperscript{21}. This is because compared to the size of the ethnic community and to other academic disciplines, a disproportionately low number Korean Canadian students are graduating from mental health fields. This is also because for reasons such as lack of funding, other peer professionals, and leadership in the Korean community, Korean mental health workers educated in North America seldom return to practice in their ethnic communities. One health professional referred to the act of returning and contributing or giving back to one's ethnic community as the process of "reciprocity" (KI 05).

Many of the issues mentioned above are also related with funding dilemmas for this Korean community. These challenges include funding cuts, an extremely competitive fundraising environment, and policy changes. As George and Michalski (1996) and Ku (2000) had suggested, sometimes, there are unrealistic expectations of ethnic specific organizations in the hopes of increasing efficiency and financial accountability amongst agencies. When agencies respond to these situations by undertaking changes, it usually results in reducing the number of front line and administrative staff, freezing wages and scaling back on services, increasing reliance on volunteers, looking to alternative modes of

\textsuperscript{20} A key informant who works in the mental health field provided this figure.
\textsuperscript{21} The same key informant provided this figure.
survival, and inflexibility. These consequences are significant in light of the increasing demands for services by their clients:

Last year, we wanted to run job training classes for recent immigrants. Like for those immigrants educated and skilled in Korean are not able to establish themselves occupationally here in Canada. Many immigrate with skills in computers and computer programming. So we wanted to set up a program ... provide them an opportunity ... to gain some work experience in Canada so that they do what they did in Korea. But we couldn't pursue it because of money. ... So even if we have programs and goals, we can't do much because of our financial situation. (KI 06)

There is also pressure from funders for immigrant service agencies to collaborate with other mainstream agencies in order to ensure their survival and effectiveness during times of financial constraints (Richard, 1996 in Ku, 2000). However, encouraging partnerships and mergers fails to address the concern that social service agencies are competing for a limited supply of resources. This was the experience of a front line worker working with newcomer families in public schools:

... the budget, although funded through the government is funneled through the [another large organization]. ... [They] umbrella four partnering agencies; one Korean agency [and three other ethnic specific agencies]. The [main organization] has the money and control how the money is used and the four partnering agencies don't have the money. So, no or little support is given to the support workers from these four agencies. Like, when we as workers go to [the Korean agency] for some funds to hire a speaker, they decline our request saying that they have no budget set up for us. (KI 02)

This front-line worker learned that not all agencies are equal, nor do they in a figurative sense, begin from the same starting line.

In making this case of the importance of ethno-specific agencies, Desai and Subramanian (2000) and Ku (2000) warned of the downward spiral effect of an unequal funding climate. They propose that problems begin with the weakening organizational capacity of ethno-specific agencies. This then leads to the inability to hire new staff
members while trying to sustain those presently on staff without over-working them. In the meantime, partnerships among smaller ethno-specific agencies are very unlikely because of this weakened capacity and funding instability. Thus, their capacity to network on behalf of their clients is seriously undermined. Furthermore, the inability to advocate on behalf of ethnoracial clients means that these agencies cannot perform their tasks effectively. Before long, the funding climate has created an atmosphere of discouragement, doubt, and instability among agencies, especially ethno-specific ones, forcing them to collaborate with bigger agencies in a weakened capacity and increasing their risk of assuming the more subservient role in the partnership.

When mainstream agencies “add-on” culturally appropriate services as an attempt to address the needs of immigrant communities without fundamental changes in their policies and structures, the result is “mere tokenism” (Desai and Subramanian, 2000:15). Ku (2000) shared these concerns:

... such a collaboration legitimizes [larger] organizations as “inclusive” and open. Thus they remain powerful or even more so without having to change their organizational structures (James, 1998). To serve newcomers within such a paradigm of inclusiveness, mainstream agencies add on programs such as cultural interpreter service to existing services which were designed for mainstream white Canadians. Their “inclusiveness” and legitimacy ensure ongoing funding, leaving less of the funding share for smaller agencies. In short, bigger organizations do not have to question their position in the larger funding scheme and get credit for their “inclusiveness” while smaller, usually ethno-specific agencies, do not have stability or funding to provide services... (pp.13-14)

The onus is left with immigrant communities to inform the mainstream of their needs and difficulties (Ku, 2000). Furthermore, individual immigrant needs are denied in a model that favours references to ethnic communities as a homogeneous group.
In this sense, ethno-specific services are more likely to provide appropriate services because they provide community-based, informal, on-going support that are within ethnic, cultural parameters. This emphasis presents settlement services as more than helping individuals, but on rebuilding and maintaining community relations based on the ethnic community working towards cultivating its capabilities:

It is only within an institutional orientation where the underlying philosophy, structures and practices are set up to prioritize the needs of ethnoracial groups and to only those of mainstream Canadians that equitable services can be seen as accessible to all (Ku, 2000:15).

In addition to the structural needs of social service agencies serving Toronto’s Korean community, key informants who work in counseling settings with Korean families identified a need with the children (the second generation22) of these families. Key informants point out that as children of immigrant families learn to adapt and integrate into the dominant culture, they too experience challenges. While these children are exempt from the settlement struggles that their parents’ (the first generation) faced, such as trying to meet basic settlement needs and to be immersed in the political and social context of the host society, key informants suggest that for Korean immigrant children, their challenges pertained more with trying to gain a sense of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is defined as:

... competing, often ambivalent feelings. They are not a matter of simple choice i.e. between close family ties and relationship with members of other groups, or between preferences for one’s own group and admiration for the mainstream culture. In each instance, elements of contrasting views are likely to coexist to varying degrees. One’s ethnicity can provide supportive roots and also limiting stereotypes; it can be a source of pride but also discomfort. The identity task is to integrate these contrasting elements, together with one’s own inclinations and options, to achieve a unified sense of self as an ethnic group member. (Phinney and Rosenthal, 1992:166)

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22 Second generation refers to the children from immigrant families who have been born here or came to Canada before their seventh birthday. How this term is defined has been debated and is not uniform across all the literature, but, there seems to be some consensus in that the cutoff age is around six and seven years old (Song, 1999).
After sifting through both familiar and alternative reference points such as Korean and Western cultural values (Ng, 1985 in Yep, et. al., 1998), a sense of one self ethnically, emerges. The resolution of ethnic identity struggles is a momentous step toward the settlement and integration of Korean immigrant children in that having a secure sense of ethnic identity is a key aspect of identity formation, self-esteem, and overall psychological adjustment of children into adulthood (Martinez and Dukes, 1997; Phinney, Cantu, and Kurtz, 1997). Key informants in counselling and mental health professions are adamant about creating and promoting the second generation’s ethnic identity because they recognize its role in shaping the future of Korean immigrant children and their community:

...second generation children are doing less than fine, even with their perfect English and Western education because ... identity, ethnic identity. ... because they have something to resolve and that’s in the way of their motivation and direction. If you ask them what it means to be “Korean”, they don’t know. They don’t know what this means. (KI 03)

Conversely, immigrant families have for a while, stressed the importance of education and economic success as a sign of status without much sensitivity to their children’s need to develop psychologically and emotionally:

And second generation ... are not doing as well as the first generation think. Second generation are doing well economically but not socio-politically. And those who are doing well don’t want to do anything with Korean community ... Some argue that if the Korean community’s businesses succeed and we become economically more affluent, then, other things fall will fall into place. But you only have to go so far as to look at the history of South Korea. You don’t see the relationship between economic success and no more problems. If fact, more problems are created. ... emotional and social needs need to be addressed independent of economic needs. ... key informants will say that the primary need is address children’s identity issues. (KI 03)

Perhaps this is because parents have traditionally defined success for an immigrant in a foreign country by the outward signs of materialism, educational achievement, yearly salary,
and position in their work place that parents struggled or continue to struggle to attain. These external signs of status and recognition for the Korean community are of utmost importance. For example, attaining language fluency is more about gaining status because with proficiency in the language, one can apply or qualify for jobs that match their credentials and expertise rather than menial jobs. These matters that are at the forefront of Korean immigrant parents leave little considerations for emotional and psychological struggles that their children experience.

Adaptation and Integration Theories and Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Families

Theoretical adaptation and integration models describe that after the initial stage of migration, immigrants are more concerned about their integration and increased participation in their new environment (Drachman, et al., 1996 and Mwarigha, 1998). However, these interviews with Korean immigrant families revealed that despite the number of years that they have settled in Canada, they continue to be segregated from both other ethnic and dominant groups. One health professional referred this kind of settlement pattern, whereby interactions beyond its own community are sparse to a “ghetto mentality” (KI 03). Thus, Korean immigrant families are employed, have fundamental language skills, housing, and knowledge of the host country for daily living but they may not have assimilated into the greater community. Their separation is especially apparent in their employment status and social involvements. Moreover, Korean immigrants’ adjustment status reflects Hurh and Kim’s (1984a, 1984b) adhesive mode of adaptation. This model implies that immigrants adapt in to the new environment without modifying or substituting their traditional culture and social networks. Rather, new experiences acquired in the host country are “added on” to the former.
The immigrant families in this sample are more accepting of their economic status, often as small business owners. Recognizing that they are handicapped in their limited language proficiency alongside the lack of recognition of their overseas credentials, these Korean immigrants seem more resigned to the limited occupational opportunities available to them. They do not aspire to be employed in the occupations that they once had in Korea. At the same time, for immigrants who were educated or had technical or professional positions in Korea, owning and operating a small business is not only foreign, but also signifies a loss of prestige and social standing. The status of a small business owner may convey different meanings and values among the Korean immigrant community than in the mainstream Canadian society. To Korean immigrants, a job that requires physical labour is considered lower class because Korean immigrants assume that with minimal language skills and a willingness to labour physically long hours, anyone can own a small business.

Over time, Korean immigrants’ social interaction was not related to their dissociation from Korean friends, kin, or from other ethnic ties. Rather, they retained ethnic relationships through involvements in ethnic churches and professional or recreation associations which constitute the backbone of social activities for Korean immigrants (Kim, 1997). (For a discussion on the role of the Korean immigrant church in the Korean immigrant community, refer to the “findings” section.)

Hurh and Kim (1984b) explains how the likely outcome of both employment and social factors combined with “intervening factors” such as immigrants’ inadequate language skills and economic resources, a well-established ethnic community, and the general economic and political climate of the host society at a particular moment in time:
When ethnic confinement (imposed ethnic segregation) is inherent in the social structure of the host country, it is most likely that immigrants’ assimilation into the dominant group’s primary social structure is restricted in its scope and intensity, regardless of the immigrants’ length of residence in the new country, socioeconomic status, degree of acculturation and desire, for assimilation (p.162).

Under these circumstances, the immigrants’ ethnic attachment tends to become more intense in order to preserve their collective identity and lessen the levels of frustration and dissatisfaction as immigrants regard their occupational, economic, social status. Adhesive mode of adaptation may serve to alleviate the immigrants’ immediate feelings of daily frustrations, relative deprivation, and social isolation but on a larger scale, perpetuate ethnic confinement of the Korean visible minority status and their segregated position in Canada and hinder them from becoming influential in the larger social context.

Compared to these Korean immigrant families, the newcomers interviewed in this study appeared to be intentional in their settlement process. They chose opportunities that were more likely to lead to integration into the Canadian culture and society. Newcomer families’ priorities differed than that of immigrant families’ and were responsive to the idea of being more open toward the larger community. In comparison to the immigrants, newcomers in this study were more compelled about being proficient in English and upgrading their education than they are about having a job. Moreover, they were less likely than the immigrants interviewed, to work at menial jobs that are physically intense and require long hours, especially if they previously held professional and skilled jobs, than their counterparts did. Newcomer families also have minimal contact with the Korean ethnic community in Toronto. They are not particularly keen about being immersed, especially if they currently are not a member of a church community and were not religiously devoted in Korea. These patterns are seen more frequently among newcomer families because of their
financial stability before immigration. Despite Korea’s economic crisis in the mid-1990s, newcomer families in this study were characteristically more affluent than their predecessors were.
Recommendations

The following recommendations must be viewed with caution due to the non-representative nature of this sample. The recommendations from this study have been organized according to their targeted populations; social service providers serving the Korean immigrant community in Toronto, practitioners in ethno-specific agencies, and Korean newcomer and immigrant families. Lastly, recommendations for future study is proposed.

Several needs identified by respondents typify those found among newcomers and immigrants to Canada, regardless of their country of origin. Conversely, there are specific needs that may be unique to Korean families in this study, like the need for educational seminars on various topics and the need for increased presence and involvement of the Korean immigrant churches in social agendas of its ethnic community.

Recommendations for Social Service Providers

The following program ideas were drawn from the experiences of Korean newcomer and immigrant families in this study. For example, many respondents said that the lack of organizational information about social services prevented or discouraged them from accessing social resources in the Korean immigrant community. In response, the creation of an ethno-specific newcomer’s centre to service both recent and earlier Korean immigrants was suggested. Ideally, the centre would serve as a central source for information and referral coordinator for both immigrants and Korean agencies.

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23 Korean-Canadian YMCA (KCYMCA) of downtown Toronto will be starting a newcomer’s centre soon. At the time of interviewing key informants for the study, KCYMCA was not available for an interview.
opening bank accounts, and paying bills. An up-to-date listing of social services available in both the Korean community in Toronto and mainstream society (like services for children with disabilities, psychological services, and counselling) would create awareness of the availability of services and allow the centre to offer direction to families searching for appropriate help.

Information sessions should include an orientation for parents and children regarding the Canadian school system, Canada’s expectations on parenting and its laws, Canada’s values and customs and how they differ from Korea’s values and customs, and about issues children face, for example, peer pressure, ethnic identity, and adjustment.

In the area of language, funding for ESL classes being offered in public schools would meet learning needs of students from non-English speaking countries and child-care services during English classes. Specific ways teachers can help Korean students to improve their learning during English classes would keep in mind that:

[ grote Koreans, being able to carry on a meaningful conversation is more of a problem. So it would be helpful if there were more conversation small groups, more listening exercises and opportunities. Like if there were lab facilities and even if we could learn through the computers, like those talking programs... The classes are more like lectures right now with 20 plus students per teacher. So what ends up happening is that students who are good at talking get involved. Those who are less confident, shy and insecure about their speaking skills don’t get the opportunity or are not motivated to try and ultimately, don’t get involved. (F14 bv)

In essence, these Korean students would like to see classes divided not based on an overall grade or level of proficiency in English but by specific aspects of the language like grammar, reading and writing, and conversational English with instructors aware of each ethnic groups’ language strengths and challenges.
Vocational counselling, skills training programs, programs to update skills, opportunities to acquire Canadian work experience, and validation of foreign educational and employment credentials and experiences would be an enormous asset to those Korean newcomers and immigrants seeking to transfer their job skills from their originating country to the host country. In addition, family counselling services would be helpful, especially if counsellors are able to facilitate understanding and communication between parents and their children. Also, a centre could help raise community awareness on topics that are typically silenced in the Korean ethnic community, like persons who are physically or mentally challenged, the effects of divorce on children and the family, spousal abuse, and mental illness.

Another need that Korean newcomer families expressed had to do with the communication between immigration workers in Korea and their source of information in Canada. Some newcomers applied for immigration through an agency in Korea. The agency usually provides information on Canada and introduces the immigrating family to someone who had immigrated earlier. However, newcomer families have criticized this process, saying that the information given by the earlier immigrant is outdated and irrelevant to newcomers.

Recommendations for Ethno-specific Agencies

Cooperation between agencies is essential in meeting the needs of the Korean community more effectively and efficiently. Instead of one agency taking on the task of providing a general service to the larger Korean clients, agencies can team together to get the project done. An active outreach by the social service agencies, like mental health facilities to the pastors and the church community can be an effective way of promoting a working
relationship between the two organizations. In fact, the church can be an ideal setting for preventive work with Korean families and individuals. The pastors can serve as a bridge between the social resources of the community and members of their congregation, placing the client in touch with the social service delivery system as well as bringing the system to people in their own environment. Moreover, social service agencies and Korean immigrant churches can work together to accomplish projects like creating literature, apply for funding, and hold fundraisers in the community. Thus, a vital key to accessing the Korean immigrant community in Toronto and having a greater likelihood of making a permanent impact on the community would require the support of the church. Although the Korean immigrant community is not socially limited to the church, as was discussed, the church has perhaps the most influential position in the community.

Recommendations for Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Families

Some newcomers in this study prepared for immigration by researching information on Canada and making contacts in Canada while they were still in Korea. Although this was somewhat helpful, newcomers felt that their immigration experience would have been greatly improved if more thorough and careful preparations were made before immigration. They suggest that future newcomers should prepare by making contacts with knowledgeable persons, preferably a newcomer in Canada for up-to-date information, accessing social services in Toronto for the purposes of finding housing, and researching and gathering information on the Canadian social, educational, and legal systems. Furthermore, newcomers need to be alert to the possibility of developing parent-child conflicts. They may find it helpful, if parent-child conflict occurs, to access information and counselling services offered through ethno-specific agencies and churches.
Lastly, both newcomers and immigrants suggest that investing a great deal of time and energy into mastering the English language will significantly enhance their occupational and social positions in Canada.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

A review of the literature on the Korean immigrant population revealed that the majority of the researches were from the United States. Moreover, the settlement literature on ethnic groups in Canada was missing the Korean immigrant experience. In order to fill this gap, research studies with representative samples are needed. Future studies with representative samples could document whether the issues raised and recommendations made by this sample generalize to the larger population of immigrants and service providers.

Moreover, in the existing literature on the Korean community, the issue of housing is unavailable. This study identified that housing was a concern for families, especially for families who have no social networks before immigration and for families in transition, for example during a marital separation. A study addressing this need would be able to provide more insight into this settlement area for Korean newcomer and immigrant families.

Another area of study could focus on Korean newcomer families. In this study, newcomer families were more likely than immigrant families to make decisions that would integrate them into mainstream society. A longitudinal study or a follow up study on these newcomer families would shed some understanding into the settlement and adjustment process.
Conclusion

Much of the literature on settlement fails to differentiate and compare the experiences of newcomers and immigrants. This study attempts to fill this research gap. It documents the differing settlement and adaptation needs of Korean newcomer and immigrant families in Toronto. Interview with key informants from the Korea-Canadian community added an additional dimension to the understanding of the issues that these families encounter.

Interviews with Korean newcomer and immigrant families revealed that their settlement and adjustment needs were consistent with those identified in settlement literature. These Korean families struggled with the English language, being able transfer their foreign occupational experiences and education, finding adequate housing, fostering healthy familial relationships, and finding ways to adjust to the Canada's culture, system, and environment. Even after many years of immigration, these immigrant families experienced family conflicts due to different rates of acculturation between family members. Immigrant families also continued to be segregated from the cultural and structural dimensions of the host country. Newcomers in contrast, were actively attempting to become more integrated into mainstream Canadian culture.

From the findings in this study, steps could be taken to help newcomers to integrate into the greater society. Integration is important if the ethnic community is to gain social and political recognition in the larger community. This is needed to influence policy and to bridge the gap between needs and services to the commutes.

Ethno-specific social service agencies may be enhanced by the presence of more service providers who are professionally qualified, more funding, a big leadership pool and increased cooperation between organizations in the Korean community.
If services incorporate some of the key recommendations suggested by these respondents, access, equity, and client satisfaction should be improved.
References


Appendix I: Flyer for Recruiting Participants

Attention:

A study from the University of Toronto, Master of Social Work program is conducting a study on your experiences as a Korean family living in Toronto.

We acknowledge that you are very busy. However, this is your unique opportunity to be a part of a study that will document your needs as a Korean family living in Toronto. Your involvement will consist of an interview lasting about one hour. The interviews will be held at a location convenient for you and they will be held either in English or Korean, the language you are most comfortable with. Your name will not be revealed to anyone. And all the information you give will be kept in strict confidence.

To participate in the research you should:
- Be of Korean descent
- Have Citizenship, Landed Immigrant, or Refugee Status
- Be currently residing in the Greater Toronto Area
- Be a parent with children (0 to 29 years old)
- Speak either Korean or English

How can you participate?

To participate, please call (416) 880-2472 and ask for Alice Lee. If no one answers, please leave a message stating your name and telephone number and the best time to return your call.

Your participation is greatly encouraged and is considered invaluable. I look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you.
Appendix II: Study Information Sheet

Study Information Sheet

Research Project Title: The Settlement and Adaptation Needs of Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Families in Toronto: Pilot Study

Researcher: Alice Lee, MSW student at the University of Toronto

Thank you for taking the time to assist in this research study carried out by Alice Lee from the University of Toronto, Faculty of Social Work, Master of Social Work.

I recognize that you are very busy. However, this is your unique opportunity as a member/key informant of the Korean-Canadian community in Toronto to be a part of a study that will document settlement and adjustment needs including housing, employment, language, education, health, and therapy/counseling-related needs of Korean-Canadian families living in Toronto. The goal of this study is to examine these needs of Korean families and to identify any gaps in information and services that both Korean newcomer (3 years and less) and immigrant (more than 3 years) families feel they would need to better assist in their settlement and adaptation processes.

In a face-to-face interview, which you are being invited to participate in, you will be asked about the services available to Korean newcomer and immigrant families, how these services are accessed, how helpful they are, and your personal suggestions for improving the delivery of service to the Korean-Canadian community. This information will help the Korean-Canadian community to be better serviced since your responses will be recommended to agencies which plan relevant programs and policies.

The interview will last about an hour and an interpreter will be available when needed. The interviews will be held at a location convenient for you. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time without explanation. If you find the questions uncomfortable or difficult to answer, you may refuse to answer the questions and/or may request that the interview be discontinued.

No information will be released or printed that would disclose your personal identity. Your responses will be kept in strict confidence with the exception of information related to self harm or harm to others at which point, I will be legally bound to report it to the appropriate person(s) e.g., CAS.

If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to contact Alice Lee, MSW student researcher at: (416) 880-2472.

Thank you for your co-operation.
Appendix III: Consent Form for Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Families

Consent Form

Research Project Title: The Settlement and Adaptation Needs of Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Families in Toronto: Pilot Study

Researcher: Alice Lee, MSW student at the University of Toronto

I understand that Alice Lee, a student of the Master of Social Work program at the University of Toronto is conducting a study on the experiences of newcomer (3 years and less) and immigrant (more than 3 years) families to Canada from Korea. I understand that the research is to fulfill her thesis requirements but more so, with the goal of improving delivery of social services including settlement, mental health, and counselling/therapy services to newcomer and immigrant families in the Korean-Canadian community.

I further understand that the researcher will interview me for about an hour and that an interpreter will be provided if needed. I also understand the benefits of joining the study, that this is a unique opportunity to raise important issues about service needs in the Korean-Canadian community. Moreover, my responses will help inform community agencies and key informants about the types of settlement services that would be most helpful to settlement and adaptation to Canada.

I have been assured that no information will be released or printed that would disclose my personal identity. My response will be kept in strict confidence with the exception of information related to self harm or harm to others at which point, the researcher is legally bound to report to the appropriate person(s) e.g., CAS.

Any questions I have asked about the study have been answered to my satisfaction. And either now or in the future, I may ask any questions that I have about the study. I also understand that I can refuse to answer any or all of the questions asked and that I may stop the interview at any time without explanation. I understand that my participation in this study is completely voluntary and that my decision either to participate or not to participate will not affect my immigration status or on the quality of service I receive from settlement or social service agencies.

I hereby consent to participate in this study.

Signature of the Respondent

Print Name

Date

Witness

Print Name

Date

For more information, you can reach Alice Lee, MSW student researcher at: (416) 880-2472.

104
Appendix IV:
Consent Form for Key Informants in the Korean-Canadian Community

Consent Form

Research Project Title: The Settlement and Adaptation Needs of Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Families in Toronto: Pilot Study

Researcher: Alice Lee, MSW student at the University of Toronto

I understand that Alice Lee, a student of the Master of Social Work program at the University of Toronto is conducting a study on the experiences of newcomer (3 years and less) and immigrant (more than 3 years) families to Canada from Korea. I understand that the research is to fulfill her thesis requirements but more so, with the goal of improving service delivery of social services including settlement, mental health, and counselling/therapy services to newcomer and immigrant families of the Korean-Canadian community.

I further understand that the researcher will interview me for about an hour and that an interpreter will be provided if needed. I also understand the benefits of joining the study, that this is a unique opportunity to raise important issues about service needs in the Korean-Canadian community. Moreover, my responses will help inform the public about the interaction of program and policy and it affects on the effectiveness of service delivery. It will also help the community to be better serviced since my responses will be recommended to agencies when planning relevant programs and policies.

I have been assured that no information will be released or printed that would disclose my personal identity. My response will be kept in strict confidence with the exception of information related to self harm or harm to others at which point, the researcher is legally bound to report to the appropriate person(s) e.g., CAS.

Any questions I have asked about the study have been answered to my satisfaction. And either now or in the future, I may ask any questions that I have about the study. I also understand that I can refuse to answer any or all of the questions asked and that I may stop the interview at any time without explanation and that my participation in this study is completely voluntary.

I hereby consent to participate in this study.

Signature of the Respondent  Print Name  Date

Witness  Print Name  Date

For more information, you can reach Alice Lee, MSW student researcher at: (416) 880-2472.
Appendix V:
Questionnaire for Korean Newcomer and Immigrant Families

Interview Guide for Newcomer and Immigrant Families of Korean-Canadian Community

Immigrant History

1. Prior to your arrival in Canada, did you have any expectations about immigrating? What were they? Explain. E.g., How are they being fulfilled?

Probing question:

Thinking back, what would you say were your three main reasons for coming to Canada? (e.g., relatives/friends in Canada; seek new opportunity/adventure; better way of life/advance economically; political reasons; better/more suitable job; for the future of their children; other (specify))

2. How would you rate your immigration to Canada experience? (e.g., poor, fair, good, excellent, don't know, can't remember)

What made it __________?

What would you have needed to make your immigration experience better?

Probing questions:

Did you come to Canada alone or with some one? Who?

Did you know anyone in Canada before coming here?

What was your relationship to that person/persons?

Who (if anyone) was the one most important person who assisted you to come to Canada?

Who else did you ask for help? Did you know about agencies that can help you?

Did you try to find out about any types of “community” services before you came to Canada?

3. What year did you come to Canada?
4. What was your immigration class upon arrival to Canada? (e.g., family class; refugee and designated class; assisted relative; business class; retired; student; independent, other, refused)

Language

1. Are/were there any language issues that you have/had a) for which you seek/sought service or help? b) for which you do/did not seek any help or services?

**Probing questions:**

Did you know how to speak (read, understand, write) the English language when you first immigrated to Canada?

How would you rate your ability to speak (read, understand, write) English when you first came to Canada?

Would you say that your English-speaking (reading, understanding, writing) skills were poor, fair, good, excellent, don't know/can't remember?

How would you rate your ability to speak (read, understand, write) English compared to when you first arrived in Canada?

Would you say that your English-speaking (reading, understanding, writing) skills are poor, fair, good, excellent, don't know?

Did your level of proficiency in English affect your experience as a newcomer/immigrant to Canada? As a newcomer/immigrant parent? How?

2. Did you approach anyone (person/agency) for help for your proficiency in English?

Was there anyone in particular who you relied on to help you deal with any of the challenges or obstacles you faced with language? (e.g., spouse; children; extended family; friends; volunteers/professionals from mainstream organization; volunteers/professionals from ethno-specific organization; other)

Where do they work/which organization? Describe the services and agency.

**Probing questions:**

When you came to Canada, did you enroll in any language training programs for English?

Where did you receive language training?
What is the highest training you have completed?

Currently, are you enrolled in a language training program? What type of program is it?

3. What is your experience in accessing these services? E.g. are the agencies you go to helpful or not, how so?

4. What kind of language services should be available but are not?

5. What changes would you suggest for these agencies or individual service providers?

Housing

1. Are/were there any housing issues that you have/had a) for which you seek/sought services or help? b) for which you do/did not seek any help or service?

Probing question:

Where did you stay when you first landed in Canada? (e.g., with family who already lived here; with other relatives who already lived here; in a hotel/motel; alone; other)

2. Who assisted you to find a place to stay when you first arrived in Canada?

Was there anyone else/any other organization who helped you find a place to stay when you first arrived? (e.g., no one/self; family member; friends; ethnic community; religious organization; community agency; government agency; library; visa office; newspaper; television; radio; etc.; other)

Where do they work/which organization? Describe the services and agencies.

3. What is your experience in accessing these services? E.g. are the agencies you go to helpful or not, how so?

4. What kind of services should be available but are not?

5. What changes would you suggest for these agencies or individual service providers?

Employment

1. Are/were there any employment issues that you have/had a) for which you seek/sought services or help? b) for which you do/did not seek any help or service?
Probing questions:

Did you have a job lined up in Canada before you arrived?

If yes, did that job work out for you? e.g., are you still working at the job?

If no, did you look for a job right away upon arriving in Canada? e.g., within the first few weeks?

How soon after your arrival were you able to get a job?

What was your (your husband's) occupation before coming to Canada?

What did your (your husband) do for a living?

What is your (your husband's) current employment status? (e.g., full time; part time; shift; unemployed; other)

How many hours a week do you (your husband) work?

And how many days a week do you (your husband) work?

In your view, are you (your husband) working in an appropriate job for someone with your (his) skills and education?

If no, what's the main reason you don't think you (your husband) are (is) in the right kind of job?

How satisfied are you (your husband) with the present job?

How does your work schedule effect your (your husband’s) time/relationship with your family?

2. What employment services did you use? Describe the services and agencies.

Who, if anyone, helped you to find your job?

Was there anyone else/any other organization who helped you find your job?

3. What is your experience in accessing these services? E.g. are the agencies you go to helpful or not, how so?

4. What kind of employment services should be available but are not?

5. What changes would you suggest for these agencies or individual service providers?

Health
1. Are/were there any health issues (either physical or emotional) that you have/had a) for which you seek/sought services or help? b) for which you do/did not seek any help or service?

Probing questions:

Do you currently have a family doctor?
How satisfied are you with your family doctor?

Is your family doctor of your ethnic background/Korean?

How do you feel about seeing a family doctor who is not of your ethnic background/non-Korean?

Compared to people your age, how would you say your health is?

Generally, how would you describe your feelings? (e.g., happy, satisfied, unsatisfied, unhappy, feel that you cannot cope, feel you are not where you should be regarding your children and future, other) Explain.

2. What health service did you use? Describe the services and agencies.

Probing question:

Who, if anyone, helped you to find about medical doctors/counsellors or other health professionals in your area? Was there anyone else/any other organization who helped you find about medical doctors/counsellors or other health professionals?

3. What is your experience in accessing these services? E.g. are the agencies you go to helpful or not, how so?

4. What kind of services should be available but are not?

5. What changes would you suggest for these agencies or individual service providers?

Social/Community Involvement

1. Are/were there any social/community involvement issues that you have/had a) for which you seek/sought services or help? b) for which you do/did not seek any help or service?

2. What services did you use? Describe the services and agencies.
Probing questions:

Do you belong to any ethno-specific organizations associated with the following?

- Religious/Church groups
- Recreation groups
- Cultural groups
- Community groups
- Political Groups
- Employment-related groups
- Other (specify)

How are you involved? (e.g., attend regularly, attend sporadically, support financially)

Do you belong to any mainstream or non ethno-specific organizations associated with the following?

- Religious/Church groups
- Recreation groups
- Cultural groups
- Community groups
- Political Groups
- Employment-related groups
- Other (specify)

How are you involved? (e.g., attend regularly, attend sporadically, support financially).

3. What is your experience in accessing these services? E.g. are the agencies you go to helpful or not, how so?

4. What kind of social/community services should be available but are not?

5. What changes would you suggest for these agencies or individual service providers?

Additional questions

1. What are some of the barriers or difficulties that prevent you from "settling " successfully in society? Explain.

Can these barriers or difficulties be solved and how?
Probing question:

In general, what were the three biggest challenges or obstacles that you faced in trying to settle in Canada?

In your view, what were the challenges or obstacles that your children faced in trying to settle in Canada? Did this affect the family relationships/dynamics? If so, how?

2. What are some of the issues that you have now, which are different from the issues you had when you first arrived?

Do you sense any changes in your community as well?

3. What does “settlement” mean to you?

How is it different (or not) from other people’s or the government’s understanding of settlement?

When and how do you know that you have settled successfully?

When and how do you know that your community has settled successfully?

Probing question:

If you compare your community with some other community such as Chinese community, what is it that makes you just as successful or not as successful as that community?

What are some of the criteria with which you use to make the evaluation? Are there your own criteria the Canadian society’s?

Should your community become more active in demanding for changes from the government or would you like to see your community doing things on their own?

4. What would ensure that you settle successfully, given your opinions of what settlement means?

Probing question:

What specific steps should be taken for successful settlement, in terms of what the government, the community, service agencies, advocacy groups and individuals can do?

5. Can you think of any other services such as job search, skills, legal aid, counselling interpreters, or other community services that you used when you first came to Canada?
What type of community services have you used most often since you settled in Canada?

Did/do you feel comfortable about using these services? Why or why not?

Who, if anyone, helped you to find about the services?

Was there anyone else/any other organization who helped you find about the services?

Do you still use them? Which ones?

Can you think of any other people/sources of information that were useful to you in locating services to settle here in Canada?

Has the type of service or the frequency of using services in the community changes since you first arrived in Canada? Has your view about these services changed since you first arrived in Canada? If yes, how?

6. How important is it for Korean-Canadian agencies to provide services to the community that are knowledgeable of and sensitive to the Korean culture? (e.g. very important, important, no so important, not important at all) Explain.

Is it important for the Korean community to have services provided in the Korean language? Why?

Demographic Profile

1. Country of Birth: __________________

                Divorced Widowed
                Other (specify)

3. Currently, how many people live with you in the same household?

What are their ages?

Their sex?

How are they related to you?

Are all, some, or none of your children living here in Canada? If some are, where are others living? If none are, where are they living?
4. Religion: Christianity (Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, Pentecostal, etc.)
   Buddhist
   Other (specify)

5. Do you own your residence or rent?

6. Age

7. Income
Appendix VI: Questionnaire for Key Informants in the Korean-Canadian Community

Background Questions for Key Informants in the Korean-Canadian Community

1. What is your current position (in your organization)? (exact job title, if possible)

2. How long have you been in your current position?

3. How long has this organization been established?

Interview Guide for Key Informants of Korean-Canadian Community

1. In general, what are the different services you/your agency offer? (e.g. health care; education/language training; interpretation services; translation services; financial counselling; accessing financial assistance; employment/vocational services; legal services, shelter; housing; community information; therapy/counselling; social/recreational services; religious services; immigration processing; other)

   In what ways are you involved in direct service to the Korean-Canadian community?

   How are your services helpful or not helpful? Explain.

   Probing questions:

   Approximately, how many clients did your organization serve in fiscal year 98-99? 99-00?

   How many newcomer families did your organization serve in fiscal year 98-99? 99-00?

   How many immigrant families did your organization serve in fiscal year 98-99? And 99-00?

   Do you serve any specific client population(s)? (e.g. male, female, families, children, adolescents/youth, adults, seniors, other)

   Are your services for the general public or primarily for the Korean-Canadian ethnocultural group?

   Are your services primarily for newcomers or immigrants families?

115
What are the “settlement services” that you offer to for newcomers and immigrants families?

2. How well known are your services/organization in the Korean-Canadian community? In your experience, what are the three main ways newcomer/immigrant families find out about you services (e.g. immigration processing; agency flyers or brochures; media; directory of services; word-or-mouth; organization referrals; other)?

What are the three main ways your organization reaches potential clients (e.g., door-to-door canvassing; religious organizations; advertisements; government organizations, agencies, etc.; telephone outreach; through networking with other service providers; other)?

3. What are some concerns or difficulties that Korean newcomer and immigrant families face? (e.g., accessing housing; accessing employment; accessing language training; accessing education; accessing health care; accessing recreation/social; accessing community services; accessing therapy/counselling; other) Explain.

Do you notice a difference between newcomer and immigrant families in the types of problems they present?

4. Where would you refer Korean clients?

In your opinion, where do they go for help? To which agency do they go?

Are these services helpful/not? Why?

5. What are the emerging or changing trends that you see in the Korean-Canadian community in terms of needs and access to services? How are they different from the past?

How do the values, beliefs, and perceptions of the Korean culture affect the client’s request for social services?

6. What are the major difficulties that you see as an agency/service provider providing service to Korean newcomer and immigrant families to settle?

What do you see as emerging needs in newcomer/immigrant family services serving the Korean-Canadian community? How are they different from the past?

7. What do you see as the major gaps/barriers in newcomer/immigrant family services serving the Korean-Canadian community? (e.g., information/awareness, geographic/location, cultural, administrative, cost/funding, discrimination, other) Explain. How can these barriers be overcome?
Probing questions:

Please identify the methods through which decisions are usually made about the types of services to be provided to newcomers/immigrants by your organization (e.g., the Board of Directors decides; the staff and Board decides; the mandate of the organization sets the stage; services are funder directed; decisions are made collaboratively by organizational networks; the consumers of the service decide; through formal study/consultations; other)

How do current funding regulations affect service priorities for newcomer/immigrant clients (e.g., program budgeting; grants)?

Do you have established linkages to other organizations (e.g., provide any joint staff training or share information)?

If yes, please describe the nature of linkages and with whom you have established these linkages.

On a scale from 1 to 5, 1 being very poor and 5 being excellent, how would you describe the level of cooperation between your organization and other organizations serving newcomer/immigrant families?

On a scale from 1 to 5, 1 being coordinate very little and 5 being coordinate very much, to what extent does your organization coordinate services with other organizations serving newcomer/immigrant families?

If your organization serves the Korean-Canadian community, what forms of linkages do you have with other service providers to this ethno-cultural group (e.g., formal links: planning groups, coalition, inter-agency networks, etc.; informal/personal links; other; don't know)

How are services to the Korean-Canadian community planned?

8. What would you like to see in terms of help for Korean immigrant families?

What would you need to help service this ethnic group better?

Other comments
## Appendix VII: Family Demographic Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family ID</th>
<th># of Years in Canada</th>
<th>Country of Birth</th>
<th>Marital Status (M = married, S = single, D = divorced, W = widowed, R = remarried)</th>
<th># of People in Household</th>
<th>Number of Child(ren) and Age</th>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<tr>
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(Continued on next page)
## Appendix VII: Family Demographic Profile (continued)

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<tr>
<th>Family ID</th>
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<th>Religion</th>
<th>Rent or Own</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Average Family Income</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Y = yes; N = no)</td>
<td>(CHRSTN = Christian; CTHLC = Catholic; NON = Non Religious)</td>
<td>(R = rent; O = own)</td>
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Appendix VIII: Key Informant Profile

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informants’ Current Position</th>
<th>Length at Current Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business Lawyer and Co-partner at Law Firm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Settlement Worker</td>
<td>Less than 3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor of Psychiatry, Senior Scientist</td>
<td>More than 4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Promoter</td>
<td>More than 4 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psychiatrist</td>
<td>Less than 3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Manager</td>
<td>Less than 3 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Executive Director</td>
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<td>Settlement Worker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Youth Pastor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Executive Director</td>
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