Kimchi Networks: Korean Employers and Employees in Auckland

김치 네트워크: 오클랜드의 한국인 고용주 및 피고용인

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Research Report Number 2

Integration of Immigrants Programme
Massey University/University of Waikato
August 2010
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- Published by:

  Integration of Immigrants Programme
  College of Humanities and Social Sciences
  Massey University
  Private Bag 102 904
  North Shore City
  New Zealand

  ISBN:  978-0-9582971-2-7
  ISSN:  1179-7363 (Print)
  ISSN:  1179-7371 (Online)

- See our website at: http://integrationofimmigrants.massey.ac.nz
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank researchers and translators Grace Kim and JungIm Cho and GIS specialist Jingjing Xue for their assistance with this research. We are also very grateful to Dr Bronwyn Watson and Tanya Roberts for their careful data coding; to Joanna Lewin for the analysis of 2006 census data; and to photographer Richard Shepherd for his images of Korean businesses in Auckland. We acknowledge the contributions of the remaining members of the Integration of Immigrants (IIP) research team: Jacques Poot and Richard Bedford; and the New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology who are funding the IIP programme (2007-2012). Most importantly, we wish to thank all the research participants who contributed so generously to this project.
요약


미국과 같은 다른 이민자사회와 비슷하게 많은 한국이민자는 자영업에 종사하고 있습니다. 한국인이 소유하고 경영하는 사업은 오클랜드의 중심 상가 지역, 오클랜드 동부의 메드우랜드와 소머빌 지역, 와이타케레시의 링컨로드 주변에도 위치하지만, 대부분은 노스쇼어의 중산층이 사는 지역, 예를 들면 타카푸나, 와이라우 파크, 노스 코트 등에 자리 잡고 있습니다.

이 연구는 14명의 고용주, 20명의 피고용인, 6명의 홈스테이 운영자(가정에서 유학생에게 침식을 제공하는 여성)의 경험을 통하여 한국이민자들이 이 나라 경제에 어떻게 통합하는지에 관한 이해를 증진하기 위한 것입니다. 연구 참여자는 다양한 산업에 종사하지만 주로 소매업이나 숙박 요식업에 종사합니다. 참여자의 90%가 크리스천이었습니다.

이번 연구에 따르면 많은 참여자가 자녀의 더 나은 교육과 작은 시간을 잃히면서 스트레스를 덜 받는 가족 중심의 여유로운 생활을 위하여 뉴질랜드로의 이주를 선택하였습니다. 그들의 이민 경험에 대해 물어보았을 때, 참여자는 다음과 같이 말했습니다.

- 참여자들은 일반적으로 뉴질랜드에서 자녀를 교육하는 것에 만족합니다. 특히 자녀가 학교를 좋아하는 것에 대해 만족하지만, 일부 참여자는 학교가 규율이 약하다고 느끼며, 다른 일부는 그들 자녀가 더 열심히 공부해야 한다고 생각합니다.
- 참여자 대부분이 한국보다 뉴질랜드에서 더 나은 생활을 즐긴다고 보고하였고 뉴질랜드에서 가족과 함께 좀 더 많은 시간을 보낼 수 있었으며, 스트레스와 경쟁이 적다고 말했습니다. 그러나 요식업 고용주는 남녀 모두 예외였습니다.

1 이후로는 한국이라고 표기함
2 뉴질랜드 산업통계는 호주 뉴질랜드 표준 산업분류(ANZSIC) 2006 (뉴질랜드 통계 2010a)로 자료를 집계합니다. 숙박요식업은 방문객에게 숙박을 제공하는 사업으로 카페, 레스토랑, 데이크어웨이 식당 뿐 아니라 호텔및 모텔을 포함합니다.
참여자들의 이민 전후의 일상생활 변화는 남녀 성별에 따라 확실한 차이가 있었습니다.
  ○ 남성 참여자는 이민 전 생활을 직장 중심의 생활이라고 묘사하였습니다. 장시간 일하고 일이 끝난 후에도 직장동료와 함께 모임을 하거나 혹은 일과 관련된 문제로 모임을 했습니다. 그러나 이민 후에는 일하는 시간이 줄어들었고 더 가족 중심의 생활을 합니다.
  ○ 여성참여자는 이민 전후의 생활이 비슷하다고 말했는데, 남편과 자녀를 돌보는 것과 직장 생활 사이에서 균형이 필요했습니다.

참여자들은 영어로 소통하는 데 어려움을 겪었다고 말했습니다. 영어로 많은 참여자(75%)가 차별을 겪었다고 말했습니다.

대부분 참여자들은 앞으로 3 년간은 오름랜드에서 거주할 계획을 하고 있고 그들의 자녀가 뉴질랜드에서 살 것으로 기대하고 있습니다.

피고용인의 90%, 고용주의 77%, 훌스테이 경영자의 83%가 그들이 뉴질랜드에서 노후를 보낼 것이라고 했습니다.

여행연구에 따르면 고용주와 피고용인이 여러 방면에서 같은 관점을 보이지만, 세 그룹 사이에 어느 정도의 시각 차이를 발견했습니다.

고용주

참여자들의 업종은 대부분 숙박요식업, 소매업이였고 그 외에 건설, 교통, 우편, 재료상, 생산, 도매업 등으로 2001 년에서 2008 년 사이에 사업을 시작했습니다. 평균 2.4 명의 유급 직원을 고용하고 있습니다. 약 40%에서 가족이 유급으로 일하고 있으며, 57%가 가족이 무급으로 일하고 있습니다. 21%에서는 유급직원을 고용하고 있지 않았습니다. 고용주들은 일주일에 15 시간에서 72 시간, 평균 51 시간을 일합니다.

고용주가 뉴질랜드에서 사업을 시작한 가장 많은 두 가지 이유는 가족을 위한 안정적인 수입과 장기 사업 비자의 조건을 충족하기 위한 것이었습니다. 50%의 고용주가 개인 사업을 시작하기 전에 유급 직원으로 일한 경험이 있었고, 또한 같은 비율의 고용주가 동 기간에 여러 형태의 훈련을 받았습니다. 이번 연구에서는 또한 새로운 이민자들이 받은 도움을 조사했는데, 사업 시작 단계에서 뉴질랜드에 사는 친구와 가족으로부터 가장 많은 도움을 받았습니다.

한국에서의 직업과 뉴질랜드에서의 첫 직업으로의 전환 사이에 직업이 하향 조정되는 면을 보였습니다. 본국에서와 현재의 직업을 비교해 볼 때, 중요한 점은 대부분의 고용주가 사업을...
피고용인

다부분 피고용인은 뉴질랜드에서의 첫 직종으로 숙박요식업 및 소매업에 종사했으며 그 외에 건강관리 사회복지, 교육 훈련, 건설, 농업, 임업, 어업, 도매업, 행정 및 지원 서비스 분야에 종사했습니다. 15%의 참여자만이 첫 직장에서 계속 일을하고 있었습니다. 첫 번째 직업을 찾는데 받은 도움에 관해, 참여자 대부분은 친구나 가족이 그들에게 일자리를 제공하거나 혹은 고용주를 소개해 주거나, 직장을 찾는데 유용한 정보를 제공했다고 말했습니다. 많은 참여자가 이런 인맥이 교회를 통해 이루어졌다고 했습니다.

참여자들은 또한 현재의 직장을 찾는 데도 가족과 친구의 도움을 받았다고 말했습니다. 피고용인들은 주로 소매업, 숙박요식업, 건설업에서 일하고 있었으며 그 외에 건강사회복지, 3연구 참여자에 의해 사용되는 ‘키위’라는 단어는 일반적으로 뉴질랜드 백인을 지칭합니다. 그러나 이단어가 사용된 내용에 따라 인종에 관계없이 뉴질랜드인을 지칭하기도 합니다.
도매업, 전문직, 과학기술직, 교통 우편 창고업, 행정 및 지원 서비스 분야에서 일하고 있었었습니다. 현 직장에서 일한 기간은 1 달에서 7 년으로 평균 2.5 년이었습니다. 50%가 상근직이고 45%가 파트 타입이며 나머지 5%가 임시직이었습니다. 그들은 평균 일주일에 31.5 시간 일하고 그들의 고용주의 75%는 한국인이었고, 70%가 한국 동료와 일합니다. 85%의 피고용인은 뉴질랜드에 도착한 이후에 훈련을 받은 경험이 있고, 대부분이 영어를 향상하기 위해 코스를 다녔습니다.

피고용인이 뉴질랜드에서 가진 첫 직업과 현재 직업은 한국에서의 직업과 비교해 보았을 때 뉴질랜드 노동시장의 전환 과정에서 직업이 상당한 정도로 하향 조정되었음을 보게 됩니다. 60%의 참여자가 한국에서 매니저 혹은 전문직에서 근무했지만, 뉴질랜드에서는 이 비율이 첫 직업군에서는 25%, 그리고 조사 당시의 직업군에서는 20%로 감소함을 보입니다.

피고용인이 뉴질랜드에서 직업을 찾는 데 있어서 가장 흔히 접하는 어려움은 영어로 말하는 것, 뉴질랜드 현지에서의 경험 부족, 자신에게 맞는 직업이 없음, 본인이 있는 지역에 직장이 없음, 같은 업종에 있는 사람을 모름, 자격증을 인정받기 어려움, 영어 발음과 연관된 어려움 등이었습니다. 새로운 이민자에게 권하고 싶은 구직 방법을 물어보았을 때, 참여자들은 영어로 말하는 것을 배우는데 최선을 다하고, 뉴질랜드가 한국과 다르다는 사실을 받아들이고 기꺼이 사회에 동화될 것을 권유했습니다.

75%의 피고용인이 현재의 일과 관련하여 "만족하다" 혹은 "매우 만족하다"라고 하였고, 80%는 현재의 일에서 그들의 기술과 경험을 잘 사용하고 있다고 했습니다. 그러나 그들의 자격증(qualification)에 판해서는 25%만이 현재의 직업에서 사용되고 있다고 말했습니다. 이것에 대해 참여자는 현재의 직업에서 그들의 자격증을 자주 사용하지는 않지만, 직장과 개인 생활을 통해 얻은 다양한 기술과 경험을 사용한다고 말했습니다. 40%의 참여자가 설문 당시 적극적으로 다른 직장을 알아보고 있다고 말했는데 이들 대부분이 오클랜드에서 알아보고 있었으며, 12.5%에서는 해외에서의 직장을 알아보고 있었습니다. 참여자 중 단지 세 명만이 직업과 관련된 그룹, 클럽 혹은 단체에 가입해 있었습니다.

홈스테이 운영자

여섯 명의 홈스테이를 하는 여성을 인터뷰했습니다. 그들은 유학생을 돌보므로 가족 수입에 이바지하고 있었는데 이 유학생은 전부 다는 아니지만 주로 한국에 있는 친구나 가족의 자녀였습니다. 운영자 중 한 명을 제외하고 모두 결혼한 여성이었습니다. 이들은 고용주용
설문지를 사용하여 인터뷰했지만 GST 등록이 왜 있지 않고 직원을 고용하고 있지 않았습니다. 또한, 홈스테이 운영자들은 자신들의 집이 사업장으로 사용되었으며, 홈스테이가 가정생활이나 가족관계에 많은 영향을 미친다는 점에서 일반 고용주와 달랐습니다. 그러나 홈스테이 운영자는 고용주 및 피고용인과 많은 경험을 공유하고 있었는데, 예를 들면 이민 후 생계를 꾸려나가는 데 어려움을 경험했고, 도움, 조언 또는 고객을 얻는데 같은 동족에 의존하는 점, 그리고 사업의 효율적인 운영을 위해 인터넷을 많이 사용함 등이었습니다.

홈스테이 운영자의 절반은 뉴질랜드에 오기 전에 매니저나 전문직종에서 일했습니다. 그리고 절반의 홈스테이 운영자가 홈스테이 사업을 시작하기 전에 뉴질랜드에서 피고용인(기술자, 공동체나 개인 서비스 분야)으로 일했습니다. 그들의 직업상의 변화를 볼 때 이전에 언급된 피고용인과 마찬가지로 뉴질랜드에 도착한 후 어느 정도 직업이 하향 조정되었음을 볼 수 있었습니다.
Balmoral
Baptist Church
Ph. 631 5307
English Service 10.30am

“주의 사랑으로 축복합니다!”
동산장로교회
주일예배 오후 1:00 · 수요예배 오후 7:30
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since the late 1980s, New Zealand has experienced a substantial increase in immigration from
the Republic of Korea. Between 1986 and 1996, Koreans were the fastest growing Asian group
in New Zealand and by the last census in 2006, there were 30,792 Koreans living in the country.
Two-thirds of New Zealand’s Koreans live in Auckland, the majority in the middle-class suburbs
of the North Shore.

Like Korean migrants in other settler societies such as the United States, many migrants from
Korea are self-employed. Korean-owned and operated businesses can be found in Auckland’s
central business district, in East Auckland’s Meadowlands and Somerville ethnic precincts, in
pockets off Lincoln Road in Waitakere City but mostly on the North Shore in areas such as
Takapuna, Wairau Park and Northcote.

This research sought to increase our understanding of the economic integration of migrants
from Korea by examining the experiences of 14 employers, 20 employees and 6 homestay
operators (women who host international students in their homes). Participants worked in a
variety of industries but predominantly in either retail or accommodation and food. Ninety
percent of the interviewees identified as Christian.

The findings from the research suggest that many of the participants chose to live in New
Zealand in order to better educate their children and have a more relaxed, family-oriented
lifestyle where they worked fewer hours and had less stress. Asked to reflect on their migration
experiences, participants told us that:

- They were generally satisfied with their children’s educational experiences in New
  Zealand. In particular, they felt happy that their children liked school although some felt
  that schools lacked discipline and others thought that their children should be working
  harder.

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4 Hereafter Korea.
5 Industry statistics in New Zealand are compiled using the Australia and New Zealand Standard
Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2010a). Accommodation and Food
Services includes businesses involved in providing accommodation for visitors, such as hotels and motels,
as well as cafes, restaurants and takeaway food services.
Most enjoyed a better lifestyle in New Zealand than they had in Korea. Participants reported having more family time and less stress and competition although employers in the food industry, both women and men, were a notable exception.

Participants’ daily lives pre and post-migration have strongly gendered themes.
  o Pre-migration, men described lives which revolved around their careers and included very long working hours and after-work socialising dominated by work colleagues and work agendas. Post-migration, men said that they worked shorter hours and experienced more family-focused lives.
  o Women described pre and post-migration lives that were more similar and involved balancing the needs of their husbands and children with the demands of their paid work.

Participants told us that they face considerable challenges communicating in English.

Many of our interviewees (75%) reported experiencing some kind of discrimination.

Almost all planned to be living in Auckland in three years’ time and also envisaged that their children would remain here.

Ninety percent of employees, 77 percent of employers and 83 percent of homestay operators said that they saw themselves growing old or retiring in New Zealand.

While employers and employees held many views in common, the research also revealed some differences between these three groups.

EMPLOYERS

Most of the businesses owned by participants were in the accommodation and food or retail industries, with the remainder in: construction; transport, postal and warehousing; manufacturing; and wholesale trade. Established between 2001 and 2008, they employed an average of 2.4 paid employees. Almost 40 percent had paid employees who were family members and 57 percent had a family member working in their businesses without wages or salary. Twenty-one percent of the businesses had no paid employees at all. Employers reported working between 15 and 72 hours per week, an average of 51 hours per week.

The two most common reasons employers gave for starting their New Zealand businesses were to ensure a stable income for their families and to fulfil the conditions of their business visa. Fifty percent of employers had worked as paid employees prior to starting their own businesses.
and an equal proportion had undertaken some form of training in the same time frame. The research explored aspects of assistance to new migrants, with the most commonly reported source of assistance during the start-up phase of a participant’s business being provided by New Zealand-based friends and family.

There is some evidence of downward occupational mobility in the transitions participants made between their work in Korea and their first job in New Zealand. When comparing interviewees’ employment in their home country to their current employment, the key finding is that, despite the fact that most continue to run their own businesses, the majority have shifted into work that is quite different from their pre-migration employment. Although this small study cannot conclusively determine the extent to which Korean employers are forced into business ownership by their inability to obtain employment in the New Zealand labour market, our data suggest that employers did experience some degree of constraint in their decision to set up their own businesses.

Commonly reported problems experienced by employers during the set-up phase of their businesses included speaking English, employing staff and operating in the New Zealand business environment. Only one participant had joined a local business association. Asked what advice they would give to other migrants starting businesses in New Zealand, participants said: research and plan your business; study hard and learn to speak English well; and target ‘mainstream’ customers rather than only Koreans. Almost 80 percent of employers said that they used the internet to support their business.

The research also explored the networks and relationships that employers depended on. Almost 80 percent of participants employed at least one Korean employee and Korean was reported as the main language used to communicate with staff (79 percent). The hiring of bilingual (Korean-English) speakers and enlisting the help of English-speaking family or friends are the main strategies interviewees used to manage their difficulties with English. Seventy-one percent of the businesses had at least one ‘Kiwi’ supplier; just over half had at least one Korean supplier; and many had suppliers from China and other migrant communities. Although 80 percent of interviewees’ businesses had Korean customers, 57 percent had ‘Kiwi’ customers and many described clients from a range of different ethnic groups.

6The term ‘Kiwi’ is generally used by participants to refer to Pakeha New Zealanders. However, its meaning can also vary according to the context within which it is used and may refer to anyone who is a New Zealander, whatever their ethnicity.
The majority of employees’ first jobs in New Zealand were in the accommodation and food or retail industries while the remainder worked in health care and social assistance; education and training; construction; agriculture, forestry and fisheries; wholesale trade; or administrative and support services. Only 15 percent of participants were still employed in their first job and of those who received assistance to find this work, most said that their friends or family had offered them work, introduced them to their employer or provided them with the information they needed to obtain the job. Many of our respondents added that these connections were made through the church.

Participants also said that they sought advice from family and friends in order to find their current jobs. Employees worked mainly in retail, accommodation and food or construction while the remainder were in: health and social services; wholesale trade; professional, scientific and technical; transport, postal and warehousing; or in administrative and support services. Interviewees had been in their current jobs between one month and seven years with an average of two and a half years; 50 percent worked full-time, 45 percent part-time and five percent as casuals. They worked an average of 31.5 hours per week. Seventy-five percent of participants were employed by other Koreans and 70 percent worked with Korean colleagues. Eighty-five percent of employees had participated in some form of training since they arrived in New Zealand, the majority investing in courses to improve their English.

When we compare our interviewees’ occupational status in their home country with their first and current New Zealand positions, we can see that they have experienced considerable downward occupational mobility during their transition into the labour market in New Zealand. In Korea, 60 percent of our participants were employed either as managers or professionals, while in New Zealand, that proportion fell to 25 percent in the first job and 20 percent at the time of interview.

The most common difficulties employees experienced when finding work in New Zealand were: problems speaking English; lack of local experience; no suitable job opportunities; no jobs in their local area; not knowing people in the industry; problems with credential recognition; and difficulties associated with accent. When asked what strategies they would recommend to new migrants, interviewees suggested that they should do their utmost to learn to speak English, accept that New Zealand was different from Korea and integrate into ‘Kiwi’ society.
Seventy-five percent of employees said that they were either ‘happy’ or ‘very happy’ with their current job and 80 percent said that their job made good use of their skills and experience. However, only 25 percent of participants reported that their current job made good use of their qualifications. Their explanations for these responses suggest that although they are often not using their formal qualifications in their current jobs, they are able to make use of a range of skills and experiences acquired over the course of their working and personal lives. Forty percent of interviewees were actively looking for another job at the time of their interviews, most in Auckland but 12.5 percent overseas. Only three participants had joined a group, club or organisation related to their work.

**Homestay Operators**

We interviewed six women working as homestay operators. They contribute to their family’s overall income by caring for international students, usually the children of family or friends in Korea but not always. All but one of the women were married. They responded to the employer survey but were not GST-registered and had no employees. In addition, homestay operators’ experiences also differed because their ‘businesses’ operated from within their own homes and impacted significantly on their home lives and family relationships. However, homestay operators also shared a number of common experiences with employers and employees including: the challenge of making ends meet post-migration; the dependence on co-ethnics for support, advice and custom; and a strong reliance on the internet for the efficient running of their businesses.

Half the homestay operators worked as managers or professionals before they arrived in New Zealand and the same proportion had also worked as employees (as either technicians and trades workers or community and personal service workers) here prior to setting up their homestay businesses. An examination of their employment transitions suggests that they, like the employees discussed in the previous section, have experienced a degree of downward occupational mobility since their arrival in New Zealand.
INTRODUCTION

The arrival of migrants from Korea is very much a product of immigration policy changes in 1986-87. The number of new settlers was initially modest but by the early 1990s, between 2000 and 3000 Koreans were arriving in New Zealand annually. Two-thirds entered the country in a visa category which assessed candidates on employability, age and settlement factors while the other third arrived as part of the General Investment Category (i.e. they had between $100,000 and $300,000 to invest in New Zealand). Immigrants from Korea arriving as part of the Family Category numbered less than 100 annually. By 1993, half of all immigrants approved for residence in New Zealand were from Asia, a significant shift from pre-1986. At this point, Koreans were the largest group of Asian arrivals, double the number arriving from China and slightly more than those arriving from Hong Kong and Taiwan. They were a significant and important group in the first major wave of contemporary migration from Asia.

The net annual gain of migrants from Korea settled at just over 2000 per annum for much of the 1990s, although the Asian economic crisis in the late 1990s resulted in a net loss of Koreans in 1996-97. The numbers climbed again, however, to a net gain of just over 2000 during the early years of the twenty-first century. As this report makes clear, the number of Koreans living in New Zealand has grown from less than a 1000 in 1991 to number more than 30,000. The numbers have continued to grow steadily (approximately 10,000 every 5 years) although their presence has been somewhat overshadowed by the very large increase in migrants from China after 2000. Unlike the early and mid-1990s when Koreans were the largest group of Asian arrivals, this has not been the case through the first decade of the twenty-first century.

For many New Zealanders, and particularly those that live in Auckland, their profile is modest compared with that of the Chinese, and there is often little recognition of their activities or contribution to the Auckland city economy. Ironically, they are most likely to be associated with sports, especially golf. The Korean involvement in the sport has already produced some New Zealand representatives and their ownership or investment in golf courses and associated activities such as golfing shops is now a significant part of the Auckland golfing scene. They have also begun to have an important presence in academic success and music, although it is not always clear that other New Zealanders are aware that the person who has collected an academic prize or played at a piano recital is Korea-born.
This report highlights some of the barriers that Koreans encounter as they adjust to the very different circumstances of New Zealand. The positives – the environment, schools and universities, an attractive lifestyle – are accompanied by negatives such as discrimination, the difficulties of establishing a business or gaining employment, and the loneliness of being in such a culturally and linguistically different environment. As one of the Koreans who read this report in its draft form noted, the stories of some of our respondents moved her to tears. To date there has been little research about Korean communities in New Zealand (Morris, Vokes, & Chang, 2007) - our report seeks to provide much needed information on their experiences here. We also hope, however, that the human dimension of migration, the hopes and dreams of migrants, are captured here. Perhaps one outcome will be to challenge New Zealanders, especially those that are responsible in some way for the institutions which are critical to our society such as the labour market or education, to find out more about the Koreans that are in their midst. They represent an important and relatively recent community in this country, one that deserves a lot more attention.
The Koreans in Auckland

The earliest recorded Korean immigrants to New Zealand settled in the Canterbury and Otago regions during the mid-1960s. Most of these early arrivals were employees of Korean shipping firms who stayed on at the end of their contracts although some were agriculturalists involved in fur farming (Chang, Morris, & Vokes, 2006). In 1986, there were 441 Koreans living in New Zealand (Lidgard, Ho, Chen, Goodwin, & Bedford, 1998) but this figure grew rapidly after the historic policy shift of 1986/87 when country of origin preferences in immigrant selection and approvals were abandoned in favour of criteria based on personal merit (Ip, 2003). Between 1986 and 1996, Koreans were the fastest growing Asian group in New Zealand and at the end of this period, there were 12,753 Koreans living in the country (Lidgard, et al., 1998). The 1995 policy changes, in particular the requirement for greater English language proficiency (D.-C. Kim & Yoon, 2003; H. K. Yoon & Bedford, 1999), together with the impact of the Asian economic crisis of 1997 (Chang, et al., 2006) led to a decrease in the rate of Korean migration in the late 1990s. However, the turn of the last century saw a new influx of Korean immigrants (D.-C. Kim & Yoon, 2003; Lee, Kearns, & Friesen, 2010); according to the 2006 census, there are now 30,792 Koreans living in New Zealand.

Table 1  

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<td>Number</td>
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<td>927</td>
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Two-thirds of the Korean population of New Zealand (20,034) live in Auckland (Lee, et al., 2010), which has been ‘the favoured initial destination for overseas born immigrants for much of the twentieth century’ (Lidgard, et al., 1998, p. 12). The following maps illustrate the distribution of Korea-born migrants across the Auckland area based on 2006 census data. Figure 1 shows the percentage of a particular Census Area Unit (CAU)\(^7\) born in Korea while Figure 2 indicates the actual headcount. It is important to note that the flows illustrated here encompass both temporary residents, such as those on a student visa, as well as permanent residents. The most significant populations are found in the middle-class suburbs of the North Shore (Collins, 2008; D.-C. Kim & Yoon, 2003) where Koreans make up 17.35 percent of residents in Pinehill, 13.44 percent of Northcross, 10.23 percent of Forrest Hill, 9.52 percent of

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\(^7\) Census Area Units are small geographical areas which together make up territorial authorities. They usually contain 3000-5000 people.
Windsor Park and 9.16 percent of North Harbour West. In addition, there are also residential concentrations of Koreans in Manukau and Waitakere cities and, to a lesser extent, in central Auckland where at least some are international students. The high levels of Korean self-employment can be seen in the numerous businesses that service the temporary and permanent Korean communities in Auckland, in particular at the south-west, upper end of Queen Street in Auckland city, Northcote and Wairau Park in North Shore City, small pockets along Lincoln Road in Waitakere City and at Meadowlands in Manukau City.

Figure 1  Distribution of the Korea-born in Auckland as a percentage of the Total Population
Figure 2  Distribution of the Korea-born Population in Auckland by Number
The broad aim of the employer and employee surveys is to better understand the experiences of Auckland-based migrant employers and employees from the five source countries that are the focus of the Integration of Immigrants research programme: the United Kingdom, the People’s Republic of China, India, South Africa and the Republic of Korea. In order to achieve this objective, we developed employer and employee-specific interview schedules which sought information about migrants’ transitions into their new lives in New Zealand. This information was gathered through in-depth, face-to-face interviews with participants that lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. The interview schedule included a range of closed questions such as age, marital status, previous education and employment as well as a number of more open questions where the participants were encouraged to respond in greater detail. Although the key focus was the economic integration of participants, we were also interested in a number of inter-related issues. The interviews, therefore, included questions about the hopes and dreams migrants had before they arrived in New Zealand; their leisure activities and community involvement; their retirement intentions; their home and family lives; and their opinions on, and possible experience of, discrimination in this country.

The interviews were undertaken in 2009 with 20 employers and 20 employees from Korea. The employer interview included questions about the reasons for business start-ups; the main business activities undertaken in participants’ business(es); the number of paid and unpaid employees as well as the legal structure of their organisations. Another area of interest concerned interviewees’ business networks, including their membership of business organisations and information about their customers, suppliers and business associates. Employees were asked about their first and current jobs in New Zealand and the extent to which these jobs were commensurate with their qualifications and experience prior to migration. Participants’ strategies for entering the labour market were explored, as well as any difficulties encountered, the ways in which they overcame these problems and the assistance (if any) they received in order to do so.

Participants were selected using the following criteria: currently resident in any one of Auckland’s four main cities, Manukau, North Shore, Auckland or Waitakere; born in Korea; and

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8 As well as British and South African participants based in Hamilton.
9 Available on request from C.L.Meares@massey.ac.nz.
granted permanent residence in New Zealand in 2000 or later. Further criteria for employers were that they were GST registered and had at least one employee (paid or unpaid, full or part-time). Employees were employed on a full-time, part-time or casual basis. During the interview phase, our Korean researchers, Grace and Junglm, alerted us to the fact that many Korean families hosted international students (usually the children of family or friends in Korea but not always) as a means of generating enough income to support their families. We decided to include six ‘homestays’ as part of our employer cohort in order to better understand this gendered phenomenon. Although these participants responded to the employer survey questions, they were not GST registered and had no employees. Moreover, their experiences differed substantially from those of the other employers in the study. As a consequence, the results in this report, where relevant, are discussed with reference to three groups: employers, employees and homestays.

A number of different approaches were used to recruit participants. Email flyers in both English and Korean were sent to key people in business and migrant organisations and also distributed through the personal networks of the research team. Hard copies of the same flyers were placed in churches and community centres and sent to individual businesses and professional organisations. Notices about the project were posted in a range of electronic mailing lists, such as the Aotearoa Ethnic Network.10

Although each of these methods contributed in a small way to raising the profile of the research, the key factor in recruiting participants was the involvement of members of the new migrant Korean community themselves in the recruitment and research process. The involvement of these interviewers was invaluable in assisting the research team to successfully navigate a number of challenges that arose during the recruitment of interviewees. Recent Korean migrants expressed concern, for example, about the possible misuse of their personal and business information. The fact that interviewers were members of the Korean community helped to alleviate these anxieties and to establish a degree of trust about the safety and security of their interview material.

The prospect of audio-recording also caused some participants unease and where the interviewee felt this to be a barrier to participation, interviewers dispensed with recording and spent considerable time making detailed notes, which they later translated into English. The interviewers also proposed that, in recognition of their time and expertise, each participant be offered a supermarket voucher which, while not considered as payment by interviewees,
acknowledged their contribution to the research project. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the interviewers’ facility with Korean was pivotal in recruiting participants; all interviewees chose to be interviewed in this language.

The recruitment and interviewing processes were new experiences for the researchers who worked with us on the project. There is some variability, as a consequence, in the depth of the qualitative data acquired from those interviews undertaken at the beginning of the process and those which took place later. Over time, the researchers developed greater skill in facilitating more in-depth responses to qualitative questions. Participants were asked for their feedback on the survey questions and the overall interview process. Overall, their responses were very positive. They said that they enjoyed the process of talking about their migration experiences with an empathetic interviewer and appreciated the fact that they could communicate in Korean. They talked about the value of looking back at the hopes and dreams they had before arriving in New Zealand; the renewed purpose this thinking gave to their plans for the future; and the hope that their participation would improve the lives of future migrants.

The following responses are typical.

*I found that it was so good to talk freely in Korean. It helped me to speak accurately and to think logically. It was a good opportunity to look back on my hopes and dreams, and it was good to think about what I will do in three years time. It was quite emotional.*

*I wish that our New Zealand society becomes better through these interviews and surveys.*

*It was a short interview but I enjoyed reflecting on my previous dreams and hopes. It helped me to remember the valuable reasons why I came here. Furthermore, it encouraged me to have a determined mindset which is not to be satisfied with the present but to put in extra effort for the future.*

Interview notes and transcripts were translated into English for analysis, which was undertaken using SPSS and NVivo. The researchers involved with the project continued to play a key role in the development of the report, providing ongoing feedback on the analysis and interpretation of data. Although the sample is not representative of all recent migrants from Korea, the information gathered in these interviews nonetheless provides valuable insights into

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11 Participant quotes appear in italics throughout the report.
12 SPSS is a computer program used for statistical analysis.
13 NVivo is a computer program used for qualitative data analysis.
the transition experiences of employers, employees and homestay operators from this migrant group. In the report, we further contextualise our interview data by referring, where appropriate, to results for those of Korean nationality from Waves One and Two of the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (hereafter LisNZ). This comprehensive survey tracks 7,000 permanent residents for the first three years of their settlement in New Zealand (for more information on this survey, see Department of Labour, 2009b).
The employer and employee groups are similar with respect to age. Employees range from 25 to 49 years old and have an average age of 40, while employers range from 25 to 52 and have a mean age of 42. Those participants operating homestays are slightly older than these two groups, with an age range of 38 to 61 and an average age of 45. Looking at the length of time participants had been in New Zealand since obtaining permanent residence, employees have a mean of 7.9 years while employers and homestay operators have a longer average residence at 9.3 and 9.7 years respectively. Participants may have been in New Zealand for considerably longer than this, however. As discussed later in this section, interviewees may have studied or worked here temporarily before applying for permanent residence. In terms of gender, just under 65 percent of employers are male and just over 35 percent female; for the employee group, the proportions are reversed with 35 percent male and 65 percent female. Homestays, in contrast, are all operated by women.

| Table 2 | Gender |
|---|---|---|
| | EMPLOYERS | EMPLOYEES | HOMESTAY |
| Male | 64.3 | 35 | 0 |
| Female | 35.7 | 65 | 100 |

With respect to industry, the majority of employers (64.3%), employees (45%) and homestay operators (100%) are found in two groups: retail, and accommodation and food. According to the latest census, these are also the industry sectors in which most recent Korean migrants in Auckland are employed. Participant employers and employees also reported employment in: construction; health care and social assistance; wholesale trade; professional, scientific and technical; transport, postal and warehousing; administrative and support services; and manufacturing.
Table 3  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industries</th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
<th>Homestay (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation and Food</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care and Social Assistance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale Trade</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional, Scientific and Technical</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, Postal and Warehousing</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and Support Services</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common category in which employers (57.1%) and employees (35%) were granted permanent residence was the business category, which includes investor, entrepreneur and long-term business visas. For those operating homestays, business and skilled secondary were the most common categories for obtaining permanent residence.

Table 4  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Permanent Residence</th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
<th>Homestay (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Principal</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Secondary</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Sponsored</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to compare these overall results with those participants of Korean nationality in Wave One of the LisNZ. The gendered differences in permanent residence category evident in Table 5 may also explain some of the differences between our groups. The employees in our study (65% female) and the homestay operators (100% female) have a smaller proportion of principal applicants, a larger share of secondary applicants and a greater proportion of family sponsored participants, differences which are mirrored in Table 5.

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14 In the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand migrants were interviewed at 6 months (Wave One), 18 months (Wave Two) and 36 months (Wave Three) after they had taken up permanent residence in New Zealand.
Table 5  Category of Permanent Residence for Participants of Korean Nationality in the LisNZ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>MEN (%)</th>
<th>WOMEN (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Principal</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Secondary</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>55.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Sponsored</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Large proportions of employers (92.9%), employees (95%) and homestay operators (83.3%) had entered New Zealand prior to obtaining permanent residence, many as tourists: 73.7 percent of employees; 76.9 percent of employers and 100 percent of homestay operators. These rates are significantly higher than those for the Chinese participants interviewed in our previous report, amongst whom 13.3 percent of employers and 16.7 percent of employees had entered New Zealand on tourist visas (Meares, Ho, Peace, & Spoonley, 2010, pp. 25‐27). This is perhaps due to the strong inter-relationship between Korean tourism and migration to New Zealand, as described by Yoon and Bedford (1999) and Collins (2008).

Smaller proportions of each group had held other temporary visas such as work permits (15.4% of employers; 21.1% of employees and 60% of homestay operators); business visas16 (23.1% of employers; 21.1% of employees and 20% of homestay operators); and student visas (7.7% of employers and 15.8 percent of employees). Although the share of participants entering on these temporary visas is not as large as that of the Chinese participants just mentioned (see Meares, et al., 2010, pp. 25-27), they nonetheless illustrate, on a small scale, the increasing tendency for migrants in OECD nations like New Zealand to work or study in the destination country before becoming permanent residents (Department of Labour, 2009a, 2009b). When the employees in our study were asked how long they spent working in New Zealand prior to obtaining their permanent residence, the average response was just under two years and the median exactly two years (half the respondents, therefore, worked here longer than two years before becoming permanent residents). This is congruent with results from the LisNZ which suggest that Korean migrants generally spend longer in New Zealand than other migrant groups prior to

---

15 This figure is an approximation as it includes a cell that was suppressed due to confidentiality reasons.

16 These include but are not limited to the Long Term Business Visa.
obtaining permanent residence; 77.6 percent spend more than two years in New Zealand pre-residence compared to only 30 percent of all other nationalities.

Table 6  
**Temporary Visas to New Zealand**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EMPLOYERS (%)</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES (%)</th>
<th>HOMESTAY (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entered New Zealand on temporary visa</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist</td>
<td>76.9¹⁷</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turning now to education levels, at least half of all the participants in the study had Bachelor’s degrees or higher qualifications, significantly greater than the 16 percent of Auckland’s New Zealand-born population who share similar education levels.

Table 7  
**Education**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EMPLOYERS (%)</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES (%)</th>
<th>HOMESTAY (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree or Higher</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of participants from all the employment categories were married. Similarly, almost all were Christian. Although only slightly more than 20 percent of Koreans are affiliated with Christian churches in Korea, most Korean international migrants are from the middle classes where Christianity is much more prevalent (Min, 1992). With respect to ethnicity, the majority of participants describe themselves as Korean, although some interviewees have adopted the generic term ‘Asian’.

¹⁷ These figures do not add up to 100 percent as participants may have held more than one visa prior to obtaining permanent residence.
### Table 8  
**Marital Status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
<th>Homestay (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Facto</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/Separated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 9  
**Religion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
<th>Homestay (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Religion</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Religion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 10  
**Ethnicity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
<th>Homestay (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>83.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiwi Hybrid</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LANGUAGE**

There is a minimum standard of English required for most migrants entering New Zealand through the skilled or business visa categories (Department of Labour, 2009b, p. 37), reflecting the general consensus in the literature that English language proficiency is an important predictor of employment post-migration (Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2004, 2006; Foroutan, 2008; Winkelmann, 1999). Although a large number of Koreans were granted permanent residence in the Skilled Migrant Category as either primary or secondary applicants (Lee, et al., 2010, p. 109),
many new Korean immigrants have entered New Zealand under the ‘long-term business visa scheme’ (D.-C. Kim & Yoon, 2003). Migrants entering in this category were able to invest their capital in a business and operate it for two years without having to sit the English language test.  

The overall results for the questions we asked about English language facility suggest that participants in this study are facing considerable challenges communicating in English, particularly in the spoken context. Korean is both the language interviewees speak best and the main language they speak at home. Although at least half of the participants in all three groups are able to read a newspaper, write a letter and hold an everyday conversation in English, significant proportions of participants rated their ability to speak and understand everyday English either poorly or very poorly. Twenty-eight percent of employers, 70 percent of employees and 83.3 percent of homestay operators reported that they were only able to speak English in a day-to-day conversation either poorly or very poorly. Similarly, 21.4 percent of employers, 35 percent of employees and 33.3 percent of homestay operators rated their ability to understand spoken English either poorly or very poorly. Although around 20 percent of both employers and employees said that they were able to read English with understanding either poorly or very poorly, over 80 percent of homestay operators reported that they were able to read English quite well.

The language difficulties experienced by our participants are mirrored in other studies on Korean migrants in New Zealand (Chang, et al., 2006; D.-C. Kim & Yoon, 2003; Morris, et al., 2007). In addition, they are also reflected in the results of the LisNZ. In both Waves One and Two, around 50 percent of Korean migrants rate their English ability as moderate or poor. Looking at Korean women and men separately, in Wave One, 50.8 percent of Korean women said that their English was moderate or poor, a proportion which decreased slightly to 46.9 percent in Wave Two. However, in Wave One, 51.9 percent of Korean men rated their English at this level, a percentage which actually increased in Wave Two to 54.4 percent.

The impact of language difficulties is considered in more detail throughout the report.

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18 Long-term business permit holders were not guaranteed permanent residence (D.-C. Kim & Yoon, 2003).
19 Participants were asked to assess their level of spoken English on a scale of one to five, where one is ‘I speak English very well’ and five is ‘I speak English very poorly’.
Participants were asked about the last job they had before they migrated to New Zealand. Women who ran their own businesses in Korea were involved in a variety of ventures: a travel agency, a hair salon, a restaurant, a tutoring agency and the co-ownership of an electrical business. Female employees in Korea were salespeople, managers, teachers, dental hygienists and nurses. Men who ran their own businesses in Korea ran electronics, import and travel companies as well as restaurants and teaching academies while male employees were managers, chief financial officers, chefs and web designers.

The three groups were quite similar with respect to the proportions who were managers or professionals pre-migration: 60 percent of employees; 64.3% of employers; and 50 percent of homestay operators. They differed, however, in the proportions not involved in paid work in Korea: 33.3 percent of homestay operators compared with 10 percent of employees and seven percent of employers. The different gender composition of these groups (all homestay operators are women, as are 65% of employees) provides some explanation for these disparities. There were differences too between the three groups with respect to whether they managed employees in their previous work (85.7% of employers managed other workers compared to 50% of employees and 16.7% of homestay operators) and in terms of the average numbers of employees they were responsible for (employers managed an average of 23 workers, employees an average of five and homestay operators only one). However, all three groups worked almost the same number of hours per week in their last Korean job: employers worked an average of 52.7 hours; employees 52.4 and homestay operators 52.

Overall, the results from this section of the survey paint a picture of relatively low incomes and considerable financial hardship after arrival in New Zealand. This is congruent with other research on Korean migrants (see, for example, Morris, et al., 2007). Participants in all three groups were similar with respect to their assets, both in New Zealand and overseas. Each group had comparable rates of home ownership (45% of employees, 50% of employers and 66.7% of homestay operators owned their own homes) and mortgage status (90% of employees and all employers and homestay operators who owned their own homes also had mortgages). Only 16.7 percent of homestay operators, however, contributed to a superannuation scheme while
the proportions were greater for employees (30%) and employers (50%). Similar percentages of each group owned assets other than their own home, both in New Zealand (25% of employees, 28.6% of employers and 16.7% of homestay operators) and overseas (40% of employees, 42.9% of employers and 50% of homestay operators).

Employers and employees also responded in a similar way to questions about their incomes. We asked participants how well their total income met their everyday needs, to which 50 percent of employers and 45 percent of employees responded either ‘poorly’ or ‘very poorly’. However, when asked whether they were financially better or worse off in New Zealand than immediately prior to their migration, more employers (57.2%) than employees (40%) responded ‘a little worse off’ or ‘much worse off’. In contrast, more than 80 percent of homestay operators fell into these two categories. Despite responding in this way, however, only 16.7 percent of homestay operators said that they regularly used their savings, or interest from savings, to meet their everyday needs for things like housing, food, clothing and other necessities. Fifty percent of employees and 35.7 percent of employers reported regularly using their savings to meet their everyday needs. Employees were also asked to indicate their personal income bracket, with options ranging from $1–5000 through to $100,000+. Twenty percent of the participants in the study earned $35,000 or less before tax in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Turning now to income support, similar proportions of employees (60%) and employers (50%) had received some form of government assistance in the previous 12 months, as had a smaller percentage of homestay operators (33.3%). The majority of those receiving assistance claimed the accommodation supplement (72.7% of employees, 57.1% of employers and 50% of homestay operators) or ‘working for families’ payment (72.7% of employees, 85.7% of employers and 100% of homestay operators). To a much lesser extent, employees had been in receipt of the sickness benefit (9.1%); paid parental leave (18.2%); or the student allowance; while 14.3% of employers had received the unemployment benefit.

The information presented so far in the report has been drawn from the closed questions in the interview schedule. Overall, our data shows that participants are predominantly Christian and are employed across a range of occupational groups but concentrated in retail and accommodation and food activities. The research also points to the residential clustering of the Korean community and the survey findings highlight issues with fluency in English, relatively low levels of income, significant downward shifts in occupational status since arrival in New Zealand and high levels of self-employment. The following sections discuss the findings from the

20 All participants answered this question.
more detailed open-ended questions where participants were encouraged to talk more freely with the interviewers. Three broad areas are covered under these findings: hopes and dreams; experiences of discrimination; and relationships, home life and leisure.

HOPES AND DREAMS

Participants were asked about the hopes and dreams they had for their migration to New Zealand. Our interviewees’ most common response was that they had come here for their children’s education. Participants also talked about wanting a better, more relaxed lifestyle, a new start and a safe place to live. Except for ‘new start’, these migration motives (or very similar ones) also appear on the list of most common reasons given by participants in the LisNZ at numbers three (a better future for my children), one (a relaxed pace of life or lifestyle) and six (safety from crime) (Department of Labour, 2009b, p. 49).

CHILDREN’S EDUCATION

Almost all the participants said that improving their children’s educational opportunities was a key motivation in their decision to migrate to New Zealand. Acquiring English language was an important part of this but so also was the New Zealand educational system. The quotes below illustrate these sentiments.

The hope for improving my children’s education was my first dream.

My main expectation was the educational environment for my child. I hoped that the educational environment would encourage my child to think freely.

I came in the hope of broadening career choices for my children. If they speak Korean, they are limited to stay only in Korea but if they can speak English, they can go to any English-speaking country and so widen their choices in life.

Migration decisions usually involve the ‘imagined’ futures and sometimes conflicting interests of several family members. Moreover, migrants’ motivations are often complex and involve several interconnected reasons for migration. In the quote below, a participant discusses with a

---

21 Migrants who move for lifestyle reasons are being increasingly defined in the academic literature as ‘lifestyle migrants’ (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009).
researcher how she came to migrate to New Zealand with her husband and children in order to improve their children’s educational opportunities. The researcher’s comments and question are in brackets.

I just came here because my husband asked me to. To be honest, I did not want to come to New Zealand. I just came because my husband wanted me to. He said to me, “I will not go to New Zealand if you don’t want to go.” However, he went to New Zealand leaving me and our two children behind, not waiting until I made a decision.

(We laugh together. This may be Korean culture in which a husband just comforts his wife with words but does not do what he says. Could you please tell me what you were thinking at that time before you came to New Zealand?)

I was not able to understand the reasons exactly why he wanted to migrate to New Zealand because our business was going well. I did not have any problems while he was running his business but my husband had to work hard and was under a lot of stress. Furthermore, he was not able to enjoy any family time. On top of that, he worried about the education system in Korea because he worked as an instructor teaching a lot of students. He believed that it would be better for my two sons to be educated in New Zealand ... and I actually agreed with my husband’s plans for my children’s bright future.

a) LIFESTYLE 생활 방식

References to lifestyle were primarily focused on having more time with their families, working fewer hours and having less stress.

My life in Korea was quite busy and I hoped to relax. I used all my time and energy for work and I was tired physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually.

I wanted to live in a different society where I could have more time to spend with my family.

Educational opportunities did not cross my mind when I decided to migrate to New Zealand. Everything was due to intense work hours involved in the Korean lifestyle where I made a good deal of money but it had certainly worn me out and I was encouraged by a
friend of mine to consider moving to New Zealand.

\[ b) \textbf{NEW START} \quad \text{새로운 출발} \]

Making a fresh start and leaving behind the past was a key motivation for many migrants, as exemplified by the following quotes.

\[
\begin{align*}
I & \text{ wanted to live in a safe and clean environment and I also wanted to leave behind the past and to start a different life.} \\
I & \text{ was in my thirties when I first arrived here. And I had a hope for a new life in a wider world by learning English here.}
\end{align*}
\]

As mentioned previously, migration is often a family or joint decision. In the quote below, a participant explains how his wife's desire for a new start led them to migrate to New Zealand. Again, the interviewer's words are in brackets.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{To be honest, I did not really give it much thought when I came to New Zealand.} \\
(\text{Did you just follow your wife all the way to New Zealand?}) \\
\text{Well, kind of ... it wasn't really the environmental aspects of New Zealand ... I did not know anything about New Zealand. It was rather the issue of 'compliance' when my wife thought it would be a good idea to go to another country and start a new life, I suppose ...}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ c) \textbf{A SAFE ENVIRONMENT} \quad \text{안전한 환경} \]

When asked about their migration hopes and dreams, many participants said that they felt safe in New Zealand and that this was an important motivation for choosing it as their new home.

\[
\text{In 1996, we prepared to immigrate to America, but the interview was postponed and then four years went by. By then my son was already in his fourth year in high school and soon needed to go into the army. Because of that we could not get an}
\]
American visa. So we tried immigrating to America through another country, and through research found New Zealand suitable because it was an English speaking country and the currency rate was cheap. We arrived in New Zealand in December, and the first impression of the country we got was so pleasant (green grass, cosy fairytale like houses, blue skies, flowers). Later on I found out that New Zealand had a long term business visa category and also I found that if I got that visa my kids could have free education. Therefore I applied for the visa ... only three months after I arrived in New Zealand ... After we received our visa my husband needed to go to America. I received a bad impression from the fact that in America anyone can carry a gun and I was also horrified to hear from my husband that he saw his relative get shot in the head by a robber. I think New Zealand is a very safe and homely country.

Discrimination 차별

The overall results for the survey questions focusing on participants’ perceptions and their experience of discrimination suggest that the majority of our participants have experienced some form of discrimination since they arrived in New Zealand. Morris et al. (2007, p. 19) make a similar claim in their study of Korean migrants in the South Island, stating ‘... almost all of the people we spoke to have experienced some form of harassment since arriving in Christchurch’. For our participants, these experiences ranged from a sense of being treated intolerantly because of their appearance or language difficulties, through to verbal abuse such as ‘go back to your country’ and even physical abuse such as having objects thrown at them. The quotes below illustrate these varied experiences.

I do feel that I am being discriminated against because of my English.

I feel that Asians are discriminated against because of our appearance. I don’t mean that I personally have experienced discrimination. I just think that.

Customers occasionally come and say ‘go back to your country’.

It happened not long after I arrived here. I was driving with my windows down and on the other side of the road were a teenage driver and his mates. One of them was munching on an apple and he threw it at me for no apparent reason.
When I walk in the streets, teenagers swear and spit at me. When I drive people point out that I'm Asian and swear at me.

Other migrants, while not claiming to have experienced discrimination, did talk about the lack of a sense of belonging to their new communities.

I have felt like a stranger so much. In other words, I feel something like racial discrimination. I think 'now I am also a New Zealander', but whenever I hear from the other side, I realise I am still a stranger.

It may be irrelevant but while I was at hospital for a regular check up, I was filling out this application form and it asked my ethnic background so I ticked 'Asian' and underneath it they only had Chinese, Japanese and 'other'. Well I just panicked. Where do Koreans go? I felt that I was being ignored on this regular application form.

Employers, employees and homestay operators expressed quite distinct opinions about the levels of discrimination faced by migrants in a range of different circumstances: at work; in the media; in organisations; and on the street. Looking first at participants' perceptions of discrimination at work, 85 percent of employees believed that migrants faced some or a lot of discrimination at work, while the rates for employers and homestay operators were somewhat lower at 64.3 percent and 33.4 percent respectively. Employees' perceptions of discrimination in the media (88.3% believed that migrants experienced some or a lot of discrimination) were also higher than employers (57.1%) and homestay operators (66.7%). A greater proportion of employees (68.4%) than employers (57.1%) or homestay operators (50%) also thought that migrants experienced some or a lot of discrimination in organisations such as banks or government departments.

The most disquieting results, however, are those which deal with participants' beliefs about the discrimination migrants experience on the street and the proportion of migrants in our research who had personally experienced some form of discrimination since they arrived in New Zealand. Again, employees had the highest rate of those who believed that migrants experience either some or a lot of discrimination on the street, at 95 percent, while the proportion of employers and homestay operators who felt similarly was 85.7 percent and 66.7 percent respectively. Despite the fact that employees had the highest percentages of those who believed that migrants experienced some or a lot of discrimination at work, in the media, in organisations and on the street, they did not have the highest proportion of those who had experienced some
kind of discrimination because of their migrant status. Seventy-five percent of employees and 33.3 percent of homestay operators stated that they had experienced discrimination, while the rate for employers was a very high 92.9 percent.

**RELATIONSHIPS, HOME LIFE AND LEISURE**

Although the Integration of Immigrants Programme focuses largely on the labour market experiences of migrant employers and employees, we are also very interested in other aspects of our respondents’ lives. For example, we asked several questions about participants’ home lives and the way they spend their leisure time and, in this section, we discuss a number of common themes that emerged from interviewees’ responses to these questions. To begin, we provide a brief introduction to the family members and networks present in New Zealand prior to participants’ arrival, those who migrated with them and those who have arrived subsequently.

**RELATIONSHIPS**

A quarter of the employees, 14.3 percent of employers and 16.7 percent of homestay operators had family living in New Zealand before they arrived. The majority of these family members were spouses and children, and less commonly in-laws and cousins. The survey results suggest that it was not unusual for spouses and children to arrive in New Zealand at different times; either the husband arrived first to establish a business or get a job followed by his wife and children, or wives and children arrived first to settle their children into school and are followed at a later date by husbands and fathers. This participant explains.

*I came here alone to find out about the possibility of living here. I realised that New Zealand offers better educational opportunities and a safe environment for my family. I bought a business first and then I brought my family.*

In the years following migration, 20 percent of employees, 28.6 percent of employers and 16.7 percent of homestay operators assisted other family members to migrate to New Zealand. Most of these newcomers were participants’ siblings but also included in-laws. The same proportions of each of the three groups also assisted non-family members to migrate, including family friends and the families of fellow church members.
Interviewees were asked what friendships and relationships were important to them in New Zealand. The majority spoke about the significance of friendships established through church but also of school or university friends; neighbours; workmates past and present; friends made through business contacts such as fellow business owners and customers; friends made through their children's contacts; and friends met through activities such as tramping or golf.

Yes, I have a group of people from church. As a migrant, I’m not familiar with New Zealand ... so when I need help, they’ve helped me choose the right direction.

I’ve got some friends at church and my neighbours. All of them are very precious to me. Because New Zealand is a foreign country, we have to help each other, don’t we? It’s very essential to help each other in case of emergency. When I was in the emergency room, my neighbour looked after my kids. Therefore, I think personal relationships are very important.

I have good relationships with Kiwi neighbours as well as regular meetings with people from the Korean community who enjoy tramping together.

A Kiwi customer is important to me here. When I couldn’t speak English I met him as a customer and he often helped me with reading letters so now we are good friends. Once every year the shop closes and we go on holiday together.

When they were asked what friendships and relationships were important to them overseas, most interviewees talked about their parents and other family members such as siblings who were still living in Korea.

I really miss my parents, siblings and friends in Korea.

I worry about my elderly parents and parents-in-law and I often make phone calls to them. I also enjoy talking with my siblings.

In terms of friendships, many respondents mentioned old classmates from primary, intermediate, high school and university as well as colleagues from previous workplaces. Most interviewees have attempted to maintain these relationships but for some it has been difficult to keep in touch because their new lives are so busy.
It's very important. Even though I left Korea a long time ago, I still contact them to give them my regards.

Though I realise it's very important, I haven't kept in touch with them because I'm so busy.

We were also interested in the ways in which interviewees kept in touch with friends and family, both here in New Zealand and overseas. The majority of participants said that they maintained their New Zealand relationships face-to-face or on the telephone. Between 20 and 30 percent of both employers and employees used email to maintain their New Zealand relationships. Twenty-two percent of employees communicated via Skype®, while the figure was lower for employers (7%). Looking at respondents' overseas relationships, the most common way of communicating with friends and family was the telephone (78% of employees and 71% of employers), followed by email (44% of employees and 50% of employers) and Skype® (33% of employees and 36% of employers). Only six percent of employees and 14 percent of employers said that they maintained their overseas relationships face-to-face.

**Home Life 가정생활**

We asked interviewees to tell us about their daily lives, firstly in Korea and then in New Zealand. The common themes that emerged from an analysis of employers' and employees' responses were strongly gendered. Men's lives in Korea tended to revolve around their paid work. Their working hours were generally very long and even after-work socialising was dominated by work colleagues and had work-related objectives. Post-migration, men noted that they worked shorter hours and that their lives were much more family-focused. In contrast, women's pre and post-migration lives were more similar; their daily lives in both locations involved balancing the needs of their husbands and children with the demands of their paid work. Employers working in the food industry were a notable exception to the general shift towards shorter hours and more family time of other participants. This was the case for both women and men.

We look first at men's daily lives in Korea. The following quote from Joo-chan, a computer design specialist, is typical. The interviewer's words are in brackets.

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22 Skype is a software application that allows videoconferencing over the internet.
23 All names used are pseudonyms.
I got up at 8.00 a.m., left for work around 8.30 and started work at 9 a.m. Lunch time was from 12.00 – 1.00 p.m. but there was no time for a break. And even though the finishing time was fixed at 6.00 p.m., I usually worked till midnight. Fortunately my house was close to the company, so I got home around 12.30 a.m. and went to bed about 1.00 after having a shower. The company supplied me with lunch and dinner, so I went straight to sleep when I got home.

(Oh, you were not able to enjoy dinner time with your wife?)

That was the thing that my wife hated so much. I didn’t have a meal with her at home. I usually worked late like this until Friday and on Saturday I worked till 3.00 or 4.00 p.m. On Sunday I went to church.

Chang-hee, the owner of an electronics company, described his work days in Korea like this.

In Korea I would wake up at 7.00 and arrive at work between 8.00 and 9.00. Next, I briefed my employees on what their task was to be that day over coffee time. I would get everything ready until 9.00, and from then I worked until 12.00. I had lunch at midday. After lunch I worked from 1:30 till 4.00, with a break of 20 minutes for a snack, and would carry on until 6.30. If I worked late I would have dinner for 30 minutes and work from 7.00 till 9.30. After the employees left, I stayed behind to tidy a few things and to plan things for the next day. After 10, I’d meet up with a business-related client or a friend. I’d arrive home after 12.

Byeoung-keun, a business owner, talked about his after-work socialising and explained the ways in which he felt that it differed from New Zealand.

After work I would either have a drink with my workmates or just come home. Sometimes for self-development I took tax classes at an academy and also took classes on trade at the [ ]24 trade association. Sometimes I had people over for dinners that were from the government, such as the Department of [ ] and the Department of [ ]. Through those meetings I could gather information and also gain permission for the company from the government ... In Korea not everything is family oriented. Everything moved and centred around me and things that I was associated with, such as my work ... For example, I spent a lot more time doing things that centred on me such as having guests over and meeting

24 Square brackets indicate the omission of information that might identify the research participant.
friends in Korea compared to New Zealand. This country is not like that. When I do things it’s with my spouse, with my kids. Korean men usually say that New Zealand is a place that is difficult to live in for them. Korean men, for stress relief, information or relationship maintenance, go to a lot of places and meet a lot of people in the evening. But here in New Zealand such things don’t exist. After work there is no ‘let’s have a little drink’. Even if there is, it is a previous engagement where you have a glass of wine between couples. This is such a contrast to Korean culture.

We turn now to women’s daily lives in Korea. Most of the women we interviewed were also engaged in paid work pre-migration. Their descriptions of their days, however, were quite different from their husbands and were generally much more similar to their New Zealand lives. Women talked about managing their paid work, housework and childcare responsibilities, sometimes with the assistance of paid help or extended family.

Chan-sook, a restaurant owner in Korea, describes her daily routine.

> When I worked in the shop I woke up at seven in the morning and sent the kids to school and my husband off to work. Then I would go out to the shop at 2-3 in the afternoon and come back home at one in the morning. Housework was done by my hired help.

Bong-cha, an employee in the travel industry explains:

> I got up early in the morning to send my children to kindergarten. I went to work after my family left home. I worked long hours every day. When I finished work I came straight home to prepare dinner. We watched TV together after dinner before we went to bed. That was everyday life in Korea.

For those women not involved in paid work, the days could also be long as they attempted to balance the needs of their children and their partners, often staying up until their husbands returned home late at night.

> I had to wake up very early in the morning to prepare breakfast and lunch for my husband and children. During the day time, I was busy with raising children and house work. I went to bed very late at night because my husband came back home late.
I got up at 7 ... and took care of my kids while doing the housework. At that time, my kids were so young - one was three and the other was one year old. I went to sleep very late, between 12.00 and 1.00 am. My husband had many things to do, so he always came home late, usually after 9 o’clock. Because in those days Korean economy was so bad, everybody had difficulty making a living. He took a rest only on Sunday and worked hard every day.

Most of the women and men in our study described their New Zealand lives as much more family-oriented and less work-focused than their lives in Korea. Joo-chan, an employee in the wholesale industry whose daily life in Korea appears at the beginning of this section, describes his New Zealand life in this way:

In New Zealand I get up at 7.00 a.m., leave for work at 7.50 and start work at 9.30. Tea time is at 10.30 and lunch is from 12.00 to 1.00. There is tea time between 3.00 and 3.30 and work ends at 6.00.

(Do you have dinner with your wife at home now?)

That’s right. (Laughing)

However, the employers in the food or retail industries, both women and men, are working just as hard or harder than they did in Korea. Their experiences are very similar to those of the Chinese participants described in our earlier report and are characterised by hard work and often long hours, a dearth of social life or entertainment and loneliness (Meares, et al., 2010, pp. 38-39).

I get up in the morning to send my daughter to school, after that I go to my shop. I make dinner at home after I close the restaurant. After a meal, I go to bed.

In New Zealand my daily lifestyle goes like this: I wake up at 8.00 a.m., go to the gym to exercise and when I come back I go to work between 9 and 10 to get the kitchen prepared. At 11.30 I open the shop and I close at about 10. After getting everything tidy, I arrive home at 11, and watch videos until late. I go to sleep between 12 and 1.

In New Zealand I wake up at 9.30 and get ready. I go to the restaurant at about 10:00-10:30 in the morning and come home between 10 and 11 at night. After I get home I have a shower and go to sleep straight away.
When I first started working, I would be out at 9 to get the ingredients prepared but now I am used to the daily schedule so I arrive at work at 11. Around 2.30 most lunch customers have left and from 3 till 5 we get ready for dinner service. Between 5 and 8 we attend to customers. At 8 we start cleaning, while still having customers, and at 9 we close the shop. At 9.10 I leave to go home. At home I have a shower, have dinner and watch Korean videos and go on the internet until late. I go to sleep around one. In a sentence, Korea is fun and New Zealand is lonely.

Like the daily lives of women employers and employees just described, homestay operators’ routines in Korea and New Zealand are generally more similar than the pre and post-migration lives of Korean men. Both involve housework and childcare, with the exception of one participant who did not have children until she arrived in New Zealand. Those whose routines differ the most are the homestay operators who were involved in paid work as either employers or employees in Korea. Overall, however, homestay operators’ daily lives in New Zealand, like those of employers and employees of both sexes, tend to be characterised by fewer working hours, less work-related stress and increased family time.

Byung-soon, who worked alongside her husband in their business in Korea and now hosts students in their home outlines her daily routines pre and post-migration.

In Korea I woke up at 6, made breakfast and sent the kids to school. I went to my business at 8.00 am and finished at 11.00pm. I went to bed at 12.00 am. My workplace and my home were connected so I did housework when I could find the time and usually just bought food for meals.

In New Zealand every day I wake up at 7.00 a.m., get the kids ready and send them to school. After they've gone I play golf until 3.00 p.m. when I pick my kids up from school and give them afternoon tea. At 6.00 p.m. we have dinner, and afterwards I just rest and play with the kids. I go to sleep between 10 and 11.

Leisure

Participants were asked what activities other than work they regularly made time for over the course of a week. Interviewees said that they enjoyed many different sporting activities,
including walking and hiking, fishing, golf and swimming. They also liked to watch movies, either at home or at the cinema, attend festivals or concerts and do family-oriented activities such as taking their children to the park. Several interviewees attended English language classes while others supported their children in a range of extra-curricular activities and classes. A few gave their time to different causes, such as the Problem Gambling Foundation and visiting the elderly. By far the most common activities other than work, however, were church services and church meetings (see Chang, et al., 2006; Morris, et al., 2007). Many participants attended church services on Sunday as well as meetings during the week. Some also gave their time to the management of church finances or to visiting sick or elderly members of their congregations.

*I sometimes go to the cinema with my family. We generally see animation movies for the kids, not what I want to see ...*

*We attend plays, see movies, go to music concerts all for the sake of having quality family time.*

*My children learn musical instruments, art and Chinese.*

*I do exercise in the swimming pool with my family. My kids and my husband swim or play badminton often.*

*I enjoy walking with my two children on week days and we go swimming in the weekend.*

*We attend Church services on Sundays and church meetings during the week on both Sunday and Monday night.*

*My family go to church every week.*
KOREAN EMPLOYERS

Between them, the 14 employers interviewed for the study owned a total of 17 businesses established between 2001 and 2008. Seventy-one percent of participants started their initial businesses either the same year they obtained permanent residence, or between one and seven years later. The remaining interviewees established their businesses two or three years before they were granted permanent residence. Twelve of the enterprises were sole proprietorships and five were partnerships. With respect to industry, most of the businesses were in accommodation and food (7) or retail (5); with the remainder in construction (2); transport, postal and warehousing (1); manufacturing (1); and wholesale trade (1). Although in retail and accommodation and food, there was an equivalent percentage of female and male employers, men dominate the remaining four industries.

The businesses employed an average of only 2.4 paid employees, just under 40 percent of whom were family members, including wives (40% of cases), daughters (20% of cases) or sons (40% of cases). Fifty-seven percent had a family member working in the business without wages or salary, mostly wives or husbands but also, to a lesser extent, daughters and sons. Twenty-one percent of the businesses had no paid employees at all. Employers worked between 15 and 72 hours per week in their businesses, an average of 51 hours per week. Half work 50 hours per week or more.

STARTING OUT

Participants gave a number of reasons for establishing businesses in New Zealand. The two most commonly mentioned were to ensure a stable income for their families and to fulfil the conditions of their business visa. Other reasons included discovering an opportunity in New Zealand using skills they had brought with them or acquired post-arrival; a desire to become self-employed, often because it offered better financial rewards; and because of a negative experience with a previous employer. The excerpts below illustrate participants’ varied responses.

*I was a [I] tutor helping Korean international students. I had to buy textbooks for my teaching and then I realised that selling books and tutoring was a better service for parents and students. Because of this, I began to run my own business.*

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25 Five women and nine men.
... because it helps with my living costs.

I like cooking. I used to run a small restaurant for construction workers [in Korea]. I lived with my mother-in-law so we often had a lot of guests. This gave me a chance to cook very often. In New Zealand when we had church group meetings at my house and I prepared the food, people often complimented me and said that it was very good. So I thought of opening a restaurant and coincidentally my son who worked in this restaurant for a year told me the owner had to go back to Korea. They told me it was a great opportunity, so I took it.

I did not choose this; in fact I had no choice. I began to work with someone who was the owner of the [construction] business. I was able to get some income while learning the [construction] skills from him. I found that [construction] was quite a suitable job for me. That's why I finally opened my own [construction] business.

... because I have a business visa I had to start my own business.

I had trouble with a previous company. They asked me to do something which was not fair for me. At that time, the company was trying to cut down the number of workers. And I quit the job saying that I did not want to do what the company asked me to do. After that I developed my own skills based on my previous job experience and this is what helped me to open this business.

EMPLOYMENT TRANSITIONS 고용 전환

Fifty percent of employers had worked as paid employees in New Zealand, mostly at the occupational level of labourers or sales workers in the retail or accommodation and food industries. Only one participant, however, had arranged their first job before they arrived in New Zealand. Three participants had owned other businesses prior to the ones they were running at the time they were interviewed. There is some evidence of downward occupational mobility in the transitions participants made between their work in Korea and their first job in New Zealand (see Table 11). More than half of the employers we interviewed (64.3%) worked

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26 The authors’ words have replaced those of the participant in order to protect the interviewee’s privacy.
as managers immediately prior to their migration. The occupations\textsuperscript{27} of the remainder included sales workers (14.3\%) and technicians and trades workers (7.1\%).\textsuperscript{28} Almost all the managers worked in their own businesses, which included travel agencies; import and electronics companies; restaurants; and hair salons. Immediately after their migration, the proportion of managers had decreased to 35.7 percent, while there was an increase in technicians and trades workers; community and personal service workers; clerical and administrative workers; sales workers and labourers.

Table 11  
Employers’ Occupational Mobility

\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|}
\hline
OCCUPATION & KOREA & FIRST JOB & CURRENT JOB \\
\hline
Managers & 64.3 & 35.7 & 100 \\
Technicians and Trades Workers & 7.1 & 14.3 & \\
Community and Personal Service Workers & & 7.1 & \\
Clerical and Administrative Workers & & 7.1 & \\
Sales Workers & 14.3 & 21.4 & \\
Labourers & & 7.1 & \\
Not in the labour force & 7.1\textsuperscript{29} & & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

When we compare participants’ employment in their home country to their current employment in New Zealand, the key finding is that despite the fact that most continue to run their own businesses, the majority have shifted into work that is quite different from their pre-migration work. For example, the owner of a hair salon in Korea is now running a restaurant and a retail shop in Auckland; and the owner of a travel agency is now running his own construction business. Some interviewees, however, are involved in activities which are occupationally related to those they performed in Korea, such as the owner of an import business who is now a wholesaler or the draughtsperson who now owns a business involved with fabrication, fitting, repairing and welding. Still others, although this group is the smallest, are working within the same industry, running restaurants, for example, or retail enterprises.

\textsuperscript{27} For more information on ANZSCO occupational classifications see \url{http://www.stats.govt.nz/methods_and_services/access-data/ClassificationCodeFinder/ClassificationCodeHierarchy.aspx?classification=3781}.

\textsuperscript{28} The total does not add up to 100 percent because the data for one participant is missing and the other interviewee was a student.

\textsuperscript{29} The first two columns do not add up to 100\% because there were missing or inadequate responses.
As is evident from participants’ explanations for starting their own businesses, employers often used existing skills in the establishment of their new enterprises, either those they hadn’t previously used in a business sense, such as the employer who liked cooking, or those they had used to make a living pre-migration, such as the tutor for Korean international students. Others used new skills acquired post-arrival as employees to set up their own businesses, such as the employer who started his own business in the construction industry after working for someone else involved in the same activities.

One of the key policy and academic questions about migrant business owners, and an important focus of the Integration of Immigrants Programme, is the extent to which they are forced into business ownership by their inability to enter the labour market. This small study cannot conclusively answer this question. However, the data suggests that our interviewees did experience some degree of constraint in their decision to set up their own businesses: firstly and most obviously due to the requirements of their business visa (57% of employers obtained permanent residence in this way); and secondly, because 57 percent of the employers we interviewed started their own businesses after experiencing some downward occupational mobility in the transition between Korea and their first New Zealand job; and thirdly, because inadequate income and a desire for self-employment are such common themes in employees’ interviews.

**TRAINING**

Fifty percent of participants had undertaken some form of training before they started their own businesses, almost thirty percent continued to invest in new skills for some time afterwards, but only one employer was engaged in training at the time of the interviews. Some participants focused on improving their English through courses at community centres or institutes of technology. As discussed in the section on language, interviewees emphasised the importance of speaking English to improve their employment prospects and to aid their overall settlement.

*I have completed a year-long diploma in English at Unitech. It was for settlement as well as for my future job. I believe that learning English is the most important thing for me at the moment. I want to choose my major at University to get a qualification, but I can’t do this now because of my two young children.*
Language training was also in some cases an immigration requirement, as this participant explains.

_I studied at the English Academy for six months because it is the requirement of immigration._

The majority, however, chose training specific to their desired occupation, such as MAF biosecurity training for New Zealand importers, welding or accounting. Several employers, such as this participant, undertook both.

_I had to pass three exams to become a [ ]. And I took classes for three weeks at [ ]. I also took an English language course for six months at Bible College._

This commitment to further training can also be seen amongst Korean employees (85% of whom had participated in training since they arrived in New Zealand, see p. 76) and in data from the LisNZ. Just over five percent of Korean men completed post-school qualifications between Wave One of the survey, six months post-migration, and Wave Two which occurred 12 months later. This figure is second only to the Chinese and is higher than the other three groups studied by the IIP. The percentage for Korean women was suppressed because it was small enough to compromise confidentiality. Our data does not show this gender disparity, either for employees or employers. For employers, 64 percent of women and 44 percent of men took part in some form of training before they opened their businesses, while the data for training after business start-ups was virtually the same for women (36%) as it was for men (33%). The one participant training at the time of the interviews is a woman. Participants were generally positive about the training they had undertaken, describing it as essential to their business or to their ability to function successfully in their new communities.

_It was essential. Without English skills I would not have been able to open my business._

_It became the foundation for my job._

Interviewees were shown a long list of organisations and individuals and asked which three were most helpful to them during the start-up phase of their businesses. According to the participants, New Zealand-based friends and family were the most common source of assistance (63.6%), followed by ‘other’ (45.5%) and then by the IRD (18.2%) and bank managers or

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accountants (18.2%). The 'other' category included help provided by real estate agents, suppliers and the previous owners of businesses.

I was helping international students at my children's school and the principal of the school recommended that I open the business. Friends and family members and international students gave me a lot of information.

Friends in New Zealand helped me. They gave us advice and information about owning a store. They also helped us when we found an adequate place to open the business.

I felt that I did not have help from anyone. If I have to answer the question, I would then seek help from my personal network.

I got help from a company which supplies [ ] and they acted as a broker for me. The person who sold me my business also helped me. They taught me everything about [ ]. My mother also helped me a lot.

Participants’ high level of reliance on family and friends is not unusual for new migrants and suggests that ethnic-based networks play an important role in contributing to settlement and business start-ups. Although the question we asked did not specify whether New Zealand-based friends were co-ethnics or not, the detailed responses provided by participants suggest that this was more often the case than not.

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS 문제와 해결

We asked respondents about the difficulties (if any) they experienced in the start-up phase of their businesses and also about the strategies they used to overcome these obstacles. The most common problems were: speaking English (84.6%); employing staff (38.5%); and operating in the New Zealand business environment (38.5%).

a) SPEAKING ENGLISH 영어로 말하기

All the employers said that speaking English was either very important (92.9%) or important (7.1%) to the success of their business. The language barrier posed significant problems for many of the respondents, who used two main strategies to cope with their lack of English fluency: employing staff fluent in Korean and English; and enlisting the assistance of English-
speaking family members or friends. In addition, several respondents talked about the effort they continued to make to improve their fluency.

The greatest difficulty was speaking English, particularly at the beginning stage of my business. I hired staff whose English is fluent and that has helped me a lot in running the business.

The hardest obstacle was speaking in English. I solved this problem by hiring a Korean manager who could speak fluent English.

Speaking English was very difficult. I hired Korean students who could speak English and I practiced English with them.

In the [ ], I only have to take an order which does not need much English but in the [ ] shop I have to describe the [goods], which I find difficult. So my husband usually works in the [ ] shop and my university graduate son deals with the financial side such as tax.

My sister speaks English. She helps me a lot.

Speaking in English is very hard for me [although it is a key part of running my business]. My English is not good enough to get proper information compared to people whose first language is English. My English is certainly better than other Koreans, but it is not good enough compared to English-speaking competitors. So, I have to study English hard.

b) EMPLOYING STAFF  직원고용

Some employers talked about the difficulties they had recruiting and retaining staff. Their strategies for managing this challenge involved using their personal networks and those of previous employees, as well as advertising through Korean language publications or local newspapers.

The issue with staff employment was solved through placing ads in local Korean magazines. I was helped with this by someone I knew.

Usually people who left the job introduced their friends to me.
I run my business with my friend.

I put an advertisement in the local newspaper.

In line with the responses in the previous section on English language, one employer explained that he and his wife would, in the future, employ someone who could grow their business through their English language skills.

I sometimes have difficulty employing staff, but not all the time. At the moment I can handle the business with the support of my wife but sometimes it is too much for us to do it. In the near future, I have been thinking of hiring a 1.5 generation employee whose English is better than mine. I believe that their English language skills will be a great help for my business.

c) OPERATING IN THE NEW ZEALAND BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT

뉴질랜드 사업 환경에서 사업하기

The local business environment was also a challenge for some employers. Although participants stated that they found New Zealand a straightforward place to do business, some found it difficult to develop a solid customer base while others experienced problems finding new markets for their products. Again, language is an important factor in many of these situations. Participants managed the unfamiliar business environment through hard work and persistence but also with the support of friends and family.

Compared to Korea, New Zealand is more reasonable; the business environment in New Zealand requires people to clearly pay taxes and see the contents of financial situations.

Searching for customers was the hardest part for me and my wife and I went from house to house to advertise my business. Furthermore, it was also very hard to earn income in order to meet ends at the beginning stage of my business because we had few customers.

It was very hard to sell our items to new markets because of my limited English language skills. I knew that my explanation was not enough to sell our items when I went to [a large
supermarket] the first time but I did not give up and finally I was able to get orders from them.

My husband has experience working in New Zealand and he gave me tips about working in a new environment.

I asked our friends about running a business in the New Zealand business environment.

In addition to these difficulties, participants also mentioned the following challenges: finding information (again this is often connected to a lack of fluency in English); knowing the right person; managing family responsibilities in addition to running a business; and obtaining finance. The quotes below illustrate these obstacles and participants’ strategies for overcoming them.

It was hard to get information about how to run the business. I used the Immigration New Zealand website which was quite helpful.

I put an advertisement on the Korean website when I needed help.

It was hard to take care of my two children while I ran the business. I asked other family members to help me.

In order to set up my business, I sold furniture, a boat and a car.

ADVICE 조언

Participants’ thoughtful responses to the following question provide an insight into their perceptions of the challenges migrant business owners face and the strategies they believe will lead to success.

If you were giving advice to another new migrant starting up in business in New Zealand, what are the three main things you would say?

Their advice falls into six main areas: research and plan your business; study hard and learn to speak English well; target ‘mainstream’ customers rather than only Koreans; choose the ‘right’

31 http://www.immigration.govt.nz/
business; avoid business ownership in New Zealand; and the key personal attributes required to succeed. Below are a number of quotes which are typical of responses in the six main categories.

You need to plan and organise well. You can be successful when you have an exact plan and the right target.

Having experience in this country is important. If you are going to open a Thai restaurant you have to start by working in one or getting advice from a person who runs one. Your business will fail if your way of thinking is still the Korean way.

Study English hard so you can communicate well with others.

There are more chances of success when you carry out a business dealing with a range of people rather than just Koreans.

Do not open a small business in which you sell lower priced products to few customers. Do not open a business where the rental fee is too high.

Location is the most important thing.

I want to say don’t do business in New Zealand. This is because the business environment of Korea and New Zealand is so different.

Sincerity and trustworthiness are very important virtues for running a business in the small Korean community in New Zealand. Once you lose trust or focus on your own interests only, bad news spreads quickly through the whole Korean community.

These thoughtful responses suggest a high level of awareness of the many difficulties facing Korean small business owners in Auckland. They also give us some insight into the energy, time and capital that migrants have invested in the success of their New Zealand enterprises. Lastly, the responses which advise other migrants to avoid business ownership here alert us to the magnitude of the challenges some Korean employers face and the fact that some of them feel that the effort they have put into their businesses has not paid off.
BUSINESS CONTACTS  사업과 연관된 사람들

EMPLOYEES  직원

We asked employers about the ethnicity, religion and languages spoken by and with their employees, suppliers and customers. Each question has a number of possible responses and the total figures, therefore, do not add up to 100 percent. For example, 77 percent of the respondents in the study employed Korean workers, 15 percent employed ‘Kiwis’, seven percent employed Chinese and 23 percent employed people of other ethnicities. However, this does not mean that 77 percent of all the staff employed by respondents were Korean, only that 77 percent of respondents employed at least one Korean employee.

I employ three Kiwis.

I have one Korean worker.

I employ four Samoans and one Japanese person.

Correspondingly, a little less than 80 percent of participants’ employees spoke Korean and 79 percent of interviewees said that the main language they use to communicate with their workers is Korean. Forty-three percent of employees spoke English.

We also asked about employees' religious affiliations. In contrast to the Chinese employers we interviewed for our previous report, the majority of whom said that they did not know their workers' religion or that it was irrelevant, 64 percent of Korean employers stated that their employees were Christian and seven percent Buddhist. This is another example of the strong relationship between the Korean community and Christian churches.

SUPPLIERS  물건 공급자

Turning now to the ethnicity of participants' suppliers, 71 percent had at least one 'Kiwi' supplier, 57 percent had at least one Korean provider and 50 percent had at least one Chinese supplier. In addition, more than 40 percent had suppliers from other ethnicities, in particular from Japan. Similarly, participants reported that 50 percent of their suppliers spoke Korean and almost 80 percent spoke English. The fact that employers used such a diverse range of suppliers
in their businesses may explain the 90 percent who said that they did not know about their suppliers’ religious affiliations.

I purchase [ ] materials from Kiwi people and I use the [ ] from the [ ] company where people from lots of different ethnicities work.

My suppliers are mostly Kiwis, Pacific Islanders and some Indians.

I buy from Koreans at two or three different places and from one Taiwanese.

CUSTOMERS

Almost 80 percent of interviewees’ businesses had Korean customers, 57 percent had ‘Kiwi’ and/or Chinese customers and 29 percent had Indian customers. Thirty-six percent of employers said that their customers were of various ethnicities. Similarly, customers spoke a range of languages, including English, Korean, Mandarin and Hindi. Participants explained that they all spoke English with their customers, while 71 percent spoke to their customers in Korean.

My customers are Asians, people from the Middle East, Indians and Pacific Islanders.

All of my clients are Korean.

Mostly Koreans, but I also have some Chinese, Japanese and other Asian customers.

Many employers talked about the importance of speaking English in order to communicate clearly with their customers, as this interviewee explains.

It is very hard for me to communicate in English with my customers. If I could communicate with my customers freely then I could have more customers from the various ethnic groups. Limited English language also affects the quality of my work as well as the numbers of customers. Customers are sometimes not satisfied with my hard work when I misunderstand their request. I cannot explain clearly what I have done technically when customers complain about something.
Shared language and cultural understandings, as well as a common membership of churches were all identified by participants as important both in building trust and increasing customers.

*The same ethnic background and religion is very important in building trust with each other. Many of my customers were introduced to me on the basis of the trust of people in the Korean community. Using the same language is the most important thing.*

*I have more regular customers because of my religious background as I go to church.*

**OTHER CONTACTS**

We also asked participants about their business contacts and relationships, both in New Zealand and overseas. Only 14 percent said that contacts from home were important to the running of their businesses here in New Zealand. The excerpts below offer explanations for this:

*Some parents who live in Korea ask me about the educational system in New Zealand because they want to send their children to get a qualification while they learn English. People in Korea have introduced me to some customers. I do counsel some parents not only about their children’s education but also about their settlement in a new society and that also leads some customers to me.*

*My networks in Korea deal with the sending part of my business, such as custom clearance and delivery. Further, they also send me additional work to deal with here in New Zealand. Their job is to communicate with my customers in Korea. Above all, they are the source of my income. That’s why they are very important to me.*

Correspondingly, 14 percent of participants said that they travelled internationally to support their business, either to Korea or elsewhere, although none had travelled within the previous 12 month period.

In contrast to the lack of importance afforded overseas contacts, 71 percent of employers said that their New Zealand contacts were essential to their businesses. Of these, 79 percent stated that these local contacts were members of their own ethnic community.
[My local networks] can be my customers and also can be my staff. Further, they might introduce me to new customers.

They offer opportunities to work. We support each other and share jobs as well as tools.

It’s important to share knowledge with people in the same business. It becomes very useful when it comes to advertisements and dealing with issues to do with the business.

Only one of the participants had joined a local business association.

I belong to ITAB and CBANZ. The ITAB is the Industry Training Association: Building\(^{32}\) which is for the apprentice. Another one is CBANZ\(^{33}\) which is related to my certificate.

**USING THE INTERNET**  인터넷의 사례

Almost 80 percent of employers said that they used the internet to support their business. The most common purposes were to search for information about products or services; to place advertisements for their businesses, often on Korean language websites; and to buy materials or products. Employers also used the internet to pay wages, check bank statements and to make bookings.

I use the internet to send invoices or estimates. I use it when I want to buy materials. I search for information about products and prices.

I put an advertisement on the Korean website when I need to.

I search for information and advertise my business online.

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\(^{32}\) [http://www.itab.co.nz/](http://www.itab.co.nz/)

\(^{33}\) Certified Builders Association of New Zealand [http://www.certified.co.nz/](http://www.certified.co.nz/)
Employees were asked a number of questions about their New Zealand labour market experience, in particular about their initial and current jobs. Looking first at employees’ initial jobs, only 15 percent had arranged this work pre-migration. A similarly small proportion (16.7%) had been granted permanent residence before they started work, while the remaining participants took between three months and five years and an average of just under two years before they became permanent residents. With respect to industry, the majority of participants worked either in the accommodation and food industry (40%) or retail (20%), while the remainder worked in health care and social assistance; education and training; construction; agriculture, forestry and fisheries; wholesale trade; or administrative and support services. Although 65 percent of the participants had found their initial job within the first two months, 25 percent took between six and 12 months and the remaining participants more than four years to obtain their first job.

When we compare our interviewees’ occupational status in their current New Zealand job with their first job and their home country occupations (see Table 12), we can see that they have experienced considerable downward occupational mobility during their transition into the labour market in New Zealand. In their first job, participants worked predominantly as labourers (25%), sales workers (20%) or managers (15%), with 10 percent working as professionals or community and personal service workers and five percent as technicians and trades workers, clerical or administration workers, or machinery operators or drivers. In Korea, 60 percent of our participants were employed as either managers or professionals, while in New Zealand, that proportion fell to 25 percent at the first job and 20 percent at the time of interview.

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34 The total does not add up to 100% because of a missing response to this question.
Table 12  Employees’ Occupational Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>KOREA (%)</th>
<th>FIRST JOB (%)</th>
<th>CURRENT JOB (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians and Trades Workers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and Personal Service Workers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Administrative Workers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Workers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinery Operators and Drivers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in the labour force</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10(^{35})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An examination of occupational data from the LisNZ provides some context to the experiences of our research participants, although many LisNZ results have been suppressed in order to protect the confidentiality of participants, particularly with source country occupation. The only data not suppressed for the source country occupation of Korean interviewees in the LisNZ is that 66.7 percent of Korean women were professionals pre-migration. Looking next at participants’ occupations at Wave One of the survey, women professionals now constitute only 15.4 percent of Korean women participants. The largest proportion of Korean women and men at Wave One were managers (63.4% of men and 61.5% of women). This can be explained by the relatively high levels of Korean self-employment in New Zealand. For example, if we look at Korean migrants’ main source of income in the LisNZ; 36.4 percent of Korean men and 24 percent of Korean women at Wave One claimed that New Zealand self-employment was their main income source. These figures are the highest of all the groups the IIP is studying, and four times higher (for men) and twice as high (for women) as the Chinese who have the next highest percentage of those whose main source of income is New Zealand self-employment.

In Wave Two, the same proportion of Korean men were managers as were in Wave One but the percentage of Korean women managers had decreased from 61.5 percent to 45.8 percent. Data for Korean women’s occupations other than managers or professionals, which was too small and thus suppressed in Wave One, showed that women had become community and personal service workers (8.3%), clerical and administrative workers (8.3%) or sales workers (also

\(^{35}\) The first two columns do not add up to 100% because there were missing or inadequate responses.
Data from the 2006 census paints a similar picture; 39.9 percent of Korea-born migrants over the age of 15 in Auckland were either self-employed or employers. Again, this proportion was significantly higher than the percentage of self-employed or employers amongst the British (9.5%), the Chinese (14.2%), the India-born (7.8%) and the South Africans (6.5%).

Overall, Korean participants in the LisNZ also experienced downward occupational mobility over the course of their migration to New Zealand although this was masked to some extent by the large percentage of Korean migrants who were managers by virtue of running their own businesses here. The relatively high levels of self-employment amongst the Korean migrant community in New Zealand have been discussed elsewhere (D.-C. Kim & Yoon, 2003; Lidgard, et al., 1998) as have the downward occupational mobility and high levels of self-employment of Korean migrants in other destinations such as the United States (Min, 1992; Nopper, 2010; Stodolska, Marcinkowski, & Yi-Kook, 2007; E. Yoon, Lee, Koo, & Yoo, 2010).

We turn now to our employee participants’ assessment of their first jobs in New Zealand. With respect to their initial jobs being a good match for their qualifications, interviewees were evenly divided with 45 percent disagreeing or strongly disagreeing and 45 percent agreeing or strongly agreeing that this was the case. The group was similarly evenly divided over the extent to which they were working in their preferred occupation (40% agreed or strongly agreed, 45% disagreed or strongly disagreed); whether their first job provided them with opportunities for career development (40% agreed while 45% disagreed or strongly disagreed); and whether the job measured up to their expectations (40% agreed or strongly agreed, 30% disagreed or strongly disagreed). A larger proportion (60%) agreed or strongly agreed that they were able to use their skills and experience in this job (25% disagreed or strongly disagreed). Similarly, a greater percentage were more positive about their job satisfaction (60% strongly agreeing or agreeing that they were satisfied with their job while 15% disagreed); whether they were treated fairly (75% strongly agreed or agreed while 15% disagreed); and whether they were satisfied with their pay (55% agreed or strongly agreed while 25% disagreed or strongly disagreed).

Sixty-five percent of the interviewees had received assistance in finding their first New Zealand job. When asked about this help, most participants said that their friends or family had offered them work, introduced them to their employer or provided them with the information they needed to obtain the job (or, in the case of two respondents, open a business). The majority of Korean participants in the LisNZ (42.9% of men and 38.5% of women) also obtained their first
New Zealand job through friends and family. Many of our participants added that these connections were made through the church.

*A friend who used to work at that restaurant introduced me.*

*I got help from the church. While I was volunteering at a hospital a connection was formed which helped me find my job.*

*I had help from the Korean church in New Zealand. They gave me information about the business. It was hard to get the right information except through the local Korean church. As an immigrant with limited English language, I felt isolated and was not able to get proper information to start up the business.*

Although most participants obtained their first job via friends or family, other methods included using the internet, contacting employers directly or finding work through the network of their previous Korean companies.

*I searched the internet for the job vacancies.*

*I was looking for a job when I was still in Korea. The technical difference between my previous work in Korea and New Zealand was too great and my [good skills and qualifications] have made it difficult for me to find a suitable job ... I tried to knock on the door of companies in New Zealand, almost a hundred companies. I received feedback from 98 percent of them that they declined me because I was too well qualified.*

*The company I work in has 240 sub-companies worldwide. The company I worked for in Korea had another company in New Zealand ... and they needed a Korean [ ], so that is how I came to be in New Zealand.*

Only fifteen percent of our participants were still employed in their first job. Those who were not were asked why they had left. The participants who closed their businesses did so because the hours were too long and left them little time for their families.

*I worked in the [ ] shop for four years with my only holidays being Christmas day and half a day on Anzac day in the first year. The shop was often busier in the holidays so we
stocked more [...]. I got so tired physically and also my husband was starting to feel very unwell so we shut our business.

Of those who worked as employees, two left to start their own businesses. Others left because they became pregnant, decided to study or needed to shift jobs because of a change in visa category.

*I left my job to study. To me, this is one of the ways I can contribute to this society. Without further education, I can hardly do anything useful.*

*Because my husband and I had a long term business visa, we started to clean for our job. However, later on we realised we could apply for the general immigration category, so we quit cleaning.*

*I got pregnant and my employer thought it would be unreasonable to ask me to carry out [certain] tasks.*

The remaining participants expressed dissatisfaction with their first jobs: disagreements with their employers; problems with pay; a lack of job satisfaction or difficulties with language or the local work culture.

*I had a difficult time with my employer ... because of the way he treated me and also because I had no job satisfaction with my roles and with my pay and so on. On top of that, I wanted to have a new challenge to improve my career.*

**CURRENT JOBS**  
현재의 직장

We now turn our attention to interviewees’ current jobs. In terms of industry, as mentioned previously: 25 percent are in retail trade; 20 percent are in accommodation and food or in construction; 10 percent are in health and social services or in wholesale trade; five percent are in professional, scientific and technical; transport, postal and warehousing; or in administrative and support services. With respect to occupation, the largest proportion (25%) are technicians and trades workers, 15 percent are community and personal service workers or clerical and administrative workers while 10 percent are managers, professionals or labourers. Participants’
workplaces have between one and 300 employees and an average of 28 workers. Sixty-one percent of the workplaces employed six employees or less. Interviewees had been in their current jobs for between one month and seven years and an average of two and a half years. Half were full-time, 45 percent part-time and five percent casual. They worked an average of 31.5 hours per week, 20 percent worked 20 hours a week or less, while 45 percent worked 40 hours per week or more. Thirty percent of participants managed between two and six other employees.

STRATEGIES

Interviewees were asked about the strategies they used to find their current job. By far the most common responses were to seek advice and help from personal contacts (50%) and close friends and family (30%), replicating the reliance on personal networks participants described in finding their first job in New Zealand. Thirty percent said that they responded to an online advertisement and 20 percent to a newspaper or magazine advertisement, while only 5 percent said that they sought the assistance of an employment agency to find their current job. When asked about the most successful strategy, 60 percent claimed family, close friends and personal contacts were most effective, 25 percent online advertisements and five percent newspaper or magazine advertisements.

Respondents were also asked what three strategies they would recommend to new migrants looking for work in New Zealand. The most frequent advice participants gave was that prospective migrants should do their utmost to learn to speak English, either before they arrived in New Zealand or during their first few months. Next, respondents talked about the importance of accepting that New Zealand was different from Korea, of not comparing the two countries but instead attempting to integrate into 'Kiwi' society. Other advice included: doing research into the job market; continuing to develop skills; making social connections and lastly; the importance of being positive, flexible and confident.

To study English hard and to change their mind about the right occupation. Because there is no accounting for taste, it might not be a good idea only to find a white-collar job here. For example, if someone tries to find the same job that he had in Korea, there are few opportunities for him.

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36 This figure is elevated by the workplace with 300 employees. The median number of employees is six.
For job related purposes, I would recommend acknowledging and readily accepting the different culture of New Zealand. People are different so there is a need to accept them as they are. And then you will eventually accept your differences with individuals, which leads to improved self-esteem. From there you can expand your social network. Through the social network, you may get more information about work.

Most of all would be studying. An adult needs to learn to speak English fluently ... In New Zealand people do work related qualifications, so we have to study very hard to get them. And one more thing ... I think we should try to get along with in the Kiwi community. The migrants should have the determination to work, integrating with the Kiwi community. But actually many Korean migrants tend to be afraid of it and give up beforehand, even the second generation of migrants who have been living here for a long time. I've seen quite a few cases where they have returned to Korea.

When respondents were asked what strategies they would use if they were searching for another job, the internet assumed far greater importance than it did when participants talked about obtaining their first job. Eighty-five percent said that they would either place or respond to an advertisement online. Again, however, personal connections were also stressed, with 65 percent saying that they would approach close friends or family and 55 percent saying they would talk to their business contacts. Only 15 percent said that they would register with an employment agency.

DIFFICULTIES

Just under half of the respondents reported having difficulty finding work in New Zealand. The most common barriers identified were: difficulty speaking English (92%); lack of ‘Kiwi’ experience (58%); no suitable job opportunities (42%); no jobs in their local area (42%); not knowing people in the industry (33%); problems with credential recognition (25%); and difficulties associated with accent (25%). Difficulty speaking English and a lack of local experience were also the two most common difficulties identified by Korean participants in both Wave One and Wave Two of the LisNZ survey. Less than 20 percent of our participants identified employer attitudes as a problem they had experienced finding work in New Zealand. Interviewees also talked about the difficulties they had finding work without a reference and the challenge of applying for jobs without a work permit.
Because of my limited English language, I’ve had difficulty finding a job.

It’s hard to get approved and be recognised for my qualification in Korean and Japanese [ ] and also as a [ ].

I have poor English skills and I was very afraid of meeting people who speak English. There was almost nothing I could do with my English level. Furthermore, I was very new in New Zealand and I did not know where to go to get support and information except from Koreans at church.

I did not get the job which I had applied for at [ ]. I submitted my CV listing my previous work experience but I failed to get the job at verbal-interview as my spoken English was not good enough.

I was not able to get a reference because I did not have work experience in New Zealand when I applied for the job. In addition, the company owners were reluctant to give me the opportunity to work without a reference because I was a foreigner and had no work permit at that time. The second time that I tried to get a job was not as hard as the first time because I was able to attach the reference from the first work experience in New Zealand.

**JOB SATISFACTION AND EVALUATION** 직업만족도와 그 평가

In line with the importance participants placed on the strength of personal networks in finding employment and developing New Zealand careers, 63 percent of the employees said that their personal contacts were one of the factors that helped them gain their current jobs. Fifty-eight percent claimed that it was their work experience, 20 percent their education and 10 percent their English skills or post-arrival training. When asked to rate how they felt about their current job on a scale of one to five, where ‘one’ is very happy and ‘five’ very unhappy, only 10 percent chose a negative ‘four’ or a neutral ‘three’ while the majority (75%) chose the most positive ‘one’ or ‘two’. The following quotes are illustrative of the largely positive assessment of interviewees’ job satisfaction.

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37 A missing response means the total does not add up to 100 percent.
My wage is small. Apart from that, work itself is okay.

I am very satisfied with my work where I only need to support my husband who has special skills.

My working hours and income are satisfying. I have free time to relax on holidays.

I have always been proud of my profession even when I was a [ ] in Korea. And on top of that being a [ ] in an English-speaking country such as New Zealand gives me an additional sense of achievement. Instead of doing nothing at home, it makes me feel alive to do what I do every day. I could never have imagined becoming a [ ] in a foreign country speaking a foreign language. The money's good too. I mean three days work as a [ ] is enough to pay my mortgage. That's better than most.

The owner of this company acknowledges me well and gives me a good position. It is also good to have varied experiences here ... Also, my company is proactive and has a plan for the future ... It is maybe the attitude of the owner [that makes me satisfied with my job]. At my first workplace, because there was no budget, when I planned to do something better in my work, the employer often said, “Later, later.” However, my current employer says, “If it is a good idea, you should try it regardless of the expense.” In that way, if it goes well, he treats me well. So, I try my best to work harder. Unfortunately, it was different at the previous workplace. When I made an effort to do [something new], there was no reward and nobody thought better of me. However, at this company, because the employer is open-minded, it encourages me to do everything very positively.

It is actually an unexpected job for me what I’m doing now for our financial survival and it is not easy to get job satisfaction when I work as a delivery and sales person. However, I changed my attitude towards my job which I sometimes regarded as a dirty job. It helped me feel more satisfied with my job when I made a decision to use all the experiences as opportunities for improving my skills and learning new things.

Using a similar scale, where 'one' is very important and 'five' is very unimportant, 70 and 75 percent rated their current job at the positive end of the scale at 'one' or 'two' in terms of the interest or challenge of the work and possible career development respectively. Related to this, 80 percent of participants said that their current job made good use of their skills and experience. In contrast, however, only 25 percent of employees said that their current position
made good use of their qualifications. Participants’ explanations for their responses to these questions suggest that although they are often not using their formal qualifications in their current jobs, they are able to make use of a range of skills and experiences acquired over the course of their working and personal lives.

*I have a Korean [ ] qualification but I’m not using [it] at all.*

*I have a management qualification but I cannot use it here. There are no opportunities to get a suitable job in relation to my qualification.*

*The current job I have does not make good use of qualifications I attained in South Korea.*

*I use my prior knowledge and skills which are applicable to my job. However, I have not been recognised for my qualification as a [ ] and as a [ ] and its relevance to my current work by my employer.*

*I still use the office skills I have been building up for 13-14 years in Korea.*

*I believe that I can use my management skills here as well as in other jobs.*

*Because my job does not require any specialised skills, I do not make good use of my skills and experience. But I do believe if my command of English had been better, I could have furthered my career.*

Others are using both their formal qualifications and their skills and experience in their New Zealand work.

*The language is different but technically [ ] skills are the ones that I used in Korea. The difference is in New Zealand, I more focus on caring.*

*When I studied in Korea, I did a degree with a wide focus, not just a specific one. Meanwhile, in New Zealand it’s very good to use the things I studied. When a [ ] is produced, I don’t use only one skill. It is made with a variety of [ ]...So the qualification which I had is very helpful here.*
When asked how long they intended to stay in their current jobs, 17 percent said that they wished to leave immediately while others said between three months and five years (the average figure was just under two years). Forty percent of interviewees were actively looking for another job, most in Auckland but 12.5 percent overseas.

**BUSINESS CONTACTS** 일과 관련하여 알게된 사람들

Many employees work closely with Korean employers and co-workers. Seventy-five percent of the participants in the study, for example, were employed by other Koreans while 70 percent worked with Korean colleagues and 67 percent spoke Korean with their co-workers. Participants also worked with ‘Kiwis’ (50%), Chinese (20%), Indians (15%) and South Africans (15%); and thirty-five percent described their co-workers as ‘multi-ethnic’ or ‘multicultural’. Similarly, while 58 percent said that their colleagues were Christian, participants also said they worked with Muslims (10%), Buddhists (5%), Hindus (5%) and members of other religions (25%).

Half of the interviewees speak English with their co-workers. Thinking about participants’ working environments, 95 percent of respondents said that they came into contact with people other than their colleagues in the course of their working day. Fifty-three percent of this group said that they come into contact with people of many ethnicities, languages and religious groups. Eighty-three percent speak English with these contacts while 44 percent speak Korean.

One participant made the following list of their co-workers’ ethnicities:

*Korean, New Zealander, Chinese, South African, Indonesian, Malaysian, Pacific Islander, Filipino, Cambodian, Vietnamese, Hong Kong, Kiwi, Taiwanese, Fijian, all kinds of people.*

Although only five percent of respondents said that contacts from their home country were important in their current job, this number rose to 55 percent for New Zealand-based contacts. When asked to explain the ways in which their local contacts were important, interviewees said that they were prospective employers and/or customers; offered advice and support on work-related as well as personal issues; and provided a sense of belonging. Seventy-five percent of the respondents said that these contacts were primarily from the Korean

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38 These include all religions other than Christianity, Islam, Hinduism or Buddhism.

39 These figures add up to more than 100% because respondents were able to choose all the languages they used to speak with contacts during their working day.

40 These contacts could include co-ethnics and others.
community. Only three participants had joined a group, club or organisation related to their work.

They can trust and hire me because they know me.

You can find jobs through people you know.

If I have a good network, it is very convenient. It can introduce me to a good company which enables me to get a job before I advertise myself on the job market.

All my clients are Koreans and my personal network in New Zealand helps me get customers.

I learnt the importance of being together which helps us share our life experiences. By doing that, we can understand each other and also share good information. I feel a sense of belonging which helps me reduce my stress.

Training

Eighty-five percent of employees had participated in some form of training since they arrived in New Zealand, a figure which represents a considerable investment by this group. The majority of this training was to improve participants’ English but it also included undergraduate programmes and a number of work-related courses in areas such as real estate, travel and hospitality. Twenty percent of employees’ training was funded by their employers and 35 percent were still involved in training at the time of their interview.

I studied English from 2005 till 2007 to improve my English.

I did training to become a barista as well as some training in baking.

I trained in real estate because I wanted to work in the industry.

I had private English tuition for a year and a half so that I could improve my English.

I still study English as part of living in New Zealand.
I am doing a six month training course in small business that runs once a week for three hours.

Almost all the respondents who had undertaken training believed that it had been useful to them for a number of reasons: because it was essential for their job; because it was a mandatory part of their visa process; but mostly because the language training improved their English and thus enabled them to communicate better with others in their community.

Yes, it was helpful. I studied for five months. I came to gain confidence and it helped with my listening skills.

It was useful as even with my limited English, I could chat as well as write letters and communicate with other English speaking people.

Yes, I can speak English now. I can also understand English. Before, I was hopeless at it.

Without the training, I would not have a job.

The six-week course was mandatory so I had no choice, but studying English has been useful.
KOREAN HOMESTAY OPERATORS 한국인 홈스테이 운영자

As mentioned earlier in the report, we interviewed six women who contributed to their family’s overall income by caring for international students, usually the children of family or friends in Korea but not always. All but one of the women were married and their spouses were managers (20%), professionals (40%), or community and personal service workers (40%). They responded to the employer survey but were not GST-registered and had no employees. In addition to these disparities, homestay operators’ experiences also differed because their ‘businesses’ operated from within their own homes and impacted significantly on their home lives and family relationships. However, homestay operators also shared a number of common experiences with employers and employees including: the challenge of making ends meet post-migration; the dependence on co-ethnics for support, advice and custom; and a strong reliance on the internet for the efficient running of their businesses. In this section of the report, we examine these similarities and differences in more detail.

NEW ZEALAND WORK EXPERIENCE 뉴질랜드에서의 일 경험

Fifty percent of the homestay operators worked as employees in New Zealand prior to setting up their homestay businesses. All of these initial jobs were in the accommodation and food industry. When participants were asked how they obtained this work, they gave the following responses:

I got this job because I heard they were hiring, and I went to find out if I would be eligible.

My relatives in Korea introduced me to it.

Coincidentally, I met a Korean person who owned a motel. Their cook was a Kiwi so the motel owner had to pay him high wages. I needed a work visa, and did not mind a low income. We had an agreement and I worked for them.

Half the homestay operators worked as managers or professionals before they arrived in New Zealand; 16.7 percent worked as community and personal service workers while 33.3 percent were not involved in paid work at all. Looking at both their first jobs and their current jobs we
can see that some participants in this category, like the employees discussed earlier, have experienced a degree of downward occupational mobility since their migration.

Table 13  Homestay Operators’ Occupational Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>KOREA</th>
<th>FIRST JOB</th>
<th>CURRENT JOB</th>
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<td>16.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>33.3</td>
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Running a Homestay Business: Motivations and Challenges

호스텔 운영: 동기와 어려움

Interviewees explained that running a homestay involved taking on many of the activities of their students’ absent parents: preparing their meals; washing their laundry; helping them with their study arrangements; ensuring their physical and emotional wellbeing; and dropping them off and collecting them from school. In addition, they acted as the liaison person between the New Zealand education system, the student and their family in Korea, as this homestay operator explained:

_I often have to discuss the child’s wellbeing with their parents._

When interviewees were asked about their motivations for establishing homestays, all of their responses centred on helping their families to meet living costs. However, participants also talked about the importance of assisting others, especially other family members.

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41 We have placed homestay operators in the Community and Personal Service Workers category as we believe this best describes what they do. The ANZSCO definition of these workers’ tasks is that they ‘assist Health Professionals in the provision of patient care, provide information and support on a range of social welfare matters, and provide other services in the areas of aged care and childcare, education support, hospitality, defence, policing and emergency services, security, travel and tourism, fitness, sports and personal services’ (Statistics New Zealand, 2010b, emphasis ours).
It was not my choice. My sister-in-law and her husband visited New Zealand ahead of us to investigate whether or not it would be good for our family to live here. She was attempting to console my mother-in-law who had a lot of worries when she heard that my husband wanted to migrate to New Zealand. When the couple visited Rotorua, they met a smart young boy who was a year older than their daughter. The boy looked very capable because he not only arranged a fishing boat by himself for the couple but also explained to them about the benefits of living in New Zealand. So the couple decided to send their daughter here in the hope that she would become an independent person; and so that she might have new experiences of a wide world. Their daughter was in New Zealand before my family arrived. I had to look after her first as a boarding student, soon after my sister-in-law sent another student to support our boarding business. It was actually to help us make a living.

I decided to have homestays because we needed the extra money.

It was certainly to get help to pay for the mortgage. However, the big reason is to meet people who need help from someone like me who can introduce Christianity to them. It is a good opportunity to help people as well as being good for me to associate with others.

My home stay student is my younger brother’s only daughter. I’d like to give her better opportunities to learn.

Like employees and employers, homestay operators talked about the way that friends and family have assisted them and also stressed the importance of local networks to the success of their businesses.

I get homestays from friends overseas, whether it be their kids or their kids plus some friends.

My friends gave me advice

A group of friends that I met at school in Auckland helped me. They introduced me to people who need boarding.

They also talked about the importance of the internet to the successful running of their businesses.
My husband and I emailed relatives who have introduced us to students. We sometimes email students’ parents to communicate with them. Further, we advertise our business on several websites. We also get a lot of information about boarding online.

Sometimes, I read stories related to international students in order to support my boarding students.

I only have one way to get it: over the internet. There's no other source.

Some homestay operators had difficulty making ends meet, as have some employers and employees.

My husband rented a big house to live in with two international students before I came to New Zealand. We did not earn enough to pay for the rent. In order to make ends meet, my husband found another family to live with. They moved out when I came to New Zealand and our income was reduced. My mother and sister-in-laws who live in Korea began to support us financially. Other extended family members and close friends have sent us food and other goods.

The advice homestay operators offered to those starting up businesses in New Zealand was similar to that offered by employers: study hard and learn to speak English well; target 'mainstream' customers rather than only Korean migrants; and choose the 'right' business.

If you have decided to live here, you have to know the language inside out. It is important for the Korean culture to stay together, but staying in one culture clump is not healthy. Getting to know a variety of cultures and people is what ultimately changes the lifestyle you lead. Also, altering a few Korean ways to blend in with the Kiwis is important because that way you can truly root yourself in the New Zealand culture and not feel like an outsider. You can only earn a decent living in New Zealand by working hard and being honest. You should not be coming to New Zealand if you want to earn lots of money.

Come with strong English skills. If you have a specific skill in a particular area, you can be accepted into any country.
First, English, they have to speak English well. Second, they need to run the business so that it has multicultural customers, not only Koreans. Thirdly, the business owner needs to have particular skills in relation to the business.

However, participants in this group also experienced difficulties which were quite different to those of employers and employees. They explain these challenges in the following ways:

The main issue with homestays is the relationship between you and the child you’re looking after. Like the huge responsibility of looking after a child like he’s your own and vice versa, and the conflicts you have with the child since you’re not his real mother. It was hard for us to get enough boarding students. We advertised on the website. Church members and other Koreans in the community have introduced us to international students. It was very hard emotionally and mentally. Cooking and washing for them was ok because it is just a bit of additional work when you’re doing it for your own family. The first boarding student was my husband’s niece whose attitudes were very different from the other students. The niece did not have any interest in money matters and always appreciated what we did for her. However, the others were very keen on money issues and they regarded my efforts as return for their money. They did not thank me when I treated them well.
HOPES AND DREAMS: AN EVALUATION

Employers, employees and homestay operators were asked, at the end of the interview, to consider the hopes and dreams they had identified earlier and to reflect on the extent to which these had been realised post-migration. We discuss here the two main themes identified by participants: children’s education and lifestyle.

a) CHILDREN’S EDUCATION

Many interviewees were happy with their children's education in New Zealand. However, others were more ambivalent, noting that although they were pleased that their children were happy at school, they also felt that local schools lacked discipline and that their children should be working harder towards their educational goals.

I am satisfied with my children’s education.

It is so good to see that my children like their school.

I think that my expectations of the education system in New Zealand were too high. It is not as good as I expected … I thought that private tutoring for my daughter might not be necessary in New Zealand but I was wrong. I had to pay for private tutoring for my daughter even though it was less than I had to in Korea. In the school system here, students whose performances are excellent do not get special attention from the teachers but others who are not good get special guidelines. School does not have enough exams which I believe can motivate students to work harder. Unfortunately, I think that school is too loose in disciplining the children. I feel disappointed. However, it is good luck for my family here compared to Korea where my daughter had to study very hard and with a lot of competition.
If I think of the kids, I would say that it was a good decision to move here. If we were in Korea there would have been the burden of educational fees and also a lot of pressure to study English well.

**b) LIFESTYLE 생활 방식**

Many participants were satisfied with their New Zealand lifestyle.

I’m so happy. I enjoy a better life than I had in Korea.

I’m happy at the moment. I have a kid, a family life, I’m satisfied. I would say that this is a happy life.

I think the competition and the stress is much less [here] than what it is in Korea.

I now live in the environment that I expected.

I think it’s good that we came. I’m satisfied.

Others had more mixed views about fulfilling their dreams of a better lifestyle in New Zealand.

I honestly did not know that I would be this busy in New Zealand. Also I thought that my English would be good if I came here but that doesn’t really seem to be the case. The atmosphere around learning English is good but I started too many things in regards to study and never got to finish them. Before I came here, I expected that when I came to New Zealand I would have a small business, go play golf in my free time and have my kids speaking English fluently ... I want that to happen in the future. Play golf, meet lots of other people, make friends with Kiwis and I’d like to let my Kiwi friends know a lot about Korea. I think New Zealand is a good place for parents to retain a strong relationship with their kids. In Korea when kids reach 18 you cannot communicate with them but here kids have to help out with work so things become quite family-oriented ... The kids are coping well in a psychological sense, not in a materialistic sense. I think they are leading a better life, especially where family is concerned. I’m happy. My kids are living with us, going out to young people’s Church meetings, and probably marrying someone in the young people’s Church meetings. In Korea I lived with my mother-in-law so living here is like a honeymoon.
Respondents were also asked several other questions which together provide some insight into the way they felt about their lives in New Zealand. For example, they were asked whether they felt accepted in New Zealand and, if they did, how long it took them to feel this way. Seventy-five percent of participants felt accepted here and a third of these interviewees said that they felt this way on arrival. The remainder took an average of just over three years to feel accepted. They were also asked how satisfied they were with their current life. Seventy percent of employers, 80 percent of employees and 67 percent of homestay operators said that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their current life. Participants in the LisNZ were also asked about their levels of satisfaction with life in New Zealand at Waves One and Two (6 months and eighteen months post-arrival respectively) and their responses are quite similar. The percentage of Korean migrants who were either satisfied or very satisfied at both waves was around 80 percent although the proportion dropped slightly between Waves One and Two.

Examining the data from a comparative point of view provides a more nuanced picture, however. The proportion of Korean migrants who were very satisfied with their lives in New Zealand is less than half of the figure for those born elsewhere. There were also gendered differences in satisfaction levels for Korean migrants as well as in the changes that occurred in these figures between Waves One and Two. In Wave One, 22 percent of Korean men were very satisfied, a level which dropped to 12.3 percent at Wave Two. Correspondingly, the proportion of Korean men who were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied at Wave One was too small to report, again for confidentiality reasons but by Wave Two this had grown to 5.3 percent. The percentage of Korean women who were very satisfied with their New Zealand lives, in contrast, increased from 11.5 percent at Wave One to 13.5 percent at Wave Two. At neither wave was the data for Korean women who were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied large enough to be reported. Korean men's relative dissatisfaction may be due to the significant changes they have undergone in their work and home lives since they left Korea, as described earlier in the report. For some Korean (and other immigrant) men, the transition from their work-focused lives into post-migration downward occupational mobility and the corresponding loss of social status can be very difficult (see, for example, N. Y. Kim, 2006; E. Yoon, et al., 2010). One male participant made the following comment:

*In Korea I was in charge of my family's financial state so I had the main power. Because I was the one who brought home the bacon I could come home from work and ask for anything at home. In Korea if I volunteered to vacuum the house in the weekend, my wife would be very thankful, but here in New Zealand I have to do lots of housework and both of*
us have to work in order to have a stable living. Things like that are sometimes a little difficult.

When asked what, if anything, they would change, the responses from all three groups fell into the following categories: English language; children and family; integration and belonging; and migrant policies and career development.

c) **ENGLISH LANGUAGE**

The most common response to this question was that respondents wished to improve their English in order to better access information, communicate more effectively with other New Zealanders, develop more suitable work opportunities and increase their sense of belonging.

*I feel pressured about English. I want to be freed from the barriers I face with English. I want to communicate freely in English.*

*It is easier to live every day if you can speak English. Because if you can’t speak English you have to depend on others, while if you can speak English you can find your own information. And if you look for your own information you discover more about the culture and their lifestyle, leading to living in peace with New Zealanders. Also, I will be able to earn money.*

*I would feel more accepted if I could speak English freely. I believe that I am still like an alien here due to English language. Additionally, I want to mingle with other ethnicities but it is not easy for me due to language barriers.*

*I want to study English more because I cannot even do volunteer work. I believe that volunteer work would motivate me. I was afraid when my husband suggested that I help the elderly voluntarily. It is due to my language problem as well as due to my personal characteristics. I’m a coward and I can’t overcome my fear of meeting people whose mother tongue is English. I don’t have confidence and I can’t believe in myself until I can improve my English a lot.*
I want to learn English because I am not very competent in my English skills, but I have no time because I am working and it costs a lot of money. I wish that learning English in community centres in the evening was made easier.

Participants also had ideas about how they might increase their English fluency.

I think it would be nice to create a sort of family-like community relationship between lonely Kiwi people like the senior citizens and us immigrants. We could mow for example a Kiwi senior’s lawn and they would just sit and talk to us in return. Through this friendly way they wouldn’t be lonely and we would get a chance to learn English. I think it would be nice if the government or the council gave something like that a chance.

d) **INTEGRATION AND BELONGING**

Many respondents also said that they wished to integrate into New Zealand society and to be better treated by other New Zealanders.

*To make friends with Kiwis*

I want to participate proactively in New Zealand mainstream society ... I want my two children to fully integrate with all groups in New Zealand society.

I wish people treated others nicely even when they cannot speak English well, and also for discrimination against Asians to disappear.

I’ve already been here for several years but I am still not really integrated into the new society well. It’s because I believe I do not know much about this country yet. It might be a cultural difference. It was very strange for me to look at people’s behaviours in the mainstream which was very different for me.

e) **MIGRANT POLICIES**

There were also frequent references to the kinds of changes interviewees would like to see in migrant settlement policies.
When people first come to New Zealand, there is no way of gaining essential information. I hope that this country develops the kind of environment where immigrants can easily learn and practise English. It would be good if immigrants who have been here for a long time or immigration agents provided them with the necessary information. Also, I hope that information on educational matters is more easily available as many immigrants are interested in their children’s education. It would also be a great benefit if we could receive assistance from Korean staff in banks and government facilities such as the council, electricity companies and phone companies.

Most of all, I hope when migrants come to this country for the first time, it should be well-organised for them to get a job quickly.

It would be nice to get new immigrants together to be educated about New Zealand for their first 3-6 months, in order that they may be familiar with their surroundings, specific information about general things such as public transportation, school systems (for example teacher-parent interviews) could be taught.

f) CAREER DEVELOPMENT  경력 개발

Other participants desired work-related changes.

[I want to] study more. After finishing my degree, I’d like to advance to the Master’s course, even though it might only be possible part time.

I want to be independent and have my own business.

I think I have less income compared to my working hours. The income is lower than my hard work. So I want to have more income which would reward me for my hard work.

I want to study more in order to become specialised in my work. There is the advanced certificate for [ ]. I want to get it; that is my goal.
Lastly, respondents talked about wanting to spend more time with their children and families.

Right now there is no time and no money because both my spouse and I work. I wish my wife could stay around the house and take care of the chores and if I personally get more free time, I want to travel with my family.

I want to spend more time with my family. I’d like to stop working on Saturdays and other holidays.

In a question which sheds further light on the participants’ overall perceptions of their migration experiences, interviewees were asked about the three most positive and the three most negative things to have come out of their shift from Korea to New Zealand.

**Positive Migration Outcomes**

Respondents described a wide array of positive consequences of their migration to New Zealand. The most frequently mentioned outcomes were centred on children and family, the natural environment and improvements in participants’ personal sense of freedom and wellbeing.

I like it that my kids can be freed from the strict learning environment of Korea and grow up in the relaxed, open learning environment of New Zealand.

First, children’s education is very good. In Korea, we have to push our children to study hard to be able to enter the best university in Korea. If they fail to enter the best university, the society, family members and community will regard our children as inferior. Maybe above all, my children will see themselves like that. Yet, in New Zealand, they can enjoy music and sports even though they might have stress because they need to study hard. It is not comparable to how hard they would have to work in Korea.

I can spend more time with my family. I even considered adding another member to our unit. In Korea, I would not consider raising any more than one.
The natural environment, sky, sea, grass fields is so nice, and you can have nature as part of your daily life.

I love to be here because of the beautiful nature.

Instead of looks or wealth, people decide things upon who speaks the most logically. It feels as if everyone is given an equal chance, for example, in the council, government, etc. The way that people treat you is not according to first impressions or how you look, but on what you say. Money is irrelevant. When you complain that something is unfair people take you seriously. In Korea, people are judged upon their wealth or rank; they take no notice of who you are as a person, unless you make a huge scene to grab their attention.

I can make my own decisions about what I want to do. I like how New Zealanders can choose from a wide range of things that are not so readily accepted by Koreans.

**NEGATIVE MIGRATION OUTCOMES**

The negative consequences of migration described by participants fell into five distinct but often inter-related areas: language and communication; missing friends and family in Korea; loneliness and isolation; low earnings and the consequences of this; and racism and discrimination.

I lost my confidence because I don’t speak English well. I also feel insecure financially.

When I don’t speak English fluently, I feel it … the fact that I can’t say the words in English that I really want to say … I wish that I could fluently argue with somebody or ask about something. I also want to speak in English freely when I talk with someone. It’s pity that I don’t speak English fluently. That’s all. If I could do it very well, everything would be ok.

Because I am not very good at English it is frustrating. When I go to the hospital I have to ask for someone’s help because I do not know the vocabulary, and even if I use an interpreter I feel as if the information’s unclear and I feel alienated. I do not know this country’s laws, so there will be difficulties when a car accident occurs. When I go shopping
to buy ingredients for a dish, I cannot read or understand what the labels say so I am unable to buy any ingredients.

Firstly, I hardly see my parents because there is no chance to go to Korea. Secondly, I have to live apart from them. I feel that I’m neither Korean nor Kiwi. Because of the different culture, there is lots of ambivalence.

[My children] do not have their peer group in Korea ... It is important for them to share information. Their extended family members [are much older] and my two children found that they do not have much in common with them. My youngest was in kindergarten when he was in Korea but he can’t remember it which is strange for me. If my children were to keep in touch with their extended family and their peer group they would have been loved a lot which is sad for me.

I really feel sorry for my parents who live far from me. I’m also a bit sorry for my children who cannot have rich memories of spending time together with their grandparents.

First of all, I feel very lonely. There are not many people to associate with here. Further, I cannot have broader relationships because of different cultural backgrounds.

I’m lonely because I have no friends.

Compared to Korea, a bad thing is ... expenses are high. In other words, the income is low but expenses are high ... I feel insecure financially ... It’s very hard to save money here. In Korea, when my wife and I worked, we earned NZ$7,000 - $8,000 or so every month. But here we can’t. It’s very hard even though we work hard. For this reason, I hope to enjoy life but it’s very hard here. Because there is no room financially, I just put up with it ... In Korea we went out for nice food every weekend but here we eat every single meal at home ... In Korea when I wanted to buy something, I just bought it ... but here if I buy something, I have to think it over ten times. Like this, “do I have to buy it or not?” So I repeatedly think, “why do I have to buy this?” and then finally buy it. It’s very different from who I was in Korea.

[I have] low self-esteem, mainly due to having a smaller income and having difficulty making ends meet. [male participant]
There is racism in the community that I do not like.

The children have settled but they struggle to make friends with Kiwi children. Asian kids tend to hang out with other Asian children. They definitely feel a sense of difference compared to the other kids.

Above all, discrimination and racism are the worst things.

Where to Now?  앞으로의 계획

We asked participants a number of questions about their future plans: what work they thought they would be doing in three years; where they would be living in three years; and whether they think their children (if they had any) would be living in New Zealand over the next ten years. Employers’ most common response to the question about work plans during the next three years was that they would continue to run their own businesses, the majority in their current form but some planned further development or a move into other industries. Several talked about their desire to study more in order to grow their current businesses or to facilitate a shift into other areas. For employees, the most frequent response to this question was also that they would continue in their current positions although several were planning a shift into self-employment.

In Korea, I have had experience in running a [ ] restaurant, so presently I am thinking of opening another [ ] restaurant here in New Zealand.

I would like to [open] my own store.

Study! My business is small at the moment. Once my business grows, I would prefer taking orders and managing the business to [ ]. In order to fulfil [this dream], I will study.

I will work in the same business but I want to upgrade it in the near future.

Almost all the participants planned to be living in Auckland or elsewhere in New Zealand in three years’ time, while a small number were contemplating a shift to Australia. Only one participant talked about returning to Korea and she explained that this was because her husband had shifted back there in order to financially support their family. With respect to
interviewees' opinions about their children’s plans, almost all said that their children were likely to remain in New Zealand although some said that they did not know and several mentioned that their children might return to Korea or migrate to the United States.

*My son will live here with us in Auckland.*

*I don’t know. It’s the children’s choice. My elder child is in university so it’s up to her.*

*My daughter wants to go to Korea.*

Lastly, we asked respondents about growing old and retiring. Ninety percent of employees, 77 percent of employers and 83 percent of homestay operators said that they imagined themselves retiring in New Zealand.

*New Zealand is safe. I have been to other countries on account of my job, and in America you cannot go out at night and there are always gun-related crimes happening. I think I could have a safe retirement in this country.*
CONCLUSION

This report has focused on one of the more recent communities to make its home in Auckland. The Koreans represent a relatively modest community of a little more than 30,000 people in New Zealand, of whom two-thirds live in Auckland. They are residentially concentrated on Auckland’s North Shore in areas such as Pinehill, Northcross, Forrest Hill and Windsor Park and their presence is apparent in nearby schools and ethnic precincts. Compared to the immigrant Chinese population of Auckland, however, they are much smaller in size (for every Korean, there are 5 Chinese) and their presence is less obvious.

This report provides some poignant stories of the many challenges Korean migrants face settling in a country which is culturally and linguistically different from their country of birth. The migrants we spoke to struggled with occupational down-shifting, the challenge of learning English and developing local networks. As with the Chinese migrants we interviewed in our earlier report, our Korean participants relied extensively on co-ethnic contacts and pre-existing networks. This is evident in the businesses they chose, as well as the way they established and then ran them. Their very high levels of self-employment appear to be a strategy to overcome some of the challenges they encountered here – a level of self-employment that was much higher than for immigrants who face similar challenges, such as those arriving from China.

When looking for employment, our participants relied on close friends and family and other personal contacts. These networks helped compensate for difficulties with English language, a lack of local experience, not knowing local people and the reaction of some of those locals to their Korean credentials or more superficial matters such as accent. Like many migrants to New Zealand, our interviewees’ reasons for choosing to move here included their children’s education, the lifestyle, safety and the environment. These non-economic considerations compete with the difficulties of establishing economic security and an income once they arrive. There is one very distinctive feature of Auckland’s Korean community – the role of Christian churches in the community. The churches do not simply provide a place of fellowship and worship; they are an important part of the networking and support of those Koreans that are attached to one church or another and they have provided an important institutional bridgehead to settlement. In this regard, there is a point of contact and similarity with other Christian New Zealanders.
Are they happy to have migrated? Yes and no. The positives include the education their children are receiving (although there are concerns to do with discipline and not working hard enough) and lifestyle. They would like to be better treated by other New Zealanders and there were concerns about New Zealand's immigration and settlement policies. Overall, the relaxed lifestyle, the natural environment and more family engagement and time were appreciated by the Korean migrants that we interviewed. But the negatives require attention because many relate to the reaction of the host community. It does not appear that allowances are made here for those coming to grips with learning English and incidences of racism and discrimination have sometimes made our participants feel unwelcome. There is also the added challenge of the loneliness they have experienced at being in a country that is culturally and linguistically different from their homeland. There are sometimes issues with the adjustment – and sometimes the lack of adjustment – of their children and the distance from relatives, especially parents, in Korea.

As we noted in the report on Chinese migrants to Auckland, we were impressed by the resilience and commitment of Korean migrants. The material here provides insights into their experience as they settle in Auckland and establish their lives locally. There are important lessons in terms of the way in which immigration and settlement policies work, especially for a group such as the Koreans. More could be done to recognise their experiences and requirements. Community and business organisations could be more sympathetic and welcoming to Koreans. Migration is not simply about the adjustments made by the immigrants themselves; it is also about the way in which host communities of various sorts adjust to the new residents in their midst. As we have noted elsewhere, it is important to reflect on what the research says about the needs of Korean migrants and what could be done to ensure better settlement outcomes for both immigrants and host communities.
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