MENTAL HEALTH AND WELL-BEING OF MIGRANT YOUTH: AN EXPLORATION OF IDENTITY, FAMILY SEPARATION, AND FUTURE ASPIRATIONS AMONG KOREAN CHINESE MIGRANT YOUTH IN SOUTH KOREA

by
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Abstract

Background For adolescents, their own migration as well as that of their parents influences their psychosocial development and well-being. The changes in social context following migration shape how youth understand themselves, interact with others, and find their place in the society.

Objectives This dissertation aims to examine the impact of migration on adolescent outcomes through observing ethnic and national identity formation, depressive mood, and future aspirations among Korean Chinese migrant youth in South Korea.

Methods In-depth interviews with 16 Korean Chinese migrant youth (ages 15-24), nine migrant parents, and eight key informants were conducted from March to December 2021 in Seoul, South Korea. For Manuscript 1, the 16 interviews with migrant youth were analyzed using methods adopted from Ground Theory. Manuscript 2 is a mixed method study that combined quantitative data from the 2018 National Multicultural Family Survey (n=249) and a subset of the qualitative data from migrant youth and parents who participated in the study together (eight youth and eight parents). Manuscript 3 analyzed all interviews from migrant youth, parents, and key informants using methods from Grounded Theory.

Results Migration to South Korea prompted Korean Chinese youth to examine their ethnic identity. Their experiences in the South Korean society reinforced the notion that they are different from South Koreans. Children of single migrant parents had increased

risk of depressive mood. Migrant parents described how marital and family conflict negatively affected the quality of care arrangements and communication between parents and children during separation. Children's experience of discrimination after their migration was also related to higher risk of depressive mood. South Korean educational and social environment negatively impacted future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth by restricting their educational and occupational opportunities.

Conclusions Programs and policies to promote psychosocial development and well-being among Korean Chinese migrant youth in South Korea must include efforts to address the social and contextual factors that negatively influence youth's identity, mental health, and future aspirations. Discrimination toward Korean Chinese migrants was reflected across the factors examined in this dissertation.

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List of terms and abbreviations

KSL	Korean as Second Language
KIIP	Korean Immigration and Integration Program
MDIS	Micro Data Integration Service
MICE	Multiple imputation by chained equations
MOGEF	Ministry of Gender Equality and Family
NEET	Not in Education, Employment, or Training
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NMFS	National Multicultural Family Survey
OKA	Overseas Korean Act of 1999
SEM	Social Ecological Model
SES	Socioeconomic status
THAAD	Terminal High Altitude Area Defense

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Study objectives

Serial migration, where one or both parents migrate first and later send for children and other family members, is a common migration pattern around the world, including in migration from China to South Korea (Smith et al., 2004, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011, Kwon, 2015). Children are left behind in home countries by migrant parents due to barriers such as visa restrictions, living costs, and lack of childcare (Zhao et al., 2018). Children frequently stay with their relatives until either the migrant parents return or children are able to join the migrant parents in their destination. In the process of serial migration, children experience two transitions: first, when parents migrate (separation) and second, when they migrate to be reunited with their parents (reunification). Children's separation from parents has been identified as a threat to children's cognitive, emotional, and behavioral development (Anda et al., 2006). The reunification with parents often poses more challenges to children's adjustment. The period of separation may have introduced changes in family membership and feelings of unfamiliarity, rejection, and guilt between reunited parents and children (Smith et al., 2004, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). In addition, children face acculturative tasks as they attempt to adjust to a new society (Berry et al., 2006).

Korean Chinese are the largest group of migrants in South Korea, making up around 32% of the total number (647,576 in 2020) (Statistics Korea, 2020a). Among them, 32,111 were under the age of 24. Despite the size of the Korean Chinese migrant community, there is a lack of research and policy discussions about Korean Chinese

migrant youth (Choi and Lim, 2021). One previous qualitative study broadly described the experience of Korean Chinese migrant youth before and after their migration (Song and Kim, 2017). Other studies have focused on specific aspects of the youth's experience after migrating to South Korea, such as job training, social networks, and ethnic identity (Kim et al., 2017, Choi and Lim, 2021, Park et al., 2017). One study reported about Korean Chinese migrant parents' perspectives on their children's adaptation (Nam and Kim, 2018). These studies were all small qualitative studies, and none analyzed perspectives from youth, parents, and other relevant actors simultaneously. The broader literature also centers on the impact of the separation and reunification on individuals and their relationships, without the consideration of the sociocultural context (Lashley, 2000, Rousseau et al., 2009, Fresnoza-Flot, 2015).

In light of these existing gaps within the literature, the goal of this dissertation was to explore the experiences of family separation and reunification among Korean Chinese migrant youth, with a focus on the sociocultural context. The three manuscripts comprising this dissertation investigate how factors in the sociocultural environment that change through migration impact Korean Chinese youth's identity formation, depressive mood, and future aspirations.

Specifically, the dissertation aims to:

Aim 1: Qualitatively understand how Korean Chinese migrant youth explore and negotiate their ethnic and national identities after migrating from China to South Korea

Aim 2: Quantitatively identify parent- and child-related factors associated with child depressive mood and qualitatively understand the factors in the context of separation and reunification experienced by Korean Chinese migrant parents and youth in South Korea

Aim 3: Qualitatively examine how the education and immigration systems and the social context impact future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth in South Korea

1.2 Conceptual framework

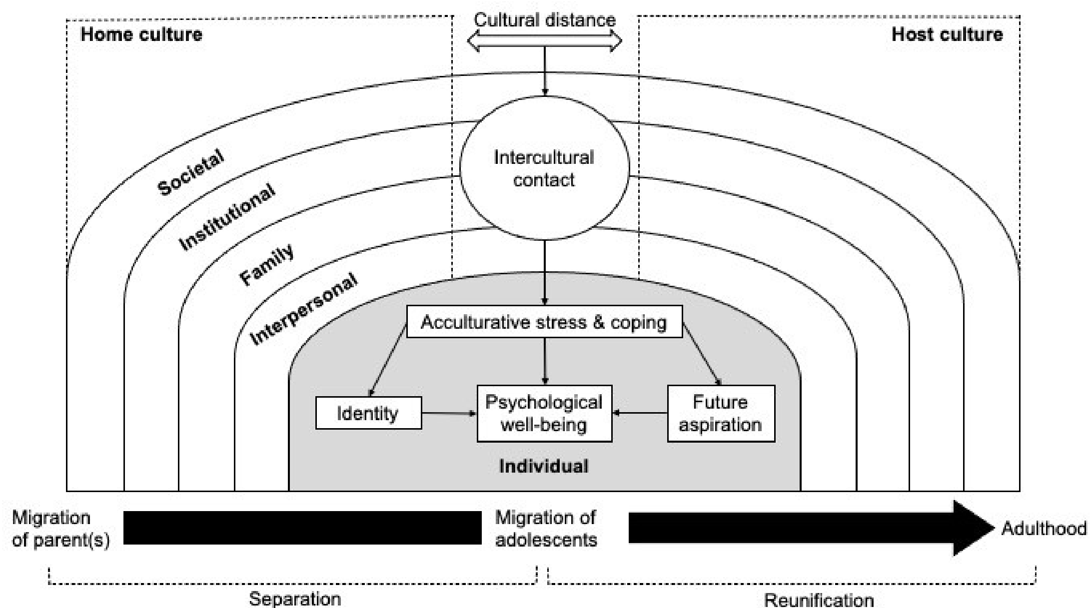

Figure 1. Conceptual framework of mental health and well-being of migrant youth, adapted from the Acculturation process and context framework for studying immigrants and sojourners by (Ward and Geeraert, 2016)

This dissertation draws on theoretical perspectives from life course sociology, social and developmental psychology, and literature about migration and acculturation. The arrow that goes across the bottom of the conceptual framework (Figure 1) emphasizes the life course perspective and how youth's migration experiences intersect with their developmental pathways (Crosnoe, 2021). The five principles in life course theory (Table 1) inform the conceptualization of this dissertation as well as the discussion of its findings.

Based on the first principle of lifelong development, adolescence is recognized as a stage in the continuous development from childhood into adulthood (Elder et al., 2003). Experiences of migration and migration of parents during childhood and adolescence are therefore influential transitional events that have implications on the individuals' life trajectory. The second principle of agency is about how individuals exercise their agency through choices and actions within the opportunities and constraints in their environment (Elder et al., 2003). This principle is central, especially in Manuscript 3 about future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth.

In relation to the principle of agency, the factors in the social environment that shape the opportunities and constraints of individuals are organized according to the Social Ecological Model (SEM) by (McLeroy et al., 1988). The levels in the original model by (McLeroy et al., 1988) are modified to best accommodate the factors that are critical in studying separation and reunification experiences of migrant adolescents. The family level is introduced into the SEM since the effect of migration on individuals interact with the risk and protective factors in the household (Sabatier and Berry, 2008). The

community and policy levels in McLeroy's SEM are combined into the societal level since the factors relevant to those levels such as discriminatory attitudes and immigration policy are closely tied together. For example, immigration policy regarding Korean Chinese migrants reflects the discriminatory attitudes toward them prevalent in the society and perpetuates the discrimination experienced by Korean Chinese migrants (Chung, 2020). With the proposed individual, interpersonal, family, institutional, and societal levels (Table 2), the SEM integrated into the conceptual framework of this dissertation allows careful consideration of factors in each level of influence and the complex interplay between the levels.

The third principle in life course theory is the principle of time and place. Individuals' life trajectories are influenced by the historical context and the geographical location of their experiences (Elder et al., 2003). Migration changes individuals' place and therefore how they experience the historical context. Acculturation theory is dedicated to understanding the consequences of intercultural contact following migration (Berry, 2003). The nature of the intercultural contact is determined by 'cultural distance', the compatibility or amount of difference between a migrant's home culture and host culture (Ward and Geeraert, 2016). The cultural distance between two countries and thus migrants' experiences of intercultural contact reflect the historical moment when the migration occurs (Glick Schiller, 2018). South Korea and China are neighboring countries with a long and rich history of both conflict and cooperation (Chung, 2009). This dissertation is contextualized in the current political, social, and economic relationship between South Korea and China, and the increasing hostility

toward China in South Korea (Silver et al., 2020). The principle of time and place is featured most prominently in Manuscript 1 on ethnic and national identity formation of Korean Chinese migrant youth.

The fourth principle of timing emphasizes that the consequences of transitions and life events depend on when they occur during the life course (Elder et al., 2003). Manuscripts 1 and 3 investigate the timing of migration in the youth's lives and the effect of migrating at a specific developmental period. The importance of timing is supported by the following theories in social and developmental psychology.

Manuscript 1 draws from Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory. Social identity is defined as "that part of the individuals' self-concept which derives from his or her knowledge of membership to a social group (or groups) together with the value and the emotional significance attached to it." (Tajfel, 1981). Social identity occurs as a result of individuals' categorization into social groups, and self-categorization theory explains why individuals identify with a social category under certain circumstances (Turner, 1987). While changes in the context and environment can prompt situational and short-term changes in social identities at any point in one's life, changes in social identities and their integration have developmental importance during adolescence (Amiot et al., 2007). Identity formation is theorized as the main developmental task during adolescence (Erikson, 1950). In middle childhood (around ages 5-7), children begin to develop different aspects of their identity (Amiot et al., 2007, Erikson, 1950). Adolescents start to integrate multiple identities from childhood beginning in middle adolescence by taking into consideration how others perceive them

and how they perceive themselves (Amiot et al., 2007, Erikson, 1950, Turner, 1987). The self-concept produced as a result of this process has implications for individuals' experiences of discrimination and psychological well-being (Amiot et al., 2007). Migration during adolescence therefore can change the context of identity integration and affect the developmental trajectory and outcome of migrant youth.

Manuscript 3 explores the principle of timing by focusing on the educational experiences in adolescence and how they influence aspirations adolescents have for their future. In her developmental theory of occupational aspirations, (Gottfredson, 1981) proposes that as individuals enter adolescence, they become increasingly aware of the socioeconomic differences in occupations and the educational qualifications required for those occupations. Individuals subsequently adjust their occupational aspirations according to their abilities and resources relative to others (Gottfredson, 1981). The stressors migrant youth experience in the host society, such as language barriers, documentation status, and discrimination, may compromise the quality of education they receive and opportunities for career advancement (Kaland, 2021, Gindling and Poggio, 2012, Suarez-Orozco et al., 2010). Migration to a new society during adolescence therefore can change how adolescents evaluate themselves and their future aspirations.

The fifth and final principle is the principle of linked lives. Individuals are affected by changes in the social context through the impact such changes have on their interpersonal relationships (Elder et al., 2003). Manuscript 2 draws on the principle of linked lives by incorporating family systems theory (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, Hetherington

et al., 1992). (Bowen, 1978) defines the family as a relationship system and an emotional system. Family members are interconnected, and they influence one another at individual, interpersonal, systemic, and intergenerational levels (Bowen, 1978). Stressors on the family system, such as separation caused by migration of a family member, can create challenges at all levels. Similarly, interpersonal conflict between family members, such as spousal conflict, can negatively affect the relationships of other family members and their emotional well-being (Palombi, 2016). Manuscript 2 examines the changes in the family system as Korean Chinese migrant parents and subsequently children migrate to South Korea.

Table 1. Five principles of life course theory (from (Elder et al., 2003))

Principle	Description
Principle of lifelong development	Human development and aging are lifelong processes
Principle of agency	Individuals construct their own life course through the choices and actions they take within the opportunities and constraints of history and social circumstance
Principle of time and place	The life course of individuals is embedded and shaped by the historical times and places they experience over their lifetimes
Principle of timing	The developmental antecedents and consequences of life transitions, events, and behavioral patterns vary according to their timing in a person's life
Principle of linked lives	Lives are lived interdependently, and socio-historical influences are expressed through this network of shared relationships

Table 2. Levels in the conceptual framework of this dissertation

Level	Description
Individual	Attributes of Korean Chinese migrant youth, including their ethnic and national identities and future aspirations, and individual resources for acculturation, such as understanding of Korean language and culture
Interpersonal	Relationships and interactions between Korean Chinese migrant youth and others, including migrant parents, other family members, friends and peers, and teachers
Family	Characteristics and dynamics within the migrant household. The family in this framework is transnational, encompassing the family members in China and South Korea
Institutional	Attitudes toward migrant youth held by institutions (schools, municipal government offices, social welfare organizations, etc.) reflected in programs and services available for migrant youth
Societal	Aspects of the community and the greater society, such as discriminatory attitudes, as well as laws and policies pertinent to Korean Chinese migration and migrants in South Korea

1.3 Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation is organized in six chapters. In Chapter 1, an overview of the dissertation with the individual aims of the three manuscripts and the conceptual framework and theoretical perspectives are presented. Chapter 2 provides a review of the main constructs of each manuscript, social identity, family separation and reunification, and future aspiration, and a description of the study setting. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are the three manuscripts that correspond to the three specific aims of this dissertation. Chapter 3 ("The impact of migration on ethnic and national identity formation among ethnic Korean Chinese (Chosŏnjok) youth in Seoul, South Korea") addresses Aim 1 and examines how migration influences Korean Chinese youth's explorations and negotiation of their ethnic and national identities. Chapter 4 ("Factors related to depressive mood in the context of separation and reunification with migrant parents among Korean Chinese (Chosŏnjok) youth in Seoul, South Korea") is a mixed methods study of parent- and child-related factors associated with child depressive mood in context of separation and reunification (Aim 2). Chapter 5 ("Future aspirations and educational opportunities of Korean Chinese (Chosŏnjok) migrant youth entering secondary education in South Korea") explores the impact of the educational experiences on the future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth to address Aim 3. Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with a summary of the key findings, strengths and limitations of the research, and implications for policy and public health interventions.

Chapter 2. Literature review and study setting

2.1 Social identities and mental health among migrant youth

An individual's identity is multifaceted and includes many dimensions that together compose a sense of self (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2020). Among many identities of an individual, social identities refer to the parts of individuals' self-concept that relate to their membership of a social group (Tajfel, 1981). Among migrant youth, the social identities most frequently investigated are ethnic identity and national identity. Ethnic identity is defined as the degree to which individuals perceive themselves as a part of an ethnic group (Smith and Silva, 2011), and national identity is the subjective or internalized sense of belonging to a nation (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2020). As migrant youth navigate between two countries, they need to explore and understand the meaning of their ethnic membership in the new society. They also need to negotiate their sense of belonging to their country of origin and destination (Mastrotheodoros et al., 2021).

Of the two identities, ethnic identity is more commonly studied as an indicator of acculturation, which refers to the psychological changes that individuals experience as a result of contact between two cultures and adaptation to new situations (Phinney et al., 2001, Berry, 2003). A meta-analysis of ethnic identity and personal well-being among people of color in North America found that strong ethnic identity was associated with higher self-esteem and positive well-being (Smith and Silva, 2011). Another meta-analysis on acculturation and mental health reported that maintaining ethnic identity after migration was connected to favorable mental health outcomes (Yoon et al., 2013).

The psychological benefits of a strong ethnic identity were derived from a sense of belonging and social support from ethnic group affiliation (Outten, 2008, Inman et al., 2007, Phinney, 2003).

Migrants' understanding of their ethnic identity interacts with the attitude toward the ethnic group in the new society. When the society is pluralistic and accepting of different ethnic groups, migrants are more likely to have a strong ethnic identity. However, in the presence of hostility toward migrants or particular ethnic groups, migrants may either distance themselves from their ethnic identity or embrace it more strongly in a way to counter the negative societal perceptions (Tajfel and Turner, 1986, Phinney et al., 2001). A strong ethnic identity in face of hostility can expose migrants to adverse mental health outcomes associated with higher perceived discrimination (Verelst et al., 2022, Spaas et al., 2021). Ethnic identity was found to be a more salient component of individuals' self-identity when they experienced discrimination (Syed and Azmitia, 2010, Syed and Azmitia, 2008), and individuals whose ethnic identity was central to their self-identities perceived higher levels of discrimination (Sellers and Shelton, 2003, Shelton and Sellers, 2000). Those with high ethnic identity centrality may perceive increased levels of discrimination as they are more sensitive to social cues that reflect discrimination (Sellers and Shelton, 2003, Operario and Fiske, 2001).

There has been less scholarly attention on national identity compared to that on ethnic identity. National identity has been conceptualized as migrants' identification with the host country (Leszczensky, 2018, Umaña-Taylor et al., 2020). Quantitative studies that examined both ethnic and national identities together had suggested that

the two social identities are statistically independent (Phinney et al., 2001). However, a more recent longitudinal study with immigrant early adolescents in Greece found that there were negative temporal links between ethnic and national identities (i.e., adolescents who explored or committed to their ethnic identity were less likely to explore or commit to Greek national identity in the following year and vice versa.) (Mastrotheodoros et al., 2021) This finding is significant since studies have found that immigrants who incorporated both their ethnic identity and national identity of the host country had psychological advantages over those who identified with just one component identity (Berry et al., 2006, Dimitrova et al., 2017, Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013). Among immigrants of Turkish or Moroccan background in the Netherlands, those with a dual identity had higher levels of life satisfaction and lower levels of depression and emotional and social loneliness compared to immigrants with a single group identification (Zhang et al., 2018). While having dual identity had positive psychological implications, the benefits may be limited to circumstances in which the two identities are not in conflict (Balkaya et al., 2019, Baysu and Phalet, 2019). Greece, where the study by (Mastrotheodoros et al., 2021) was conducted, is a highly assimilatory society and thus less pluralistic, which can explain the negative relation between ethnic and national identities reported.

One study examined the identity of Korean Chinese adolescents in South Korea (Choi and Lim, 2021). The conceptualization of ethnic and national identities in this group of migrant youth differs from that of other groups in that Korean Chinese adolescents share their ethnic roots with South Koreans and have a national identity

tied to their home country of China. (Choi and Lim, 2021) reported that parents, friends, and teachers influenced Korean Chinese adolescents' understanding of their ethnic and national identities. As adolescents spent more time in South Korea, they were more likely to define themselves as Korean (Choi and Lim, 2021). However, this study offered limited insight into the general experience of Korean Chinese migrant youth since the study involved four participants, three of whose parents had high status jobs unlike most Korean Chinese migrant parents in South Korea. Therefore, Korean Chinese migrant youth in this study may have experienced less discrimination, which can affect their understanding of their ethnic and national identities.

2.2 Family separation and reunification and mental health among migrant youth

In many parts of the world, migrant parents initiate the migratory process in a family and leave for the destination while children stay in the home country with relatives or friends. Children may then join their parents in the destination once parents are able to host their children (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012). Children's separation from parents in the process of migration is observed with high prevalence among Latin American and Asian immigrants (33%) and Chinese immigrants (52%) in the United States and Caribbean migrants (38%) and Filipino migrants (62%) in Canada (Gindling and Poggio, 2012, Rousseau et al., 2009, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

The period of separation from migrant parents and the subsequent reunification with them in the destination country can both pose a threat to the mental health of migrant children. A systematic review and meta-analysis reported that compared to

children of non-migrant parents, children who were separated from migrant parents had a higher risk of depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation, conduct disorder, and substance use (Fellmeth et al., 2018). Among immigrant youth who recently arrived in the United States, those who had been separated from their parents were more likely to report symptoms of anxiety and depression compared to youth who did not experience separation (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Feelings of sadness about the absence of migrant parents were widely reported by children separated from migrant parents in Southeast Asia (Lam and Yeoh, 2019b, Lam and Yeoh, 2019a). In a clinical sample of Black Caribbean youth in the United Kingdom, separation from parents for more than a year was a risk factor of psychosis (Morgan et al., 2007).

During separation, the care provided to children by substitute caretakers and the relationship between children and migrant parents have an important impact on the psychological well-being of children (Lam and Yeoh, 2019b, Carling et al., 2012). In areas where transnational migration of parents has been normalized and child fostering is common, it was suggested that the experience of separation from parents may not lead to negative psychological consequences (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012). When (Graham and Jordan, 2011) compared the emotional problems of children living in transnational households across four Southeast Asian countries (Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam), only the children in Indonesia were more likely to suffer emotional distress compared to children living with both parents (Graham and Jordan, 2011).

Children's own migration to reunite with parents introduce additional risk factors for the mental health of migrant youth. Studies found that children who were separated

and reunited with their parents, compared to children who migrated with their parents, were more likely to experience behavioral and emotional issues, such as depression and anxiety (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012, Lu et al., 2020). The period of separation may have introduced changes in family membership, creating challenges for migrant youth who need to re-establish their relationship with parents (Smith et al., 2004, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Immigrant adolescents in the US who were living in intact families had significantly fewer depressive symptoms than those in other types of family arrangements (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Previous studies reported feelings of unfamiliarity, rejection, and guilt between reunited parents and children (Schapiro et al., 2013).

In addition to reunifying with parents, children face acculturative tasks in a new society (Berry et al., 2006). Social characteristics of the receiving country, such as discrimination toward migrants, may play a large role in determining the mental health risks associated with the reunification experience (Zentgraf and Chinchilla, 2012). In fact, adolescents' interaction with the host society after migration may have a greater impact on their depressive mood than their experience of family separation (Rousseau et al., 2009). Experience of discrimination has been consistently identified as a risk factor of poor mental health outcomes among migrant youth (Verelst et al., 2022, Spaas et al., 2021, Potochnick and Perreira, 2010). A study with first and second generation Latinx adolescents in the US found that discrimination was associated with lower self-esteem, which was associated with higher depressive symptoms (Umaña-Taylor and Updegraff, 2007).

While there were no studies specifically on the mental health consequences of family separation and reunification among Korean Chinese youth, one previous qualitative study included themes pertaining to these experiences (Song and Kim, 2017). Youth described only having faint memories of their migrant parents who left when they were very young, feeling disconnected from them, and having unstable care after the migration of their parents. Many dropped out of school and engaged in delinquent behaviors in the absence of parental monitoring. Positive relationships with substitute caregivers and friends were identified as sources of strength. After migrating to South Korea, a number of participants reported they had to live with stepparents or stepsiblings. Youth felt distance and unfamiliarity not only with the new family members but with the migrant parents as well. They experienced discrimination in the South Korean society and continued to engage in delinquent behavior (Song and Kim, 2017). Korean Chinese migrant parents also reported their children's conflict with new family members and experience of discrimination as their main concerns for the adjustment of their children in South Korea (Nam and Kim, 2018).

2.3 Future aspiration and mental health among migrant youth

Future aspiration is defined as one's orientation towards a desired future (Huijsmans et al., 2021). Since adolescents evaluate their own abilities and the opportunities and constraints in their environment to determine their future aspirations (Gottfredson, 1981), future aspirations among youth can reflect their self-concept and act as an important health indicator (Dudovitz et al., 2017). A study with low-income minority adolescents in the United States found that when adolescents named a career

with a higher education requirement as a future aspiration, they were less likely to feel hopelessness, more likely to have high self-efficacy, and less likely to engage in risky behaviors (Dudovitz et al., 2017). Career aspirations were also associated with adolescents' subjective well-being among male adolescents in South Africa (Manuel et al., 2020).

Despite the potential significance of future aspiration in adolescent mental health, it is seldom examined among migrant youth. Two ethnographic studies were identified: one about educational aspirations among Pakistani migrant youth in Hong Kong and another about educational and occupational aspirations among internal migrant youth in China (Chee, 2018, Kaland, 2021). These articles emphasize that aspirations among youth are socially produced, and migrant youth face opportunities and constraints distinct to that of non-migrant youth. However, these studies did not investigate the relationship between future aspirations and mental health. Most existing studies on future aspirations among youth focus on ethnic minority groups. Within-school segregation because of academic tracks negatively influenced Black male students' future aspirations (Walsemann and Bell, 2010). Low socioeconomic status (SES) was associated with less ambitious and stable aspirations among Black and Hispanic youth in the US (Kao and Tienda, 1998).

Previous studies with ethnic minority youth suggest that migrant youth who experience similar contextual barriers, such as discrimination and low SES, may have lower future aspirations compared to non-migrant youth (Nguyen et al., 2012). Stressors specific to migrant youth, such as language barriers and documentation status, may act

as additional restrictions in developing future aspirations (Kaland, 2021, Gindling and Poggio, 2012, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Future aspirations in adolescence were found to predict educational attainment (Beal and Crockett, 2010, Guo et al., 2015). Therefore, low future aspirations can be indirectly connected to adverse health outcomes through low educational attainment (Ross and Wu, 1995). In fact, a longitudinal study demonstrated that health disparities associated with having fewer educational advantages in youth widen through accumulation of disadvantages during the life course (Walsemann et al., 2008).

One study with Korean Chinese migrant youth featured a vocational training program and discussed the increase in participants' vocational skills (Kim et al., 2017). However, no studies about future aspirations and mental health of Korean Chinese migrant youth could be identified. In previous qualitative studies, Korean Chinese migrant youth and their parents discussed the difficulties Korean Chinese migrant youth face in the South Korean educational system (Song and Kim, 2017, Nam and Kim, 2018). Youth struggled to keep up with academics, and some chose to work part-time jobs to make money instead of going to school (Song and Kim, 2017). Korean Chinese migrant parents reported that because they lack the time and information, they feel inadequately equipped to help their children with academics (Nam and Kim, 2018). Many parents hoped their children would go to vocational schools so that they can at least learn a skill and make a living (Nam and Kim, 2018). Low support and expectations from parent may negatively impact future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth. In a study with Korean adolescents, students in the vocational education curriculum

track reported occupational aspirations with lower social prestige compared to those in other educational tracks (Lee and Rojewski, 2012).

2.4 Study setting

2.4.1 Migration of Korean Chinese to South Korea

The modern migration of Korean people to China can be traced back to the 19th century, but the most recent and salient movement occurred during the period of Japanese colonization of Korea (1910-1945) (Seol and Skrentny, 2009, Jiang, 2013). Koreans in China settled primarily in the three Northeastern provinces that border North Korea (Heilongjiang, Liaoning, and Jilin provinces). In 1952, Korean Chinese (Chosŏnjok; 朝鲜族) was officially recognized as a minority ethnic group in China, and in the same year, the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture was established in Jilin province (Kim, 2003). Autonomous Prefectures are designated by the Chinese government in areas of high concentration of ethnic minority residence to support their ethnocultural practice (Guan et al., 2021). According to the Seventh National Population Census of China, 31% of the population in the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture was Korean Chinese (2021). For the past 70 years, Korean Chinese lived in ethnic communities in the three Northeastern provinces, marrying within the ethnic group, teaching Korean language in Chosŏnjok schools, and maintaining Korean cultural practices (Kim, 2003).

The Chinese economic reforms in the early 1990s dismantled the agricultural sectors where Korean Chinese worked and prompted them to move to larger cities in search of work (Kim, 2003). Following the establishment of a formal diplomatic

relationship between China and South Korea in 1992, Korean Chinese started migrating to South Korea, a place that symbolized socioeconomic advancement (Kwon, 2015). Korean Chinese were initially excluded from the Overseas Korean Act of 1999 (OKA) that gave Overseas Koreans (people of Korean descent who have a foreign nationality) most benefits of Korean citizenship except for voting rights and the requirement to serve in the military. The reasons for the exclusion were both economic and political. There were concerns that large numbers of Korean Chinese migrants would remain illegally and disrupt the labor market (Oh et al., 2015). Korean Chinese migrants were also citizens of a socialist country, and questions of dual citizenship could result in political conflict with China (Kwon, 2015). Exclusion from the OKA restricted opportunities for Korean Chinese to obtain a work visa. Most Korean Chinese migrants entering in the 1990s thus entered using illegal brokers and remained undocumented after arriving in South Korea (Kwon, 2015, Hong et al., 2013).

The Korean Chinese community widely protested their exclusion from the OKA, which was ruled discriminatory and unconstitutional by the supreme court in 2001 (Hong et al., 2013). The number of Korean Chinese that migrated to South Korea increased precipitously after they could obtain Overseas Korean visas. In 2005, the South Korean government also implemented an immigration amnesty program for Korean Chinese migrants. Around 84,000 undocumented Korean Chinese migrants reported themselves to the South Korean government and returned to China, after which they were allowed to legally apply for a visa and return to South Korea (Oh et al., 2015). Now Korean Chinese make up a majority of all foreign migrants with 647,576

migrants residing in South Korea in 2020 (Korea Immigration Service, 2021). Most Korean Chinese migrants are on the F4 visa or the H2 visa (Korea Immigration Service, 2021).

2.4.2 South Korean immigration policy for Korean Chinese migrants

The F4 is a visa category for Overseas Koreans who work in skilled occupations and do not engage in menial physical labor. To qualify for the F4 visa, migrants must either obtain a certificate to demonstrate their occupational skill, which mainly is in the manufacturing or service industries, or pass the level 4 exam of the Korean Immigration and Integration Program (KIIP). After the 15-hour introductory course (level 0), each level from level one to four of the KIIP requires taking 100 hours of classes on Korean language and culture (Immigration & Social Integration Network). The F4 visa is valid for three years, after which the visa can be renewed (Korea Ministry of Government Legislation, 2022).

Another common visa category for Korean Chinese migrants is the H2. The H2 visa category is an Overseas Korean version of the E9 visa, a category reserved for non-professional foreign workers hired through the Employment Permit System. The H2 visa largely has the same regulations as the E9 visa, such as the employer having to demonstrate making an effort to hire Korean citizens before hiring a H2 visa holder, the employee having to go through mandated training, and the jobs being limited to sectors prescribed by the government. However, based on shared ethnicity and a linguistic advantage, H2 visa holders enjoy more freedom compared to migrant workers with the E9 visa. They can conduct their own job search rather than being assigned to a

workplace and do not have restrictions on workplace changes (Lee et al., 2014). Options for the sectors they can seek employment in are also more varied with 48 areas, ranging from agriculture to healthcare. The H2 visa is valid for three years and can be extended for two additional years (Ministry of Justice, 2021).

Restrictions on family sponsorship for the F4 and H2 visa holders were relaxed in 2012 when Korean Chinese migrants on the F4 visa were given the right to invite minor children and spouses on an F1 (cohabitation) visa. Those on the H2 visa can host adult children between the ages of 19 and 25 on a short-term visa that is valid for one year (F2). If the parents have been in South Korea for over 3 years, adult children can stay until they turn 25 (Lee and Kwak, 2017). Children who are registered in a degree program (associate degree or above) can also stay with a student visa (D2). With these visa categories available, increasing numbers of children who previously were living in China separated from their parents are joining their parents in South Korea. The exact number of these children has been difficult to record since they often stay for varying lengths of time and fall into different visa categories. Some also obtain Korean citizenship. In 2014, it was estimated that from 25,000 to 50,000 Korean Chinese children and youths (below the age of 24) were living in South Korea (Lee and Kwak, 2017).

2.4.3 South Korean education policy for Korean Chinese migrant children

In South Korea, government programs and policies for youth with migration background are centered around “multicultural youth,” defined by the government as

children born in South Korea to one Korean parent and one foreign parent. Most multicultural youth are, by definition, children of marriage migrants, young women from Southeast Asian countries who came to South Korea though marriage brokers that connected them to Korean men in rural areas. In the patrilineal society of South Korea, children of Korean fathers are considered "Korean" regardless of the race or ethnicity of their mothers (Watson, 2012). Therefore, policies for multicultural youth are in fact conceptualized for "Korean" children rather than for youth with diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Illustrative of the policy focus on this group of youth, multicultural education in South Korea began in the early 2000s, when the children of the first wave of marriage migrants started reaching school age (Kim and Kim, 2012).

As the policies are developed focused on children who are born in South Korea and start schooling in the South Korean education system, there are gaps regarding students who do not have Korean citizenship and do not speak Korean as their first language. The Seoul metropolitan office of education requires elementary schools with more than 15% and middle schools with more than 10% of the student body composed of multicultural students provide Korean as Second Language (KSL) classes. Additionally, KSL classes should be offered when more than 15 students are foreign or migrant students. The schools are required to keep the number of students in one KSL class below 15 (Ministry of Education, 2021). However, in 2020, only 372 schools across the country were operating KSL classes. Considering that there were around 33,000 foreign and migrant students, there was one KSL class for every 90 foreign and migrant students (Shin, 2021). Therefore, a "commissioned education" system is implemented where

students enrolled in one school are sent to other schools that can provide KSL classes for up to two to three semesters.

The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF) implements some educational programs as a part of its efforts to support multicultural families (Choi and Kim, 2021). The MOGEF makes the programs available for "youth with migration backgrounds," which includes adolescents from multicultural families as well as other migrant youth. Most notably, the MOGEF supports Rainbow Schools that are operated by 20 organizations and institutions across the country. Rainbow schools provide Korean language education, sociocultural activities, and opportunities for career exploration. Since Rainbow Schools offer Korean language education, sometimes migrant youth are transferred to study in Rainbow Schools before coming back to the schools in which they are enrolled.

Beyond the compulsory elementary and middle school education, students can choose from two tracks for high school: general and vocational (National Center on Education and the Economy, 2021). There are a few vocational high schools specifically for youth with migration backgrounds that combines Korean language education with vocational training in fields such as technology and tourism (Seoul Dasom Tourism High School, 2022, Korea Polytechnics, 2021). Whether migrant students choose to attend a general or vocational school, they face barriers if they wish to pursue a university education. While students who attend vocational high schools can apply to the university through admission tracks designated for students with vocational training, students who attended vocational schools for youth with migration background cannot

utilize those tracks (Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education, 2018). Universities also have separate admission tracks for multicultural youth. However, those admission tracks can only be utilized by children of marriage migrants or those with one Korean citizen and one naturalized citizen as parents (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2020). Therefore, some migrant students must compete with Korean students in high school grade point average and the university entrance exam, which students in South Korea have studied for their entire school careers (Kim and Kim, 2012).

2.4.4 Current geopolitical context and discrimination against Korean Chinese

The discrimination faced by Korean Chinese migrants in South Korea is based on hostility South Korean people have towards China. According to a survey conducted by Pew Research Center, 75% of South Koreans surveyed in 2020 had an unfavorable view of China (Silver et al., 2020). The hostility toward China and Chinese people in South Korea is characteristic of the anti-Chinese rhetoric that is increasing globally. The anti-Chinese rhetoric is attributed to China's "Wolf-warrior diplomacy," an aggressive style of diplomacy to protect China's national interests, which became more pronounced after the COVID-19 pandemic (Zhu, 2020). However, the hostility between South Korea and China is also based on long-standing historical and cultural conflicts rising from the geographical proximity of the two countries. Most prominently, there have been incidents of China's appropriation of Korean cultural heritage such as hanbok (traditional Korean clothing) and kimchi (Korean dishes of salted and fermented vegetables) (Ki, 2021). China's economic retaliation after South Korea agreed to install

Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) missile defense system in 2016 at the request from the United States also helped solidify anti-Chinese sentiment in South Korea (Ki, 2021).

Based on the hostility toward China, Korean Chinese migrants face social discrimination in South Korea although they are given preferential treatment based on their Korean ethnicity in immigration and employment compared to migrants of other ethnic backgrounds (Lee et al., 2014). South Koreans regard Korean Chinese to be "poor, backwards colonial era labour migrants from undemocratic, developing countries" (Hong et al., 2013). Korean Chinese neighborhoods in Seoul are organized around a traditional market and job agencies that recruit day laborers and deploy them to construction sites across the country (Oh et al., 2015). These neighborhoods are low socio-economic areas in Seoul, often perceived as dangerous and dirty (Kim, 2011). Media often portray Korean Chinese migrants to be associated with illegal activities such as smuggling drugs and operating in gangs (Lee et al., 2014). These reports reinforce the negative perceptions South Koreans have about Korean Chinese migrants and their neighborhoods.

Chapter 3. The impact of migration on ethnic and national identity formation among ethnic Korean Chinese (Chosŏnjok) youth in Seoul, South Korea

3.1 Abstract

Background Migration changes the social context that shapes how youth select and express their identity. Social identities, such as ethnic and national identities, can promote mental health and acculturation of migrant youth through a sense of belonging and social support. However, a strong minority identity can lead to perception of higher levels of discrimination.

Objectives This study aims to qualitatively understand how Korean Chinese migrant youth explore and negotiate their ethnic and national identities after migrating from China to South Korea.

Methods In-depth interviews with 16 Korean Chinese migrant youth (ages 15-24) were conducted. Qualitative data was analyzed using methods adopted from the tradition of Grounded Theory.

Results Migration to South Korea prompted Korean Chinese youth to examine their ethnic identity, which reinforced the notion that they are different from South Koreans. Participants perceived cultural distance from the Korean society and experienced discrimination. Korean Chinese migrant youth struggled with the South Korean language and culture, mainly interacted with other Korean Chinese youth, and identified more strongly with their Chinese nationality. Youth who arrived in South Korea as children

reported experiences of assimilation and integration, resulting in a multicultural identity of both Korean and Chinese.

Conclusions In the social and geopolitical context that creates conflict between their national and ethnic identities, Korean Chinese youth distanced themselves from their Korean ethnic identity and embraced their Chinese national identity. The results of this study can be used to inform programs and policies that support healthy integration of ethnic and national identities among Korean Chinese migrant youth.

3.2 Introduction

Identity formation was first theorized as the main developmental task occurring during adolescence by (Erikson, 1950). Adolescence refers to the life stage from puberty to physiological maturity that generally occurs between the ages of 10 and 19 and is further categorized into early (ages 10 to 14), middle (ages 15 to 17), and late (ages 18+) adolescence based on physical, psychological, and social development (World Health Organization, 2010, American Psychological Association, 2022). In the process of identity formation, adolescents integrate different fragments of identity that they have developed in childhood (ages 2-10) (Erikson, 1950). Social identities, such as ethnic and national identities, are components of self-identity, established through individuals' self-categorization into social groups (Tajfel, 1981, Tajfel and Turner, 1986). National identity is the subjective or internalized sense of belonging to a nation (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2020), while ethnic identity is the degree to which individuals perceive themselves as a part of an ethnic group (Smith and Silva, 2011).

Identity formation is both a developmental task and an acculturative task for migrant youth. A strong sense of identity is developmentally beneficial by fostering self-knowledge and confidence (Marcia, 1993). Similarly, a strong ethnic identity promotes psychosocial functioning and well-being (Umaña-Taylor, 2011, Smith and Silva, 2011, Lee, 2003), consistent with the self-esteem hypothesis by (Abrams and Hogg, 1988). This hypothesis proposes that individuals classify themselves into social groups in a manner to enhance their positive self-esteem. Acculturation refers to changes, including changes in identities, following intercultural contact (Berry and Sam, 1997). A meta-analysis of ethnic identity and personal well-being among people of color found that ethnic identity was more strongly associated with self-esteem and well-being when individuals had a higher level of acculturation (Smith and Silva, 2011). A sense of belonging and social support from ethnic group affiliation were benefits of ethnic identity for migrants (Outten, 2008, Inman et al., 2007, Phinney, 2003).

On the other hand, another aspect of ethnic identity is related to discrimination, which is associated with a range of adverse mental health outcomes among migrant youth (Verelst et al., 2022, Spaas et al., 2021). Ethnic identity was found to be a more salient component of individuals' self-identity when they experienced discrimination (Syed and Azmitia, 2008, Syed and Azmitia, 2010), and individuals whose ethnic identity was central to their self-identities perceived higher levels of discrimination (Sellers and Shelton, 2003, Shelton and Sellers, 2000). Those with high ethnic identity centrality may perceive increased levels of discrimination as they are more sensitive to social cues that reflect discrimination (Sellers and Shelton, 2003, Operario and Fiske, 2001). A strong

ethnic identity therefore may confine migrant youth's interactions to their ethnic group and restrict acculturation (Yoon et al., 2013).

Given that ethnic identity can have both positive and negative impact on acculturation and mental health outcomes among migrant youth, it is important to examine the context in which migrant youth explore, understand, and affirm their ethnic identity. Social context shapes how individuals select and express their identity (Ward and Geeraert, 2016, Huynh et al., 2011). Migration during adolescence therefore has a profound effect on how adolescents incorporate and negotiate their social identities to establish their self-identity (Jensen et al., 2011).

Although there is substantial literature on the role of ethnic identity in the acculturation and psychological well-being of migrant youth, studies typically do not examine how different domains of social identity, such as ethnic and national identities, interplay and co-develop (Mastrotheodoros et al., 2021, Schwartz et al., 2011). Ethnic return migration of Korean Chinese (Chosŏnjok) adolescents provides a unique opportunity to investigate how adolescents negotiate different aspects of their identity when adjusting to a new country. The Korean Chinese are a minority ethnic group in China whose ancestors migrated from the Korean peninsula beginning in the 19th century. When Korean Chinese adolescents migrate to South Korea, they enter a society where most of the population share their ethnicity. Their ethnicity affords them preferential treatment in immigration and employment compared to migrants of other ethnic backgrounds (Lee et al., 2014), but Korean Chinese migrants also face discrimination based on their Chinese nationality. The media often portrays Korean

Chinese migrants to be associated with illegal activities (Lee et al., 2014) and Korean Chinese neighborhoods in Seoul as dangerous (Kim, 2011).

How Korean Chinese youth understand and affirm their ethnic and national identities in these circumstances will ultimately impact how their identity influences their acculturation, development, and well-being in South Korean society. Therefore, to inform policy and programs that support migrant youth, we aimed to qualitatively understand how Korean Chinese migrant youth explore and negotiate their ethnic and national identities after migrating to South Korea from China.

3.3 Methods

Participants

In-depth interviews were conducted with Korean Chinese migrant youth in Seoul, South Korea, from March to December 2021. Participants were Korean Chinese, between the ages of 15 and 24, and had at least one Korean Chinese parent working in South Korea. The youths were recruited as part of a study on family separation and reunification and therefore had all experienced separation from one or both parents due to parents' migration for longer than 6 months. In the South Korean education system, adolescents enter high school (grade 9) at age 15. This age was used as a cut off in order to include adolescents with the maturity to reflect on their experiences of being separated from and reunited with their migrant parents (Artico, 2003). Under the current immigration system, the maximum age of children who are permitted to remain as dependents of Korean Chinese migrants is 25. With this age limitation in consideration, age 24 was selected as the upper age cut off. Participants who met the

inclusion criteria and provided informed consent were interviewed, either at a university research office or at a café with a private meeting space.

Data collection

In-depth interviews were conducted with 16 participants (Table 3). The length of interviews ranged from 35 to 108 mins, with a median duration of 67 mins. Interviews were based on a semi-structured guide designed to elicit youths' experiences from before their parents' migration to after their arrival in South Korea. Existing literature on parent-child separation due to labor migration and on Korean Chinese youth in South Korea were reviewed to develop the interview guide, and topics included everyday routines, family and social relationships, puberty, school life, and national and ethnic identity. Recruitment continued until no novel information or insight about the topics central to the overall research aim were gained with an additional interview (Saunders et al., 2018). Participants received $40 in supermarket coupons for their time.

Table 3. Participant characteristics

ID	Sex	Age of entry	Length of stay (years)	Speaking fluency in Korean	Nationality/ Visa status	Home province	Chosŏnjok school
Y1	M	8	10	Native	Korean citizenship	Shandong	Yes
Y2	M	9	11	Fluent	Korean citizenship*	Hebei	No
Y3	M	10	8	Fluent	Korean citizenship*	Jilin	No
Y4	F	13	2	Proficient	Chinese/F-1 visa	Liaoning	Yes
Y5	F	13	6	Fluent	Chinese/F-1 visa	Liaoning	Yes
Y6	M	14	8	Proficient	Chinese/F-1 visa	Heilongjiang	No
Y7	F	15	3	Intermediate	Korean citizenship*	Liaoning	No
Y8	F	15	0.5	Beginner	Chinese/F-1 visa	Gansu	No
Y9	F	15	5	Proficient	Chinese/F-1 visa	Liaoning	No
Y10	F	16	3	Advanced	Chinese/F-1 visa	Heilongjiang	No
Y11	F	16	3	Beginner	Chinese/F-1 visa	Jilin	No
Y12	M	16	8	Intermediate	Chinese/F-4 visa	Jilin	No
Y13	F	18	6	Proficient	Chinese/D-2 visa	Heilongjiang	No

Y14	F	18	4	Beginner	Chinese/D-2 visa	Jilin	No
Y15	M	20	3	Fluent	Chinese/D-2 visa	Jilin	Yes
Y16	M	22	2	Fluent	Chinese/F-4 visa	Jilin	Yes

*One parent is Han Chinese; M=male, F=female; F-1 visa (minor dependent), F-4 visa (overseas Korean), and D-2 visa (student)

Korean Chinese migrant youth were first recruited through key informants at community organizations and education centers for migrant youth in Seoul, South Korea. Recruitment continued by way of youth referring their friends to the research team. Along with this respondent-assisted sampling, purposive sampling was used to ensure a gender balance to identify any gendered patterns in youth's migration and adjustment experience. Initial analysis of data revealed that although no significant gender differences emerged, youth's migration and acculturation experience differed according to their age of entry. Youth who entered South Korea during middle- or high-school comprised the majority of the sample; therefore, in the final stages of data collection, participants were theoretically sampled to include youth who migrated during or before primary school.

Research team

Interviews were conducted by the first author, who is a South Korean woman who speaks Korean fluently and intermediate mandarin Chinese, and a Korean Chinese translator. Prior to studying in the United States, the first author lived in Seoul, Shanghai, Beijing, and Hong Kong, where she was engaged in various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) servicing migrant populations as staff or as a volunteer. For participants who preferred to speak entirely in Chinese, the Korean Chinese translator accompanied the first author to the interviews. The translator is a bilingual Korean

Chinese woman from Northeast China, who had completed a master's thesis on Korean Chinese experiences in South Korea.

Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim in the language spoken, Korean or Chinese. Chinese transcripts were subsequently translated into Korean by the translator, so that all final transcripts were in Korean. Field notes were written immediately after each interview and included descriptions of the interview context, participants' non-verbal expressions and gestures, and discussions with the translator about the interview. The translator, who came to South Korea for her graduate studies from Jilin, shared her impression of the interview, how typical or atypical the experiences shared in the interview were, and helped the first author with any gaps in knowledge about the Korean Chinese community.

Data analysis

Data consisted of interview transcripts and field notes, which were analyzed using methods adopted from the tradition of Grounded Theory. Methods used in Grounded Theory are inductive in nature, designed to document social processes and derive a theory from textual data (Charmaz, 1995). First, the transcripts were read over while listening to the audio recording. After concentrated reading of the transcripts, open coding, where codes were applied to each line or set of lines in the transcript, was conducted using Atlas.ti. The codes were developed in active voice using gerunds (process coding in (Saldaña, 2014)) to ensure that in the first round of coding, the codes captured the voice of the participants as closely as possible. The initial codes were listed out together and grouped into categories. The categories that emerged from this

process were compared across transcripts to develop more refined insights. Entries were made into an analytic memo to document the development of categories and themes. The analytic memo was used to summarize salient topics that appeared in multiple transcripts, make notes about commonalities and differences in youth narratives, and reflect on the significance of emerging themes.

Data analysis occurred simultaneously with data collection, so that the interview guide could be modified according to the categories that emerged from previous interviews. Ongoing analysis also informed the sampling process to seek participants that could inform the emerging themes, such as selecting those who migrated before or during early adolescence and who went to a Chosŏnjok school (schools for Korean ethnic minorities in China that provide Korean language education).

Ethical consideration

The Institutional Review Board at Johns Hopkins School of Public Health and the Korea National Institute for Bioethics Policy approved for this study. Informed written consent was obtained from participants over the legal age of majority (age 19 in South Korea). For minors, informed written consent was obtained from one of their parents first, followed by written assent from the participants prior to the interview. Prior to obtaining consent, the interviewer described the purpose and process of the interview. Participants were given time to review the consent form in the language they prefer (either Korean or Chinese) and were encouraged to ask questions and request clarification as needed.

3.4 Results

Narratives from Korean Chinese migrant youth suggested that youth had identified with their Korean roots at varying levels depending on their family and neighborhood environments in China. However, most Korean Chinese youth reported that the experience of migrating to South Korea discouraged identification with their Korean ethnicity and reinforced their national identity as Chinese. They discussed language barriers and perceived distance from South Korean cultural characteristics such as age hierarchy and emphasis on politeness. Korean Chinese migrant youth therefore felt most comfortable with other Korean Chinese friends. Participants also perceived more incentive from and emotional attachment to their Chinese nationality. A small number of participants who arrived on or before the age of 10 did not share these experiences with other youth who arrived during adolescence. They acquired Korean linguistic and cultural skills more quickly and considered themselves both Korean and Chinese simultaneously.

Ethnic identity before migration

Prior to migrating to South Korea, migrant youth described having different levels of exploration and understanding of their Korean ethnicity. These differences were explained based on the extent of assimilation of their parents and grandparents, the neighborhood they resided in China, and the type of school they attended. Y11 thought of herself as more like her Han Chinese friends with whom she grew up, while Y4 had incorporated her Korean ethnicity into her self-identity growing up. Most youth

answered that that they did not think too much about their ethnicity when they lived in China.

"There is not that much difference between Korean Chinese and Han Chinese [in China]. Korean Chinese are already assimilated (汉化; "became Han"). The biggest difference is that a Korean Chinese family makes kimchi and eats slightly differently. Grandparents may also speak in Chosŏn when eating at a restaurant. It's not proper Korean, but a language of Korean Chinese. […] Among the 5th generation, no one says that they are Korean or of Korean descent. We are all Korean Chinese, one of many ethnicities in China. No one thinks that they are foreign or that they migrated from somewhere else. […] We have a very strong sense of belonging to China." – Y11 (age of entry: 16)

"When I was in China, I did not have an opportunity to think about this issue…I did not know about the [difference in] concepts of Korean Chinese and Korean. So, I thought that Korean Chinese were Korean and that I am both Korean and Chinese." – Y4 (age of entry: 13)

Despite some variation in the understanding of their Korean ethnicity initially, all youth described experiences that reinforced the notion that they are different from South Koreans after they arrived. They perceived distance through language barriers,

unfamiliar cultural practices, lack of friendships with Korean peers, and discriminatory policies.

Language

It was more common for the youths' parents' generation to attend Chosŏnjok schools, specialized public schools in China for Korean Chinese that provide Korean language education. Participants explained that their parents wanted them to go to regular Chinese schools instead since the parents believed receiving the same education as other Chinese children and speaking good Chinese were important to become successful in the Chinese society. The quality of education in Chosŏnjok schools was also perceived to be inferior to regular schools and the number of students attending Chosŏnjok schools decreased over time, reducing the number of Chosŏnjok schools available to attend. Therefore, most participants did not speak any Korean when they arrived in South Korea. Youth reflected that if had they known they would come to South Korea, they would have made more effort to speak Korean with parents or grandparents growing up.

> "*My parents tried to teach me the Korean alphabet when I was in China. But the environment made it difficult (she did not have any need to speak Korean), so I did not want to learn. I refused (laugh).*" *– Y9 (age of entry: 16)*

Even those children who went to Chosŏnjok school and spoke near fluent Korean experienced significant language barriers in South Korea. They struggled to hide their accent and understand Korean slang, which incorporates abbreviations and adopted English words.

> *"I spoke Chosŏn in China with a Yanbian accent (from the Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Jilin province). Now I try to speak with a Seoul accent, in Korean. When I first got here, when I would go to the convenience store, I did not even want to open my mouth. I did not want to speak. (Interviewer: Why?) It felt so awkward trying to speak in Korean." – Y15 (age of entry: 20)*

> *"When my Korean classmates talk about food, I can't tell what is what (I don't have the knowledge or reference to understand). So, when these topics come up, I just stay silent. I don't know the names of the popular dishes. Some of them are in English. If there is a new and hot dish that is trending on Instagram, I'm not that interested. When a classmate asks, 'Isn't that dish so good?', I don't know about it." – Y4 (age of entry: 13)*

Cultural distance -- age hierarchy and politeness

In addition to language barriers, youth reported feeling a distance from the South Korean culture, mainly regarding South Korean people's indirectness and emphasis on politeness and hierarchy. Youth described that Northeastern Chinese tend

to be blunter and more direct in their communication, which were received as abrasive in the South Korean society. Many participants recounted experiences of repeatedly being admonished or called out for being rude when they did not correctly use Korean honorifics. Y9 (age of entry: 16) described her experience: *"I met a boss while working. The boss almost fired me for not using honorifics correctly. Getting fired for one mistake in honorifics... I was very surprised."* Youth were also surprised when they realized that even one or two years of age made a big difference in the hierarchy of the South Korean society.

> *"When I was in grade 7, I was surprised by my classmates diligently bowing to grade 9 upperclassmen. 'Something like this exists?', I was very surprised. When I entered grade 9, I witnessed a lot of grade 7 kids bowing to my classmates. When I was in China, regardless of age, we didn't say 'older sister' or 'older brother', just names. We were just friends. So, I realized there was this difference." – Y4 (age of entry: 13)*

Friendships

After adolescents migrated to South Korea, they were connected to centers or schools for migrant youth that aimed to prepare them for the South Korean school curriculum. In these environments, adolescents found other friends from China. This network of friends sharing a similar background was essential to the youth's day-to-day lives and gave them an opportunity to make friends, speak comfortably in Chinese, and

share practical information. Those who were in Korea longer became their guides navigating the Korean society.

"There is a friend who is currently working. He's not a student now, but he is just a year older than me and will be going to college next year. He didn't go to high school and worked instead. Such friends help me understand the realities of this society. I request help regarding college applications and studies from friends in school." – Y11 (age of entry: 16)

Some youth who attended centers or schools for migrant youth transferred to Korean schools after about 6 months while some remained. After they transferred, youth reported feeling isolated and lonely being the only foreigners in their class or school. Youth described spending two to three years in school completely alone as their Korean was not sufficient for them to have enough courage to approach Korean classmates. Even after years of going to a Korean school, youth struggled to name a Korean classmate they considered a friend.

"I: Do you have friends in school?

P: I don't know. I don't think I have friends in school… maybe one or two?

I: What was the hardest part of going to school?

P: Eating lunch alone." – Y10 (age of entry: 16)

Even when they had the opportunity to acquaint Korean friends, they found it difficult to feel a similar kind of closeness as they do with other Korean Chinese migrant youth.

> *"Most of my friends were from China. When I first started university, I couldn't speak good Korean. Korean friends… Just doing group projects with them was difficult enough, so it wasn't like we could hang out or get food or drinks outside of class. Chinese students hung out with other Chinese students. When I'm with Korean friends, we can be good friends, but in my heart, I think there might be some cultural differences. It's a bit difficult." – Y13 (age of entry: 18)*

A school system that reinforces otherness

Adolescents described having to wait months to years to become connected to schools. The delay was attributed to difficulties obtaining documents and school records from China and completing paperwork required by the Ministry of Education.

> *"It was difficult to get the foreigner registration. Some documents were in China, so we had to travel back and forth. The documents had to be notarized. My passport expired during that time, so I had to go to China to renew my passport. After all that, it was two years. For those two years, I just stayed home like a total lazy person. It was really difficult." – Y5 (age of entry: 13)*

Most youth were staying on a dependent or a student visa. If both parents maintained Chinese nationality, youth could apply to Korean universities as international students, which made admission less competitive. Many participants planned to study and gain work experience in Korea but hoped to eventually return to China. For these reasons, they valued their Chinese nationality.

"We [my parents and I] have no intention of changing our nationality. For one, there is the issue of college entrance. Also, my parents are now in their 50s. They have to go back to China for their retirement." – Y11 (age of entry: 16)

The cultural distance and discrimination Korean Chinese migrant youth experienced in the Korean society prompted them to regard their Chinese nationality more central to their identity.

"I'm just a Chinese person, and I didn't think much about being Chosŏnjok (Korean Chinese) in China. Since I did not have any Chosŏnjok friends around me, I didn't think ethnicity made much difference, but once I came to Korea, I started feeling the difference of being Chosŏnjok. I think Chosŏnjok and Koreans belong in different groups. I'm originally Chinese, and now I am Overseas Chinese." – Y10 (age of entry: 16)

Distinct experiences of youth who arrived as children

A different experience of migration and identity negotiation was reported by youth who arrived on or before the age of 10. Youth who migrated while in elementary school were immediately placed into a Korean school without the delay or preparation period in centers and schools for migrant youth commonly reported by youth who arrived after completing elementary school in China. Youth who arrived as primary school-aged children described quickly acquiring South Korean language and cultural skills. Their main friend group consisted of their Korean classmates. Youth reported being bullied or hearing racial slurs targeting Chinese people from some classmates during middle school. These experiences subsided as they entered high school when their classmates matured and their migration background became less obvious from their speech. Schools did not keep a record of students' place of birth, especially if they had acquired Korean citizenship, and did not make information about their migration background available to teachers and classmates.

> *"[When you enter high school] people's thoughts become mature, so they don't think like 'I should bully this kid.' or 'I should tease this kid.' They just want to become friends. I think that time [middle school] is the most problematic." – Y1 (age of entry: 8)*

Youth who arrived as primary school-aged children described being questioned by their Korean peers about their identity. They were asked questions such as "If China

and Korea go into war, which side would you pick?" and "When China and Korea meet during the Olympics, who do you cheer for?", which made them contemplate their identity. They were reluctant to choose one country and identified as either as having a multicultural background (Y2 and Y3 had one Han Chinese parent) or as being both Korean and Chinese simultaneously. They all had Korean citizenship and planned to live and work in Korea as adults.

> *"If you ask me 'Do you think of yourself as a Korean person or a Chinese person?', I can't answer this definitely. You can say I'm Chinese. You can say I'm Korean too. I'm somewhere in the middle. My mindset is like that." – Y3 (age of entry: 10)*

3.5 Discussion

Korean Chinese migrant youth in South Korea experienced discrimination and cultural distance between China and South Korea which made them more acutely perceive themselves as different from South Koreans. As a result, Korean Chinese youth distanced themselves from their Korean ethnicity and formed a stronger alignment with their Chinese nationality. Most Korean Chinese youth did not speak Chosŏn growing up, and even when they did, experienced language barriers in Korean. They were not accustomed to the South Korean social courtesies and hierarchies, resulting in conflict and negative interactions with Koreans. Although the youth had trouble connecting with Korean peers, their network of Korean Chinese peers was an important source of social support. Migrant youth experienced significant delays entering the educational system

and were educated separately in centers and schools for migrant youth. The most realistic option for them to attend the university was to apply as foreigners. These findings add to the understanding of how migration and the ensuing changes in the social context influence adolescent identity formation and their adjustment in the new society. Further, these findings contribute to the developing literature on how different aspects of identity, such as ethnic and national identities, interact in the process of identity formation.

Narratives of Korean Chinese youth suggested that regardless of the level of ethnic identity integration before migrating to South Korea, the societal context in South Korea and the cultural differences between China and South Korea strongly influenced the acquisition, maintenance, or separation of ethnic and national identities. This finding is consistent with the process model of acculturation by (Ward and Geeraert, 2016). This model stresses that acculturation is a dynamic process that unfolds in an ecological context, and the link between acculturation trajectories and psychological adaptation is influenced by the context (Ward and Geeraert, 2016). The findings of this study should therefore be considered in light of the contemporary geopolitical dynamics between South Korea and China (Glick Schiller, 2018). According to a survey conducted by Pew Research Center, 66% of South Koreans surveyed had a favorable view of China in 2002, which decreased to 24% in 2020. Similarly, 31% of South Koreans surveyed in 2002 had an unfavorable view of China, which increased to 75% in 2020 (Silver et al., 2020). This trend is consistent with global increases in anti-Chinese rhetoric attributed to China's "Wolf-warrior diplomacy," an aggressive style of diplomacy to protect China's

national interests, which was promoted even more after the COVID-19 pandemic (Zhu, 2020). The anti-Chinese sentiment has been particularly strong in South Korea following incidents of China's appropriation of Korean cultural heritage such as hanbok (traditional Korean clothing) and kimchi (Korean dishes of salted and fermented vegetables) (Ki, 2021). China's economic retaliation after South Korea agreed to install Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) missile defense system at the request from the United States in 2016 solidified anti-Chinese sentiment in South Korea (Ki, 2021).

This geopolitical context is implicated in the relationship between national and ethnic identities of Korean Chinese migrant youth that emerged throughout this study. In this social context, youth were distancing themselves from the ethnic identity that they share with people of the host country and embracing their national identity. Social identity theory suggests that when one's group is viewed negatively by the society, individuals engage in identity protection strategies, one of which is to increase identification with that identity and highlight positive aspects of the group (Tajfel and Turner, 1986, Stepick et al., 2011). The finding is also consistent with the rejection-disidentification model, where unfair treatment by the majority group leads to minority groups identifying less with the majority group (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009, Verkuyten and Yildiz, 2007). Youth in this study could be protecting themselves from the negative consequences of the increasing hostility toward China and discrimination against Chinese in South Korea by aligning themselves more with their Chinese national identity (Somerville, 2008, Umaña-Taylor, 2011, Syed and Azmitia, 2010, Nam and Kim, 2018).

Such protective measures, however, may have negative psychological consequences since individuals with more salient minority identities perceive greater levels of discrimination and thus are more vulnerable to psychological distress from discrimination (Sellers and Shelton, 2003, Shelton and Sellers, 2000). Studies have found that immigrants with a dual identity had psychological advantages over those who identified with just one component identity (Berry et al., 2006, Dimitrova et al., 2017, Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013). American national identity was protective of internalizing and externalizing problems among Muslim-American adolescents (Balkaya et al., 2019). Among immigrants of Turkish or Moroccan background in the Netherlands, those with a dual identity had higher levels of life satisfaction and lower levels of depression and emotional and social loneliness compared to immigrants with single group identification (Zhang et al., 2018). Societal efforts to reduce the conflict between the ethnic and national identities of Korean Chinese migrant youth therefore can promote their psychological well-being. South Korea should look toward creating a society that is more accepting of individuals with multicultural identities and reducing discrimination towards individuals based on geopolitical discourse.

The main social support system of Korean Chinese migrant youth in South Korea consisted of other Korean Chinese migrant youth who provided emotional, instrumental, and informational support. Like other migrant groups studied previously, Korean Chinese youth appeared to gain a sense of belonging and social support from those who shared their minority identity (Outten, 2008, Inman et al., 2007, Phinney, 2003). However, good mental health has been associated with acculturation (e.g., in

speaking the host country language and adopting socially normative behaviors), combined with maintaining minority identity (Yoon et al., 2013). Korean Chinese youth being limited to other Korean Chinese youth for social interaction prevents opportunities to acquire acculturation. In our study, adolescents experienced long delays in entering the Korean education system. In the meantime, they were placed in centers and schools separated from Korean students, limiting their opportunities to interact with Korean peers. The school system, which limits social contact with Korean peers, may be intensifying the difficulties Korean Chinese migrant youth experience due to cultural gaps they perceive in speaking the language, understanding customs, and reading social cues. Consistent with our findings, (Kosic et al., 2004) found when Croatian and Polish immigrants in Italy formed relationships with those from same ethnic groups upon their arrival, they tended to adhere to their culture of origin and assimilated less. By contrast, when the main friend group included members of the host country, immigrants adapted to the new culture and maintained their culture of origin less (Kosic et al., 2004). (Ramelli et al., 2013) found similar results among Spanish-speaking immigrants in Switzerland and Italy and emphasized the role of the initial friendships made in the first months after the immigrants' arrival in a new country. Considering the importance of peer relationships on ethnic identity in adolescence (Phinney et al., 2000), a greater attention to how the school system encourages initial contacts with peer groups may have an important influence on the amount of resources Korean Chinese migrant youth acquire to successfully navigate the South Korean society.

Adolescents in this study who migrated as children (before the age of 10) were more successful in acquiring linguistic and cultural skills and maintaining both their ethnic and national identity. This finding supports the cognitive-developmental model of identity that suggests identity integration starts from middle adolescence onwards (Amiot et al., 2007). Youth who migrated before entering adolescence could have had the opportunity to explore both their ethnic and national identities and integrate them to achieve a dual identity. Youth who migrated before receiving a significant amount of education in China may have also felt less conflict between their ethnic and national identities. Education in China is directed by the national campaign of "plurality within unity," which promotes national unity among the diverse ethnic minority groups (Postiglione, 2014). School curricula strengthen Chinese national identity in students by encouraging them to internalize mainstream norms and by educating them in the history and geography of China (Yuan and Li, 2019). Parents of Korean Chinese youth who arrived in South Korea between the ages 11 and 19 described their children struggling to follow the history classes in Korean schools and feeling conflicted about the information they received (Nam and Kim, 2018). Therefore, language, history, and geography education for Korean Chinese youth that takes their previous education in China and the geopolitical relationship between South Korea and China into account may help to prevent potential negative psychological outcomes.

Limitations

A limitation of this study is that the narratives in this study did not reach saturation regarding the influence of parents and their ethnic and national identities.

Migrant parents are thought to have a role in shaping the social context for their children as well as their national and ethnic identities (Phinney et al., 2000, Somerville, 2008). The process model of acculturation by (Ward and Geeraert, 2016) also identifies the familial context as important for acculturation. Y2 and Y3, who had one Korean Chinese and one Han Chinese parent, differing from Y1 in their identification as multicultural, suggests the influence of parents' background on their children's national and ethnic identity in this study. Parental influence, however, was not extensively discussed by participants of this study. A subset of participants' parents was interviewed for the larger study about family separation and reunification experiences, but the interviews contained little information about their children's social identity. Therefore, parent interviews were not analyzed with youth interviews in this study. Future studies that examine the role of parents and friends would add insight regarding the interpersonal influences on migrant youth's identity formation.

This study described Korean Chinese youth's understanding of their ethnic identity before their migration to South Korea and aspects of their experience after their migration that influenced the negotiation between their ethnic and national identities in the South Korean society. Although identity integration begins in adolescence and is a task that impacts adolescents' developmental trajectory (Amiot et al., 2007), changes in identity occur throughout the life course of individuals (Crosnoe, 2021, Erikson, 1950). This study provides limited insight to how the adolescents' social identities will change with more time in the South Korean society. Youth in this study had lived in South Korea for a mean average of 5.2 years. No clear patterns of change in their ethnic and national

identities with time in South Korea emerged in the analysis. Longitudinal studies that follow adolescents into their adulthood and survey factors that impact changes in their ethnic and national identities would contribute to understanding how Korean Chinese youth's social identities evolve with experiences as emerging adults in the South Korean society.

Policy implications

This study suggested that discrimination experiences and cultural barriers drive Korean Chinese youth to identify more strongly with their Chinese national identity. This may make them more vulnerable to further discrimination but provide them with a sense of belonging and social support through other Korean Chinese youth. Both the benefits and risks of identifying with a single component of their identity should be considered by educators, counselors, and policymakers (Wiley et al., 2019). While having dual identity had positive psychological implications (Berry et al., 2006, Dimitrova et al., 2017, Zhang et al., 2018, Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013), the benefits may be limited to circumstances in which the two identities are not in conflict (Balkaya et al., 2019, Baysu and Phalet, 2019). Therefore, inclusive and pluralistic programs and policies that support the integration of ethnic and national identities among Korean Chinese migrant youth in South Korea are encouraged. Pro-migration government policy can positively influence public opinion toward migrants and encourage multiculturalism (Gaucher et al., 2018, Verkuyten et al., 2019). Resolving the incompatibility between multiple identities can also prevent radicalization of migrants, which can harm both the migrant communities and the host society (Simon et al., 2013).

School-based programs that assist the process of identity formation can be beneficial. Education about the history of the Korean diaspora and plural identities could help create a more inclusive and open environment for adolescents to explore and establish their identity. One major issue for youth migrating at older ages was the delay they experienced before gaining access to schooling in Korea. An integrated system that can help students and parents prepare the necessary documents, evaluate students' Korean language level, and assign students to schools with appropriate resources should be established. Centers and schools for migrant youth have an important role in providing Korean language education and connecting migrant youth to others, who become important social resources for each other. However, the centers and schools should be supplementary in that they should not hinder the opportunities for students with migration backgrounds to interact with their Korean peers. Rather, the social connections made through centers and schools for migrant youth should be utilized to promote connections between Korean Chinese and Korean youth. Positive contact between migrants and members of the majority group determines how migrants perceive the relationship between different social groups and their attitudes toward the host society (Sixtus et al., 2019). Programs that encourage positive interactions between them, such as extracurricular activities or clubs, would be desirable. Korean Chinese migrant youth who integrated both their Korean and Chinese backgrounds can play a role bridging South Korea and China and improving bilateral relationships (Wiley et al., 2019).

Conclusion

This study engages with youth from a migrant community that shares ethnic roots with the majority population of the host country. Their experiences provide a unique perspective into how youth negotiate their national and ethnic identities and adjust to a new country. Korean Chinese migrant youth perceived cultural distance from the Korean society beginning with a delay in entering the school system. Participating adolescents mainly interacted with other Korean Chinese youth, continued to feel distance from the Korean language and culture, and identified more strongly with their Chinese nationality. Youth who arrived in South Korea as children reported experiences of assimilation and integration, resulting in a multicultural identity of both Korean and Chinese. The results of this study can be used to inform policy and programmatic support for Korean Chinese youth, the largest group of youth migrating to South Korea.

Chapter 4. Factors related to depressive mood in the context of separation and reunification with migrant parents among Korean Chinese (Chosŏnjok) youth in Seoul, South Korea

4.1 Abstract

Background Korean Chinese youth, the largest population of migrant youth in South Korea, undergo a process of serial migration that consists of separation and reunification with migrant parents. This experience may negatively affect children's psychological outcomes.

Objectives This study aims to quantitatively identify parent- and child-related factors associated with child depressive mood and qualitatively understand the factors in the context of separation and reunification experienced by Korean Chinese migrant parents and youth in South Korea.

Methods For this mixed methods study, we analyzed data from the 2018 National Multicultural Family Survey (n=249) and in-depth interviews with 17 Korean Chinese migrant parents and youth. Inductive coding of the qualitative data informed the selection of variables in the quantitative analysis. Multinomial logistic regression analyses were conducted to identify factors associated with child depressive mood. The quantitative findings were contextualized through deductive coding of the qualitative data.

Results In the quantitative sample, 69.1% of children experienced separation from both parents. 15.3% of migrant parents were widowed, divorced, or separated, and 12% of children experienced discrimination. Participant narratives suggested that marital and

family conflict negatively affected the quality of care arrangements and communication between parents and children during separation. Consistently, children of single migrant parents had increased odds of depressive mood (aOR=2.90; 95% CI: 1.07-7.86). Children's experience of discrimination was related to higher odds of depressive mood (aOR=2.67; 95% CI: 1.15-6.11), while self-perceived strengths (aOR=0.37; 95% CI: 0.14-0.98) and self-satisfaction (aOR=0.25; 95% CI: 0.10-0.63) were associated with decreased odds of depressive mood. Length of separation was not statistically significantly associated with child depressive mood, after adjusted for migrant parents' sex, monthly salary, and child's age.

Conclusions The negative influence of marital conflict on the quality of care during separation and children's experience of discrimination after migration are important factors of depressive mood among Korean Chinese youth.

4.2 Introduction

In the process of economic migration, children can be left behind by migrant parents due to barriers such as visa restrictions, children's education, living costs, residential conditions in the destination country, and lack of childcare (Zhao et al., 2018). In this context, children frequently stay with relatives in the sending area until either the migrant parents return or the children are able to join migrant parents in the destination country. Serial migration, where one or both parents migrate first and later send for children and other family members, has been a pattern of major migration flows in many parts of the world, including from the Northeastern provinces of China to South Korea (Smith et al., 2004, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011, Kwon, 2015).

Following the establishment of a formal diplomatic relationship between China and South Korea in 1992, Korean Chinese who mainly lived in the Heilongjiang, Liaoning, and Jilin provinces that border North Korea started moving to South Korea in search of work and socioeconomic advancement (Kwon, 2015). In the beginning, most Korean Chinese migrants entered using illegal brokers and remained unregistered after arriving in South Korea (Kwon, 2015, Hong et al., 2013). Until 2012, many Korean Chinese migrants left their family members behind in China (Kwon, 2015). Restrictions on visa categories for Korean Chinese migrants started to relax in 2012 when migrants with the F4 visa (for ethnic Korean skilled laborers) were given the opportunity to invite minor children and spouses on an F1 visa (the cohabitation visa). Those with the H2 visa (for ethnic Korean unskilled laborers) could host adult children between the ages of 19 and 25 on a short-term visa that is valid for one year. If the parents have been in South Korea for over 3 years, adult children are permitted to stay until they turn 25 (Lee and Kwak, 2017). With these available visa options, increasing numbers of children are joining their parents. In 2014, it was estimated that from 25,000 to 50,000 Korean Chinese children (below the age of 24) once separated from their parents are now living in South Korea (Lee and Kwak, 2017).

Children experience two transitions in the process of serial migration: first, when parents migrate (separation) and second, when they migrate to be reunited with their parents (reunification). Children’s separation from parents has been identified as a risk factor for adverse child cognitive, emotional, and behavioral developmental outcomes (Anda et al., 2006). A systematic review and meta-analysis reported that compared to

children of non-migrant parents, left-behind children had a higher risk of depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation, conduct disorder, and substance use (Fellmeth et al., 2018). Studies in Mexico and the Philippines found high rates of dropout of and lagging behind in school among left behind children, especially for boys (Giorguli, 2004, Cortes, 2015). The reunification with parents poses additional challenges to children's adjustment. The period of separation may have introduced changes in family membership and feelings of unfamiliarity, rejection, and guilt between reunited parents and children (Smith et al., 2004, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Children who were separated and reunited with their parents, compared to children who migrated with their parents, were more likely to experience behavioral and emotional issues, such as depression and anxiety (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012, Lu et al., 2020). In addition to reunifying with parents, children face acculturative tasks in a new society (Berry et al., 2006). Children who experienced separation and reunification lagged behind their peers academically and had a higher risk of high school dropout (Gindling and Poggio, 2012, Lu et al., 2020).

The impact of separation and reunification is influenced by factors at multiple levels, including social norms about migration and structural characteristics of receiving countries. The sociocultural context should be taken into account when considering the psychological and developmental risks associated with the experience of separation and reunification (Lashley, 2000, Rousseau et al., 2009, Fresnoza-Flot, 2015). When (Graham and Jordan, 2011) compared the emotional problems of children living in transnational households across four Southeast Asian countries (Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam), only children in Indonesia were more likely to suffer emotional distress

compared to children living with both parents (Graham and Jordan, 2011). In areas where transnational migration of parents has been normalized and child fostering is common, the experience of separation from parents may not lead to negative psychological consequences (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012). Rather, the care provided to children by caretakers, as well as the relationships between the migrant parents and the caretakers that can impact the care children receive, may have a greater effect on child outcomes (Lam and Yeoh, 2019b, Carling et al., 2012). Moreover, structural characteristics of the receiving country that affect the well-being of migrants and their children, such as the socio-economic position of migrants, educational and vocational opportunities, and immigration policies, may play a large role in determining the risks associated with the separation and reunification experience (Zentgraf and Chinchilla, 2012).

In this study, we aim to quantitatively identify parent- and child-related factors associated with child's depressive mood and qualitatively understand these factors in the context of separation and reunification experienced by Korean Chinese migrant parents and youth in South Korea.

4.3 Methods

This study utilized a sequential explanatory mixed methods design where the quantitative data was collected before the qualitative data and the quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed concurrently (Creamer, 2018). For the quantitative analysis, we used data from the 2018 National Multicultural Family Survey (NMFS), a national survey conducted by the South Korean Ministry of Gender Equality and Family

(MOGEF) every three years since 2009. Individual, in-depth interviews were conducted with eight pairs of migrant parents and one of their children and one parent alone, whose child dropped out of the qualitative component of the study (n=17).

Quantitative data

Participants

For the 2018 NMFS, 25,053 multicultural households, defined as those with either a marriage migrant or a naturalized citizen, were sampled from census data. First, cluster sampling was applied based on residential districts, followed by stratified sampling by country of origin and type of migrant (marriage migrant or naturalized citizen). 17,550 households completed the survey (response rate: 70.1%) (Choi et al., 2019). Among the households, 6,947 had responses from index migrants (marriage migrant or naturalized citizen) and their children (ages 9 to 24). For this study, we selected households where 1) children were born in China and identified as Korean Chinese or 2) the index migrant was born in China and identified as Korean Chinese and had children who had ever lived abroad. In total, 249 pairs of children and migrant parents met these criteria. There were 14 households with two children.

Data collection

Data for the 2018 NMFS was collected in August 2018. Data collectors visited households and conducted interviews with the index migrant (marriage migrant or naturalized citizen), the spouse, and the children. The survey included 20 items on the characteristics of the household, 72 items reported by the marriage migrant or naturalized citizen, 38 items reported by the spouse, and 47 items by the children.

Study variables

Relevant items from the 2018 NMFS were selected after the initial analysis of the qualitative data to understand prominent topics emerging from the interviews. These variables were: sex, age, marital status, any previous marriages, spousal conflict, naturalization status, work hours, and monthly salary (migrant parent reported variables) and sex, age, years of education abroad, naturalization status, preferred language, school attendance, experience of discrimination, self-identification of strengths, and self-satisfaction (child reported variables).

The outcome variable of depressive mood was measured with one item reported by children: "In the past 1 year, were you depressed or felt despair continuously for more than two weeks to the extent that your daily activities were impacted?" Responses were recorded on a 4-point Likert scale (never, sometimes, frequently, and very frequently) but recoded as a binary variable for the analysis (never vs. Sometimes, frequently, or very frequently).

A set of variables related to the separation and reunification experience was created using available information in the 2018 NMFS to quantitatively explore the associations between separation and reunification experience and child depressive mood. These variables were: migrant parents' length of stay in South Korea (calculated using entrance year), children's age at entry (calculated using current age and entrance year), length of stay (calculated using entrance year), separation from both parents, and length of separation from both parents (calculated using parents' entrance year, spouses' entrance year, spouses' country of birth, child's entrance year, and child's

country of birth). Length of separation from both parents was used as the main variable for separation experience in the analysis.

Qualitative data

Participants

Seventeen Korean Chinese migrant children between the ages of 15 and 24 and their migrant parents were recruited to participate in in-depth interviews. The participants had to have experienced serial migration, where one or both parents migrated to South Korea first and later brought their children. Based on this inclusion criteria, the migrant and child pairs in the qualitative study had all experienced separation and reunification. In the South Korean education system, adolescents enter high school (grade 9) at age 15. This age was used as a cut off in order to include adolescents with the maturity to reflect on their experiences of being separated from and reunited with their migrant parents (Artico, 2003). Under the current immigration system, the maximum age of children who are permitted to remain as dependents of Korean Chinese migrants is 25. With this age limitation in consideration, age 24 was selected as the upper age cut off.

Data collection

For the in-depth interviews, the first author made initial contacts with either migrant youth or parents from March to December 2021 through non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that serve Korean Chinese youth and Korean Chinese community organizations in Seoul, South Korea. If the participants were eligible, we contacted the other member of the pair (either parent or child) to confirm their willingness to

participate. Participants were asked to refer friends and acquaintances to the study. Analysis of the interviews that occurred concurrently with data collection suggested that youth's migration experience differed according to age of entry. Youth who entered South Korea during middle or high school comprised the majority of the sample; therefore, in the final stages of data collection, participants were theoretically sampled to include youth who migrated during or before primary school.

Interviews were conducted by the first author, who is a South Korean woman who speaks Korean fluently and intermediate mandarin Chinese, and a Korean Chinese translator. The first author conducted interviews with Korean-speaking participants. For participants who preferred to speak entirely in Chinese, the Korean Chinese translator accompanied the first author to the interviews. The translator was a bilingual Korean Chinese woman from Northeast China, who had completed a master's thesis on the Korean Chinese experience in South Korea.

In-depth interviews were conducted with 17 participants (Table 4). The duration of interviews with migrant parents ranged from 50 to 95 minutes with a median of 77 minutes, and interviews with youth ranged from 35 to 108 minutes with a median of 74 minutes. We asked participants to narrate their migration experience chronologically, focusing on the changes in the parent-child relationship during separation and reunification. The interviewer asked probing questions about aspects of participants' experiences related to the research question, such as care arrangements and parent-child communication during the separation period, children's adjustment after migration to South Korea, and perceived effect of separation on children's personality,

adjustment, and mental health. Recruitment continued until no novel information or insight about the topics central to the overall research aim would be gained with an additional interview (Saunders et al., 2018). Participants received $40 in supermarket coupons for their time.

Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim in the language spoken, Korean or Chinese. Chinese transcripts were subsequently translated into Korean by the translator, so that all final transcripts were in Korean. Field notes were written immediately after each interview and included descriptions of the interview context, participants' non-verbal expressions and gestures, and discussions with the translator about the interview.

Data analysis

The analytic process was iterative, moving back and forth between the qualitative and the quantitative data. In the first stage, the first author transcribed the in-depth interviews and read the transcripts repeatedly, together with the field notes. After concentrated reading of the transcripts, the qualitative data analysis software, MAXQDA 2022 (VERBI Software, 2019), was used to conduct open coding where codes were applied to each line or set of lines in the transcript. The first author wrote analytic memos during this process to document central topics, to examine similarities and differences in how the topics were discussed across transcripts, and to make connections between narratives and characteristics of participants, such as age at entry.

The first phase of the analytic process informed the selection and creation of variables in the subsequent quantitative analysis. Descriptive statistics of overall parent

and child characteristics as well as by outcome (child depressive mood) were calculated using the Pearson Chi-square test for categorical variables and the analysis of variance tests for continuous variables. Bivariate logistic regression models were used to estimate crude odds ratios of child depressive mood by parent and child characteristics that were significantly associated ($p < 0.05$) with the outcome. Significant parent and child characteristics were used in multivariate logistic regression models to calculate the adjusted odds ratios associated with child depressive mood. The potential mediating role of self-evaluation of strengths and self-satisfaction when it came to the effect of discrimination on child depressive mood was evaluated as suggested by (Baron and Kenny, 1986). First, regression equations with discrimination as the predictor and self-evaluation of strengths and self-satisfaction as the outcome variables were fit with potential confounders. Next, three models were fit with the discrimination variable: one model including discrimination and the set of potential confounders used to calculate the adjusted odds ratios, one model with self-evaluation of strengths as a potential mediator and the potential confounders, and another model with self-satisfaction as a potential mediator and the potential confounders.

Although the 2018 NMFS had a multilevel structure (individuals and households), we did not adjust for clustering since there was minimal clustering in the data (14 parents with two children each out of 249 parents), confirmed by an intraclass correlation value of 1 (individual-level differences and household-level differences were identical). Missing data for parent and child characteristics were considered missing at random and imputed using multiple imputation by chained equations (MICE) through

the *mice* package in R. All quantitative analyses were performed using R version 4.1.0 (R Core Team, 2020).

In the final stage of the analysis, the open codes from the first stage were deductively grouped into categories based on the variables that were significant in the quantitative analysis. Coded segments relevant to each variable were read repeatedly to gain a contextualized understanding of the results from the quantitative analysis. Merging the quantitative and qualitative findings, themes were extracted.

Ethical consideration

The Institutional Review Board at Johns Hopkins School of Public Health and the Korea National Institute for Bioethics Policy approved this study. The Micro Data Integration Service (MDIS) operated by Statistics Korea also approved the use of the 2018 NMFS data for this study. Informed written consent was obtained from participants over the legal age of majority (age 19 in South Korea). For minors, informed written consent was obtained from the parents first, followed by written assent from the participants prior to the interview. Prior to obtaining consent, the interviewer described the purpose and process of the interview. Participants were given time to review the consent form in the language they prefer (either Korean or Chinese) and were encouraged to ask questions and request clarification as needed.

4.4 Results

Sample characteristics

Parent and child pairs who participated in the in-depth interviews were separated for one to 18 years. During the separation, children were cared for by the

non-migrant spouse, grandparents, other family members, and neighbors or were in institutions that provided care. Most were mother-son pairs, with two mother-daughter pairs and one father-son pair. Children's age at separation ranged from 1 to 19. All migrant parents were Korean Chinese, except one Han Chinese mother. Four migrant parents were divorced, three were living with their spouses in South Korea, and two had spouses living in China (Table 4). Migrant parents in the quantitative sample were majority female (n=137, 55%) with 15.3% (n=38) widowed, divorced, or separated. Among the 84.7% (n=211) married migrants, 22.1% (n=55) had one or more previous marriages. While the 15.3% (n=38) who were widowed, divorced, or separated did not report spousal conflict, 52.6% (n=131) of married migrants had conflict. All but three migrant parents were Korean Chinese (n=246, 98.8%), and most were naturalized citizens (n=187, 75.1%). Migrant parents had stayed in South Korea for a mean of 14.5 years (sd=5.3) and worked around 45 hours a week (sd=15.2). 42.6% (n=106) earned less than 2,000,000 Won, which is lower than the median income in South Korea (2,420,000 Won in 2020) (Table 5) (Statistics Korea, 2020b).

The sample of migrant children were majority female (n=133, 53.4%) with a mean age of 16.6 (sd=4.8). Children who had spent time in China were 8.3 years-old on average at entry (sd=6.4) and had 4.3 years of education in China (sd=5.0). 69.1% (n=172) of children experienced separation from both parents, and the separation lasted for a mean of 4.0 years (sd=4.2). Children had stayed in South Korea for a mean of 8.3 years (sd=4.5). Less than half of the sampled children were naturalized citizens (n=113, 45.4%), and 73.9% (n=184) preferred to speak Korean over Chinese. 22.5%

(n=56) children either did not attend or dropped out of school, and 12% (n=30) had experienced discrimination. 20.1% (n=50) of children 'strongly agreed' with the statement that 'I have many strengths', and 27.3% (n=68) 'strongly agreed' that they were self-satisfied (Table 5).

Risk and protective factors of child depressive mood

The bivariate analyses demonstrated that odds of child depressive mood were higher when the migrant parent was female (OR=2.06; 95% CI: 1.07-3.97) and earned less than 2,000,000 Won per month (OR=2.03; 95% CI: 1.01-4.09). Variables related to migrant's marital status and history were all significantly associated with child depressive mood, and the odds were driven by those who were single parents (OR=4.08; 95% CI: 1.60-10.45, reference: married migrants with no spousal conflict). Length of separation was only marginally significantly associated with child depressive mood (OR=1.07; 95% CI: 0.99-1.14), while child's current age (OR=1.08; 95% CI: 1.01-1.15) and years of education in China (OR=1.06; 95% CI: 1.00-1.13) were significantly associated with increased odds of child depressive mood. Not attending school or dropping out (OR=2.30; 95% CI: 1.17-4.52) and experiencing discrimination (OR=3.08; 95% CI: 1.37-6.93) were significant risk factors of depressive mood. Self-evaluation of strengths (OR=0.33; 95% CI: 0.13, 0.84 for 'strongly agree') and self-satisfaction (OR=0.22; 95% CI: 0.09-0.54 for 'strongly agree') were associated with reduced odds of depressive mood in migrant children (Table 6).

In the following two sections, we present results from the multivariate analyses contextualized in light of relevant qualitative findings.

Separation and parental conflict

When adjusted for migrant parents' sex, monthly salary, and child's age, length of separation and years of education abroad were not statistically significantly associated with child depressive mood (Table 7). Consistently, participants' narratives suggested that rather than the length of the separation, quality of the care arrangement and communication between the parent and child made a difference in children's experience of the separation. After his parents got divorced and mother moved to South Korea as a marriage migrant, Jin was left at the care of a series of neighbors from age 5 to 10. He describes this time of his life as his "dark past."

> "*I didn't have any supervision. Mom was not there. […] I did not study properly. When the school gave out homework, I did not put any effort into it. I pretended to do some work and immediately laid down on the sofa and watched TV, played games, and looked at my phone. When I think back to that time…sigh. I really feel bad.*" – Jin (H2, 18 years-old)

Jin's mother called the neighbor Jin was staying with every three days and would hear about how he was misbehaving and not listening to the neighbor. She felt bad for troubling the neighbor, so she would ask to speak to her son and yell at him. She recalled, "*I would get so angry [after talking to the neighbor]. I used to often say things like 'If this happens again, I will send you to your father'. I did not have a choice.*" She

felt that the unstable care arrangement put her son through a lot of stress and made him act out.

> "*My son went through a lot of difficulties. His mother was not with him at a time when a child really needs his mother, and he struggled a lot alone. What would a 5–10-year-old know? He did not know anyone or what would happen in his future. […] He picked up a lot of bad habits because his mother was not with him. He would lie and steal money from the neighbor. I put more pressure on him for misbehaving.*" – Jin's mother (H2, migrated in 2008)

Migrant parents explained that the quality of the care arrangements and their interactions with their children during separation were directly influenced by conflict within the family. It was especially difficult for single migrant parents to provide stable care environments for their children. The aspects of marital and family conflict that led to divorce continued to impact the migrants and their children through their separation. Compared to those of married migrants who reported no spousal conflict, children of single migrant parents had higher odds of depressive mood (aOR=2.90; 95% CI: 1.07-7.86), after adjusting for migrant parents' sex, monthly salary, and child's age (Table 7). Hoon's mother had to make the difficult choice to send her son to live with her ex-husband's mother in a different part of Seoul since she became sick with breast cancer after migrating to South Korea.

> "*My son did not even know what his grandmother looked like. He did not even speak any Korean, but I had to leave him with my (ex) mother-in-law, so I could work. My son suffered unimaginable things because of his father. [While my son was staying with his grandmother,] his father brought home other women, and he and I would fight. He would hit me. He would bring different women around. So, my child felt lost for a while. He was not himself. When I quietly approached him and looked into his eyes, he would stare back blank. I would ask him how he is, but he must have suffered so much. I left a child who does not speak any Korean with his grandmother who does not speak any Chinese. He was completely isolated.*" – Hoon's mother (H1, migrated in 2010)

Caught in the middle of family conflicts, children endured abuse. Hoon's paternal uncle got drunk and physically abused Hoon while his mother was in the hospital for breast cancer treatment. The reason was that "*Your mother leaves you with us and does not send us money.*" Min's mother (H6) was not able to contact her son at all while he was in the care of her ex-husband's family in China. She speculated that her son never grew as tall as he should have because his father's family did not feed him enough. Joon (H9) refused to go to school and started to talk about suicide after receiving severe verbal abuse from his father over the phone. The incident was triggered by his grandparents being overwhelmed by caring for a teenager and calling his father who was in South Korea. His mother decided to bring him to Korea as soon as she heard that her son was asking his teacher about easy ways to die. Consistent with the quantitative

findings, the narratives from migrant parents revealed that marital and family conflict that affected the arrangement of care during separation impacted children's well-being.

Discrimination and protective effects of self-evaluation of strength and self-satisfaction

After children migrated to South Korea, they faced additional difficulties adjusting to the new society. Both quantitative and qualitative data suggested that discrimination was an important obstacle that affected children's mood. The experience of discrimination was associated with greater odds of depressive mood among children after adjusting for migrant parents' sex, monthly salary, and child's age (aOR=2.67; 95% CI: 1.15-6.11). Not attending or dropping out of school was not significantly associated with child depressive mood after adjustment for potential confounders (Table 7).

In-depth interview participants described a range of discrimination experiences spanning microaggressions to systemic racism. Young (H8) speaks Chosŏn, a Korean dialect spoken by Korean Chinese. He made a conscious effort to mimic the South Korean accent, but when he was presenting for his university course, his professor commented in front of the whole class: "*Young's speech sounds like [it is] from 100 years ago – [it] sounds like how my grandparents spoke.*" His professor repeatedly commented on his accent, which made Young feel less confident. Lin (H5) heard remarks from her classmates who said her clothes and hair style were "outdated and country-like." She subsequently learned how to dress and style herself more "Korean," but her mother recalled Lin telling her how she felt depressed during that first year of

adjustment. Hoon (H1)'s teacher in elementary school made fun of him for speaking Chinese and would punish him by pulling him out of the classroom whenever he did not understand Korean. Hoon and Jin (H2) talked about how they heard racial slurs for Chinese people from their Korean classmates during middle school. Hoon's mother (H1) described how teachers' discriminatory attitudes were evident when Hoon was accused of perpetrating violence. Hoon's mother visited the school to demand a copy of surveillance camera footage that showed Hoon being bullied rather than being a bully. During the visit, she quickly realized that the teachers were trying to pin the blame on Hoon for the benefit of the bully, a Korean boy.

> "*They kept telling me the footage was deleted. I told the teacher I will ask for an investigation, and the teacher kept smiling and smirking when I was speaking. It was so unfair and upsetting. Teachers' behaviors suggested that they were unfairly pinning this on my child. […] Two police officers came. The officers sided with the teachers and harassed me, saying 'You're multicultural', 'You can't even speak properly', and 'Did you personally hear someone curse at your son?' […] I lost three teeth because I was so stressed. I couldn't sleep because I felt so wronged. […] My son didn't eat or go to the bathroom.*" – Hoon's mother (H1, migrated in 2010)

Participants also described discrimination stemming from immigration policies. When Min (H6) came to South Korea, it became difficult for Min's mother to provide for

the two of them on her salary alone. After Min turned 19, he started working construction jobs to help his mother, but he was still on a dependent visa which did not permit employment. He ended up not getting paid by his employer.

> "*He worked so hard so we could pay back the money we borrowed from his grandmother. However, it turned out this way, and he was so disappointed. He didn't want to do anything afterwards. I lose all strength in my body when I think about it, so imagine how it is for him…*" – Min's mother (H6, migrated in 2005)

To qualify for a long-term visa with a work permit, Korean Chinese migrants are required to obtain certificates that demonstrate their proficiency in a select list of skilled professions. Sung's father (H3) pushed Sung to obtain a certificate by encouraging him to go to a trade school. However, Sung is now not interested in pursuing a career related to the skill he trained in; instead, he wants to go to the university.

> "*After you get a certificate for one skill, you cannot work in any other field. If you get caught doing something else, you get deported. No questions asked. So, I really wish that the visa stuff… [would become more flexible]. If you get caught, there are no questions asked. It's scary because you don't know what will happen.*" – Sung's father (H3, migrated in 2008)

Sung's father hoped that his son could explore his interests without the limitations set by his visa.

After adjusting for confounders, discrimination was significantly associated with self-satisfaction (aOR=0.07; 95% CI: 0.01-0.54 for "very satisfied" vs. "average, not really, and not at all satisfied"), but not self-evaluation of strengths. Greater self-satisfaction was significantly associated with decreased risk of depressive mood among children. When self-satisfaction was included in the regression model with discrimination, discrimination was no longer significantly associated with child depressive mood, suggesting self-satisfaction could be protective of depressive mood in children who experience discrimination (Table 8).

Migrant youth described that some experiences of discrimination after migrating to South Korea became opportunities to find their strengths and develop them. Although Young (H8) was made fun of by his professor for his accent, he was hired to translate classes for his Chinese classmates and received a tuition stipend from the position. Many participants were using their experiences in the South Korean society to help other Korean Chinese youth and friends.

> "*My daughter is very passionate. She helps many of her [Chinese] friends who struggle to adjust. She looks after this and that for them. She once told me that she talked to a landlord for her friend. I asked her if she could communicate well, and she replied 'Of course!'.*" – Lin's mother (H5, migrated in 2018)

Having received help in afterschool programs shortly after moving to South Korea himself, Jin (H2) now tutors middle school students in math at an afterschool program.

> "*I started when I was in 9th grade as a community service activity. Now, it's completely personal. It is totally by my own volition. No one tells me to do it. Not even my mom knows about this. I did not even tell her. It's pretty cool, right?*" – Jin (H2, 18 years-old)

4.5 Discussion

In the National Multicultural Family Survey sample, a very large proportion of Korean Chinese children (almost 70%) were separated from both parents at least at some point during serial migration to South Korea. Children of single migrant parents had greater odds of depressive mood compared to children of married parents who did not report marital conflict. Children's experience of discrimination was associated with increased odds of child depressive mood, while children's report of having strengths and self-satisfaction was related to decreased odds. Length of separation was not significantly associated with child depressive mood. In-depth interviews with migrant parents and children suggested that marital conflict and divorce made it difficult for migrant parents to arrange a stable care environment for their children and communicate with them during separation. Consistently with the quantitative findings, Korean Chinese migrant youth described experiences of discrimination from peers, teachers, and the education and immigration system after their migration. Children

reported that they found opportunities to gain personal development from difficulties they experienced after their migration.

Findings from the qualitative data indicate that rather than the length of separation, the context in which separation occurred affected children's well-being. Migrant parents described that marital conflict and instability directly impacted their ability to find a safe care arrangement for their children and maintain communication with them during separation. This finding is consistent with the family system theory which emphasizes that changes in one part of the family system can create challenges for all family members (Kerr and Bowen, 1988, Hetherington et al., 1992). Our quantitative results also demonstrated the effect of marital relationship on child's depressive mood. The challenges appeared to be most significant for children of single migrant parents. Parent narratives revealed that their care environment was unstable and children were exposed to emotional, physical, and verbal abuse from family members and relatives, which was directly related to the negative relationship between the parents. (Pottinger, 2005) found that children separated from migrant parents in Jamaica were more likely to be victims of abuse by teachers and caregivers compared to children who were not separated from their parents. Separated children in this study also witnessed fights at home and domestic violence more frequently (Pottinger, 2005). Immigrant adolescents in the US who were living in intact families had significantly fewer depressive symptoms than those in other types of family arrangements (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). While the literature on family separation and instability in the migration context focuses on introductions of new family members such as stepparents

and siblings (Smith et al., 2004, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011), findings from our study suggest the importance of investigating the co-occurrence of multiple types of childhood adversity among children who experience separation from their migrant parents.

Length of separation from parents was not statistically significantly associated with child depressive mood. In this sample, around 69% of children experienced separation from both parents during serial migration to South Korea. Separation experiences appear to be more common among Korean Chinese families in South Korea compared to Latin American and Asian immigrants (33%) and Chinese immigrants (52%) in the United States and Caribbean migrants (38%) and Filipino migrants (62%) in Canada (Gindling and Poggio, 2012, Rousseau et al., 2009, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Previous studies have also reported that length of separation was not significantly associated with depression among first-generation immigrant Latino youth and by the last year of a 5-year longitudinal study among immigrants in the US (Potochnick and Perreira, 2010, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Separation being a relatively normative experience in this sample may explain the non-significant association between length of separation and child depressive mood (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2012).

In qualitative interviews, Korean Chinese migrant parents described feeling as though their ability to engage in healthy parenting was compromised during separation and after reunification. Korean Chinese parents may struggle with parenting especially given the normative type of parenting in China. The notion of "training" is central to Chinese parenting, which involves teaching or educating children socially desirable and

culturally approved behaviors. Training requires a supportive, highly involved, and physically close parent-child relationships (Chao, 1994). Study participants, whose ideas about parenting were rooted in the Chinese cultural context, believed that their physical absence hindered their ability to train their children. This study found that children's positive perception of their own strengths and self-satisfaction decreased the risk of depressive mood. Negative effects of compromised parenting on children's self-perceived strengths and self-satisfaction may be a pathway linking separation and reunification experiences to children's psychological outcomes, although it could not be directly tested with the quantitative data in this study.

The significance of discrimination on depressive mood among Korean Chinese children is consistent with the literature on the detrimental effect of discrimination on mental health outcomes among migrant youth (Verelst et al., 2022, Spaas et al., 2021, Potochnick and Perreira, 2010). This finding also suggests that rather than family separation itself, adolescents' interaction with the host society after migration has a greater impact on depressive mood (Rousseau et al., 2009). Korean Chinese youth described a range of discrimination experiences in the South Korean society spanning microaggressions about accents and fashion choices to systemic barriers to education and career options. Discrimination experience was significantly associated with increased risk of depressive mood in our quantitative results. Moreover, the negative effects of discrimination on depressive mood may have been worsened by family conflict (Juang and Alvarez, 2010, Rousseau et al., 2009). Among Chinese American adolescents in the US, family conflict was found to exacerbate the effects of

discrimination on loneliness and anxiety (Juang and Alvarez, 2010). Perceived racism was positively correlated with family conflict among Caribbean adolescents in Canada (Rousseau et al., 2009). In both studies, family cohesion, defined as a close, connected relationship with family members, buffered the effects of discrimination (Rousseau et al., 2009, Juang and Alvarez, 2010). Experiences of family conflict and discrimination were both found to be important factors related to depressive mood among Korean Chinese migrant youth. Among migrant youth who are exposed to discrimination in South Korean society, those who experience family conflict may be at higher risk for the negative mental health consequences of discrimination. The interaction between these factors should be examined further in future studies.

Positive self-perception of having strengths and being satisfied with oneself had a protective effect on child depressive mood in this study sample. Self-satisfaction was also identified as a potential mediator of the effects of discrimination experience on child depressive mood. Adolescents' narratives suggested that their migration to South Korea provided them with opportunities to feel satisfied with themselves, often through experiencing difficulties such as discrimination. Higher self-satisfaction was associated with less depressive symptoms. Although this study focused on the potentially protective effect of self-satisfaction, prior studies have documented negative effect of discrimination on self-esteem of migrant youth (Gyberg et al., 2021). A study with first and second generation Latinx adolescents found that discrimination was associated with lower self-esteem, which was associated with more depressive symptoms (Umaña-Taylor and Updegraff, 2007). In this study, self-esteem mediated 43% of the effect of

perceived discrimination on depressive symptoms. Among children of Caribbean immigrants in Canada, self-esteem was lowest after migration, followed by after separation (Smith et al., 2004). It can be hypothesized that while transitions such as separation and migration initially negatively impact children's self-esteem, experiences of successful adjustment to the new social context enhance children's self-esteem.

Strengths and limitations

Our study used both national survey data and in-depth interviews with Korean Chinese migrant parents and youth to examine factors of child depressive mood in the context of serial migration of Korean Chinese to South Korea. By involving both parents and youth in the in-depth interviews, we were able to take a family systems approach and capture family dynamics from both perspectives. The family context interacts with the larger socioecological context to influence the migration experience and psychological outcomes of youth (Ward and Geeraert, 2016). The mixed methods design of this study also enabled contextualization of factors that influence the psychological health of migrant youth. While the predominant focus in the current literature on separation and reunification experienced by migrant youths is on the individual-level, this study moves beyond the individual-level and explores family- and structural-level influences including marital and family conflict, social discrimination, and immigration policy.

Despite the strength of using multiple data types and sources, there are limitations of both data components in this study. First, the NMFS defines "multicultural family" as families with either a marriage migrant or a naturalized citizen and did not

sample migrant families without any naturalized members. This definition reflects the political position of the South Korean government that targets female marriage-based migrants from Southeast Asian countries, rather than migrant workers, with government-sponsored services for migrants (Kim, 2012). Most Korean Chinese migrants in South Korea are labor migrants on employment visas (F4 and H2) (Lee and Kwak, 2017). Compared to children of Korean Chinese labor migrants, children of Korean Chinese migrants with a marriage visa or naturalized citizenship could have important differences in their experience of separation and reunification with parents, marital and family conflict, and discrimination. The finding that 74% of youth in this sample preferred to speak Korean over Chinese may indicate that this sample is more acculturated than the broader sample of Korean Chinese youth in South Korea. Participants in the qualitative study were recruited regardless of their visa status, and the quantitative results were interpreted based on the narratives of interview participants. In the future, however, a quantitative study that samples all types of migrant families may clarify any differences between the NMFS sample and Korean Chinese migrant families overall.

Second, the NMFS is a census-based survey and does not include undocumented migrants. Previous studies have found that undocumented status may exacerbate the effects of discrimination and depressive mood (Lu et al., 2020). The effects of documentation status could not be captured with the analysis of the NMFS data. However, it is relatively convenient for Korean Chinese migrants to obtain and renew a visa due to the preferential treatment of ethnic Koreans in the South Korean

immigration policy (Lee et al., 2014). Therefore, documentation status may not be a significant concern among Korean Chinese migrants in South Korea. Third, parents and children were recruited together for the in-depth interviews. Although the interviews were conducted separately and there were rich descriptions about interactions and tensions in the parent-child relationships in the data, the study did not include perspectives from parents and children who have severely impaired or non-existent relationships. Literature suggests family and parent-child conflict are significant risk factors of mental health and well-being of children (Cummings et al., 2015, Li and Warner, 2015, Aseltine Jr, 1996). The study thus may not adequately represent youth with highest risks. Fourth, while the quantitative data included a similar number of male and female migrant parents and children, the qualitative sample was composed of mostly female migrant parents and male migrant youth. The qualitative analysis did not suggest gendered patterns of experiences in separation and discrimination after migration, but this observation have been limited by the small number of fathers and daughters interviewed. Previous studies suggest that male children whose mothers migrate have the greatest risk of a negative outcomes following separation and exposure to discrimination after migration (Carling et al., 2012, Liu et al., 2009, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011, Park et al., 2017). Therefore, the narratives in this study may reflect those with more risk.

Policy implications

This study suggests that Korean Chinese adolescents often experience parents' marital conflict, which can impact the quality of care they receive during separation and

expose them to abuse and neglect. Their experience of multiple forms of childhood adversity increases the risk of a wide range of health outcomes, including mood disorders (Felitti et al., 1998). The harm caused by experiences of childhood adversity can compound the existing social and economic inequalities migrants experience (Herrenkohl et al., 2015). Therefore, a public health approach to prevent and reduce adverse childhood experiences among children who experience separation and reunification in the context of migration is warranted. Among different types of childhood adversity, economic inequality that labor migrants often face creates gaps in childcare, increasing the risk of neglect and abuse (Eckenrode et al., 2014, Ainsworth, 2020). Therefore, prevention efforts should aim to address the underlying inequalities experienced by migrants that contribute to children's experiences of adversity, such as low wage and long work hours. Families with separation and reunification experiences should be identified through school- or community-based structures, which can provide family support services. Such services may involve parent education about helpful ways of parenting children who have experienced separation and assistance for emotional self-regulation of children (Scott et al., 2016). Counselors, teachers, and translators who are trained to work with youth with migration backgrounds may be essential to delivering treatment and support to children and migrants who have already been exposed to neglect and abuse.

Korean Chinese youth were experiencing interpersonal discrimination from South Korean people as well as discriminatory immigration policy that interfered with their pursuit of desired education and career. Through the careful crafting of visa

categories that prescribe certain occupations and rights to different groups of migrants, the South Korean government promotes discriminatory attitudes toward migrants (Chung, 2020). There are two visa categories for Korean Chinese workers in South Korea, one for skilled workers (the F4 visa) and another for unskilled workers (the H2 visa). To qualify for the F4 visa, migrant workers must obtain a certificate to demonstrate their skill, which mainly is in the manufacturing or service industries. F4 visa holders must work in their skill area. H2 visa holders are employed to work in factories and construction sites where they are only to engage in manual labor. These restrictions in visa categories perpetuate discriminatory attitudes in the society and reinforces perceptions that Korean Chinese are "poor, backwards colonial era labour migrants from undemocratic, developing countries compared to cosmopolitan professionals from wealthy countries." (Chung, 2020). The mental health impact of discrimination experience among Korean Chinese youth reported in our findings suggests the need to carefully consider the message the government is sending though the restrictive immigration policies and their impact on population health.

Interventions to enhance self-satisfaction among Korean Chinese youth may reduce the negative psychological impact of discrimination. Although in different contexts, programs aimed to enhance self-esteem among migrant youth have been successful (Feddes et al., 2015, Alarcón et al., 2021). The resilience training program *Diamant* in the Netherlands aimed to reduce feelings of relative deprivation and social disconnectedness by helping migrant youth identify career or educational opportunities and to enhance empathy and perspective taking in intercultural encounters (Feddes et

al., 2015). The mentoring program *Referents* in Spain connected migrant youth to adult mentors who engaged in activities with migrant youth for a period of six months (Alarcón et al., 2021). Both programs reported an increase in self-esteem among their participants. Interventions that model successful components of evidence-based programs and adapt them to the context may enhance self-esteem and mental health among Korean Chinese youth in South Korea.

A structural barrier to the implementation of suggested prevention approaches is the South Korean government's policy toward multiculturalism. The current policies center around female marriage migrants who marry Koreans and give birth to *multicultural*, yet Korean, children. The government carefully controls the discourse around this group of migrants to preserve the idea of ethnic homogeneity and superiority (Watson, 2012, Kim, 2012). Korean Chinese migrant families are excluded from government-sponsored services for multicultural families (Kim, 2012), and there is a lack of social services for migrant families that do not consist of marriage migrants or naturalized citizens (Watson, 2012). Protection of vulnerable children with a migration background in South Korean society would have to start with the government's commitment to the health and safety of children regardless of their citizenship.

Conclusion

This study identified factors associated with child depressive mood among Korean Chinese migrant parents and youth in South Korea and provided a contextualized understanding of the identified factors. Parents of Korean Chinese youth reported marital and family conflict often negatively affected the quality of childcare

arrangements and communication with their children during separation. Consistently, quantitative results showed that children of single migrant parents had increased odds of depressive mood. Children's experiences of discrimination were related to higher risk of, and self-perceived strengths and self-satisfaction were related to lower risk of depressive mood. Programs to address family conflict and reduce psychological consequences of discrimination among Korean Chinese youth are warranted.

4.6 Tables for Chapter 4

Table 4. Characteristics of households, migrant children, and migrant parents who participated in in-depth interviews (n=17)

Household				Child		Parent			
#	Home province	Length of separation	Care arrangement	Sex	Age at separation	Sex	Year of migration	Ethnicity	Spouse
H1	Shandong	6 months before and 6 years after child's entry	China - Aunt (sister) Korea - paternal grandmother	M	7	F	2010	Korean Chinese	Divorced
H2	Jilin	5 years	Neighbor	M	5	F	2008	Han Chinese	Divorced
H3	Heilongjiang	6 years	*Xiaofanzhuo** and paternal grandmother in weekends	M	8	M	2008	Korean Chinese	Migrated together
H4	Jilin/Gansu	3 years	Father	F	11	F	2018	Korean Chinese	Migrated with child
H5	Jilin	7 years	Mother	F	11	F	2018	Korean Chinese	Migrated before child (2011)
H6	Jilin	7 years	Boarding school and paternal family	M	9	F	2005	Korean Chinese	Divorced
H7	Jilin	1 year	Lived alone	M	19	F	2018	Korean Chinese	Resides in China
H8	Jilin	18 years	Father	M	4	F	2010 (previously in Japan)	Korean Chinese	Resides in China

H9 **	Jilin	14 years	Maternal grandparents	M	1	F	1997	Korean Chinese	Divorced

* Privately-run facilities located close to schools that provide lunches and dinners to young children who are not able to go home for meals. They often provide help with schoolwork.

** Child dropped out of interview

Table 5. **Sample characteristics and parent- and child-related variables by child depressive mood**

	Overall	Child depressive mood		
		Never (n=198)	Sometimes, frequently, very frequently (n=51)	p-value
Migrant parent (n=249)				
Sex, n (%)				0.042
Male	112 (45.0)	96 (48.5)	16 (31.4)	
Female	137 (55.0)	102 (51.5)	35 (68.6)	
Age, mean (sd)	46.29 (5.41)	46.18 (5.64)	46.73 (4.43)	0.523
Marital status, n (%)				0.013
Married	211 (84.7)	174 (87.9)	37 (72.5)	
Widowed/divorced/separated	38 (15.3)	24 (12.1)	14 (27.5)	
Previous marriages, n (%)				0.024
None	156 (62.7)	128 (64.6)	28 (54.9)	
One or more	55 (22.1)	46 (23.2)	9 (17.6)	
Single parent	38 (15.3)	24 (12.1)	14 (27.5)	
Spousal conflict, n (%)				0.009
No	80 (32.1)	70 (35.4)	10 (19.6)	
Yes	131 (52.6)	104 (52.5)	27 (52.9)	
Single parent	38 (15.3)	24 (12.1)	14 (27.5)	
Ethnicity				
Korean Chinese	246 (98.8)	196 (99.0)	50 (98.0)	1.000
Han Chinese	3 (1.2)	2 (1.0)	1 (2.0)	
Citizenship status, n (%)				0.127
Naturalized	187 (75.1)	144 (72.7)	43 (84.3)	
Other	62 (24.9)	54 (27.3)	8 (15.7)	
Length of stay, mean (sd)	14.47 (5.30)	14.39 (5.35)	14.78 (5.13)	0.635
Weekly work hours, mean (sd)	44.88 (15.19)	45.28 (15.01)	43.15 (16.05)	0.425
Monthly salary				0.012
More than 2,000,000 Won	108 (43.4)	95 (48.0)	13 (25.5)	
Less than 2,000,000 Won	106 (42.6)	79 (39.9)	27 (52.9)	
Missing	35 (14.1)	24 (12.1)	11 (21.6)	
Migrant child (n=249)				
Sex, n (%)				0.692
Male	116 (46.6)	94 (47.5)	22 (43.1)	
Female	133 (53.4)	62 (55.4)	71 (51.8)	
Age, mean (sd)	16.61 (4.76)	16.26 (4.75)	17.94 (4.63)	0.024
Age at entry, mean (sd)	8.27 (6.43)	7.91 (6.38)	9.69 (6.48)	0.078
Separation* (Y/N), n (%)	172 (69.1)	133 (67.2)	39 (76.5)	0.266

Length of separation*, mean (sd)	4.03 (4.22)	3.78 (4.06)	4.98 (4.71)	0.071
Years of education abroad, mean (sd)	4.30 (5.02)	3.96 (4.99)	5.59 (4.99)	0.039
Citizenship status, n (%)				
Naturalized	113 (45.4)	95 (48.0)	18 (35.3)	0.143
Other	136 (54.6)	103 (52.0)	33 (64.7)	
Length of stay, mean (sd)	8.34 (4.52)	8.35 (4.45)	8.27 (4.81)	0.912
Preferred language, n (%)				0.064
Korean	184 (73.9)	152 (76.8)	32 (62.7)	
Chinese	65 (26.1)	46 (23.2)	19 (37.3)	
School attendance, n (%)				0.023
Attending or graduated	193 (77.5)	160 (80.8)	33 (64.7)	
Did not attend or dropped out	56 (22.5)	38 (19.2)	18 (35.3)	
Experienced discrimination, n (%)				0.010
No	219 (88.0)	180 (90.9)	39 (76.5)	
Yes	30 (12.0)	18 (9.1)	12 (23.5)	
Have many strengths, n (%)				0.006
Average/ Not so much	90 (36.1)	79 (39.9)	33 (64.7)	
Somewhat agree	87 (34.9)	75 (37.9)	12 (23.5)	
Strongly agree	50 (20.1)	44 (22.2)	6 (11.8)	
Self-satisfaction, n (%)				<0.001
Average/ Not so much	74 (29.7)	62 (31.3)	32 (62.7)	
Somewhat agree	87 (34.9)	75 (37.9)	12 (23.5)	
Strongly agree	68 (27.3)	61 (30.8)	7 (13.7)	

*Defined as separation from both parents

Table 6. Bivariate associations between child depressive mood and significant ($P < 0.05$) parent- and child-related variables (n=249)

	Odds Ratio (95% CI)
Migrant parent	
Sex	
Male	ref
Female	2.06 (1.07, 3.97)
Marital status	
Married	ref
Widowed/divorced/separated	2.74 (1.29, 5.82)
Previous marriages	
None	ref
One or more	0.89 (0.39, 2.05)
Single parent	2.67 (1.22, 5.81)
Spousal conflict	
No	ref
Yes	1.82 (0.82, 4.01)
Single parent	4.08 (1.60, 10.45)
Monthly salary	
More than 2,000,000 Won	ref
Less than 2,000,000 Won	2.03 (1.01, 4.09)
Migrant child	
Age	1.08 (1.01, 1.15)
Years of education abroad	1.06 (1.00, 1.13)
Length of separation	1.07 (0.99, 1.14)
School attendance	
Attending or graduated	ref
Did not attend or dropped out	2.30 (1.17, 4.52)
Experienced discrimination	
No	ref
Yes	3.08 (1.37, 6.93)
Have many strengths	
Average/ Not so much	ref
Somewhat agree	0.38 (0.18, 0.80)
Strongly agree	0.33 (0.13, 0.84)
Self-satisfaction, n (%)	
Average/ Not so much	ref
Somewhat agree	0.31 (0.15, 0.65)
Strongly agree	0.22 (0.09, 0.54)

Table 7. Adjusted associations between selected predictors and child depressive mood (n=249)

	Crude OR (95% CI)	Adjusted OR# (95% CI)
Length of separation	1.07 (0.99, 1.14)	1.03 (0.96, 1.12)
Years of education abroad	1.06 (1.00, 1.13)	1.05 (0.96, 1.14)
Spousal conflict		
No	ref	ref
Yes	1.82 (0.82, 4.01)	1.81 (0.81, 4.02)
Single parent	4.08 (1.60, 10.45)	2.90 (1.07, 7.86)
Experienced discrimination		
No	ref	ref
Yes	3.08 (1.37, 6.93)	2.67 (1.15, 6.11)
School attendance		
Attending or graduated	ref	ref
Did not attend or dropped out	2.30 (1.17, 4.52)	1.76 (0.77, 4.02)
Have many strengths		
Average/ Not so much	ref	ref
Somewhat agree	0.38 (0.18, 0.80)	0.35 (0.16, 0.75)
Strongly agree	0.33 (0.13, 0.84)	0.37 (0.14, 0.98)
Self-satisfaction		
Average/ Not so much	ref	ref
Somewhat agree	0.31 (0.15, 0.65)	0.32 (0.15, 0.68)
Strongly agree	0.22 (0.09, 0.54)	0.25 (0.10, 0.63)

#Adjusted for = migrant parent sex, migrant parents' monthly salary, child's age

Table 8. Adjusted associations with discrimination as predictor and self-satisfaction as potential mediator of child depressive mood (n=249)

		Model 1	Model 2
	Crude OR (95% CI)	**Adjusted OR (95% CI)**	**Adjusted OR (95% CI)**
Experienced discrimination			
No	ref	ref	ref
Yes	3.08 (1.37, 6.93)	2.67 (1.15, 6.11)	2.12 (0.89, 5.08)
Self-satisfaction			
Average/ Not so much	ref	ref	ref
Somewhat agree	0.31 (0.15, 0.65)	0.32 (0.15, 0.68)	0.33 (0.15, 0.71)
Strongly agree	0.22 (0.09, 0.54)	0.25 (0.10, 0.63)	0.28 (0.11, 0.73)

Model 1 = each variable (discrimination and self-satisfaction) adjusted for migrant parent sex, migrant parents' monthly salary, child's age
Model 2 = model included discrimination, self-satisfaction, migrant parent sex, migrant parents' monthly salary, child's age

Chapter 5. Future aspirations and educational opportunities of Korean Chinese (Chosŏnjok) migrant youth entering secondary education in South Korea

5.1 Abstract

Background Future aspirations in adolescence are an indicator of adolescents' current psychological health and future educational attainment. The educational and social environment of migrant youth in South Korea may influence their future aspirations.

Objectives This study aims to examine the education and immigration system and the social context of Korean Chinese migrant youth in South Korea and how they impact the youth's future aspirations.

Methods We conducted in-depth interviews with 16 Korean Chinese migrant youth, nine migrant parents, and eight key informants. Qualitative data was analyzed using methods adopted from the tradition of Grounded Theory.

Results Participant narratives indicated that the South Korean educational and social environment negatively impacted future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth by restricting their educational and occupational opportunities. Separation of migrant youth in school, discriminatory educational and visa-related immigration policies, and uncertainty and low support from parents were identified as main issues.

Conclusions To promote future aspirations among Korean Chinese migrant youth, efforts should be made to integrate Korean Chinese migrant youth in the educational environment, make educational policies more inclusive, and promote communication between migrant youth and parents.

5.2 Introduction

Adolescence, the life phase starting with the onset of puberty and ending with emerging adulthood, is a key developmental period when individuals prepare for their transition into becoming adults (Steinberg and Morris, 2001). Migration during this period changes the context of development and its trajectory (Crosnoe, 2021). It is estimated that there are around 25,000 to 50,000 Korean Chinese children and youth who have migrated from China to South Korea before the age of 24 (Lee and Kwak, 2017). As these migrant children and youth live in a new society, they may perceive and experience barriers in their future education and work. These barriers can impact the expectations they have about their future (Gottfredson, 1981, McWhirter, 1997).

Future aspirations, defined as an orientation towards a desired future, may be in the pathway of perceived barriers in education leading to low educational attainment (Huijsmans et al., 2021). This process can explain the role of education in reproducing existing social inequalities. (Gottfredson, 1981) theorizes that as individuals enter adolescence, they become increasingly aware of the socioeconomic differences in occupations and the educational qualifications required for the occupations. Individuals subsequently adjust their occupational aspirations according to their ability and resources relative to others (Gottfredson, 1981). Future aspirations in adolescence predict educational attainment (Beal and Crockett, 2010, Guo et al., 2015). Given the critical role of education in employment, income, and health (Ross and Wu, 1995), future aspirations become an important health indicator to evaluate among adolescents. A study with low-income minority adolescents in the United States found

that when adolescents named a career with a higher education requirement as a future aspiration, they were less likely to feel hopelessness, more likely to have high self-efficacy, and less likely to engage in risky behaviors (Dudovitz et al., 2017).

Future aspirations are conceptualized as a part of the larger construct of future orientation, which refers to one's ability to set future goals and plans (Johnson et al., 2014). Aspects of the family and the socioeconomic environment, such as not living with both biological parents, parents having low education, receiving public assistance, living in poor neighborhoods, and being of a minority ethnicity, have been shown to negatively affect future orientation (Nguyen et al., 2012, Borowsky et al., 2009, Kerpelman et al., 2008). Migrant youth are more likely to experience such contextual barriers and report a fatalistic perspective of their future (Nguyen et al., 2012). Stressors specific to migrant youth, such as language barriers, documentation status, and discrimination, may act as additional restrictions in developing a future orientation (Kaland, 2021, Gindling and Poggio, 2012, Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Existing disadvantage in migrant groups can then be reproduced through lower future aspirations that lead to lower educational attainment (Bourdieu, 1973, Walsemann et al., 2008).

In the South Korean society, education is regarded as the primary avenue for upward mobility and economic security, making the educational environment in South Korea highly competitive (Kim and Kim, 2012). Examining the experiences of migrant youth in this system will facilitate the understanding of how the educational system reinforces social inequalities. This study explores the impact of contextual factors

related to the educational and occupational opportunities on future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth, with a focus on youth migrating to South Korea during secondary school.

5.3 Methods

Participants

We conducted in-depth interviews with three groups of participants: Korean Chinese migrant youth (n=16), migrant parents (n=9), and key informants (n=8). Interviews took place in Seoul, South Korea, from March to December 2021. Migrant youth and parents were recruited as part of a study on family separation and reunification experienced during serial migration to South Korea. Migrant youth were those who self-identified as Korean Chinese, were between the ages of 15 and 24, and had at least one parent who migrated to South Korea at least 6 months before their own migration. Migrant parents had at least one child who they had left behind for a minimum of 6 months and who subsequently joined them in South Korea. Eight migrant youth and parent pairs participated in the study together (Table 9). Key informants were public school teachers who interact with Korean Chinese students (n=3), employees of governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (n=3), one Korean Chinese community leader (n=1), and a member of a Korean Chinese student association (n=1). Participants who met the inclusion criteria and provided informed consent were interviewed at a location of their choice (a university research office, a café with a private meeting space, or a participant's workplace).

Data collection

The first author conducted individual in-depth interviews with participants. The duration of interviews with migrant parents ranged from 50 to 95 minutes with a median of 77 minutes, and interviews with youth ranged from 35 to 108 minutes with a median of 67 minutes. Key informant interviews were 36 to 70 minutes long, with a median duration of 46 minutes. The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide containing open-ended questions about the household, community, and policy-level characteristics that were documented to be important for youth's experience of separation and reunification with migrant parents. South Korean immigration and education policies relevant to Korean Chinese youth were reviewed to develop the interview guide. Main topics of the interviews included socio-economic position of the household after migration, educational and vocational opportunities for youth, and South Korean immigration policies. Recruitment continued until no novel information or insight about the research question were gained with additional interviews (Saunders et al., 2018). Migrant parents and youth received $40 and key informants received $20 in supermarket coupons for their time.

The study team identified key informants through searching organizations related to Korean Chinese youth online and receiving recommendations. After their interviews, we asked key informants to connect the team to Korean Chinese youth and parents. The researcher assessed the eligibility of participants referred by key informants, and if eligible, asked whether their parent or child would be willing to participate. For the first eight households, migrant youth and parents could participate only if the other member of the pair (either parent or child) also agreed to participate.

This recruitment criterion was later dropped to sample participants with more diverse experiences. As a result, eight additional migrant youth participated without their parents, and one additional migrant parent participated without her son who decided not to interview. We also asked migrant youth and parents to refer friends and acquaintances to the study. Analysis of the interviews that occurred concurrently with data collection suggested that youth's migration experiences differed according to age of entry. Youth who entered South Korea during middle or high school comprised the majority of the sample; therefore, in the final stages of data collection, participants were theoretically sampled to include youth who migrated during or before primary school.

Research team

Interviews were conducted by the first author, who is a South Korean woman who speaks Korean fluently and intermediate mandarin Chinese, and a Korean Chinese translator. The first author conducted interviews with Korean-speaking participants. For participants who preferred to speak entirely in Chinese, the Korean Chinese translator accompanied the first author to the interviews. The translator was a bilingual Korean Chinese woman from Northeast China, who had completed a master's thesis on the Korean Chinese experience in South Korea.

Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim in the language spoken, Korean or Chinese. Chinese transcripts were subsequently translated into Korean by the translator, so that all final transcripts were in Korean. The first author wrote field notes immediately after each interview and included descriptions of the

interview context, participants' non-verbal expressions and gestures, and discussions with the translator about the interview. The translator, who came to South Korea for her graduate studies from Jilin, shared her impression of the interview, how typical or atypical the experiences shared in the interview were, and helped with any gaps in knowledge about the Korean Chinese community.

Data analysis

Data consisted of interview transcripts and field notes, which were analyzed using methods adopted from the tradition of Grounded Theory. Methods used in Grounded Theory are inductive in nature, designed to document social processes and derive a theory from textual data (Charmaz, 1995). First, the first author read over the transcripts while listening to the audio recording. After concentrated reading of the transcripts, open coding (where codes were applied to each line or set of lines in the transcript) was conducted using the qualitative data analysis software, MAXQDA 2022 (VERBI Software, 2019). The codes were developed in active voice using gerunds to ensure that in the first round of coding, the codes captured the voice of the participants as closely as possible (Saldaña, 2014). Codes that captured first-hand experiences (reported by migrant youth or parents) were differentiated from codes based on second-hand experiences (reported by key informants). The initial codes were listed and grouped into categories. The categories that emerged from this process were compared across transcripts to develop more refined insights. Throughout the analytic process, the first author made entries into an analytic memo to document the development of categories and themes. The analytic memo was used to summarize salient topics that

appeared in multiple transcripts, make notes about commonalities and differences in youth narratives, and reflect on the significance of emerging themes.

Data analysis occurred simultaneously with data collection, so that the interview guide could be modified according to the categories that emerged from previous interviews. Ongoing analysis also informed the sampling process to seek participants that could speak to the emerging themes, such as selecting those who migrated during or before primary school and who went to a Chosŏnjok school (schools for Korean Chinese in China that provide Korean language education).

Ethical consideration

The Institutional Review Board at Johns Hopkins School of Public Health and the Korea National Institute for Bioethics Policy approved for this study. Informed written consent was obtained from participants over the legal age of majority (age 19 in South Korea). For minors, informed written consent was obtained from one of their parents first, followed by written assent from the participants prior to the interview. Prior to obtaining consent, the interviewer described the purpose and process of the interview. Participants were given time to review the consent form in the language they preferred (either Korean or Chinese) and were encouraged to ask questions and request clarification as needed.

5.4 Results

Description of study participants

Most youth (n=9) in this study migrated to South Korea in secondary school, while some (n=4) entered as a university student and others (n=3) in primary school.

Youth had stayed in South Korea for a mean average of 5.2 years, ranging from 0.5 to 11 years. All youth except two (Y6, Y12) were attending school at the time of the interview. Y6 had graduated from a vocational high school and was working part-time jobs. Y12 did not attend school ever since he migrated to South Korea in middle school. Five youth who previously studied in Chosŏnjok schools spoke proficient or fluent Korean when they migrated, but other youth arrived in South Korea speaking little to no Korean. Most migrant parents in this study were mothers who came from Northeast China (Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang provinces).

Out of eight key informants, three were teachers. One teacher was formerly in charge of the multicultural education program in a middle school with a high concentration of Korean Chinese students. The second teacher taught at a vocational high school for multicultural youth. The third teacher worked in a multicultural youth center run by the Ministry of Education. Two key informants oversaw NGOs that implemented government-funded programs for multicultural youth, such as afterschool classes and the Korean Immigration and Integration Program (KIIP), which refers to Korean language and society classes that can be taken to apply for a long-term visa (F4 visa), permanent residence, and naturalization. Two key informants worked in Multicultural Family Support Centers run by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (MOGEF) as Korean Chinese community counselors. One key informant had a leadership position in a Korean Chinese international student group.

In the following sections, the lack of future aspirations among Korean Chinese migrant youth will be described from the perspectives of youth and key informants.

Subsequently, three main causes of this absence perceived by the youth, parents, and key informants will be presented: the separation of Korean Chinese migrant youth in schools, multicultural education policies that exclude Korean Chinese migrant youth and visa restrictions on occupations, and uncertainty and low support from parents.

"The kids do not have dreams"

"I don't know yet" was the most common answer when youth were directly asked about their future aspirations. Y1 who lived in South Korea for 10 years since first grade and Y11 who graduated high school in South Korea spoke about their futures in a similar tone of indifference.

> *"In middle school, I couldn't write down anything for my dream. I just wrote down anything that came to mind, but I didn't have any idea. I didn't know what exactly I wanted to do or what I could do well. I still don't know. If you ask me what I will do after high school graduation, I'm not going to college. I'm going to get a job. Anything. Whatever works. If I can put food in my mouth, that's enough. I don't have any specific plans." – Y1 (age 18, attending a vocational high school)*

> *"A capitalist country is definitely different from a socialist country. Cost of living is very high. I think to myself, 'I need money.' I think money is important. Whatever I do in the future, I just need to earn money. If I can earn money, I*

don't care what I study. I am going to choose a major that will make it easier for me to earn money." – Y11 (age 19, attending Korean classes at a university)

Consistently, key informants, in their interaction with Korean Chinese youth, found that youth could not tell them what they wanted for their future in general. Key informants emphasized that the hardships youth face coming into an unfamiliar environment, including the cultural and language barriers in the present moment, keep them from aspiring for the future. One NGO worker commented: "*I wish children would have thoughts about their future. They just don't have those thoughts. The culture shock and the language barriers they experience coming to South Korea erased their future. Their future is gone.*" One middle school teacher contemplated: "Hmm, what children want the most…I don't think they can worry about that. They can't afford to worry about 'what do I really want?'" Another teacher explained:

> *"They don't plan for their future because they think 'I just need to live in my neighborhood.' They feel they just need to exist. They don't understand why their teachers keep telling them to have a dream. They wonder why teachers keep telling them, 'You can be more. You are amazing.' What for? No one else tells them that. So, hearing that from me becomes tiring. When I keep saying that, they have to confront their reality. That makes them uncomfortable. They just want to leave home and get a part-time job. They tell me they don't understand why I keep bothering them."*

Narratives from youth, parents, and key informants described three main reasons for the absence of future aspirations among Korean Chinese migrant youth. In the subsequent sections, each of these reasons will be explored. First, migrant youth are separated from Korean students and exposed to negative peer influences from older Korean Chinese youth in the community. Second, policies and opportunities related to university entrance and employment are focused on multicultural children, who are born in South Korea between one Korean and one foreign parent, and neglect migrant youth. Third, migrant youth feel uncertain about their future since they can be moved back to China by their parents at any time.

Separation and exposure to negative peer influences

Korean Chinese migrant youth who enter the South Korean public education system are assigned to a school based on their address. However, each school has varying levels of capacity and resources to educate youth with a migration background. For example, not all schools have Korean as Second Language (KSL) classes available. Therefore, a "commissioned education" system is implemented where students are sent to schools with a non-standardized curriculum or schools for multicultural youth that can provide KSL classes for up to three semesters. In this system, students are separated from their Korean peers and put in an environment where they only interact with other migrant youth. Key informants perceived this environment as detrimental to youth's education and language acquisition specifically. A community counselor observed:

"A lot of Korean Chinese children cannot speak Korean. So, they must learn the language, but they don't feel the importance of the language. They have to go out there (among Koreans) and feel the need, but because they don't, they are not learning."

Even when Korean Chinese students attended the same schools as their Korean peers, teachers observed a clear divide between Korean and Korean Chinese students within the school. Teachers determined the number of hours Korean Chinese students spend in KSL classes per week, depending on the students' language level. However, Korean Chinese students preferred to stay in KSL classes as much as possible. A teacher explained:

"(In a middle school with high concentration of Korean Chinese students) the percentage of Korean Chinese students exceeded 20% during my time. It's 37% now. It's over 40% for grade 7. So, students start to feel like they can use Chinese. They want to feel comfortable using Chinese during breaks, and teachers understand this too because at that age chatting with your friends is like…everything. Think about how frustrated they must feel. Kids probably want to use Chinese in the classroom too, but there's still that tension that makes them feel like they shouldn't. So, they find places without Korean kids. Empty classrooms, empty stairs, empty seats. They congregate in those places. Within this space, there are implicitly designated areas."

Teachers observed that the experience of being in the same classroom with Korean students usually lead to Korean Chinese students feeling academically inadequate. A teacher spoke about a student who had good enough grades to go to a regular high school but chose to go to a vocational high school for multicultural youth instead. Although she tried to convince the student to choose otherwise, the student refused by saying, "*Teacher, I just want to go to a school where I can comfortably speak in Chinese*." In an academic environment where grades determine a student's value, Korean Chinese students were avoided by other students when doing group work since Korean Chinese students usually had lower grades. These experiences made Korean Chinese youth disengage from school. Networks and options outside of school became more attractive to them. The teacher continued to share:

> *"The kids start getting side jobs. They hang out with older Korean Chinese kids and make money. Something I saw a lot is they line up all night to purchase limited-edition sneakers. They end up with $300-400 dollars in their hands once they resell the shoes. They think they can earn money that easily. Why would they study? Train for certificates? Of course, they are not interested."*

Key informants perceived Korean Chinese youth largely being confined to their limited network had a negative impact on their future aspirations. In isolated peer

groups, youth do not communicate with the broader society and operate on limited information and options. A community counsellor pointed out:

> *"Kids are in PC-bang (internet cafes for gaming) 24 hours [a day]. They put all of their money into PC-bang and spend their days without any worries. So, issues around romantic relationships happen. They get pulled into illegal activities such as voice phishing."*

Discriminatory policies that limit future opportunities

Government programs and policies for youth with migration backgrounds are centered around "multicultural youth," defined by the government as children born in South Korea between one Korean parent and one foreign parent. Korean Chinese youth who were born in China therefore are excluded from most opportunities for multicultural youth. Key informants pointed to a double-standard in the categorization of Korean Chinese migrant youth. An NGO worker described:

> *"When the municipal government has an event, a multicultural event, they have to gather a lot of people. They say, 'all multicultural people are welcome' and 'Korean Chinese are also multicultural.' But when time comes to support Korean Chinese, they say 'Korean Chinese are not multicultural.' What is this duplicity?"*

A community counsellor emphasized the gap further*: "Some million dollars are poured into multicultural families. Hundreds of millions of dollars. But for Korean Chinese? Those without citizenship? Nothing. No support."*

A teacher recalled the outrage from the Korean Chinese community when the South Korean government announced COVID-19 childcare support will only be paid to children with Korean citizenship. Schools received detailed instructions about how to differentiate students with citizenship from those without. She felt that her efforts to bridge the divisions in the student body were set back whenever discriminatory policies and programs were announced. She fought for a social worker to be placed in her school based on the needs of Korean Chinese students, but the municipal office of education refused her request since "*government services are for Korean students only.*"

Multicultural youth do not have to compete with their Korean peers for university admissions since there are separate admission tracks for multicultural youth. However, Korean Chinese students are not eligible to apply through those admission tracks. In the South Korean education system, university admission depends mainly on two scores: high school grade point average and university entrance exam score. Korean students dedicate their entire school years to studying for the university entrance exam. Since Korean Chinese migrant youth were educated outside of South Korea for varying durations, not trained to take Korean-style exams, and experience language barriers, they can hardly compete in this structure. A teacher explained:

"Unlike in other countries, the university entrance system is very intense in South Korea. Things might feel a bit relaxed in middle school, but once you enter high school, it's an entirely different atmosphere. (Korean Chinese students) become total losers in this system."

One strategy for Korean Chinese students to attend university is to maintain Chinese citizenship and apply as international students, which puts them in an admission pool that is separate from Korean students. Korean Chinese students and parents therefore have to balance citizenship, i.e., stable residence with more rights, and the students' chances to attend university. Korean Chinese students who already have citizenship or who have naturalized parents must compete with other Korean students regardless of how many years of education they received in South Korea.

"I felt that university entrance was unfair. My mother has Korean nationality, and my father has Chinese nationality. I could not use the international student admission track. Yes, so I had a lot of pressure. I had only learned Korean for four, no, three years. I had to compete in the university entrance exam with Korean students who had been speaking Korean their whole life. It was a difficult situation. I struggled a lot. I was a senior last year, and I studied for 18 hours a day taking vitamin pills." – Y9 (age 20, attending university)

With such high barriers to university entrance, most Korean Chinese youth seek employment after high school. Not only is their range of career opportunities restricted by the lack of a university degree, but Korean Chinese youth are also limited by the terms of employment visas that are available to Korean Chinese migrants. With the F4 visa, youth must either obtain a certificate to prove they are qualified to engage in skilled labor or pass the KIIP exam. To avoid violating the terms of their visa, F4 visa holders must be employed in positions related to their demonstrated skill. Korean Chinese community counsellors described:

> *"Once the children are not minors anymore, (youth cannot work on a dependent visa, so) they do not have anywhere to go. All they can get is physical labor in factories. Even within factories, they cannot get the easier jobs."*

> *"I understand why the young Korean Chinese are all working in construction sites. Unless they sell something, there's nothing they can do. There are no opportunities for them at all. It's difficult. It's really difficult for the children."*

A teacher contemplated: *"When I think about it, it all comes down to university entrance and jobs. (Whether there are any) prospects for these children is so important, but we do not have any answers for them."*

Uncertain future and low expectations

A common threat used by Korean Chinese parents when their children act out was: *"If you keep going like this, I will send you back to China."* For Korean Chinese youth who already experienced a total upheaval in their life when they migrated to South Korea, this threat feels enormous. When asked to envision five to ten years ahead, most youth anticipated that they would probably finish their schooling in South Korea. Beyond school, they were unsure between South Korea and China where they will live. Key informants discussed how Korean Chinese youth carry a sense of uncertainty about their future. A teacher observed:

> *"Children who were born and raised in Korea have a sense of…'wouldn't I end up going to high school and university somehow?' But for Korean Chinese students, it's more like, 'I have to go to high school, but will I be going back to China? Would I go? Would I stay?' They constantly feel lost. They cannot focus on their studies. They just endure the time. Pass the time. I asked a parent once, 'Why don't you get citizenship for your child?,' and she told me she might take the child back to China. But she wasn't sure, you know? The adult doesn't know, so the child doesn't know. Adults at least can weigh options and make decisions. Children are just like chessboard pieces."*

Korean Chinese parents recognized the importance of education but lacked the time and resources to actively engage in their children's education. The narratives of parents whose children came to South Korea specifically for university education (M8

and M9) stood out since their primary motivation for continuing to work in South Korea was to financially support their children's college education. For other parents, they felt the most they could do for their children, often to appease them, is to give them money. Teachers reported that it was difficult to earn the trust of Korean Chinese parents due to the general lack of confidence Korean Chinese migrants have in South Korean public institutions. Recognizing that their children have little chance to advance academically in South Korea, most parents hoped that their children would find a job with a stable income. Key informants perceived that such low expectations and insufficient support from parents were discouraging youth's future aspirations.

5.5 Discussion

This study described ways in which the current South Korean education and immigration system restrict opportunities and negatively impact future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth based on the narratives of youth, parents, and key informants. Most youth in the study expressed uncertainty with respect to their future aspirations. Consistently, key informants reported that most Korean Chinese youth with whom they interacted did not have an answer to the question about what they wanted to be in the future. Participant narratives pointed to three aspects in the Korean Chinese migrant youth's educational and family environments that interfere with developing their future aspirations. First, Korean Chinese youth were separated from their Korean peers and isolated within closed groups of Korean Chinese youth. The sense of exclusion in the educational environment and confined social networks were perceived to limit youth's exposure to future possibilities in the South Korean society. Second,

government initiatives to support multicultural youth were not available to Korean Chinese youth, limiting youth's options for university education. Visa requirements put restrictions on occupations Korean Chinese youth could pursue. Lastly, uncertainty about remaining in South Korea made it difficult for youth to be future oriented and lowered expectations of parents.

The finding that the South Korean educational environment discourages the development of future aspirations among Korean Chinese migrant youth is important considering the effect of educational experiences in adolescence on adult health and social outcomes. Experiences in secondary school may shape the opportunities and constraints that individuals are exposed to throughout their life course (Walsemann et al., 2009). In fact, longitudinal studies demonstrate that health disparities associated with having fewer educational advantages in youth widen through accumulation of disadvantages during the life course (Walsemann et al., 2008). Educational experiences in secondary school can be more influential in South Korea where the highly competitive pathway to university entrance narrow down career options well before high school graduation (Lee and Rojewski, 2012). Studies have found that educational and occupational expectations formed in adolescence are maintained until early adulthood (Miyamoto and Wicht, 2020, Mello, 2009). Compared to youth with more concrete aspirations, youth who were uncertain about their futures had lower hourly wages in young adulthood (Staff et al., 2010). For Korean Chinese migrant youth who arrive in South Korea during secondary school, their migration experience could put them on a trajectory to negative health and social outcomes.

Future aspirations of youth are socially produced as youth become aware of their position in the society (Appadurai, 2004, Huijsmans et al., 2021). Key informants in this study emphasized how the educational environment and government policies in South Korea signal exclusion to Korean Chinese migrant youth. The university entrance system in South Korea (*ib-si je-do*), often called the "university entrance hell" (*ib-si ji-og*), is an important contextual factor to consider. Students are put through an intense competition to enter elite universities, an outcome pursued not for education per se but the social accomplishments that can be achieved following attendance at elite universities (Kim and Kim, 2012). It is commonly believed that the result of the university entrance exam determines one's future, but key informants in this study pointed out there are only few structural opportunities for Korean Chinese migrant youth to attend the university. Korean Chinese migrant youth who were born in China and have parents with South Korean citizenship have to compete with Korean students in the university entrance exam. Adolescents form an academic self-concept based on their perceptions of their academic competencies compared to those of their peers (Bong and Skaalvik, 2003). Academic self-concept has a critical role in promoting career aspirations (Guo et al., 2015). In the South Korean educational context, it is possible that Korean Chinese migrant youth internalize a low academic self-concept, which could explain the lack of future aspirations described by participants in this study.

Key informants described how Korean Chinese migrant youth were separated from their Korean peers in the educational environment both institutionally and through friend groups, which was perceived as a reason for their lack of future aspirations.

Studies based in the United States found that when ethnic minority students were segregated within schools through academic tracks, they were more likely to have lower aspirations for higher education (Walsemann et al., 2009, Walsemann and Bell, 2010). Policies to implement multicultural education only began in South Korea in the early 2000s (Kim and Kim, 2012). This study highlighted how the current policies encourage exclusion of migrant students from regular classrooms and concentrate them in KSL classrooms and schools designated for multicultural youth, which are often vocational. When similar policies were implemented in Hong Kong, it led to racial segregation within the educational system, which discouraged social integration of migrant children. The government of Hong Kong removed the label of 'designated schools' for migrant children in response to criticism, but it did little to change the segregation in practice (Chee, 2018). After twenty years of implementing policies for multicultural education, the South Korean government should consider ways to integrate migrant students and accommodate students who do not speak Korean as their first language into mainstream education. The efforts can begin with allocating resources to provide KSL classes in more schools.

Institutional efforts to integrate Korean Chinese migrant youth within the educational system should be accompanied by efforts to address segregation in their friend groups. Key informants discussed how Korean Chinese migrant youth cliques negatively impact future aspirations of Korean Chinese youth by distancing them from the South Korean society and engaging in activities to pass time or make fast money together. Even in integrated schools, students may be segregated in practice if

friendships are contained within the minority group (Moody, 2001). Explicit encouragement of cross-group friendships from authority figures in the school setting was found to facilitate integration, along with mixed extracurricular activities with common goals such as clubs, sports, and student service organizations (Moody, 2001). The South Korean Ministry of Education recommends that schools implement two hours of curricular or extracurricular activities per year to increase students' level of acceptance toward peers with multicultural backgrounds. Preliminary findings about the effect of these activities indicated that students' acceptance toward peers with multicultural backgrounds, sense of global citizenship, attitude toward integration of multicultural students, and acceptance toward foreigners improved (National Center for Multi-culture Education, 2018). This policy can be reinforced by developing lesson plans designed to encourage cross-group friendships and distributing them for implementation in schools.

Another reason that was discussed to explain the absence of future aspirations among Korean Chinese migrant youth was uncertainty and low expectations from parents. Prior studies have documented parent involvement, especially support from mothers, was important for the future orientation of their children (Brody et al., 2004, Kerpelman et al., 2008). Parents influence adolescents' future orientation by setting values, interests, and goals (Nurmi, 1991). Korean Chinese migrant parents recognized the structural limits to the academic and social achievements of their children in the South Korean society and focused on their children being able to generate income. This idea was mirrored in narratives of migrant youth who said they did not have aspirations

for their future other than the goal of making money. Facilitating conversations between Korean Chinese migrant parents and youth about future aspirations and plans for residence through school-based programs may help address the parent-related barriers identified in this study.

Without addressing the structural constraints on educational and occupational advancement, efforts focused on interpersonal aspects such as peer groups and parents can generate a hope for a "false future" for Korean Chinese migrant youth (Johnson et al., 2014). Our study suggests that the exclusion of Korean Chinese migrant youth from applying to the university on tracks designated for multicultural youth and the visa restrictions on the types of vocations Korean Chinese migrant youth can pursue are major structural barriers that can negatively affect youth's future aspirations. These policies should be reconsidered so that the education and immigration systems do not perpetuate the disadvantages experienced by migrants in -South Korean society (Bourdieu, 1973).

Future aspirations as well as future orientation reflect a developmental process and are influenced by past experiences (Gottfredson, 1981, Johnson et al., 2014). This study is focused on the context influencing future aspirations after the migration of Korean Chinese youth. Therefore, we present limited information about how youth's previous educational and social experiences in China could have influenced their current future aspirations. Our study also does not offer insight to how the youth's future aspirations might develop. Although the temporal perspective is limited, this study

comprehensively explores the social environment of Korean Chinese migrant youth in South Korea by including the perspectives of youth, parents, and key informants.

In this study, we were also limited by the lack of a clear definition of future aspiration. We used an inductive analytic approach, and the narratives were generally on the topic of youth's hopes for their own future as well as the opportunities and barriers for their future career perceived by the adults around them. However, future aspirations and constructs related to this concept have been differentiated in the literature. Aspirations have been conceptualized as a part of a broader future orientation and distinguished from expectations in that aspirations are indicated by words such as "want", "desire,", "hope", and "aspire" whereas expectations are described with words such as "plan", "think", and "expect" (Huijsmans et al., 2021, Johnson et al., 2014). The language used by participants in this study suggested that the discussions were more relevant to aspirations, and therefore the results are presented as such. Future studies should take into account the different components of future orientation and definitions of the constructs for contribution to the theoretical discussions.

The findings of this study are relevant only to Korean Chinese migrant youth and are not applicable to other migrant youth groups in South Korea. Other migrant youth groups may have different experiences especially as they do not share ethnic background with the South Korean population. Studies that include migrant youth from diverse backgrounds would reveal the similarities and differences between the experiences of Korean Chinese and other migrant youth. This study was focused on

Korean Chinese migrant youth since they are the largest group of migrant youth in South Korea. Future studies can quantitatively examine the factors that were perceived to negatively influence future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth in this study. Longitudinal studies that document the impact of the educational experiences in secondary school on the long-term health and social outcomes of migrant youth would be beneficial for establishing the population-based evidence that would support the policy changes suggested in this study.

Conclusion

Narratives from migrant youth, their parents, and key informants suggested that the separation and isolation of Korean Chinese youth in the school environments, government policies that restrict educational and occupational opportunities, and uncertainty and low support from parents contribute to the lack of future aspirations reported by youth and observed by key informants in this study. Interventions to integrate Korean Chinese migrant youth in the educational environment, make more diverse career opportunities accessible, and address future uncertainties are suggested to promote future aspirations among Korean Chinese migrant youth. Such interventions may minimize the role of the education system in perpetuating disadvantages experienced by migrant groups in South Korea.

5.6 Tables for Chapter 5

Table 9. Characteristics of migrant parent and youth participants

Parent				Child						
ID	Sex	Ethnicity	Home province	ID	Sex	Age of entry	Length of stay (years)	Speaking fluency in Korean	Nationality/ Visa status	Chosŏnjok school
M1	F	Korean Chinese	Shandong	Y1	M	8	10	Native	Korean citizenship	Yes
			Hebei	Y2	M	9	11	Fluent	Korean citizenship*	No
M2	F	Han Chinese	Jilin	Y3	M	10	8	Fluent	Korean citizenship*	No
			Liaoning	Y4	F	13	2	Proficient	Chinese/F1 visa	Yes
			Liaoning	Y5	F	13	6	Fluent	Chinese/F1 visa	Yes
M3	M	Korean Chinese	Heilongjiang	Y6	M	14	8	Proficient	Chinese/F4 visa	No
M4	F	Korean Chinese	Jilin	Y7	F	15	0.5	Beginner	Chinese/F1 visa	No
M5	F	Korean Chinese	Jilin	**	M	15	0.75	Beginner	Chinese/F1 visa	No
			Liaoning	Y8	F	15	3	Intermediate	Korean citizenship*	No
			Liaoning	Y9	F	15	5	Proficient	Chinese/F1 visa	No
			Heilongjiang	Y10	F	16	3	Advanced	Chinese/F1 visa	No
M6	F	Korean Chinese	Jilin	Y11	F	16	3	Beginner	Chinese/F1 visa	No
M7	F	Korean Chinese	Jilin	Y12	M	16	8	Intermediate	Chinese/F4 visa	No
			Heilongjiang	Y13	F	18	6	Proficient	Chinese/D2 visa	No
			Jilin	Y14	F	18	4	Beginner	Chinese/D2 visa	No
M8	F	Korean Chinese	Jilin	Y15	M	20	3	Fluent	Chinese/D2 visa	Yes
M9	F	Korean Chinese	Jilin	Y16	M	22	2	Fluent	Chinese/F4 visa	Yes

*One parent is Han Chinese; M=male, F=female; F-1 visa (minor dependent), F-4 visa (overseas Korean), and D-2 visa (student)
**Child dropped out of interview

Chapter 6. Conclusions

6.1 Summary of results

This dissertation explored the impact of migration on the mental health and well-being of Korean Chinese migrant youth in South Korea, focusing on the formation of ethnic and national identity (Manuscript 1), experiences of separation from migrant parents and discrimination in the destination society (Manuscript 2), and future aspirations (Manuscript 3). Across the three manuscripts, the challenges that youth face as they move into a new society and the implications of experiencing those challenges during adolescence are highlighted.

Manuscript 1 (Chapter 3) qualitatively examined how Korean Chinese migrant youth explore and negotiate their ethnic and national identities after migrating to South Korea from China. Korean Chinese migrant youth reported having explored their Korean ethnic roots at varying levels depending on their family and neighborhood environment in China. Experiences youth had after migrating to South Korea discouraged identification with their Korean ethnicity and reinforced their national identity as Chinese. Youth discussed experiencing language barriers and feeling distance from South Korean cultural characteristics such as age hierarchy and emphasis on politeness. Participants also perceived more incentives from and emotional attachment to their Chinese nationality. Korean Chinese migrant youth therefore felt most comfortable with other Korean Chinese friends. A small number of participants who arrived on or before the age of 10 did not share these experiences with other youth who arrived during

adolescence. They acquired Korean linguistic and cultural skills more quickly and considered themselves both Korean and Chinese simultaneously.

Manuscript 2 (Chapter 4) quantitatively identified factors associated with child depressive mood, which were then qualitatively explored in the context of separation and reunification experienced by Korean Chinese migrant parents and youth in South Korea. A very large proportion of Korean Chinese children (almost 70%) were separated from both parents at least at some point during their serial migration to South Korea. Children of single migrant parents had a greater risk of depressive mood compared to children of married parents who did not report marital conflict. Marital conflict and divorce made it difficult for migrant parents to arrange a stable care environment for their children and communicate with them during separation. After migrating to South Korea, Korean Chinese youth experienced discrimination, which was associated with increased risk of depressive mood. Participants described a range of discrimination experiences spanning microaggressions about accents and fashion choices to systemic barriers to education and career options. Children's report of having strengths and self-satisfaction was related to decreased risk of depressive mood. Self-satisfaction was also protective of depressive mood in children who experienced discrimination.

Manuscript 3 (Chapter 5) qualitatively explored the impact of the educational and occupational environment on future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth, with a focus on those migrating to South Korea during secondary school. Most youth in the study expressed uncertainty with respect to their future aspirations. Consistently, key informants reported that most Korean Chinese migrant youth did not have an answer to

the question about what they wanted to be in the future. Narratives from youth, parents, and key informants described three main reasons for the absence of future aspirations among Korean Chinese migrant youth. First, migrant youth are separated from Korean students and exposed to negative peer influences from older Korean Chinese youth in the community. Second, policies and opportunities related to university entrance and employment are focused on multicultural children, who are born in South Korea between one Korean and one foreign parent, and neglect migrant youth. Third, migrant youth feel uncertain about their future since they can be moved back to China by their parents at any time.

A common theme across the three manuscripts is migrant youth's experience of discrimination and its effect on the outcomes of identity exploration, depressive mood, and future aspirations. When youth experienced structural discrimination, discrimination by institutions that restrict opportunities for migrant youth, they perceived greater distance from the South Korean society (Manuscript 1). Experiencing any type of discrimination, including interpersonal and structural discrimination, was associated with depressive mood among migrant youth (Manuscript 2). Discrimination in educational and occupational opportunities affected future aspirations of Korean Chinese migrant youth (Manuscript 3).

6.2 Strengths and limitations

The main strength of this dissertation is its integration of multiple perspectives on issues around mental health and well-being of Korean Chinese migrant youth in South Korea, which to our knowledge, has been unexplored in the literature. Manuscripts 2

and 3 incorporated multiple sources of data in the analyses and all 3 manuscripts allowed for triangulation, enhancing the rigor of the dissertation.

Manuscript 2 featured dyadic data for which both a migrant child and a parent from one family participated in the study. Using these data, it was possible to understand the experiences of both members of the dyad, for example, the care arrangement during the separation period, from the child's perspective as well as the parent's perspective. Having both perspectives enabled more in-depth analysis. As the researcher interviewed both the child and the parent, she not only learned about the care environment, but the circumstances that led to the formation of such care environments. Youth described their experiences (e.g., who they interacted with, how often they communicated with their migrant parent, how they felt about the separation), and parents provided insight as to why those experiences occurred (e.g., divorce limiting the pool of family members with whom parents could leave their children). Similarly, analyzing data from interviews with youth, parents, and key informants enriched Manuscript 3. Key informants added their insight from interacting with youth outside of the home environment. Key informant perspectives were especially valuable in considering the effects of structural factors, such as education and immigration policies. Through involving multiple perspectives, this dissertation moves beyond the individual-level and explores family- and structural-level influences while the predominant focus in the current literature on separation and reunification experienced by migrant youth is on the individual-level.

Incorporation of data from multiple sources also allowed for triangulation, which refers to the use of multiple methods in studying the same topic to increase the credibility of findings (Hussein, 2009). Interviewing multiple groups of participants in Manuscripts 2 and 3 is an example of data triangulation, the use of multiple data sources, while using both quantitative and qualitative methods in Manuscript 2 is an example of methodological triangulation. Manuscript 2 goes beyond reporting distinct findings from the quantitative and qualitative data and blends the qualitative and quantitative data at multiple stages of the analysis. The mixed methods design of Manuscript 2 enabled a contextualized understanding of factors that were statistically associated with psychological health of migrant youth. Across both Manuscripts 2 and 3, triangulation resulted in a more comprehensive investigation of complex migration experiences that involved two countries and multiple years.

Another strength of this dissertation derives from extensive fieldwork, which also enhances rigor. The fieldwork took place in Seoul, South Korea for two years (2020-2021), during which the researcher was working for migrant health organizations, meeting with Korean Chinese community leaders, and interacting with Korean Chinese youth. The time spent in the field building relationships and connections improved rapport with participants and contributed to obtaining rich descriptions in the interviews. The themes presented in the three manuscripts reflect the main concerns community leaders voiced both in the interviews and private conversations with the researcher. Through the relationships made during fieldwork, the researcher was able to

draw results that would be relevant and of interest to the Korean Chinese community in South Korea.

The findings of this dissertation should be considered with some important limitations in mind. The quantitative data used in Manuscript 2 was from an existing national survey conducted in 2018 whose target population was "multicultural families," which were defined as families with either a marriage migrant or a naturalized citizen. The interview participants were recruited regardless of the type of migration (marriage or labor) and citizenship status. Therefore, there may be important differences between the quantitative and qualitative samples in Manuscript 2 (refer to Chapter 4 for more detailed discussion of the potential differences).

The sample of participants who were interviewed in this dissertation may be missing important subgroups. Participants were recruited through NGOs that service Korean Chinese migrant youth and the networks of youth who were utilizing the provided services. Since participating youth were already connected to structures in South Korean society, this sample may have not included more marginalized youth. In fact, only one youth in this dissertation study did not enroll in school after migrating to South Korea. However, it has been estimated that 30-40% of Korean Chinese migrant youth were NEET (Not in Education, Employment, or Training) (Song and Kim, 2017). The sample also did not include parents or children who have severely impaired or non-existent relationships. Considering the finding that parent-child relationships are important for the mental health and well-being of Korean Chinese migrant youth, the dissertation may be missing narratives from youth at highest risk. Lastly, most of the

migrant parents who participated in the study were mothers of sons. Therefore, gendered patterns of experiences according to the gender of migrant parents could not be explored in this dissertation.

Certain topics that would have enriched the findings of this dissertation could not be presented as they did not reach saturation. These topics included the influence of parents on youth's ethnic and national identities, the changes in ethnic and national identities over time (Manuscript 1), the impact of discrimination experiences on self-satisfaction (Manuscript 2), and the effect of youth's previous educational and social experiences in China on their future aspirations (Manuscript 3). These topics could be explored further in future studies.

Finally, the data collection for this dissertation occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic. When this dissertation study was designed, longer and more frequent interviews were proposed. However, the length and frequency of interviews were reduced to minimize the risk of COVID-19 transmission through interview contact. If the circumstances allowed for follow-up interviews, the topics that did not reach saturation could have been explored in more detail.

6.3 Policy recommendations

Findings from this dissertation have important implications for policy and public health programs regarding Korean Chinese migrant youth and families in South Korea.

6.3.1 Immigration policy

The South Korean government carefully crafts visa categories that prescribe certain occupations and rights to different groups of migrants (Chung, 2020). The visa

categories available to Korean Chinese migrants clearly communicate that the government's main interest is in providing right to residence to those who will fill existing gaps in the labor market. Migrants can either be skilled (F4 visa) or unskilled (H2 visa), but the sectors prescribed to them are those avoided by South Koreans for being dangerous, dirty, and difficult. These visa categories perpetuate discriminatory attitudes in the society and reinforce perceptions that Korean Chinese are poor, backwards, and unsophisticated (Chung, 2020). One of the potential consequences of such restrictive visa policies discussed in Manuscript 2 was the economic difficulties of migrant parents (often having low wages and long work hours) creating gaps in transnational childcare and increasing the risk of neglect and abuse children experience during separation. The limits on the types of occupations Korean Chinese migrant youth can pursue with the visas available to them were found to negatively affect youth's future aspirations (Manuscript 3). Making long-term stay visa categories without occupational restrictions more accessible, especially to youth, will benefit their mental health (Manuscript 2). Less restrictive visa policies may also ameliorate discrimination toward migrant groups as more migrants work in sectors other than those avoided by South Koreans.

Another barrier identified was the South Korean government's policy toward multiculturalism. The government narrowly defines multicultural families as those with one South Korean parent and one foreign-born parent who is a naturalized citizen. The purpose of this specific definition of "multicultural" is to control the discourse around different types of migrants and preserve the idea of ethnic homogeneity and superiority (Watson, 2012, Kim, 2012). Owing to this definition, the current policies for

multicultural families center around families of female marriage migrants who married South Korean men and gave birth in South Korea to multicultural, yet Korean, children. Families composed of migrants without citizenship, including Korean Chinese migrant families, are therefore excluded from government-sponsored services for multicultural families (Kim, 2012). In Manuscript 1, Korean Chinese youth explained that they maintained their Chinese nationality partly for the possibility to apply to university as international students since they could not utilize the application tracks specially designated for multicultural youth. Without the access to the benefits for multicultural families, it was even more difficult for Korean Chinese youth to develop future aspirations within the South Korean society (Manuscript 3). The South Korean government should encourage true multiculturalism by expanding the definition of multicultural families to those with any migration background.

6.3.2 Educational policy

Discriminatory educational policies and othering of Korean Chinese migrant youth in educational environments were found to negatively impact youth's categorization into their ethnic and national identities (Manuscript 1), mental health (Manuscript 2), and future aspirations (Manuscript 3).

Manuscript 3 described how the current educational policies encourage the exclusion of migrant students from regular classrooms and concentrate them in KSL classrooms and schools designated for multicultural youth. When similar policies were implemented in Hong Kong, it led to racial segregation within the educational system and discouraged social integration of migrant children. The government of Hong Kong

removed the label of 'designated schools' for migrant children in response to criticism, but it did little to change segregation in practice (Chee, 2018). Policymakers should consider opportunities to accommodate students who do not speak Korean as their first language without segregating them. The efforts can begin with allocating resources to provide KSL classes in more schools.

Institutional efforts to integrate Korean Chinese migrant youth within the educational system should be accompanied by efforts to address segregation from non-Korean Chinese friend groups. Even in integrated schools, in practice students may be segregated if friendships are contained within the minority group (Moody, 2001). Explicit encouragement of cross-group friendships from authority figures in the school setting was found to facilitate integration, along with mixed extracurricular activities with common goals such as clubs, sports, and student service organizations (Moody, 2001). The South Korean Ministry of Education recommends that schools implement two hours of curricular or extracurricular activities per year to increase students' level of acceptance toward peers with multicultural backgrounds. Preliminary findings about the effects of these activities indicated that students' acceptance toward peers with multicultural backgrounds, sense of global citizenship, attitudes toward integration of multicultural students, and acceptance toward foreigners improved. This policy can be reinforced by developing lesson plans designed to encourage cross-group friendships. Based on the findings in Manuscript 1, another specific topic that can be beneficial to address is multicultural identities. Literature suggests positive mental health effects of having dual identities when there is no conflict between the two identities (Berry et al.,

2006, Dimitrova et al., 2017, Nguyen and Benet-Martínez, 2013). Education about the history of the Korean diaspora and plural identities could help create a more inclusive and open environment for adolescents to explore and establish their identity.

Adolescents migrating after receiving some education in China experienced significant delays before gaining access to schooling in South Korea. The delays not only put migrant youth behind in grade but also signaled to youth that they were outsiders in the South Korean society (Manuscript 1). An integrated system that can help students and parents prepare the necessary documents, evaluate students' Korean language level, and assign students to schools with appropriate resources should be established. Even a small measure such as providing standard forms in Chinese for entry into the South Korean educational system may make a significant difference in how Korean Chinese migrant youth experience their transition into the South Korean society.

6.3.3 Public health programs

Based on the findings from Manuscript 2, public health programs that target migrant families with separation experiences are suggested. These programs should be implemented with the consideration that the quality of care and parent-child relationships during the separation period may have been affected by other family instability, such as divorce and remarriage. Families with separation and reunification experiences can be identified through school- or community-based structures, which can provide family support services. Such services may involve parent education about reconnecting with children and understanding their children's experiences of migration, which may have involved introduction to stepparents and/or stepsiblings and

discrimination in the destination society. Counselors, teachers, and translators who are trained to work with youth with migration backgrounds will be essential to delivering treatment and support to children who have already been exposed to separation, neglect, and/or abuse. Direct counseling services for migrant youth can assist those who are already experiencing difficulties with their mental health. These services should be delivered by counselors who speak Chinese or with a translator.

Interventions to enhance self-satisfaction among Korean Chinese youth may reduce the negative psychological impact of discrimination. Although in different contexts, programs aimed to enhance self-esteem among migrant youth have been successful (Alarcón et al., 2021, Feddes et al., 2015). The resilience training program *Diamant* in the Netherlands aimed to reduce feelings of relative deprivation and social disconnectedness by helping migrant youth identify career or educational opportunities and to enhance empathy and perspective taking in intercultural encounters (Feddes et al., 2015). The mentoring program *Referents* in Spain connected migrant youth to adult mentors who engaged in activities with migrant youth for a period of six months (Alarcón et al., 2021). Both programs reported an increase in self-esteem among their participants. Interventions that model successful components of evidence-based programs and adapt them to the context may enhance self-esteem and mental health among Korean Chinese youth in South Korea.

Chapter 7. Appendices

7.1 Interview guides (English)

[Interview with youth]

Introduction

I am a doctoral student studying in the US. I am hoping to understand how Korean Chinese people experience their parents' and their own move to South Korea. As a part of that, I would like to get to know you better. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions I ask. You can answer in any way you feel comfortable, whatever comes to your mind. You are the person who knows best about your experience, and I am here to listen.

Current daily life in South Korea

Can you briefly introduce yourself? I can go first. My name is Yoona. I'm 30 years old. I was born in Seoul and now live in the US.

Where do you live currently? Who do you live with?

Please walk me through your typical day.

(Priority areas)

- Probe area 1 [specific parts of a day]
    - What is your favorite part of a day? Why?
    - What is your least favorite part of a day? Why?
- Probe area 2 [relationships]
    - Who do you interact with on a daily basis?
    - Who do you like to spend time with? Why?
- Probe area 3 [psychological resources]
    - Do you ever feel stressed or sad? What do you do to release stress or make yourself feel better?
    - When you experience difficulties, how do you deal with them?

(Optional areas)

- Probe area 4 [technology use]
    - Do you have a personal phone? What do you usually do on your phone?
    - Do you watch TV? What do you watch on TV?
    - Do you play games? What games do you play?
- Probe area 5 [education]
    - Do you go to school? What do you think about school?
    - Do you have homework? How is homework?
- Probe area 6 [chores]
    - Are there any chores you need to complete? What do you think of doing the chores?
- Probe area 7 [necessities]

  - What do you eat during the day? Who do you eat with?
  - Do you go shopping? What do you buy?
  - What is your hobby?

Migration of youth

Now, I would like to ask about your move to South Korea.

When did you move here? How old were you when you moved here?

What was your experience like moving here?

- Probe area 1 [decision-making]
  - Why did you move here?
  - Who made the decision for you to move here? How did you feel about the decision?
  - Did anyone discuss the decision with you? Can you describe the discussion for me?
    - If no one discussed the decision with you, why do you think no one did?
    - Did the discussion/lack of discussion change the experience?
- Probe area 2 [process]
  - What preparation did you make?
  - Can you describe the day of your move here? How did you feel that day?
- Probe area 3 [adaptation to South Korea]
  - What was your first impression of South Korea?
  - How does your life in South Korea compare to your life in China?

Daily life after parents' migration & before youth's own migration

Now, I would like to ask about your daily life after your mother/father moved to South Korea but before you moved here yourself.

Where did you live? Who did you live with?

What was your typical day like before you moved to Korea? How was it different or similar to the day you described earlier?

- Probe changes
  - How is your favorite or least favorite part of the day different from now?
  - Do you interact with similar or different people as now? How?
  - Do you cope with difficulties (stress, sadness) differently?

  - Do you spend any more/less time on your phone/TV/computer? Why?
  - Do you spend any more/less time studying? Why?
  - Did you have more or less chores? Please describe.
  - Did you eat/dress differently? How?

Did you experience any difficulties because your mother/father was away? What are some of the difficulties you experienced?

Did you experience any benefits because your mother/father was away? What are some of the benefits you experienced?

Migration of parent

Now, let's talk about your mother/father's move to South Korea.

When did your mother/father migrate to Korea? How old were you when your mother/father migrated to Korea?

Why did your mother/father move to Korea?

How did you feel about your mother/father going to Korea?

How did you feel when your mother/father left?

Did your mother/father discuss going to Korea with you before s/he left? If your mother/father did, can you describe the conversation for me? If your mother/father did not, why do you think they did not discuss the topic with you? Did the discussion/lack of discussion change the experience?

Daily life before parental migration

Now, I would like for us to think even more back before your mother/father moved to South Korea and you were living with your mother/father.

Where did you live? Who did you live with?

Before your mother/father went to Korea, what was your typical day like? How was it different or similar to the day you described earlier?

- Probe changes
  - How is your favorite or least favorite part of the day different from now?
  - Do you interact with similar or different people as now? How?
  - Do you cope with difficulties (stress, sadness) differently?

  - Do you spend any more/less time on your phone/TV/computer? Why?
  - Do you spend any more/less time studying? Why?
  - Did you have more or less chores? Please describe.
  - Did you eat/dress differently? How?

Aspirations

What do you enjoy doing the most?

What would you like to do in the future? Who supports you the most in achieving this goal? Do you feel confident in achieving this goal?

Conclusion

Thank you for speaking with me today. Do you have any questions for me? Is there anything you would like to discuss further?

Please feel free to contact me any time if you have questions.

[Interview with parents]

Introduction

I am a doctoral student studying in the US. I am hoping to understand how Korean Chinese people experience their child's and their own move to South Korea. As a part of that, I would like to get to know you and your child better. I would like to remind you that what you share with us today will not be shared with your child.

How many children are in your family?

In today's interview, we are going to focus on your child who you were separated with before the child joined you in South Korea later. The child must be 15 to 24 currently, living in South Korea. Who is that child?

How old is your child?

Household

I want to start by discussing the household environment.

- Migration motivations
  - Within your household, who made the decision for you to work abroad? What considerations went into the decision for you to work abroad?
  - What motivates Korean Chinese people to come to South Korea for work?
- Household changes from migration
  - How do families live once a member leaves to South Korea? What changes do the families experience?
    - How do these experiences differ depending on who left?
  - What role/responsibilities did you have in the household? How did your role/responsibilities change when you moved to South Korea?
  - Did the relationships among family members change in any way? How?

Community

- Relationship with communities
  - In China, what do neighbors/community members think about Korean Chinese families that have a member who moved to South Korea?

    - In South Korea, what do neighbors/community members think about Korean Chinese families who moved from China?
    - What is the relationship like between the Korean Chinese community and the host society (South Korean society)?
- Social support
    - In South Korea, who constitutes your main social support? What about your child?
        - What are some resources that you can access through this support? (e.g. instrumental, informational, emotional)
    - In your opinion, does your child have adequate access to resources s/he needs?
- Community resources
    - What educational/occupational opportunities are there for your child? Please explain whether these resources allow children to reach their full potential, in your opinion.

<u>Gender</u>

- Do you think you being male/female influenced your move to South Korea? Please explain how.
    - If any, what were some difficulties or benefits you experienced before, during, and after your move because you are male/female?
    - Did the gender of your child influence your decision to move to South Korea? How?
- Do you think your child being male/female influenced their experience after you moved to South Korea? Please explain how.
    - If any, what are some difficulties of benefits your child experienced after you moved because your child is male/female?
- Do you think your child being male/female influenced their move to South Korea? Please explain how.
    - If any, what are some difficulties or benefits your child experienced after their move to South Korea because your child is male/female?

<u>Identity</u>

- How was your child's identity influenced by his/her move to South Korea?
    - Does your child identify more as Chinese, Korean, Korean Chinese, or any other? Why do you think so?
- Does your child's identity impact any aspects of his/her life?

<u>Country</u>

- Can you explain how the rules and regulations of the South Korean government make your child's experience easy? difficult?

<u>Conclusion</u>

Thank you so much for this discussion. Do you have any questions for me? Is there anything you would like to discuss further?

Please feel free to contact me any time if you have questions.

[Interview with key informants]

Introduction

I am a doctoral student studying in the US. As a part of my dissertation research, I am hoping to understand how Korean Chinese people experience their child's and their own move to South Korea. I would like to learn from your experience and expertise on this topic.

- Please describe your experience with the Korean Chinese community here in South Korea.
  - (If any,) what type of services do you provide to the Korean Chinese community?
- Why do you think Korean Chinese move to South Korea?
- Why do you think Korean Chinese youths (those who join their parents after parents have settled first) move to South Korea?

Community

- Relationship with communities
  - In China, what do neighbors/community members think about Korean Chinese families that have a family member who moved to South Korea?
  - In South Korea, what do neighbors/community members think about Korean Chinese families who moved from China?
  - What is the relationship like between the Korean Chinese community and the host society (South Korean society)?
- Social support
  - In South Korea, who constitutes the main social support group for Korean Chinese migrants? What about their children?
  - In South Korea, what are some resources that Korean Chinese migrants can access through their social support group? (e.g. instrumental, informational, emotional)
  - In your opinion, do their children have adequate access to resources they need?
- Community resources
  - What educational/occupational opportunities are there for the children? Please explain whether these resources allow children to reach their full potential, in your opinion.

Gender

- Do you think the gender of the migrant influence their move to South Korea? Please explain how.
    - If any, what are some difficulties or benefits they experience before, during, and after their move because of their gender?
    - Does the gender of their child influence their decision to move to South Korea? How?
- Do you think the gender of the children influence their experience after their mother/father moves to South Korea? Please explain how.
    - If any, what are some difficulties of benefits children experience after their mother/father moves because the child is male/female?
- Do you think the gender of the children influence their move to South Korea? Please explain how.
    - If any, what are some difficulties or benefits children experience after their move to South Korea because the child is male/female?

Identity

- How are children's identities influenced by their move to South Korea?
    - Do children identify more as Chinese, Korean, Korean Chinese, or any other? Why do you think so?
- Does children's identity impact any aspects of their lives?

Country

- Can you explain how the rules and regulations of the South Korean government make children's experience easy? difficult?

Conclusion

Thank you so much for this discussion. I learned a lot. Do you have any questions for me? Is there anything you would like to discuss further?

Please feel free to contact me any time if you have questions.

7.2 Interview guides (Korean)

[중도입국청소년 면담 질문지]

소개

안녕하세요. 오늘 면담에 참여해 주셔서 감사합니다. 저는 미국에서 박사과정을 하고 있는 학생입니다. 이 연구의 목적은 중국동포 중도입국청년과 부모의 관계를 이해하는 것입니다. 그 목적의 일부로 오늘은 참여자님의 경험을 들어보고자 합니다. 오늘 제가 드리는 질문에는 맞고 틀린 답이 없습니다. 참여자님의 경험을 제일 잘 이해하는 것은 참여자 님이니 질문을 듣고 참여자님께서 편하신 대로, 생각나는 대로 말씀해주시면 됩니다.

현재 한국 생활

먼저 제 소개를 간략하게 하자면, 저의 이름은 김유나이고, 올해 31 살입니다. 저는 지금 미국에 살고 있습니다. 참여자님께서도 본인 소개를 해 주실 수 있을까요?

현재 어디에서 생활하고 계십니까? 누구와 함께 생활하십니까?

평소에 하루를 어떻게 보내시나요?

- 주요 탐구 영역 1
    - 하루 중 제일 좋아하는 부분은 언제 입니까? 왜 그 부분을 좋아하십니까?
    - 하루 중 제일 싫어하는 부분은 언제 입니까? 왜 그 부분을 싫어하십니까?
- 주요 탐구 영역 2
    - 평소에 자주 만나는 사람들은 누구입니까?
    - 누구와 같이 시간 보내는 것을 좋아하십니까? 왜 그 시간을 좋아하십니까?
- 주요 탐구 영역 3
    - 슬프거나 스트레스 받을 때가 있습니까? 스트레스를 풀거나 기분을 전환하기 위해 무엇을 하십니까?
    - 어려움을 겪을 때 어떤 방법으로 극복하십니까?

- 기타 탐구 영역 4
    - 휴대폰을 소유하고 계십니까? 휴대폰으로 주로 무엇을 하십니까?
    - 티비를 시청하십니까? 티비에서 어떤 프로그램을 주로 시청하십니까?
    - 컴퓨터 게임을 하십니까? 어떤 게임을 하십니까?
- 기타 탐구 영역 5
    - 학교에 다니십니까? 학교는 어떻습니까?
    - 학교 숙제가 있습니까? 숙제는 어떻습니까?
- 기타 탐구 영역 6
    - 집에서 해야 하는 집안일이나 심부름이 있습니까? 해야 하는 집안일이나 심부름에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까?
- 기타 탐구 영역 7
    - 평소에 끼니는 어떻게 해결하십니까? 보통 누구와 식사하십니까?
    - 필요한 물품은 어떻게 구매하십니까? 무엇을 구매하십니까?
    - 취미 생활이 무엇입니까?

<u>본인 이주 경험</u>

이제 참여자님께서 한국으로 왔을 때의 경험에 대해 얘기해보고자 합니다.

언제 한국으로 오셨습니까? 한국으로 오셨을 때 나이가 몇 살이었습니까?

한국으로 오는 경험은 어땠습니까?

- 탐구 영역 1
    - 한국으로 왜 오게 되었습니까?
    - 한국으로 오는 결정은 누가 내렸습니까? 그 결정에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까?
    - 누군가 참여자님과 그 결정에 대해 논의를 하였습니까? 그 논의는 어땠습니까?
        - 만약 아무도 참여자님과 논의하지 않았다면, 왜 논의하지 않았다고 생각합니까?
        - 논의를 한 것/하지 않은 것이 한국으로 오는 경험에 영향이 있었습니까?
- 탐구 영역 2
    - 한국으로 오는데 어떤 준비를 하였습니까?
    - 한국으로 온 날, 어땠습니까? 어떤 기분이었습니까?
- 탐구 영역 3
    - 한국에 대한 첫 인상은 어땠습니까?
    - 한국에서의 삶이 그 이전과 어떻게 다릅니까?

<u>부모 이주 후부터 본인의 이주 전의 생활</u>

이제 참여자님께서 한국에 오기 전, 어머니/아버지께서 한국으로 간 후의 경험에 대해서 얘기해보고자 합니다.

이 시기에는 어디에서 살았습니까? 누구와 생활하였습니까?
이 시기에 하루는 보통 어떻게 보내셨습니까? 지금의 하루와 어떻게 다릅니까?

- 변화 탐구
    - 하루 중 좋거나 싫은 부분이 지금과 어떻게 달랐습니까?
    - 자주 만나고 같이 시간을 보내는 사람들이 지금과 어떻게 달랐습니까?
    - 스트레스나 어려운 일에 대응하는 방법이 지금과 어떻게 달랐습니까?

    - 지금과 비교해서, 핸드폰/티비/컴퓨터를 사용하는 시간이 다릅니까? 왜 그렇습니까?
    - 지금과 비교해서, 공부하는 시간이 다릅니까? 왜 그렇습니까?
    - 해야 하는 집안일이나 심부름이 달랐습니까?
    - 끼니를 해결하는 방법이나 옷을 입는 방법이 달랐습니까?
- 어머니/아버지가 한국에 있어서 어려운 점이 있었습니까? 어떤 점이 어려웠습니까?
- 어머니/아버지가 한국에 있어서 좋은 점이 있었습니까? 어떤 점이 좋았습니까?

<u>부모의 이주</u>

이제 어머니/아버지께서 한국으로 이주하셨을 때의 경험에 대해서 얘기해보고자 합니다.

어머니/아버지께서 언제 한국으로 가셨습니까? 어머니/아버지께서 한국으로 갔을 때 몇 살이었습니까?

어머니/아버지께서 왜 한국으로 가셨습니까?
어머니/아버지께서 한국으로 간 것에 대해 어떻게 생각했습니까?
어머니/아버지께서 한국으로 갔을 때 기분이 어땠습니까?
어머니/아버지께서 한국으로 가기 전에 참여자와 논의하였습니까?

- 논의 하였다면, 그 논의 과정이 어땠습니까?
- 논의하지 않았다면, 왜 논의하지 않았다고 생각합니까?
- 논의를 한 것/하지 않은 것이 어떤 영향이 있었다고 생각합니까?

<u>부모 이주 전의 생활</u>
이제 어머니/아버지가 한국으로 가기 전의 경험에 대해서 얘기해보고자 합니다.

이 시기에는 어디에서 살았습니까? 누구와 생활하였습니까?
이 시기에 하루는 보통 어떻게 보내셨습니까? 지금의 하루와 어떻게 다릅니까?

- 변화 탐구
    - 하루 중 좋거나 싫은 부분이 지금과 어떻게 달랐습니까?
    - 자주 만나고 같이 시간을 보내는 사람들이 지금과 어떻게 달랐습니까?
    - 스트레스나 어려운 일에 대응하는 방법이 지금과 어떻게 달랐습니까?

    - 지금과 비교해서, 핸드폰/티비/컴퓨터를 사용하는 시간이 다릅니까? 왜 그렇습니까?
    - 지금과 비교해서, 공부하는 시간이 다릅니까? 왜 그렇습니까?
    - 해야하는 집안일이나 심부름이 달랐습니까?
    - 끼니를 해결하는 방법이나 옷을 입는 방법이 달랐습니까?

<u>장래 희망</u>
지금 제일 즐기는 일은 무엇입니까?

미래에 무엇을 하고 싶습니까?

- 미래에 하고 싶은 일을 이룰 수 있도록 지지해주는 사람은 누구입니까?
- 미래에 하고 싶은 일을 이룰 수 있다는 자신감이 얼만큼 있습니까?

<u>결론</u>
오늘 저와 면담에 참여해 주셔서 감사합니다. 질문이 있으십니까? 더 논의하고 싶으신 부분이 있으십니까?

저에게 궁금한 점이 있으시다면 언제든지 편하게 연락 주시기 바랍니다.

[부모 면담 질문지]

소개

안녕하세요. 오늘 면담에 참여해 주셔서 감사합니다. 저는 미국에서 박사과정을 하고 있는 학생입니다. 이 연구의 목적은 중국동포 중도입국청년과 부모의 관계를 이해하는 것입니다. 그 목적의 일부로 참여자님 자녀에 대해 여쭤보고자 합니다. 동의 과정에서 말씀드린 것처럼 저에게 말씀해주시는 내용은 자녀에게 절대 전달하지 않습니다. 이야기 중에 생각나는 내용을 자유롭게 말씀해주시면 됩니다.

- 참여자님 가정에 자녀가 몇명 있습니까?
- 오늘 면담에서는, 참여자님이 한국으로 오면서 떨어져서 살다가 나중에 자녀분이 한국으로 와서 같이 살게 된 자녀에 대해 여쭤보고자 합니다. 그 자녀는 현재 만 15 세에서 24 세 사이여야 합니다. 그 자녀의 이름이 무엇인가요?
- 그 자녀는 현재 몇 살인가요?

가정

먼저 가정 환경에 대해 얘기해보고자 합니다.

- 이주 결정
  - 가정 내에서 당신이 이주해서 일하는 것은 누구의 결정에 따른 것입니까? 당신이 이주해서 일하는 결정을 내리기까지 어떤 고려 사항들이 있었습니까?
  - 중국 동포들은 어떠한 이유로 한국으로 옵니까?
- 이주로 인한 가족의 변화
  - 가족 구성원 중 한명이 한국으로 간 후에 중국에 남아있는 가족들은 어떤 생활을 합니까? 어떤 변화를 겪게 됩니까?
    - 누가 한국으로 간지에 따라 다른 변화를 겪게 됩니까?
  - 이주 전에 가정 내에서 어떤 역할이었습니까? 당신의 이주 후 이 역할이 어떻게 변하였습니까?
  - 이주로 인해 가족 구성원 간의 관계에 변화가 있었습니까? 어떠한 변화가 있었습니까?

동네

- 지역 사회 관계
  - 중국에 있는 이웃이나 지역 사회 구성원들이 한국에 간 가족이 있는 중국 동포 가정에 대해서 어떻게 생각합니까?
  - 한국에 있는 이웃이나 지역 사회 구성원들이 중국에서 온 중국 동포 가족들에 대해서 어떻게 생각합니까?
  - 중국 동포 공동체와 한국 사회의 관계는 어떻습니까?

- 사회적 지지
    - 한국에 누구에게서 사회적인 지지를 받습니까? 당신의 자녀는 누구에게서 사회적 지지를 받습니까?
        - 어떤 사회적 자원을 받을 수 있습니까? (예를 들어, 실질적인 도움, 정서적인 도움, 정보, 등)
    - 당신의 자녀는 충분한 사회적인 지지를 받고 있습니까?
- 지역 사회 자원
    - 지역 사회에 어떤 교육적, 직업적 기회나 자원이 있습니까? 아이들이 잠재력을 최대한 발휘 할 수 있도록 충분한 자원이 있습니까?

<u>성별</u>

- 당신이 여성/남성인 것이 한국으로 오는데 어떠한 영향을 미쳤다고 생각합니까?
    - 만약 영향이 있었다면, 당신이 여성/남성이어서 한국으로 오는데 겪은 이점이나 어려운 점은 무엇이었습니까?
    - 당신의 자녀의 성별이 당신이 한국으로 오는데 영향을 미쳤다고 생각합니까?
- 당신의 자녀가 여자/남자인 것이 당신이 한국으로 온 후 자녀의 생활에 영향을 미쳤다고 생각합니까?
    - 만약 영향이 있었다면, 당신의 자녀가 여자/남자여서 당신의 이주 후에 겪은 이점이나 어려운 점은 무엇이었습니까?
- 당신의 자녀가 여자/남자인 것이 당신 자녀가 한국으로 오는데 어떠한 영향을 미쳤다고 생각합니까?
    - 만약 영향이 있었다면, 당신의 자녀가 여자/남자이어서 한국으로 오는데 겪은 이점이나 어려운 점은 무엇이었습니까?

<u>정체성</u>

- 당신의 자녀가 한국으로 오는 것이 자녀의 정체성에 영향이 있었다고 생각합니까?
    - 당신의 자녀는 자신을 어떠한 정체성에 더 가깝게 생각합니까? (예를 들어, 중국인, 한국인, 조선족, 혹은 그 외에 다른 정체성)
        - 왜 그렇게 생각합니까?
- 당신의 자녀의 정체성이 자녀의 삶에 어떤 영향을 미칩니까?

<u>국가</u>

- 한국의 정책이나 규칙이 당신의 자녀의 경험을 더 쉽거나 어렵게 하는 부분이 있으면 설명해주십시오.

<u>결말</u>

오늘 면담에 참여해 주셔서 정말 감사합니다. 덕분에 많은 정보를 얻었습니다. 마지막으로 저에게 하시고 싶은 질문이 있나요? 더 의논하고 싶은 점이 있나요?

질문이 있으신 경우 언제든지 연락 주시 길 바랍니다.

[주요 정보 제공자 면담]

소개

안녕하세요. 오늘 면담에 참여해 주셔서 감사합니다. 저는 미국에서 박사과정을 하고 있는 학생입니다. 이 연구의 목적은 중국동포 중도입국청년과 부모의 관계를 이해하는 것입니다. 오늘 면담을 통해 당신의 경험과 전문 지식에 대해 여쭤보고자 합니다.

- 한국에 중국동포 중도입국청년과 그들의 부모와 어떤 경험이나 전문 지식이 있는지 설명해주십시오.
    - (해당 사항이 있다면,) 중도입국청년이나 그들의 부모에게 어떤 서비스를 제공하는지 설명해주십시오.
- 중국동포들은 주로 어떤 이유로 한국에 온다고 생각하십니까?
- 중도입국청년들은 주로 어떤 이유로 한국에 온다고 생각하십니까?

동네

- 지역 사회 관계
    - 중국에 있는 이웃이나 지역 사회 구성원들이 한국에 간 가족이 있는 중국 동포 가정에 대해서 어떻게 생각합니까?
    - 한국에 있는 이웃이나 지역 사회 구성원들이 중국에서 온 중국 동포 가족들에 대해서 어떻게 생각합니까?
    - 중국 동포 공동체와 한국 사회의 관계는 어떻습니까?
- 사회적 지지
    - 한국에 당신이 아는 중국동포들은 누구에게서 사회적인 지지를 받습니까? 중도입국청년들은 누구에게서 사회적 지지를 받습니까?
        - 그들은 어떤 사회적 자원을 받을 수 있습니까? (예를 들어, 실질적인 도움, 정서적인 도움, 정보, 등)
    - 중도입국청년들은 충분한 사회적인 지지를 받고 있습니까?
- 지역 사회 자원
    - 지역 사회에 어떤 교육적, 직업적 기회나 자원이 있습니까? 중도입국청년들이 잠재력을 최대한 발휘 할 수 있도록 충분한 자원이 있습니까?

성별

- 중국동포의 성별이 한국으로 오는데 어떠한 영향을 미친다고 생각합니까?
    - 만약 영향이 있다면, 동포가 여성/남성이어서 한국으로 오는데 겪는 이점이나 어려운 점은 무엇입니까?
    - 자녀의 성별이 중국동포가 한국으로 오는데 영향을 미친다고 생각합니까?

- 자녀가 여자/남자인 것이 중국동포가 한국으로 온 후 자녀의 생활에 영향을 미친다고 생각합니까?
    - 만약 영향이 있다면, 자녀가 여자/남자여서 동포의 이주 후에 겪는 이점이나 어려운 점은 무엇입니까?
- 중도입국청년이 여자/남자인 것이 그들이 한국으로 오는데 어떠한 영향을 미친다고 생각합니까?
    - 만약 영향이 있다면, 중도입국청년이 여자/남자이어서 한국으로 오는데 겪는 이점이나 어려운 점은 무엇입니까?

<u>정체성</u>

- 중도입국청년이 한국으로 오는 것이 그들의 정체성에 영향이 있다고 생각합니까?
    - 보통, 중도입국청년들은 자신을 어떠한 정체성에 더 가깝게 생각합니까? (예를 들어, 중국인, 한국인, 조선족, 혹은 그 외에 다른 정체성)
        - 왜 그렇게 생각합니까?
- 중도입국청년의 정체성이 그들의 삶에 어떤 영향을 미칩니까?

<u>국가</u>

- 한국의 정책이나 규칙이 중도입국청년들의 경험을 더 쉽거나 어렵게 하는 부분이 있으면 설명해주십시오.

<u>결말</u>

오늘 면담에 참여해 주셔서 정말 감사합니다. 덕분에 많은 정보를 얻었습니다. 마지막으로 저에게 하시고 싶은 질문이 있나요? 더 의논하고 싶은 점이 있나요?

질문이 있으신 경우 언제든지 연락 주시 길 바랍니다.

7.3 Interview guides (Chinese)

[中途入境青少年面谈]

<u>简介</u>

您好！感谢您参与今天的面谈，我是在美国攻读博士学位的研究生。这项研究的目的是了解中途入境中国同胞青少年与其父母间的关系。为此今天主要想听听您的经历，我的问题的回答不存在对与错，您只需根据您的亲身经历或想法回答即可。

<u>目前在韩国的生活</u>

首先容许我做一下简单的自我介绍，我叫金侑拿, 今年 31 岁，现居住在美国。您也可以自我介绍一下吗?

您现在住在哪里？和谁一起生活?

您平日里都是怎么度过的呢?

- 主要考察点 1:
  - 一天中您最喜欢的时间段是什么时候?为什么喜欢那个时间段?
  - 一天中最讨厌的时间段是什么时候?为什么不喜欢那个时间段?
- 主要考察点 2:
  - 平时经常见面的人都有谁?
  - 你平常喜欢和谁呆在一起?为什么喜欢那个时间段呢?
- 主要考察点 3:
  - 有感到伤心或者有压力的时候吗?为了缓解压力或者转换心情会做什么呢?
  - 遇到困难时用什么方法克服?

- 其他考察点 4:
  - 你有手机吗?用手机主要做些什么?
  - 平常喜欢看电视吗?主要看什么节目?
  - 玩电脑游戏吗?玩什么游戏?
- 其他考察点 5:
  - 您现在在韩国上学吗?学校怎么样?
  - 学校布置作业吗?作业怎么样?
- 其他考察点 6:
  - 在家需要做家务或者帮忙跑腿儿吗?对于这些,您是怎么想的?
- 其他考察点 7:
  - 平时吃饭怎么解决?一般和谁一起吃饭?
  - 如何购买所需物品?主要买什么?
  - 您的兴趣爱好是什么?

本人移居经历

现在我们来谈一下您来韩国时候的经历吧。

您什么时候来的韩国?来韩国的时候您多大年纪了?

来韩国的经历如何?

- 考察点 1:
  - 您为什么会来韩国?
  - 您来韩国的决定是谁做的?您对这个决定有什么看法?
  - 有人事先和您讨论过这个决定吗?是怎么讨论的?

        - 如果事先没有人和您讨论过，你认为是因为什么原因?
        - 事先进行过或没有进行过讨论，这对您来韩国的经历会产生影响吗?
- 考察点 2:
    - 来韩国的时候您都做了哪些准备?
    - 到韩国的那一天，您的心情是怎样的呢?
- 考察点 3:
    - 您对韩国的第一印象如何?
    - 您在韩国的生活与以前有什么不同?

<u>父母移居后至本人移居前的生活</u>
现在，我想了解一下您来韩国之前，也就是您的母亲/父亲移居韩国后的经历。

这期间您住在哪里?和谁一起生活?
这个时期您每天是怎么度过的?和现在有什么不同?

- 考察变化
    - 一天中喜欢或者讨厌的部分和现在有什么不同?
    - 经常见面或陪在身边的人和现在有什么不同?
    - 应对压力或困难的方法与现在有什么不同?
    - 与现在相比，使用手机/电视/电脑的时间有变化吗?为什么?
    - 与现在相比，学习的时间有变化吗?为什么?
    - 要做的家务和帮忙跑腿儿有不一样吗?
    - 解决三餐的方式和穿衣服的风格有什么不同吗?
- 因母亲/父亲在韩国，因此而遇到过什么困难吗?具体有什么样的困难?
- 因母亲/父亲在韩国，有什么便利之处吗?具体有什么样的便利?

<u>父母的移居</u>
接下来我们谈一下您的母亲/父亲移居韩国的经历。

您的母亲/父亲什么时候去的韩国?当时她/他年龄有多大?

您的母亲/父亲去韩国的原因是什么?
您对您的母亲/父亲去韩国有什么看法?
您的母亲/父亲去韩国的时候您的心情怎么样?
您的母亲/父亲去韩国之事，他们事先和您讨论过吗?

- 如果进行了讨论，那么讨论过程如何?
- 如果事先没有和您讨论，您认为是为什么?

- 您认为进行/没有进行讨论对您有什么影响？

父母移居前的生活

现在我们谈一谈母亲/父亲去韩国之前的经历。

这个时期您住在哪儿？和谁一起生活？

这个时期您的一天一般是怎么度过的？和现在有什么不同？

- 考察变化：
  - 一天中喜欢或者讨厌的部分和现在有什么不同？
  - 经常见面或一起度过时间的人和现在有什么不同？
  - 应对压力或困难的方法与现在有什么不同？
  - 与现在相比，使用手机/电视/电脑的时间有变化吗？为什么？
  - 与现在相比，学习的时间有变化吗？为什么？
  - 要做的家务和帮忙跑腿儿有不一样吗？
  - 解决三餐和穿衣服的方式有什么不同吗？

未来展望

现在最喜欢做的事情是什么？

将来您想做什么？

- 支持您实现您将来想做的事的人是谁？
- 您对将来实现目标的信心有多大？

结论

感谢您今天与应约进行面谈。您有什么其他问题吗？或者还有什么想说的吗？

如果在此期间对我有什么疑问，请随时联系。

[父母的第一次面谈]

简介

感谢您参与今天的面谈。我是在美国攻读博士学位的学生。这项研究的目的是了解中途入境中国同胞青少年与其父母间的关系，因此，今天我还想向您咨询有关您子女的一些情况。同意书中也提到过，您今天对我所说的内容，我绝不会透漏给您的子女。接下来的谈话过程中，您可以自由表达心中的想法。

- 您一共有几个孩子？
- 在今天的面谈中，我们主要来谈一下在您来到韩国后所经历的那一段分居生活，之后再谈您的子女来到韩国并与您一起生活的经历。他/她的年龄需在 1 5 至 2 4 周岁之间。请问这个孩子的名字是？

- 他/她现在多少岁了？

家庭

首先，我们来谈一下家庭环境。

- 决定移居
  - 您移居到海外去工作是由谁做出决定的？在做出此决定之前有过哪些顾虑？
  - 中国同胞来韩国的主要原因是什么？
- 移居导致的家庭变化
  - 家庭成员中有一人去韩国后，留在中国的家人都过着什么样的生活？会经历哪些变化？
    - 您认为，要是去韩国的人不同，会引起不同的变化吗？
  - 移居前您在家庭里扮演什么角色？移居后您的角色发生了怎样的变化？
  - 移居之后，家庭成员之间的关系有变化吗？具体有什么变化？

小区

- 社区关系
  - 在中国的邻居或社区成员对家里有人移居韩国的中国同胞家庭有什么看法？
  - 在韩国的邻居或社区成员对来自中国的中国同胞家属有什么看法？
  - 中国同胞群体与韩国社会的关系如何？
- 社会支持
  - 在韩国，主要从哪里获得社会支持？您的子女受到来自哪方面的社会支持？
  - 主要能获得哪些社会资源？（例如，实际帮助、精神慰藉、信息等）
  - 您认为您的子女有获得充分的社会支持吗？
- 社区资源
  - 在社区，有什么教育性、职业性的机会或资源吗？有没有足够的资源能让孩子们发挥最大的潜能？

性别

- 您认为您的女性/男性身份对移居韩国有什么影响？
  - 如果有影响的话，您的女性/男性身份对移居韩国的益处和难处是什么？
  - 您认为您子女的性别对您移居韩国有影响吗？
- 您认为您子女的性别对其在韩国的生活有影响吗？
  - 如果有影响的话，因为您子女的性别，在您移居后经历的益处和难处是什么？
- 您认为您的子女的女性/男性身份，对她/他移居韩国有什么影响？
  - 如果有影响，因为您子女的性别，在她/他移居韩国时经历的益处和难处是什么？

民族认同感

- 您认为您的子女来韩国后对其民族认同感有影响吗？

    - 您觉得您的子女更贴近哪一类民族认同？（例如，中国人、韩国人、朝鲜族或其他的民族认同）
        - 为什么那么想？
- 您子女的民族认同感对其在韩国的生活有什么影响？

<u>国家</u>

- 韩国的政策或法规是否有使您的子女生活得更便利或困难的地方？如果有，请具体说明。

<u>结论</u>

非常感谢参与今天的面谈。托您的福，获得了很多信息。最后有什么想问我的问题吗？或者还有什么想说的吗？如有问题，请随时联系。

[主要知情者面谈]

<u>简介</u>

您好！感谢您参与今天的面谈。我是在美国攻读博士学位的研究生。这项研究的目的是了解中途入境中国同胞青少年与其父母的关系。

我想通过今天的面谈咨询一下您的一些相关经验和专业知识。

- 麻烦您先简单说明一下，您对在韩中国同胞中途入境的青少年和他们的父母有哪些相关经验或专业知识。
    - （如果有）您具体给中途入境青少年或他们的父母提供了哪些帮助？
- 您认为，中国同胞们来韩国的主要原因是什么？
- 中途入境青少年来韩国的主要原因是什么？

<u>小区</u>

- 社区关系
    - 在中国的邻居或社区成员对家里有人移居韩国的中国同胞家庭有什么看法？
    - 在韩国的邻居或社区成员对来自中国的中国同胞家属有什么看法？
    - 中国同胞群体与韩国社会的关系如何？
- 社会支持
    - 据您所知，在韩中国同胞主要从哪里获得社会支持？中途入境青少年受到来自哪方面的社会支持？
        - 主要能获得哪些社会资源？（例如，实际帮助、精神慰藉、信息等）
    - 您认为中途入境青少年有获得充分的社会支持吗？
- 社区资源
    - 在社区，有什么教育性、职业性的机会或资源吗？有没有足够的资源能让孩子们发挥最大的潜能？

<u>性别</u>

- 您认为中国同胞们的性别对他们移居韩国有什么影响?
    - 如果有影响的话，他们的女性/男性身份，对移居韩国的益处和难处是什么?
    - 您认为子女的性别对他们父母移居韩国有影响吗?
- 您认为子女的性别对其在韩国的生活有影响吗?
    - 如果有影响的话，因为子女的性别，在他们父母移居后经历的益处和难处是什么?
- 您认为中途入境青少年的女性/男性身份，对他们移居韩国有什么影响?
    - 如果有影响，中途入境青少年的女性/男性身份，对她/他们移居韩国的益处和难处是什么?

民族认同感
- 您认为中途入境青少年来韩国对其民族认同感有影响吗?
    - 一般而言，中途入境的青少年认为本人更接近哪一类民族认同? （例如，中国人、韩国人、朝鲜族或其他民族认同）
        - 为什么那么想?
- 中途入境青少年的民族认同感对其的生活有什么影响?

国家
- 韩国的政策或法规是否有使中途入境青少年生活得更便利或困难的地方? 如果有，请具体说明。

结论
非常感谢参与今天的面谈。托您的福，获得了很多信息。最后有什么想问我的问题吗? 或者还有什么想讨论的吗? 如有问题，请随时联系。

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YUAN, Z. & LI, X. 2019. Measurement model for students' ethnic identity, national identity, and perception of social mobility in China: Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses. *SAGE Open,* April-June 2019**,** 1-14.

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ZHU, Z. 2020. Interpreting China's "Wolf-Warrior Diplomacy". *The Diplomat,* 15**,** 648-658.

CURRICULUM VITAE

YOONA KIM

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Doctor of Philosophy, 2022	Social and Behavioral Interventions Program, Department of International Health, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health (BSPH) Dissertation: Mental Health and Well-being of Migrant Youth: An Exploration of Identity, Family Separation, and Future Aspirations among Korean Chinese Migrant Youth in South Korea
Master of Public Health, 2017	Epidemiology and Biostatistics, University of Hong Kong (HKU)
Bachelor of Arts, 2013	International Studies and Psychological & Brain Sciences, Johns Hopkins University (JHU)
Other	
April 29-30, 2019	Qualitative data analysis workshop led by Johnny Saldaña, BSPH
July 13-17, 2015	Research methodology for disaster and medical humanitarian response, Collaborating Centre for Oxford University and The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) for Disaster and Medical Humanitarian Response

HONORS AND AWARDS

21st Century Cities Initiative Award for Doctoral Research on Urban Issues
- 21st Century Cities Initiative, JHU (2020)

Scholarship Competition Winner in Policy and Practice
- Delta Omega Public Health Honor Society, Alpha Chapter, BSPH (2020)

Dissertation Enhancement Award
- Center for Qualitative Studies in Health and Medicine, BSPH (2020)

Centennial Scholars Scholarship
- Department of International Health, BSPH (2017)

Master of Public Health Honorary Teachers Scholarship
- HKU (2015)

Inductee, Phi Beta Kappa Honors society (2013)

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES
Fellow, Gordis Teaching Fellowship

- Undergraduate Program in Public Health Studies, Johns Hopkins University (2022)

Fellow, Donald J. Cohen Fellowship Program for International Scholars in Child and Adolescent Mental Health

- International Association for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Allied Professions (2020)

PUBLICATIONS
Journal articles

1. **Kim Y**, Ghimire A, Lasater ME, Kohrt BA, Surkan PJ, Luitel NP. Feasibility of implementing a culturally adapted Prolonged Grief Disorder scale in the mental health care system in Nepal. *Global Mental Health*. 2021 Sep 15;8:e36.

2. Surkan PJ, Garrison-Desany H, Rimal D, Luitel NP, **Kim Y**, Prigerson HG, Shrestha S, Tol W, Murray S. Adaptation and psychometric validation of the Prolonged Grief Disorder scale among widows in central Nepal. *Journal of Affective Disorders*. 2021 Feb 15;281:397-405.

3. **Kim Y**, Rimal D, KC A, Shrestha S, Luitel N, Prigerson H, Tol W, Surkan PJ. Understanding Nepali widow's experiences for the adaptation of an instrument to assess Prolonged Grief Disorder. *Transcultural Psychiatry*. 2020 Dec 22;1363461520949005.

4. Nawa N, Garrison-Desany HM, **Kim Y**, Ji Y, Hong X, Wang G, Pearson C, Zuckerman BS, Wang X, Surkan PJ. Maternal persistent marijuana use and cigarette smoking are independently associated with shorter gestational age. *Paediatric and Perinatal Epidemiology*. 2020 Nov;34(6):696-705.

5. Garrison-Desany HM, Nawa N, **Kim Y**, Ji Y, Susan Chang HY, Hong X, Wang G, Pearson C, Zuckerman BS, Wang X, Surkan PJ. Polydrug Use During Pregnancy and Preterm Birth in a Low-Income, Multiethnic Birth Cohort, Boston, 1998-2018. Public Health Reports. 2020 May/Jun;135(3):383-392.

6. Ni MY, **Kim Y**, McDowell I, Wong S, Hong Q, Wong IOL, Galea S, Leung GM. Mental health during and after protests, riots and revolutions: A systematic review. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*. 2020 Jan 28;0004867419899165.

7. Azuine RE, Ji Y, Chang HY, **Kim Y**, Ji H, DiBari J, Hong X, Wang G, Singh GK, Pearson C, Zuckerman B. Prenatal risk factors and perinatal and postnatal outcomes associated with maternal opioid exposure in and urban, low-income, multiethnic US population. *JAMA Network Open*. 2019 Jun 5;2(6):e196405-.

8. Wang Z, Lau JT, Ip M, Ho SP, Mo PK, Latkin C, Ma YL, **Kim Y**. A randomized controlled trial evaluating efficacy of promoting a home-based HIV self-testing with

online counseling on increasing HIV testing among men who have sex with men. *AIDS and Behavior*. 2018 Jan 1;22(1):190-201.

9. Mo PK, Lau JT, Lau M, **Kim Y**. Mental health service utilization among men who have sex with men who are at risk of mental health problems in Hong Kong: Prevalence and associated factors. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*. 2018 Jul;19(3):392.

10. Lau JT, Wang Z, **Kim Y**, Li J, Gu J, Mo PK, Wang X. Low sustainability, poor governance, and other challenges encountered by grassroots non-governmental organizations targeting HIV prevention for men who have sex with men in China: A nation-wide study. *AIDS care*. 2017 Dec 2;29(12):1480-90.

11. Lau JT, **Kim Y**, Wu AM, Wang Z, Huang B, Mo PK. The Occupy Central (Umbrella) movement and mental health distress in the Hong Kong general public: Political movements and concerns as potential structural risk factors of population mental health. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*. 2017 May 1;52(5):525-36

12. Wang Z, Feng T, Lau JT, **Kim Y**. Acceptability of voluntary medical male circumcision (VMMC) among male sexually transmitted diseases patients (MSTDP) in China. *PLoS One*. 2016 Feb 23;11(2):e0149801.

13. Lau JT, Wang Z, **Kim Y**, Gu J, Wu AM, Zhou Q, Hao C, Cheng P, Hao Y. Anticipated negative responses by students to possible Ebola virus outbreak, Guangzhou, China. *Emerging Infectious Diseases*. 2016 Jan;22(1):154.

Book chapters

Lau J, Li J, She R, **Kim Y**. Implications of the global mental health and the HIV syndemic on HIV prevention and care. In: Bhugra D, Bui K, Wong S, Gilman S, ed. by. Oxford Textbook of Public Mental Health [Internet]. 1st ed. Oxford University Press; 2018. Available from: http://10.1093/med/9780198792994.001.0001

PRESENTATIONS

Kim Y, Robinson WC. Depression and anxiety among migrant and left-behind children of internal labor migrants in China. Oral presentation presented at the International Association for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry and Allied Professions 2020 Virtual Congress; 2 December 2020; Singapore.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

WeFriends (Korea Migrant Health Association) ***Mar 2020 – Current***

Visiting Researcher

- Administered surveys and conducted in-depth interviews with labor migrants from China, Nepal, and Myanmar in South Korea for a formative study aimed to understand their perceptions and experiences about suicide
- Analyzed the collected quantitative and qualitative data and contributed to the writing of the final report on suicide prevention among migrants in South Korea

BSPH Dept. of Population, Family and Reproductive Health ***Oct 2017 – Current***
Graduate research assistant
- Analyzes large quantitative data on maternal exposures and child health outcomes from the Boston Birth Cohort

HKU School of Public Health ***Jan 2017 – Aug 2017***
Research assistant
- Conducted a systematic review, from literature search to data analysis and write-up, on population mental health before, during, and after political collective action
- Collected a large dataset of Tweets and provided assistance in developing a machine-learning based program that identifies sentiment from Tweet content
- Added three scales on rumination, social support, and hopelessness to a large, ongoing cohort of individuals, families, and neighborhoods in Hong Kong. Pertaining to this task, identified relevant scales, obtained permission from authors, translated, piloted, and submitted IRB amendments

CUHK Center for Health Behaviours Research ***Oct 2014 – Jan 2017***
Research assistant
- Wrote grant and research proposals for internal and external funding based on literature review of various public health issues that involves health behaviors, such as organ donation, smoking cessation, mental health, and sexual behaviors
- Managed funded research projects and data collection
- Contributed to the preparation of manuscripts for publication in international journals
- Organized the first International Behavioral Health Conference in the Asian Pacific region, BeHealth 2016 in Hong Kong, with 30 international speakers and over 300 attendees

RESEARCH GRANTS
BSPH Center for Global Health ***May 2018***
Principal Investigator
Global Health Established Field Placement Award ($3,000)
- Conducted 25 semi-structured interviews with mental health providers in Kathmandu, Nepal to identify provider attitudes toward a screening instrument for Prolonged Grief Disorder adapted for widows in Nepal
- Trained a local research assistant on qualitative data collection and analysis

The Franklin Center for Global Exchange ***Jun 2011***
Principal Investigator
William F. Clinger, Jr. Award ($4,300)
- Conducted 18 structured interviews with internal labor migrants in Shanghai, China to understand how they perceive their health and healthcare system

TEACHING
JHU Public Health Program ***Jan – May 2022***

Instructor
Adverse Childhood Experiences: A Public Health Perspective

BSPH Dept. of Health, Behavior, and Society ***Sept – Dec 2021&2020&2019***
Teaching assistant
Qualitative Reasoning in Public Health

BSPH Dept. of Health, Behavior, and Society ***Aug 2021&2020&2019***
Teaching assistant
Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods (Summer Intensive)

BSPH Dept. of Health, Behavior, and Society ***Aug 2021&2020***
Teaching assistant
Introduction to Qualitative Data Analysis for Public Health (Summer Intensive)

BSPH Dept. of International Health ***Mar – May 2021&2019***
Teaching assistant
Qualitative Data Analysis

BSPH Dept. of Population, Family, and Reproductive Health ***Jan – Mar 2020&2019***
Teaching assistant
Migration and Health: Concepts, Rates, and Relationships

BSPH Dept. of International Health ***Jan – Mar 2020***
Teaching assistant
Human Rights in Humanitarian Emergencies

BSPH Dept. of International Health ***Mar – May 2019***
Teaching assistant
Global Disease Control Programs and Policies

BSPH Dept. of International Health ***Oct – Dec 2018***
Teaching assistant
Health Behavior Change at the Individual, Household and Community Levels

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
Personal statement of research objectives

My research interest centers on how social and psychosocial determinants influence mental health of migrants and their family members in an increasingly mobile, globalized world. With a focus on internal and international migration patterns in East and Southeast Asia, my research investigates relationships between migration and household dynamics and the implications these may have on mental health and well-being of migrants and their family members. My dissertation research proposes to explore this topic in the context of ethnic return migration of Korean Chinese to South Korea. I am committed to conducting research that will inform social policies and public health interventions aiming to improve the health and well-being of underserved populations. I use both quantitative and

qualitative methods and draw theoretical frameworks from multiple disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, and psychology.

Keywords

Mental health; migration; mobility; household dynamics; gender; intergenerational; child development; social epidemiology; social theory; social justice; health inequalities; qualitative methods; quantitative methods.