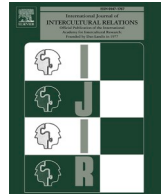




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International Journal of Intercultural Relations

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ijintrel

In between Korean and New Zealander: Extrinsic success beliefs and well-being of Korean youth in New Zealand

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Success beliefs
Well-being
Korean New Zealander youth
Third culture kids
Culture
Acculturation

ABSTRACT

Korean immigrants have migrated to New Zealand over the past three decades in search of a happier and more balanced life. While they anticipated that their children would be integrated into New Zealand society, they have primarily settled in Korean ethnic enclaves. In this context, younger Korean New Zealanders have been exposed to and influenced by New Zealand's national and Korean ethnic cultures. This study examined success beliefs and well-being among Korean youth in New Zealand with a Third Culture Kid background (TCK K-NZ) in comparison to Korean youth in Korea (K-Korean) and European New Zealand youth (Pākehā). Results indicated that TCK K-NZ youth endorsed extrinsic success similarly to K-Korean youth, but that valuing extrinsic success predicted lowered well-being only for K-Korean youth. Conversely, valuing intrinsic success predicted higher well-being across the three groups. Results also revealed that TCK K-NZ youth's well-being levels were between those of K-Korean and Pākehā youth, potentially influenced by different structural relations between success beliefs and well-being, as well as their position as "third culture kids" in New Zealand. This study contributes to understanding cultures' roles in formulating success beliefs and the relationship between success beliefs and well-being for Korean New Zealander youth.

Introduction

Culture and success beliefs

Individuals develop personal standards of success through their subjective value judgements, which are contingent upon their cultural affiliations (Kumar & Maehr, 2007; Triandis & Suh, 2002). Hofstede's framework characterises national cultures as either collectivist or individualist (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis & Gelfand, 2012). In collectivist societies, such as Republic of Korea (Korea hereafter), interpersonal bonds are robust, and individuals tend to prioritise tradition, harmony, social order, and family over personal goals (Oishi & Diener, 2009; Schwartz, 1999). Within these societies, the emphasis is often placed on in-group goals over personal merit, leading individuals to pursue extrinsic markers of success such as affluence and prestige (Nisbett, 2004; Scollon & Wirtz, 2014; Suh, 2007). In contrast, individualistic societies, exemplified by New Zealand, feature comparatively weaker interpersonal ties, where personal rights, choices, and autonomy take precedence over in-group goals (Diener et al., 2009; Nisbett, 2004). Individuals in

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<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2024.101943>

Received 26 June 2023; Received in revised form 15 December 2023; Accepted 4 February 2024

Available online 12 March 2024

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individualist cultures generally enjoy more freedom to pursue intrinsic goals compared to those in collectivistic cultures (Ingrid, Majda, & Dubravka, 2009).

While Hofstede's dimensions of culture may overstate the homogeneity of national populations (Jones, 2007), multicultural societies such as New Zealand (Sibley & Ward, 2013; Statistics New Zealand, 2019) may exhibit wide diversity in success beliefs depending on the ethnic minority group to which individuals belong. This study focuses on a group of Korean youth in New Zealand with a Third Culture Kid background (TCK K-NZ youth hereafter) who have grown up in a country and society different from that of their birth and their parents' upbringing. Third Culture Kids (TCKs) often have values that blend those of their parents and the new environment in which they are being raised, fostering a mixed sense of identity and culture (Donohue, 2022; Pollock, Van Reken, & Pollock, 2017). This third culture represents a blend of familial and host cultural influences, creating a different set of values and identities from their parents and their environment. Understanding the experiences of Korean TCKs in the New Zealand context offers valuable insights into the interplay of cultural influences on success beliefs and corollary attitudes and values.

Success beliefs: Korean youth in New Zealand with a Third Culture Kid Background

Since the late 1980s, New Zealand's ethnic and cultural diversity has undergone a significant transformation, propelled by the New Zealand Immigration Act, leading to an influx of immigrants from many nations and contributing to the formation of a multicultural society (Bedford, Ho, & Lidgard, 2002). Between 1986 and 2018 the Korean immigrant population grew from 441 to 35,664, constituting 0.76% of the entire New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). Predominantly concentrated in the Auckland region, 70% of Korean immigrants have chosen the North Shore as their primary settlement area (Friesen, 2015).

The Korean ethnic group in New Zealand consists of adult, first-generation immigrants, who actively preserve their ethnic language, culture, and lifestyles (Park & Anglem, 2012). Korean immigrant parents demonstrate commitment to traditional Confucian principles in their children's upbringing (Kim, 2013; Lee, Keown, & Brown, 2018). For TCK K-NZ youth who have undergone formal education in New Zealand, connection with their Korean ethnic identity while simultaneously acquiring a New Zealand cultural identity can be challenging. In this process, they construct a unique third cultural identity shaped by their upbringing in New Zealand and the cultural background imparted by their families. During this phase, TCK K-NZ youth prefer interaction with fellow TCK K-NZ over peers from the dominant ethnic group, fostering a profound sense of belonging within the Korean group (Song & Park, 2018). However, TCK K-NZ youth also experience identity struggles in secondary schools as they encounter difficulties forming relationships and interacting with diverse peers in the schooling environment (Kitchen, 2013). Simultaneously, they may undergo cultural conflict and confusion caused by the difference in their Korean parents' parenting practices to those reported by their peers in school (Kim, 2013).

In this respect, TCK K-NZ youth offer an intriguing and meaningful cohort to study regarding success beliefs as they straddle both Korean and New Zealand cultures, embodying an identity that doesn't fully align with either group, thus becoming TCKs positioned between the influences of Korea and New Zealand. To date, no research has examined the success beliefs of TCK K-NZ youth.

Well-being of Korean youth in New Zealand with a Third Culture Kid Background

A significant motivator for Korean immigrants moving to New Zealand has been the desire to escape the extrinsically driven success standards and competitive lifestyles prevalent in Korea. Specifically, Korean immigrants have sought to provide their children and families with a more relaxed educational environment and a better work-life balance (Chang, Morris, & Vokes, 2006; Kitchen, 2014). Previous cross-cultural studies demonstrated that New Zealand ranked higher in well-being than Korea (Diener et al., 2010; Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2019). In general, the levels of well-being in individualistic societies tend to be higher than those in collectivistic societies (Diener et al., 2009).

Nevertheless, there has been little research examining the well-being levels of TCK K-NZ youth compared to the dominant Korean youth group in Korea (K-Korean youth hereafter) and the dominant European youth group in New Zealand (Pākehā youth hereafter). Insights from a comprehensive review (Tan, Wang, & Cottrell, 2021) reveal that TCKs frequently confront difficulties in adapting to new environments, manifesting adjustment struggles in their daily lives and educational settings. The review further highlights that TCKs tend to grapple with mental health issues, exhibiting symptoms including but not limited to loneliness, distress, and depression. Thus, understanding well-being levels among TCK K-NZ youth, K-Korean youth, and Pākehā youth groups is important.

However, it is important to consider the possibility that differences in well-being are caused by a non-equivalent understanding of *well-being* between the two cultures. In individualistic cultures, personal affect and emotions are more significant predictors of life satisfaction compared to people in collectivistic cultures (Suh et al., 1998; Suh, Diener, & Updegraff, 2008); that is, *intrapersonal well-being* is highlighted in individualistic cultures (Tang et al., 2016). On the other hand, individuals in collectivistic cultures are apt to perceive well-being based on the health of interpersonal relationships (Uchida, Norasakkunkit, & Kitayama, 2004), where fulfilling social norms and appraisals are important factors in predicting life satisfaction (Suh et al., 1998); that is, *social well-being* is valued in collectivistic culture (Ingrid et al., 2009). In essence, the observed differences in well-being between New Zealand and Korea might be attributed to different conceptions of well-being in each country. Therefore, before comparing well-being levels, it is essential to establish measurement equivalence of the well-being concept among the comparison groups (Brown et al., 2017).

The interplay between success beliefs and well-being

This study explores the relationship between success beliefs and well-being of TCK K-NZ youth, compared to K-Korean and Pākehā

youth groups. Grounded in goal contents theory, this study posits that a strong pursuit of extrinsic goals may compromise basic psychological needs (i.e., autonomy, competency, and relatedness), with a negative impact on well-being. Conversely, a strong aspiration for intrinsic goals satisfies one's psychological needs, and this, in turn, promotes better well-being (Kasser et al., 2014; Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Ryan & Deci, 2000). This theoretical framework has been supported by empirical research in Korea (Kim, Kasser, & Lee, 2003), and with adolescents (Easterbrook et al., 2014) and university students (Schmuck, Kasser, & Ryan, 2000).

In the context of Korean society, the pursuit of external success is pervasive and has been identified as a significant detriment to well-being (Diener et al., 2010; Youm & Sung, 2021; IPSOS, 2013). In a survey conducted among 7267 Korean students aged between 11 and 19 in 2021, participants were asked about the most crucial factor contributing to their happiness. The results revealed a shift in priorities as respondents grew older, with an increasing emphasis on 'money' and 'academic achievement' over 'health' and 'family'. Compared to 2009, there was a reduction of about 11% among students who underscored the significance of relational values for their sense of happiness, whereas there was an observed increment of about 10% in students prioritising material values in 2021. Unfortunately, the subjective well-being of Korean youth ranked as the lowest among 22 OECD countries (Youm & Sung, 2021). On the other hand, in New Zealand, the pursuit of intrinsic goals was highly valued and positively predicted well-being, while valuing extrinsic goals was comparatively low and did not predict well-being (Yamaguchi & Halberstadt, 2012). In the United States, Oishi and Diener (2009) found that intrinsic goal pursuit (i.e., pursuing a goal for fun and enjoyment) positively influenced well-being only for European Americans, not Asian Americans.

Given these cultural differences, the structural relations between success beliefs and well-being will likely differ among K-Korean, TCK K-NZ, and Pākehā youth groups, exposed to different culture mixes. Therefore, this study contributes to our understanding of the cultural impact on the relation between success beliefs and well-being upon Korean youth with a TCK background.

Research questions and hypotheses

This study addressed the following research questions and corresponding hypotheses (H).

1. How are the success beliefs of TCK K-NZ youth similar or different to those of K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups? H1: Compared to K-Korean youth, TCK K-NZ youth will report higher intrinsic success beliefs (H1a) and lower extrinsic success beliefs (H1b); and compared to Pākehā youth, TCK K-NZ youth will report lower intrinsic success beliefs (H1c) and higher extrinsic success beliefs (H1d).
2. How is the well-being of TCK K-NZ youth similar to or different from that of K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups? H2: TCK K-NZ youth will report greater well-being than K-Korean youth (H2a) and lower well-being than Pākehā youth (H2b).
3. How are the structural relations between success beliefs and well-being of TCK K-NZ youth similar or different to those of K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups? H3: Extrinsic success will have no significant relation with well-being for both TCK K-NZ youth and Pākehā youth (H3a); extrinsic success will have a negative relation with well-being for K-Korean youth (H3b); and intrinsic success will have a positive relation with well-being for all youth groups (H3c).

Fig. 1 shows these hypothetical causal relations between extrinsic/intrinsic success factors and well-being-related factors. Considering that Pākehā group exhibited a slightly younger age compared to the other two Korean youth groups, the variable *age* was introduced into the SEM models as a covariate to account for potential confounding effects on the results as shown in the figure. It is hypothesised that the extrinsic success factor would reduce life satisfaction, positive affect, and flourishing and increase negative affect. In contrast, the intrinsic success factor would increase life satisfaction, positive affect, and flourishing and decrease negative affect.

Method

Procedures

The data used in this study is taken from an online survey administered on the Qualtrics platform of young adults aged 16 to 24 (Park, 2019). By applying convenience sampling, participants were recruited through online (e.g., social media, websites for Koreans and local people, respectively) and offline channels (e.g., schools, universities, student associations, community centres, and bulletin boards). All participants were informed that their participation is entirely voluntary and anonymous. The participants chose a survey language between English and Korean. Ethical approval (Approval number 016253) was granted by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee.

Participants

As detailed in Table 1, TCK K-NZ youth group was defined as Koreans born in New Zealand or who came to New Zealand before the age of 19, thus excluding those who came only for university-level study. K-Korean group was Korean nationals living in Korea, while Pākehā youth were only those who identified as being white, European, or New Zealand Europeans. Proportionally fewer K-NZ youth participated compared to K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups. However, chi-square tests of distributions by percentages showed that this differed from equal proportions by chance. Regarding gender, despite there being a small difference with more females, the proportions of women to men within each group were roughly equivalent. Similarly, there was a small ($d = 0.23$) between-group

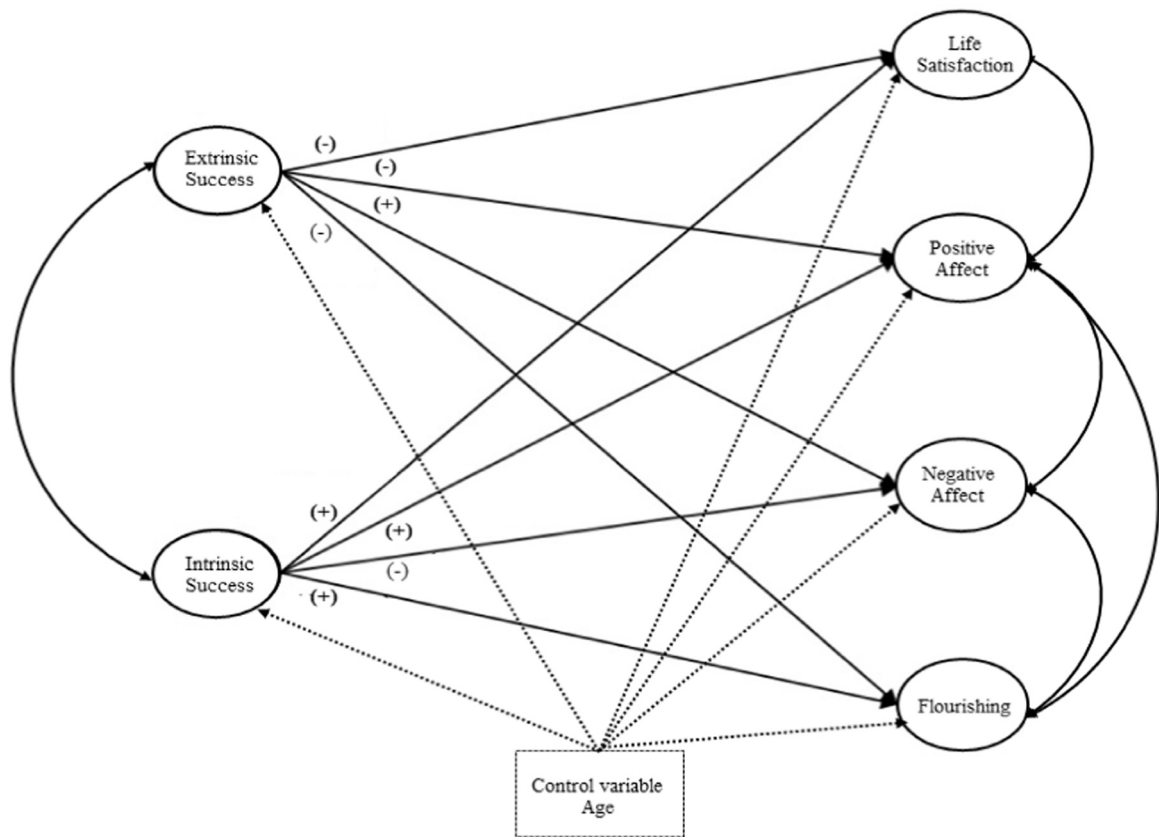


Fig. 1. Schematic representation of hypothesised relation between success beliefs and well-being. Note. Positive and negative signs in parentheses represent positive and negative effects, respectively. The ellipses represent latent variables, while manifest variables and error terms are excluded for simplicity.

difference in student status: an over-representation of students (i.e., participants indicating that they were enrolled at a school, university, or other educational institution) in the TCK K-NZ sample and under-representation of them in Pākehā sample (98.9% and 90.9%, respectively). Finally, there was a small ($d = 0.28$) group difference in mean age between K-Korean and Pākehā participants (19.41 and 18.73 years, respectively).

Measures

This study employed original and existing measures to assess participants’ success beliefs and well-being. To ensure comparability, the measures were validated for equivalence in meaning across languages and were administered with a common response scale. All measures were translated from English to Korean (for completion by K-Korean group) by the first author, and five bilingual Koreans verified the translation validity on the grounds of functional equivalence (Jin & Nida, 2006). A six-point positively packed response

Table 1
Demographic Information of K-Korean Youth, TCK K-NZ Youth, and Pākehā Youth.

Demographic category	Group			Chi-square/ F-Statistic (<i>df</i>)	Cohen’s <i>d</i>
	K-Korean (<i>n</i> = 748)	TCK K-NZ (<i>n</i> = 464)	Pākehā (<i>n</i> = 943)		
Gender				$\chi^2_{(2)} = 5.78$	$d = 0.28$
Male	194 (25.9%)	162 (34.9%)	188 (19.9%)		
Female	551 (73.7%)	301 (64.9%)	752 (79.7%)		
Prefer not to answer	3 (0.4%)	1 (0.2%)	3 (0.3%)		
Student status				$\chi^2_{(2)} = 8.05^*$	$d = 0.23$
Yes	710 (94.9%)	459 (98.9%)	852 (90.3%)		
No	38 (5.1%)	5 (1.1%)	91 (9.7%)		
Age mean (<i>sd</i>)	19.41 (2.44)	19.18 (2.10)	18.73 (1.94)	$F_{(2)} = 21.55^{***}$	$d = 0.28$

Note. For Cohen’s *d*: $.20 \leq d < .50$ = small effect (Cohen, 1988). * $p < .05$ *** $p < .001$.

scale comprising two negative and four positive options was used for all measures (Brown & Shulruf, 2023). The positively packed response format increases variance in responding to an item (Masino & Lam, 2014) and is recommended for respondents with a tendency to agree with questionnaire items, such as Koreans who have an acquiescent response tendency (Lee & Green, 1991; Locke & Baik, 2009; Riordan & Vandenberg, 1994).

Success beliefs. A new 12-item inventory of success beliefs was constructed based on previous literature about success-related concepts, such as values, life goals, aspirations, and value orientations (Headey, 2008; Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Rokeach, 1973; Thornton, 2004; Eagan et al., 2017) and by the first author's qualitative research findings (Park, 2019). Of the 12 success indicators, four reflected extrinsic success: being very well off financially (IMP1), obtaining recognition for academic and/or professional achievements (IMP4), having an attractive physical appearance (IMP8), and being a leader in my community or society (IMP11). Eight indicators represented intrinsic success: helping others in my community or beyond (IMP2), having and taking care of family (IMP3), developing a meaningful philosophy of life (IMP5), pursuing intellectual/artistic/leisure activities (IMP6), integrating spirituality or religion into my life (IMP7), experiencing sexual and spiritual intimacy with a partner (IMP9), having close friendships (IMP10), and having freedom from physical and/or psychological pain, suffering, or problems (IMP12). Success beliefs items were rated as 1 = not important, 2 = mostly unimportant, 3 = slightly important, 4 = moderately important, 5 = very important, and 6 = essential.

Well-being. Life satisfaction was measured with the five-item Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) (Diener et al., 1985). The total SWLS scores ranged from 5 (low satisfaction) to 30 (high satisfaction). Participants were asked to think about their experiences and feelings over the past month and to rate those using the 12-item Scale of Positive and Negative Experience (SPANE) (Diener et al., 2010). Each score for Positive Feelings (SPANE-P) and Negative Feelings (SPANE-N) ranged from 6 to 36. Respondents' self-perceived level of psychological flourishing was indicated on the eight-item Flourishing Scale (FS) (Diener et al., 2010). The total scores ranged from 8 to 48, with higher scores representing individuals with high positive regard in terms of human functioning. The SWLS and FS items were measured using an agreement-type response scale (1 = strongly disagree to 6 = strongly agree). The SPANE items were rated as 1 = Never or almost never, 2 = Rarely, 3 = Occasionally, 4 = Often, 5 = Very often, and 6 = Always).

Demographics. To accurately classify participants into the three ethnic groups, participants self-reported their country of birth, year of birth, nationality/country of citizenship, gender, current status as a student or non-student, and (where applicable) their age when they first migrated to New Zealand.

Results

For data analysis, we used maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors (MLR) which is robust to data non-normality (Sass, Schmitt, & Marsh, 2014) using Mplus 8 software. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was used for data analysis to examine how well a measurement model corresponds with a dataset (Schreiber et al., 2006). When a model does not fit the data well, modification indices are inspected to identify and remove items that do not exhibit a simple structure (Revelle & Rocklin, 1979) or meet assumptions of independent residuals (Barker & Shaw, 2015). Deletion began with items with the greatest modification values and continued until an acceptable model fit was achieved. After validating the measurement model, the relationship of success belief factors to well-being factors was evaluated in structural equation modelling (SEM) (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Ullman, 2006). Using regression analyses within the SEM framework allows us to identify theoretically and empirically potential causal relationships (Bollen & Pearl, 2013). Nevertheless, these claims are subject to future experimental manipulation. To measure internal consistency reliability, McDonald's omega was calculated (McNeish, 2018) using the software Jamovi 2.3.19. McDonald's omega reliability values were used instead of Cronbach's alpha which is the lowest estimator of the lower bound of reliability and a poor indicator of scale consistency (McNeish, 2018; Sijtsma, 2009). Omega value of .65 or higher is regarded as indicative of acceptable scale coherence (Kalkbrenner, 2023). However, considering the varied content of the success belief inventory and its limited item count, it is plausible that the reliability of the scale may be low.

For both CFA and SEM, indicators of acceptable/good model fit are $\chi^2/df < 3.80/3.00$, RMSEA < .08/.05, SRMR < .08/.06, and CFI and gamma hat > .90/.95 (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002; Fan & Sivo, 2007; Marsh, Hau, & Wen, 2004). The percentage of the variance (R^2) explained in the endogenous factors (i.e., the four well-being-related factors) by exogenous factors (i.e., extrinsic and intrinsic success factors) was presented and compared among the three comparison groups.

Next, multi-group confirmatory factor analysis (MGCFAs) was used to test whether the three groups had similar response patterns to the measurements; this needs to be established prior to the comparison of latent mean scores (Brown et al., 2017; Wu, Li, & Zumbo, 2007). A hierarchical nested sequence of invariance tests for configural, metric, and scalar equivalence was conducted using Multi-group confirmatory factor analysis (MGCFAs). Configural invariance is accepted when the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is $\leq .05$ (Wu et al., 2007). Metric and scalar invariance is satisfied when the change in comparative fit index (ΔCFI) is $\leq .01$ (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). However, it should be noted that the dichotomous cut-off indices determining measurement invariance do not address the magnitude of invariance (Kirk, 2007). When large samples are used, there is a chance that non-equivalence in MGCFAs may occur yet be small in size. The size of measurement non-invariance can be estimated by calculating the effect size for each item using the D_{MACS} program (Nye & Drasgow, 2011). Employing the single-item test for assessing measurement equivalence is beneficial for identifying the particular item(s) that underlie non-equivalence at the scale level (Vandenberg & Lance, 2000). D_{MACS} values were interpreted as per Cohen's (1988) standards for effect size. When the majority of items exhibited trivial or small values of D_{MACS} , scalar invariance is cautiously inferred, enabling the comparison of latent mean scores (Asil & Brown, 2016; Nye & Drasgow, 2011).

When the model satisfies scalar invariance, latent factor means are compared among the comparison groups. Latent factor mean comparison is more accurate than raw factor mean because it accounts for measurement error (Hancock, 2003). Based on Cohen's

(1988) effect size standards, the strength of factor mean differences was interpreted as follows: $.20 \leq d < .50 = \text{small}$; $.50 \leq d < .80 = \text{medium}$; and $d \geq .80 = \text{large}$.

Success beliefs

A two-factor inter-correlated model of intrinsic and extrinsic success with 12 items was rejected for poor fit; $\chi^2 (df) = 1107.23 (53)$, $\chi^2/df = 20.89$, RMSEA (90% CI) = .096 (.091–.101), CFI = .589, SRMR = .083, and gamma hat = .109. Five items (i.e., IMP 11, 12, 9, 6, and 10) were deleted based on principles identified earlier, producing a seven-item, two-factor model with acceptable to good fit; $\chi^2 (df) = 131.76 (13)$, $\chi^2/df = 10.14$, RMSEA (90% CI) = .065 (.055–.075), CFI = .911, SRMR = .042, and gamma hat = .985. However, MGCFAs identified a negative residual variance for one item (IMP1: Being very well-off financially) in K-Korean youth group, indicating that the model was not configurally equivalent across the three youth groups. As a result, separate CFAs for each youth group were performed. As shown in Table S1, all models had marginal to good model fit.

Table 2 shows the success belief structure for extrinsic and intrinsic success for each group. The model for K-Korean youth had six success indicators, while the models for TCK K-NZ and Pākehā youth groups each had eight success indicators. In the case of the extrinsic success factor, three success indicators (i.e., IMP1, 4, and 8) were common across the three groups. However, in the case of the intrinsic success factor, only one success indicator (IMP 3) was common across the three groups. K-Korean and TCK K-NZ youth groups shared one other intrinsic success indicator (IMP 10), while K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups had no common intrinsic success indicators. Hence, the construct of intrinsic success was perceived differently across the three youth groups. Table 2 also shows the correlation between extrinsic and intrinsic success factors for each group. K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups had inverse correlations (r 's = .35 and $-.18$, respectively; a large difference, $z = 11.16$, $p < .001$), while the two factors were not significantly correlated among TCK K-NZ youth. McDonald's omega for extrinsic success factor was .61. McDonald's omega values for intrinsic success were .53, .62, and .60 for K-Korean, TCK K-NZ, and Pākehā youth groups, respectively.

Given that extrinsic success was assessed with the same three items, we tested a single-factor model for measurement invariance across the three groups. Results indicated both configural (RMSEA =.000) and metric invariance ($\Delta CFI = .000$) but not scalar invariance ($\Delta CFI = .149$). The D_{MACS} effect sizes for this non-invariance, using K-Korean youth group as a reference, produced trivial differences between K-Korean and TCK K-NZ youth and trivial to small differences between K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups (Table S2). No item had a large effect size. These results indicated small differences existed and permitted comparison of the extrinsic factor mean scores across groups. However, because of the different composition of intrinsic success indicators, it was decided to exclude comparing the intrinsic success factor means across the three groups were not compared.

The extrinsic factor mean differences using both raw and latent means are reported in Table 3. K-Korean youth group was selected as a reference group for the latent mean comparison. The two Korean groups had trivial differences in mean scores. However, Pākehā youth group reported lower importance for extrinsic success than the two Korean youth groups.

Well-being

A four-factor model of well-being had good fit to the data. $\chi^2 (df) = 1315.15 (269)$, $\chi^2/df (p) = 4.89 (.03)$, RMSEA (90% CI) = .042 (.040–.045), CFI = .957, SRMR = .035, and gamma hat = .963. McDonald's omega for each well-being measure is as follows: .88 for the SWLS; .91 for the SPANE-P; .83 for the SPANE-N; and .90 for the FS.

MGCFAs produced configural (RMSEA=.044) and metric invariance ($\Delta CFI = .000$) but not scalar invariance ($\Delta CFI = .025$). D_{MACS} (Table S3) showed all items, except LS5, had trivial to small size differences across comparison groups. Considering that only LS5 item displayed a medium size of difference between K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups, scalar invariance was imputed allowing comparison of the well-being factor means across the three youth groups. Nevertheless, caution is advised in interpreting the difference in the latent life satisfaction factor between K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups.

Group differences using raw and latent means (Table 4) show trivial differences between K-Korean and TCK K-NZ groups for negative affect and flourishing and small differences for life satisfaction and positive affect. In contrast, the mean differences between K-Korean and Pākehā youth were at least small across all four factors. Unexpectedly, Pākehā youth group had a higher mean for negative affect compared to K-Korean youth group. Between TCK K-NZ and Pākehā youth groups, there were trivial differences between positive affect, negative affect, and flourishing and a small difference in life satisfaction. Overall, raw and latent factor score comparison showed that Pākehā youth experienced better levels of well-being compared to K-Korean and TCK K-NZ youths. Between

Table 2
Comparison of Indicators Included in Extrinsic and Intrinsic Success Factors Across the Three Youth Groups.

Factor	Group		
	K-Korean	TCK K-NZ	Pākehā
Extrinsic Success	IMP1, IMP4, IMP8	IMP1, IMP4, IMP8	IMP1, IMP4, IMP8
Intrinsic Success	IMP3, <u>IMP10</u> IMP9	IMP3, <u>IMP2, IMP5, IMP7, IMP10</u>	IMP3, <u>IMP2, IMP5, IMP7</u> IMP6
r between factors	.35 ***	-.13	-.18 **

Note. **Bold**= item shared by the three groups; Underlined= item shared by the two groups. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3
Extrinsic Success Factor Means by Group and Effect Sizes of Differences Between Groups.

Factor	Raw factor score (SD)			Effect size of differences Raw (latent)		
	A. K-Korean	B. TCK K-NZ	C. Pākehā	A vs B	A vs C	B vs C
Extrinsic success	4.17 (0.78)	4.12 (0.81)	3.84 (0.83)	.06 (.04)	.40 * (.30 *)	.34 * (.28 *)

Note. *Small effect size (.20 ≤ d <.50) (Cohen, 1988)

Table 4
Well-being Factor Means by Group and Effect Size Differences Between Groups.

Factor	Raw factor score (SD)			Effect size of difference Raw (latent)		
	A. K-Korean	B. K-NZ	C. Pākehā	A vs B	A vs C	B vs C
Life satisfaction	3.25 (1.07)	3.59 (1.10)	3.88 (1.19)	.31 * (.33 *)	.56 ** (.54 **) ^a	.25 * (.21 *)
Positive affect	3.77 (.96)	3.99 (.94)	4.05 (.84)	.12 (.24 *)	.31 * (.33 *)	.07 (.08)
Negative affect	2.95 (.84)	3.05 (.87)	3.16 (.86)	.12 (.08)	.25 * (.24 *)	.13 (.16)
Flourishing	4.02 (.99)	4.13 (.94)	4.29 (.92)	.11 (.10)	.28 * (.27 *)	.17 (.17)

Note. *Small effect size (.20 ≤ d <.50); **medium effect size (.50 ≤ d <.80) (Cohen, 1988). ^a Given that the LS5 item demonstrated a medium-sized difference between the groups A and C, it is important not to overinterpret the effect size of difference.

the two Korean groups, this study found that the levels of life satisfaction and positive affect for TCK K-NZ youth were higher than those of K-Korean youth.

Structural relations between success beliefs and well-being

As per Fig. 1, the structural equation model (SEM) positioned the two success importance factors as correlated predictors of the four inter-correlated well-being factors separately for the three youth groups. The SEMs had different numbers and compositions of intrinsic success indicators across the three groups. The model demonstrated acceptable to good model fit in each group (**K-Korean**: n = 748, $\chi^2_{(445)} = 1245.37$, $\chi^2/df = 2.80$, RMSEA (90% CI) = .049 (.046–.052), CFI = .920, SRMR = .051, gamma hat = .936; **TCK K-NZ**: n = 464, $\chi^2_{(508)} = 1008.97$, $\chi^2/df = 1.99$, RMSEA (90% CI) = .046 (.042–.050), CFI = .920, SRMR = .049, gamma hat = .939; **Pākehā**: n = 943, $\chi^2_{(508)} = 1203.49$, $\chi^2/df = 2.37$, RMSEA (90% CI) = .038 (.035–.041), CFI = .943, SRMR = .046, gamma hat = .957).

Consistent with the goal contents theory, extrinsic success beliefs had negative relations to life satisfaction, positive affect, and flourishing, and a positive relation to negative affect factor for K-Korean group (Table 5). However, the extrinsic success beliefs had statistically non-significant paths to well-being factors for TCK K-NZ and Pākehā youth groups. This identifies different relations that extrinsic beliefs have for the two youth groups in NZ compared to the Korean youth in Korea.

In contrast, but consistent with expectations, the intrinsic success factor had significant positive relations to life satisfaction, positive affect, and flourishing in all three groups. The expected negative relation between intrinsic success and negative affect, however, was only statistically significant for K-Korean youth group. It is also worth noting that the variance explained for these well-being factors was lowest among Pākehā youth, with only flourishing exceeding $R^2 > .10$. In contrast, the variance explained was greater than 10% for all factors among the two Korean groups, with the exception of negative affect among TCK K-NZ youth.

Table 5
The Relation between Extrinsic/Intrinsic Success Beliefs and Well-being Factors by the Comparison Groups.

Predictor / Dependencies	Group					
	K-Korean		TCK K-NZ		Pākehā	
	Coefficient	R ²	Coefficient	R ²	Coefficient	R ²
Extrinsic Success beliefs						
Life Satisfaction	-.27 ***	.18 ***	-.10	.18 ***	.09	.06 **
Positive Affect	-.24 ***	.25 ***	-.09	.19 ***	.08	.05 *
Negative Affect	.37 ***	.20 ***	.11	.04	.02	.00
Flourishing	-.22 ***	.25 ***	.01	.24 ***	.08	.19 ***
Intrinsic Success beliefs						
Life Satisfaction	.33 ***		.41 ***		.23 ***	
Positive Affect	.42 ***		.43 ***		.21 ***	
Negative Affect	-.25 ***		-.14		.02	
Flourishing	.45 ***		.49 ***		.42 ***	

Note. * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

Discussion

The present study compared TCK K-NZ youth' success beliefs and well-being with K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups. In addition, it investigated similarities and differences in the structural relations between success beliefs and well-being of three different groups of youth.

The data provided partial support for the hypothesis 1 that extrinsic success beliefs of TCK K-NZ youth would be higher compared to Pākehā youth (H1d). TCK K-NZ youth had higher importance for extrinsic success than Pākehā youth, with no significant difference compared to K-Korean youth. The discovery that TCK K-NZ youth reported similar beliefs about extrinsic success as K-Korean youth, despite their education and residence in New Zealand, underscores the importance of further investigation. It appears that New Zealand education and culture may not have played a significant role in shaping the extrinsic success beliefs of K-NZ youth. Rather, it seems that their extrinsic success standards are likely influenced by the enculturation process of Korean culture and norms, where extrinsic success is highly valued and encouraged (Diener et al., 2010; Suh & Koo, 2008; Shim, Kim, & Martin, 2008).

The pronounced emphasis on extrinsic success among TCK K-NZ youth, akin to K-Korean youth, might be attributed to their close social ties with Korean TCKs at schools, neighbourhoods, ethnic communities, or religious institutions in New Zealand. As TCK K-NZ youth enter secondary schools or high schools, they tend to form close relationships and are influenced by their Korean peers (Kitchen, 2013; Kim, 2014; Song & Park, 2018), exposing them to the cultural emphasis on extrinsic success prevalent in Korean society. Furthermore, the geographical concentration of the Korean ethnic group's residence in metropolitan cities and their active involvement in co-ethnic communities create ample opportunities for TCK K-NZ youth to engage with the Korean TCK cohort. For example, Korean ethnic churches, where TCK K-NZ youth learn and experience Korean identity and culture (Butcher & Wieland, 2013; Chang et al., 2006; Park & Anglem, 2012), are mainly located in the Auckland area (74% of the total number of Korean churches in New Zealand) (Onechurch, 2018). In instances where the community primarily comprises individuals from the same ethnic background as the youth, there tends to be a prevalent use of the ethnic language, and social interactions predominantly occur within the same ethnic group. This dynamic often leads to a robust affirmation and support of their ethnic identity (Phinney et al., 2023). In summary, the emphasis on extrinsic success among TCK K-NZ youth, mirroring that of K-Korean youth, might be rooted in their close connections with Korean TCKs in various aspects of their lives, combined with the influential role of Korean ethnic communities, particularly concentrated in Auckland, where active engagement further reinforces their cultural identity.

With regard to well-being, our second hypothesis (H2a and H2b) was supported. The overall well-being levels of TCK K-NZ youth were higher compared to K-Korean youth but lower than Pākehā youth. As expected, in the much more individualistic society of New Zealand, Pākehā youth reported significantly higher levels of well-being compared to K-Korean youth. Similarly, the life satisfaction and positive affect levels for TCK K-NZ youth were significantly higher than the youth group in Korea. These disparities in well-being between the youth groups in Korea and New Zealand align with a previous international comparative study demonstrating that levels of well-being in Korea were far lower compared to New Zealand (Diener et al., 2010). Between the two youth groups in New Zealand, life satisfaction of Pākehā youth was significantly higher compared to that of TCK K-NZ youth.

The structural relationship between extrinsic success and well-being offers insight into why the well-being levels of the two youth groups in New Zealand were higher than those of K-Korean youth. Despite both Korean youth groups placing higher importance on extrinsic success compared to Pākehā youth, a negative relationship between valuing extrinsic success and well-being was observed only among K-Korean youth. This finding supports hypotheses 3a and 3b. Overall, valuing intrinsic success demonstrated positive associations with well-being across the three groups, except for non-significant relations between intrinsic success and negative affect factors for the two youth groups in New Zealand. Consequently, these outcomes provide partial support for hypothesis 3c.

Contrary to goal contents theory, the pursuit of extrinsic success did not seem to undermine the well-being of the two youth groups in New Zealand. These results might be attributed to the influence of New Zealand's individualistic culture, where autonomy and subjective satisfaction are culturally valued (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Unlike collectivistic cultures where social recognition and social acceptance are highly valued, individuals in individualistic cultures are more likely to set their own standards of success rather than aspiring for success anticipated by significant others, such as parents or teachers. Pursuing extrinsic success based on individuals' self-directed decisions may not undermine their psychological needs, consequently not lowering their levels of well-being (Yamaguchi & Halberstadt, 2012). This plausibly explains why both youth groups in New Zealand experienced higher levels of well-being than K-Korean youth.

It is important to consider other factors related to the lower level of well-being of TCK K-NZ youth compared to Pākehā youth. The experience of exclusion and discrimination in the host society as TCKs could be another potential reason why TCK K-NZ youth reported lower well-being levels than Pākehā youth. Consistent with previous research on TCKs' experiences of identity and belonging (Donohue, 2022; Pollock et al., 2017), TCK K-NZ youth also often faced challenges forming friendships with other ethnic groups, particularly with Pākehā, and struggle to reconcile their dual New Zealand and Korean identities. (Kitchen, 2013; Chang et al., 2006). Moreover, perceived discrimination, recognised as a significant acculturation stressor (Berry, 1997), is strongly associated with decreased well-being (Vedder, van de Vijver, & Liebkind, 2023). Hence, TCK K-NZ youth's lower well-being compared to Pākehā youth may be related to their experience of racial discrimination in schools or local communities. Despite New Zealand's high level of social acceptance of multiculturalism and tolerance of diversity (Statistics New Zealand, 2011), instances of racial discrimination still exist in the society (Chang et al., 2006), negatively impacting the well-being of ethnic minorities (Harris et al., 2006, 2012; Jaung et al., 2022).

While the current research provides valuable insights, it is important to note some limitations. Due to the cross-sectional survey design, it is not possible to make robust claims about the causal relationships between success beliefs and well-being (Levin, 2006). Future research could employ longitudinal studies to track the development of success beliefs and well-being over time. Longitudinal research would allow for a more robust examination of causal relationships, capturing changes and patterns as individuals transition

through various life stages, educational milestones, and cultural influences. Second, the self-reported survey method used in this study may threaten the validity of results because of the likelihood of socially-desirable response bias to a questionnaire (van de Mortel, 2008). Nevertheless, in the current study, this bias threat is somewhat unlikely because of the anonymous nature of the online survey design. In addition, considering that bias tends to be presented when a questionnaire contains socially sensitive topics (King & Bruner, 2000), this bias is again unlikely because the survey contents were not sensitive issues. The third limitation pertains to the measurement of success beliefs. During the process of conducting CFAs, certain extrinsic and intrinsic success items were excluded to enhance the model fit. In addition, McDonald's omega reliability values for both extrinsic and intrinsic success factors were relatively low. However, the robust fit indices of the CFA and SEM modeling indicate that these models have good correspondence to the data. It is possible that the relatively low values for reliability indicate factor trueness, rather than homogeneity or similarity of terms which is an artificial method of inflating reliability estimates (Cattell & Tsujioka, 1964). In other words, the success indicators reflected diversity in content, rather than similarity in wording, which can suppress scale reliability. Future research could focus on the re-development of the internal success measures. This would involve a meticulous process of refining and expanding the success indicators to enhance the reliability and validity of the measurement instrument.

The generalisability of the results to other age groups is unknown. Future research could explore potential differences in success beliefs and well-being contrasting older and younger generations, considering that previous studies have primarily focused on young adults, particularly college students (e.g., Chen et al., 2014; Yamaguchi & Halberstadt, 2012). It is worth noting that the older generation may have distinct perspectives on success compared to the younger generation, as suggested by a systematic review study in which older adults frequently underscored the significance of social engagement and positive attitudes as standards of successful ageing (Reich et al., 2020). This divergence in generational perspectives could significantly contribute to our understanding of the dynamic nature of success beliefs across the lifespan and in terms of global mobility.

In conclusion, the findings of this study contribute to our understanding of the success beliefs and well-being of Korean youth in New Zealand with a TCK background in relation to K-Korean and Pākehā youth groups. This paper identified that TCK K-NZ youth, akin to K-Korean youth, put a higher value on extrinsic success compared to Pākehā youth. The results highlight the significant impact of social engagement with Korean TCKs on the formation of extrinsic success beliefs of TCK K-NZ youth. Furthermore, the study provides important insights into the well-being status of TCK K-NZ youth, which has not been previously examined in quantitative research. Considering most of the comparative research on well-being has compared the levels of well-being at national levels or compared sub-groups (e.g., age, gender, or ethnicity), the selection of the three comparison groups (i.e., K-Korean as a dominant group in Korea, TCK K-NZ as a minority ethnic group in New Zealand, and Pākehā as a dominant group in New Zealand) provides a broader and more in-depth insight about youth well-being. Therefore, the in-between status of TCK K-NZ group (i.e., higher well-being than K-Korean youth and lower well-being than Pākehā youth) contributes to the existing well-being literature. Most importantly, investigating the structural relationship between success and well-being contributes to a deeper understanding of how the relation between extrinsic success and well-being differs for TCK K-NZ youth group compared to K-Korean youth group, demonstrating the impact of culture in these relations.

Funding

This work was supported by the Core University Program for Korean Studies of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the Korean Studies Promotion Service at the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2021-OLU-2250003).

CRedit authorship contribution statement

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Appendix A. Supporting information

Supplementary data associated with this article can be found in the online version at [doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2024.101943](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2024.101943).

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