

CHILD-REARING BARRIERS AND SOCIAL SUPPORT OF MIGRANT FAMILIES: A CASE STUDY OF INDONESIAN MOTHERS LIVING IN SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA

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Abstract

An increasing number of Indonesian families migrate to South Korea with different social and cultural aspects emerge the challenges in child-rearing. This study examines two purposes related to child-rearing barriers and social support of migrant families by utilizing qualitative research with a case study design. In-depth interviews and observation were conducted in August-November 2021 involving six (6) Indonesian migrant mothers living in Seoul, South Korea, using purposive sampling. Mothers were chosen as informants by considering them as the primary caregiver for children. Regarding the first purpose, this study identified internal and external barriers in child-rearing. In addition, three themes related to social support were analyzed, including instrumental support in tangible and service assistance, emotional support related to social adjustment support, and informational support to access services for children. The resources of support systems come from spouses and parents, Indonesian and Korean friends/colleagues, social institutions, and social media networks. Therefore, there is a need for comprehensive social interventions to strengthen social support for migrant families.

Keywords: child-rearing, child welfare, migrant family, social support, South Korea

Hambatan dalam Mengasuh Anak dan Dukungan Sosial pada Keluarga Migran: Studi Kasus terhadap Kelompok Ibu yang Tinggal di Seoul, Korea Selatan

Abstrak

Peningkatan jumlah keluarga Indonesia yang bermigran ke Korea Selatan dengan perbedaan aspek sosial dan kultural memunculkan tantangan dalam upaya pengasuhan pada anak. Penelitian ini bertujuan mendeskripsikan hambatan-hambatan dalam pengasuhan anak yang dialami oleh keluarga migran Indonesia serta dukungan sosialnya menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan studi kasus. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam dan observasi selama bulan Agustus hingga November 2021 dan melibatkan enam (6) informan yang merupakan kelompok ibu yang tinggal di Kota Seoul secara sampel purposif. Informan ibu dipilih dengan pertimbangan sebagai pengasuh anak utama. Hasil penelitian mengidentifikasi kendala internal dan eksternal dalam mengasuh anak. Selanjutnya, tiga tematik mengenai dukungan sosial juga didiskusikan, meliputi dukungan instrumental dalam bentuk bantuan tangibel, dukungan emosional terkait dengan dukungan penyesuaian lingkungan sosial, dan dukungan informasional untuk mengakses layanan sosial. Sumber-sumber sistem dukungan berasal dari pasangan (suami), teman atau kolega Indonesia dan Korea, institusi sosial, dan jejaring sosial media. Untuk itu, diperlukan intervensi sosial yang komprehensif untuk menguatkan dukungan sosial keluarga migran.

Kata Kunci: dukungan sosial, keluarga migran, kesejahteraan anak, Korea Selatan, pengasuhan anak

INTRODUCTION

As globalization develops rapidly, people have more opportunities to migrate to other countries to experience a better life. In the context of Indonesia, South Korea (hereafter, Korea) has become one of the designated countries for Indonesian migrant families to work and study. Iqbal (2018) explains three categories of Indonesian migrants in Korea, including migrant workers, international students, and foreign brides. Currently, the number of Indonesian nationals residing in Korea has reached 42.043. Most Indonesians live in Korea for working

purposes (333.961 people), 6.558 people are mixed married with Korean and become professional workers, and 1.524 are international students (MoFA, 2020).

The phenomenon of people migrating is still continuously growing. Aside from bringing new hope for migrants, living in foreign countries may cause difficulties. Resettlement in a new country may emerge uneasy conditions for migrant families. Those who decide to invite their families, especially children, may face more complicated experiences.

One of the urgent problems is the child-rearing challenge. Child-rearing challenges become more demanding for migrant families since adapting and adjusting to a new culture may stress both parents and children. Child-rearing is strongly related to the parent-child relationship. Holden (2019) explores principles of a theoretical approach to strengthen the parent-child relationship, including ethological attachment, social learning, and ecological systems. Attachment refers to the positive physical and emotional fulfillment that primary caregivers (usually mothers) provide for their children (Wall, 2018). Social learning includes how parents and children can develop their relationship to encourage children to internalize the messages from their parents, which can be said as 'perfectionism' development (Curran et al., 2020). However, those child-rearing principles are insufficient without obtaining supportive ecological systems. Parents, especially mothers, are not the single responsible provider in child-rearing.

Particularly on the issue related to migrant families, much evidence shows that positive environmental support is crucial for children's development. Unconducive family environments, maladjustment, and non-supportive resources in a new country will cause child development to be vulnerable. There are many studies related to parents and children facing problems in their migrant status. Research on cross-cultural rearing has also been discussed regarding immigrant, refugee, and mixed-married families. For instance, African immigrants in Western countries experienced several child-rearing challenges by the cultural gap, tension and stress in the family, state interference, limited social support, limited access to services, and low socioeconomic status (Kanu, Bazza, & Omojola, 2020; Salami et al., 2020). Another case is Southeast Asian immigrant mothers in Taiwan who experienced suffering and struggling with communication difficulties, conflicts, and negative prejudice in child-rearing (Liang et al., 2020). In addition, in the Korean context, child-rearing barriers are also experienced by foreign wives who married native Koreans. Although they have a resource from the husband (and extended family) to learn Korean culture directly, child-rearing was still not an easy journey while they had to adapt to a new life in a new society (Chung, 2010). The findings also show their disadvantaged situations with financial strain, lack of social support, lack of Korean language skills, lack of information, psychological problems, and social discrimination and prejudice from native Koreans.

Consequently, parents caught up in children's abuse, helplessness, inferiority sense, and other maladaptive behaviors. Moreover, within a migrant family, a child may grow up in cultural confusion and experience tension and conflicts as an alienated person in a new country (Skivenes et al., 2014). As the passive recipients of the parents, children might have no other choices to decide whether to stay in a new country or move back. This condition would cause children to suffer emotionally when they do not obtain positive support from their parents through good parenting (Wu & Cebotari, 2018).

Indonesian parenting is typically influenced by traditional values, whereas kinship resources from extended families and neighborhoods play a significant role, even in non-ideal conditions (Puspitawati & Setioningsih, 2011; Riary, Meredith, & Cuskelly, 2017; Tomlinson & Andina, 2015). Thus, separating the Indonesian family from these primary resources may cause the feeling of loss of support, and this is not an easy task to deal with.

According to the explanation above, the unmanageable child-rearing barriers faced by Indonesian migrant families in Korea potentially bring the disadvantaged situation toward child welfare. It is essential to provide resources to support them in dealing with the difficulties while adapting to a new country. The theory of ecological systems in child-rearing emphasizes the individual (child) as the center of the system that can be affected by the family, community, and broader systems (Chuang et al., 2018; Newton, 2019; Piel et al., 2017). Social support in the ecological system is critical in strengthening a mother's positive attitude and behavior in taking care of children (Mathew, Zhai, & Gao, 2017). Social support may include material, emotional, informational, and instrumental support from social networks to provide help, as Dunst, Trivette, and Cross (1986) mentioned. Research by Wu and Sun (2020) indicates that social support for migrant families can protect children's fundamental rights by facilitating inclusion. Besides, previous research also finds that a systematic program for migrant children through early childhood education and care effectively supports children's well-being (Picchio & Mayer, 2019).

Although studies regarding child-rearing barriers and social support of migrant families have been discussed, research on mothers' experiences of child-rearing without Korean spouses or family members is yet limited. Therefore, this research attempted to dig more into the child-rearing barriers from both internal and external sources

and connect them to social support for coping with the barriers. This study sought to address the following research aims: (1) to describe the child-rearing barriers of Indonesian migrant mothers living in Seoul, Korea, and (2) to describe the resources and social support for mothers. The researcher assumes that child-rearing barriers can be overcome by strengthening social support from accessible resources. The results are also expected to improve social services for Indonesian migrant families.

METHODS

This study utilized qualitative research with a case study design to understand the specific criteria of the research subjects. Mothers were chosen by considering their roles as the primary caregiver for children. This is because mothers are more likely to engage with their children than fathers (Baron & Ragay, 2020; Macfie, Brumariu, Lyons-Ruth, 2015; Zimmermann et al., 2022).

In this study, the selection of participants was carried out through purposive sampling. Purposive sampling selects representative samples from the cases with a specific purpose (Neuman, 2014). The criteria of the informants include having been living in Seoul for more than nine months with a spouse (Indonesian husband and at least one underage child), whether for working, studying, or accompanying a spouse. This research did not involve a mix-married family to gather the thorough situations of a migrant family who survive independently without any Korean family. Considering Seoul as the capital city representing the most attractive city for foreigners, this study involved six (6) Indonesian mothers living in Seoul, Korea.

Data were collected through online/in-person interviews and observation during August - November 2021 with the consent of informants. The interviews were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia, and the transcripts were translated into English. This research observed three informants' houses. The other three informants were interviewed through an online conference platform due to Covid-19 social restrictions. The observation was used as an additional tool for gathering deeper information on characteristics, gestures, non-verbal behavior, and interaction between or among people (Yin, 2016). Therefore, the interaction between informants with their spouses and children could be seen through observation. Data gathered from the interview was recorded, and data from the observation was documented as field notes.

This research uses two main variables. The first variable relates to the child-rearing barrier explores (1) language barrier with the indication of inability to understand the message well in communication and inability to deliver the message well in communication (Carrasco-Sanz et al., 2018; Loganathan et al., 2019), (2) psychological and emotional barrier includes the indicator of a feeling of socially marginalized, anxiety, stress, and lack of confidence (Mazzucato et al., 2015; Rousseau & Frounfelker, 2019), (3) cultural gaps, discussing the understanding of different meanings of the social values with self-identity (Castelli, 2018), and (4) access barriers, including barriers to access child's health and education facility (Salami et al., 2020). The second variable is related to social support and discusses three dimensions (Cutrona & Suhr, 1992; Dunst et al., 1986; Heany & Israel, 2008), including (1) instrumental support, with an indicator of receiving tangible goods assistance and service assistance, (2) emotional support including acts of caring, a concern of empathy, and trust, and (3) informational support which connects to the indicators of receiving information, advice, and suggestions. Therefore, conceptualization was constructed through the investigation tool in semi-structured interviews consisting of five major open-ended questions. A list of questions was generated to explore child-rearing experiences as foreigners without Korean family members, the differences in child-rearing experiences between Indonesia and Korea, internal and barriers in child-rearing, resources, and kinds of social support received to support child-rearing while living abroad.

Data processing and analysis utilized Mind manager software. The present study used data triangulation using multiple sources to ensure the reliability and validity of the findings. Data analysis referred to Yin (2016) through inductive analysis, initiated by compiling and organizing the collected data and sorting them into databases on five major question groups. Next, labeling and coding the collected data (disassembling) were required in each data group to identify the similarity and differences in data findings. This coding process evolved through an iterative process to add, combine, and revise the categories to ensure data patterns. It was then continued with patterning themes by considering constant comparisons and thinking about the negative or different findings (reassembling). Finally, after themes were formulated, the researcher interpreted the findings descriptively.

RESULT

The Characteristics of the Informants

Among the six informants involved, four informants were D-2 student visa holders and the two others with F-3 dependent visa status for accompanying their husbands working and studying in Seoul. The shortest duration of living in Seoul is nine months, and one of the informants has experienced more than seven years living in Seoul. Two informants live in Seodaemun-Gu, and the remaining informants come from Mapo-Gu, Gwanak-Gu, Dongjak-Gu, and Seongbuk-Gu administrative districts. The range of informants' ages is 32 to 36 years, and most have two children living together.

Child Rearing Barriers of Indonesian Migrant Mothers living in Seoul, Korea

Child-rearing barriers experienced by Indonesian migrant mothers are conceptualized following the inductive themes from the labeled quotes. In addition, the child-rearing barriers were also identified and considered by the number of informants that experienced the situations, which can be seen as follows (Table 1).

Cultural gap. Living in Korea involves experiencing a lot of different habits and cultures from Indonesia. Moreover, they must adjust

personally to a new culture and assist their children in adapting to different cultures, habits, and customs. Informants stated that they found many challenges to keep their children able to preserve the home country's cultures while learning a new one that commonly comes from schools. Sometimes, informants have to select which one suits their beliefs, culture, and even religious value to teach their children. In addition, sometimes immigrants get stigmatization or unacceptance due to their different appearances in the middle of a homogeneous Korean society. They stated that Korean people might not intend to create distance. However, there is a hesitation to interact in different languages.

Social environment adjustment barrier.

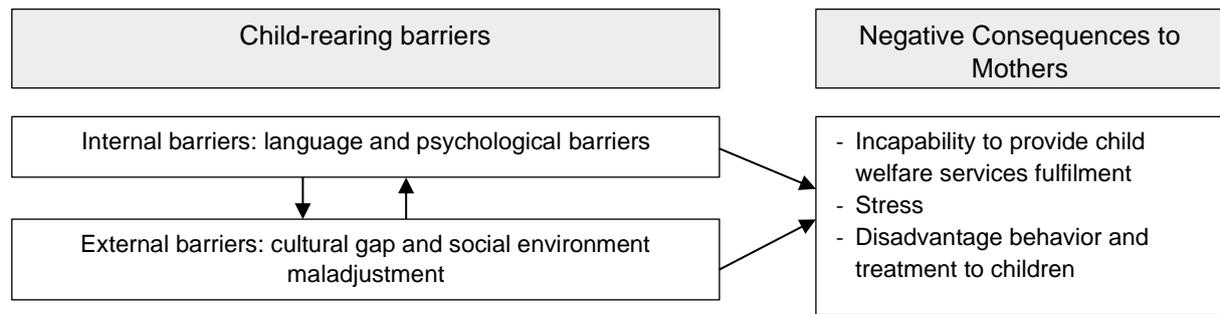
Informants mentioned that they and their children could not adjust quickly to Seoul's 'silent neighborhood'. This situation differs from what they experienced in their home country, with many responsive and helpful neighbors and extended families surrounding them. One of the informants expressed a statement:

"At first, my kids couldn't enjoy not having friends here. In Indonesia, we often share with neighbors, such as playing with many friends after returning from school. But, we live individually here" (Ha, 33 yo, November 2021).

Table 1 Child-rearing barriers

Sub variable	Dimension	Finding themes	Number of informants
External barriers	Cultural gap	Confusing situation to internalize their children to new local culture and preserve Indonesian culture at the same time	5
		Negative feelings about their immigrant status	5
	Social environment barrier	The uncomfortable feeling of a silent neighborhood	4
		Lack of additional support (such as home assistant and extended family)	5
Internal barriers	Language barrier	Difficulties in communicating with health workers	3
		Difficulties in accessing local schools	4
		Inability to engage with the local environment	5
		Inability to support children's adaptation to a new environment	6
	Self-adjustment (psychological) barrier	A feeling of socially marginalized	4
		Inability to manage work, take care of children, and housing chores at the same time	6
		Uncontrolled emotional feelings and expression	4

Source: Data collection by the researcher



Source: Research finding

Picture 1 The connection between child-rearing barriers and consequences to migrant mothers

Moreover, the absence of a home assistant to help informants take care of home and children also became an uneasy situation, especially for student mothers. Another problem that arises is the limited space they have. The high cost of living in Seoul and limited financial income made informants unable to provide ideal housing for children. One of the alternatives for providing the opportunity for children to play freely is the community playgrounds available in each *dong* (sub-district area). However, during the Covid-19 pandemic, the government of Korea also temporarily closed those facilities to prevent the outbreak. Some informants stated that this situation worsens child-rearing quality since their children were forced to stay home when they needed physical activities.

Language barriers. All informants commonly feel language barriers become the most challenging to inhibit them from providing for children's needs while living abroad. They said that due to language barriers, they could not easily fulfill their family's needs, especially children's needs such as social services or assisting children in engaging with the neighborhood. In addition, experiencing language barriers causes difficulties in accessing health care services for children. Having limited Korean language skills made informants feel unsure about seeking help from the health service agencies, especially in communicating with medical staff. Some informants mentioned that they could not easily find foreigner-friendly clinics or doctors. This situation also made them lose the opportunity to get detailed information about their children's health conditions. One of the informants mentioned:

"I think it was the worst part (when her daughter was sick). In a panic situation, I couldn't think a lot to translate any language in my head. But, I had to communicate with doctors and nurses in Korean. So, we were just using gesture language, take my medical prescription and

couldn't ask more information about it" (Di, 36 yo, August 2021).

The language barrier also affected children's difficulty accessing education institutions (school). With limited income or scholarship allowance, they have no choice but to access the local schools. However, there is a limited quota for foreigners admitted to local schools, and the information is only provided in Korean. Some informants stated that it was not easy to apply to a school because they had to interact with school staff directly. Moreover, the Indonesian government does not provide Indonesian schools for children living in Korea despite the growing number of Indonesian migrants. Accessing local schools is also a complicated decision, especially for temporary residents. The informants whose children study in local schools are incapable of supporting the children. They sometimes felt useless when they could not assist their children's adjustment in school. For instance, they cannot help their children improve their Korean language, understand the teacher's directions and assignments, and engage in parent meetings. Another obstacle related to language is difficulty engaging with local friends. Due to the language barrier, it was challenging to communicate with native Koreans even when the opportunity to engage with the neighbors was present. This barrier also hindered them from helping children make new friends.

Self-adjustment barrier. A limited social interaction within multiple tasks also drove pressure on mothers, especially on student mothers. They had a common issue with handling school assignments, household chores, and taking care of them simultaneously. Once they could not manage well, bad feelings came out. Some informants experienced emotional problem adjustment while living in Seoul.

Consequently, they expressed their anger or inappropriate behavior to their children in some situations. In addition, in a complicated and

helpless situation, most informants decided to let their children engage in excessive screen time to prevent unmanaged schoolwork and household tasks. An informant shared her feeling while adjusting to the emotional problem:

“Honestly, I have to heal my own emotions almost for one year. In mid-2021, I had just been able to control my mind. It was hard to balance all the tasks alone without a home assistant or family directly supporting me. I often expressed my anger to my daughters when I was tired. I know it was wrong” (Ti, 32 yo, October 2021).

Below is the connection between the child-rearing barriers and negative consequences resulting from the primary caregiver’s incapable conditions to optimally provide child welfare services and psychological conditions (stress) in dealing with personal, social, and cultural environmental difficulties. Furthermore, those consequences drive them to behave and treat children poorly (Picture 1).

Social Support for Addressing the Barriers

Instrumental support. While mothers experienced barriers that consequently affected their child-rearing, informants shared that they obtained some support to empower them. Most informants stated that their spouses were the primary source of support systems. In this case, child-care assistance for student mothers becomes significant support while spending more time on classes and research. Besides, Indonesian friends also appear as a crucial source to assist informants when they cannot manage their work and children simultaneously. For instance, helping to care for the children while both mothers and their spouses have a lot of work or school assignments. Another tangible assistance comes from the informants’ parents (extended families). Some informants appreciated their parents’ availability to take substitutive care through long-distance communication. This reflected the language barrier that affected the informants’ difficulties in many ways. However, they also obtained help from Korean friends to access social services for children, such as helping them translate documents for applying to local schools and registering for health facilities. Furthermore, instrumental support is also received in the form of toys and children’s items from Indonesian friends and Korean social media networks, such as the Dangeun application that provides donated items.

Emotional and psychological support. Besides spouses, most informants received

emotional support from their Indonesian friends through sharing their insecurity, desperation, and lack of motivation. As a result, they received the strength to manage those negative feelings. Regarding emotional support, school teachers provided positive encouragement. Teachers convinced them not to worry about the child’s school adjustment even though their children do not fully understand Korean. Equally important, an informant also experienced positive support from doctors and nurses while accessing health facilities to get vaccination and health examinations for their children.

Informational support. The support system also provided informational support to help them access social services that are generally only provided in Korean. For example, one of the resources was from their Indonesian friends whose previous experiences accessing children’s vaccination, seeking a doctor, or applying to schools. Another resource comes from one of the Korean colleagues who assisted in sharing information related to children’s services.

“Sometimes my Korean colleagues share information about schools or health care that we couldn’t understand because all information is in Korean” (Ci, 35 yo, November 2021).

To enhance the quality of child-rearing, mothers also tried to access the information related to parenting classes through online seminars or consultations. Rumaisha group, the largest forum for Indonesian Muslim migrant groups in Korea, offers a routine activity for sharing parenting discussions and talks. They gathered much information about children’s health, education, and life adjustment through the Rumaisha group chat on KakaoTalk (a social media platform frequently used in Korea). Another informational support is in the form of cultural and children’s events from Korean and Indonesian friends, the Indonesian embassy, and social media networks, such as Seoul Global Center. Some informants mentioned Seoul Global Center, where the local government frequently offers special prices or free tickets for foreigners to visit zoos, amusement parks, theme parks, or festivals. This opportunity could be utilized to give children valuable experiences while living in Seoul.

Below is the connection of coping strategy by developing social support through the surrounding resources. Each resource can provide some kind of social support. In terms of resources, friends/colleagues deliver all kinds of support. Yet, the spouse and parent are still

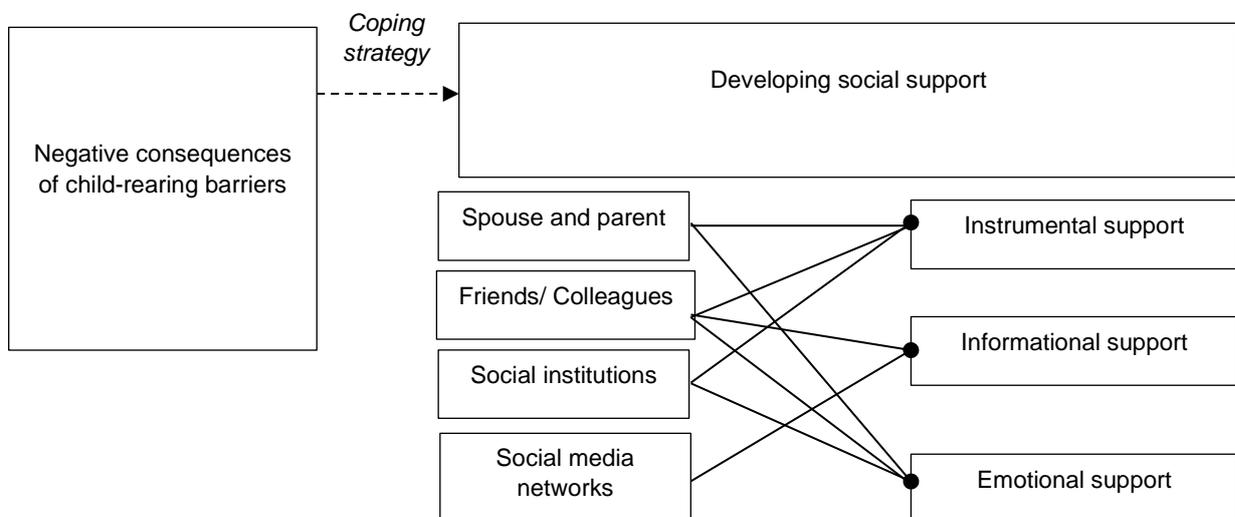
perceived as the most significant resources since they come from the most intensive and closest system that the informants can access (Picture 2).

DISCUSSION

This study shows Indonesian migrant mothers experiencing difficulties while living in Seoul, including external and internal barriers. External barriers are raised through social environment maladjustment, such as a condition of Seoul life that is more individualized, bridging cultural gaps for mothers and children (Kouider, Koglin, & Petermann, 2015; Sun, 2013). Internal barriers emerged from personal characteristics and individual incapability to complete the expected adaptation. Language and self-adjustment (psychological) barriers are related to internal barriers in child-rearing. The language barrier is the most challenging barrier that inhibits mothers from fulfilling their children’s needs and complicates the social adjustment to engage in a new neighborhood. This finding is consistent with Lim et al. (2021). A lack of local language skills worsens the situation for accelerating the self-adjustment to a new life situation. Ultimately, it brings potential problems that lead to abusive behavior (Chung, 2010). In this situation, mothers should identify the resources they have in their accessible environment.

Considering the ecological system within children, families, especially mothers, play a significant role in ensuring child welfare regardless of the new social environment. Social support from various resources is powerful enough to reduce mothers’ difficulties in

transition. This is consistent with studies highlighting social support in fostering family resilience (Chuang et al., 2018; Piel et al., 2017; Williams, 2010). Family, including spouse, can be a significant resource at the microsystem level. Previous studies also show the essential support system for women in their families (Bower & McCullough, 2016; Chung, 2010; French et al., 2018; French & Shockley, 2020). Although mothers have direct support at home, spouses and domestic problems are still commonly perceived as women’s responsibility. Thus, it is still a relevant issue for enhancing gender relations in a family context. In the microsystem, relationships within the extended family, especially parents, also significantly reduce tension, the feeling of loneliness, and powerlessness through virtual communication. This finding shows that the cultural characteristic of Indonesian for involving the extended family is still essential even when living a long distance. This finding reinforces previous studies that discuss the extended family roles in Indonesian families (Puspitawati & Setioningsih, 2011; Riany et al., 2017; Tomlinson & Andina, 2015). The other social support from friends and colleagues also strengthens mothers’ ability in the mesosystem. This group has contributed to assisting mothers in enhancing their competence to optimize coping mechanisms and overcome barriers through instrument, emotional, and informational support. Yet, this study shows that emotional connectedness with Indonesian friends and colleagues is more vital while living abroad. This is consistent with Pazil (2018), representing the concept of ‘familiarity’ with co-national friends since they have similar national and cultural backgrounds as sojourners.



Source: Research finding

Picture 2 Developing social support as a coping strategy to minimize the negative consequences

Although it is not perceived as significant support, social institutions such as Korean social welfare agencies and the embassy contribute to providing social support in the macrosystem. This evidence shows that migrant families are still a vulnerable group for having limited access to social services due to lack of information, while social services are essential to fulfilling children's basic needs such as health and education. Amidst all resources and kinds of social support, delivered information from social networks brings benefit to bridging the barriers and coping strategy mechanisms in exosystem. This is relevant to a previous study in which online social network support may provide opportunities to migrant mothers by connecting them to digital information sources and online communities (Veazey, 2018).

Social support as a coping strategy to overcome the difficulties in child-rearing may strengthen the family resilience and reduce stress and depression (McWey et al., 2015; Williams, 2010) since these may reinforce the confidence and optimistic feeling to adjust better. This expected condition refers to previous studies related to the psychological well-being of the primary caregiver as a basic principle in providing proper care for children (Ford et al., 2018; Leahy-Warren et al., 2020; Lloyd & Turanovic, 2020; Mandelbaum et al., 2020). Ultimately, Wijayanti, Sunarti, and Krisnatuti (2020) also mention that a positive environment for children and a good quality relationship between parents and children will encourage child happiness in the future.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Indonesian migrant mothers in Seoul, Korea, experience external and internal barriers in child-rearing. Internal barriers, including lack of Korean language skills and psychological adjustment, become the most challenging situation and affect other difficulties in responding to the new social-cultural environment. These barriers bring the implication of inhibiting child welfare fulfillment, such as health and education services. External barriers are also problematic since the cultural gap, and social environment barriers complicate the adjustment both learning the Korean cultures and persevering Indonesians. Consequently, this inconducive situation creates adverse psychological conditions such as stress during child-rearing. These challenging barriers can finally be minimized by optimizing support systems, including instrumental, emotional, and informational support from various resources, especially spouses.

To strengthen social support for migrant families, there is a need to modify future social intervention by integrating child welfare and protection in family intervention. Therefore, this study recommends the intervention for enhancing family and community empowerment to support migrant families. For family empowerment, gender relations between women and men to take care of the family together is still relevant to addressing women's barriers in child-rearing. Furthermore, empowering co-national familiarity is needed since this group significantly strengthens the migrant family in terms of delivering social support. As the responsible actor for providing social services, the government should also emphasize accessible services for migrant families, for instance, by providing accessible classes for mothers to increase their Korean language skills. Also, multilanguage or translation assistance services are essential to minimize the barriers. Another suggestion is to support migrant families' social adjustment by providing information and counseling services that can be more accessible through formal and/or informal organization settings. This study is limited in terms of the small number of sample and all recruited participants living in Seoul. This made the findings difficult to generalize and measure the significance rate between variables. Also, this study did not explore children and husband perspectives in the framework of migrant families in a whole context. Besides, perspectives from support systems such as social neighborhood systems and social institutions are also needed to build a holistic approach to support migrant families.

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