

**Two Becoming One: Immigrant Indian Women Sustaining Self and
Well-being through Doing: A Grounded Theory Study.**

By
Shoba C. Nayar

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
of the degree of Master of Health Science

School of Occupational Therapy
Auckland University of Technology

June 2005

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF TABLES	VII
TABLE OF FIGURES	IX
ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP	X
DEDICATION	XI
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	XII
ABSTRACT	XIII
A MOTHER’S JOURNEY	XIV
 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	 1
Occupation and Identity	3
The Immigration Process	4
Understanding Well-being	6
The New Zealand Immigration Scene	7
<i>Indian Immigrants in New Zealand</i>	9
Conceptual Context of the Study	10
<i>An Occupational Perspective</i>	11
<i>Occupation Contextualised</i>	11
<i>Occupation as Health</i>	12
<i>Occupation as Culture</i>	13
Significance of this Study	13
Overview of Study	14
 CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	 16
Exploring the Interface between Immigration, Occupation, and Identity	16
<i>Immigration</i>	16
<i>Occupation</i>	17
<i>Identity</i>	18
Immigration – ‘The New Environment’	19
<i>Physical</i>	20
<i>Social</i>	20
<i>Emotional</i>	21
<i>Spiritual</i>	22
<i>Cultural</i>	22

Environment and Well-being	24
Occupation	25
<i>Model of Human Occupation</i>	25
Occupation and Well-being	27
Identity	29
<i>Individualism... .. Communalism</i>	30
<i>Freewill... .. Determinism</i>	31
<i>Cognitivism... .. Emotionalism</i>	32
<i>Materialism... .. Spiritualism</i>	33
Identity and Well-being	34
Current Literature	36
<i>Different Perspectives</i>	36
<i>Usefulness of Literature</i>	37
Summary	38
 CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS	40
Methodological Choice for this Study	40
Selecting a Methodology: Grounded Theory	41
Philosophical Understandings	42
Research Design Methods	43
<i>Accessing the Field</i>	44
<i>Purposive and Theoretical Sampling</i>	44
<i>Participant Selection</i>	45
<i>About the Participants</i>	47
Ethical Considerations	49
<i>Do No Harm</i>	49
<i>Voluntary Participation</i>	49
<i>Informed Consent</i>	50
<i>Avoid Deceit</i>	50
<i>Confidentiality</i>	50
<i>Treaty of Waitangi</i>	51
Data Collection	51
Data Analysis	53

Framework and Methods for Promoting Rigour	57
<i>Credibility</i>	58
<i>Transferability</i>	59
<i>Dependability</i>	59
<i>Confirmability</i>	60
Conclusion	60

CHAPTER 4: OH GOD, WHERE DID I COME? 62

Introduction	62
An Overview of the Categories	63
The Cause: What Am I Doing?	64
<i>What Am I Doing: Where To Go, What To Do</i>	65
<i>What Am I Doing: Struggling Through Time</i>	67
<i>What Am I Doing: Just Say Aunty</i>	69
The Context: A Transformed Environment	71
<i>A Transformed Environment: Seeing the Differences</i>	72
<i>A Transformed Environment: Paying the Price</i>	74
<i>A Transformed Environment: Missing the Bus</i>	76
<i>A Transformed Environment: Feeling Out of Place</i>	77
Intervening Condition: Awareness	79
<i>Awareness: Having Knowledge</i>	79
<i>Awareness: Surviving with Help</i>	80
<i>Awareness: Family Responsibilities</i>	82
Actions and Interventions: Doing The Familiar	83
<i>Doing The Familiar: Keeping One's Culture</i>	84
<i>Doing The Familiar: Sticking to the Known</i>	85
The Consequences: Only Try And Hope	86
<i>Only Try And Hope: Experimenting</i>	87
<i>Only Try And Hope: Having the Right Attitude</i>	88
Oh God, Where Did I Come?: Summary	90
Two Becoming One: Oh God, Where Did I Come?	90

CHAPTER 5: BEING IN THE CHANGE	93
The Cause: Getting To Know	94
<i>Getting To Know: Taking Time</i>	<i>94</i>
<i>Getting To Know: Establishing Contacts</i>	<i>96</i>
<i>Getting To Know: Seeking Knowledge</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Getting To Know: Always Doing Something</i>	<i>99</i>
The Context: Different Ways	101
<i>Different Ways: Accepting Change</i>	<i>101</i>
<i>Different Ways: Doing Things the Kiwi Way</i>	<i>103</i>
Intervening Condition: Having Needs Met	105
<i>Having Needs Met: Being Supported</i>	<i>106</i>
<i>Having Needs Met: Being Resourced</i>	<i>107</i>
Actions and Interventions: Learning And Doing	108
<i>Learning And Doing: Gaining Skills and Expertise</i>	<i>109</i>
<i>Learning And Doing: Doing Things Differently</i>	<i>111</i>
<i>Learning And Doing: Being Discriminating</i>	<i>113</i>
The Consequences: Managing The Show	115
<i>Managing The Show: Becoming Independent</i>	<i>115</i>
<i>Managing The Show: Finding Own Ways</i>	<i>117</i>
<i>Managing The Show: Question of Survival</i>	<i>118</i>
Being In The Change: Summary	120
Two Becoming One: Being In The Change	120
 CHAPTER 6: A NEW ZEALANDER WITH AN INDIAN SOUL	 123
The Cause: Right Place At Right Time	124
<i>Right Place At Right Time: Feeling Homely</i>	<i>124</i>
<i>Right Place At Right Time: Being Part of the Team</i>	<i>126</i>
The Context: Creating A Package	128
<i>Creating A Package: Building a Future</i>	<i>128</i>
<i>Creating A Package: Sharing of Two Cultures</i>	<i>130</i>
Intervening Condition: Discovering A Place To Stand	132
<i>Discovering A Place To Stand: Being Assertive</i>	<i>132</i>
Actions and Interactions: Doing More	134
<i>Doing More: Pursuing Opportunities</i>	<i>135</i>

<i>Doing More: Persevering</i>	136
The Consequences: Settled And Able To Do	139
<i>Settled And Able To Do: Celebrating Achievements</i>	139
<i>Settled And Able To Do: Everything is Alright</i>	141
A New Zealander With An Indian Soul: Summary	143
Two Becoming One: A New Zealander With An Indian Soul	143
CHAPTER 7: DRAWING TOGETHER THE JOURNEY	145
Introduction	145
Two Becoming One	145
<i>Environment</i>	146
<i>Occupation</i>	147
<i>Sense of Self and Well-being</i>	148
<i>Two Becoming One: The Journey</i>	148
Discussion	151
Situating the Study Findings within the Literature	151
<i>Two Becoming One</i>	152
<i>Oh God, Where Did I Come?</i>	153
<i>Being In The Change</i>	154
<i>A New Zealander With An Indian Soul</i>	155
New Insights Arising from this Study	157
Strengths and Limitations of this Study	158
<i>Credibility and Dependability</i>	158
<i>Confirmability</i>	160
<i>Transferability</i>	161
Implications of this Study	161
<i>Implications for Occupational Science</i>	161
<i>Implications for Policy Makers and Immigrant Support Services</i>	162
Implications for Future Research	164
Summary	165
REFERENCES	166

APPENDICES	184
Appendix A	184
<i>Participant Information Sheet</i>	184
Appendix B	187
<i>Consent to Participation in Research</i>	187
Appendix C	189
<i>Demographic Data Form</i>	189
Appendix D	190
<i>Ethical Consent Form</i>	190
Appendix E	191
<i>Interview Schedule</i>	191
Appendix F	192
<i>Memo</i>	192
Appendix G	193
<i>Table 2:1 Oh God, Where Did I Come?</i>	193
Appendix H	194
<i>Table 3:1 Being In The Change</i>	194
Appendix I	195
<i>Table 4:1 A New Zealander With An Indian Soul</i>	195

TABLE OF TABLES

TABLE 1:1	
<i>Participant Details</i>	48
TABLE 2:1	
<i>Oh God, Where Did I Come?</i>	63
TABLE 2:2	
<i>Oh God, Where Did I Come? - Causal Condition</i>	65
TABLE 2:3	
<i>Oh God, Where Did I Come? - Contextual Condition</i>	72
TABLE 2:4	
<i>Oh God, Where Did I Come? - Intervening Condition</i>	79
TABLE 2:5	
<i>Oh God, Where Did I Come? - Action/Intervention</i>	83
TABLE 2:6	
<i>Oh God, Where Did I Come? - Consequence</i>	87
TABLE 3:1	
<i>Being In The Change</i>	93
TABLE 3:2	
<i>Being In The Change - Causal Condition</i>	94
TABLE 3:3	
<i>Being In The Change - Contextual Condition</i>	101
TABLE 3:4	
<i>Being In The Change - Intervening Condition</i>	106
TABLE 3:5	
<i>Being In The Change - Action/Intervention</i>	109
TABLE 3:6	
<i>Being In The Change - Consequence</i>	115
TABLE 4:1	
<i>A New Zealander With An Indian Soul</i>	123
TABLE 4:2	
<i>A New Zealander With An Indian Soul - Causal Condition</i>	124
TABLE 4:3	
<i>A New Zealander With An Indian Soul - Contextual Condition</i>	128

TABLE 4:4	
<i>A New Zealander With An Indian Soul - Intervening Condition</i>	132
TABLE 4:5	
<i>A New Zealander With An Indian Soul - Action/Intervention</i>	135
TABLE 4:6	
<i>A New Zealander With An Indian Soul - Consequence</i>	139
Appendices	
TABLE 2:1 Repeated	193
TABLE 3:1 Repeated	194
TABLE 4:1 Repeated	195

TABLE OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1:1	
<i>Two Becoming One: Oh God, Where Did I Come?</i>	91
FIGURE 2:1	
<i>Two Becoming One: Being In The Change</i>	121
FIGURE 3:1	
<i>Two Becoming One: A New Zealander With An Indian Soul</i>	143
FIGURE 4:1	
<i>Two Becoming One</i>	146
FIGURE 5:1	
<i>Two Becoming One: The Journey</i>	150

ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this is my own work and that to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person or material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgements.

Signed: _____

Dated: _____

For Thachi,

With Love

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to sincerely thank all those who helped me in this endeavour. Firstly I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the women who participated in this study. Their willingness to welcome me into their homes and share their stories has been deeply appreciated. It has been an honour to have shared this experience with them.

To Clare Hocking and Jan Wilson my supervisors, a very big thank you. Your enthusiasm and support and most importantly your patience throughout this process has been invaluable. Jan, for your guidance concerning methodology and for directing me when the process ‘just was not happening’ thank you. Clare, for your guidance with writing and challenging me to keep extending myself, I am much indebted.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial support I have received from ZONTA and from the Health Sciences Faculty, Auckland University of Technology. In undertaking this project, this funding has assisted with travel costs to meet with participants and supervisors, stationery, and binding requirements. I also wish to acknowledge the Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences Postgraduate Scholarships and Awards Committee for assisting with payment of tuition fees.

I would like to extend my thanks to Anne Connor-Schisler. Thank you for taking the time to read my work and for the wonderful dialogues over the email that ensued. Your ideas and contributions have been valued and greatly appreciated.

To all my friends and colleagues who have walked this journey with me, offering encouragement and shouting me lunches - I will be forever grateful! In particular to Mark for taking the time to help with the editing and for your unfailing support through the ups and the downs, thank you.

And most importantly to my parents. Mum, thank you for sharing your story, and for your endless love and faith in my abilities – I thank you both.

Ethical Approval to proceed with this research was granted by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 24th August 2004.

ABSTRACT

Using a grounded theory methodology, this research sought to describe the occupational change process Indian women experience as they settle in a new environment, with a focus on how they sustain their sense of self and well-being. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with eight women of Indian origin who had immigrated to New Zealand within the past five years in an attempt to generate theory about the processes that these immigrants' experience. A constant comparative analysis revealed a central change process, Two Becoming One, which encompassed three interconnecting occupational processes.

The first process women experience is Oh God, Where Did I Come?. In this process, where the environment is new and unfamiliar, the women feel compelled to do familiar activities that they know they can accomplish, thus increasing confidence and supporting well-being. The second process, Being In The Change, sees the women learning more about their new environment and engaging in new occupations, while continuing to hold on to doing familiar activities. A New Zealander With An Indian Soul finds the women doing more as they embrace a strengthening sense of self and well-being and strive to build their future in a new land. Central to these three processes is the core category Two Becoming One. This process is a commentary on the women's journeys of integrating the demands of two cultures, each with its own unique environment and ways of doing things, while supporting a healthy sense of self and well-being throughout the experience.

The study findings demonstrate the dynamic interplay that occurs within a person-environment-occupation interface. Situating the findings within current literature reveals the limitation of previous understandings of the person-environment-occupation dynamic, in relation to people performing in an unfamiliar environment. With an increasing trend of immigration worldwide, this study brings to light the importance of understanding the bearing that environmental context has on occupation and the resulting impact for persons' sense of self and well-being. Further research in this area is required to gain deeper awareness of the ways in which people interact with their environment over time, and the resultant effect on occupation.

A MOTHER'S JOURNEY

In February 1975 my mother left her home country, India, and set out on a voyage to join my father who had immigrated to England the year before. Not only was she three months pregnant and entering a new phase in her life's journey, she was also assuming an unknown role – that of a new immigrant. This is part of her story.

Arriving in England my mother suddenly found herself in a new country that bore little resemblance to the one she had left behind. However, looking at this move as a new adventure she embraced the change and used this exciting time as an opportunity to learn new ways of performing everyday activities. With the help of a close family friend, she learned how to operate household appliances that she had not used before, such as the stove and washing machine. It was not only activities within the house that my mother had to adjust to. Venturing into the community for her first shopping trip was initially an overwhelming experience. With a vast array of new products to choose from, my mother's first concern upon making a purchase was how expensive it all seemed. "I kept converting the currency and thinking, gosh it's too expensive, in India we would never pay that amount." Going to the movies for the first time in England was another novel experience. My mother laughs as she recalls the event, "The movie theatres were so little! We were sitting on top of one another! So different from India where the movie theatres are huge."

Although moving to England brought about a range of challenges and changes in the way she carried out daily activities, my mother recalls the experience as being one she enjoyed. She believes that this was due to the support she received from her close friends and people she came to know during this time. In February 1980, however, my parents decided to leave England and once again travel overseas to set up home in another far off country, New Zealand. More specifically they set out for a little township known as Te Kuiti, located in the King Country. This time my mother travelled with the knowledge gained from her experiences in England, but she now had two children under the age of 5 to contend with. This would make the journey much harder.

Unlike her experience of immigrating to England, where my father and friends from India were waiting to welcome and assist her to settle in, this time round there were no familiar faces waiting at the airport. This proved to be the biggest challenge in immigrating to New Zealand. With no friends or family close

at hand, my mother's loneliness was palpable. "Everything was new and I didn't know anybody...just not knowing anybody was really hard. I remember being really unhappy during that first year. Your father was on-call at the hospital every other day and then on the weekends and I never used to drive so I had to depend on someone else to take me places. I guess not being able to pick up the phone and have a chat with someone was something I really missed."

As well as having to adjust to not having friends or family to visit and spend time with, my mother was once again faced with the challenges of doing the household activities. Having already learnt to operate a washing machine, it must have been immensely frustrating to have to relearn this process. However, whereas the washing machine she used in England would wash and then spin the clothes ready to be hung out, in Te Kuiti there was a completely different machine to contend with. "This one was different, it was like an agitator. You put the clothes in and washed them and then you had to put them through this wringer and squeeze the water out of the clothes by hand. That was fun – a couple of times we flooded the laundry. But it was also hard work and I looked forward to the day that my washing machine would arrive from England."

Cooking was another task that had its challenges. My mother had mastered the use of an oven in England, yet preparing a meal was once again problematic. "Back then if you're talking about Indian spices, nothing was available either in Te Kuiti or Hamilton. We used to have to travel to Auckland, which was about a three and a half-hour drive, so we'd only go once in three months. The name of the shop was Dunninghams, and it was situated on Hobson Street. You had to plan ahead. When you got there you'd write on a piece of paper what you wanted and pass it through a window with bars on it. Then they measured it [the spices] out and passed it to you back through the barred window. You couldn't see what they were doing so you had to take what you got."

After eighteen months in New Zealand, we returned to India for a holiday. Those first eighteen months in another new country had been a testing time for my mother. She experienced intense feelings of loneliness and on more than one occasion tears were shed as my mother felt overwhelmed by sadness. Yet through it all she continued to maintain a household, raise her children, and adjust to the challenges of performing her daily activities in a new environment. When my father returned to New Zealand six weeks later for work commitments, my mother, my

sister and I stayed in India. Over the next five months, supported by her family, my mother made a conscious decision that New Zealand was to be her new home. With this in mind, she returned to Te Kuiti feeling more settled and ready to face whatever challenges would come her way.

My mother's story of being a new immigrant fills me with admiration both for her struggles and achievements. Her ability to overcome the challenges presented to her in performing every day activities as a result of being in a new environment never ceases to amaze me. It is her story that has been my inspiration for this research project: Two becoming one: Immigrant Indian women sustaining self and well-being through doing.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to understand the relationship between occupation, identity, and sense of well-being for Indian women recently immigrated to New Zealand. Occupation is taken to mean any task or activity that people undertake in their daily life that holds meaning and purpose for them. Identity is broadly conceived as the way any person understands who he or she is, and as encompassing a sense of self as being a particular person. In the context of this study, well-being is interpreted from an occupational perspective to mean how comfortable an individual feels when performing daily occupations. As such, well-being can incorporate the dimensions of support and safety that individuals experience in relation to occupation. That there is a relationship between identity, the activities we perform, and our sense of well-being is the central supposition of this study.

This study employs a grounded theory methodology (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), a methodology situated within the interpretive paradigm, which seeks to understand the meanings people attach to the events in their lives and thus, what it is to be human (Grant & Giddings, 2002). Grounded theory focuses on, and attempts to develop theory in regards to social processes. In order to understand the processes surrounding the things new immigrants do and how these things relate to identity and well-being, interviews were conducted with eight Indian women who immigrated to New Zealand between 1999 and 2004.

For these women, as for many people, going to a new country can be considered to be part of the human experience. However, this transition may be more complex than most people anticipate. The occupational therapy literature has identified that immigration, resulting in a permanent change of living place, can be a stressful process that requires some form of adaptation and adjustment regarding valued occupations (Blair, 2000; Christiansen & Baum, 1997; Dyck, 1989; Hamilton, 2004). For some individuals, this change is easily accommodated. However, for those individuals struggling to meet the challenge of doing things in a new environment, overall well-being may decline: occupations may be experienced as uncomfortable, unfamiliar or energy intensive giving rise to feelings of incompetence, frustration, foreignness and 'dis-ease'. In addition, an individual's cultural values and beliefs may be confronted by the common-place practices and

assumptions of the new community, and hence disrupt occupational performance and well-being.

While the difficulties immigrants may experience have been recognised, literature addressing the experience of voluntary immigrants was difficult to locate. The existing literature tends to focus on refugees as immigrants. Refugees have a long history of settling in foreign lands, primarily as a result of being displaced by socio-political forces. However, I propose that there is another subgroup of immigrants, whose occupational needs have not been addressed. These immigrants voluntarily leave their country of origin and start a new life by settling in a foreign country. For some this choice is guided by a desire to fulfil personal goals, while for others leaving their country of origin may be driven by family needs.

This study is important because there are increasing numbers of immigrants arriving in New Zealand with the desire to settle (Department of Labour, 2005a). Furthermore, within the mental health system it has been recognised that a growing number of immigrants, in particular those from very different cultural backgrounds (e.g. Chinese or Indian), are accessing mental health services due to difficulties with establishing life in a new culture (Ho, Au, Bedford, & Cooper, 2002). In a document prepared for the Mental Health Commission on the 'Mental Health Issues for Asians in New Zealand', it was suggested that with an increase in the numbers of people choosing to immigrate there is a need for more research in this area (Ho et al., 2002). Thus, this study will contribute to the understanding of an important issue within New Zealand.

My personal interest in undertaking this study stems from both my mother's and my own experiences of being an immigrant. Although too young to recall much of the experience of emigrating from England to New Zealand with my mother, I have since had the opportunity to immigrate to other countries. These experiences have provided valuable insight in understanding what it means to have one's daily activities change significantly. Later, as I undertook my training to be an occupational therapist, I came to newly appreciate the importance of meaningful occupation in sustaining well-being. As a graduate working with new immigrants in the mental health system my attention once again returned to the challenges implicit in migration, and this time I discovered there was a dearth of literature in the health care arena. Now as a postgraduate student, my studies have highlighted the impact that culture has on individuals and the extent to which culture influences people's choice of occupation (Nayar, 2003, 2004, 2005). These literature reviews have

aided my understanding of the complexity of performing occupation in an unfamiliar environment and the need for further exploration.

Drawing on my previous work, this chapter broadly outlines the relationship between the two key concepts of occupation and identity. This is followed by an outline of the immigration process and the implications of this process on occupational performance, which then leads to a description of the term ‘well-being’ and what this term means in this study. The context of this study is provided by a brief history of New Zealand immigration, which shows New Zealand to be a land of immigrants. In particular, this chapter looks at Indian immigration to New Zealand in terms of what was left behind in India, balanced against the foundations put in place by previous Indian migrants. The chapter concludes with an examination of the conceptual context of the study, the significance of the study in terms of the current immigration climate, and with an overview of this thesis.

Occupation and Identity

Christiansen (1999, 2000) and Kielhofner (2002) have made significant contributions which link the terms occupation and identity. Christiansen (1999) asserts that identities are shaped through the choices people make about the goals they pursue and the everyday activities used to pursue them. This is referred to as ‘identity-shaping’ or ‘selfing’: a process that ties human agency to identity (McAdams, 1996). Selfing is, therefore, a process through which we “experience our actions and our lives as our own” (Christiansen, 1999, p. 552). This process occurs over time, and whilst it is happening, occupational experiences are accumulated and organised into an understanding of whom one has been and who one wishes to become. The ongoing process creates a sense of a desired and possible direction for one’s future.

Kielhofner (2002) describes a similar concept which he calls ‘occupational identity’. This concept has a number of key elements including: i) one’s sense of capacity and effectiveness for doing, ii) the things one finds interesting and satisfying to do, and iii) a sense of the familiar routines of life (Kielhofner, 2002). Thus, occupation and identity are further linked by one’s capacity, one’s interest, and one’s sense of comfort, which extends Christiansen’s (1999) notion of goal choice and the use of occupation to that end.

The notion of an environmental impact on identity is highlighted in Taylor's (2003) assertion that occupations have both personal and social meanings, all of which are interwoven with the complexities of the sociocultural context. This is particularly important when considering the formation of culture specific identities. Within many cultures, occupations and rituals are passed down through generations combining with one's chosen occupations, to define and shape one's identity (Desai, 1999). The engagement in occupations can therefore be seen to enhance opportunities for growth and the construction of identity, while conversely, restricted access to occupations could potentially limit the perception of oneself and one's social identity (Laliberte-Rudman, 2002). These ideas are relevant in the context of this study since Indian women migrate to New Zealand with an already developed, culturally specific identity. Finding themselves in a changed sociocultural environment they potentially face a significant alteration in occupational performance and sense of self.

The Immigration Process

Everyday, people engage in numerous and different occupations, each of which is performed within a given environment. Three components of environment are the people, the places, and the occupations that are being performed. Hamilton (2004) postulates that the link between environment, place, and occupation is so strong that "one cannot consider occupations without considering that they involve people in places" (p. 174).

When people live in one place for long enough the places in which they perform their everyday occupations become familiar. Familiarity brings comfort and a sense of what to expect from that place (e.g. the impact of societal values or the helpfulness of its physical characteristics). Furthermore, familiarity takes time to develop and thus, a change to things familiar about a place or environment impacts on people's engagement in occupations. It is therefore not surprising that immigration has been described as a 'discontinuity' in a person's life space (Adams, Hayes, & Hopson, 1976) and according to Blair (2000), "discontinuity requires alteration to routine, habit and the taken-for-granted configuration of occupations" (p. 232).

Hence, moving out of one's familiar environment, the individual risks leaving behind established routines. Routines are defined as "frequently repeated activities that have a general sequence" (Pierce, 2003, p. 160) and which are supported by the location and objects employed for carrying out the occupations. For example, in India the occupation of 'cooking a meal' would be supported by the delivery of fresh vegetables or a very busy marketplace in which to barter, and the aroma of Indian spices which are stored in a specific location in the kitchen. In the process of moving, these routines are not as likely to be available. Similarly, in India left over food is commonly stored in stainless steel containers which are reheated on top of the gas stove, whereas in New Zealand, where microwaves are commonly used to reheat dishes, stainless steel containers become irrelevant. This in turn demands changes in occupation while new objects are located and mastered, and new routines established.

Just as people become familiar with the environment, so too do aspects of the occupations themselves become familiar. Some of these aspects develop into habits, which can be defined as "acquired tendencies to automatically respond and perform in certain, consistent ways in familiar environments" (Kielhofner, 2002, p. 64). Habits serve not only as a way of preserving what has been learned, but also decrease the amount of conscious attention required to perform that occupation (James, 1950). For instance, over time a person learns the quickest route to travel to the supermarket. As this journey becomes more familiar and the occupation of driving to the supermarket requires less conscious processing, it is possible for the person to simultaneously perform other tasks such as listening to the radio or planning the grocery list. In a new environment, however, old habits may become redundant and new habits must be learned.

The third aspect of immigration that Blair (2002) asserts requires alteration is the taken-for-granted configuration of occupations. Each person has his or her own way of doing things, for instance getting dressed or cooking a meal, and the way occupations are combined throughout the day, such as getting out of bed, having a shower and then eating breakfast, are also very individual. Blair suggests that the manner in which each of these activities is performed is adapted to make the most efficient use of time and space, and the way in which occupations are configured throughout the day helps create a sense of rhythm and balance in one's doing. This taken-for-granted configuration of occupations may become unbalanced and the rhythm unstable when performed in a new environment.

Consequently, it is posited that the extent to which individuals are successful in adapting their routines, habits, and configuration of occupations will determine the impact of a new environment on their sense of self and well-being. This assumption is supported, at least in part, by Berger and Luckman's (1966) proposal that self-identity constantly evolves in response to social interactions. It is lent further support by Zajacova's (2002) finding that "the success, or a lack thereof, of mastering the many new tasks and challenges an immigrant confronts brings about the reconstruction of a different personal identity" (p. 70). Thus, in the context of this study, the change in place, as a result of migration, is a key factor in determining what Indian women do and the effect their occupations have on their identity and well-being.

Understanding Well-being

At the beginning of this chapter, well-being was defined as 'how comfortable and at ease an individual feels when performing daily occupations'. Often the term well-being is heard in the context of 'health' and 'happiness'. In this thesis, it is proposed that the term well-being holds a much broader meaning.

Well-being is a term popularly related to health. Perhaps the most authoritative definition of health is that proposed by the World Health Organization, which defines it as a "state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (World Health Organization, 2003). Well-being is therefore framed as an optimal or enhanced state of health, founded on a few holistic factors. Current models of health and well-being in New Zealand, include the Maori model of health, Te Whare Tapa Wha (Durie, 1994); this model acknowledges the spiritual component of well-being, which is seen to be vital to a wide range of cultural groups. The spiritual component in this model is referred to as 'Te Taha Wairua', one of the four pillars of, and also the most essential requirement for health. It is believed that without spiritual awareness, an individual would lack well-being. Wairua may also be used to explore relationships with the environment, between people and their heritage.

Crisp (2001), in contrast, contends that a philosophical use of the term 'well-being' is encapsulated by how well a person's life is going from that person's perspective. Therefore, a person's well-being can be thought of as that which is

considered ‘good for’ oneself. Similarly, Yerxa (1998) contends that well-being reflects a good quality of life, one that reflects adaptability and satisfaction in the activities one chooses. Thus, well-being may be thought of as a “perceived sense of contentment or satisfaction” (Bonder, 1997, p. 314).

In defining well-being in terms of ‘contentment’ or ‘satisfaction’, the reader should be cautious about further stretching this relationship to imply well-being in connection to ‘happiness’. The word happiness is commonly used in everyday life to refer to a short-lived emotional state, such as ‘You look happy today’. Once again, Crisp (2001) contends that philosophically, the scope of the word well-being often encompasses one’s whole life. In this regard, it is possible that some good things have happened in a person’s life to make it a happy one, even though that person lacked contentment and satisfaction. Therefore, when discussing the notion of what makes life good for the individual, it is preferable to use the term well-being instead of happiness. This term allows for the individual to experience a variety of different emotional states, and still feel good about who they are, what they are doing, and where they are doing it. Thus, in the context of this study, a participant’s well-being is taken to concern all facets of life including health, the ability to adapt and perform occupations in the individual’s present context, and the degree of comfort one experiences when performing new occupations.

Concern over the well-being of new immigrants and the overall costs and benefits of immigration is gradually becoming more widely addressed as New Zealanders become increasingly aware of the growing numbers of immigrants. Although a relatively young country, New Zealand has a long history of immigration.

The New Zealand Immigration Scene

Aotearoa (New Zealand) started welcoming immigrants dating back to AD 800 when it is believed that the first Polynesian people arrived (O’Connor, 1990). In 1769, the British naval captain James Cook and his crew were recorded as the first Europeans to chart New Zealand’s shoreline (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004a; Statistics New Zealand, 2004a).

From 1800 to 1840, immigrants consisting of whalers, traders and missionaries were English speakers of an Anglo-Celtic origin (English, Scottish,

Irish, and Welsh). One of these immigrants was Edward Gibbon Wakefield who, in 1837, founded the New Zealand Company (New Zealand History, 2004) with a vision to “systematic colonisation” (O’Connor, 1990, p. 21) of New Zealand. Under that company insignia, 15,000 immigrants came to New Zealand.

Despite the outbreak of the 1860 Land Wars between Maori and the government in the North Island, there was an influx of immigrants to the South Island in search of gold (O’Connor, 1990). Amongst these immigrants were Chinese gold miners, who were among the first non-European immigrants. However, throughout the mid to late 1800s until the 1970s, immigrants to New Zealand predominantly arrived from Great Britain. According to Hutching (2004), there were historical and political grounds for this, in that New Zealand was a British Colony. There were, however, also cultural and economic reasons influencing those allowed to enter New Zealand. During these years it was felt that people who would have least difficulty adapting to life in New Zealand (i.e. English speaking individuals able to contribute), should be encouraged to migrate to New Zealand. One way of ensuring this was through the 1899 Immigration Restriction Act, under which all prospective immigrants had to fill in an application form in the English language (Hutching, 2004; McKinnon, 1996).

With an increasing number of Asian immigrants successfully memorising enough English to fill out the form to apply for residency, there was a need for change in policy. The Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1920 strengthened the immigration requirements (O’Connor, 1990). The English language section was removed and was substituted with a system of permits for anyone not of British birth or parentage. Permanent residence was granted at the discretion of the Minister of Customs and while British people were not subject to this requirement, it meant that people wishing to migrate to New Zealand from countries such as India and China were at a distinct disadvantage.

The Immigration Restriction Amendment Act stayed in force until the 1987 Immigration Act was introduced. A points system was introduced which meant that immigrants were now selected on their own merit, rather than by their country of origin (O’Connor, 1990). Points are currently awarded for educational, trade or work qualifications, family links, age, command of the English language, and the applicant’s ability to settle successfully in New Zealand. Under that legislation, the numbers of permanent and long term immigrants to New Zealand has been steadily

growing. In December 1994, Statistics New Zealand (2005a) recorded that 64,380 permanent and long term immigrants were residing in New Zealand. Ten years later in December 2004, this number had increased to 80,480. Amongst the increasing numbers of immigrants to New Zealand is an ever growing Indian population.

Indian Immigrants in New Zealand

In spite of the difficulties described in the last section, Indian immigrants have been recorded as arriving in Aotearoa from the mid-1800s. Confusion abounds, however, as to who the first Indian to set foot on New Zealand soil may have been. According to Leckie (1998) the first Indian may have been a Bengali lascar (Indian seaman) who jumped ship off New Zealand's South Island in 1810. However, Roy (1978), in his overview of Indians in New Zealand, states "The first recorded Indian to settle in New Zealand is mentioned in W. R. Mayhew *Tuapeka: the Land and its People*...as being one Edward Peter...who arrived in Tuapeka in 1853" (p. 17).

During the 1800s through to the mid-1900s the majority of Indian immigrants came directly from the Indian states of Punjab and Gujarat, although a few of the earlier immigrants may have come via Australia, in much the same fashion as many of the Chinese gold diggers (Roy, 1978). This said, Indian immigrants to New Zealand in the late 1800s were far from numerous, with the 1881 Census recording the grand total of six Indians residing in New Zealand. By 1896 there were 46 Indians in New Zealand whose various employments are recorded as "peddlers, hawkers and domestics" (Roy, 1978, p. 18). In the early 1900s, following New Zealand's 1899 Immigration Restriction Act, there was a rapid increase in Indian immigrants. According to Roy (1978), with respect to filling in the application form, "Not only were illiterate Indians with splendid rote memories able to do this successfully, if coached, but it seems that a sort of crammers' establishment was set up...to enable its 'graduates' to perform this feat!" (p. 18). Thus by 1920 there were 671 Indians residing throughout the country (O'Connor, 1990) and 46 years later in 1966 this number had grown to 5,646 (Roy, 1978). Leckie (2004) notes that up until the Second World War, immigrant Indian women were scarce, with the first Punjabi women arriving in the late 1890s/early 1900s and the first Gujarati women arriving in 1922. However after the war, increasing numbers of Indian women made the journey to New Zealand.

With the rising number of Indians settling in New Zealand, employment soon diversified from the early peddling and hawking. Roy (1978) notes that Gujaratis engaged mainly in work such as market gardening or retail green grocery, whereas Punjabis found work in dairy farming and similar heavy agricultural labouring tasks. Today, Indian immigrants can be found in an even wider variety of occupations.

The latest figures recorded by Statistics New Zealand from the 2001 census indicate that there are 61,803 people identifying as belonging to an Indian ethnic group living in New Zealand, making up 1.7% of the population (Statistics New Zealand, 2005b). Auckland is the largest settlement area (Statistics New Zealand, 2004b) and people identifying as being of Indian ethnicity make up the fifth most common group, approximately 5% of the total resident population (Auckland City, 2005). Information gathered from the New Zealand 2001 Census of Population and Dwellings shows that the majority of Indian people reside in the Avondale/Roskill Ward and the Eden/Albert Ward (Auckland City, 2005).

Although the term 'Indian' is being used in this research, the Indian community is diverse in its population and therefore a static 'ethnic group' approach (Walker, 2001) would be misleading. In a study entitled 'Ethnic identity, acculturation, and intergenerational conflict among second-generation New Zealand Indians', Raza (1997) found that her respondents preferred ethnicity labels ranging from, New Zealand Indian, Indian, Indian Kiwi, Local Kiwi, Gujarati Indian, Fiji Indian, Punjabi, and Goan. Thus, for the purpose of this research, the term Indian is used broadly and flexibly to encompass any individual who identifies as having a cultural origin stemming from the Indian sub-continent, with the restriction that for this research they have migrated from the country India.

Conceptual Context of the Study

This section places the study in its theoretical context; that of occupational science. The study focuses on i) the place of occupation in new immigrants' lives, ii) how the things they do are impacted by migration, and iii) the subsequent implications for their sense of self and well-being. This is accomplished by examining how occupation is performed in a new environment and how this impacts on well-being.

An Occupational Perspective

My perspective has been underpinned by my interest in the growing field of occupational science, an academic discipline which aims to “generate knowledge about the form, the function, and the meaning of human occupation” (Zemke & Clark, 1996, p. vii). Occupational science concerns itself with universal issues about occupation, and at the core of this, is the need to understand and evaluate the term ‘occupation’ (Yerxa et al., 1990).

Occupation is derived from the Latin root “occupatio” meaning “to seize or take possession” which, according to Englehardt (1977) are terms that convey action, employment, and anticipation. Wilcock, in 1991 argued that occupation should be considered a central aspect of the human experience. Occupation can be thought of as “the activities people engage in throughout their daily lives to fulfil their time and give life meaning” (Hinojosa & Kramer, 1997, p. 864). Given this definition, occupations include daily activities such as paid employment, cooking, shopping, and/or playing sport. Within occupational science, it is now recognised that occupation has many dimensions including, but not limited to contextual, psychological, social, symbolic, cultural, and the spiritual (Hinojosa & Kramer, 1997). I believe that of the dimensions discussed by Hinojosa and Kramer, three in particular are pertinent to this research. These are, occupation within its context, as health (health seen as an extension of the psychological dimension), and as culture.

Occupation Contextualised

Occupations are a means of organising time, space, and materials (Law, Polatajko, Baptiste, & Townsend, 1997) and yet conversely it is these very factors of time, space, and materials that form the context in which occupations are performed.

Time can be thought of on two dimensions. The first of these pertains to the daily routines and activities that take place within a 24-hour period. People’s time is organised by occupations in terms of patterns, habits and roles (Kielhofner, 1985, 1992). Studies have shown that when individuals are faced with changes in their occupational patterns, such as ending employment and entering retirement (Boderrick & Glazer, 1983; Jonsson et al., 2000; Ludwig, 1997) that these changes in the temporal patterns of occupation have an important impact on their lives. Just as occupations are a means of organising time, so too does time provide a context for performing the occupation.

The second concept of time is seen as that which organises occupations over the course of a lifetime (Wicks, 2003). For instance, as a child, occupations of primary importance are likely to be those revolving around play and then schooling. Adolescence is an important time for engaging in activities with peers, and into adulthood, occupations addressing productivity needs, such as paid employment and managing a household take priority (Kielhofner, 1985). In later life, family and volunteer activities may take on more significance (Law et al., 1997).

Alongside the constraint of time, performing an occupation depends on having the requisite space and materials. Hamilton (2004) asserts that unexpected and/or permanent changes of place and the materials they contain, which are required for occupation, impact negatively on well-being because of the importance that space or place has in supporting the routine occupations of personal care, work, and leisure. If well-being is placed under threat, so too is one's health.

Occupation as Health

In the early 1960s Mary Reilly, an American occupational therapist, stated that “man through the use of his hands, as they are energised by mind and will, can influence the state of his own health” (Reilly, 1962, p. 1). From an occupational therapy perspective, occupation is considered fundamental to health. Fidler and Fidler (1983) propose that in order to have good health (physical, mental, and spiritual) one needs to be ‘active’ or ‘doing’ in the context of occupation. Hence, occupation becomes a critical component of an individual's well-being (Cox, 1995; Wilcock, 1998a, 1998b), and conversely, good health supports engagement in occupation.

Health promotion is “the process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve their health” (Ottawa Charter, 2002, p. 1). The Ottawa Charter further suggests that individuals need to realise their aspirations, change with the environment, and satisfy needs in order to reach a state of well-being, which can ultimately be achieved through the use of occupation. The Charter acknowledges that work and leisure occupations have a significant impact on health, and that they need to be re-framed as a source of health for people. Thus, health promotion empowers people to engage in occupations that support good health through providing information, education for health, and by enhancing life skills (Health Promotion Forum, 2004).

Occupation as Culture

In addition to noting the cultural specificity of people's identity, occupation has been recognised to be "a highly cultural concept" (Townsend & Brintnell, 1997, p. 20). Culture is a key concept in this study and warrants further exploration. In addressing the notion of 'culture', Congress (1994) argues that it is much broader than ethnicity and religion, and that these aspects are subsumed under the term culture. Thus culture should not be viewed as a singular concept, in that it incorporates "language, values, religious ideals, habits of thinking, artistic expressions and patterns of social and interpersonal relationships" (Lum, 1992, p. 62). The strength of this definition is that when applied to the concept of doing, it allows for a broader context in which to enact occupation. Culture also influences beliefs, attitudes, and values regarding the importance of activities.

Culture can exist on multiple levels (Hasselkus, 1997), from countries, down to local communities, and further still down to families and individuals (Christiansen & Baum, 1997). From a societal perspective, culture is deemed to affect performance in a variety of ways, including context, such as the time and space in which the occupation is performed. In India, it is common practice to eat a main meal in the middle of the day, whereas in New Zealand, it is considered more appropriate to eat the main meal in the evening. At an individual level, culture as demonstrated through one's cultural orientation, influences choices regarding what occupations to engage in and how to perform these occupations. For example, attending to family duties such as raising children is of primary importance to Hindu women, while engaging in paid employment outside the household is considered secondary (Chanda & Owen, 2001; Desai, 1999).

Significance of this Study

Increasingly, New Zealand is becoming home to a variety of individuals from different cultures. In talking with individuals who have chosen to make the lifestyle change and immigrate to New Zealand, I have come to appreciate that a struggle to settle in a new environment exists and this struggle is manifest in the change of occupation that occurs. However, it appears that the occupational stories of individuals who have elected to migrate have tended to be overshadowed by

stories of immigrants from newsworthy backgrounds (e.g. war torn countries), or stories of migrants who have created a success from their initial struggle.

Referring to the Mental Health Issues for Asians in New Zealand report, it was found that research addressing the needs of Asian immigrant women in New Zealand is very limited (Ho et al., 2002). The purpose of this research, therefore, is to bring to light an aspect of immigration currently in the shadows, by uncovering the process of a group of Indian women who have chosen to immigrate to New Zealand, the changes and challenges they have faced with their occupations, and the impact that this has had on their sense of self and well-being. The question being asked in this study is, 'How do the things Indian women do in a new environment support their sense of self and well-being?'

Overview of the Study

Chapter One has endeavoured to set the scene for this thesis by introducing some of the key terms involved in the study beginning with occupation and identity. These terms are intricately interwoven and fundamental to the way in which people sustain a sense of well-being in a new environment. Following this an overview of the immigration process, which has been referred to as a 'discontinuity', was discussed in relation to the impact that this experience has on a person's engagement in occupation and the sense of identity that unfolds. This discussion underlined the potential impact that a change of environment can have on well-being, a term which in the context of this study is more than just 'health and happiness' and extends to people's ability to adapt and perform occupations in their present context.

The latter half of this chapter has provided both the societal and theoretical context. An overview of New Zealand's immigration history shows that there are increasing numbers of migrants arriving in this country and amongst these migrants is a growing Indian population. My reasons for undertaking this study have been discussed with particular emphasis on three dimensions of occupation; context, health, and culture, which are of particular relevance to this research. Finally, the significance of the study has been outlined.

Chapter Two opens with a deeper exploration of the key terms in this study; immigration, occupation, and identity or sense of self. Literature relevant to the

immigration process and the impact on occupation and identity in relation to well-being is reviewed and critiqued. Chapter Three outlines the selection and application of the grounded theory methodology as it is used in this research. In Chapters Four, Five, and Six the processes that emerged from the data are presented. Finally Chapter Seven draws together the findings and discusses these in relation to existing literature. In addition, the limitations of the study are discussed, and suggestions are made for further research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Glaser (1998), one of the founders of grounded theory methodology, strongly argues that consultation and review of research literature should occur after the initial data collection and analysis is completed, which is one way of ensuring that the analysis is based strongly in the data as opposed to being shaped by pre-existing understandings. Alternatively, Strauss and Corbin (1998) contend that reviewing literature at the beginning of a project is helpful to clarify the purpose of the research and concepts to be investigated. As this study is following the Strauss and Corbin framework, an initial literature search was conducted. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight current knowledge of the immigration process and the connections between immigration, occupation, and identity.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the meaning of each concept. The second section examines each concept in relation to the others and includes a discussion on how these concepts relate to well-being. To illustrate the ideas presented, anecdotal examples are used to supplement the literature and further demonstrate the links that exist between these concepts. The third section provides an overview and critique of the current literature addressing the immigration-occupation-identity interface.

Exploring the Interface between Immigration, Occupation, and Identity

The terms immigration, occupation, and identity, take on different meanings depending on the context in which they are used. This section explores the meaning of each concept while also attempting to understand the relationship between them.

Immigration

Immigration can be defined as, “the movement of people from one country to another...who declare an intention to reside in the latter” (Jary & Jary, 1991, p. 397). As a result of moving from ‘one country to another’, new immigrants find themselves immersed in a different environment. According to Casey (1993) the environment in which we live is “so pervasive and yet so elusive that most of us simply do not notice it. But it is to our own peril that we do not” (p. 22). Casey

makes an interesting point, in that, from a personal perspective, we are often not fully aware of the environment that surrounds our very being. How individuals interact with the environment, not just on a physical level, but experientially, is crucial in understanding the link between immigration, occupation, and identity. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, immigration is understood to be not only the process of moving between countries, but incorporates living and being in that new environment.

Occupation

Many definitions of ‘occupation’ are available and it would appear that the debate on one exact definition is far from reaching any firm conclusions. However, there are concepts that commonly appear in definitions of occupation, which will be further explored.

The American Occupational Therapy Association (1997) states that occupation is generally thought of as ‘having a purpose’ and/or ‘being meaningful’ to the individual performing the occupation. As noted in Chapter One, the word occupation is derived from the Latin root “occupatio” meaning “to seize or take possession”. In order to ‘seize or take possession’ one must act with purpose, a concept defined as “intention to act” or “object to be attained” (Sykes, 1987, p. 837). The purposes occupations might hold are addressed in Christiansen’s (1991) proposition that occupation is “engagement in activities, tasks, and roles for the purpose of productive pursuit...maintaining oneself in the environment, and for the purpose of relaxation, entertainment, creativity, and celebration” (p. 26). For instance, the occupation of ‘cooking the evening meal’ has an associated purpose of ensuring that hunger is addressed. This same occupation also carries meaning by way of “significance” or “importance” (Sykes, 1987, p. 628). Thus, ‘cooking the evening meal’ has a purpose – to diminish hunger and it is filled with meaning, for instance, ensuring time together as a family.

The important phrase within Christiansen’s (1991) definition of occupation is ‘maintaining oneself’, which is taken to mean active engagement in occupation as a way of achieving a sense of efficacy, that promotes identity and a healthy sense of well-being. The phrase ‘maintaining oneself in the environment’ also fits well with this research which seeks to understand how immigrant Indian women, through the things they do, sustain a healthy well-being, or ‘maintain themselves’, in a new environment.

Identity

The term ‘identity’ is discussed extensively in many fields of literature including philosophy (Solomon & Higgins, 1997; Taylor, 1989), psychology (Erikson, 1968; Gergen & Gergen, 1988), occupational therapy (Christiansen, 1999, 2000; Kielhofner, 2002), and environmental psychology and architectural writings (Altman & Wohlwill, 1976; Buttner & Seamon, 1980; Gallagher, 1993). Without explicitly placing the term identity within a cultural framework, Christiansen (1999) notes that identity refers to a composite definition of the self, including roles and relationships, values, self-concept, and personal desires and goals.

However, culture is also an important aspect of identity. According to Freeman (2001), the culture from which one originates both influences and determines the broader social norms that provide the context for constructs of identity, and traditionally, the differences between the Eastern and Western cultures have provided divergent constructs of individual identity (Laungani, 1995, 1997, 1999). For instance, women from a Western culture tend to have an identity based on cultural constructs of individualism, importance of knowledge, and freedom of choice (Giddens, 1991; Kaminer, 1993; Rupp & Taylor, 1999). In contrast, Indian women have their sense of identity firmly rooted in the cultural tradition of family (Guzder & Krishna, 1991; Roland, 1988) and societal values (Desai, 1999; Milner, 1993). Laungani (1999) states that “cultures shape us, and we, in turn, shape our cultures” (p. 210). Therefore, it is necessary to consider both the culture of origin and the culture of the new place, when discussing identity or sense of self and well-being.

When considering the concept of ‘identity’, in the context of this study, a second and separate concept, that of ‘sense of self’, must also be acknowledged. The distinction commonly drawn between these concepts is that identity assumes an external positioning, in that it is a way in which other people view us, whereas sense of self may be considered as an internal process addressing how we view ourselves. While recognising the importance of this difference in perspective, concepts of identity and sense of self are nonetheless used flexibly, and to some extent interchangeably, within this thesis. This is consistent with common usage of the terms, at least amongst the participants in this study, and because the study addresses both internal and external perspectives of the self. That is, it explores Indian immigrant women’s understanding of who others’ perceive them to be, their

identity in the world, alongside their own understandings of who they are (sense of self). Therefore, both concepts are used throughout this study.

Immigration – ‘The New Environment’

It is crucial to emphasise that the immigration process implicitly involves people changing their environment and living in a new place. Part of the impact of immigration can be explained by noticing that “the places in which people find themselves strongly influence what they do and the meaning of their time spent there” (Hamilton, 2004, p. 174). Crabtree (1998) similarly acknowledged the importance of environment on occupation, both as a means of organising human performance and as a way of making meaning manifest. Because people are inherently “meaning makers and symbolisers” (Yerxa, cited in Blair, 2000, p. 234), an important element of changing environment, via immigration, is the new meanings that people experience in the occupations that constitute their daily lives (Baptiste, 1988; Jonsson et al., 2000), which may include new understandings of the self, or their identity. To better understand the immigration-occupation-identity dynamic, the concept of environment needs to be unravelled.

Defined as “the particular physical and social features of the specific context in which one does something that impacts upon what one does, and how it is done” (Kielhofner, 2002, p. 99), environments are complex settings in which individuals function on a daily basis. The interface between occupation and environment is addressed extensively in occupational therapy literature (Kielhofner, 2002; Law, 1991; Whiteford, 2000) and it is proposed that the environment is a critical factor in human performance (Dunn, Brown, & McGuigan, 1994). The environment provides objects required for performing occupations, presents barriers to engagement in occupation, and creates a social space within which to enact occupations (Pierce, 2003). However, if the environment is unfamiliar, as experienced when immigrating, an individual’s ability to effectively perform occupations may be challenged.

The concept of environment has been explored in a variety of disciplines, such as architectural works, environmental psychology, behavioural geography, and occupational science, to name a few. Each of these disciplines view environment in

both similar and different ways. For instance, environmental psychology is interested in symbolic and spiritual aspects, while architecture has its roots firmly planted in the physical structure. Behavioural geography and occupational science have an interest in both the social and physical components of environment, and the way individuals behave in their chosen environment. An aspect of environment acknowledged by all disciplines is a cultural dimension. Hence, the above discussion highlights a number of aspects central to environment, and in terms of this study I will address five significant dimensions of environment that potentially impact occupational performance and identity. These are physical, social, emotional, spiritual, and cultural (Nayar, 2004).

Physical

Much has been written about the physical dimension of environment and its interface with occupation (Kielhofner, 2002; Law, 1991; O'Brien, Dyck, Caron, & Mortenson, 2002), which is associated with the visibility and tangibility of the physical environment. The physical environment offers spaces and objects or resources to facilitate occupational performance. To illustrate this, in India most cooking is done on a two ring gas burner, in contrast to the modern stoves commonly found in New Zealand homes. For my mother, a changed kitchen environment required her to learn how to operate an oven, control the temperature and re-learn the times for cooking dishes.

The physical environment also relates to the specific way of performing the occupation (Rapoport, 1980), such as knowing the location of objects and being able to automatically retrieve objects without having to think about where things are located. An example might be reaching for the spices while stirring the onions in the pot on the stove. Thus the physical environment shapes both where and how occupation is performed, while familiarity with an environment influences the ease with which occupations are performed.

Social

This dimension of environment pertains to the relationships between people (Kielhofner, 2002), such as those with family and friends, which provide the individual with support and motivation (Pierce, 2003) and have the potential to exert a powerful shaping force on occupational experiences. One example is the

sharing of food with neighbours at Christmas time in India. In my mother's household, this ritual would start at least a month in advance, with discussions around what sweets and/or savouries to prepare and how much to prepare. Shopping lists are constructed and ingredients gathered. The week before Christmas, the sweet making is in full swing, with everyone available lending a hand. On Christmas day the trays are stacked with a variety of sweets and savouries and taken around to neighbours, and trays are returned filled with sweets prepared by other households. This process often consumes the whole morning with everyone from the immediate neighbours to houses at the end of the street being involved.

For many immigrants, leaving familiar networks represents a significant loss, one that has the potential to lead to social isolation. When my mother migrated to New Zealand she knew no one. She was by herself without any other women in the household with whom she could share social occupations. It seems hardly surprising that my mother recalls being depressed during her first Christmas in New Zealand.

Emotional

Environmental psychologists believe that individuals have a complex emotional relationship with the environment (Russell & Snodgrass, 1987). Occasionally, the emotional ties one experiences with certain places, such as the country one has emigrated from, are obvious. However, in the context of this study, the less obvious affective qualities of an environment may be more important. As Russell and Snodgrass (1987) argued it is the affective qualities of the environment, "how stressful, how depressing, how peaceful, or how delightful it is" (p. 245), that often guide the performance of occupation, "what to do there, how well it is done, how soon to leave..." (p. 246). In a familiar environment, the emotional dimension, often informs decisions regarding engagement in occupation and the sense of satisfaction one experiences.

Emotional responses of stress, anxiety, thrill, and/or excitement may mask people's awareness as to the affective qualities of their new environment. Equally, it might be that new immigrants have difficulty reading their new context, and that their experience of its affective qualities may be exaggerated, mistaken, or be out of step with others' interpretation. In my mother's story, purchasing the Indian spices

required for cooking meant a three and a half hour journey from Te Kuiti to a little store in Auckland, where the transaction of buying the spices took place through a window with grated bars. Compare this to the Indian experience of the market place, often located within walking distance of one's home, where there is the opportunity to mingle with other people, haggle over the price of vegetables, where the air is filled with the aroma of spices, music is playing, and people are conversing. The differences in the experience evoked by each emotional environment could not be further apart.

Spiritual

In performing occupations in a new place, Rapoport (1980) proposed that the spiritual dimension of environment reflects the symbolic aspects and meaning of the occupation. Diwali, commonly known in New Zealand as the Festival of Lights (Wellington Indian Association, 2004), is a five day Hindu festival. At this time candles and lamps are lit as a greeting to Laksmi, the goddess of wealth, gifts are exchanged, and festive meals are prepared. During these festivities, there are numerous meanings attached to the preparation of sweets. Some may see the sweets as providing nourishment for the body, for others they could symbolise a gathering of people, and then again it is perhaps seen as an offering to the Gods, which would entail certain rituals around the preparation of food. Spirituality, however, is not always associated with religion and for some it may be a more abstract concept.

Within the environmental psychology literature, Knopf (1987) proposed that the environment emerges as a symbol of mystery and spirituality where the individual has the "ability to experience new forms of reality that are unbounded by the structures, laws, and limitations of the physical world" (p. 788). Leigh Westgate, a recent immigrant to New Zealand acknowledges this spiritual dimension of environment stating, "It's about knowing you're in the right place, at the right time, doing what feels right for you...it's a 'vibe' thing" (personal communication, June 2, 2004). Thus, it is proposed that the spiritual dimension of environment is experienced in terms of being at ease or not at ease with performing occupations in a new place.

Cultural

As acknowledged earlier, culture strongly influences occupation and identity, and it is further recognised that culture permeates the environment in

which we live. Defined as “the beliefs and perceptions, values and norms, customs and behaviours that are shared by a group or society and are passed from one generation to the next” (Kielhofner, 2002, p. 99), the cultural dimension of environment filters throughout the previous four dimensions discussed. For example, within the physical environment culture influences sites for performing occupation. In New Zealand, grocery shopping is commonly performed at a supermarket. Whereas in India, where groceries are often bought on a daily basis, local bazaars are more common than supermarkets (INDAX, 2000; Rastogi, 2002; Shukla, 1997) and not only require fewer resources, such as transport, but provide the opportunity to mix with other people in the community.

In considering the social and emotional aspects of the Indian culture, relationships with family are central to this society’s values (Vaidyanathan, 1989). Guy and Banim’s (2000) study of women’s clothing and identity recounts how one Indian immigrant to the United States has held on to many of her old clothes which were purchased by her husband and his parents. The implication is both that her clothes identified her as part of her husband’s family, and that she is reluctant to entirely relinquish that identity. In New Zealand, in contrast, where individualistic values are more prominent, in my experience women often make their own clothing choices and in so doing assert an independent sense of self.

Current literature shows that there is growing recognition of the importance of cultural differences in occupation (Kielhofner, 2002; Pierce, 2003). Relevant to this discussion is the fact that new immigrants inevitably bring their cultural heritage with them when they immigrate and the extent to which individuals’ occupations are affected by immigration may be related to the degree to which their values and beliefs differ from those typically held in the new country. A story related to me by a work colleague illustrates this point.

Indian food often has a strong aroma, which is acceptable in Indian society. Vanita, an Indian immigrant to New Zealand finds that people often comment on her cooking. To her intense embarrassment a visiting friend remarked one day, “I could smell your cooking from half way down the street” (Vanita Lala, personal communication, March 14, 2004). In the context of this discussion, it can be appreciated that the sensory pleasure of the environment is included in occupation on a daily basis through taste and smell, touch, movement, vision, and hearing. Vanita’s story highlights how a new environment in which different smells, sounds

and sights abound, has the potential to create discomfort in the performance of occupations which do not have a cultural fit.

As the discussion pertaining to each of the five dimensions of environment demonstrates, the world in which individuals live and perform occupations can have a significant impact on how they see themselves and construct their identity. The environment does not just impact upon doing and perceptions of self but is also important in supporting well-being.

Environment and Well-being

The environment shapes and to a large extent dictates when, where and how everyday activities are carried out. When there is a match between the person's culturally embedded knowledge of occupation and the culture of their environment, the best possible opportunity for maintaining well-being is created. However, when a person decides to emigrate, there is the potential risk of arriving in a country where an unfamiliar environment conflicts with one's cultural understandings. Lacking the knowledge of occupations specific to the culture makes it increasingly difficult to do things that provide a sense of satisfaction and accomplishment (Kielhofner, 2002), and which supports well-being.

According to Mercer (1976) every individual has basic needs that he or she constantly strives to satisfy. Such needs are commonly understood to be part of a hierarchy of needs ranging from low level to higher level needs relating to physiological requirements, personal safety, belongingness and love, esteem, and self-actualisation (Maslow, 1954). Maslow's hierarchy informs us that as individuals we all have needs that require fulfilling in order to attain a state of optimal health and well-being. One way to ensure these needs are met is through the performance of occupation. However, as has been established, the process of immigration may disrupt occupation to the extent that fulfillment of all these needs is threatened. Thus it appears that disruption of eating, grooming, and self care routines that meet physical and safety needs, feelings of foreignness rather than belonging, experiences of uncertainty and incompetence that threaten to undermine self esteem, all culminate in a pervasive, if poorly understood threat to well-being in a new environment.

People's decisions to engage in occupations that both meet their needs and enhance their well-being require individuals to make a deliberate commitment to undertake activities that become part of a permanent routine (Kielhofner, 2002). However, environmental changes, as with immigration, make performing familiar occupations and routines that have shaped identity difficult. Thus, for all people who emigrate, it is possible that changes in occupations are likely to occur with implications for sustaining well-being.

Occupation

As discussed in Chapter One, there is no single definition for the term 'occupation'. The reader is, however, encouraged to be open to a broad understanding of occupation; one that extends its everyday use connoting 'paid employment' (Deverson, 1998) to one that incorporates any activity performed by the individual in all aspects of life, that also contains meaning and purpose for the individual. In so doing, it is also important to identify that occupation is not performed in a vacuum. Rather it is constantly influenced by the person performing the occupation and the environment in which it is performed (Kielhofner, 2002). This discussion seeks to further explore how the things people do to occupy themselves and occupy the environment, might influence their well-being.

Occupation is present in all aspects of life, whether consciously or not. How then do we understand what drives people to engage in occupation? How is it that people organise occupations in their life? And what is it that makes people capable of performing occupations? Kielhofner (1995a, 2002) has developed a conceptual model that strives to capture and explain some of the processes that occur when people engage in occupations. He acknowledges that there is no one way to explain occupation and the process that unfolds when people engage in occupation, and therefore Kielhofner's model is just one way of considering a person's occupational behaviour.

Model of Human Occupation

The model of human occupation promotes a particular way of viewing the human being in relation to occupation. People are viewed as constantly changing

throughout their life span, as they grow and interact with the changing environment. This ongoing change reflects people's dynamic and complex nature, which can adapt to the challenges presented in daily life. This way of viewing people is highlighted through an open systems approach (Allport, 1968; Kielhofner, 2002), made up of three subsystems that explain how occupations are chosen, engaged with and performed. These subsystems are volition, habituation, and performance (Kielhofner, 2002).

Volition implies "will or conscious choice" (Kielhofner, 1995a, p. 29) and accounts for a person's internal and controlled sense of motivation. More specifically, people's motivation to perform occupation is influenced by their interests, values and skills, as well as the things they feel capable of doing (Kielhofner, Borell, Burke, Helfrich, & Nygård, 1995). Thus, volition orients individuals to anticipate, experience, interpret, and choose their occupations. Prior to immigrating, individuals may have a strong sense of volition, which drives them to leave their home country. However, landing in a new environment, with its implicit occupational challenges is likely to negatively impact one's volition and the things a person feels capable of doing. This process has been illustrated by an ethnographic study comprising of five discourses, which explored the construction of self-identity in a new culture (Zajacova, 2002). This study revealed that participants held an awareness of how they had been changed by the experience of being in a new country. This included identifying that personal values were under constant negotiation and that previous interests, which were no longer available had to be substituted for new interests. These new occupations, in turn, influenced changes in self-perception (Zajacova, 2002). This study demonstrates the environmental impacts on occupation, motivation and sense of self, and again raises the question of how people sustain well-being as they settle in a new land.

The second subsystem of habituation incorporates "ways of behaving across time" (Kielhofner, 1995a, p. 63), as well as certain ways of doing things. Thus, habituation refers to the patterns and routines of everyday behaviour. These patterns are guided both internally, for instance by body rhythms, and externally, through the environmental and social expectations for behaviour. Kielhofner (1995b) contends that a person's habitual behaviour, although performed on a daily basis, is neither entirely conscious nor unconscious. Rather habitual performance tends to fade in and out of conscious realisation. However, when people are placed in a new

environment, they are likely to be very conscious of behaviours once considered habitual and the changes to occupations that are performed on a daily basis. Evidence for this is provided by Aroian's (1990) grounded theory study of new immigrants, which showed that the loss of family and friends or valued possessions severely impacted upon the habitual performance of occupations in the new environment.

The third subsystem which guides occupational choice and organises behaviour is the capacity to perform. The performance sub-system draws attention to the cognitive, neurological, physiological and musculoskeletal underpinnings of occupational performance (Kielhofner, 1995a). These are the physical and mental structures and functions, and the subjective experience of one's abilities or limitations. For instance, in what capacity is a person able to perform and feel competent in performing the given occupation? Fisher and Kielhofner (1995) made the point that the underlying capacities of the mind-brain-body subsystem cannot be observed directly. Rather, through observation of occupational performance, inferences about the capacity and state of each of the constituents can be made. Thus, it is difficult to say exactly how a person's performance will be impacted by immigration, as this will depend on the individual. However, there is a considerable quantity of literature that supports an anecdotal observation that the act of immigrating significantly impacts on the new immigrant's performance and this affects psychological well-being (Aroian, 1990; Barger, 1977; Kuo & Tsai, 1986; Pernice & Brook, 1996). This is the topic of the next section.

Occupation and Well-being

Well-being, as discussed in Chapter One, can be thought of as perceived satisfaction or contentment. This notion of satisfaction in relation to occupation will be further discussed in this section. Occupation and well-being will also be talked about in the context of meeting individual and societal expectations, and finally the potential for occupational deprivation and the impact this may have on well-being will be discussed.

In 1922, Adolf Meyer expressed the belief that a person's everyday activities and experiences are primary resources for health (Meyer, 1977). Meyer

then went on to propose that health is relative to one's capacity for satisfaction; satisfaction being the "doing and getting enough in...activity" (Yerxa, 1998, p. 413). Individuals experience satisfaction by engaging in occupations that have a fit with their skills or interests while providing them with enough challenge in order to extend their skills and enhance their motivation to engage in further occupation.

To obtain optimal satisfaction, occupations that provide a challenge and promote well-being are best done in an environment which supports the needs of the individual (Kielhofner, 2002). However, a change of living environment, brought about by immigration, potentially poses numerous occupational challenges that are not always easily met. Through not being able to perform occupation with the same ease or in ways that achieve the same outcomes, there is a potential threat to an individual's sense of well-being.

As well as ensuring that occupation provides a sense of individual satisfaction, well-being is also based on the performance of occupations that satisfy societal expectations. Harvey (1993) argues that a major part of well-being stems from occupation as seen in the interaction of the individual with others in the environment. Hence, occupation that both satisfies the individual and meets individual and societal values clearly influences a person's well-being.

Values are a coherent set of convictions, beliefs, and commitments that bind individuals to action or doing throughout the course of their life (Bruner, 1990; Kielhofner, 2002). However different societies hold their own sets of values that have evolved from, and align with, their particular culture. Individuals who enter a new environment and engage in occupations that do not fit with the value system of the society may question their own values. This questioning in turn potentially impacts upon their satisfaction and well-being. Vanita's story earlier in this chapter, of cooking an Indian meal highlights the connection between occupation and well-being when placed in a new context with different individual and societal values.

In addition to performing occupations that conflict with societal values, lack of occupation also has the potential to impact well-being. Occupational deprivation is a concept that implies the "influence of an external agency or circumstance that keeps a person from acquiring, using or enjoying something" (Wilcock, 1996, p. 231) and takes place over an extended period of time (Whiteford, 1997). Wilcock (1996) maintains that occupational deprivation is detrimental to well-being, in that

not being able to engage in occupations that provide satisfaction and not having the opportunity to exercise one's skills and interests may lead to ill-health.

One group of people Wilcock (1996) identifies as being at risk for occupational deprivation is minority ethnic groups who risk the loss of traditional occupations when settling into a new society. Although the numbers of Indian women in New Zealand are increasing, and with them the knowledge about many traditional Indian occupations, Indian women would certainly be considered a minority ethnic group. Hence, the focus of this study on understanding Indian women's experiences of performing, or not being able to perform chosen occupations in a new environment, and the impact this has on their well-being.

In this section I have argued that the relationship between occupation and well-being is strongly founded on the satisfaction one derives from the occupation and whether or not the occupation meets the individual's, and/or society's values and expectations. Underlying this and guiding an individual's engagement in occupation is one's sense of identity.

Identity

Within the West, identity is viewed in terms of 'self' and 'individual' (Baumeister, 1997; Gergen, 1991; Giddens, 1991) and linked to terms such as self-esteem and self-concept (Baumeister, 1982, 1997; Swann & Hill, 1982). There has been a move away from structural and functional conceptualisations that view identity as a passive, static structure towards interpretive, social constructivist, and postmodern conceptualisations that view identity as an active process involving person-environment interaction (Laliberte-Rudman, 2002). This view of identity as a dynamic process is nestled within the philosophy of occupational science (Nelson, 1988; Zemke & Clark, 1996). In contrast, literature pertaining to the Indian identity suggests a collective, societal identity (Mehta & Belk, 1991; Vaidyanathan, 1989), grounded within the Indian culture and historical experiences (Khare, 1998). Thapan (2001) builds on this notion stating that unlike the Western view of identity as a moveable construct, the Indian identity is one firmly rooted in tradition with a sense of continuity and 'position in society' as part of each individual's birth heritage.

In a number of studies comparing the British and Indian cultures, Laungani (1995, 1996, 1997, 1999) identified that value systems have a strong influence on culture, including cultural understandings of identity. Described as currently held normative expectations that underlie individual and social conduct (Laungani, 1995), values can be both positive and negative, and guide individual action. Utilising the value systems of the two cultures, Laungani has proposed a theoretical model, which argues that there are four interrelated core values that aid in distinguishing between the identity of individuals from the British culture compared to the Indian culture. The proposed theoretical constructs are: Individualism and Communalism; Cognitivism and Emotionalism; Freewill and Determinism; Materialism and Spiritualism (Laungani, 1999).

There are two key points to be aware of when considering this model. Firstly, the concepts to the left of each pair of constructs are more applicable to Western (British) cultures and those on the right to Eastern (Indian) cultures. Secondly, each duality should not be viewed as dichotomous, but rather they are to be understood as extending along a continuum. A dichotomous approach tends to classify people in “either-or” terms, an approach that is limited in its usefulness. Human nature, with its diversity of behaviours and emotions, is constantly changing (Bynum, 2001) and very seldom fits into neatly defined categories. In contrast, a continuum allows for human variability and has the advantage of being able to indicate salient attitudes and behaviours at any given point in time and through time. Each continuum will now be explored.

Individualism... ..Communalism

Defined as “a way of thinking both about how people are related to social systems and about the nature of social systems themselves” (Johnson, 2000, p. 139), individualism refers to the idea that social systems are primarily comprised of, and understood by the behaviour of individuals. For Western women, independence is encouraged from very early in life (Desai, 1999) and has been shaped and reinforced over the years by the feminist movement, which promotes women as strong, smart, independent individuals (Kaminer, 1993). This sense of autonomy is seen in the West, where individuals typically introduce themselves in personal or occupational terms, which then defines one’s individual identity. From an Indian perspective, self-representation is usually couched in social terms, “I am

so and so's (name of parent) daughter" (Vaidyanathan, 1989), an introduction signifying a communal identity.

Communalism is defined as "a collection of people who share a geographical territory...that provides...strong feeling of belonging and mutual commitment based on a homogenous culture, shared experience and close interdependency" (Johnson, 2000, p. 48). In a comprehensive review of the cultural paradigms that exist for Indian women, Guzder and Krishna (1991) found that the identity of Indian women is still framed by traditional family beliefs. One such belief is that the home and family are the domain of Indian women (Chanda & Owen, 2001) in which they have been primarily identified in their roles as wives or mothers. Traditionally, Indian women have also been defined by their relationship to family members, and to think of having an identity outside of these relationships is almost inconceivable (Vaidyanathan, 1989).

Freewill... ..Determinism

Defined as "the proposition that human beings are able to act according to the dictates of their own will" (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 227), doctrines of freewill take a variety of forms, including notions that human beings are morally responsible for their own actions. In contrast, determinism is defined as "a way of thinking that assumes everything is caused by something in a predictable way...a perspective which implies that the individual has relatively little control or free choice in the face of biological or social factors" (Johnson, 2000, p. 78).

In the West, freewill impacts on identity by virtue of the individual exercising choice in her journey towards adulthood (Baumeister, 1986). In an in-depth study employing psychological and anthropological theories, Markus and Kitayama (1991) found that Western women use choice to maintain their identity through discovering and expressing their unique inner attributes. Exercising choice comes with the responsibility for the individual to accept the consequences of her actions, whether this is credit for successes or blame for failures (Laungani, 1999). Thus, a Western woman's identity is the culmination of successes and failures as a result of choice.

In India, cultural norms and expectations, such as arranged marriages and child bearing tend to restrict the individual's choice (Laungani, 1999). Arranged marriages are considered an important societal tradition for joining different families together (Johnson & Johnson, 2001), with divorce for women strongly

discouraged and re-marriage considered unacceptable (Guzder & Krishna, 1991). Even the choice of child bearing does not lie with the woman, as it is considered that marriages are primarily for having children and her status will depend on her ability to reproduce (Mines, 1981).

The Law of Karma is a fundamental societal value (Chapple, 1986; Karnik & Suri, 1995; Reichenbach, 1990; Thapar, 1989) stating that happiness or sorrow is the predetermined effect of actions committed by the individual in either her present life or in one of her numerous past lives (Milner, 1993; Omprakash, 1989). The Law of Karma determines which caste an individual is born into (Daniel, 1999-2000; Dumont, 1986; Marriott, 1976; Milner, 1993). Thus, Indian women are unlikely to make choices that go against societal expectations, as the caste to which they will be born in their next life will determine many aspects of their day to day living. In this respect Erikson (1978) feels that adult identity in Indian women is an identity of adjustment as opposed to an identity of self-choice.

Cognitivism... ..Emotionalism

This continuum explores the way people view their world and the ways that individuals form and maintain relationships. It is proposed that Western society tends to focus on work and activity (cognitivism) whereas relationships (emotionalism) are central to Indian society (Laungani, 1999).

Assuming Western women function in a cognitive mode, with a need to understand through rationality, logic and control, Laungani (1999) postulates that relationships, be it with friends, partners or children, require constant thought. This way of being in relationship often discounts public expression of feelings and emotions, as they are not based on rationality and control. This is not to say Western women do not experience feelings and emotions, but highlights the notion that expression of emotion is a private affair. Alternatively, expression of emotions allows individuals to know where they stand with one another, both in private and public spheres of Indian society. In many instances, a person's feelings are actually sought after, as individuals tend not to act on their own accord, but rather after consultation with family and friends (Vaidyanathan, 1989).

Value systems are a core part of an individual's being (Kumar, 1999). Rao (1999) suggests that Western women create and maintain their individual identity through cognitively based values, which involves reflecting upon and questioning

the self in interaction with others (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Thus, Western women might ask: “What will I gain?” or “What are my rights?”, questions that influence a woman’s decision to engage in occupations. This way of thinking differs from Indian women where value systems are interwoven with emotions and the group identity. Over generations the value systems of Indian women have been reinforced through the use of traditional stories, songs, and myths. In these legends, there exist mythical heroines, the most potent being the Goddess Sita, who is seen to embody the values of containment, devotion, and passivity (Guzder & Krishna, 1991). These stories and myths have been studied and critically analysed over the years (Bharati, 1985; Kakar, 1989; Mookerjee, 1988; Wilkins, 1982), yet in a culture where history and tradition hold more power, the analysis of such myths have not changed the traditional occupations of child rearing and maintaining the home.

Materialism... ..Spiritualism

Laungani (1999) suggests that generally people choose to view the world in one of two ways; either the world is external to the person – a perspective based on materialism (Western culture), or the world exists within the person – a view based on spiritualism (Eastern culture).

Materialism is defined as “cultural value placed on the accumulation of material possessions, a process in which people base their sense of themselves, their well-being and social standing on possessions” (Johnson, 2000, p. 168). A materialist philosophy tends to engender a belief that the only way to acquire an understanding of reality and the world is through an objective scientific approach (Laungani, 1999). The occupations Western women engage in are being transformed in order to meet the demands of living in a materialistic society: No longer are many Western women content with being a ‘housewife’. Instead, increasing numbers of women are entering paid employment and holding positions of power and status. These positions also offer financial benefits that allow women to purchase possessions that enhance their social standing. Just as some women enter paid employment and others choose not to, there also exist a number of Western women who balance both a career and motherhood. Thus, occupation is a powerful medium through which Western women experience and express identity.

For Eastern cultures, the external world is one of illusion and the ultimate purpose of human existence is to transcend this physical existence and attain a

heightened state of spiritual awareness. This concept is described in the Sanskrit word 'ātman' – the true spiritual self, as opposed to the bodily (sensory, desiring) or intellectual self (Bharati, 1985) and is attained through dharma and moksha. Dharma, meaning law, a sense of moral duty, or right action (Guzder & Krishna, 1991) is an integral part of one's purpose in life (Desai, 1999; Milner, 1993). For Indian women, dharma influences decisions concerning occupations and roles. As dharma is the law by which Indian women abide, moksha is considered the terminal goal of life (Milner, 1993). Moksha is the state in which all distinctions between subject and object have been transcended. According to Sinha (1982) once moksha is achieved, the ātman can then realise its totality. Thus the notion of spiritualism pervades all aspects of Indian women's identity.

Because this study centres on Indian women, the next section continues to explore notions of Eastern identity and how these relate to well-being.

Identity and Well-being

There is a paucity of literature that directly discusses the concept of a healthy identity for women, Western or Indian. The literature currently available tends to discuss identity in two ways. Firstly, in terms of what it means for the individual - as discussed thus far in this thesis - with few links to health. Secondly, identity is discussed in relation to how it is affected as a result of ill health or the way notions of identity may result in ill health. However, there have been some studies that specifically address the relationship between identity, meaning, and well-being (Berzonsky, 1992, 2003; Christiansen, 1999; Wong, 1998). Berzonsky (2003) has conducted a number of studies that focus on the social-cognitive processes individuals use in negotiating identity issues. From these studies, three identity processing styles emerge; diffuse-avoidant, informational, and normative; and the relationship between each style and well-being have been investigated. To some extent, the normative style sheds light on aspects of Indian identity in relation to well-being.

Establishing a concept of a healthy identity for Indian women is a complex task, as Indian women appear increasingly torn between traditional societal and cultural norms, and the need to be more individual (Khullar, 1999). Therefore, it is

difficult to establish one identity style that encapsulates what a healthy identity is for Indian women. Berzonsky (2003) has proposed a 'normative processing' identity style and currently it is felt that this style is most appropriate when discussing the concept of well-being for Indian women.

People fitting a normative processing identity style are likely to deal with identity issues in a relatively automatic fashion, meaning that the values and beliefs of significant others are internalised by the individual (Berzonsky, 2003). Research indicates that normative-oriented individuals are conscientious, emotionally grounded and have a positive sense of well-being, but are likely to be closed off to information that may threaten personal beliefs and value systems (Berzonsky, 2003). Given the nature of family and societal systems in the Indian culture, which place an emphasis on communalism, Indian women may be likely to take on the values and beliefs of significant others and as a consequence have less connection with personal beliefs and value systems. Although Berzonsky suggests that individuals with a normative identity style have a positive sense of well-being, Srinivasan (2001) argues against this. He believes that internalising significant others' value and belief systems, along with the pressure and conflict to conform to familial and societal expectations, places Indian women under increased amounts of stress, thus negatively impacting well-being.

There are, however, certain attributes that contribute to a healthy identity for Indian women. The first of these attributes pertains to the relationship dynamics which are of primary importance in Indian women's life. Maintaining these relationships in the form of family cohesion, social support, and parental control, with a constant flow of affect and responsiveness between family members are hallmarks of a healthy Indian family system (Guzder & Krishna, 1991; Roland, 1988). In sustaining well-being, relationships assume importance over employment or educational issues. In this respect, ill health might relate to receiving conflicting advice or demands such as being a 'promising student' versus attending to family duties. Likewise, the expectations to stop work when children come along may have a negative effect on well-being.

Secondly, for Indian women societal beliefs, such as dharma and moksha, provide a structure within which women perform their roles and duties. This creates a setting within which women strive to maintain a healthy well-being grounded in spiritualism. A third attribute, that may be considered essential for well-being is the ability to express emotions. Within the family hierarchy, expression of emotion is

considered healthy as it allows others to know what the individual is feeling and thinking at any given time. However, in some situations where societal expectations dictate personal circumstances, such as an older brother's education taking precedence, expression of emotion may be limited, which can negatively impact on well-being.

The research discussed above indicates that there is a relationship between identity and well-being, and it is assumed that for an individual to attain a state of well-being, they must have a healthy identity. A healthy identity is the culmination of both individual and socio-cultural factors that are unique to each culture.

Current Literature

The transition to a new country is a significant life event, yet literature searches within the disciplines of occupational therapy, psychology, and sociology, reveal limited research in this area to date. While different bodies of literature; occupational science (Hasselkus, 2002; Pierce, 2003), environmental psychology (Gallagher, 1993), behavioural geography (Rowles, 1980, 2000), have addressed aspects of this topic, as yet, no understanding of the interaction between environment, occupation (and the reframing of occupation that occurs), and sense of identity in the individual has been developed. What follows is a summary of literature addressing this issue.

Different Perspectives

Within the field of occupational therapy, literature addressing the relationship between environment and occupation has tended to focus on modifying the environment to fit the occupational needs of individuals experiencing disability (Kielhofner, 2002; Letts, Rigby, & Stewart, 2003). Occupational therapy literature also provides a somewhat limited perspective on the environment-occupation relationship in that it largely addresses individuals who already have a cultural fit with the environment (Law, 1991; Letts et al., 2003). That is, the individual comes from within the environment and is seeking to adapt the environment to meet occupational needs. Cutchin (2004), in a critique of occupational therapy's use of environments feels that "the environment is a thing *in which but largely separate*

from occupation and adaptation occur” (p. 307). He further contends that while the environment has some value, it is seemingly like a container, holding the important elements of occupation and that it is “relegated to a distant secondary role in the story of how occupation is experienced” (Cutchin, p. 307).

While there is increasing acknowledgement within occupational therapy literature of the disruption to occupations as a result of life transitions (Emami & Ekman, 1998; Law & Peachey-Hill, 2000), there appears to be limited understanding regarding how individuals make sense of the occupational disruption and the experience of new environments (Dunn et al., 1994). Therefore, it may come as no surprise that there also appears to be a lack of answers regarding how to ease occupational disruption. Other fields such as anthropology (Casey, 1993), environmental psychology (Gallagher, 1993; Hiss, 1990), and behavioural geography (O’Brien et al., 2002; Rowles, 1980, 1991), have all made attempts to understand individuals’ experience of environment. In doing so, strong links between the environment and the impact of environment on individuals’ sense of identity have been proposed. However, within this body of literature there are few direct links addressing the interaction of environment and occupation. Social geography has attempted to explore the environment, occupation, and identity interface, although the focus on identity has stemmed from a more psychological as opposed to an occupational perspective (Rowles, 2000). It is of interest to note that much of the literature pertaining to individuals’ experience of place was published in the late 1970s through to the early 1990s.

More recently, architectural works (Gallagher, 1999) and the growing field of occupational science (Hasselkus, 2002; Pierce, 2003; Zemke & Clark, 1996) have taken up the challenge and sought to address the importance of environment on occupation, whilst seeking to understand this link from the individual’s experience. The experiences of the individual within the environment, how individuals make sense of the environment, and what they do in different environments are important in order to effectively enhance human performance through occupation (Dear, 1996) and to understand how individuals shape a sense of identity in a new place. Thus, there is a need for disciplines such as occupational science to keep pursuing the exploration of environment and its fit with people’s occupation and well-being.

Usefulness of Literature

Charon (2001) states, “People interact over a period of time; out of that interaction they come to share a perspective; what they see will be interpreted through that perspective; often each perspective tells us something very important about what is really true” (p. 1). It is therefore acknowledged that although each of the above mentioned disciplines approaches the relationship between environment, occupation, and identity from a discipline focused philosophy, each perspective is valuable and contributes to practice. For instance, the occupational therapy literature provides a basis for understanding that occupation is impacted upon by environment. What is missing is how and why such relationships exist, something which occupational science is now beginning to explore. Environmental psychology and behavioural geography literature provides insights into the impact of environment on the individual’s sense of self. However, although it is acknowledged that one’s sense of self is partly the result of engagement in occupation, there appears to be a gap in understanding how or why this occurs.

Summary

This chapter has drawn from literature and anecdotal examples to further explore the immigration-occupation-identity interface and the relationship that each of these concepts has with the notion of well-being. The review started with a brief exploration of each of the terms as placed within the context of this study. Next, the idea that immigration is implicitly related to new environments was offered and the different aspects of the environment were explored in relation to occupational performance and sense of well-being. The notion of occupation utilising Kielhofner’s (2002) model outlining occupational performance was then reviewed. This indicated that performance of occupation is highly complex and influenced both by environment and identity. Strong links were then made between occupation and well-being. The third concept, identity, was then situated within a Western and Eastern perspective and again it was demonstrated that environment and occupation are both strongly influenced by identity and that a strong sense of identity in turn shapes well-being.

Overall, the literature shows that each of these concepts has been researched from the perspective of a number of disciplines regarding different aspects of the

process of engaging in occupation within a specific environment. However, there is very limited research that examines the process as a whole. Questions surrounding the experience of immigrants when they arrive in a new country, how they engage in occupation on a daily basis, the impact this has on their sense of self and well-being, and how they use occupation to sustain a sense of self have as yet, and to a large degree, been left unanswered. This shortfall in knowledge demonstrates the importance of studies such as this.

The next chapter discusses the qualitative research perspective and its philosophical underpinnings. It also describes the specific grounded theory methodology employed in this study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

This chapter begins by reviewing the key features of the qualitative research perspective as they pertain to this study. This leads to an overview of the methodology of grounded theory, and the relevance of this methodology to the study's research question and aims. Further to this, the philosophical understandings of grounded theory with reference to the focus of this study are discussed.

The second half of this chapter outlines the procedures involved in implementing this grounded theory research. Included are the particular methods used to recruit participants, gather and analyse data, and some indication of the ethical issues encountered. Detailed descriptions and examples from the data obtained during this study will be used to support this section. A discussion on how rigour has been established, including an overview of the researcher's own understandings of the research is also presented.

Methodological Choice for this Study

Early research in the field of occupational therapy had a distinctly quantitative emphasis. Gradually researchers have acknowledged a need to capture the experience of the individual more wholly (Royeen, 1997) and this is most usefully done through employing qualitative methods. Qualitative research tends to focus on "the dynamic, holistic, and individual aspects of phenomena and attempt to capture those aspects in their entirety, within the context of those who are experiencing them" (Polit, Beck & Hugler, 2001, p. 15).

Overall, there remain very few occupational therapy practitioners who have become involved in research (Cusick, 2000) and hence, the use of grounded theory methodology in occupational research has been limited. Stanley and Creek (2003) argue that given the current developmental stage of occupational therapy as a profession, the use of grounded theory research would be beneficial, a view shared by Hasselkus (1995). It is suggested that grounded theory offers a well recognised and systematic approach to studying the human experience, and can be effectively used to "generate theory related to the use of occupations to enhance health and wellbeing" (Stanley & Creek, 2003, p. 143).

Within the domain of occupational science, grounded theory has been used more widely, most notably in studies addressing the occupation of mothering or parenting (Francis-Connolly, 2000; Pierce, 1990; Primeau, 1998). Stanley and Creek (2003) believe that the opportunities for the use of grounded theory studies in occupational science are near endless. As indicated in Chapter Two, one aspect of occupational science yet to be fully explored is the way in which sudden environmental changes impact on occupation. Given that this study is concerned with how the New Zealand environment impacts the occupations of immigrant Indian women, it seems fitting to employ a grounded theory methodology.

Selecting a Methodology: Grounded Theory

This study asks the question “how do the things Indian women do in a new environment support their sense of self and well-being?” It aims to contribute to the growing field of occupational science through the development of theory that identifies the processes which occur for Indian women recently immigrated to New Zealand. The particular emphasis is on understanding how these women use everyday activities within a new environment, and how the things they do support their identity and well-being. Grounded theory is well suited to studying processes occurring over time, which explains its choice, but methodological choices also need to be informed by the philosophical underpinnings of those approaches and their ‘goodness of fit’ with the research question.

According to Evans and Gruba (2002), methodology is the “branch of knowledge that deals with method and its application in a particular field of study” (p. 89). Thus, methodology can be used to describe how knowledge is attained and interpreted, as well as the philosophical position a researcher takes when conducting a study. As a methodology, grounded theory is capable of exploring and understanding the processes that occur, in such a way that “explanations of phenomena are grounded in reality” (Giddings & Wood, 2000, p. 14).

Grounded theory, therefore, is appropriate to use for two reasons. First it allows the processes of a social group, in this study immigrant Indian women, to be discovered and emerge from the participants’ perspective (Glaser, 1992). Secondly, it enables the researcher to develop a theory that has been derived from data, systematically gathered and analysed through the research process, and that will

further the understanding of social and psychological phenomena (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986). In using grounded theory it is acknowledged that the researcher does not begin with a preconceived theory but rather allows the theory to emerge from the data (Chamberlain, 1999; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Glaser and Strauss appeared to agree that there are two types or levels of grounded theory: substantive theory and formal theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). A theory is simply a description of a plausible relationship among concepts and groups of concepts. A substantive theory is one that evolves from a study of phenomena in one context or setting. In comparison, formal theory develops from an existing substantive theory, through studying phenomena in a range of situations or settings. The aim of this study is to build a substantive theory.

Philosophical Understandings

Grounded theory emerged in the 1960s from the philosophical understandings of symbolic interactionism, which is rooted in the field of social psychology (Charon, 2001). As a philosopher, Mead (1934) was a leader in the development of this theoretical approach. He understood that individuals create meaning from events and reality, and in addition to this, it is through social interaction within roles that individuals fashion a sense of self. Mead believed that through social interaction, the symbolic meanings of objects, gestures, and language become shared and understood by groups. Blumer (1969) a principal figure in the development of symbolic interactionism outlines three key tenets of this approach.

First, human beings act towards objects or things, such as the environment in which one lives, or the people (including family and friends) who inhabit those environments, based on the meanings these things have for them. Entering a new environment where familiar objects or things are altered, the meanings these things hold for individuals may be challenged, demanding different ways of behaving.

Second, meaning arises out of symbolic interaction with others. Symbolic interactionism emphasises that human beings define their environment rather than simply responding to it. Hence, humans are viewed as dynamic and active, constantly influenced by one another as opposed to static and/or passive (Charon,

2001). This interaction between individuals is possible because of significant symbols such as culture and language that people share and through which they communicate (Crotty, 1998; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998). According to Charon (2001), symbols are the basis for almost everything that characterises the human being in nature. However, when individuals immigrate and familiar symbols are suddenly replaced with strange, confusing, and unknown cues, how individuals understand themselves and their behaviour entails a period of re-learning (Zapf, 1991).

Third, meaning changes over time as a result of experience and interpretation of the things individuals do, which occurs both consciously and subconsciously. This key tenet highlights the notion that as processes evolve the meanings that individuals ascribe to these processes also develops. Thus for immigrant Indian women, the everyday activities they do are likely to change over time, creating new meanings, which in turn may shape their identity.

In summary, grounded theory with its roots in symbolic interactionism was selected as the methodology of choice as it offers the capability to explore the social processes surrounding how immigrant Indian women use occupation in a new environment to sustain a sense of self and well-being. The following section describes and justifies the application of grounded theory methods to this study.

Research Design Methods

Grounded theory was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Since then there have been a number of textbooks describing the methods used to conduct a study and build a grounded theory (see for example Charmaz, 2000; Dey, 1999; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). Regarding theoretical orientation, researchers primarily follow one of two schools of grounded theory: Glaser, or Strauss and Corbin. For this study I have chosen to follow the Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) technique in which they describe a ‘paradigm’ (discussed in detail later in this chapter) for interpreting data. This technique offers clear guidance for the novice grounded theory researcher (McCallin, 2003). Although the use of the paradigm has been strongly debated by Glaser (1992), who claims it is too structured as an approach, it is hoped that this structure will assist with the rigour of data and results.

Accessing the Field

This study was conducted in the greater Auckland area (extending from Warkworth to Meremere) in New Zealand. Although immigrant Indian women settle in many parts of the country, Auckland was chosen for two reasons. Firstly, a high number of Indian immigrants choose to settle in this city upon arrival. It was hoped that these numbers would be sufficient in terms of recruiting participants as part of both the purposive and theoretical sampling techniques (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Second, the researcher has established relationships within the Auckland based Indian community and it was anticipated these contacts could facilitate the recruitment process.

The recruitment of participants was initially attempted through advertisements distributed in public places (e.g. local supermarkets, libraries, and Indian shops) to increase the possibility of obtaining a broad sample. However, the use of advertisements yielded no response. A second recruitment method, 'word of mouth' was then employed. This involved contacting people within the Indian community whom the researcher knew and requesting them to ask friends or family members, fitting the eligibility criteria, if they would be interested in participating in the study.

Once potential participants indicated an interest, the researcher telephoned the participant and explained the aims of the study. Following this contact, each participant was sent a package including a study information sheet, consent forms, a demographic data form, and a stamped addressed envelope (Appendices A, B, & C). Upon receiving back the consent and demographic forms, the researcher again telephoned the participant to thank her for her support and arrange a time for an interview. The recruitment of participants happened over a six month period.

Purposive and Theoretical Sampling

Grounded theory methodology advocates the use of purposive and then theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). According to Berg (1995) purposive sampling implies that participants with certain attributes are selected based on the researcher's knowledge and with the specific purpose of the study in mind. In this study, the purpose of initial participant selection was to recruit three or four Indian women who had immigrated to New Zealand within the past five years. Using the demographic data forms the researcher was able to select

a diverse group in terms of age, length of time since immigration, who they immigrated with, and the number of people known in New Zealand before immigrating. Comparing the data obtained from the interviews, in terms of similarities and differences between participants, generated theoretical sampling.

Theoretical sampling permits decisions about further selection of participants to be made as the research progresses, rather than being pre-determined. It is central to grounded theory methodology as it enables the researcher to obtain a participant population that will maximise opportunities to compare events and therefore “bring about greatest theoretical return” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 202). Thus, sampling occurs simultaneously with data analysis and guides the need to acquire further information about particular events. For instance, although the women acknowledged difficult times, the overall experience of being in New Zealand was described in initial interviews as a positive experience. To further explore the notion of ‘difficult times’ a participant who acknowledged she was unhappy living in New Zealand was recruited as part of the theoretical sampling process.

Ideally, sampling continues until no new data relating to the categories is emerging and relationships between categories have been fully developed (theoretical saturation). However, defining an exact point when no new information is emerging is a difficult task. Thus, factors impacting data collection such as time and money are also considered when determining an end point to sampling.

Participant Selection

To be eligible for inclusion in this study, Indian women were required to meet the following criteria:

1. Have immigrated to New Zealand within the last five years and have been living in the country for a minimum of six months prior to the start of the study;
2. Have limited experience of immigration, in that New Zealand is the first or second country travelled to (with the intention to settle) from India;
3. Be able to communicate using the English language during a one to two hour interview;
4. Be aged 16 years or over.

In setting the first criterion, Indian women who have lived in New Zealand for longer than five years were consciously excluded because the author wanted

immigrants to have experienced a similar level of social and structural development in the New Zealand context. For instance in the early 1980s, shops selling Indian spices for cooking were few and far between. These days, Indian spices are easily accessed. Therefore, the process of doing things twenty years ago is likely to be very different from what it is today. Also, as this study was asking for participants to share their story, it was important they could recall details of experiences. Thus, a limit of five years was set. A minimum of six months living in New Zealand was requested so that the women had time to experience a range of occupations in their new context, and so that the identity and well-being issues (if any) had time to emerge.

The second criterion eliminated women who had experiences of immigrating and were considered more familiar with having to do things in a new environment. Therefore, immigrating to New Zealand may not have constituted a new experience.

In setting the third criterion, Indian women who were not proficient in the English language and would have required an interpreter to answer questions were excluded. It was felt that by using an interpreter, more subtle and important aspects of stories may be missed, leaving gaps in the data. Being able to engage with women using the English language also allowed the researcher, who only speaks English proficiently, to create a better rapport with participants and hopefully enabled them to feel more at ease with sharing their stories.

The last criterion excluded children and adolescents under the age of 16, as it was felt that the activities they engage in and their process was likely to differ from the adult population. A further consideration was that the researcher has limited experience of working with individuals under the age of 16 years.

In total ten women responded to the invitation to participate. One woman was unable to participate as further discussion revealed she did not meet the second criterion. A second woman, after receiving the initial package and reading the information sheet, withdrew for personal reasons. Interviews were completed with six of the remaining eight women before it was felt that adequate saturation of the categories was reached. Subsequently, two interviews were completed to ensure variations could be accounted for and to further augment the emerging processes. A total time of ten hours was spent in interviews.

About the Participants

As stated, all women were Indian, seven coming from North India and one woman from the South. The ages of the women ranged from 18 to 45 years, and while the majority of women immigrated to New Zealand with their families, two women made the journey alone. Table 1:1 provides basic background details of the participants as collated from the demographic data forms. The women have been listed according to the order in which they were interviewed.

Table 1:1
Participant Details

Interviewee	Region of India	Age Group (Years)	Year Immigrated to New Zealand	Immigrated to New Zealand...	Number of People Known in New Zealand Prior to Immigrating	Job/Education Arranged Upon Arrival
1	North	26-35	2004	By herself	2	No
2	North	36-45	2001	With a family	0	No
3	North	18-25	2002	With one other person	1	No
4	North	26-35	2002	By herself	0	No
5	North	26-35	2004	With a family	10+	No
6	North	36-45	2001	With a family	1-5	No
7	North	26-35	2001	With a family	1-5	No
8	South	36-45	2003	With a family	1-5	No

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval to proceed with this study was granted on 24th August 2004 by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (Appendix D). In obtaining consent, an examination of the possible benefits and risks for participants in this study was considered. Tolich and Davidson (1999) outline five principles of ethical research; Do no harm, voluntary participation, informed consent, avoid deceit, and confidentiality, which will be discussed in relation to this study. In addition to these principles, research in the context of Aotearoa, New Zealand, must acknowledge the Treaty of Waitangi and implications for Maori. This aspect will also be discussed.

Do No Harm

It was considered that there were very few safety issues for both participant and researcher. With regards to participants, the researcher was accessible throughout the process to discuss available counselling should participants be distressed by any issues raised. None of the participants requested this information. It was also thought that participants may feel uncomfortable discussing issues of a personal nature. As the researcher is of Indian origin and enculturated to both New Zealand and Indian ways of behaviour and values, it was anticipated that any cultural issues that arose in the course of the interview could be identified and addressed.

For the researcher, both personal and professional safety was considered. As it was anticipated that interviews would occur in participants' homes, personal safety with regards to entering an unknown environment was addressed by notifying a trustworthy support person of where the interview was to be conducted and how long the interview was expected to take. In talking about everyday activities, it was considered possible that the researcher may receive information concerning illicit/illegal activities that could potentially compromise professional integrity. Participants were advised at commencement of the interview not to disclose such activities; all participants understood this concern.

Voluntary Participation

It was anticipated that participation in this study would be voluntary as the women were to be self selecting, having responded to placed advertisements. Although participants were recruited through family or friends, the researcher had

no direct influence on their decision to be contacted. Therefore, potential participants were able to decide about participation without coercion. Participants had the right to completely withdraw from the study or to withdraw selected information (taken from the typed interview transcripts) at any time.

Informed Consent

From the initial point of contact and at any stage throughout the process participants were encouraged to ask questions about the study. The thesis supervisor agreed to be available to independently talk with participants about any aspects of the study and/or concerns they might have. Once the researcher established that the participant was satisfied she had all the necessary information, she was then asked to sign a consent form before the interview proceeded (Appendix B).

During the consent process, the aspect of 'time' was addressed with each participant. It was thought that the time commitment required from participants may be felt to be an imposition. However, all participants believed the study was important and welcomed the opportunity to discuss their experiences.

Avoid Deceit

Participants were provided with information on the study and throughout the process they had the opportunity to seek clarification of any concerns. Participants also have the right to know what happens with the data from their interviews. In line with this, all participants were provided with a copy of their interview transcript and a summary of the data analysis. Response from participants in regards to both the transcript and data analysis was encouraged, and three women responded to this.

Confidentiality

Maintaining participant confidentiality is critical in research. Throughout this study, all audio taped and written data were made available only to the researcher and her supervisors. Confidentiality has been maintained by replacing all names of individuals with pseudonyms and changing any identifying details in the transcripts and thesis. These changes will also be used in any reports, presentations, or publications arising from the research. All material pertaining to the study, including typed transcripts of interviews will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and destroyed after ten years.

Treaty of Waitangi

According to Cunningham and Durie (1998), research not involving Maori participants, as in this study, and believed to hold little interest for Maori, impacts in three ways. First, research projects excluding Maori, funded in New Zealand, are done at the expense of a project that addresses Maori. Second, there is a need to consider how the research may impact upon Maori if framed in a more responsive way, and third, the research project can offer the Maori researcher an opportune training forum. After consultation with both the Auckland University of Technology Maori Research Group and the Auckland District Health Board Maori Consultation Group no issues regarding the impact of this research for Maori were identified.

It is the researcher's belief, however, that this research potentially impacts Maori in two ways. First there is a need to consider that Maori are 'Tangata Whenua' and for immigrants – 'Manuhiri' – arriving in New Zealand, there is a need to understand the basic culture and political situation of this country, which includes the Treaty of Waitangi. It is proposed that immigrants may need assistance and support with this issue and that Maori, as Tangata Whenua, are in a position to offer this support. Secondly, the findings of this research may be pertinent to Maori in highlighting the difficulties of performing everyday/traditional occupations within a cultural framework where an individual's culture is not the dominant one. This may generate questions for Maori researchers and increase the awareness for Maori considering migrating.

Data Collection

A variety of data gathering methods can be employed in grounded theory research; written documentation, observations, projective materials (consisting of drawings, models or objects), and oral techniques (interviews). Care must be taken to select methods that best fit the research question and aims, and best meet the needs of the group being studied and the skills of the researcher (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

In this study semi-structured interviews were employed, a method common to grounded theory studies (Glaser, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss &

Corbin, 1990, 1998). A semi-structured interview is designed with predetermined questions and/or topic areas in mind (Berg, 1995). These questions are then posed in a systematic and consistent order which are flexible enough to allow the researcher to digress and probe for further detail when needed. Semi-structured interviews were considered an appropriate method for this study as they allowed for exploration of a process unfolding over time. Interviews provided an opportunity for the researcher to learn about participants' everyday activities within the new environment and the meanings that these activities held for them.

Participants were provided with a selection of venues for the interviews. One participant chose to be interviewed at the university, with another participant requesting to be interviewed at her place of work. All others chose to be interviewed in their home.

The interviews followed a standard format. The researcher opened with a brief introduction to the study, and outlined the rights of the participant during the interview, such as the right not to answer questions if considered too personal. The participant was then asked to choose a pseudonym for herself and reminded that any identifying details would be removed to maintain confidentiality. Participants were then offered the opportunity to ask any further questions to confirm their comfort with the process before the interview proceeded. Each interview lasted between 45 and 90 minutes and was audio-taped. Following each interview the audio-tape was transcribed, checked and corrected by the researcher, and a copy was sent to the participant. The participant then had a week to read the transcript and make any changes or additions before returning it to the researcher to commence data analysis.

The interview schedule (Appendix E) was used primarily as a guide to keep the interview focussed, however, it remained flexible enough to allow exploration of any topics relevant to the study which were introduced by the participant. Throughout the interview the researcher made an effort not to lead participants' responses or use occupational therapy terminology that may not be readily understood (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Hand recorded notes were taken by the researcher throughout the interview of key points and issues that required further clarification. Towards the end of the interview, participants were offered the opportunity to share any further information they felt was important but had not been covered during the interview.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), as data collection begins and analysis takes place, initial interview guides give way to the need to explore concepts emerging from the data. Thus, as theoretical sampling progresses, interview questions become more refined to explore specific concepts, categories, their relationships, and their dimensions. For example, after five interviews, it became apparent that differences existed in the importance of doing certain activities depending on whether the woman had children and/or a family to consider. This led to the sub-category of “family responsibilities”. To gain further understanding of this process, the researcher asked the next participant who had children, “*How do you think having children has impacted on the things you decide to do?*”

As data collection and analysis progressed, categories began to take shape. This process led to the emergence of a central process, when the researcher turned once again to the literature. According to McCallin (2003), “as a study progresses literature becomes an effective analytic tool to stimulate thinking” (p. 64). Glaser (1998) contends that the use of a literature search at this stage of the process is valuable in providing more data for constant comparison, which can then be used to extend theory development or conceptual ordering, a view supported by Strauss and Corbin (1998). Thus the analysis progressed through interviews and literature searches, to the stage where no further concepts were emerging, and all further sampling ceased.

Data Analysis

Once interviews have been transcribed, grounded theory methodology advocates the use of a constant comparative method of analysis (Giddings & Wood, 2000). The constant comparative method requires the researcher to go back and forth between initial and later interviews comparing the analysed data. This type of interplay between the data allows for a proposed theory that is “molecular in structure rather than causal or linear” (Hutchinson, 1986, p. 122). Strauss and Corbin (1998) emphasise a three level system of coding and categorising data; open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. It is important to note that although these three levels happen sequentially, there are overlaps in the process. Excerpts of

transcripts used in the coding process will be used in the ensuing discussion to illustrate the data analysis process.

The first stage of analysis, open coding (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Stauss & Corbin, 1998) requires data to be “broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, and compared for similarities and differences” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 102). In this process, a detailed line-by-line examination of data from the transcribed interviews is completed to identify concepts that represent phenomena. During this procedure, labels are given to sentences or phrases that capture the meaning of the phenomenon. These labels are formed into codes that describe the concepts which arise directly from words or phrases in the data, also known as “in-vivo codes” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 115). One aim in generating codes is to name them by using action words, such as ‘Learning’ or ‘Discovering’. Glaser (1978) called this approach to analysis ‘gerund grounded theory’ and suggested that using this process often helps the researcher to consider what it is that participants are doing, which then facilitates the constant comparison of experiences (Charmaz, 2000; Glaser, 1978). The following excerpt is an example of the open coding process.

Transcript	Open-Code	Re-Code
1.3 - Then coming here, I, just the first or second day I went with my husband for the grocery shopping and the third time I started doing it on my own. So, it was ah I wasn't overwhelmed or anything about it, like of course it is different, everything is more meticulous and more um more co-ordinated but not that it wasn't an overwhelming experience for me that I didn't know how to do it or how to go about it, because a couple of times my husband went along because I didn't know the way to the mall.	First or second day Went with my husband Third time started on own Wasn't overwhelmed Different – more meticulous Different – co-ordinated Wasn't an overwhelming experience Husband went along Didn't know the way	Early days Gaining experience Noticing differences - meticulous - coordinated Not Knowing Having someone who knows

In the next phase of open coding, concepts found to be similar in nature are grouped together under the term categories. At this stage, concepts emerging from the data such as, “being overwhelmed,” “struggling with the basics,” “being

unaware,” and “too many choices,” were grouped together under the category of “Not Knowing,” as they all appeared to relate to difficulty with doing things in a new environment. “Not Knowing” was later recoded using an in-vivo code to “What Am I Doing”, taken from one participant who stated,

So I just stay in or go out once in a way and think oh what am I doing? [Jyothi 6:83]

The concept articulated in this phrase was a sense of “not knowing”.

In the second stage of analysis, axial coding, data is reassembled according to connections between categories, as patterns amongst the categories emerge. According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996) it is in this stage that the most important analytical work occurs. The data that has been fragmented during open coding, is now pulled back together and links between categories are identified. At this point, the links between established categories are further defined by the make up of sub-categories. Sub-categories “specify a category further by denoting information such as when, where, why, and how a phenomenon is likely to occur” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 119). A sub-category that emerged as part of “What Am I Doing” was “Just Say Aunty”, which reflected the idea that in India the women had family and friends whom they could call on to do things but here in New Zealand, this was missing.

Here each one has their individual home, so you don’t get to socialise a lot. And um, if you do need help of course people are there but you have to really like phone and then um, you know. While in India you just say, ‘Aunty!’ and someone’s in and you can leave the child and go. [Kate 5:20-21]

During axial coding, the conditional paradigm constructed by Strauss and Corbin (1998) is used to assist with organising the data. Strauss and Corbin argue that there is a need to understand both the structure of why events occur, and the process: how a person acts/interacts in order to capture the dynamic and evolving nature of events. The paradigm is one way of ensuring that both the structure and process have been captured. Using this paradigm, connections between categories and sub-categories are ordered and differentiated by means of causal, intervening, and contextual conditions, actions/interactions, and consequences involved in each category. For instance, when exploring what the category “Just Say Aunty”

involved, it was initially thought that it may be an action/interaction. In other words a response to “What Am I Doing”, which involved reflecting on what was left behind. However, after further data analysis it became evident that “Just Say Aunty” was better suited as a sub-category to the causal condition “What Am I Doing”. Part of not knowing is about being aware of what one does know. In this instance the Indian women knew they had left behind their family and friends and this contributed to a sense of “What Am I Doing”.

Ideally data collection continues until a point of ‘theoretical saturation’ when no new relationships between categories emerge from new data. It is then that the third stage, selective coding, occurs. Selective coding seeks to integrate and refine theory with the aim of discovering a central core category (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). During this stage, three key processes emerged in relation to the things Indian women do in a new environment that support a sense of self and well-being. These processes are fully explained in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

As each of the three processes took shape, a core category began to emerge. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998) the core category has “analytic power” (p. 146), meaning that the core category should be able to pull together the other categories to form an explanatory whole. At first it seemed the core category was about Indian women taking the positives from both the old and new culture and joining them together. With this concept in mind the researcher explored a central process of “Merging Two Cultures”. However, this category seemed quite limiting and did not fully capture the processes that emerged from the data. In addition to this, reading the literature and talking to participants, it became apparent that the word culture held different meanings for different individuals and that it may not be abstract enough to allow for further research leading to the development of a more general theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Further reflection on the three processes determined a more abstract central process “Two Becoming One”, discussed in Chapter Seven. This ongoing process of proposing, testing and reflecting on categories was assisted by the use of memos (Appendix F).

Memos are written records of analysis that support and guide the researcher in exploring issues of concern throughout the data collection and analysis process. Following is an example of a memo written after analysing one of the interviews.

Having added the codes from Interview 6 to the bigger picture, there is a growing sense of *Not Fitting in a New Culture* and *Not Meeting Expectations*. Are these two categories a

result of being unable to participate in occupation? For instance being experienced but not being able to enter the work force. Is there also a question here of racism? Is it still alive and thriving, yet not really talked about? Certainly in this interview (6) she describes incidents that seem like articulations of racism and she uses phrases like “because I was Indian” or “my skin is not white” but at no time did she herself actually label it as racism. Is this something I need to ask more bluntly or will it come through if I specifically ask for the next participant to describe a time when she did something and the outcome was not what she expected? – Memo 24/01/05.

In the early stages of data analysis, memos focused on the use of codes for naming categories and comparing how different categories might link together. As analysis progressed, memos were used by the researcher to explore the relationship between the categories and the emerging processes, and to explore the central process. Memos are an important strategy in assisting theory development (Chamberlain, 1999) and “remain important documents because they record the progress, thoughts, feelings, and directions of the research and researcher – in fact, the entire gestalt of the research process” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 218).

Framework and Methods for Promoting Rigour

The term rigour describes procedures that enhance the scientific integrity and trustworthiness of the research findings (DePoy & Gitlin, 1998) and in qualitative research is an issue that researchers have debated and continue to debate with no definitive conclusion (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). The debate, however, must exist in order to promote the value and richness of the data that qualitative research has to offer and counter arguments that label qualitative research as ‘unsystematic’ and ‘impressionistic’ (Glaser & Strauss, 1995).

Within studies employing grounded theory, it has been proposed that the detailed strategies used to gather and analyse the data provide a foundation for rigour (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The constant interplay between data collection, data analysis, and sampling assists the researcher in staying true to the data and ensuring that the evolving theory grows out of the data itself. This process also ensures that the data from participants which does not fit with the developing theory is explored and explained in terms of its variability.

Further aspects of rigour, however, need to be considered and two authorities on the topic of qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985) have proposed four criteria for judging the soundness of qualitative research; credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility

Qualitative research largely seeks to describe or understand the phenomena of interest from the perspective of the participant (Polit et al., 2001). To ensure credibility is achieved, it is important that participants' narratives are accurately presented. This can be achieved through choosing a methodology that fits the research question, and following the methodological guidelines throughout the data collection and analysis phase. As outlined in this chapter, a grounded theory methodology was employed and guidelines surrounding data collection and analysis were followed.

Achieving credibility in qualitative research is made more complex if the researcher enters into the research process with already formed beliefs and theories about the topic to be researched, an issue known as reflexivity (Glaser & Strauss, 1995). To avoid bias, the researcher undertook a pre-understandings interview to clarify assumptions and beliefs brought to the study. From this interview, the following assumptions emerged

- Immigration necessitates changes in daily occupations, particularly household activities such as shopping and preparing meals.
- There is a process of adaptation and adjustment in valued occupations involved with settling in to a new environment.
- Changes in occupation can negatively impact upon well-being.
- Indian women are likely to struggle with the challenges of change resulting in emotions such as anxiety, depression, anger, and worthlessness.
- How each woman copes with change will depend on individual circumstance.

Credibility of the research can also be ensured by continually returning to participants with the research findings to seek feedback on the accuracy of developing conclusions (Trochim, 2002). Within grounded theory controversy exists as to whether this is a useful technique. On one hand Glaser (1998) advocates

against using participants for this purpose as he considers they might not completely comprehend the abstract theory which their own actions and behaviours are merely part of. Alternatively, Strauss and Corbin (1998) encourage checking the findings with selected participants believing that they should notice their own piece within the bigger puzzle. As this study follows the Strauss and Corbin approach, findings were shared at different stages with three participants. These participants felt they could identify with different concepts and the emerging process.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) argue that the results of qualitative research should be comprehensible not only to the persons involved in the research, but also to others involved in the area. Throughout this study the researcher met on a regular basis with her supervisors and at these times sections of the interviews and data analysis were reviewed to ensure appropriate interpretation. In addition to these meetings, the researcher attended a group established at the university to support students doing grounded theory research. This forum was used to present emerging theory that could be critiqued by peers and lecturers experienced in the use of grounded theory methodology. In this group, one member who immigrated to New Zealand from Fiji stated she was able to strongly identify with the process that has emerged in this study.

Transferability

According to Trochim (2002), transferability refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalized or transferred to other contexts. In an endeavour to enhance transferability of findings the researcher has used this chapter and the previous two chapters to thoroughly describe the research context, participant characteristics, and assumptions that were central to the research. It is noted that the sample size is relatively small and therefore caution must be taken in applying the theory to a wider sample that goes beyond the characteristics of the sample group described in this study. At this stage, further research is necessary to establish the applicability of the theory to other populations such as women from other cultures and Indian women in distinctly different circumstances, for instance, those having limited knowledge of the English language.

Dependability

According to Coolican (1990), “Qualitative researchers go around the ‘research cycle’ several times. The researcher checks and re-checks the early

assumptions...As patterns and theories are developed, so the researcher goes back again to gather more information which should confirm tentative hypotheses” (p. 237). Throughout the research process, keeping an audit trail of the research findings and analyses, and continually checking that the labels given to concepts match the meanings conveyed by participants in the raw data, was an important aspect of ensuring dependability. The use of memos was employed as a means of providing detailed information about the analysis process and allowed the researcher to track each step of the process, including how certain categories and relationships between categories evolved.

A further method of triangulation was also used to enhance the study’s dependability. Triangulation, in qualitative research, refers to “an approach to data collection in which evidence is deliberately sought from a wide range of different, independent sources and often by different means” (Mays & Pope, 1995, p. 110). In the present study, after completing each interview detailed field notes were written to supplement the interview transcript. Participants were sent a copy of their transcribed interview to review, and feedback was encouraged. Peer checking is another method of triangulation, whereby more than one person reads and codes sections of a transcript using the existing coding framework. During data analysis, the researcher met on a regular basis with another occupational therapist undertaking grounded theory research as described by Strauss and Corbin (1998). During these meetings the findings were discussed, which supported triangulation and the dependability of this study.

Confirmability

Throughout this study, it has been important for the researcher to remain open to the idea that some of the participants’ narratives may not fit with the major patterns or theories that emerge as a result of analysis. According to Coolican (1990), the willingness of the researcher to do this openly is held to be a test of rigour in qualitative research. Any concepts that emerged, which did not fit with the overall process that developed from the analysis, have been documented and discussed in this thesis in the findings sections.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented an overview of the grounded theory methodology as employed in this study. A justification of the choice of

methodology in relation to the research question and aims has been provided. In addition, an overview of the philosophical underpinnings of grounded theory and the fit with this study has been explained. The methods employed to gather and analyse the data have been considered as well as the ethical considerations and the rigour of the study. The findings of the research will now be presented in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.



CHAPTER 4: OH GOD, WHERE DID I COME?

Introduction

The data was analysed to discover the things immigrant Indian women do in a new culture to sustain a sense of self and well-being. From this analysis, three processes emerged and have been named using the women's words, *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*, *Being In The Change*, and *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*. Each process captures the women's common experiences while allowing for individual variations to be incorporated. These processes do not stand in isolation but overlap as the women progress in their journey, and at times, move back and forth between processes. *Two Becoming One* is the central process that encompasses the three processes identified above and provides an overarching explanation of the things Indian immigrant women do in New Zealand. This chapter explores the first process, *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*. In Chapters Five and Six, the processes *Being In the Change* and *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul* are addressed. The central process, *Two Becoming One* is discussed at the end of each chapter in relation to the process being described and presented as a whole in Chapter Seven.

To assist with exploring and making sense of the dynamic relationships between the categories and sub-categories within each process, the conditional paradigm outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1998) has been employed. Conditions, or "sets of events or happenings that create the situations, issues, and problems" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 130) pertain to the topic of exploration or the phenomenon. Causal conditions represent things or events that influence the phenomenon. Contextual conditions are the circumstances in which people respond to the phenomenon, and intervening conditions are the factors that allay or alter the impact of a person's response. Actions and interactions evolve over time and refer to what is said or done, and consequences relate to the outcomes of the actions and interactions.

In presenting the findings, excerpts from the transcribed interviews are used to illustrate the processes. The source of each excerpt is identified using the woman's pseudonym, followed by two numbers; the first indicating the specific interview and the second showing where in the interview transcript the excerpt is

situated. This information is given in brackets at the end of each passage (e.g. Millie 3:45). Where sections from different points in the interview are presented alongside each other, this is indicated as follows (e.g. Millie, 3:45, 46).

For ease of reading, the names of each process are written within the text using italics. All categories and sub-categories are written using upper cased first letters to make them easily identifiable, with categories in bold and sub-categories not bolded (e.g. **What Am I Doing?**, Just Say Aunty).

An Overview of the Categories

The first process *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* is symbolised by two blue feet representing the Indian culture that is strongly embedded within the women, standing on the foreign soils of New Zealand. The categories and sub-categories involved in this process are outlined in Table 2:1. For ease of reference, a copy of this table can be found on the blue sheet of paper in Appendix G.

Table 2:1 Oh God, Where Did I Come?

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Causal Conditions	What Am I Doing?	Where To Go, What To Do Struggling Through Time Just Say Aunty
Contextual Conditions	A Transformed Environment	Seeing the Differences Paying the Price Missing the Bus Feeling Out of Place
Intervening Conditions	Awareness	Having Knowledge Surviving with Help Family Responsibilities
Actions/Interventions	Doing The Familiar	Keeping One's Culture Sticking to the Known
Consequences	Only Try And Hope	Experimenting Having the Right Attitude

Oh God, Where Did I Come? was a comment Girija made early in her interview. It encapsulates the experiences of those early days: arriving in a foreign

country where everything appears new and unfamiliar and struggling to make sense of it all. This process identifies the ‘not knowing’ that occurs when entering a new environment. The feeling of not knowing has the potential to undermine confidence and threaten well-being as the women face the challenge of building their lives in a strange place. When placed in a threatening situation, the women seek to maintain their safety through performing familiar activities which engender a sense of competence, thus promoting well-being.

Under the condition of **What Am I Doing?** and in the context of **A Transformed Environment**, the women begin **Doing The Familiar**. Through this they adopt an outlook of **Only Try And Hope**. Underlying this process is the women’s **Awareness** of both their own and their families needs and desires.

The next section explores in detail each of the categories and sub-categories. Each category is defined within the context of *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* and relevant properties and dimensions are outlined. Connections between the categories will be discussed as well as the connection of each category with this process.

The Cause: What Am I Doing?



The footprints in this process symbolise Indian women (solid blue footprint) starting their journey in the New Zealand environment (outlined green footprint). These footprints will appear throughout the findings and are another way of joining the three processes.

Arriving in New Zealand to enormous environmental and occupational changes, there are times when the women questioned their decision to immigrate and experience an overwhelming sense of *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*. When describing their early days in New Zealand, the women commonly spoke of ‘*not knowing*’. The phrase **What Am I Doing?** voiced by Jyothi, captures the essence of ‘not knowing’ in a new culture.

And then here there’s another culture of bringing your own plate and coming. Which I still can’t understand and still I don’t follow... If you call me with a plate and my drink, why do I need to come to your house? Can’t I do that in my house? So um, yeah, maybe we are weird because everyone else seems to think it’s very normal to bring a plate and come to

each other's house. I mean it's ridiculous. I moved into this house, next Saturday I was calling a couple of friends. 'What do you want me to bring?' and I said, 'Yourself.' 'No, no, no, what about a plate?' And I think to myself, if I am saying to myself that I am having a house warming party, you have to understand that I am going to call fifteen or twenty people. Are you going to bring something that's enough for fifteen or twenty people? No. You're going to bring something that's enough for two people. Why bring it? Because I have to cook for the rest and if everybody brings just for two people, you don't even get to taste what's there. So I just stay out or go once in a way and think, 'Oh, what am I doing?' [Jyothi 6:80, 81-83]

What Am I Doing? implies a request for information regarding the performance of occupation in a situation of not knowing. Asking the question **What Am I Doing?** further suggests confusion and uncertainty; feelings experienced by all of the women during those initial days. The sense of not knowing is strongest immediately after arrival and dissipates over time. However, for some women, including Jyothi, there are still occasions in which they find themselves asking **What Am I Doing?**. While Jyothi has periods of not knowing, she has also experienced *Being In The Change* and *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*. Her experience highlights how the processes overlap and interrelate.

Although the women had unique experiences of **What Am I Doing?**, common themes involved trying to identify Where To Go and What To Do and a feeling of Struggling Through Time (Table 2:2). In addition these women reflect on what they left in India, as described in the sub-category Just Say Aunty. These sub-categories will now be discussed.

Table 2:2 Oh God, Where Did I Come? - Causal Condition

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Causal Conditions	What Am I Doing?	Where To Go, What To Do Struggling Through Time Just Say Aunty

What Am I Doing?: Where To Go, What To Do

Part of feeling comfortable in any environment is knowing the location of community resources and the things that can be done in those settings. In struggling with the uncertainty of Where To Go and What To Do, the women describe the difficulty with doing things as Millie and Jyothi's stories show.

I had a really sore ear and that started to happen six to seven months ago. I started putting some drops and stuff that I bought from the pharmacy and um, it was fine after that. But then it kept coming back and I didn't go to the doctors because I didn't know anyone. Like, I still haven't seen any ENT doctors, and you know how hospitals don't have any GPs. So I didn't go to the doctors until two, three weeks ago when it got really bad and I was like right, this is really bad. I have to do. So I asked like ten people around me, 'Where do you go when you have a sore ear?' She told me, 'Just call um, the health, any health or medical centre. Yeah, and just take an appointment and go to a doctor.' Even then I couldn't understand, 'Like go to any doctor? There's no special doctor?' 'Yeah, just go to a GP.' I was like, 'Okay.' Yeah, just a small thing like that I was just avoiding it because I couldn't see anything on roads, this is a doctor I can go there. Yeah, for me it was because I was just not sure about the whole process. [Millie 3:42-44]

We came to this house, my boss said, 'You should go and invite all your neighbours when you have parties.' I said, 'Fine.' So, and who are your neighbours? I mean in this street, who are your neighbours? We don't know who your neighbours are. He said, 'Just go two doors left, two doors right, two doors in front.' [Jyothi 6:23]

Being uncertain of the process is stressful when attempting to engage in occupation and this threatens well-being and undermines the women's perception of their abilities to do things. In these situations, many of the women had family or friends who assisted with either taking them to places or providing directions. Having this support reduced uncertainty around Where To Go, which meant that sometimes the difficulty lay more with What To Do.

To be honest, in the beginning half the times I picked up the stuff, like I didn't really compare the prices, you know. Without looking how much it was. I mean there, there was salt for say two dollars, there was salt for eight dollars, I would pick up the eight dollar bottle. I mean I didn't realise, you know. You just don't realise that. And you get confused with the prices written ah, at the top or at the bottom you know. And that's different with lots of stores. [Megha 1:7]

In the early days, many of the women's experiences serve to reinforce the feeling of *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*. Shikha, however maintained a sense of confidence in her abilities through doing things and learning Where To Go and What To Do as the activity progressed.

And then I thought I should cook a little. I didn't cook much in India because I was, it was always Mum or my elder sister who used to cook. So then I started cooking rice and all, but

then finding spices was very difficult. So just had ah, just bought salt, pepper, and chilli powder. That's it. And started with that and mixed some vegetables with rice. And then I met a few Indian people and I got to know where to get Indian groceries from. So I used to walk three kilometres for Indian groceries and walk back. So that was a good experience. Got to know the shops and ah, took awhile but came right. [Shikha 4:52-53]

Recalling the difficulty surrounding Where To Go and What To Do prompted the women to reflect on how they coped with the situation. Not surprisingly, for some this marked a decline in well-being, with feelings of depression or inadequacy, as Girija states, "*I was in a real depression, I didn't know what to do...I said nowhere to go for now*" [2:54]. Although Megha did not feel depressed, she certainly experienced feeling unsettled.

I mean the first day I landed, he put me behind the wheel, he said, 'Drive.' Oh gosh! And I was like, I said, 'I can't!' I mean of course I have been driving in India for about ten to fifteen years now. No, more than that probably. But of course driving in India is totally different from driving in New Zealand. [Megha 1:9]

Despite these moments of self doubt, Megha's willingness to try driving became a valuable skill that assisted her with learning Where To Go. Taking opportunities when presented is a valuable way for women to ascertain What they have To Do, as Kate's story reveals.

I had got a couple of interviews that I had gone through. And ah, I wondered you know, why people say that um, teachers are not getting jobs here. And ah, we are so educated and we are so highly qualified and still. So I said, 'Okay, I'm not getting through my interviews, let me see what is wrong.' So I started helping out. And then when I was actually in the classroom is when I realised that the system here is very different. [Kate 5:5-6]

Although Where To Go and What To Do challenges the women's doing, it is not always perceived to be a negative experience. For the women in this study, Where To Go and What To Do was a driving force behind their need to explore and understand the new environment.

What Am I Doing?: Struggling Through Time

Under the condition **What Am I Doing?** the women discussed Struggling Through Time. Their Struggles arose for a variety of reasons including the

availability of resources, familiarity with what they were trying to achieve or how to go about it in their new circumstance, and other's perceptions of their abilities. Central to Rajni's identity is the role she has of being a mother. In India, surrounded by family and friends for support, it was a role she enacted with competence and ease. In New Zealand, her well-being was challenged as she struggled to perform the role of mothering with minimal support.

So sometimes it's hard for me here. Sometimes my husband he cooks for me and he look, helps me to um, look after the kids, yeah. Um, yeah, it is different because everything depends on me. Yeah, very little help...It's very hard to look after the children um, by only myself. It's very hard. But ah, that's why I went back to India when my son, when my baby is um, two months. It's very hard for me to look after both of them. Very hard. Ah, I got post natal depression, all the time I've been crying, crying. [Rajni 7:2, 33]

As the days passed, the women explored longer term occupations such as employment and education. During this process they constantly Struggle Through Time waiting for opportunities to emerge. For Girija, not having the necessary information about Where To Go and What To Do fuelled her Struggle Through Time, while Jyothi's Struggle was the result of not having New Zealand knowledge and an understanding of local practices.

I didn't know that I can just go into Wendys or Burger King or MacDonalds and get a job. Nobody has told me that. And I didn't know that I can go and get some support from the Immigrant Support Centre. I was not aware of all these facts. So I just started applying for all organisations, seeing some papers and seeing some ads and websites and things like that. But I got heaps of rejection letters. So if I were to have known that I would have, I can go to Wendys or any other place, you know to get into a job, I would have gone and did that, but no, nobody has told me. Must have applied that time around 100, 150 jobs. So all rejection letters. [Girija 2:11-13]

Ah, those two months were hard, weren't they? Basically people saying that you don't have New Zealand qualifications, ah, experience. I said, 'How do I get that?' By working anywhere. 'Fine, give me a job.' 'No we can't.' 'Why?' 'Because you don't have New Zealand experience.' I said, 'That's ridiculous, isn't it? If you don't employ me, how would you know whether I am employable or not employable? I mean I am not telling you take me on permanent. Take me on for a month, see how good I am, see how bad I am. Throw me out after that. I mean one month later if you tell me your English is not good, I accept it. Your this is not good, fine I'll accept it. But don't do that outright.' [Jyothi, 6:7-10]

For these women, Struggling Through Time significantly impacted their identity and well-being. In failing to secure employment they were unable to assume the role of an employee and utilise associated skills through which they could reinforce a sense of competence and mastery, elements crucial to supporting a healthy well-being. Millie too had the uncomfortable experience of Struggling Through Time when applying for university.

I would keep going back because it takes a while and I was getting really impatient. I was like right, it's been a week, they haven't told me anything, I think I should go back. I would go back and they would say, 'Look it takes time' rah, rah, rah, and then, 'Come back' and I was like, 'Okay.' And then I'd leave it another week and then go back again and they would say, still they would say the same thing. And that way I used to feel really uncomfortable, like why isn't anything happening? [Millie 3: 49]

Struggling Through Time is influenced by both environmental and social factors. For some women, not understanding the New Zealand culture repeatedly meant lost opportunities, resulting in lowered self-esteem and a low sense of competence. For others, not having social supports increased their Struggle to remain confident and optimistic. As they Struggle the women reflect on what they have left behind.

What Am I Doing?: Just Say Aunty

Just Say Aunty were words Kate used to describe her extended network of friends and family which she, like many others, have left in India. Extended networks play an integral role in the lives of Indian women and are central to communalism and the Indian way of life. New Zealand society, in contrast, is based upon notions of individualism and lacks the extent of social support that many Indian women rely upon.

I miss the company. Because in India we used to stay in a building where there were flats. So you had each one going to the other's house when you needed help. Here each one has their individual home, so you don't get to socialise a lot. And um, if you do need help, of course people are there, but you have to really like phone. And then um, you know while in India you just say, 'Aunty' and someone's in and you can leave the child and go. [Kate 5:19-21]

Jyothi and Girija revealed similar feelings in their interviews. For these women, moving to New Zealand has been a challenging, and occasionally, an isolating experience. Seeing people on a regular basis and being close to them makes it easier to build social supports. However, *'In this country where [you] can't see people around, there is no people who can talk to me'* [Girija 2:9], it is not easy to create social networks.

So what's neighbourhood? Tell me, what's neighbourhood here? Anyway, nobody helps you here. So it's, like again when you go back to India, we lived in Bombay. We lived in apartments. So you had 58 apartments in the building but you knew everybody by name. You knew everybody by name, you knew everybody's children, how many children they had, which standard they were in, you know. You knew everything about everybody. You walk in, walk out, you meet someone, say hi, hello. You know everyone by name. [Jyothi 6:29-30]

Millie admits that having her sister living in New Zealand was an incentive for her to immigrate because she had someone with whom she could live and someone who could show her What To Do. However, despite her sister's presence, Millie acknowledges the difficulty of being in New Zealand without other family members.

I wish I had my family. I really miss them. If I have all that I won't go back. If I have my family here and just my family is enough, yeah I think I won't go back. But um, that's it. Yeah, just the family. If they were here it would have been easier because you need emotional support as well. But um, here sometimes, some days you feel really low and there's no one around. [Millie 3:64]

As well as no longer being able to Just Say Aunty for support from neighbours and family, travelling to New Zealand has also meant leaving behind other aspects of assistance. Having servants and housemaids is common throughout Indian society. Coming to a land where this help is no longer available exacerbates the sense of loss and contributes to the sense of **What Am I Doing?**. Megha and Girija both commented on this:

Yeah, um, if you talk about the daily activities. Apart from my job, um, in India I never did any grocery shopping. I was staying with my family, that's my um, mother, my brothers in the family and of course...you know, you have servants there to do things for you. Yeah,

you have maids to clean up for you and you have, ah, your um, cook or somebody to cook or go grocery shopping. [Megha 1:2]

And ah, there is one more area which I really miss – I had two servants at home. Maybe it's bad or good, I don't know. I used to enjoy that. I used to have one servant who comes in the morning and goes back in the evening and the other servant actually used to stay with us all the time. So that is one thing which I miss here. Probably more, especially when you are working outside, having to do your own cooking. [Girija 2:117]

Unlike the other women who had never been to New Zealand prior to immigrating, Nishkala visited the country on three occasions. During these visits, she mentally prepared herself for the challenges of coming to live in a different culture. However, she too found it difficult adjusting to life without servants.

The other difference is in India we can have a maidservant and all that. To have a driver to drive a car and all that. To clean the vessels [dishes]. But here we felt inconvenienced and problematic for that thing only. Except for that, everything is fine. [Nishkala 8:11]

In a new country without social supports to assist on a daily basis, the women have to immediately assume additional tasks previously performed by others. Although the women have accepted this, being unable to Just Say Aunty is another pressure they face in an already difficult time.

Hence, **What Am I Doing?** is the causal condition under which immigrant Indian women start their journey. As a causal condition, this category influences the things women do in a new culture. Not knowing Where To Go or What To Do, Struggling Through Time and being unable to Just Say Aunty to elicit immediate help limits the women's ability to successfully perform occupation and thus sustain a healthy sense of themselves as capable individuals. At the same time, they are challenged to come to terms with their **Transformed Environment**.



The Context: A Transformed Environment



A Transformed Environment suggests a changed or converted state of external conditions or surroundings. In some respects the environments are similar in that they are comprised of streets filled with cars, buses, bicycles, and people, and lined with houses and shops. However, under the condition of **What Am I**

Doing? and in the context of **A Transformed Environment** the women start Seeing the Differences that abound between the two cultures. Some Differences are specific and tangible, such as the economic structure; Paying the Price and public transport; Missing the Bus (Table 2:3). These changes reinforce experiences of Feeling Out of Place, a subtle reminder they are in a new culture.

Table 2:3 Oh God, Where Did I Come? - Contextual Condition

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Contextual Conditions	A Transformed Environment	Seeing the Differences Paying the Price Missing the Bus Feeling Out of Place

A Transformed Environment: Seeing the Differences

I think to be honest, everything is different here in New Zealand than in India. [Megha 1:1]

One of the immediate Differences the women See in their **Transformed Environment** is the physical surroundings. In the eyes of women who have recently migrated from India, which is “*a more populated country, or overpopulated*” [Nishkala 8:24], New Zealand is viewed as clean and organised. Recalling her first trip to the supermarket Megha states, “*of course it is different, everything is more meticulous and more co-ordinated*” [1:3]. She is not alone with these impressions.

Yeah, yeah, heaps of changes. Um, yeah I find things really neat and clean here. And in terms of, even in terms of physical set up...I find it's really neat and clean. [Millie 3:74]

There is discipline everywhere and ah, everything is structured and organised. Very close to ideal in most of the things...I mean I'm just again comparing it to back home but um, that's what I saw for twenty four years. And um, when I came, I could see the changes and I could pick up things that I liked. So I liked less corruption. I like greenery. I like cleanliness. [Shikha 4:27, 30]

One of the benefits of Seeing the Differences is that it creates an awareness of what women need to do to ensure successful performance of occupations. Having this knowledge increases women's sense of self as they gain confidence doing things within **A Transformed Environment**.

Yes, um, that's one of the major differences you know. Everything is more organised and ah, people are polite. And you just get everything under one roof. You don't have to, you know, go for veges to a different place and you know, for other stuff to a different place, and for kitchen stuff to a different place. So you get everything under one roof, which is hugely different from back in India. Because you go to the vege market for veges and for the groceries you go to the grocers, so that's quite a huge difference. Yeah, it's much more easier to do it here. [Megha 1:4]

Tramping! Yeah, I went tramping with my friends, which was such a great experience. I couldn't have done that because there are so many animals and it's dangerous back home...And ah, there was like dense forest, which to me means like full of animals. But here was nothing. Not even a single animal. You can just walk freely and admire nature and beautiful views. [Shikha 4:63, 67]

The women's experience of Seeing the Differences was not confined to public spaces and nature. Within their homes some of these changes assisted in the performance of household activities, while other differences required the women to alter their ways of doing.

It's easy to clean our house here, because here we have carpets, just vacuum clean our house and our house is clean. But in India, first we're sweeping and then we're mopping, so it's very hard. Yeah, not much dusting over here, much in India. [Rajni 7:8]

A sentiment shared by Millie: *"That's the thing I love about here, you don't have to mop and clean the floor everyday, the way we do, we do in our house over there. Like twice in a day we mop! Yeah, because it gets so dusty"* [3:75]. For Kate and Nishkala the physical structure of the house has influenced their daily activities.

The bathroom is ah, like small and it is carpeted. So to clean and to maintain, we are so scared. And then there is not a separate place for a shower, so we have to take a bath standing in the bathtub. [Kate 5:119]

There are fire alarms in the kitchen. When we make those rotis and puris and pappads, when we fry, immediately the alarm starts ringing. When I came to the country the first time in 2002 with my kids and that day when I started frying some pappads, then the alarm started ringing. And immediately I called my husband, 'What is this?' He said, 'Nothing, open the windows that is all, don't be scared.' [Nishkala 8:26]

As these excerpts show, **A Transformed Environment** is filled with changes that can be new and exciting or more problematic. Seeing the Differences, the women make decisions about engaging in activities based upon what the environment offers.

A Transformed Environment: Paying the Price

As the women See the Differences and engage in occupations, they become aware of specific aspects of the environment that impact on what they do. One aspect is the economic structure. Many of the women in this study feel that the cost of living in New Zealand is quite high.

Yeah, yeah, the first time I went to the supermarket, you know I buy one onion! And actually I like to make um, chicken noodles. So I bought only two or three pieces of chicken because I thought it was very expensive. Because first time I, all the things I'm comparing to India. So I bought two or three pieces of chicken and one onion and one capsicum, I think two carrots... Actually, I thought oh, everything is so expensive! [Rajni 7:10, 11]

In New Zealand set prices are an aspect of the economic environment that is starkly different from India where customers barter with shopkeepers over the price of items on a daily basis. With no room for negotiation, women are faced with Paying the full Price for essential items. As such, many of the women choose to purchase their groceries at discounted food supermarkets such as Pak n' Save, a supermarket in New Zealand established as selling groceries at a lower cost than other retailers.

I find that the, ah rates are very expensive, even on the specials...I go to Pak n' Save, which is the cheapest actually...we find the food very expensive here. [Kate 5:50, 51, 52]

Yeah, I had to buy the cheapest things available because I didn't have the money. I was spending Indian money, so we went on exchanging that for Indian rupees and that was a

hell of a lot. Everything was so expensive...I was used to buying the best and here I had to buy the cheapest. But now I've got used to it. I buy what I like. Prefer not to buy Budget, Pams [generic food brands], yeah, but we still shop at Pak n' Save. We still don't go to Foodtown and Woolworths because the prices are fifteen to twenty percent higher in those places. I mean they're much better shopping centres but um, unless I want something that's not available in Pak n' Save, only then. [Jyothi 6:47, 48-49]

For Jyothi, Paying the Price has influenced her identity in relation to others. As her story tells, in India she was used to buying the best but living in New Zealand she has had to buy cheaper products. Although Jyothi accepts this, it marks a change in her socioeconomic status that she has had to come to terms with.

In today's society, finances are an influencing factor on the occupations people engage in. For some women, Paying the Price has restricted participation in activities.

I mean it's cheaper to eat in India, I think...But that's not the case here, eating out is expensive. Ah, even if we go out now, I'd never go for starters or avoid desserts. You think of the bill, which you never did back home. You ate. That was it, eat what you like. Forget about how much it costs you. And as I said, if you had less money, you just went to a restaurant which was more within that range. Which you don't have much choices here. I mean they're more or less priced similar. The minimum and the maximum is then beyond our reach. Or common man's reach, any common man's reach I think. [Jyothi 6:68, 69-70]

Yeah, that's a big difference again. The cost of getting things done is much more higher here...I used to go to my eye specialist after every one month in India because it was so easy. Just go there and pay. Don't pay much money you know. But here, I just went to a normal GP and he charged me so much money for a sore ear. I was like, 'Okay!' Yeah, that way I find the medical thing, like going to the dentist is such a big thing here. I find it so expensive. I wouldn't really go to a doctor for every small little thing here. [Millie 3:33, 40-41]

Being able to choose which occupations to engage in is important for sustaining well-being. Having this choice restricted due to external factors such as finances can leave women feeling frustrated and with little control, as both Jyothi and Millie have experienced. Nishkala too acknowledges the change in economic structure. However, she is more philosophical about Paying the Price and states that this is an aspect of her **Transformed Environment** she has to accept if she is to live in New Zealand.

If I look at the price by converting it into the Indian currency, naturally it makes a lot of difference. For one dollar it is thirty to thirty two rupees. So, for one kg bananas, here even for one dollar we will not get. One dollar fifty cents or seventy cents per kg we can get. Whereas for the ten rupees, we can get twelve bananas there in India. So I can't make the conversion for everything like that. That's what I feel. So for everything if I look at the things by conversion, I can't eat also properly here! [Nishkala 8:22]

For many women Paying the Price is the context within which occupations are chosen and altered to fit with financial constraints. As the women reassess their values, for instance, moving from buying the best to buying the cheapest, and make changes to the way they do things, it becomes evident that there is a Price to Pay for sustaining a healthy sense of self and well-being in a new culture.

A Transformed Environment: Missing the Bus

Missing the Bus relates to the difficulties women encounter with using the public transport system within Auckland. After Paying the Price, it is a specific aspect of their surroundings that all the women talked about, apart from one who had not yet attempted to access the public transport system.

When discussing public transport, many of the women made comparisons to being back in India. *“Like the transport in India is so good. If you don't, if you can not drive, there are rickshaws. There are buses every two minutes, different routes taking you to any part of the city”* [Kate 5:47]. Rajni lived in Australia before immigrating to New Zealand and also makes the comparison.

So here um, about the transportation, we are very comfortable in Australia. We've got like trains and buses, very comfortable over there. Not here. Like if I, we lived two years in Australia and we haven't got a car, we have no car. We use public transport, we always use public transport and we haven't had any problem. But here we have problem with the transportation and the fares are very high. [Rajni 7:19]

As with Paying the Price, Missing the Bus is another context which impacts upon how readily the women engage in occupations. Sometimes the Struggle of dealing with the public transport system becomes too much and they choose to stay at home.

Well, it is difficult if you don't have a car. If I want to go anywhere, the bus stop is fifteen minutes walk from here and buses are not that regular. Like especially on a weekend. It's like have to wait one hour, two hours. If you miss one, you can come back home and sleep and ah, catch the second bus. I'm not finding it really easy to commute from one place to another. Yeah, um, the days when I don't have car I just avoid going anywhere, it's quite hard. [Millie 3:24]

Although Millie chooses to avoid going anywhere, doing this on a constant basis has the potential to create feelings of frustration and exclusion, thus undermining her well-being. Rajni has experienced first hand having her well-being threatened in the context of Missing the Bus. For Rajni, going to work was an important occupation, which provided her with a sense of competence and achievement. She gave up her job however, as it became increasingly difficult to reach home in time to care for her children.

I worked in um, nursing home here, when I newly came to New Zealand and I go by the bus. Mostly I'm missing my shift [child care duties] because sometimes the drivers they are not stopping the bus. If they saw only one person waiting, they can go by without stopping the bus. I have faced this problem lot of times. That's why after one month I stopped that job because I want to come back at exactly this time but the buses are not stopping. Because of transportation I have stopped working. [Rajni 7:22]

Although Missing the Bus has negative repercussions for many of the women's occupations, Shikha had a different experience. Discouraged by the public transport system, she decided to learn to drive. Mastering this new occupation was necessary for her to cope with her **Transformed Environment**, and in turn has improved her sense of self and widened the things she feels capable of doing.

When I came to New Zealand I learnt driving through my friends. Um, bought the car after two months because the transport system is not that good. So I found bussing and everything very difficult. So actually, I was forced to drive and um, started driving. For me, I drive now everywhere. [Shikha 4:6-7]

While Missing the Bus is an aspect of the surroundings that is not always favourably received, how the women have chosen to deal with their experience contributes to their identity and well-being.

A Transformed Environment: Feeling Out of Place

For some women, Seeing the Differences is closely entwined with Feeling Out of Place. Immigrating to New Zealand, women bring aspects of their culture that support their identity as Indian women. This view of self does not always align with the New Zealand context and in some instances the strength of feedback leaves immigrant women with an overwhelming sense of not fitting.

My boss said, 'Some of the clients can't understand you, you talk too fast.' I said, 'Fine. You know something, as hard as it is for them to understand me, it is equally as hard for me to understand them. But I make an effort. They don't. That's the only difference.' And it's still there. I mean I still can't get the New Zealand accent and there's no way that I'm going to try to put on an accent that doesn't sound like a New Zealand accent. [Jyothi 6:20-21]

For Jyothi, cultural differences within the workplace have stimulated Feeling Out of Place in the social structure. In addition, having to find a Place within an already formed group can be a daunting task that has the power to leave women Feeling Out of Place and with a diminished sense of self.

For the kind of person I am, it's difficult for me. Even at work, I started working and ah, first three months I was, I used to still feel like an outsider because the team we've got is really small. It's a small team. So you know once I started working, I was like right. I've come into some else's little group. [Millie 3:58]

For some women, Feeling Out of Place arises from differences between cultures, while for others this feeling arises in the disparity between organisational structures. For Kate, Feeling Out of Place grew out of not understanding how organisations, such as the medical system, function in New Zealand. This has made it difficult for her to engage in occupations that may have direct consequences on her health and well-being.

I'm scared. Like I, if I get a chest pain or something, in India I could probably just go to my general practitioner and say I want to do this medical test and I'd just run to the hospital and get it done. Or probably, I don't even need to do it. I can just go and take an appointment at the hospital. While here, unless a doctor tells you that you need to do these tests, you can't get it done. And then it goes to the hospital and you have to wait. By the time you get your number at the hospital you may probably be dead. [Kate 5:34-35]

Not all the women in this study experienced a sense of Feeling Out of Place. For some of the younger women, including Shikha and Megha, Seeing the

Differences strengthened their willingness to try new things, which assisted them with integrating into the New Zealand culture and Feeling part of the Place.



Intervening Condition: Awareness



Awareness, or the state of existing and having knowledge, alters the impact of **What Am I Doing?**. Some women emigrate to New Zealand Having Knowledge of the country and an **Awareness** of what to expect. For women lacking this Knowledge, **Awareness** involves Surviving with the Help of friends and family. As an intervening condition, there are levels of **Awareness** that start from the woman's awareness of herself and her personal circumstances, and extend towards an awareness of significant others, primarily children and husbands. Hence, an **Awareness** of Family Responsibilities (Table 2:4).

Table 2:4 Oh God, Where Did I Come? - Intervening Condition

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Intervening Conditions	Awareness	Having Knowledge Surviving with Help Family Responsibilities

Awareness: Having Knowledge

Having Knowledge refers to knowing oneself, which includes an **Awareness** of one's skills and abilities and how these can be used to effectively perform activities. For Girija, **Awareness** of her capabilities has helped reduce her anxiety when seeking employment opportunities.

I started looking for jobs, not very much, one or two, I started looking at. Then I thought okay, selling is my area, why don't I get into a job where selling is involved? When I was there in my country, I was running a printing unit and also I was working for a bank. So I said, 'Okay. Anything. Selling is selling, you know.' [Girija 6:25-26]

Unlike Girija and many other women, Shikha's path to gaining employment was relatively straightforward. After passing the exams to register as a nurse in New Zealand, she quickly found herself being offered work. Upon accepting a position Shikha found that Having Knowledge in terms of her professional skills made it easier to perform her work duties.

Nursing is the same for me. I mean the basic knowledge is quite the same. I have learned the new ways of practising but the basic knowledge is what I learned, is what I apply here. [Shikha 4:70]

A second aspect of Having Knowledge concerns the women's awareness of New Zealand. Having information about most situations in life can make the condition easier to face. For many women, Knowledge is gained from friends and family residing in New Zealand.

Yeah, well I can say it was a bit easy for me because my sister was here, so she told me things beforehand. But if I had come alone, by myself, I would have found things really different. But now, since I knew about things beforehand, so it wasn't major difference for me. [Millie 3:45]

Other sources contributing to the women's Knowledge were the internet, agencies functioning in India to promote living and working in New Zealand, and personal experience. For example, during Nishkala's holidays to New Zealand she acquired Knowledge about the culture and way of life. Having Knowledge also ensures women continue to participate in cultural activities with minimal disruption.

And then I said, actually before coming here we were knowing that there was a temple. A friend mailed me and said, 'I've got a house where is very next to the temple.' I was so excited, 'Look, I got a house next to the temple!' Then when we came here after one week we went to the temple. [Girija 2:106]

For Girija, going to the temple was a way of retaining her Indian identity and offered a sense of comfort and acceptance. Being able to perform familiar activities in an unfamiliar environment can support a healthy sense of well-being through enhancing women's confidence in their ability to do things. Alternatively, not Having Knowledge can be detrimental to overall well-being as it challenges the women's ability to successfully perform activities.

Awareness: Surviving with Help

Performing occupation provides opportunities to enhance experience and augment one's knowledge and skills. Surviving with Help is about having family and friends living in New Zealand who are willing to spend time sharing their skills and expertise to support the women in carrying out everyday activities.

Then coming here, I, just the first or second day, I went with my husband for the grocery shopping. First and second time. The third time I started doing it on my own. [Megha 1:2, 9]

And there was a really nice old Fiji Indian couple who was my neighbour...They helped me a lot. Used to invite me for lunches and dinners, and yeah, told me about New Zealand and how it works here. Yeah, got to know a lot through that couple, but I'm very thankful to them. And ah, they told me where to buy stuff from. I mean cheaper stuff and yeah, that was a big help. [Shikha 4:58, 59]

In some instances, Surviving with Help involves more than being told Where to Go or What To Do. Millie's experience of Surviving with Help meant having someone to guide her through the specific steps of the activity, ensuring that the activity would be successful. An important consideration for Millie, for whom baking was a new activity and something she had little confidence with doing.

I've just started baking and I'm really enjoying that. That was at the centre with the kids and actually they taught me how to do it because I didn't even know what to put first in the bowl. Sugar, butter, eggs, what should I put first? And there's this little girl, she's going to turn three in December and she taught me everything. She's like, 'No, no, put sugar first, now the butter and mix it together. Put flour and you forgot baking powder, how can you do that?!' And yeah, she taught me the whole thing. [Millie 3:80]

In these early days, friends who have taken time to help the women become like family and an integral part of the process. Kate reflects on a time when she was new to the country. Her husband was working and she was left at home to look after the children who had fallen ill. Without a driver's license, she called on a friend to take her and her children to the doctor. Her story continues

Then in the evening she came back with food for my whole family so that I could attend to my children and not have to cook or whatever. Then, the following day when my other friends came to know that the children were sick, they came with food. They came to help me, you know, to see to the children. Just be with me in the house and look after the children. So I guess it's just building your circle. They become your family, like that's what I've learnt here. Your friends become your closest family. [Kate 5:115-116]

Surviving with Help is not limited to support from friends or family. In some instances, it may be workplace colleagues or an acquaintance, who offers the helping hand. At the end of the day though, Jyothi has come to realise that Surviving with Help is simply about knowing who to turn to.

It's hard to get a break. Luckily I got a break but again it was referenced. As I said, if you know people, the right people, the right person puts in a good word, you can get a job. [Jyothi 6:130]

Awareness: Family Responsibilities

For the women who arrived in New Zealand as part of a family, **Awareness** of their family's needs was a heavy Responsibility. In some cases **Awareness** of their Family's needs was what initially drew the women to consider immigrating. *"We basically, actually wanted it for the children. We were tired of the corruption in India and the job scene and we wanted to get out"* [Kate 5:4].

I really wanted to give them [sons] a good life, especially education. I want them to be more comfortable and something goes wrong for me, you know, suppose if I suddenly die, then there's nobody who can take care of them. So I want them to be more self-sufficient. So I was just looking for an opportunity to go to a place where they can feel more comfortable. They can be more self-sufficient or self-confident. [Girija 6:2]

Shouldering Family Responsibilities may feel like *"a lot of stress initially"* [Shikha 4:36]. However, having a Family to be Responsible for can positively influence the things women do. Needing to do things not just for themselves but for their families is another way in which women become actively involved in their new environment.

It was a responsibility in the beginning because she is five years younger to me. So it was like having a baby and ah, I had to look for opportunities for her, education wise. I didn't know which course she would like and she wasn't sure about it. So I had to go to the universities for her and all that. [Shikha 4:35]

But for four months I suffered without any jobs. So the money which I had brought from India was getting exhausted. And ah, four months was not a small period for me, you know. Like, you know, everyday of struggling. But I had the children to think of and so I had an interview and I got the job. I took up that job and I worked in a night shift for one year. It was night, eight o'clock to morning four. Kids were missing me but still they did understand. [Girija 2:17]

While Family Responsibilities have the potential to ease the women's sense of **What Am I Doing?** it can also be a hindrance. Not being able to Just Say Auntie means that the Responsibility for looking after her Family falls squarely on the

woman's shoulders. *"And here, when I need to take one child to the doctor, all go. Even to pick up just one um, probably a little fruit or something, everybody will go"* [Kate 5:22]. This can make it more difficult and time consuming when carrying out activities.

Actually I know that the mother cares much about the children. Like if I'm thinking like, where to go, I always first think about the children. I can never think like whatever I like to do, I can do and wherever I want to go, I can go by myself. I first think about the children. [Rajni 7:55]

Awareness and the associated sub-categories of Having Knowledge, Surviving with Help and Family Responsibilities provides the impetus for finding out. This increases the women's confidence and well-being in **A Transformed Environment**.

Actions and Interventions: Doing The Familiar



Wondering **What They Are Doing?** and with growing awareness of the environmental and cultural differences, women respond by **Doing The Familiar**. This is a protective action aimed at sustaining a healthy sense of well-being during a turbulent time. As an intervention, **Doing The Familiar** is about performing frequent or customary actions in an effort to contain and move through the process *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*.

In **Doing The Familiar**, the women talk about Keeping One's Culture, doing activities that are culturally grounded, and Sticking to the Known, for instance accessing familiar places in the environment (Table 2:5). **Doing The Familiar** does not exclude the women from exploring new activities. However, in this process, doing familiar activities is the primary strategy used to sustain well-being.

Table 2:5 Oh God, Where Did I Come? - Action/Intervention

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Actions/Interventions	Doing The Familiar	Keeping One's Culture Sticking to the Known

Doing The Familiar: Keeping One's Culture

Through performing activities that are in Keeping with One's Culture, for instance wearing traditional clothes, immigrant women strive to sustain their Indian identity in a foreign land. Moreover, this strategy was pre-planned with many of the women bringing resources from home to ensure the continuation of cultural activities.

I do my Indian cooking, so there is nothing different as such. I brought all my vessels from India. So it's, the vessels are the same. I've got my masalas, the ingredients, everything. The rice, whatever I cook in India, I still cook here. [Kate 5:12]

In addition to having the necessary resources, Keeping One's Culture involves implementing traditional practices. This can be difficult when surrounded by people who lack the knowledge or skills required for carrying out activities particular to the Indian culture. However, being able to instigate cultural practices in a new context maintains the women's sense of identity.

I still like to eat with my hand, you noticed that. I feel easier to eat with my hand and we always eat with our hand at home. Ah, forks and spoons are a little uncomfortable for me. I mean, I still find it very difficult to cut and eat with a knife and a fork, and eat with the left hand when we are used to eating with the right hand. [Jyothi 6:87]

The women tend to Keep their Culture even when there is no external demand to do so. This is particularly evident in the home where, within the Indian culture, there is clear demarcation around the roles and activities women have within the household. Immigrating to New Zealand is an opportunity to re-evaluate role expectations and re-shape identity. **Doing The Familiar**, though, is integral to maintaining safety, thus the women find themselves drawn towards performing activities that are culturally bound.

But it's not like you know, my husband has very high expectations that I should have three dishes cooked for him. No, nothing like that. So he's quite okay even if I don't cook. But it's just that within, I mean, I don't know, probably I'm too Indian at heart. You know, I'm supposed to be the one cooking for him. He'll be okay. Even if there's no food to eat, he'll get something from out. But I think, why do that when I can? If I can't, I can't. But if I can why not? [Megha 1:43]

Another aspect of Keeping One's Culture is women's need to connect with people from their own country. In associating with other Indian people, the women find themselves **Doing The Familiar** and being supported in their efforts.

Initially I had gone to [name of clinic] for my children's illness. But afterwards, when that [other clinic] is there – where Dr. G is there, she's also an Indian. And she knows three or four Indian languages, South Indian languages. That's where my mother also felt comfortable and she, because see normally being an Indian, we expect that the doctor should speak with us. Not only exactly about our disease, they should know about our welfare also. Sometimes, we feel more comfortable to tell about our disease also, the symptoms of our diseases or whatever the thing. That's what we felt here at [the second clinic] with Dr. G. She asked us, 'How are you feeling here? Um, okay your leg has been fractured but are you happy here living in this country?' and all that. When she talks all that no, the patient is more comfortable. That's what we have felt. [Nishkala 8:78]

Kate too, has found an Indian doctor she would like to register with. However, without a driver's license and finding public transport an inconvenience, she is staying with a local doctor. Being able to Keep to her Culture though has been a motivating force for Kate to learn to drive.

Doing The Familiar: Sticking to the Known

Amidst the challenges of being in a new environment, Sticking to the Known is a technique women employ as a way of creating familiarity when doing things. Sticking to the Known supports their well-being when there is uncertainty regarding What to Do and Where To Go. Megha, for instance, found it particularly useful to have a 'local' place in which to perform activities with minimal stress.

And I would just go to one superstore, ah supermarket. So that was easier for me you know, not going to a different one. I mean, if you go to a completely different one you kind of get lost. You don't know where's what. But if you're used to your own, you know where things are and what you like. [Megha 1:14]

For Shikha, Sticking to the Known was more defined than having a regular place to perform activities. In the early days of **What Am I Doing?**, knowing she was able to draw upon her skills and handle objects required for task completion was central to survival.

First day in New Zealand I was hungry, I didn't know what to eat. I went to the main lobby in the hostel and wanted to have dinner and was like, where to go? I was afraid to go out of the hostel because in case I lose my way in the dark. So I had to stay in the hostel and I was hungry and I didn't have any food to cook or anything. So I went to this vending machine. Thank God I knew how to operate a vending machine! And I got out an orange juice and a bag of chips there, which was my first dinner in New Zealand! [Shikha 4:47-48]

Sticking to the Known creates safety when performing occupations. As a strategy, it is also about having a place in common with others. When Nishkala first came to New Zealand, she discovered that the easiest way to meet others was to be in places where the people present had a similar interest.

When I came to this country, just with the children I had gone to the school and with my husband I had gone to the church. Except for that, there's no other places for me. But because when children are there, when we go to the school with the children, we are getting an opportunity to meet the teachers and other people. The parents of my children's classmates and everyone. [Nishkala 8:35]

Sometimes Sticking to the Known is not as defined as shopping in one store or meeting people at a regular place and time. Rather it is about doing activities that are Known to meet the social and cultural norms of the new culture. An example of this, as Jyothi identified, is using utensils to eat when dining out, instead of using the hand, a common Indian practice. Understanding cultural norms is made easier through Surviving with Help. When Kate arrived in the country and decided to go to church she was given the following advice

People told me, 'You know when you go for mass, people here dress up like really well. So you'll be in your suits and people don't wear ah, Indians over here don't wear saris. They don't wear salwars and all.' And so I didn't bring and I never wore what I had stitched and brought. [Kate 5:82]

As she became more Knowledgeable, Kate realised that the information regarding the social norms was not entirely accurate and she soon reverted to wearing saris when going to church. However, when asking **What Am I Doing?** following the advice of others may be a safer course of action.

The Consequences: Only Try And Hope



I can only try and hope that it goes on well. [Megha 1:67]

Throughout the process *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*, women express a need to **Only Try And Hope**. This outlook does not arise from a place of despair where the women have tried their best to fit into their **Transformed Environment** without success. Rather, to progress in their journey they understand the need to do things and have confidence in the possibility of its fulfilment.

In considering the three components of **Only Try And Hope**, **Only** pertains to the reality that it is the individual woman's responsibility to do things. Other people may walk alongside and support her, but ultimately it is her journey. **Try** can be used in the context of 'try something out' or 'try to do it differently'. In such circumstances **Try** alludes to the notion of Experimenting, having different options to explore. **Hope** is defined as a "feeling or desire for something" (Hanks, 1986, p. 737). In desiring something, one must Have the Right Attitude, optimism that what is wanted is for the best (Table 2:6).

Table 2:6 Oh God, Where Did I Come? - Consequence

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Consequences	Only Try And Hope	Experimenting Having the Right Attitude

Only Try And Hope: Experimenting

For each woman, Experimenting occurred at varying levels depending on the activity being performed. On an occupational level, Experimenting is about having choice and trying out different resources available for use in the activity.

There are so many choices. Talk about cereals! Oh, we only have Kelloggs Cornflakes or Riceflakes. And you come here and look at all these shelves in the supermarket, are full of different kind of muesli. I didn't know what muesli was! So I was like okay, let's try that. I'm very experimental with food which helps. So I just try different things and now I have a range which I would go and buy. So initially, I was like let's try this today. [Shikha 4:43]

In addition to choosing resources, Experimenting occurs on a personal level. This is about altering different aspects of the occupation to suit individual needs. For Megha, Experimenting involved altering her meal preparation to allow more time for doing other things.

Especially for Indian cooking, you have to cook the masala and make everything. I do get like ground, I mean paste ginger/garlic. Lots of people don't, they do it but I'm not like, you know, so particular that it has to be absolutely fresh. [Megha 1:28]

Being able to Experiment with different choices and preferences helps women find ways of doing things that support their well-being. As they become more confident, Experimenting takes them into the community, where women can **Only Try And Hope** to successfully perform new activities.

Say three or four days after I came here and I, my husband suggested that I should get the bank accounts open. And again, he could have done it for me but he didn't want to because he thought, I mean I should do it myself, so that I know how things are done, you know. I feel that this is the right attitude instead of you know, a lot of people protect people and it takes a long, long, long time to try and get used to a place. [Megha 1:36]

When women dare to **Only Try And Hope**, they have the courage to Experiment. However, as with any sort of Experimenting, there is the possibility that things will not go according to plan, as Shikha experienced.

There have been a few bad experiences too. When we looked for rental property and we didn't know the laws much. And yeah, the contracts that we signed, we didn't look at the fine print and it wasn't a clean house and then they charged us for cleaning the house professionally later on. All that was a bit of a bad experience but it was a learning experience too. [Shikha 4:37]

Although Experimenting does carry associated risks, it is through doing things that women learn what they are capable of. In this way they cope with and move through the process *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*.

Only Try And Hope: Having the Right Attitude

How the women view the world and their situation impacts their success in making it through the tough times. Having the Right Attitude for many women is an important element of **Only Try And Hope**. It became clear that Having the Right Attitude was not necessarily developed after arriving in New Zealand. Instead there appeared to be a continuum for Having the Right Attitude from being a frame of mind that had been set before arriving in New Zealand, through to something

that has been acquired since arrival. Each of the women approached Having the Right Attitude from different points along the continuum. Megha's process highlights Having the Right Attitude prior to immigrating.

I had already kind of thought back in India that I'm not going to crib...So I had made up my mind that I'm not going to crib and you know make a fuss over this. [Megha 1:20]

Further along the continuum, Shikha adopted Having the Right Attitude upon arriving in the country. *"I came by myself. I didn't know anyone here. So it was all up to me, how I mould and adjust myself and I think my personality helped"* [Shikha 4:20].

Immigrating without a family for support meant that Having the Right Attitude was all the more crucial to Shikha's survival in those initial months in New Zealand. Similarly, Millie found that Having the Right Attitude was something she has acquired over time and has been vital to her sustaining a positive sense of well-being.

I go for movies alone, I go for shopping alone. Just do things alone and I don't mind but I haven't ever done that. Like in Delhi because I knew there are people who would, my Mum and Dad, who would love to come with me and my sister is there. So, but here since I know there's no one around, so don't bother okay. Just go by yourself and I don't really mind. [Millie 3:68]

Having the Right Attitude is an attribute that determines how successful a woman is at doing things independently in a new environment. It also has the potential to shape how well women perform activities with other people.

In the relationship in the school, what happens most of the people are very courteous. They talk and try to adjust. I try to understand the accent because even though we speak English, the accent is different. So everybody is courteous to try to understand the different accents. [Nishkala 8:16]

Being able to perform occupations with success promotes a positive Attitude within the women towards living in New Zealand. Being able to Experiment and achieve success in doing familiar occupations in turn enhances the

women's sense of self and well-being. This further supports a positive outlook that motivates the women in their journey.

Oh God, Where Did I Come?: Summary

Immigrating to New Zealand, the women's perception of *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* is triggered by an overwhelming desire to make sense of the unknown. Attempting to find out Where To Go, What To Do and Struggling Through Time with performing daily activities underlies the constant questioning **What Am I Doing?**. Just Say Aunty, a reflection on what the women have left behind in their journey, further exacerbates the process.

As the women adjust to living in the midst of **A Transformed Environment**, they start Seeing the Differences. In particular, two aspects of their surroundings stand out; Paying the Price and Missing the Bus. In this context some of the women also Feel Out of Place as they experience a mismatch with their new environment.

Under the condition of **What Am I Doing?** and in the context of **A Transformed Environment**, the women begin **Doing The Familiar**. This is achieved through performing occupations that are in Keeping with One's Culture and involve Sticking to the Known in terms of environmental, social, and cultural norms. The capacity for **Doing The Familiar** and making sense of *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* is fuelled by the women's **Awareness**.

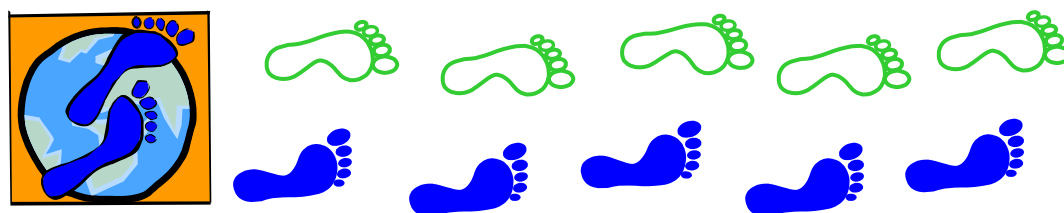
Awareness has three parts. The first is Having Knowledge, both of themselves and the country to which they have immigrated. The second is Surviving with Help, having friends and family to support them with doing. The third is **Awareness** of Family Responsibilities, that is the need to do things not just for themselves but for the benefit of the whole family.

As a result of **Doing The Familiar**, the women adopt an outlook of **Only Try And Hope**. They gain confidence in Experimenting with their activities, and Having the Right Attitude keeps them looking forward to the future. The next section provides an overview of how this process relates to the central process *Two Becoming One*.

Two Becoming One: Oh God, Where Did I Come?

When the women first arrive in New Zealand, they are firmly grounded in their Indian culture, depicted by two solid blue feet. As they start their journey one foot remains solid blue, symbolising the women retaining a strong Indian identity and doing familiar occupations. The second solid blue foot is outlined in green. This depicts the process of entering the New Zealand context and the women evaluating their new environment in terms of the old. It is an environment that these women do not yet fully embrace, however, one which underlies the occupational choices they make and the impact these have on their identity and well-being (Figure 1:1).

Figure 1:1 Two Becoming One: Oh God, Where Did I Come?



Immigrating to New Zealand, women can not help but notice their new environment and how this differs from back home. In Seeing the Differences they do so through a distinctly Indian lens. This is highlighted by the way these women compare the New Zealand environment to the Indian culture, making note of the things that are absent, for instance Just Say Aunty, as opposed to what their new environment has to offer in supporting their occupations. Thus, immigrant women retain a strong sense of being Indian in a foreign land.

Not fully knowing their environment means that during this process women primarily engage in occupations that are familiar, such as socialising with other Indian people and preparing Indian food. Engaging in these forms of activity focuses them on doing things that provide a sense of safety and support in an unfamiliar setting.

Throughout this process, Indian immigrant women have a strong sense of identity that is rooted in their culture. This is reinforced by the occupations they choose to engage in, which are shaped by the external environment. While they firmly view themselves as Indian during *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*, their sense of well-being is more fragile. The numerous differences immigrant women

encounter within their environment, consisting of both social and physical elements, challenge their well-being.

Oh God, Where Did I Come? is the starting point for immigrant Indian women. The need to change their ways of doing things to sustain their well-being and sense of self drives them towards *Being In The Change*. This process is described in the following chapter.



CHAPTER 5: BEING IN THE CHANGE

Being In The Change is the second process to emerge from the data. It describes the women's journey through their **Transformed Environment**, as they negotiate which aspects of the New Zealand culture to adopt while retaining their Indian identity. Strauss and Corbin's (1998) conditional paradigm is used once again to represent the relationships between categories and sub-categories, as illustrated in Table 3:1. For ease of reference, a copy of this table can be found on the green sheet of paper in Appendix H.

Table 3:1 Being In The Change

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Causal Conditions	Getting To Know	Taking Time Establishing Contacts Seeking Knowledge Always Doing Something
Contextual Conditions	Different Ways	Accepting Change Doing Things the Kiwi Way
Intervening Conditions	Having Needs Met	Being Supported Being Resourced
Actions/Interventions	Learning And Doing	Gaining Skills and Expertise Doing Things Differently Being Discriminating
Consequences	Managing The Show	Becoming Independent Finding Own Ways Question of Survival

The process of *Being In The Change* is a progression from *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* although it is recognised that the length of time each woman takes to progress differs depending on personal circumstance. While the two processes are distinct, there are aspects that overlap. For instance, Keeping One's Culture is still important for many women when in this part of the process, although it is not as crucial for sustaining a sense of well-being as compared to when they first arrived in New Zealand.

During this process, Indian women actively explore their community, trying new occupations or altering previous ways of doing. Not all women find *Being In*

The Change a comfortable process, however this does not hinder their journey and desire to progress. *Being In The Change* is symbolised as two fading blue feet. This depicts the women's movement towards the New Zealand culture while still retaining their Indian heritage. The footprints throughout this second process symbolise Indian women (outlined blue footprint) venturing into activities that fit the New Zealand environment (solid green footprint), see below.

This process gives rise to the condition of **Getting To Know**. In the context of **Different Ways**, the women start **Learning And Doing** as a way of **Managing The Show**. This process is supported by the women **Having** their **Needs Met**. Each of these categories and associated sub-categories will now be discussed.

The Cause: Getting To Know



As a causal condition **Getting To Know** influences the things immigrant women do as they become versed in interpreting and gaining a sense of familiarity with their new surroundings. Thus, **Getting To Know** indicates a shift between the processes *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* and *Being In The Change*.

In the initial stages of **Getting To Know**, women Take Time to observe and familiarise themselves with the place, before actively doing things. In this category, women also gather information to assist with doing more. This involves Establishing Contacts, Seeking Knowledge, and Always Doing Something (Table 3:2).

Table 3:2 Being In The Change - Causal Condition

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Causal Conditions	Getting To Know	Taking Time Establishing Contacts Seeking Knowledge Always Doing Something

Getting To Know: Taking Time

So that first day we went to the supermarket, he just let me be. He said just, he didn't tell me 'come here'. You know, 'this is this section'. He just said, 'Look for things, whatever

you want.' Yeah, that was the first experience. But I didn't pick much of the stuff that day because I was just looking. [Megha 1:11]

In *Taking Time*, women orientate themselves to their surroundings, becoming familiar with available resources and with *What To Do* in certain situations. Although initially the women found it helpful to have someone guide them through the experience **What Am I Doing?**, for both Megha and Millie, *Taking Time* to be alone and immerse themselves in the environment was extremely beneficial.

So I did it by myself and I spent a good one and a half [hours] because with guys you can't spend one hour in the supermarket. You really, I mean at least not with my husband...But I mean with women, you have to see what's missing, what you need and you um, you know, you want to do more. Different kinds of cooking. Not just put out roast chicken and just take it out, eat with bread or whatever. So yeah. Ah yeah, then I spent quite a lot of time and just looked around and saw what are the brands and what's cheaper. What's expensive, what looks good. What looks you know, um, I mean it's not worth it. So I had a good look for one and a half to two hours. [Megha 1:13]

And there's so much choice and you're just like, I can, well not now, but when I first started I, I used to spend ages in supermarkets just looking at things. And you know, should I try this or should I try that? Just doing that because it's just huge. So many products and stuff. Yeah, and um yeah, it's just huge and well the first time I didn't buy anything because I was like, right I need time for that. I need lots of time. [Millie 3:9]

Without *Time*, women may feel rushed into doing things, which can be an uncomfortable experience. For these women it seems that not *Taking Time* would result in disappointment, frustration, and increased stress due to being unable to achieve satisfactory outcomes from their activities. Therefore as a causal condition, *Taking Time* to **Get To Know** the new environment is important in supporting well-being. It allows women to become comfortable with what they were doing, which in turn boosts their confidence and perception of their abilities.

For me, ah, the kind of person I am, I just can't go and talk to anyone. I ah, need my own time. But then in the hostel I used to talk to everyone but um, didn't, didn't really make many friends until um, the first two months. Then I met one girl, we used to be together all the time after that. [Millie 3:56]

I never tried to work immediately because I, myself tried to adjust in this ah, culture first of all. Because my husband by that time he is already working, so I never felt that pressure to work immediately. Let me understand the people here, the culture, and how the people behave and all that. Then I feel more comfortable to go out and adjust my household things. [Nishkala 8:13-14]

In contrast to these experiences of setting their own pace and Taking Time, some activities demanded a frequency of action that was uncomfortable and highlights how long the process of **Getting To Know** might take. Shikha found that Taking Time was a barrier in her process of **Getting To Know** and to completing activities with ease.

First, it was looking for a house. And um, because I wasn't very familiar with Auckland, so I didn't know what place is closer. I just had to continuously look at the map all the time, I was sick of doing that! [Shikha 4:86]

Taking Time, as a sub-category of **Getting To Know**, influences how women perform occupations and sustain their well-being in a new culture. For some women it is essential for building confidence, while for others it produces feelings of frustration. Alongside Taking Time, the women begin Establishing Contacts.

Getting To Know: Establishing Contacts

Touch wood, I've met some very nice people here. I haven't had any real bad experience with meeting new people. My husband's friends and the friends I've made, everybody has been really lovely. And I think that really helps you settle down better in a new place. [Megha 1:47]

For Megha and other women who come from a culture based on communalism, Establishing Contacts is an important aspect of **Getting To Know**. For these women, having previously Established Contacts helped in the short term with finding out Where To Go and What To Do. In the longer term Established Contacts create support networks alongside family and closer friends. This becomes particularly significant when engaging in activities that involve people outside of the home environment.

As established in *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*, Surviving with Help relies on having Contacts (family members or friends) living in New Zealand whom the women knew before migrating. This sub-category, however, is about broadening networks to provide longer term assistance. This happens through firstly having a group within which women feel part of the community, and secondly, through creating options for engaging in occupation.

I went to Uni [university] again. I used to talk to everyone but I never um, well um, the first two weeks I still didn't have my own group. I was just going to Uni and sitting with anyone and you know how you form groups. I didn't have my own group and everyone else did. And so I was like right, this is the time, better get somewhere otherwise I'll be, you know, I'll be nowhere. [Millie 3:57]

I landed up ah, I landed into a hostel first. So hostel is a great place to meet people...I mean I met people everywhere. Cafes that I went for coffee and ah, library and everywhere. It was easy and ah, when I got the job, met heaps of colleagues, so mainly work and hostel is where I met people. And then I joined the gym, so people from gym. [Shikha 4:32, 33]

Being able to identify with a group and have a sense of belonging is critical in supporting a sense of well-being. Without a group to attach to these women perceived a risk of standing in isolation, always on the move, with nowhere to ground themselves. Shikha's story, like Millie's, highlights the powerful impact of being known and feeling welcome, in terms of promoting a positive sense of self.

For some women, Establishing Contacts is also important for generating openings from which to do things. Both Megha and Girija found that Taking Time and using their networks to learn more about their specific areas of employment eased *Being In The Change*.

In the meantime, I think I did kind of fix some appointments with some people. Just finding out more about my um, possibilities of the field of psychology. Ah, so I think I met some people also during that time. [Megha 1:23]

So I have spoken to um, an insurance agent who was actually, who had given me insurance policies. So I ah, I spoke to him. I said, 'Ah, I'm actually looking for a job like you are doing, you know. I don't mind working on a commission basis but ah, I want to work that way which I want to.' So he said, 'Ah, okay.' He said he'll put me on to his office people...and he immediately spoke to somebody in that office and they spoke to me. Within ten minutes I ah, arranged an interview for me. [Girija 2:23, 24]

Being able to utilise contacts as part of arranging occupational opportunities strengthens the women's sense of self as they make themselves known to others and find groups to which they can belong. Establishing Contacts and Taking Time are conditions that assist the women with Seeking Knowledge.

Getting To Know: Seeking Knowledge

During *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*, the women used their knowledge of themselves and of New Zealand to help make sense of **What Am I Doing?**. In Seeking Knowledge women broaden their understandings of the context in which they are residing. To augment their Established Contacts, Knowledge is sought through those Contacts as well as through other mediums such as the internet and/or written material.

Yeah, but all the things I learned from the internet, yeah! Sometimes I'm using my mind. Like um, last one Christmas I went to my husband's Christmas party and we ate um, egg salad over there. So I'm trying, how to make this? I'm eating and I'm thinking that, how to make? And when I'm back to home then I'll um, using my, um, my mind and I'll make and it's wonderful. So yeah, sometimes I'm using my mind and sometimes I'm on the internet. [Rajni 7:4]

I started by myself, going for walks in the surrounding areas and going to the libraries to search for the books and all that on different topics. [Nishkala 8:37]

Seeking Knowledge is not just about having information but also requires having understanding. In essence, Seeking Knowledge is about acquiring explanations regarding the unfamiliar: for without understanding of the processes that support the activity, it becomes harder to do things. Millie never had the opportunity to get her car fixed in India, as it was an activity she was not expected to perform. Attempting to perform this task in New Zealand required utilising her Contacts to establish Where To Go and What To Do. Performing the occupation herself afforded Millie an understanding of what was involved.

The first time I went they were like, 'Have you got an appointment?' And I was like, 'Oh, okay do I need an appointment? I don't know that!' So I took an appointment and ah, oh no, and then he said, 'Yeah,' he did it for me. He said, 'From next time you should take an appointment because we are really busy people.' I said, 'Okay, right, I'll remember that.' But yeah, he still did my work...and you can stand in a corner and watch them and you

know the best part? If you ask them what's wrong and rah, rah, they'll tell you and they'll explain to you. [Millie 3:32, 33]

In Millie's experience, Seeking Knowledge and understanding the processes involved increased both her confidence and ability to perform this task in the future. For Girija, Seeking Knowledge pertained to making sense of her lack of success with gaining employment. After four months of trying and constantly being turned down for employment opportunities, Girija had started to doubt her abilities.

So I just started losing my own confidence. I, I was just thinking, I'm so useless that I can't get a small job? Not a job in Mobil, you know. I tried in Mobil. I tried in, of course I started trying in Foodtown and things like that but no, no, no. The answer was no. Then, we don't have any vacancies. Maybe I came at a wrong time? Because I came October, end of October. November, December and January, maybe because of the Christmas they are not taking new people. So that was the reason maybe I couldn't really get a job. [Girija 2:18]

In Seeking Knowledge, Girija vacillated between explanations that hinged on her competence and external factors such as the time of year. Either way, not understanding the cause of the problem was critical in making her feel useless and in destabilising her sense of well-being. Further to this, lingering doubts about her competence would have undermined her identity both as a valuable employee and as a mother who was capable of providing for her sons.

Seeking Knowledge is important both in terms of the women's understanding of doing activities and in how they perceive themselves in unfamiliar surroundings. In addition to Seeking Knowledge, the women spend time Always Doing Something.

Getting To Know: Always Doing Something

Under the condition **Getting To Know**, the women enhance their understanding of the new environment through keeping constantly active. Keeping busy can take on a variety of forms such as actively doing things or spending time looking.

I watched movies, I would go for walks, I would go to the library, go to the city, because we were just on the fringes of the city so I could just walk down. And just drive around. And weekends I spent with my cousin, went to Hamilton...I don't know actually time just

flew, two weeks. Um, it wasn't like it was awful for me and I didn't know what to do, I just kept myself busy, you know. [Megha 1:21]

In the meantime it's what I told you no? I tried myself, to adjust myself. I went to see the neighbours and the location and surrounding areas, instead of just going with my husband, coming back and ah, sitting inside and all that. It's not sufficient, that's what I felt. [Nishkala 8:36]

During this process the women pursue interests and hobbies as a way of Always Doing Something. Sometimes their intention seems to be to simply pass the time while waiting to do something else, such as starting work. Alternatively, it may be because they have not had the opportunity to do these things in India.

I wasn't working for two months actually...Um, I would read. I read a lot, so I went to the library, got books and my friends got me books because I would just sit and read. And just ah, walk around because I didn't have ah, a car or bike or anything. Nothing. So I just walked, walked, walked everywhere. Walked a lot and ah, and read. [Shikha 4:109, 110]

I love my cooking and I'm getting a chance to cook...I come home always from the library and I bring about four or five cooking books. [Kate 5:61]

In Always Doing Something the women are not pressured to do things and keep busy. Rather, it is how the women choose to use their time as a way of exploring options and **Getting To Know** more about New Zealand. In choosing to keep active the women create opportunities for achievement, which boosts their self-confidence and affirms their capacity for being able to do things even when they do not feel completely at ease within the new environment.

Like going out, we do it quite often here as compared to back home. Going out as in, even if it's just for movies or you know, going out for coffee. Yeah, [in India] we used to make plans a week before we used to go out. But here we just think, 'Okay let's go out' and we would go out and you know, catch up with friends and stuff. [Millie 3:5]

Getting To Know is comprised of four sub-categories, Taking Time, Establishing Connections, Seeking Knowledge, and Always Doing Something. Together these sub-categories form the condition under which immigrant Indian women do things to sustain a sense of self and well-being as part of *Being In The Change*. This occurs within the context of **Different Ways**.



The Context: Different Ways

Experiencing **Different Ways** pertains to the manner in which women accumulate knowledge as a result of direct personal participation or observation of unfamiliar ways of doing things. Under the condition of **Getting To Know** and in the context of **Different Ways** the women are confronted with Accepting Change and Doing Things the Kiwi Way (Table 3:3). For some women, Accepting Change is a natural part of the process, while for others it takes longer to adjust to Doing Things the Kiwi Way. Experiencing **Different Ways** results from the women's outlook of **Only Try And Hope**, described in *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*. This is another way in which the first two processes overlap and support each other.

Table 3:3 Being In The Change - Contextual Condition

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Contextual Conditions	Different Ways	Accepting Change Doing Things the Kiwi Way

Different Ways: Accepting Change

To facilitate Doing Things the Kiwi Way the women must first be willing to Accept Change. Having a healthy well-being, which includes being able to handle disruption with minimal stress, allows some women to easily manage the Change. Shikha is one of these women.

I wasn't forced to do anything. I came by myself. I didn't know anyone here, so it was all up to me, how I mould and adjust myself...So just adjusted to the new system. Well, um, because it was like beginning a new life and I thought, well everything will be new then. Yeah, the new ways of doing things and ah, the new kind of environment, the new kind of people and yeah. It was, it was good. It wasn't hard. It was exciting and a good experience. I still cherish it. [Shikha 4:20, 22]

Alternatively, some women find it harder to Accept the Changes. For these women, any disturbance in their routines or habits requires a longer period of Change to make the necessary adjustments. This may mean that value systems, which are central to well-being need to be re-negotiated, as has been Jyothi's experience.

Most of us, at least who lived in the city, you had everything delivered to you. Marketing wasn't a hassle. I mean, I used to bring what I needed to cook the same day. Never, never bought it in advance. I hate things put in the fridge. I hate to pre-cook food. So I still cook every evening mostly. I've somehow adapted by not cooking on the weekend but I still think that's stale food. Absolutely stupid I know, but it's still stale food, cooked four days ago. I mean I've adapted to it by cooking something for two days but um, yeah, still I like fresh cooking. [Jyothi 6:36]

Jyothi's altered cooking regime makes the task more manageable and she has come to reluctantly Accept this Change. In addition to altering the structure of the occupation, Accepting Change also applies to resources required for the task. This aspect of Accepting Change was largely discussed in relation to food resources. Half the women in this study are vegetarians and at times they have been frustrated by the limited food options in New Zealand. However, they have Accepted this Change in their daily living.

We miss a lot of ah, you know, green vegetables. Ah, green leaves and things like that which we get in India, we don't. We have very selected items here in fact. We get 100, more than 100 varieties in India, so it was right easy for us. Because I'm a vegetarian, I never eat meat. I never taste it in my life and I don't prepare meat, no fish, nothing. So being a pure vegetarian it's very important that you have to have a lot of vegetables. But I, ah, I was finding, even now I'm finding it difficult. [Girija 2:101-102]

In India there was vegetarian food easily available everywhere. Everywhere. So I miss all that. All that nice spicy snacks but um, yeah, you don't get all that here. That, that's the only thing, um, it's just one thing and um, yeah that's about it. But now since we've been here this last two years, we're just used to it, yeah. [Millie 3:12-13]

In this instance, **Getting To Know** where to access resources assists the women with adjusting to the Change. Another aspect of Accepting Change relates to the physical environment and the aspects women are prepared to Accept when living in New Zealand. As Jyothi comments, "*The sinks are so tiny! They've forgotten Indians cook in big, big pots*" [6:38].

And ah, yeah, the house structure, it's wooden houses to begin with. Ah, we're so used to concrete and brick and um, wooden houses. They're so noisy and the wood cracks. It's frightening! It was frightening initially but um, I'm so used to it now. [Shikha 4:18]

Normally, being Indians we use oil and spices more. But all these houses are not at all constructed for ah, taking out that smell of the spices and oil and greasiness, and all that. [Nishkala 8:27]

The women's willingness to Experiment with Change has strongly influenced their Acceptance. When Megha arrived in New Zealand and began doing new and unfamiliar activities, her willingness to **Only Try And Hope** made sustaining a healthy well-being more viable.

Yeah, I'd never done that in India. I mean I'd never cooked in India really, you know. Like I told you, I'd never done all these things in India. Not that I'm complaining. It's quite okay over here. I'm quite okay doing that. [Megha 1:39]

Accepting Change within the context of **Different Ways** is pivotal for women faced with Doing Things the Kiwi Way.

Different Ways: Doing Things the Kiwi Way

Because we knock the door of the Kiwis, so we can't expect our kitchens, their kitchen to be like an Indian kitchen. Being an Indian, if I construct a house, then the kitchen will be as per my taste. But when I myself decided to come and knock the door of the Kiwis and I wanted to live in their house, naturally the kitchen will be according to their taste and their culture. [Nishkala 8:25]

Nishkala is philosophical in her outlook on immigrating to New Zealand and having to adjust to the different structure of housing. However, as discussed earlier in this chapter, she also recognises that the things she chooses to do, for instance cooking, are strongly impacted by the environment she has entered. Doing Things the Kiwi Way reflects the nature of life in New Zealand and accordingly how women organise their activities.

Coming to New Zealand where EFTPOS machines are readily available in retail outlets, Megha, as with the other women in this study has taken to the Kiwi Way of purchasing items.

In India it's just not possible that you're not carrying cash around because, because we don't have EFTPOS machines there at all and credit card doesn't work everywhere. So um,

you have to be carrying [cash], that's one of the huge differences you know. [Megha 1:71-72]

In addition to having different resources, women find the structure of society also influences Doing Things the Kiwi Way. Although social norms do not necessarily dictate how things get done, they do reinforce to women that they are in another culture and this challenges the ideas they have around doing.

Back talking to bosses, ah, you can have your say. I mean I have worked for the same person for the last three years, I do tell him off when I want but I couldn't have ever done that back home in India... That boss and employee relationship is totally different. You call them by their first names, never say sir. [Jyothi 6:56, 57]

When talking with some of the women and asking them to describe their experience of performing daily activities in New Zealand, it is obvious from their detailed explanations that some activities, and the way they are performed, are shaped by social practices. Millie and Kate both talked in-depth about their experiences of visiting the doctor and obtaining medication.

I've never been to a pharmacist here and asked them for anything because that's how it works here. You don't get anything without prescription. But in Delhi, I just used to go to ah, any chemist. I was just like ah, I've got this problem would you recommend anything? And they would give it to you. But here, you have to go to the doctors first, get the prescription and then get the medicine. I'm like it's good, it's good how I said things are done really properly here, which is really good. But sometimes I'm like why can't they just cut it short and solve my problems? Why do I have to go through the whole process? [Millie 3:43-44]

In India we've got a lot of doctors around and even a chemist. Um, if you don't have, if you can't make a doctor, there are chemists that are open 24 hours. So you go to chemist and the chemist will be able to give you a medicine which you do not need a prescription. Like here in New Zealand yeah, even for a cold, like a basic antibiotic if you want for the child, you can not get it without having to go to the doctor. Get a prescription, then go to the pharmacy. So if I need a little more, if the child has um, finished with the first dose but is still not well and I still need to continue, I need to go back to the doctor, take an appointment. [Kate 5:30-31]

For these women, Doing Things the Kiwi Way was not so much a matter of choice, as it was a requirement, and was thus experienced as limiting their sense of

control and power in performing tasks. This situation had the potential to undermine their sense of self as competent Indian women who have the Skills and Expertise to get their needs met. Megha too has encountered the way in which social laws and practices influence occupations. However for her, Doing Things the Kiwi Way has been a more positive experience.

Nobody follows any rules in India. You just sit in the car and just save yourself! That was a huge difference then, following the rules. I don't know like what Give Way is because there's nothing like Give Way in India, it's just that I'm the boss and I have the right of the road! [Megha 1:17]

Doing Things the Kiwi Way means that roles do not necessarily change completely, but rather take on new dimensions. For instance both Shikha and Megha, who drove independently in India, enjoyed the opportunity to travel long distances and between cities. *“Ah, small things like, I drove intercity which I never did in India and I don't think I would have been allowed because men drive long distances. So I did that”* [Shikha 4:62]. Other times, women acquire new roles altogether, such as the outdoor adventurer as described in Shikha's experience of tramping and *“Bungee jumping! I could never go bungee jumping back home. My parents would have thrashed me if I told them! So did that”* [Shikha 4:60].

Doing Things the Kiwi Way, immigrant Indian women experience challenges to their existing identity, as well as access to new identities, with all the implications that this holds for well-being. In the context of **Different Ways**, women start Accepting Change and Doing Things the Kiwi Way. This enhances their sense of self and well-being, and sustains them through *Being In The Change*.

Intervening Condition: Having Needs Met



Having Needs Met alters the impact of **Getting To Know** and offers support during *Being In The Change*. In considering what women require when performing occupations and sustaining well-being, two sub-categories, Being Supported and Being Resourced emerged from the data (Table 3:4). These sub-categories are an extension of the intervening condition **Awareness** described in *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*.

Table 3:4 Being In The Change - Intervening Condition

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Intervening Conditions	Having Needs Met	Being Supported Being Resourced

Having Needs Met: Being Supported

Unlike Surviving with Help (Chapter Four, **Awareness**), where support was a necessity during the early days, Being Supported involves an unconditional support system, which the women can access at any time, in any situation, even when things are going well. For some women knowing that their decision to immigrate has Been Supported by family in India sustains them throughout the *Change*.

I've always been supported. So um, that's something that I have brought here which has helped me. Yeah, it's just that, I mean I wouldn't have been here without anyone else's support. Yeah, so I, it's not that I've brought nothing here, it just came with me because I've been supported throughout and that's helped me to do things...And I brought all their [family] love, which has helped me, which is something really important. [Millie 3:87, 89]

Being Supported contains different meanings for each woman, such as being allowed to do things independently or having friends to talk to when lonely. When Megha arrived in the country and was learning new occupations, she valued the unconditional Support of her husband, which extended from helping Megha perform activities to leaving her to try Doing Things on her own. For Megha, this was a much valued form of Support as it gave her an opportunity to prove, both to herself and to her husband that she was able to do things independently. This in turn gave her a feeling of achievement which bolstered her well-being.

I think ah, the biggest support I got here, I mean my husband was the only one here I knew, and um, he really supported me all the way and everything. And he just put me in the deep end. He said, 'Just do things on your own, I'm not going to, you know, kind of stop you.' And that really, really helped me with my self confidence, with my self esteem. [Megha 1:10]

Even when things are going well, it is important to know Support is available. For a number of the women Support comes in the form of family

members. *“My sister joined in after six months which was great. So it was nice to have some family member around and we just supported each other, emotionally”* [Shikha, 4:34]. Due to her husband’s work commitments, Rajni has gained more Support from friendships formed in New Zealand.

So yeah, I have got one close friend who I talk about two to three hours if our babies are sleeping. We both can talk about five, five hours on the phone...Oh God, we talk about five hours on the phone. Like we are working and talking on the phone, so it’s good for me to have, like we can talk to somebody who can understand us. [Rajni 7:45]

Having people who understand and who are willing to offer Support greatly enhances the women’s well-being. In addition to Being Supported, **Having Needs Met** also encompasses Being Resourced.

Having Needs Met: Being Resourced

Being Resourced refers to the availability of objects, tools, and the personal skills women use to perform occupations. Having to first locate, and then become familiar with the use of new Resources can be a stressful process. Living in New Zealand the women are confronted with a variety of fresh Resources for doing things, especially within the kitchen.

The kitchen, there are a few things that are extra here, like can opener. We never had a can opener. And um, there’s just like, it just amazes me that there’s a little gadget for everything here! [Millie 3:76]

We’re used to some of the Western food but again it was cooked on the stove top not in the oven. But now I use a lot of grills and things like that, you know. Grill chicken and ah, which I never used to do back home in India. Never had a grill. [Jyothi 6:38-39]

Some of the women were prepared for the potential Changes and brought with them essential resources from home. *“I have got, when we knew we were immigrating, like I bought all the home appliances”* [Rajni 7:78]. This allowed them to perform activities upon arrival, assuring them of their ability to do things. *“I had an international driving license done before I came because I didn’t know whether my Indian license would be valid here”* [Shikha 4:9].

Being Resourced from the outset eases the experience of *Being In The Change*. However, for some women, Being Resourced evolves over time as they

get established. The women quickly identify that acquiring specific resources is essential for being able to perform certain occupations. For instance, finding employment was of primary importance in Girija's process and having the right resources was essential.

To get a job in [company], you have to have a license. Okay, ah, you have to have ten years record, criminal free record. Then, actually they'll find out from our country also. The internal affairs people will do that. So I got that license, I have no other criminal records at the back of me, okay. So I was holding that license. [Girija 2:57]

In addition to objects and tools, Being Resourced is also about using personal resources, including skills and knowledge. These are important for performing tasks with confidence, as both Megha and Rajni experienced.

By that time those fifteen days he [husband] had made sure that I'd learned driving you know. That I could drive around, that I could find my way around with a map to get everything. [Megha 1:12]

Here, I know the yellow pages and the white pages. I know that from where I should get the number and talk to them. [Rajni 7:73]

Being Resourced is important for immigrant Indian women to successfully perform occupations. In addition having the right objects, tools, and personal skill base to draw upon supports the women in **Getting To Know** and **Learning And Doing**.

Actions and Interventions: Learning And Doing



During *Being In The Change*, women progress from **Doing The Familiar** towards **Learning** about **And Doing** activities specific to the New Zealand culture. **Learning** refers to knowledge gained via study or instruction. Once this knowledge has been acquired, the next step is implementing the **Learning** and transferring it into action. In **Learning And Doing** women Gain Skills and Expertise to be sufficiently Resourced when carrying out an activity. As they **Learn** to **Do** new things they begin Doing Things Differently. Being Discriminating highlights the

decisions Indian women make to adopt aspects of the New Zealand culture and Different ways of Doing (Table 3:5).

Table 3:5 Being In The Change - Action/Intervention

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Actions/Interventions	Learning And Doing	Gaining Skills and Expertise Doing Things Differently Being Discriminating

Learning And Doing: Gaining Skills and Expertise

So after coming here I learnt. Yeah, I learnt a lot. Like how to cook properly, how to yeah, be organised and clean your room yourself. Not getting someone to clean it. [Millie 3:30]

Millie, like many of the women has learnt how to perform new occupations as well as discovering new ways of **Doing Familiar** activities since being in New Zealand. These accomplishments increase their Skills and Knowledge and engender feelings of competence. Describing their first attempt at Doing in their new surroundings the women used words such as ‘*learning experience*’ and ‘*gaining experience*’. Gaining Skills and Expertise captures the process of starting with an unfamiliar activity and becoming increasingly competent at accomplishing the task.

Within this process the women employ different methods of Gaining Skills and Expertise. One technique involves using the Skills and Expertise of friends. Friends are a way of gaining knowledge and provide role models with regards to performing the occupation. This technique is commonly used for social activities.

Tramping was excellent! It was such a great trip. A friend of mine from work had ah, organised this trip, four of us and we went tramping. I didn’t know about what kind of shoes I should take and where to get the backpack from, so my friends organised that for me because it was my first time. [Shikha 4:65]

Gaining Skills and Expertise through friends is a favoured technique as it creates an informal and relaxed **Learning** environment, which eases women’s anxiety about not knowing What To Do and making mistakes. Alternatively Gaining Skills and Expertise can be more formal as Kate identified when discussing

employment. *“Yes, it is difficult to get a job for an Indian, for an overseas teacher coming in here. She does need to know the system first and do a little bit of training”* [Kate 5:9]. This training can be accessed through people with professional knowledge such as work colleagues or supervisors, as was Shikha’s experience.

Ah, you need someone to tell you. I think that’s very important for safe practice. So, but if you have that person or such people around you, then yeah, just go ahead. Ask and do it initially. [Shikha 4:116]

For Shikha, Gaining Skills and Expertise has at times required more than a person to provide instruction. When learning to drive, the ‘Road Code’ proved a valuable teaching aide.

Woah, that was fun! Because there in Delhi, there are no rules and here there’s so many rules! Quite different rules. My colleague’s brother, who is my friend, he helped me a lot. He’s a very good driver, a safe driver and I thought he would be a good person to approach for me to learn driving. So I asked him if he could tell me about the rules. So he gave me this book, Road Code. I went to the book and find that there are so many rules to remember! [Shikha 4:10-11]

Sometimes women Gain the Skills and Expertise needed without the assistance of others. However, without someone else’s Skills and Expertise for guidance, the task at hand can be challenging. This was Girija’s experience when she decided to build her own house.

I approached a financier and I had a lot of problems there. The first financier actually when he found that we have this land he approached directly to the company, the ah, real estate people and said, ‘I want to buy that property.’ He was supposed to be the financier for us! And then immediately I went to some other financier and it’s good. So you’ve got to be very cautious about these factors. Got the finance and then, and then bought one land here, this land. And then I approached, I came here, I saw some beautiful houses. I went to their house and I found out who is the constructor. [Girija 2:93-94]

Although Girija confronted obstacles that may not have arisen if she had a knowledgeable person to guide her, Gaining Skills and Expertise independently has been valuable **Learning**. This knowledge will be beneficial in giving Girija the courage and confidence required should she decide to undertake another project of this scale in the future.

In some instances where there are different ways of performing a task, women choose to follow one particular method, limiting their Skills and Expertise. As they become Skilled in one method, other ways of Doing the same activity become harder, due to lack of **Learning**. Megha has experienced this when she goes shopping and has to pay for her goods.

I just used the EFTPOS and I'm still not really good with coins. I still have to see whether it's ten cents or twenty cents. Or I have to kind of look and tell the person please just check. [Megha 1:71]

Gaining Skills and Expertise is not a time limited process but evolves as women keep **Learning And Doing**. Given a willingness to **Learn**, the more accomplished they become at **Doing**, the greater their sense of self and well-being.

Learning And Doing: Doing Things Differently

Like I had my brothers around to do things for me, go to the bank for me, go to the mechanics for me and do things um, which I could have. But like I told you, going to the mechanics of course, that is not the done thing in India. But other things I could have but I would just kind of throw things on them. And he would kind of tease me, 'God, how will you manage once you go abroad?' But I would say, 'I know I'll manage but now I need you to do this for me.' [Megha 1:84-85]

Being unable to Just Say Aunty is a catalyst that impels the women to Do Things Differently. Although they are generally positive about this Change, it is demanding and requires the women to not only adapt their occupations to match the environment, but incorporates adjusting occupations to sustain well-being.

Doing Things independently, is a **Learning** process; firstly through the roles they assume, secondly in the occupations associated with these roles, and thirdly, the routines they construct to support their daily activities. Living in New Zealand is an opportunity to re-shape cultural expectations pertaining to the traditional roles women hold in Indian society. One such role is to maintain the household, including cooking and cleaning. Jyothi now Does Things Differently and shares the role with her husband.

I mean here you have to do, day in and day out, everything has to be done by you. Which is really hard to, initially it was very hard to accept. I mean my husband must have never done any house work before coming here, but here has to. He has no choice. [Jyothi 6:33]

As though to accentuate Jyothi's statement, her husband chose this point in the interview to vacuum the house. For Kate however, *Doing Things Differently* has been about reclaiming her role as a mother and the associated task of preparing meals. This is a change in her way of *Doing* she is relishing.

I am enjoying being with my kids. In India I used to hardly get any time with them. I used to have a lot of time with other children, but not my own because I used to be out of the house from say seven in the morning 'til about seven in the evening teaching. While here, I am here with my kids the whole day, except of course when they are away at school. [Kate 5:64-65]

My mother-in-law was never expected to cook in the house because she was working, so they never expected the daughter-in-law too to cook. So I was pampered! And I, on the other hand was always one who loved to do cooking and loved being in the kitchen but I used to never get a chance to go in because there were too many around. So now that I'm here, you'll always find me mostly in the kitchen. [Kate 5:59]

Part of renegotiating roles and occupations, requires establishing routines to support the new ways of *Doing*. Jyothi's experience of **Different Ways** has involved not getting food items delivered to her house on a daily basis. Working full time and without servants to help, Jyothi has constructed new routines that allow her to do the shopping and yet still leave time to relax.

Of course I can't buy fresh, so I stock on the weekdays. I don't stock on the weekends. I go to the shops on the Monday, except for meat or fish which is not open, that I do on the weekend. But rest of the shopping I still do on a weekday because I think it's better to work on a working day and rest on a holiday. I prefer to sit quietly on a Saturday and Sunday. [Jyothi 6:37]

Although *Doing Things Differently* has at times been a necessity, for some women this experience generates feelings of freedom. In **Learning And Doing** this freedom encourages the women to make their own decisions, adding to their confidence and giving a renewed sense of well-being.

The Kiwi culture gives me all the freedom to do things here. Especially in India, if you are single, if you are a widow of this age, 'What you're wearing shorts?' No, can't even imagine. But I love to. Here nobody bothers. It's New Zealand. Even my friend, when she

came, her daughter is wearing shorts. She goes, 'Don't wear.' I said, 'Why did you come to New Zealand then? Why the hell you came to New Zealand?' [Girija 2:124]

I've started going out to late night parties a lot more than what I used to go in India. Yeah and here you can roam around and you know, come back whenever. Just ah, even my friends who are with their family, who are with their parents, do that. It's not that, 'cause we are staying alone, that we are doing that. [Millie 3:7]

As women find themselves immersed in the New Zealand culture, they start making decisions regarding which aspects to incorporate in their daily activities.

Learning And Doing: Being Discriminating

As women **Learn And Do**, they come to Discriminate about which activities or characteristics of the culture they would like to adopt. This involves exploring one's values and beliefs and negotiating the impact that these have on their sense of self and well-being. With regards to choosing whether to Do Things Differently or to Keep with One's Culture, two aspects are considered. Firstly, there is the practical aspect of performing the occupation and determining whether or not the outcome is going to satisfy their needs. Kate has learnt to Be Discriminating when it comes to shopping.

Shopping is fantastic here but ah, clothing is rubbish, rubbish! I have not bought a single thing for myself since I have come...I still, I have got all my clothes from India and my children, literally 'til now they use. But the winter wear here is nice. But um, other general clothing nah! [Kate 5:53, 54]

The second aspect of Being Discriminating is influenced by the social environment. Within society how activities are performed is an important medium for how immigrant Indian women experience belonging. Engaging in occupation does not always mean Doing Things Differently and some of the women, for example Kate and Jyothi, have chosen to Do Things that are in Keeping with their Culture.

I said, 'I'm taking what I am comfortable in. I will wear what I like to wear and I'm sure the people around me, if they like me. Of course there's an ethic at work where you need to wear like a suit or you know, then of course I will have to go along with that. But when I am on my own, I will wear what I like to wear.' [Kate 5:81]

I still can't get the New Zealand accent and there's no way that I'm going to try to put on an accent that doesn't sound like a New Zealand accent...I mean I don't think my English is bad, I mean I absolutely don't think so and I think I could be perfectly understood if you wanted to make an attempt to understand me. [Jyothi 6:21]

As women Gain Expertise through **Learning And Doing**, they start to discern what they value as individuals. Many of the women with families talk about the value they place on respect being shown for elders in the Indian culture, values they have struggled to maintain as their children grow up in New Zealand society. Another primary value Indian women hold is around the nature of family, and some women express their dislike at seeing the number of broken families in New Zealand. "*See here a lot of broken families*" [Kate 5:93], "*Broken homes, broken families*" [Jyothi 6:59]. For Rajni, Being Discriminating means that her concern about the family system in New Zealand has strongly influenced her thoughts regarding future activities.

Because, I work in old age nursing home, I saw people over there like they are, they are not happy. They live lonely. They have no families that come and look after them, which is not in our country. In our country we look after our old people. Like they are good or they are bad, or they are able to do the things by herself or we can do the things. Even they sit on the bed which is different...So we think that we take retirement not in this country but go back to our country. [Rajni 7:62-63]

Being Discriminating is a filter for keeping out what they do not value, and letting in what they consider to be beneficial. While this is done as part of maintaining their own sense of self and well-being, for some women Being Discriminating is also about Family Responsibilities and wanting the best for their children.

Ladies, ah women life is different over here but um, I like that. Like um, she can live in house and she can look after the children, become a normal woman but ah, but she got a freedom. But like here, women got um, you know like here divorce and separation is very common. So all these things, like I want that freedom, women got the freedom, I want that but in certain ways. Like she know her duties. She got the freedom but she know how to manage the house and husband, which ah, is hard to do. [Rajni 7:65]

Being Discriminating can be difficult in the context of **Different Ways** as it occurs alongside the desire to hold on to their identity as Indian women in a New

Zealand context. However, as part of Gaining Skills and Expertise and Doing Things Differently, women **Learn** about ways of **Doing** that support their decision making and engagement in occupation. As an intervention **Learning And Doing** throughout *Being In The Change* is crucial to the outcome of this process, **Managing The Show**.

The Consequences: Managing The Show



Money you need, because um, being a single parent, it's hard for me to manage the show otherwise. [Girija 2:19]

Managing The Show is a result of women **Learning And Doing** and **Getting To Know** what they need to do to sustain a healthy sense of self and well-being while *Being In The Change*. This category is about women taking control of the process. **Managing** refers to being in charge of something or to succeed in being able. **Show** is about becoming visible or presenting a certain character. In this process, the women succeed in becoming more visible through Becoming Independent and Finding their Own Ways (Table 3:6). For many of these women, **Managing The Show** is a Question of Survival as they work through *Being In The Change*.

Table 3:6 Being In The Change - Consequence

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Consequences	Managing The Show	Becoming Independent Finding Own Ways Question of Survival

Managing The Show: Becoming Independent

For many women, not having an Aunty to call on for help means Becoming Independent and leads to the realisation that they do not have to rely on others to get things done. Becoming Independent is a time when women leave behind their previous familiar patterns of doing and try new activities that foster their new sense of Independence. Nishkala was a recognised and qualified practicing lawyer in India: In New Zealand, however, she was informed she would have to complete

further papers at university in order to practise here. With this information, she decided not to work, instead Taking Time to orientate to her new surroundings. When she was ready to start working, Becoming Independent meant leaving behind the known and starting something new.

Then I thought that, why not that I can work. So normally the people whenever I met they said that they did the odd jobs. For them, they got their professional jobs and whatever they did with their experience and special qualifications. Then I thought, okay, let me also start from there and then go to the other jobs. [Nishkala 8:43]

For Shikha Becoming Independent was a new process she embraced as part of shaping her identity as an Independent Indian woman.

So everything was new. But it was so exciting at that time because it was like gaining independence which I, I'd never felt like that back home. So it was great. It was um, exhilarating. It was um, excellent! [Shikha 4:13]

Megha also resonated with the concept of Becoming Independent through not having others to do for her. In discussing the occupation of grocery shopping she outlines the different steps involved in the process of taking the groceries back home. It is as though Becoming Independent has created a new awareness of the activity.

But another thing that's different, is you know carrying the grocery back home. Because even if you do it over there, you take your servant around or you take your maid around who's there to carry your bag and just put them in the car. But here you got to carry it back yourself. You know I was on the fifth floor, of course taking it to the lift and you know, managing the door and locking the car. And putting the stuff and you know, um, opening the door with a secure card and then putting the stuff down. Taking it, putting it in the lift because at times my husband wouldn't be there, you know. And then of course putting it in the fridge and you know. [Megha 1:5]

Becoming Independent involves two components; firstly, knowing that one has the ability to Become Independent and second, Becoming Independent through actually accomplishing the things one needs to do. This second component in turn confirms and reinforces the knowing of one's abilities. Megha left India holding on to a belief that she would be able to **Manage** when she arrived in New Zealand.

I was quite an independent person, even though I didn't do things on my own. But I never ever had that feeling that I won't be able to do it if I'm put on the spot like. I knew I'll manage. Wherever I go, I'll manage. I never ever, of course I'm doing things which I didn't do in India but I never ever thought in India that I won't be able to do it. I was always sure that when I was in that situation I will manage. I know I'll do it, you know. [Megha 1:32]

Megha's knowing was further supported by having a husband who encouraged her to **Manage The Show** by trying new activities, such as driving, as previously discussed. Millie on the other hand found that Becoming Independent was the result of Gaining Skills and Expertise through doing activities. The knowledge that she acquired from **Learning And Doing** fuelled her acceptance of Becoming Independent. *"Now I think, even now if I shift back home I prefer doing things myself, because I like it that way. Yeah, I won't get much help, try not to!"* [Millie 3:30]

Like Millie, Shikha also found that being in control of making her own decisions has helped her sense of Becoming Independent.

Ah dating, dating is a total no, no back home! I could do that here. And what else, staying out late at night if you want. Yeah, no restrictions here unlike home. I could make my own decisions if I wanted to stay late night or if I wanted to come back home. It's all up to me. [Shikha 4:64]

Becoming Independent is one way in which women start **Managing The Show** and although their route to Becoming Independent differs, their experiences are similar. This is further highlighted in the process Finding Own Ways.

Managing The Show: Finding Own Ways

Finding Own Ways has been drawn from *"Finding my own ways"* [1:10], words spoken by Megha as she reflected on being encouraged by her husband to learn for herself by doing things independently. As part of **Managing The Show**, women have to Find their Own Way of doing things that fit with their sense of self. Finding Own Ways may require doing something new, or it may be about adjusting aspects of the activity to suit the individual's needs.

After her initial struggles, Girija **Managed** to secure employment only to find that *"Ah, one fine day they call me and they said, 'Girija, we can't keep you here because of this, this reason'"* [Girija 2:52]. In order to keep **Managing The Show**, Girija found something new to do. *"And then I thought why don't I go for*

real estate. Okay, so I ah, did two weeks course and ah, finished that course and then got into this firm” [Girija 2:64].

For Megha, Finding Own Ways has been about making adjustments to what she does in her daily activities. Due to her work commitments and other household chores, food items she would have previously prepared have been replaced with alternatives that better fit her current timetable.

Um, even in India I was always fond of cooking but of course I had somebody to you know, shop things for me. And just if I had to make a cake, all the stuff, I mean I would just tell the maid, ‘Okay I’m making so and so cake, just put the stuff’ and she would put everything. You know, flour and baking powder and everything and all I did was just mix up and put the stuff and she did the cleaning. And here of course, I don’t do fancy cooking anymore. Um, you don’t get the time really. But didn’t do any basic cooking back in India. So I do the basic cooking you know, vegetables. [Megha 1:25-26]

In some instances, Finding Own Ways, means doing things that conflict with other people’s value systems and ways of doing. Although not always an easy decision to make, if it means sustaining their own comfort, then some women, such as Jyothi are prepared to take this path.

I still prefer eating with my hand. But of course when you go out you can’t do that. But in restaurants I still do it, if I want to. I don’t care. I mean if you don’t like it, lump it. I like to eat with my hand. [Jyothi 6:88]

As time passes and women have more experience with **Learning And Doing**, Finding their Own Ways of doing things becomes easier. Sometimes, **Managing The Show** is a Question of Survival.

Managing The Show: Question of Survival

And after that, actually a friend of mine, maybe after three, three and a half months, um, she says ‘Why don’t you try for a job in casino.’ I say, ‘No.’ I mean casino? I mean, I never thought of casino you know. You know, it’s going, it’s you know this thing, it’s a sort of sin you know, we are doing in our culture. So um, I’m not a person, it’s not for me. Ah, definitely it’s not for me, I thought. Then she said, ‘No, no, it’s not like that, you just um, I’m sure that you will like the job and moreover, most of the Indians are there so why don’t you try.’ I said at that time it was a question of survival for me, and I said if anything comes up okay. [Girija 2:15]

As Girija's excerpt shows, for some women Surviving is a case of, 'if they are not prepared to do it themselves then no one else is going to do it for them'. Therefore, having a strong sense of self, which involves knowing one's values, skills, likes, and dislikes, is essential. Not fully knowing one's abilities can create doubt, anxiety, and fear when it comes to Surviving. This undermines well-being and can make *Being In The Change* very stressful, as Millie's story demonstrates.

But yeah, there have been times when I felt really uncomfortable. Um, when I used to go to university to talk about my admission and stuff. Yeah, that was really uncomfortable talking to lecturers and people. But I think I wasn't really aware of the right thing, the right things to say. Um, I wasn't really aware of the, ah, whole process I think. [Millie 3:48]

For the women who immigrated to New Zealand without a partner Finding a Way through *Being In The Change* has been their sole responsibility. In instances when it has been a Question of Survival the situation triggered women into making decisions and Finding Ways of doing things that met their needs.

I lived with my parents. They'd, I'd always have to go back to them to ask them for permission. Whereas here, I was doing everything by myself, taking decisions, which job to take. Like I was offered three jobs and I didn't know which one to take and um, I had to do it all by myself. [Shikha 4:15]

I had to start eating in cafes and all, when I came. Um, yeah, because week that I arrived I didn't know how to cook and it was the only way to survive. So yeah, started pretty early. [Shikha 4:75]

Although Megha had a husband for support, she also quickly learnt that Doing Things the Kiwi Way could be a Question of Survival. In New Zealand society where there is a strong emphasis on individualism, it was a matter of doing what she needed to in order to Survive the Change process.

You know, in India even if I think, even if I had all these facilities, I still wouldn't be able to do so much the way I do here. I don't know how. In fact I was just talking to my Grandmum yesterday and I was deliberately rubbing it, you know. Granny I do this, I do this, I work, I go back home, I cook, I do the dishes, you know. I get my car repaired, I go get the grocery, I come and put it back again, and I do the cleaning. And she's like, 'Poor you, you don't have any help.' And my mum she's like, 'Oh my God, my little daughter she has to do all that!' So there is a difference but I think no, probably I wouldn't do that in

India. But not because of any lack of facilities or anything, it's just that I don't know, because you know you have to do it. Everybody does it, so you have to do it, you do it. And you know in India, people are there to do it for you. [Megha 1:29-30]

Managing The Show is about being able to adapt occupations and meet the demands of the environment in order to sustain a healthy sense of self and well-being. This is done through women learning to Become Independent, Finding their Own Ways, and acknowledging it as a Question of Survival.

Being In The Change: Summary

This chapter has described the second process, *Being In The Change*, which focuses on how immigrant women make changes to their current way of doing things and adopt new ways of doing that are pertinent to New Zealand society, while still retaining a sense of who they are as Indian women. The process is generated by women **Getting To Know** more about their environment through Establishing Contacts and Taking Time to explore. As part of their exploring, women find themselves Always Doing Something as a means of actively Seeking Knowledge. *Being In The Change* occurs in the context of **Different Ways**, where women are faced with Accepting Change and Doing Things the Kiwi Way.

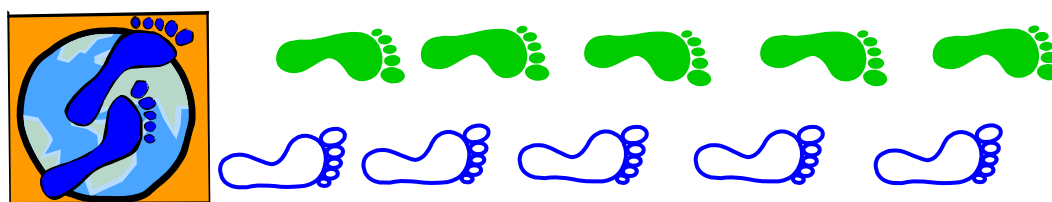
Through Being Supported and Being Resourced, women ensure their **Needs** are **Met**, which influences their **Learning And Doing**. Initially women Gain Skills and Expertise and with this knowledge they try Doing Things Differently. This is not always the best strategy and Indian women demonstrate an aptitude for Being Discriminating in what they choose to do. **Managing The Show** is the consequence of their actions. The women start Becoming Independent and through this process Find their Own Ways of doing, while acknowledging that at times *Being In The Change* is simply a Question of Survival.

Two Becoming One: Being In The Change

When the women enter *Being In The Change*, the solid blue feet start to fade, symbolising that they are still grounded in the Indian culture but open to

learning more about the New Zealand context. In this process, one foot takes on a blue outline, which illustrates that the women's Indian heritage still exists and provides support in the background while they face *Being In The Change*. The second foot is replaced with a solid green foot. This symbolises women being immersed in the New Zealand culture, and their occupational choices, which influence their sense of self and well-being, are made within the New Zealand environment (Figure 2:1).

Figure 2:1 Two Becoming One: Being In The Change



During this process, immigrant women settle into their changed environment. No longer is the environment seen as providing potential obstacles that women need to overcome. Rather these women establish what the New Zealand culture has to offer in terms of supporting their occupations. Thus these women try *Doing Things Differently*, while retaining their identity as Indian women.

Feeling comfortable within their environment facilitates the increased doing that becomes evident in the women's process. They continue to perform occupations that are familiar and culturally based, however, they also begin to participate in activities that are shaped to the New Zealand culture. With a vast array of choices, these women can afford to be *Discriminating* about which aspects of each culture they want to develop or retain.

Being In The Change is a time of movement and throughout this process women shape their identities. They do so by engaging in occupations that do not necessarily stem from the Indian culture, which creates a stronger sense of self and independence. At this stage, their well-being holds strong but is constantly under negotiation as they choose to do activities that will meet their social, emotional, and financial needs.

Starting with *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* and progressing through to *Being In The Change*, these women integrate **Doing The Familiar** with **Learning**

And Doing to maintain the balance of being Indian women in New Zealand. *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul* is the third process and is explained in the next chapter.



CHAPTER 6: A NEW ZEALANDER WITH AN INDIAN

I am now a New Zealander, a Kiwi, but certain values of my Indian country I will not forget and I am an Indian by soul you know. My soul is still Indian.

[Kate 5:84]

A New Zealander With An Indian Soul is the third process addressing the things immigrant Indian women do to sustain a sense of self and well-being in a new culture. This process integrates the women's experiences situating them within the new culture, rather than on the periphery where they began their journey. It is a time when women perform activities with minimal effort, whether the activities are part of Keeping One's Culture or involve Doing Things the Kiwi Way. This is also a time for reflecting on the past, noting their progress, and for looking towards the future. The categories and sub-categories that influence *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul* are outlined in Table 4:1. For ease of reference, a copy of this table can be found on the yellow sheet of paper in Appendix I.

Table 4:1 A New Zealander With An Indian Soul

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Causal Conditions	Right Place At Right Time	Feeling Homely Being Part of the Team
Contextual Conditions	Creating A Package	Building a Future Sharing of Two Cultures
Intervening Conditions	Discovering A Place To Stand	Being Assertive
Actions/Interventions	Doing More	Pursuing Opportunities Persevering
Consequences	Settled And Able To Do	Celebrating Achievements Everything is Alright

A New Zealander With An Indian Soul is a process in which immigrant Indian women align their sense of self with their experiences of **Learning And Doing**. During this process the women strive to attain equilibrium in their lives as immigrants. This balance occurs in two ways. First, in balancing traditional and new ways of doing daily activities. Sometimes the two cultures are merged as when

the women attend a pot luck dinner (a New Zealand custom) and take Indian food. The things women do influence the second aspect, which concerns how they view themselves as Indian women living in New Zealand and their ability to sustain a healthy well-being in these circumstances.

The process is depicted as two solid feet, one green and one blue. This symbolises the women finding a balance between the two cultures in both their doing and their sense of self. Being in the **Right Place At the Right Time** is the condition under which immigrant women identify with being *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*. This process occurs in the context of **Creating A Package**, where they start **Doing More** and as a result feel **Settled And Able To Do**. Supporting this process is the women's desire to **Discover A Place To Stand**. Each of these categories and associated sub-categories will now be discussed.

The Cause: Right Place At Right Time



In this process, the things immigrant Indian women do is influenced by their ability to be in the **Right Place At the Right Time**. This category is a progression from *Being In The Change*, and symbolises a shift in the women's **Knowing**. No longer do they Seek Knowledge but rather reside in the culture **Knowing** Where To Go and What To Do. For instance, performing an occupation is made easier knowing that the **Place** will support the demands of the activity. In addition, being able to choose the **Right Time** to do the activity affords the women greater control over the process. Being in the **Right Place At the Right Time** is further shaped by women's experience of Feeling Homely and Being Part of the Team (Table 4:2).

Table 4:2 A New Zealander With An Indian Soul - Causal Condition

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Causal Conditions	Right Place At Right Time	Feeling Homely Being Part of the Team

Right Place At Right Time: Feeling Homely

As the women **Get To Know** and settle in their **Transformed Environment**, they experience Feeling at Home. Feeling Homely encapsulates the idea of being one among the crowd and part of a community. Having the

opportunity to be part of the community bolsters women's well-being, generating a feeling of acceptance among peers and a sense of belonging outside the family context.

For immigrant women, Feeling Homely captures the essence of what it is like to belong without being discriminated against or having their identity questioned. Rajni has found that living in New Zealand, a society inhabited by people of varied cultural backgrounds, has helped with Feeling accepted. *“Ah, actually here we’ve got lots, so many cultural, ah cultural people. Ah, like we’ve got Maoris they’re same like our [pointing to skin colour]. So we don’t feel any discrimination like we feel in Australia”* [Rajni 7:67].

Feeling Homely for Jyothi is about feeling safe to perform occupations in her community. Being able to engage in activities and feel secure is important for sustaining a healthy well-being.

Um, you don’t feel as if you are in a strange country. I mean, don’t feel as though um, what do you say, like um, scared. Like you know, in Gulf countries people have to roam with their passports, you don’t have that kind of fear. That fear to walk on the road is not there. I mean, you know you will, you will not be asked for something just because you are an Indian. You still have your kind of, you can be considered a citizen of the country and nobody would, I mean, whatever they want to say or do is different. Yeah, but um, generally you wouldn’t be scared to walk on the road, you know. I used to do that back home at any time of the night, day. I could drive out, I wasn’t ever scared and I feel I don’t have that same fear here. [Jyothi 6:61-63]

Living in fear will eventually erode one’s sense of safety, making it harder to engage in occupations within the community setting. This in turn negatively impacts women’s well-being, as fear of recrimination outweighs the benefits of doing activities. When women constantly question their safety, their sense of belonging is also diminished.

Women Feel part of their community when they are able to reproduce activities specific to their culture, outside the safety of their home. Doing things that are central to their culture, amongst other people, is important for sustaining a strong sense of self.

I love my Indian food and I have noticed people who are around here, like they stick to taking sandwiches. Because they say, you know, the Kiwi’s don’t like the smell of the masalas and this and all that. But I have been in a place. Like I have been, I used to work at the kindy. I used to, basically I guess, probably I have met, I’ve been in the right place at

the right time. Because wherever I've been, the Kiwi's enjoy my food, they eat spicy food!
[Kate 5:86-87]

The experience of Feeling Homely therefore, is influenced by people within the community. While the success of integrating into a new culture depends to a large extent on the women Having the Right Attitude, Feeling Homely adds the dimension of acceptance from people within the host culture. Millie and Shikha both recount the welcoming attitude of the New Zealand people and the positive influence this has had on their experience of Feeling Homely.

When I first went for my interview for a job that was just great...just the way they talk, you know. They make you feel welcome. [Millie 3:51, 52]

People are really good here, so down to earth and so laid back. There's no rush, rush anywhere and they're environment conscious and disciplined. I like that, yeah. [Shikha 4:26]

The positive impact Feeling Homely has on the women's sense of self and well-being is further elucidated as the women discuss Being Part of the Team.

Right Place At Right Time: Being Part of the Team

Working here in a Western country, in part of a team, it was just, it was like this is what I came for. And from there, from there I can see that I can build my future from here. It was good. [Shikha 4:84]

Whereas Feeling Homely discusses women's place within the social community, this sub-category focuses on the things women do amongst peers and colleagues in the work place. Being Part of the Team assists women to feel at ease doing things in front of, and in collaboration with others, which is important to the way Indian women shape their sense of self outside the home environment. Three phases occur within this process. In the first phase, women feel welcomed and know they have arrived within a team.

I was really nervous and got to work and met my manager and she took me to the team. To the room where the team was sitting. The team had welcomed me really well and there was this big piece of paper on my desk, 'Welcome, it's nice to have you here' and it was great.

It was lovely. It was a really nice experience. Then they showed me the hospital and it was really good. I felt really good. I felt part of a very nice team which was an honour at that time. [Shikha 4:82-83]

After the initial meeting in which women establish their place amongst team members, the second phase involves working with the team to achieve a common goal. This may require women to Do Things Differently as part of Being in the Team.

Um, in my office we had a day out, it's called a day out or something. They had a big um, staff day out sort of thing...some weird name they'd given it and we'd all gone out and we were in a group of people. They'd made us into groups. I happened to be with this group of people, who four of us went. We had to do certain things which were weird, absolutely weird in New Market. And it was like, I mean something that I would never have done back home in India, they would call me insane. But okay, we did it up here. [Jyothi 6:11, 12]

Having the courage to try doing strange and unfamiliar things for the greater good of the Team requires women to put aside their inhibitions and be willing to work with others. In this process women sometimes question what others may think of them, as Jyothi expressed above. However, doing things for the Team increases the likelihood of acceptance amongst peers which promotes well-being.

The third stage occurs when women decide it is time to leave the team. Looking towards a different phase in their lives, leaving the team brings with it a recognition of their contribution. Thus, they can choose to no longer Be Part of the Team, while sustaining a positive sense of self.

But one thing I have observed. If we try to have a good relationship with others, after some time they can understand us because it takes some time to understand the other person also. Then everything will become the good atmosphere and all that...Now, when I told them that I got a seat in the university and I am leaving the work, then everybody started feeling bad and all that. Because there is no difference of the Samoans, or the Kiwi's or the Indians or whoever it may be. [Nishkala 8:46]

The condition **Right Place At Right Time** happens in the context of **Creating A Package**.



The Context: Creating A Package

Probably a package, part of the package isn't it? Good things and bad things. Um, so you just weigh both and see whether you want to accept the package or not. That's how I look at it. [Shikha 4:97]

Creating A Package is the context in which women experience being *New Zealanders With Indian Souls*. To create is to 'cause to come in to existence', while the word package can be thought of as a proposition or offer (Hanks, 1986). In **Creating A Package** women constantly negotiate the value systems of both cultures, as they consider which aspects to amalgamate. Through this negotiating the women are Building A Future and Sharing Two Cultures (Table 4:3).

Table 4:3 A New Zealander With An Indian Soul - Contextual Condition

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Contextual Conditions	Creating A Package	Building a Future Sharing of Two Cultures

Creating A Package: Building a Future

So I'm preparing for tomorrows success. I'm preparing today for tomorrows success. [Girija 2:138]

Building a Future involves planning ahead and doing activities to ensure that aspirations become a reality. For some women, Building a Future is a conscious process set in motion prior to emigrating. For Jyothi, this involved selling the family house as a way of severing all thoughts of returning to India.

But I think my husband was smart. What he did was told me, 'So okay we're going, let's sell the house.' I said, 'No keep the house,' and he said, 'What for?' I said, 'If we don't like it we come back.' He said, 'That's not, that's not there. If you want to go overseas, you decide now.' He said, 'Okay whatever we spend now, it's over, fine. Let's stop now and say we're not going, we'll stay in India. And if you go there, we don't come back to India.' And he said, 'I'll sell the house, only then we are going. Otherwise we are not going.' [Jyothi 6:6]

Nishkala began thinking of Building her Future after arriving in the country. *“Because if I think that my feet are in the shoes and my suitcase is ready to leave, then I will not be prepared to settle down and adjust to ah, this culture and um, habits of the people”* [Nishkala 8:64]. Whether women choose to Build their Future before or after immigrating, it can be a traumatic process, one that results in feelings of anxiety and loss as women Build their lives away from the culture they have been raised in.

However, having a positive outlook and an awareness of their capabilities is important for determining the Future. To ensure their dreams and hopes for the future become reality, women must do things. As Shikha says, *“it is necessary to have some kind of determination and goal to achieve so that you can survive in a different country with no supports initially from the family or anyone”* [4:40]. Thus, Building a Future requires women to have a goal to work towards.

I always had a goal in my mind that I want to stay for professional reasons. I wanted to become a specialist ah, since I began my career and yeah, the opportunity is here. So I think I would like to stay. And small things like adjusting to different systems and the house and all doesn't matter when you have a bigger goal. That's how I look at it. [Shikha 4:40-41]

Sometimes women need to be in New Zealand and **Get To Know** their **Transformed Environment** to formulate goals. Girija and Rajni have both had ideas about Building their Future since being in the country.

Even though I miss my country, there are a lot of things which I really want to have in my life, which I find in New Zealand. A calm life and ah, a lot of greenery and people doesn't bother about you much. I mean, like in the sense they're bothered about their business, no personal interference and things like that, which I love. That's, that's really good. And ah, like you know there is, why they say there is no potentiality here? Why? It's you who have to find the potentiality...Once I do that I would like to have a big hall here where I can teach yoga. I want to do that. Lots of things are there in my mind. [Girija 2:81-83, 103]

So I'm worrying, oh what happen when his [husband's] studies start. That's why he, he told me to start study, then you are getting busy with your studies. Yeah, that's why I'm thinking what can I start which can busy me. [Rajni 7:53]

Having a goal to achieve does not necessarily relate to the things the women desire for themselves. For women who immigrate with a family, Building a Future

is important in terms of giving their children a place to call home. “*We worked hard there, we work hard here. I mean but we know what we’re doing. We’re doing it for a future for our child*” [Jyothi 6:100]. The focus then is on the family’s well-being, which in turn supports the woman’s sense of self.

Building the Future for immigrant Indian women is about having goals to achieve and creating a place they can call home for themselves, their children, and future generations. Sometimes compromises need to be made, as with the Sharing of Two Cultures.

Creating A Package: Sharing of Two Cultures

My family is not here anymore. Apart from that um, seems like domestic help and all you get, you could get in India, you don’t get here. So it’s, it’s both positive and negative. Both the places have their own positive and negatives. [Megha 1:44]

As Shikha stated at the start of this section, **Creating A Package** involves weighing up the good and the bad from each culture. A sentiment shared by Megha, when using the words ‘positive’ and ‘negative’. Sharing Two Cultures requires women to identify the constructive and unhelpful aspects of each culture and then to incorporate these into their individual way of being and doing.

And yes, of course there is a difference in cultural values too. And you, I mean if you come to a foreign country I believe you have to incorporate both you know. You can’t just leave what you are and what your parents have taught you and what you are not today, just because you are in a foreign country. And that’s, I mean people follow different beliefs so, um, and each culture has positive and negatives. Like Kiwi culture has its positive and negative values as well as Indian culture will have its positive and negative values. [Megha 1:46]

In Sharing Two Cultures, immigrant Indian women generate a broader and richer base from which to shape their sense of self. This in turn can have a positive impact on well-being.

The best thing you know, being an Indian, you can be an Indian but enjoy your Indian culture as well as Kiwi culture. Take the best out of both, that is the advantage for you. I mean if you are born in ah, New Zealand itself, you don’t know what is Indian. You know, a beautiful rich culture which is, which you are proud of, proud of you know, being an Indian. But at the same time you have a lot of good things in New Zealand. The

combination of New Zealand and India, as a person if you take it, it's amazing! [Girija 2:108]

Sharing Two Cultures has also been the context for immigrant Indian women to establish a system that best supports their well-being. Kate talked openly about her experiences of Sharing Two Cultures. For her, this sub-category has involved establishing a social network within New Zealand to resemble her family structure in India. *"So I guess, it's just building your circle, yeah, they become our family, like that's what I've learnt here, your friends become your closest family"* [Kate 5:116]. Kate has also found that through activities, which are in Keeping with her Culture, she has been able to facilitate a Sharing of the Two Cultures.

Where I work, where I help out, it's fantastic. And there, even a Samoan lady asked me, you know, to talk about my culture and India. And in fact they're having a fair and she asked me if she could borrow my sari because she just loves it! And here the other Indian teachers they come in salwars and they wear their kurtas and all. [Kate 5:85]

We all eat together. Like I take normal food, I don't have to make special food and I eat. I take my Indian food the Kiwi's bring their Kiwi food. I turn up eating their food they turn up eating my food! And ah, yeah, we have a shared lunch every day. [Kate 5:90]

Like Kate, Nishkala has found that through doing she is better able to Share the Two Cultures. She acknowledges that Sharing the Two Cultures involves learning about New Zealand customs as well as teaching the local community about Indian traditions.

Actually for me, it became easy because ah, we ah, interacted with the local church where we had an opportunity to meet Indian people and Kiwi people. And ah, particularly in our community church actually the Kiwis became habituated with Indian life, with food habits and everything. They know our nature and way of thinking, what we are talking, what we eat and all that. And at the same we have our own fellowship here, the Indian fellowship is there, so normally we meet together. Then the Kiwi's come and participate in our functions and the get-togethers and all that because they also enjoy these things. Not only our culture, our habits, our way of thinking and our maintaining a relationship with them, our dressing and our food habits and all of that also they enjoy with us. [Nishkala 8:66-67]

Not all women find Sharing Two Cultures a successful endeavour. As much as Indian women can share their culture, it must be reciprocal, with New Zealanders sharing their traditions. Jyothi found that her Sharing has not been

reciprocated, making it difficult for her to Feel Homely. This poses a threat to Jyothi's sense of self, as it becomes increasingly difficult for her to become part of a group, which is essential to feeling accepted.

No, it's hard to mix with non-Indians, very hard. You can call them, they come, eat, go, but they never call you. Very few do. Very few reciprocate. I mean you cook, you feed them, they love what you cook, they love your butter chicken! They'll tell you to make it, all that's there but ah, I don't find them reciprocating ever or getting you involved with their groups. Very hard to get in. No, it's very hard to get in to any groups that have already been formed. [Jyothi 6:84]

Sharing of Two Cultures is an important aspect in **Creating A Package**. Alongside Building a Future, women form a context within which to view themselves as *New Zealanders With Indian Souls*.

Intervening Condition: Discovering A Place To Stand



In *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*, the impact of the causal condition **Right Place At Right Time** on the things immigrant Indian women do is altered by their **Discovery of A Place to Stand**. When women first arrive in New Zealand they are unsure of Where To Go or What To Do and rely on Help from others to Survive. As they progress through *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* and *Being In The Change*, they gain confidence and increased self assurance. This culminates in women Being more Assertive, developing an internal sense of control as opposed to relying on external Support and Resources to sustain them (Table 4:4).

Table 4:4 A New Zealander With An Indian Soul - Intervening Condition

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Intervening Conditions	Discovering A Place To Stand	Being Assertive

Discovering A Place To Stand: Being Assertive

Being Assertive does not come naturally to all women and some may find having to Be Assertive contrary to their 'way of being'. Before immigrating, Millie did not consider herself to Be Assertive in her actions. Since being in New Zealand,

through **Learning And Doing**, her sense of self has evolved to match her circumstances.

Like in Delhi, I never used to do anything by myself. I used to ask my Dad or someone to do things for me, always. But now I'm, I've become confident to do it by myself... Yeah, but um, that's the only thing that I've now, I know more. Well maybe because this is the first time that I've stayed alone but ah, yeah. Now I know that if I go back, I can do things. I can arrange things and I can go around even in Delhi by myself. But earlier I wouldn't have dared to do anything. So in a way, yeah, I've become a lot more confident, a lot more um, or I can find out, even if I don't know I can find out. Yeah so I've become, I think I've become a better person since the time I've come here. [Millie 3:83, 84]

Taking an Assertive stance is easier when others share the same vision regarding what to do. However, sometimes these women can feel as if they don't really align themselves with New Zealand values and beliefs which requires them to Find their Own Way. This potentially undermines a woman's well-being as she moves out of her comfort zone. For Rajni, Being Assertive has meant taking the initiative to do things when others do not share the same goal. Like Millie, this has evolved over time.

Yeah, now I'm, now I'm very happy. I have no problem. If he [husband] doesn't want to go outside, I can take my children and I'll go by walk or by, to the park, wherever I like. I have no problem. [Rajni 7:51]

Sometimes when women belong to a group or are Part of the Team and want to do something different, Being Assertive impels them to stand up for their beliefs and voice their opinions. Thus, Being Assertive is a sub-category that captures women's values of being counted and having a presence.

I can put my foot down now and say, 'Right, no this is what I think and this is how it should be.' Which yeah, before I was like, 'Okay whatever you say,' just being really casual. Yeah, just for heaps of things. Like anyone could come up to me and make a fool of me and get away with it. But not now. Not now. 'Here, come over here and I will tell you,' it's like that now. But earlier when I was at uni, I was the one who was always being used. Always being told off for something I hadn't done and I just used to sulk. Sit in a corner and sulk. But I didn't know and yeah, just yeah, do whatever the other person would say. 'Yeah, okay fine whatever you say' but um, I think I can take my stand now. [Millie 3:85-86]

Being Assertive means women are sometimes also faced with going against their cultural values and ways of doing in order to Do Things the Kiwi Way. If a woman is flexible enough to put aside her traditional ways of doing and is Assertive in trying to do things another way, she is likely to feel less stressed and have a healthier sense of well-being.

And one more thing you know, which I love in New Zealand ah, is ah, you have your life. You have the right to ah, do things which are of your taste. So when my son turns back and says, 'Look I have a girlfriend' and being in India, ah, I mean being in India or staying in India I would have said, 'What? You're not supposed to have!' And then, 'Who's that?' But no. It's your life. Choose your partner and if something goes wrong, you're responsible. Why the hell I take the responsibility? Why should I do that? So that, that philosophy really is amazing for me. [Girija 2:39-40]

Being Assertive, as part of **Discovering A Place To Stand**, supports immigrant Indian women in sustaining their sense of self and well-being. Being Assertive also assists women in **Doing More**.



Actions and Interactions: Doing More



Doing More is how women respond to being in the **Right Place At the Right Time** within the context **Creating A Package**. When women arrive in New Zealand they **Do Familiar** activities as a way of supporting their well-being in a turbulent time. This progresses to **Learning And Doing** as they start **Getting To Know** more of their **Transformed Environment**. In *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*, women find themselves extending the things they **Do**, as they embrace living in New Zealand.

Doing More is a strategy women choose. It is not about women being forced or expected to do things in addition to what they are currently doing. Nor is it about taking on additional activities as a Question of Survival. Rather, **Doing More** is about women Pursuing Opportunities to further themselves in their chosen life in New Zealand. In some instances, **Doing More** requires one to Persevere in order to experience success (Table 4:5).

Table 4:5 A New Zealander With An Indian Soul - Action/Intervention

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Actions/Interventions	Doing More	Pursuing Opportunities Persevering

Doing More: Pursuing Opportunities

Pursuing involves women both creating and taking opportunities for **Doing** in all facets of life, which supports their sense of self and well-being. Girija has sought Opportunities associated with career prospects and leisure pursuits.

I was thinking yoga and meditation. Yes, you can do here and socialising with people, it's up to you. If you want, there is a lot of changes, lot of places where you can go out. And the best thing what I can do here is go to pub! Can't do that in India. I love to do that here, go to pub and have a drink. Like, which I can't do, I can't think of doing it in India. [Girija 2:15-16]

Pursuing Opportunities requires a willingness from women to attempt something different, a challenge they face when **Doing More**. For instance, as Girija explains, having a drink in a public setting is not a socially sanctioned activity in India. Therefore, living in New Zealand sometimes means doing things that are not aligned with traditional values or traditional societal expectations.

On the other hand, coming to New Zealand has afforded women Opportunities not previously available to them in Indian society. For Megha, this was particularly relevant when considering the need to have a career as part of developing her sense of self.

Another positive thing about New Zealand was that, for my career, because I wasn't really getting anywhere back in India. I mean, even though I finished my PhD but psychology is still kind of a taboo subject there, you know. Mental health especially...It's still a stigma and ah, people are not really open about it. So for me, I wasn't really moving anywhere in my career. I did work, um, in a hospital but um, I think I have better career prospective here in New Zealand than I could have had in India. [Megha 1:48]

While Megha has had to be proactive in creating Opportunities not all women have to work as hard. In some instances, Opportunities arise without much

planning, as some of the women experienced because they are involved in activities associated with their families, in particular their children.

When children are there, when we go to the school with the children, we ah, we are getting an opportunity to meet the teachers and ah, other people. The other parents of my children's classmates and everyone. Yeah, there's um, Kiwi's or any other European countries people, there are Indian, or any other Asian people, like that. [Nishkala 8:15]

In taking the Opportunity to meet other people when attending her children's school Nishkala has been able to increase her social network. For Nishkala, having an extended network of people with whom to associate has been an important aspect of maintaining well-being. Like Nishkala, Kate too found that Opportunities arose when she took her children to school.

Because as ah, I, when I went looking for a job um, I went to this ah, kindergarten. In fact I, I just went there to ask about my children. You know, wanting to put my children into the day care and ah, this Kiwi lady, the director happened to be there on that day. And ah, while I was talking to her, she was asking me a lot of questions about me, more than about my children and ah, she just liked me. And ah, she um, immediately, she sort of interviewed me on the spot and ah, told me that she quite liked me and would like to you know, um, hire me or whatever. Recruit me for their ah, kindy. And then she even called her manager and told her that you know, if you need people to relieve I would be very happy to have her and this would be the rate that you would give her. And she started me on a very good rate. And she told me that you know, ah if I need you, will you be able to come in and all. And I didn't expect, and the very next morning I got a call from this place telling me would you come to relieve and within a week of me working there, they offered me a part time job over there. [Kate 5:100-102]

Although women Pursue Opportunities from the day they land in the country, in this phase, creating and taking Opportunities is a conscious decision women make in their desire to Build a Future. Pursuing Opportunities also relates to women **Learning And Doing**: for the more women **Learn And Do**, the more Opportunities become available for them to Pursue. This is another way in which *Being In The Change* and *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul* overlap.

Doing More: Persevering

It's all a learning experience up 'til now. I feel more settled now and I feel that I can take care of myself better now. Whereas it was a bit of a risk initially, everyday was like maybe

tomorrow I'll like have to leave because I'll be sick of everything, managing everything by myself. But um, here I am, talking to you today! [Shikha 4:39]

Even after the initial obstacles of not knowing and adjusting to a new culture, wanting to Build a Future continues to be a challenging process. Women face many challenges and if they are willing to Persevere, it becomes possible to deal with these challenges and achieve their goals. When it came to **Doing More**, Megha took the Opportunity to progress in her career. She then faced having to Persevere with making her goals come to life.

Finding my job and ah, working towards, I'm still working towards my career. I'm going to start working towards my registration as a psychologist, so that's quite a challenge for me still. I mean, I know I have to work hard, I mean I haven't started, um, I've been accepted for registration but I haven't gone with the plans yet. [Megha 1:62]

For some women, in adjusting to a new life filled with different ways of doing things, there are obstacles they overcome through Persevering with what they believe in. Persevering as part of **Doing More** propels women to further themselves and **Do More** than they believed possible. This encourages women to recognise their full potential, thus promoting a strong sense of self and feelings of competence and optimism for the future.

Facing challenges and Persevering requires women to commit to undertaking projects that at times may test their sense of self. For some of the women, moving to New Zealand has meant learning a new language. A shared language is vital and not being able to communicate clearly can undermine women's confidence and self esteem as they have difficulty expressing themselves.

And can you believe that, all my studies were in Kannada medium, never in English medium. So once I finished my graduation I was so hesitant to say thanks. Ah, it was after my graduation. I never used to say thank you, I was thinking that was too hard, always I would say thanks. So I ah, couldn't speak even one line with confidence. So somehow I could learn all of that, learn language. It's not a language I studied, yet I speak now. So still I find it difficult. [Girija 2:114]

Although Persevering requires a lot of energy, it is about never giving up and this makes the end result all the more rewarding. During Nishkala's interview,

she told her story of applying to university so that she could work as a lawyer in New Zealand. It is a story that demonstrates the strategy of Persevering.

Actually the most difficult and chaotic thing happened only in my admission issue, that's what happened here. Because in the month of July I got approval from the New Zealand law society and with the condition to do two compulsory papers in LLB. So in my excitement, immediately I contacted the university and ah, they said, 'No, no, no, you can't come directly and apply, but you can apply only on-line.' Then immediately within a week I got a letter from the university, asking me to send my education transcripts and proof of my residency and all that. I sent immediately and afterwards I received another letter that they received all my educational transcripts and I can um, verify my application status in the on-line itself because of the net ID and password and everything they sent... And within a period of six weeks I will come to know the status of my application. And I ah, waited for six weeks and when I called up the number whatever they have given, the operator told me that ah, my application is still pending. Then I said, 'Already six weeks is over nearly eight weeks is over, so when are we come to know?' She said, 'Why don't you wait for some more time, nearly 15 days.' Then I said, 'Okay.' And I again after 15 days, I called up, 'What happened to my application?'... Then that operator said, 'Why it will be better, why don't you contact the law faculty directly. They're the authorities to finalise the admissions.' But when I contacted the law faculty they said that 'we are not at all having your application with us.' They said that 'you should come down to our office and apply for that.' Then I rushed to the university, that law faculty, and ah, when I asked them they explained and gave me one ah, application form and they said that you have to submit all the educational transcripts, certified educational transcripts, along with that application. And immediately I applied for that. So afterwards, whenever we asked them, the law faculty that what is going on, they said that no it is still pending, we will finalise this thing by December and we will finalise these things in the month of Jan. In the mean time, on-line where I got registered my name initially, they sent me a letter that ah, your application has been approved. And that the status of my application has been shown as an approved. Then I called up and said, 'Approved means that I got the seat no?' They said, 'No not at all. Your application has been approved means that you are eligible to do the papers here, it doesn't mean that you've got the seat. Law faculty is the final authority to give you the seat. So then they will tell that you got admitted.' Approved and admitted is different. [Nishkala 8:47-56]

At times, Persevering can be a disheartening process and women need support to help them through. However, all the women retained an air of **Hope** and optimism during this time, which has enabled them to **Do More**. **Doing More** is the final strategy that spurs women on to feeling **Settled And Able To Do**.



The Consequences: Settled And Able To Do

We are, in fact my husband and I, are very, very happy. We are settled in. [Kate 5:137]

Being **Settled And Able To Do** evolves from the women **Doing More** in the context of **Creating A Package**. This completes the women's process of becoming *New Zealanders With Indian Souls*. When women reach a point of feeling **Settled And Able To Do** in a new culture their sense of self is at its strongest and they sustain a healthy state of well-being with minimal effort.

Settled And Able To Do consists of three main components. The first component being **Settled**, refers to the women's process of taking up residence within New Zealand. This word also alludes to women arranging their daily activities into a state that is most conducive to facilitating well-being. Secondly, the word **Able** includes women's competence and capability for doing things and refers to women having the Opportunity to do things they want. The third component, **Do** pertains to women's ability to perform or complete activities that are important to them in terms of sustaining a sense of self.

As women **Settle** in New Zealand knowing they are **Able To Do**, they pause in their everyday activities and take a moment to reflect on their journey thus far. This brings an Opportunity for the women to Celebrate their Achievements knowing that Everything is Alright (Table 4:6).

Table 4:6 A New Zealander With An Indian Soul - Consequence

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Consequences	Settled And Able To Do	Celebrating Achievements Everything is Alright

Settled And Able To Do: Celebrating Achievements

Feeling **Settled And Able To Do** is a time for Celebrating the Achievements throughout *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*, *Being In The Change*, and this current process. Celebrating Achievements is a representation of the Struggles many women have to overcome in **Settling** in New Zealand. It is also recognition of their willingness to **Try And Hope** and their ability to **Manage The Show**.

Being **Able To** Celebrate Achievements is the result of hard work and Perseverance by the women in their quest to **Do More**. In the last section, Nishkala's story of Perseverance was told. Her story now continues as she recounts the happy ending, resulting in a Celebration of that which she had worked so hard to Achieve.

When I contacted in the January and they said, 'In the first week of February.' When I contacted them in the first week of February, they said, 'Why don't you wait until the 17th of Feb.' Then I said, 'Really I am going to get a seat or not here,' at least I wanted to know that much. Then they said, 'No, no, no, we will inform you by 17th only, we can't say at this moment anything.' But ah, day before, just two days back, three days back, they called up on the mobile and said, 'You've got a seat. You've got a seat and we will send the papers.' And I couldn't believe it! Is it a real phone call or not?! Because, okay, I thought okay, I may get the letter from them but unfortunately I didn't get a letter from them saying that I got a seat but I got my ID, student ID straight away. [Nishkala 8:57]

Celebrating Achievements occurs in all facets of life, including employment success. As discussed in Chapter Two, people living in a Western society, tend to identify themselves in relation to their work or career, when introduced to others. Thus for Girija, making a place for herself in the employment arena has been an Achievement worthy of Celebrating.

So I was doing and I was the only one Indian out of sixty five Kiwis, sixty five Kiwi advisors. I was the only Indian, okay? Can you believe, second month itself as far as bringing in business is concerned I came second in New Zealand. Yeah, so I've been one of the ah, one of the five top advisors of New Zealand. [Girija 2:30]

Alternatively, Celebrating Achievements is about acknowledging aspects of their lives, such as leisure pursuits, that may go unnoticed by others. Shikha's story of going tramping for the first time illustrates this idea.

It was something that I always wanted to do... Tramping was a cool experience. It's just the fearlessness in the forest, that was great to get no animals. You can just walk freely and admire nature and beautiful views and um, ah, adventure, feeling of adventure, thrill that was great. And that you have climbed up, so the feeling of achievement and back, so that was great. And that was my first tramping experience, very exciting. Would do it again! [Shikha 4:66, 68-69]

Being **Able To** Celebrate Achievements of importance is one way in which women reinforce their sense of self and well-being. Celebrating Achievements is also about acknowledging some of the earlier processes, such as Becoming Independent and **Having Needs Met** that have influenced the fulfilment of women's goals.

A friend of mine here, whom I met here in the hostel ah, he helped me with buying a car. It was \$2500 car and ah, he knew someone from Indian restaurant who was selling it. So he just gave the cheque um, so he gave, he paid that guy and bought the car there and then and um, I paid him back in few instalments. And um, as easy as that and so it was a very big help...So yeah, it was oh, it was an exhilarating experience! It was like, 'Oh wow, I've got a car in my name!' That was like a big achievement. [Shikha 4:106-107, 108]

Celebrating Achievements often involves family members and friends who have Supported the women in their journey. Being part of an extended network whom women can Celebrate their good times with and lean on for Support when times are hard, helps women to know that Everything is going to be Alright.

Settled And Able To Do: Everything is Alright

In Everything is Alright women acknowledge they are **Able To** see a Future in New Zealand. Many of the women expressed their understanding of Everything is Alright in their use of the word "*comfortable*". Feeling "*comfortable*" [Millie 3:46], "*pretty comfortable*" [Megha 1:49], or "*quite comfortable*" [Girija 2:8] captured the women's sense of competence with performing activities in a new culture, and feeling Alright about the outcome. As with Celebrating Achievements, knowing that Everything is Alright encompasses all aspects of the women's lives.

It's lovely driving here. It's really, really enjoyable driving here. I mean even in the city you're, even on the motorway, even when you're coming to work at least you're listening to music and you're thinking. You're not just bothering about what's you know, happening around because you know everything's alright. [Megha 1:17]

Megha's experience of driving in New Zealand demonstrates a turning point. Women know they have **Settled And** are **Able To Do** when they perform every day activities without conscious processing of the task. This in turn reinforces their sense of well-being and assures them that Everything is going to be Alright.

For some women, leaving behind their Indian traditions and Doing Things the Kiwi Way indicates that Everything is going to be Alright. For Kate, knowing that Everything is going to be Alright has been a process of learning to embrace the way things are done in the New Zealand culture. This has at times differed from her experiences of doing things in India.

Here in New Zealand each and every child is made to think and they enjoy doing it. So that is what I have learned and I like the system here. Ah, there are also smaller groups of children here, whereas in India we probably have between forty to sometimes sixty children in a class, so it would be very difficult for a teacher to handle them. But here it's not so tough. [Kate 5:8]

Knowing that Everything is Alright arises from women's understanding and knowledge of the how to do things in the new environment. Having insight into the processes that structure when, where, and how things get done makes it easier to navigate the system. Jyothi's sense of Everything being Alright is supported by knowing how to get her needs met.

I thought in India, you could get things done your way if you knew people in places. That's the same out here. If you know people, you can get jobs, you can get anything you want done faster. So what's different? There are enough loop holes in all the systems of New Zealand which if you know you can take advantage of. [Jyothi 6:106]

Knowing Everything is going to be Alright strengthens the women's belief in what they are capable of doing. This has the follow on effect of shaping their sense of self, often with positive outcomes as Millie has experienced.

And ah, even going for movies and stuff alone, I tell my friends in Delhi now, 'Oh I went for movies alone' and they're like, 'What? You went for movies alone? You're so sad!' And I'm like, 'No, this is not sad.' I don't mind, it's not that I can't have people come with me here it's just that I don't want to, I don't want them, you know. So, so I'm happier that way. [Millie 3:73]

As time progresses and women experience more of New Zealand culture, they may still encounter small hiccups, which challenge their way of doing and how they see themselves. However, at this stage, Everything is Alright and women are comfortable with being *New Zealanders With Indian Souls*.

A New Zealander With An Indian Soul: Summary

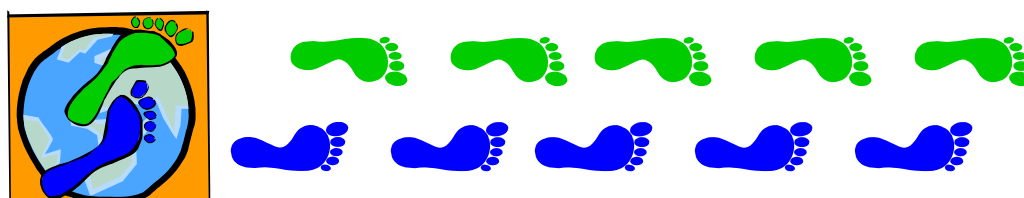
This chapter has described the third process regarding the things Indian women to do sustain a sense of self and well-being. This is a process that is focussed on the women integrating two cultures, Indian and New Zealand. Having *Been* through the *Change* the women come to be in the **Right Place At the Right Time**. This is experienced as Feeling at Home within their local community and being recognised as a valued Part of the Team in their work places. The process of *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul* occurs in a context of **Creating A Package**, where women start Building a Future and Share the Two Cultures. This process is regulated by women Being Assertive as they **Discover A Place To Stand** in the New Zealand culture.

In response to the contextual condition of **Creating A Package**, women start **Doing More**. This involves Pursuing Opportunities to engage in activities that both challenge the women and make their presence known in the local community. Taking Opportunities is not always an easy option and requires women to be determined and to Persevere with their chosen goals. Being **Settled And Able To Do** is the outcome of **Doing More**. It is a time where women join with others to Celebrate their Achievements and look towards the future trusting that Everything is going to be Alright.

Two Becoming One: A New Zealander With An Indian Soul

As women enter this process, the feet become one solid blue foot and one solid green foot. These feet symbolise women finding their place as Indian women within the New Zealand culture. This sense of being *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul* is enhanced through women balancing ways of doing from both cultures to promote well-being (Figure 3:1).

Figure 3:1 Two Becoming One: A New Zealander With An Indian Soul



Along their journey women acquire knowledge and understanding about the New Zealand environment, so that when they reach this process they are familiar with their surroundings. However, women can not always predict what happens in the environment, thus when it comes to their doing, they still have to Persevere to overcome some obstacles. Being familiar with the environment, immigrant women are able to Take Opportunities and **Do More**.

During this process women perform occupations they feel comfortable with. These occupations may be driven by the New Zealand environment or may be the result of their Indian heritage. Choosing which occupations to engage in, and knowing they can do them with ease, ensures women have a strong sense of self and well-being.

A New Zealander With An Indian Soul is a vivid description of how women find balance in two cultures. The next chapter provides an overview and discussion of the findings; further defining *Two Becoming One*, its key relationship with the three processes, *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*, *Being In The Change*, and *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*, and situating the findings within current literature.

CHAPTER 7: DRAWING THE JOURNEY TOGETHER

Introduction

Throughout the previous three chapters, the processes concerning the things immigrant Indian women do in New Zealand were explained using Strauss and Corbin's (1998) conditional paradigm. In addition, each chapter linked the process to the central category *Two Becoming One*, to demonstrate the women's journeys. This chapter is divided into two sections. This first section provides an overall explanation of how *Two Becoming One* captures the experiences of immigrant Indian women. The second section will address these findings in relation to current literature and will also consider the strengths and weaknesses of the study and outline the implications that the findings hold for practice and policy. Recommendations are also made regarding directions for further research in this field.

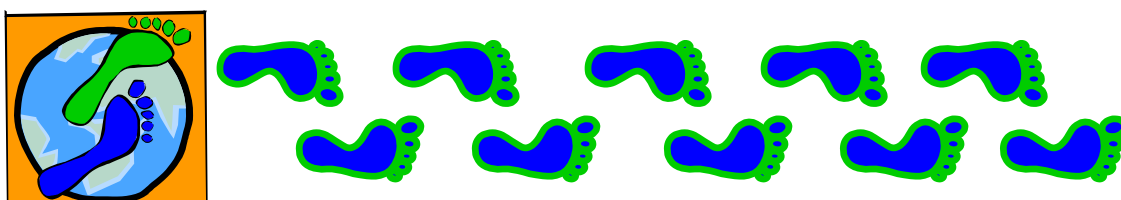
The overarching theme of this study is captured by the central process *Two Becoming One*. In naming this process, the focal word is 'Becoming' which can be defined as "any change from the lower level of potentiality to the higher level of actuality" (Butterfield, 2003, p. 146). For immigrant Indian women, their journey commences in India where plans are made for a fresh life in New Zealand. At this stage their dreams and hopes have unlimited potential. As they walk through *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*, *Being In The Change* and *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*, these dreams and hopes turn into reality. The potential they had set out to explore becomes an actuality as they establish a home in New Zealand. The challenge in achieving a higher level of actuality lies in women doing things in a New Zealand context, whilst preserving their Indian 'soul'.

Two Becoming One

In examining how the three processes connect with the central process, coloured footprints have provided a diagrammatic representation of the women's journey. In each process the footsteps have been either blue or green; blue representing the heritage of Indian women and green signifying the New Zealand

context. As women journey, the footsteps take different forms. Progressing from an outlined green footprint in *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* through to a solid green footprint in *Being In The Change*. As a central process, *Two Becoming One* is characterised by a merging of the two cultures into one set of footprints. This represents a further progression of the process, *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*, where the women stood with a foot planted in each culture, represented by the solid green and blue footprints. In this process, the two cultures unite, which is symbolised by two colours in one footprint and the two feet being attached to one body (Figure 4:1).

Figure 4:1 Two Becoming One



Environment

When women emigrate from India and set foot on New Zealand shores, there is little recognition of any resemblance between the two countries. Differences are visible in all aspects of the **Transformed Environment**, such as being unable to Just Say Aunty in a social environment lacking extended family, friends, and community networks. Differences are also Seen in elements of the physical environment, as in Missing the Bus or Paying the Price. Thus the two environments, India and New Zealand appear worlds apart. Yet through **Having** their **Needs Met**, which stems from an **Awareness** that includes Surviving with Help and Family Responsibilities, the voyage to merge the two worlds into one that they can comfortably inhabit unfolds.

As women venture forth they **Get To Know** how the environment best supports their occupations and well-being. In *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*, not knowing Where To Go or What To Do, the Indian environment is strongly embedded within the women's minds. Hence, New Zealand's surroundings are viewed in comparison to where they have come from. As they move from Feeling Out of Place with their surroundings, Indian women begin exploring and experience *Being In The Change*. In this process they Take Time to directly experience the New Zealand environment through Establishing Contacts, Seeking Knowledge and

Always Doing Something. However, elements of the Indian environment, in particular the need for social Support and familiar Resources remain constant throughout the change. In *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul* the two environments move closer towards becoming one as the women experience Being Part of the Team in the **Right Place At the Right Time**.

In *Two Becoming One*, the elements of each environment; physical, social, emotional, spiritual, and cultural, no longer stand in isolation. Rather, they amalgamate to create a setting within which immigrant Indian women Feel Homely. At this point, women accept the New Zealand Package as women dwelling in the country as opposed to viewing it through an Indian lens. This in turn supports their Doing; **Doing The Familiar, Learning And Doing, or Doing More**.

Occupation

The things women do are strongly influenced by the surrounding social and cultural norms. When Indian women immigrate to New Zealand they enter a new context complete with its own unique customs that shape where and how occupations are performed. Immersed in a strange and unfamiliar environment Indian women are compelled to carry on with culturally bound activities, while needing to do things that also fit with their new surroundings. Again, women face the quandary of bringing two different ways of doing things into one approach that supports their well-being.

Arriving in a new country asking **What Am I Doing?**, Indian women predominantly engaged in occupations that were familiar, offering security and comfort in an unfamiliar environment. In *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* they primarily Stick to the Known and perform occupations that are in Keeping with their Culture. Simultaneously, they are required to Experiment and Gain Skills and Expertise with new occupations, such as cooking or driving, so as to Survive those initial days in New Zealand. As they experience **Different Ways** of being, these women learn to Accept Change and begin Doing Things the Kiwi Way. Concurrently, they are Discriminating in their choice of occupations.

As they begin to perceive themselves to be *New Zealanders With Indian Souls* immigrant Indian women Pursue Opportunities to bring together aspects of the two cultures. Being able to successfully live in New Zealand requires Perseverance, the creation of new routines, and the establishment of patterns of doing that fit the New Zealand context and yet remain true to their Indian heritage.

In *Two Becoming One* Indian women perform occupations with a culturally embedded knowledge that meets their needs and reinforces a healthy sense of well-being.

Sense of Self and Well-being

As well as resulting in **A Transformed Environment** and changes to occupation, immigration gives rise to alterations in Indian women's perception of themselves and impacts on their well-being. As with occupations, social and cultural norms influence these women's sense of self. A threat to identity that Indian women face arises from moving out of a communal culture into a culture based on notions of individualism and the struggle to sustain a healthy well-being seems like a significant challenge. Yet, through Having the Right Attitude, these women instigate Building a Future and Sharing the Two Cultures in a way that allows them to hold both traditions within their one being.

Entering unfamiliar territory *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* seems a natural response to the situation and highlights the vulnerability of their well-being. Feeling Out of Place and Struggling Through Time, these women have to work hard in this process to sustain their sense of self. As they find themselves *Being In The Change*, their identity is further challenged as changes in their social environment demand Finding their Own Ways and Becoming Independent. As a result their well-being is shaped through mastering new ways of being. As *New Zealanders With Indian Souls*, these women **Discover A Place To Stand** knowing they are **Settled And Able To Do**, and feeling as though Everything is Alright.

Sustaining a healthy well-being is the result of these women successfully **Managing The Show** through merging two cultures and two ways of doing things into one form that supports their perception of self. *Two Becoming One* symbolises the women's journey to maintain a sense of self and well-being, which concludes with them Asserting their place in the world: **A Place to Stand** with everything that they are, and in so doing they find acceptance both of themselves and within their community.

Two Becoming One: The Journey

As Indian women journey, the representation of two feet allows them to balance as they navigate their way through unfamiliar terrain. During *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* these women trial 'dipping their foot in the water'. This is a

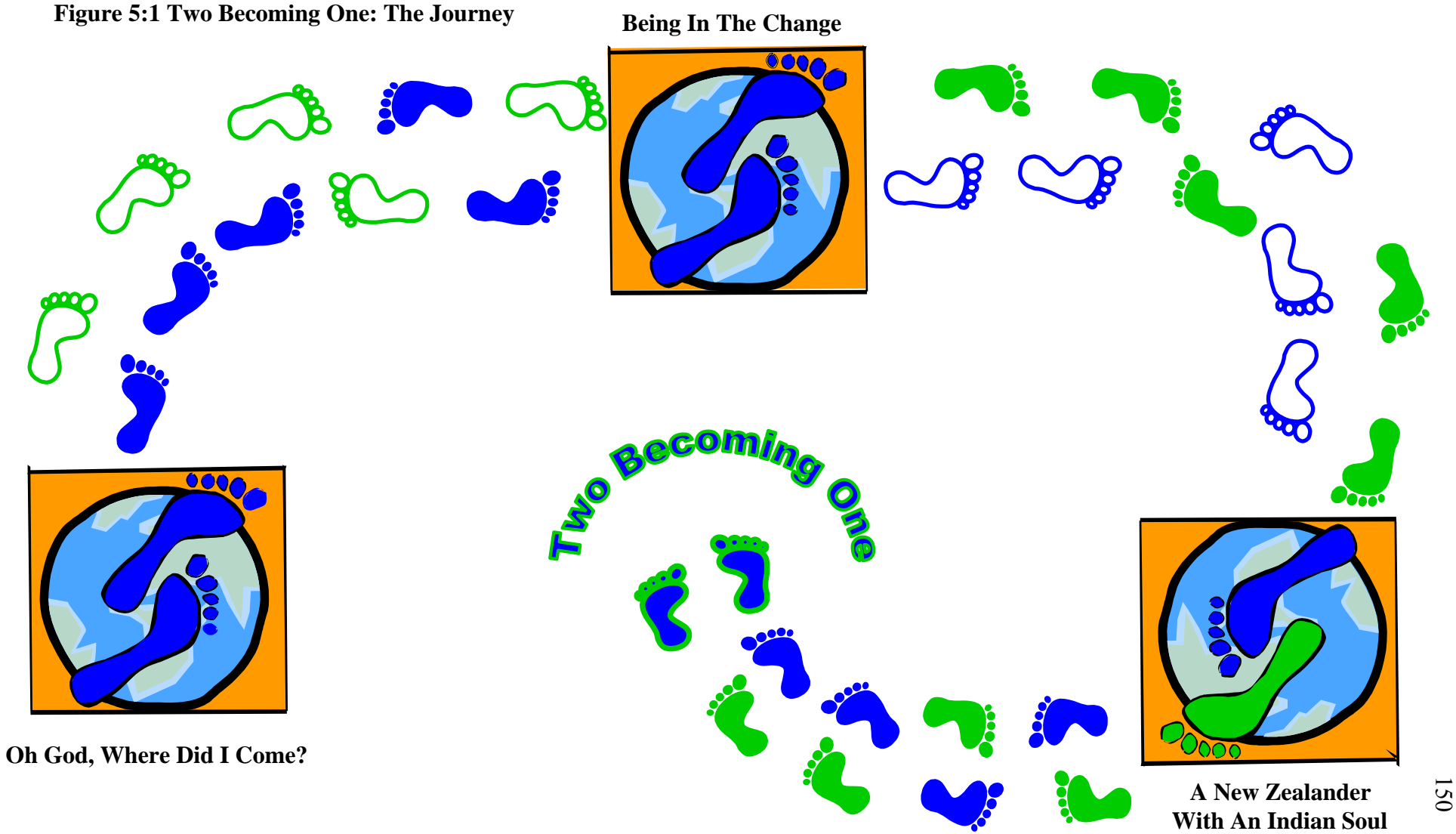
process concerned with testing out the environment and personal levels of safety before committing to live in New Zealand. As they progress through to *Being In The Change* they experience some instability as they find themselves increasingly ‘rushed off their feet’ and **Doing More**. This involves doing things the New Zealand way, while still doing culturally bound activities that affirm their sense of self as Indian women.

‘A foot in both camps’ signifies these women’s acceptance of being *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*. In this process they regain their balance and ability to hold two cultures in a way that satisfies their identity as Indian women, while promoting a healthy well-being. With their equilibrium intact, these women find their balance rooted in the ‘soles of their feet’ or their ‘*Indian Soul*’, while the New Zealand society in which they reside provides structure for performing occupations. In an anthology depicting the stories and lives of women of the South Asian diaspora (including India) living in the United States, the final chapter is entitled “My Feet Found Home” (Bhatt, Kalra, Kohli, Malkani, Rasiah, 1993, p. xii). In this study, *Two Becoming One*, signifies the climax of these women’s journeys as they settle into their new dwellings and know their ‘feet have found home’.

The following diagram, Figure 5:1, is an abstract representation of *Two Becoming One*. It depicts the women’s journey through the processes of doing things in a different culture to sustain their sense of self and well-being. The use of footprints symbolises women walking a journey through two cultures. Each process begins with a set of feet planted on the ground, which change in colour (representing the combining of the two cultures) as the process unfolds. Within each process, five sets of footprints represent the five categories as outlined in Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) conditional paradigm.

Along the path, one pair of footprints is turned to face in the opposite direction from which the women are travelling. This represents the interplay between the three processes, in particular the notion that the three processes do not follow a linear progression. Although *Two Becoming One* is the central process, it is not the final destination. There may be aspects of their Indian soul that have not yet been challenged in the New Zealand context. Thus, at any stage these women may move back and forth between processes. This movement occurs in order for women to do the things that best support their sense of self and well-being at any given point along their journey.

Figure 5:1 Two Becoming One: The Journey



Discussion

From the outset, I chose to take an occupational stance with regard to gathering and then interpreting the data. That is, my primary concern was the things immigrants actually do when in the process of settling in New Zealand. This position was assumed after an initial review of literature indicated a paucity of research addressing people's occupations after immigrating. The paucity occurs in terms of how immigrants' occupations are shaped by the environment and the outcomes in terms of the individual's sense of self and well-being. Employing an occupational lens proved to be an informative way of viewing what happens for immigrant Indian women living in New Zealand. All of the participants were willing and able to discuss their experiences of performing daily activities in a new environment, which provided valuable insights into how occupations are influenced by a changed setting. In the context of this study, taking an occupational stance was successful in generating a substantive theory which describes the strategies immigrant Indian women employ in their endeavour to make a place for themselves and their families.

This section considers the findings in relation to current literature and the implications of this study. The findings are firstly considered relative to existing literature, and the similarities and differences are explored. The discussion then turns to the relative strengths and weaknesses of the study, particularly the questions of the rigour and validity of the findings. This section concludes with the implications of the study for occupational scientists, governmental policy makers, and immigrant support services. Recommendations are then made regarding directions for further research.

Situating the Study Findings within the Literature

The following sub-sections review the findings and discuss how they fit with the existing literature. This discussion draws on literature that was accessed prior to the commencement of the study (as reviewed in Chapter Two) and literature that has been retrieved as the data analysis evolved. The names of the

processes are used as sub-section headings to assist the organisation of information.

Two Becoming One

In considering the research question, ‘how do the things Indian women do in a new environment support their sense of self and well-being?’ the findings of this study reveal that there is not just one set of things, or patterns of things Indian immigrant women do. Rather, findings revealed that the things women do evolve over time in relation to their experience of the environment. This supports Dunning’s (1972) proposition that living in a particular environment over a period of time enables a person to learn what the environment expects and demands, and also what it can provide when performing occupations.

While there is a distinguishable pattern to how women support a positive sense of self and well-being through doing, within this process the women undertake highly individualised patterns of occupation. This is firstly because the environment-occupation-person interface is distinct for each individual (Connor Schisler, 1996) and secondly, each person perceives environmental demands differently (Barris, 1982). Thus *Two Becoming One* captures the notion that for new immigrants the journey is a process that involves the integration of two worlds. These two worlds consist of the old and new environments, ways of doing and ways of viewing themselves, and integration becomes that mix which best supports the individual’s well-being. Essentially this study has developed a conceptual model outlining the process that occurs, and the framework for that process: The intricate workings that make up the model will depend on the individual.

As a central process, *Two Becoming One* ties together the three processes that show how Indian women do things in a new environment. In reviewing literature addressing the environment-occupation-person interface, in particular the field of occupational science, *Two Becoming One* appears to be a new concept. Some psychological works allude to this process when discussing identity and personal values and how these concepts are shaped during immigration and acculturation (Berry & Sam, 1997; Birman & Trickett, 2001; Feldman, Mont-Reynaud & Rosenthal, 1992). However, the literature fails to address the effects of environmental change on occupation and/or the impact of occupational change on an individual’s sense of self and well-being.

Although there is a lack of literature addressing the process *Two Becoming One*, support for the validity of this construct is derived from the three processes concerning the things Indian women do in a new culture to support a sense of self and well-being. These processes are grounded in this study's data, aspects of which are supported by existing literature.

Oh God, Where Did I Come?

The first process to emerge from the data demonstrated that the things immigrant Indian women needed to do to support their sense of self and well-being revolved around **Doing The Familiar**. This finding further illustrates Hamilton's (2004) assertion that the things people do are strongly influenced by the places in which they find themselves. Arriving in a culture where the majority of experiences are new and unfamiliar women are compelled to engage in familiar activities which they are skilled at, thus increasing confidence and supporting well-being. This return to doing familiar activities in an unfamiliar environment is consistent with research that has explored the occupations people engage in when experiencing a life transition (Blair, 2000; Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002).

The act of immigrating significantly impacts upon immigrants' well-being (Aroian, 1990; Barger, 1977; Kuo & Tsai, 1986; Pernice & Brook, 1996) and this was emphasised in the women's questioning of **What Am I Doing?**. Living in an unfamiliar environment presented challenges to women being able to perform everyday activities, meaning that at times their self-esteem plummeted and their psychological well-being was undermined. Without the support of the social environment, in particular, women found themselves struggling to do things.

Just Say Aunty is a reflection of the communal culture of India and highlights immigrant women's struggle with not having extended family and friends with whom to perform occupations. The sub-category **What Am I Doing?** supports Aroian's (1990) findings which stated that the loss of family and friends severely impacts upon the habitual performance of occupations in the new environment for immigrants. In a more recent study Connor Schisler and Polatajko (2002) found that for Burundian refugees living in Canada, not having friends and family available was also an issue. Thus it would appear that no matter the cultural background, leaving behind important social networks when making an environmental change has a significant impact on doing everyday activities.

In literature addressing Indian women's identity and the things they do, family is considered a central component (Chanda & Owen, 2001; Guzder & Krishna 1991; Roland 1988). Valenzuela Jr. (1999) identified that children play an important role in assisting immigrant families to settle. In this process, **Awareness** of Family Responsibilities supported engagement in occupations and is one way in which women addressed their sense of self in a new culture.

According to Yerxa et al. (1990) every environment has its own set of physical, psychological, cultural, social, spiritual, political, and occupational demands. The findings of this study and in particular, **A Transformed Environment** supports this claim. Through **Doing The Familiar** women display a resilience towards the threat their well-being faces as a result of **A Transformed Environment**, which is demonstrated in an attitude of **Only Try And Hope**. This positive outlook adds depth to the culture shock literature which contends that the initial phase of acculturation is a negative experience resulting in a decreased sense of well-being (Adler, 1975; Ruben, Askling, & Kealey, 1977; Zapf, 1991).

Being In The Change

As women settle in their new environment, their sense of self in relation to others fuels engagement in new activities. This process therefore is a time of **Learning And Doing**. Kielhofner et al. (1995) believe that people's motivation to perform occupation is influenced by their interests, values, and skills, as well as the things they feel capable of doing. In this second process, the findings reveal the way Indian women support their sense of self and well-being in a new culture through maintaining activities that are familiar and in addition to these, performing new occupations that are consistent with their personal values and pertinent to the New Zealand environment.

In Connor Schisler's (1996) study she found that for Burundian refugees, living in Canada meant that some ways of doing things were abandoned, while other activities were added into their daily routine. The findings of this present study are consistent with Connor Schisler's findings. As Indian women became accustomed to the New Zealand context, they Gain Skills and Expertise, Do Things the Kiwi Way, and are Discriminating about which activities they wish to continue doing to support their identity and well-being.

One aspect that facilitates women **Learning And Doing** is **Getting To Know** more about the environment they inhabit. For some women this part of the process involves Taking Time in which to Establish Contacts and Seeking Knowledge regarding the country. For others, it is about Always Doing Something. This idea is similar to that discussed by Blair (2000), where keeping busy seems to be a way of ensuring some control within an unfamiliar environment.

Learning And Doing best occurs at a time when women **Have** their **Needs Met** either through Being Supported by friends or family, or by Being Resourced. This is not a new idea and reinforces earlier claims made by researchers within the field of occupational therapy (Blair, 1998; Kielhofner, 2002; Pierce, 2003).

Being In The Change occurs within the context of **Different Ways**. It is important to recognise that although immigrants are drawn to doing new things as a way of supporting an evolving sense of self, there is still a need to maintain familiar habits and patterns of doing things. As part of Being Discriminating and Accepting Change, women experiment with new occupations before determining which ones to adopt and which of their old activities to put aside. This ensures that their well-being continues to be supported even though their doing may take on new forms. This idea of ensuring continual support to the person via occupation in the new environment is also highlighted in literature addressing the lives of immigrants (Zajacova, 2002).

According to Kasser and Ryan (2001), a “person’s proactive strivings to bring about desired outcomes are believed to be fundamental building blocks of behaviour and thought, and to play a role in the development of one’s self-concept and identity” (p. 116). Being able to **Manage The Show** is the outcome of this process and epitomises Kasser and Ryan’s belief. With Becoming Independent and Finding Own Ways, women assertively engage in occupations, familiar or new, that enhance their well-being.

A New Zealander With An Indian Soul

In this process, **Doing More** is central to how Indian women support their sense of self and well-being in a new culture. According to Howe and Briggs (1982), the response of the environment to a person’s engagement in occupations can encourage or discourage occupational performance and exploration. This idea is supported by the findings of **Right Place At the Right Time** in which women

gain positive feedback from the social dimension of environment. This encourages women to Pursue Opportunities and Persevere with **Doing More**.

During this part of the journey, where women are more familiar with the environment and are seeking to create a place for themselves within the new culture, they find that **Doing More** supports them in maintaining a healthy well-being and positive perception of self. **Doing More** is an extension of Connor Schisler and Polatajko's (2002) "Things added" (p. 90) findings. Although women continually add occupations to their daily repertoire, this occurs more in the process *Being In The Change*. In *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*, **Doing More** is about women actively choosing to participate in activities that further challenge them from a place of relative security or safety. This is opposed to **Doing More** in the context of needing to Survive in a new environment.

Doing More is facilitated by the women being in the **Right Place At the Right Time** which supports Russell and Snodgrass's (1987) proposition that the affective qualities of the environment guide the performance of occupation. Feeling accepted and welcomed, or Part of the Team, supports women's perception of self in relation to others. This adds further weight to the idea that the quality of one's relationships with others, as seen in *Feeling Homely*, is a significant marker of well-being (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Kasser & Ryan, 2001; McAdams & Bryant, 1987; Ryff, 1989).

For immigrant women, **Discovering A Place To Stand** alters their perception of the new environment and the things they can do. Literature, that addresses 'culture shock' in particular, seems to focus on the struggles immigrants have with feeling accepted within the new environment (Adler, 1981; Bennet, 1977; Hertz, 1981; Zapf, 1991). In this study, **Discovering A Place To Stand** is a positive concept that highlights how women grow through doing activities that support their sense of self and well-being. This growth empowers women to actively engage with the environment, making alterations that best suit their occupational needs, as described in *Being Assertive*. This is a category that would benefit from further exploration.

Doing More occurs within the context of **Creating A Package** where the women find a way to Share the Two Cultures and focus on Building A Future. Studies have shown that cultural values remain strong as an individual settles in a new environment (Marin & Gamba, 2002; Rosenthal, Bell, Demetriou, & Efklides, 1989). In this process, the importance of being able to alter or adapt activities

(Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002) to support one's sense of self and well-being throughout a time of change is acknowledged. By holding on to their identity as Indian women, they are able to take pride in Sharing their culture with New Zealand people, thus creating a sense of feeling **Settled And** being **Able To Do**.

Having passed through the phases of **Only Try And Hope** and **Managing The Show**, women identify a point of being **Settled And Able To Do**. Supporting one's sense of self and well-being through doing things in a new culture as identified in this study is at times a Struggle. However, through Persevering women reach a stage of knowing Everything is Alright, thus being able to live as Indian women within a New Zealand context with a healthy sense of well-being.

New Insights Arising from Study

Connor Schisler's (1996) research was not located in the original literature search and was found in an article published by Connor Schisler and Polatajko (2002) after data analysis in this study had been completed. The differences between Connor Schisler's research and this current study are that her study employs ethnographic methods and focuses on refugees, while this study employed a grounded theory methodology and talked to women who were in control of the decision to immigrate. As suggested earlier, the findings of this present study both support and extend the findings of Connor Schisler's research and new insights have arisen.

In particular, a review of the processes *Oh God, Where Did I Come?* and *Being In The Change*, that developed from the data is consistent with current literature that has addressed differing aspects of the immigrant experience. However, the third process, *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*, and in particular the categories **Discovering A Place To Stand** and **Doing More** appear to be less understood in the context of immigration. These categories include notions of extending oneself while in a position of safety, control, and security. Also, the culture shock research proposes that there is an implicit struggle to gain acceptance or a sense of 'being a part of' a new culture. Alternatively, this study suggests that when individuals do come from a place of feeling good about themselves, then this

enables a sense of Assertiveness and **Doing More**, which can then facilitate a general sense of feeling good about being Indian in a new culture.

The central process, *Two Becoming One*, is about integration and the way in which individuals integrate two cultures within themselves, each with its unique environment and ways of doing. This feels like an important development in the immigration-occupation-identity interface. It is the author's contention that no other research frames the processes discussed in such a manner and that future research is required to further understand the implications of this process.

There are a number of psychological implications which emerge from the current study in terms of how one might develop and maintain an internal sense of identity. This study highlights the impact of occupational performance on these constructs and leaves a number of questions regarding the interplay between psychological constructs and occupation within environments that change.

Overall, this study shows that the things Indian women do, or their occupational performance in a new culture in regards to supporting their sense of self and well-being, is not a static event. Depending on the familiarity with the environment and the available resources, the occupations women choose to engage in will change. From an occupational perspective this is an insight that requires further exploration in order to gain a deeper understanding of the implications that the environment-occupation-person interface has for immigrants.

In situating the findings amongst the current literature, support for the above findings comes mainly from psychological works addressing the environment-person relationship or the occupational therapy literature, which discusses the environment-occupation connection. The new insights gained from this study contribute to the current knowledge base of occupational science, whilst acknowledging that further research is required.

Strengths and Limitations of this Study

In Chapter Three, the strengths of the study design were described and these will be briefly revisited here. In addition, other strengths and limitations that became apparent during the research process will be addressed. Lincoln and Guba's

(1985) criteria for judging the soundness of qualitative research as previously outlined in Chapter Three will be used to guide the following discussion.

Credibility and Dependability

As discussed in Chapter Three, the researcher undertook a pre-understandings interview to clarify personal assumptions and beliefs before beginning the study. This was one form of ensuring credibility and avoiding bias in the research process. From this interview a number of assumptions emerged, including

- Immigration necessitates changes in daily occupations, particularly occupations pertaining to household activities such as shopping and preparing meals and,
- Indian women are likely to struggle with the challenges of change resulting in emotions such as anxiety, depression, anger, and worthlessness.

After listening to the women's stories and analysing the data it became evident that the above two assumptions were not entirely accurate. In the first supposition, changes in household occupations were necessitated, however for many women this was not the particular focus of change. Rather, the impact on changes to social occupations outside of the home environment, for instance, getting the car fixed or visiting the doctors, had been underestimated, and changes to occupations of this type were more difficult to adjust to than alterations in household activities.

The second belief that Indian women are likely to struggle with the challenges which would result in negative emotions, was also only partially supported. Although the women initially experienced *Struggling Through Time*, they emerged with a positive outlook of **Only Try And Hope** which encapsulated Having the Right Attitude and being open to Experimenting. While there were times the women experienced feelings of sadness or anger and frustration, they did not allow themselves to ruminate on these feelings. Rather, they took up opportunities and experienced increased feelings of self confidence and self worth. The recognition that the assumptions were not wholly supported was discussed during supervision sessions and this allowed the results of this study to remain grounded in the data as opposed to being shaped by the researcher's beliefs.

Another belief that was challenged by the study's findings pertained to the title of the study. Prior to commencing the research, this study had been entitled, 'Doing Things Differently: Indian women sustaining their sense of self and well-

being in a new country'. Although *Doing Things Differently* ended up being a sub-category within the process of *Being In The Change*, the findings demonstrated that *Doing The Familiar* held the same power as needing to *Do Things the Kiwi Way*. Thus, the title of this thesis was changed to reflect this.

The credibility and dependability of the research was further ensured through continually returning to participants with research findings to seek feedback on the accuracy of transcripts and the interpretation of data. When participants were provided with copies of their transcripts none reported inaccuracies of the content, although some made grammatical changes. Data coding drew frequently on the use of participants' language for concepts, or "in-vivo" codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and this feature further helped to ensure that interpretations were grounded in the data.

Positive feedback from participants when the theory was checked with them and from research peers at a seminar presentation provided strong support for the dependability of this study. In addition, the legitimacy of the theory is corroborated by its fit with existing literature, in particular Connor Schisler's (1996) study, as described in previous sections of this chapter.

Confirmability

At this level of validity, some weaknesses in the study became apparent due to the study design and the time constraints associated with completing a masters level thesis. The study relied on gathering information from each participant over the course of a ninety minute interview, which combined with the researcher's lack of interview experience placed some restrictions on the density of data gathered. Although staying with the interview structure reduced demands on participants, the option of further interviews or the chance to observe participants performing occupations in the new environment, to explore emerging categories in greater depth, would have deepened understandings of the categories.

Additionally, the interviews were carried out over a six month duration and this places restrictions on the theory's ability to explain changes that might take place over time. Although the three processes as described in this thesis may appear to be a linear progression of what happens over time as immigrant Indian women settle in a new culture, a definite time period in which the process evolves can not be determined. In addition, the interviews only capture a certain point in time with regard to the women's process. It does not have the strength of a longitudinal study

which tracks what happens to the women in a further fifteen or twenty years, or at a time when the women lose their footing or become ‘homesick’ and re-experience earlier phases or processes.

Further theoretical sampling could have provided a more robust understanding of the things immigrant Indian women do in a new environment to sustain a sense of self and well-being across time. Data saturation was reached for the categories that are described in this study, and the data was able to explain variation between the women. However, theoretical sampling around categories such as **What Am I Doing?** or **Right Place At Right Time**, with women who were actively experiencing that stage may have increased the depth of understanding of the process involved.

Transferability

Although the findings of this study are in agreement with Connor Schisler and Polatajko’s (2002) findings, at the level of ‘transferability’ proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985), the explanatory power of the theory that emerged is limited specifically to the population involved in the study. Without employing the specific methodology and associated research procedures of grounded theory (as in this study), and studying other groups, such as immigrant men or other ethnic immigrant groups, it is difficult to know if this theory has the potential to be more than a substantive theory and whether a formal theory may develop. In addition, studying older immigrant Indian women who do not speak English may produce different results.

Support for the validity of the study, at this level, was informally provided from a source outside of the study participants. By chance, on one visit to a participant where the data analysis was being reviewed, her husband was present in the room. As the researcher explained the process that had unfolded from the data, her husband sat quietly, occasionally nodding his head. At the end of the explanation he entered the conversation and voiced how he could relate to the process, reminding him of his immigrant journey to New Zealand eight years prior.

While considering the presence of both strengths and limitations, this study contributes to an understanding of the processes that are involved for immigrant Indian women living in New Zealand. These processes hold implications for the field of occupational science, policy makers, and immigration support services.

Implications of this Study

Implications for Occupational Science

The findings of this study reveal a dynamic interplay in the environment-occupation-person interface, as perceived for immigrant Indian women living in New Zealand. The results of this interplay support previous understandings of occupations as complex processes occurring within environmental contexts and involving the mind-brain-body connection (Christiansen, 1994; Kielhofner, 2002).

However, limited research has not made explicit how the environment shapes the everyday things that people do when making a significant life transition as in the case of immigration. Most occupational science research has tended to focus on changes in the person as a result of a transformed environment, or changes in the person as a result of occupational change. In order to fully appreciate the context within which occupation occurs, there needs to be further exploration of how changes in environment are experienced by groups of people such as immigrants and refugees (Connor Schisler & Polatajko, 2002) from an occupational perspective.

When carrying out further studies in this area it is important that researchers are not confined to looking at the environment from an occupational therapy perspective. There is a need to incorporate and build on ideas from other academic fields, such as environmental psychology, to provide rich insights as to the cultural nature of environment and how this impacts occupation.

This study revealed similarities in the participants' response to a new environment and how this shapes their occupational experiences. It also acknowledges that people are unique individuals and therefore while on some levels there are similarities in the women's processes, the environment-occupation-person relationship is distinct for each individual. With increasing groups immigrating or gaining refugee status worldwide, there is a need for enhanced understanding of the central role that occupation has in mediating people's interaction with environment and their perception of self and well-being.

Implications for Policy Makers and Immigrant Support Services

Over the last decade New Zealand has seen increasing numbers of immigrants entering the country from various parts of the world. While the government has policies in place to aid with the settlement of immigrants in New Zealand (Department of Labour, 2005a; Department of Labour 2005b; New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004b) there is growing need for local government to provide hands on services to support immigrants with settlement issues. When considering the topic of occupation, currently the focus of support services is on occupation in the sense of finding 'paid employment' for new immigrants. This study broadens the meaning of occupation and would propose the need for services to consider the importance of everyday activities and the impact these have in determining how positive new immigrants feel about their journey towards settlement in New Zealand.

In considering the need for support around everyday activities or occupations, services need to consider how best this support can be implemented. This study identified that for many of the women, having initial support from others helped with learning where to perform occupations, such as grocery shopping, and how to perform occupations, such as going to the doctor. This support came in either the practical form of having someone to do the occupation alongside them, or in the form of instructions and being provided with the information needed to successfully complete the task.

Many women arrive as part of a family unit and some have friends and family already living in the country. This makes it easier for them to get the necessary support needed with performing everyday activities. However, there are a handful of women who make the journey to New Zealand on their own or with a partner and do not have the support of a community network. For these immigrants, it is important that there are services able to provide the necessary support.

Thus, providing support may take different forms. The women in this study identified having others to show them the way as being useful. Therefore, services may need to consider the use of volunteers to go with new immigrants and help them perform everyday activities, such as getting the car serviced at the local mechanics. Educational services in the form of groups may also prove beneficial. Establishing support groups within the local community that new immigrants can attend and share their experiences of trying to do things in a new environment may be beneficial for assisting with the creation of an extended network of support.

These support groups might also provide a rich insight into the information immigrants need through the questions asked at such gatherings.

Supporting immigrants to engage in everyday occupations in a new and unfamiliar place, is likely to increase their ability to master new ways of doing things and thus facilitate the development or nurturing of a positive sense of self and well-being. This in turn will ease the stress implicit in the process of integrating into a new culture. Any changes that are made by immigration support services will need to be researched to explore the effectiveness of such measures.

Implications for Future Research

In the late 1980s Dyck (1989) identified the need to research not only occupational content but also context. During the 1990s Dunn et al. (1994) published a study presenting a framework for considering the effect of context on human performance. Connor Schisler and Polatajko's (2002) article extends the relationship between occupational content and context in considering the environment-occupation-person interface. However, they acknowledge that more studies with people from diverse cultures who have experienced a shift in environment is needed to deepen understanding of the nature of these relationships. This study goes some way to answering that call.

This study has contributed an initial understanding and a model of the processes involved in how Indian women do things in a new culture to support a sense of self and well-being. The model is, however, limited in its scope with regards to the number and representation of the women who participated and in terms of the length of time following their arrival in the country. Further research in this field involving other ethnic groups may present a different understanding of how the environment impacts upon occupation and, therefore, the things people do to support identity and a healthy well-being when moving to a new country. In addition, the length of time immigrants have been living in the new culture may also influence the things they do. Further to this, as previously acknowledged, this study has been time limited and has therefore only identified three processes that immigrant Indian women journey through. It may be that a study over a longer time frame discovers that there are further distinct processes that occur.

As earlier identified, the concept of Two Becoming One has yet to be fully investigated. More research is needed for this and this research may assist people

who work with new immigrants doing new things in a new country. In addition, research exploring whether the strategies the women in this study found effective are beneficial for other groups settling in a new environment is recommended. For instance, it might be interesting to explore whether the relationships established between immigration, occupation, identity, and well-being, and the process of coming to terms with a new environment holds when individuals from an individualistic society migrate to communally based cultures. This would be one way of testing how easily generalised the model developed in the current study is.

Summary

This study sought to answer the question “how do the things Indian women do in a new culture, support their sense of self and well-being?” It has generated answers that are founded on the understandings of Indian women who have immigrated to New Zealand within the last five years and who have had to make changes to their occupations to successfully live a healthy life in a new culture. The things immigrant Indian women do form three interactive and interdependent processes, *Oh God, Where Did I Come?*, *Being In The Change*, and *A New Zealander With An Indian Soul*. Fundamental to the three processes is the women’s journey of *Two Becoming One*, which refers to the ways they integrate their culture of origin with the culture in which they are now situated. This study highlights the importance of the environment-occupation-person interface and potentially informs us about the processes immigrant Indian women might experience through their day to day actions and interactions in a new culture to support their sense of self and well-being.

REFERENCES

- Adams, J., Hayes, J., & Hopson, B. (1976). *Transition: Understanding and managing personal change*. London: Martin Robertson.
- Adler, N. J. (1981). Re-entry: Managing cross-cultural transitions. *Group and Organization Studies*, 6(3), 341-356.
- Adler, P. S. (1975). The transitional experience. An alternative view of culture shock. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 15(4), 13-23.
- Allport, G. W. (1968). The open system in personality theory. In W. Buckley (Ed.), *Modern systems research for the behavioural scientist* (pp. 343-350). Chicago: Aldine.
- Altman, I., & Wohlwill, J. F. (Eds.). (1976). *Human behaviour and environment: Advances in theory and research*. New York: Plenum Press.
- American Occupational Therapy Association. (1995). Position paper: Occupation. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 49(10), 1015-1018.
- American Occupational Therapy Association. (1997). Statement – Fundamental concepts of occupational therapy: Occupation, purposeful activity, and function. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 51(10), 864-866.
- Aroian, K. J. (1990). A model of psychological adaptation to migration and resettlement. *Nursing Research*, 39(1), 5-10.
- Auckland City. (2005). *Introducing Auckland: Our people*. Retrieved February 16th, 2004, from <http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz/auckland/introduction/people/ethnicity.asp>
- Baptiste, S. (1988). Muriel Driver Memorial Lecture: Chronic pain, activity and culture. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 55, 179-184.
- Barger, W. K. (1977). Culture change and psychosocial adjustment. *American Ethnologist*, 4, 471-495.
- Barris, R. (1982). Environmental interactions: An extension of the model of occupation. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 36(10), 637-644.
- Baumeister, R. F. (1982). Self-esteem, self-presentation and future interaction. A dilemma of reputation. *Journal of Personality*, 50(1), 29-45.
- Baumeister, R. F. (1986). *Identity: Cultural change and the struggle for self*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Baumeister, R. F. (1997). Identity, self-concept and self-esteem. In R. Hogan, J. Johnson, & S. Briggs (Eds.), *Handbook of personality psychology* (pp. 681-711). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Baumeister, R., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 497-592.
- Bennet, J. (1977). Transition shock. Putting culture shock in perspective. *International and Intercultural Communication Annual*, 4, 45-52.
- Berg, B. L. (1995). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (2nd ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality*. New York: Doubleday.
- Berry, J., & Sam, D. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. In J. Berry, M. Segall, & C. Kagitcibasi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Volume 3. Social behaviour and applications* (pp. 291-326). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berzonsky, M. D. (1992). Identity style and coping strategies. *Journal of Personality*, 60(4), 771-788.
- Berzonsky, M. D. (2003). Identity style and well-being: Does commitment matter? *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 3(2), 131-142.
- Bharati, A. (1985). The self in Hindu thought and action. In A. J. Marsella, G. Devos, & F. L. K. Hsu (Eds.), *Culture and self: Asian and Western perspectives* (pp. 185-230). New York: Tavistock.
- Bhatt, S., Kalra, P., Kohli, A., Malkani, L., & Rasiah, D. (Eds.). (1993). *Our feet walk the sky: Women of the South Asian diaspora*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute.
- Birman, D., & Trickett, E. J. (2001). Cultural transitions in first-generation immigrants: Acculturation of Soviet Jewish refugee adolescents and parents. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, 32, 456-477.
- Blair, S. E. E. (1998). Daffodils in September: Making a transition. *Occupation*, 6(2), 20-25.
- Blair, S. E. E. (2000). The centrality of occupation during life transitions. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 63(5), 231-237.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

- Boderrick, T., & Glazer, B. (1983). Leisure participation and the retirement process. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 37(1), 15-22.
- Bonder, B. R. (1997). Coping with psychological and emotional challenges. In C. Christiansen & C. Baum (Eds.), *Occupational therapy: Enabling function and well-being* (pp. 312-334). Thorofare, NJ: Slack.
- Brewer, M. B., & Gardner, W. (1996). Who is this "We"? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(1), 83-93.
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Buttimer, A., & Seamon, D. (Eds.). (1980). *The human experience of space and place*. London: Croom Helm.
- Butterfield, J. (Ed.). (2003). *Collins English dictionary* (6th ed.). Glasgow: HarperCollins Publisher.
- Bynum, C. W. (2001). *Metamorphosis and identity*. New York: Zone Books.
- Casey, E. S. (1993). *Getting back into place: Toward a renewed understanding of the place-world*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Chamberlain, K. (1999). Using grounded theory in health psychology: Practices, premises and potential. In M. Murray & K. Chamberlain (Eds.), *Qualitative health psychology: Theories and methods* (pp. 183-201). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chanda, G. S., & Owen, N. G. (2001). Tainted goods? Western feminism and the Asian experience. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 7(4), 90-105.
- Chapple, C. (1986). *Karma and creativity*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Charon, J. M. (2001). *Symbolic interactionism: An introduction, an interpretation, an integration* (7th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.; pp.509-535). London: Sage.
- Chenitz, W. C., & Swanson, J. M. (1986). *From practice to grounded theory: Qualitative research in nursing*. California: Addison-Wesley.
- Christiansen, C. (1991). Occupational therapy. Intervention for life performance. In C. Christiansen & C. Baum (Eds.), *Occupational therapy: Overcoming human performance deficits* (pp. 2-43). Thorofare, NJ: Slack.

- Christiansen, C. (1994). Classification and study in occupation: A review and discussion of taxonomies. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 1(3), 3-21.
- Christiansen, C. H. (1999). Defining lives: Occupation as identity: An essay on competence, coherence, and the creation of meaning. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 53(6), 547-558.
- Christiansen, C. H. (2000). Identity, personal projects and happiness: Self construction in everyday action. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 17(3), 98-107.
- Christiansen, C. H. (2004). Occupation and identity. Becoming who we are through what we do. In C. H. Christiansen & E. A. Townsend (Eds.), *Introduction to occupation: The art and science of living* (pp. 121-140). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.
- Christiansen, C., & Baum, C. (1997). Person-environment occupational performance: A conceptual model for practice. In C. Christiansen & C. Baum (Eds.), *Occupational therapy: Enabling function and well-being* (pp. 46-71). Thorofare, NJ: Slack.
- Coffey, A., & Atkinson, P. (1996). *Making sense of qualitative data: Complementary research strategies*. London: Sage.
- Congress, P. E. (1994). The use of culturagrams to assess and empower culturally diverse families. *The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 75(9), 531-539.
- Connor Schisler, A. (1996). *The effect of environmental change on daily occupations: A case study of Burundian refugees in Southwestern Ontario*. Unpublished master's thesis, The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada.
- Connor Schisler, A., & Polatajko, H. J. (2002). The individual as mediator of the person-occupation-environment interaction: Learning from the experience of refugees. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 9(2), 82-92.
- Coolican, H. (1990). *Research methods and statistics in psychology*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Cox, J. (1995). Personal reflections on occupation in the natural environment, health and well-being. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 2, 36-39.
- Crabtree, J. L. (1998). The end of occupational therapy. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 52(3), 205-214.

- Crisp, R. (2001). *Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy: Well-being*. Retrieved August 15th, 2004, from <http://www.plato.stanford.edu/entries/well-being/#1>
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. St. Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Cunningham, C. W., & Durie, M. H. (1998). *A taxonomy, and a framework for outcomes and strategic research goals, for Maori research and development*. Palmerston North: Te Pumanawa Hauora, Massey University School of Maori Studies.
- Cusick, A. (2000). Practitioner-researchers in occupational therapy. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal*, 47(1), 11-27.
- Cutchin, M. P. (2004). Using Deweyan philosophy to rename and reframe adaptation-to-environment. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 58, 303-312.
- Daniel, A. (1999-2000). *The caste system*. Retrieved October 12th, 2003, from <http://www.adaniel.tripod.com/castes.htm>
- Dear, M. (1996). Time, space, and the geography of everyday life of people who are homeless. In R. Zemke & F. Clark (Eds.), *Occupational science: The evolving discipline* (pp. 107-114). Philadelphia: F.A. Davis.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2003). *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Department of Labour. (2005a). *The New Zealand settlement strategy in outline: A future together*. Retrieved May 14th, 2005, from <http://www.immigration.govt.nz/NR/ronlyres/7137ABC7-9569-4BAE-BB09-227914CECE50/0/NZImmigrationSettlementStrategyOutline.pdf>
- Department of Labour. (2005b). *Migrating to or visiting New Zealand*. Retrieved May 14th, 2005, from <http://www.dol.govt.nz/NZIS.asp>
- DePoy, E., & Gitlin, L. N. (1998). *Introduction to research: Multiple strategies for health and human services* (2nd ed.). St. Louis: Mosby.
- Desai, L. (1999). Relational theory in South Asian context: An example of the dynamics of identity development. *Work in Progress*, 86, 1-11.
- Deverson, T. (Ed.). (1998). *The New Zealand Oxford paperback dictionary*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Dey, I. (1999). *Grounding grounded theory: Guidelines for qualitative inquiry*. San Diego: Academic Press.

- Dumont, L. (1986). *Essays in individualism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dunn, W., Brown, C., & McGuigan, A. (1994). The ecology of human performance: A framework for considering the effect of context. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 48(7), 595-607.
- Dunning, H. (1972). Environmental occupational therapy. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 26, 292-298.
- Durie, M. H. (1994). *Whaiora: Maori health development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Dyck, I. (1989). The immigrant client: Issues in developing culturally sensitive practice. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 56, 248-255.
- Emami, A., & Ekman, S. L. (1998). Living in a foreign country in old age: Life in Sweden as experienced by elderly Iranian immigrants. *Health Care in Later Life*, 3(3), 183-198.
- Englehardt, H. T. (1977). Defining occupational therapy: The meaning of therapy and the virtues of occupation. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 31, 666-672.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1978). *Adulthood*. New York: Norton.
- Evans, D., & Gruba, P. (2002). *How to write a better thesis* (2nd ed.). Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Feldman, S. S., Mont-Reynaud, R., & Rosenthal, D. A. (1992). When East moves West: The acculturation of values of Chinese adolescents in the U.S. and Australia. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 2, 147-173.
- Fidler, G., & Fidler, J. (1983). Doing and becoming: The occupational therapy experience. In G. Kielhofner (Ed.), *Health through occupation: Theory and practice in occupational therapy* (pp. 267-280). Philadelphia: F.A. Davis.
- Fisher, A., & Kielhofner, G. (1995). Mind-brain-body performance subsystem. In G. Kielhofner (Ed.), *A model of human occupation: Theory and application* (2nd ed.; pp. 83-90). Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins.
- Francis-Connolly, E. (1998). It never ends: Mothering as a lifetime occupation. *Scandinavian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 5, 149-155.
- Gallagher, W. (1993). *The power of place: How our surroundings shape our thoughts, emotions, and actions*. New York: Poseidon Press.
- Gallagher, W. (1999). How places affect people. *Architectural Record*, 187, 75-81.

- Gergen, K. J. (1991). *The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in modern life*. New York: Basic.
- Gergen, K. J., & Gergen, M. M. (1988). Narrative and the self as relationship. *Advances in Social Psychology*, 21, 17-56.
- Gerson, K., & Horowitz, R. (2002). Observation and interviewing: Options and choices in qualitative research. In T. May (Ed.), *Qualitative research in action* (pp. 199-224). London: Sage.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddings, L. S., & Wood, P. (2000). The methodological journey of a grounded theorist: An interview with Denise Dignam. *Nursing Praxis in New Zealand*, 16(2), 4-14.
- Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity: Advances in the methodology of grounded theory*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1992). *Basics of grounded theory analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1998). *Doing grounded theory: Issues and discussions*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Adeline De Gruyter.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1995). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research* (2nd ed.). New York: Adeline De Gruyter.
- Grant, B. M., & Giddings, L. S. (2002). Making sense of methodologies: A paradigm framework for the novice researcher. *Contemporary Nurse*, 13, 10-28.
- Guy, A., & Banim, M. (2000). Personal collections: Women's clothing use and identity. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 9(3), 313-327.
- Guzder, J., & Krishna, M. (1991). Sita-Shakti: Cultural paradigms for Indian women. *Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review*, 28(4), 257-301.
- Hamilton, T. B. (2004). Occupations and places. In C. H. Christiansen & E. A. Townsend (Eds.), *Introduction to occupation: The art and science of living* (pp. 173-196). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.
- Hanks, P. (Ed.). (1986). *Collins English dictionary* (2nd ed.). Glasgow: William Collins Sons & Co.

- Harvey, A. S. (1993). Quality of life and the use of time theory and measurement. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 1(2), 27-30.
- Hasselkus, B. R. (1997). Meaning and occupation. In C. H. Christiansen & C. Baum (Eds.), *Occupational therapy: Enabling function and well-being* (pp. 362-377). Thorofare, NJ: Slack.
- Hasselkus, B. R. (1995). Beyond ethnography: Expanding our understanding and criteria for qualitative research. *Occupational Therapy Journal of Research*, 15(2), 75-84.
- Hasselkus, B. R. (2002). *The meaning of everyday occupation*. Thorofare, NJ: Slack.
- Health Promotion Forum of New Zealand. (2004). *What is health promotion?* Retrieved September 22nd, 2004, from <http://www.hpforum.org.nz/page.php?7>
- Hertz, D. G. (1981). The stress of migration: Adjustment reactions of migrants and their families. In L. Eitinger & D. Schwartz (Eds.), *Strangers in the world* (pp. 70-83). Bern: Hans Hubert Publishers.
- Hinojosa, J., & Kramer, P. (1997). Statement - Fundamental concepts of occupational therapy: Occupation, purposeful activity, and function. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 51(10), 864-866.
- Hiss, T. (1990). *The experience of place*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Ho, E., Au, S., Bedford, C., & Cooper, J. (2002). *Mental health issues for Asians in New Zealand. A literature review*. Wellington: Mental Health Commission.
- Holland, D., Lachicotte, W., Skinner, D., & Cain, C. (1998). *Identity and agency in cultural worlds*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Howe, M. C., & Briggs, A. K. (1982). Ecological systems model for occupational therapy. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 36, 322-327.
- Hutching, M. (2004). *Becoming New Zealanders: Population, immigration and citizenship, 1940-1960*. Retrieved August 11th, 2004, from http://nzhistory.net.nz/dnzb_exhibs/citizen/
- INDAX. (2000). *Local shopping*. Retrieved March 14th, 2003, from <http://www.indax.com/localshp.html>
- James, W. (1950). *The principles of psychology*. New York: Dover.
- Jary, D., & Jary, J. (1991). *Collins dictionary of sociology*. Glasgow: HarperCollins Publishers.

- Jary, D., & Jary, J. (2000). *Collins dictionary of sociology* (3rd ed.). Glasgow: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Johnson, A. G. (2000). *The Blackwell dictionary of sociology: A user's guide to sociological language* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Johnson, P. S., & Johnson, J. A. (2001). The oppression of women in India. *Violence Against Women*, 7(9), 1051-1068.
- Jonsson, J., Borell, L., & Sadlo, G. (2000). Retirement: An occupational transition with consequences for temporality, balance and meaning of occupations. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 7(1), 29-37.
- Kakar, S. (1989). The maternal feminine in Indian psychoanalysis. *International Review of Psychoanalysis*, 16(3), 355-362.
- Kaminer, W. (1993). Feminism's identity crisis. *The Atlantic*, 272(4), 51-69.
- Karnik, S. J., & Suri, K. B. (1995). The law of Karma and social work considerations. *International Social Work*, 38, 365-377.
- Kasser, T., & Ryan, R. M. (2001). Be careful what you wish for: Optimal functioning and the relative attainment of intrinsic and extrinsic goals. In P. Schmuck & K.M. Sheldon (Eds.), *Life goals and well-being: Towards a positive psychology of human striving* (pp. 116-131). Ontario: Hogrefe & Huber.
- Keightley, R. (2004). *eNZed. Ancient and modern history*. Retrieved September 15th, 2004, from <http://www.enzed.com/hist.html>
- Khare, R. S. (1998). *Cultural diversity and social discontent: Anthropological studies on contemporary India*. London: Sage.
- Khullar, M. (1999). Women's caring in India: The intersecting public and private. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 5(3), 64-79.
- Kielhofner, G. (Ed.). (1985). *A model of human occupation: Theory and application*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins.
- Kielhofner, G. (1992). *Conceptual foundations of occupational therapy*. Baltimore: F.A. Davis.
- Kielhofner, G. (1995a). *A model of human occupation: Theory and application* (2nd ed.). Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins.
- Kielhofner, G. (1995b). Habituation subsystem. In G. Kielhofner (Ed.), *A model of human occupation: Theory and application* (2nd ed.; pp. 63-81). Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins.

- Kielhofner, G. (2002). *Model of human occupation: Theory and application* (3rd ed.). Baltimore: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.
- Kielhofner, G., Borell, L., Burke, J., Helfrich, C., & Nygård, L. (1995). Volition subsystem. In G. Kielhofner (Ed.), *A model of human occupation: Theory and application* (2nd ed.; pp. 39-62). Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins.
- Knopf, R. C. (1987). Human behaviour, cognition, and affect in the natural environment. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds.), *Handbook of environmental psychology, Volume 1* (pp. 783-825). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Kumar, M. A. (1999). *Meaning of migration, gender and identities in the lives of Asian Indian women: An exploratory study*. Unpublished dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania.
- Kuo, W. H., & Tsai, Y-M. (1986). Social networking, hardiness and immigrant's mental health. *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*, 27(2), 133-149.
- Laliberte-Rudman, D. (2002). Linking occupations and identity: Lessons learned through qualitative exploration. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 9(1), 12-19.
- Laungani, P. (1995). Stress in Eastern and Western cultures. In E. G. J. Brebner, P. Laungani, & A. O'Roark (Eds.), *Stress and emotion* (pp. 265-280). Washington: Taylor & Francis.
- Laungani, P. (1996). Death and bereavement in India and England: A comparative analysis. *Mortality*, 1(2), 191-212.
- Laungani, P. (1997). Patterns of bereavement in Indian and English society. In J. D. Morgan (Ed.), *Readings in thantology* (pp. 67-76). Amityville: Baywood Publishing.
- Laungani, P. (1999). Cultural influences on identity and behaviour: India and Britain. In Y. T. Lee (Ed.), *Personality and person perception across cultures* (pp. 191-212). Thorofare, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates.
- Law, M. (1991). The environment. A focus for occupational therapy. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 58(4), 171-179.
- Law, M., & Peachey-Hill, C. (2000). Impact of environmental sensitivity on occupational performance. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 67(5), 304-313.
- Law, M., Polatajko, H., Baptiste, S., & Townsend, E. (1997). Core concepts of occupational therapy. In E. Townsend (Ed.), *Enabling occupation: An*

- occupational therapy perspective* (pp. 27-56). Ottawa, Ontario: CAOT Publications ACE.
- Leckie, J. (1998). The southernmost Indian diaspora: From Gujarat to Aotearoa. *South Asia*, 21(Special Issue), 161-180.
- Leckie, J. (2004). *Indian settlers in Aotearoa, New Zealand*. Paper presented at the Kiwi-India Seminar Series: Historical Perspectives, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Letts, L., Rigby, P., & Steward, D. (Eds.). (2003). *Using environments to enable occupational performance*. Thorofare, NJ: Slack.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalist inquiry*. London: Sage.
- Ludwig, F. M. (1997). How routine facilitates wellbeing in older women. *Occupational Therapy International*, 4(3), 213-228.
- Lum, D. (1992). *Social work practice and people of color: A process-stage approach* (2nd ed.). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks Cole.
- McAdams, D. P. (1996). Personality, modernity, and the storied self: A contemporary framework for studying persons. *Psychological Inquiry*, 7, 295-321.
- McAdams, D. P., & Bryant, F. B. (1987). Intimacy motivation and subjective mental health in a nationwide sample. *Journal of Personality* 55, 395-413.
- McCallin, A. (2003). Grappling with the literature in a grounded theory study. *Contemporary Nurse*, 15(1-2), 61-69.
- McKinnon, M. (1996). *Immigrants and citizens: New Zealanders and Asian immigration in historical context*. Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies.
- Marin, G., & Gamba, R. J. (2002). Acculturation and changes in cultural values. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista, & G. Marin (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 83-93). Washington: American Psychological Association.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98(2), 224-253.
- Marriott, McK. (1976). Interpreting Indian society: A monistic alternative to Dumont's dualism. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 36(1), 189-195.
- Mays, N., & Pope, C. (1995). Rigour and qualitative research. *British Medical Journal*, 311, 109-112.

- Mehta, R., & Belk, R. W. (1991). Artifacts, identity and transition: Favourite possessions of Indians and Indian immigrants to the United States. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 17(14), 398-411.
- Mercer, D. C. (1976). Motivational and social aspects of recreational behaviour. In I. Altman, A. Rapoport, & J. F. Wohlwill (Eds.), *Human behaviour and environment. Advances in theory and research, Volume 1* (pp. 123-162). New York: Plenum Press.
- Meyer, A. (1977). The philosophy of occupation therapy. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 31, 639-642. (Original work published 1922)
- Milner Jr., M. (1993). Hindu eschatology and the Indian caste system: An example of structural reversal. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 52(2), 298-319.
- Mines, M. (1981). Indian transitions: A comparative analysis of adult stages of development. *Ethos*, 9(2), 95-121.
- Mookerjee, A. (1988). *Kali: The feminine force*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Nayar, S. (2003). *Forming, experiencing and expressing identity through occupation: A personal dialogue*. Unpublished work.
- Nayar, S. (2004). *The immigration-occupation-identity interface: A preliminary look into the experience of the new immigrant*. Unpublished work.
- Nayar, S. (2005). Understanding Western and Hindu women's identities: A basis for culturally safe practice. *New Zealand Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 52(1), 38-44.
- Nelson, D. (1988). Occupational form and performance. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 42(10), 633-641.
- New Zealand History. (2004). *The colonisation of New Zealand*. Retrieved September 15th, 2004, from <http://www.history-nz.org/colonisation1.html>
- New Zealand Immigration Service. (2004a). *History*. Retrieved August 30th, 2004, from <http://www.immigration.govt.nz/Migrant/SettlementPack/SettlingIn/BecomingANewZealander/History.htm#top>
- New Zealand Immigration Service. (2004b). *About the New Zealand immigration service*. Retrieved May 14th, 2005, from <http://www.immigration.govt.nz/community/general/aboutnzis/>
- O'Brien, P., Dyck, I., Caron, S., & Mortenson, P. (2002). Environmental analysis: Insights from sociological and geographical perspectives. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 69(4), 229-238.

- O'Connor, M. (1990). *An immigrant nation*. Auckland: Heinemann Education.
- Omprakash, S. (1989). The doctrine of Karma: Its psychosocial consequences. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 17(1), 133-145.
- Ottawa Charter. (2002). *Ottawa Charter for health promotion*. Retrieved May 3rd, 2002, from <http://www.who.int.hpr/archive/docs/ottawa.html>
- Pernice, R., & Brooks, J. (1996). Refugees' and immigrants' mental health: Association of demographic and post-immigration factors. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 136(4), 511-519.
- Pierce, D. (2002). Maternal management of the home as a developmental play space for infants and toddlers. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 54(3), 290-299.
- Pierce, D. E. (2003). *Occupation by design: Building therapeutic power*. Philadelphia: F.A. Davis.
- Polit, D. F., Beck, C. T., & Hungler, B. P. (2001). *Essentials of nursing research: Methods, appraisal, and utilization* (5th ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott-Raven Publishers.
- Primeau, L. A. (1998). Orchestration of work and play within families. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 52(3), 188-195.
- Rao, S. (1999). The intersections of identity politics, gender and Indian nationalism. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 22(3), 317-328.
- Rapoport, A. (1980). Cross-cultural aspects of environmental design. In I. Altman, A. Rapoport, & J. F. Wohlwill (Eds.), *Human behaviour and environment. Advances in theory and research. Volume 4: Environment and culture* (pp. 7-46). New York: Plenum Press.
- Rastogi, S. (2002). Shopping malls: An Indian response. *Architecture + Design*, 19(2), 30-33.
- Raza, F. (1997). *Ethnic identity, acculturation, and intergenerational conflict among second-generation New Zealand Indians*. Unpublished MA thesis. The University of Auckland, New Zealand.
- Reichenbach, B. R. (1990). *The law of Karma: A philosophical study*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Reilly, M. (1962). Eleanor Clarke Slagle Lecture: Occupational therapy can be one of the great ideas of 20th century medicine. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 16, 1-9.

- Roland, A. (1988). *In search of self in India and Japan*. Thorofare, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rosenthal, D. A., Bell, R., Demetrious, A., & Efklides, A. (1989). From collectivism to individualism? The acculturation of Greek immigrants to Australia. *International Journal of Psychology*, 24, 57-71.
- Rowles, G. D. (1980). Toward a geography of growing old. In A. Buttimer & D. Seamon (Eds.), *The human experience of space and place* (pp. 55-72). London: Croom Helm.
- Rowles, G. D. (1991). Beyond performance: Being in place as a component of occupational therapy. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 45(3), 265-271.
- Rowles, G. D. (2000). Habituation and being in place. *Occupational Therapy Journal of Research*, 20(suppl. 1), 52S-67S.
- Roy, W. T. (1978). Indians in New Zealand: An historical note. *Journal of the New Zealand Federation of Historical Societies*, 1(8), 16-20.
- Royeen, C. B. (1997). *A research primer for occupational and physical therapy*. Bethesda, MD: American Occupational Therapy Association Press.
- Ruben, B. D., Askling, L. R., & Kealey, D. J. (1977). Cross-cultural effectiveness. In D. S. Hoopes, P. B. Pedersen, & G. Renwick (Eds.), *Overview of intercultural education, training, and research, Volume 1* (pp. 92-105). LaGrange Park, Illinois: Intercultural Network.
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. (1995). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Russell, J. A., & Snodgrass, J. (1987). Emotion and the environment. In D. Stokols & I. Altman (Eds.), *Handbook of environmental psychology, Volume 1* (pp. 245-280). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it?: Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 1069-1081.
- Sabonis-Chafee, B. (1989). *Occupational therapy: Introductory concepts*. St. Louis: CV Mosby.
- Shukla, S. (1997). Building diaspora and nation: The 1991 'Cultural Festival of India'. *Cultural Studies*, 11(2), 296-315.

- Sinha, J. B. (1982). The Hindu (Indian) identity. *Dynamische Psychiatrie*, 15(3-sup-4), 148-160.
- Solomon, R. C., & Higgins, K. M. (1997). *A passion for wisdom: A very brief history of philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Srinivasan, S. (2001). "Being Indian," "Being American": A balancing act or a creative blend? *Journal of Human Behaviour in Social Environment*, 3(3/4), 135-158.
- Stanley, M., & Creek, J. (2003). Grounded theory: Exploiting the potential for occupational therapy. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 66(4), 143-150.
- Statistics New Zealand. (2004a). *Quick facts-people*. Retrieved August 30th, 2004, from <http://www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/nzstories.nsf/htmldocs/Quick+Facts+-+People>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2004b). *2001 Census: Asian people 2001*. Retrieved August 30th, 2004, from <http://statsnz.resultspace.com/search?p=Q&ts=custom&w=indian+immigrants>
- Statistics New Zealand. (2005a). *External migration*. Retrieved February 15th, 2005, from [http://www2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/pasfull/pasfull.nsf/0/4c2567ef00247c6acc256f9d000d87f4/\\$FILE/alltabls.xls](http://www2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/pasfull/pasfull.nsf/0/4c2567ef00247c6acc256f9d000d87f4/$FILE/alltabls.xls)
- Statistics New Zealand. (2005b). *2001 Census: Asian People*. Retrieved February 15th, 2005, from [http://www2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/pasfull/pasfull.nsf/84bf91b1a7b5d7204c256809000460a4/4c2567ef00247c6acc256cc1006ff7d3/\\$FILE/Table%201.xls](http://www2.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/pasfull/pasfull.nsf/84bf91b1a7b5d7204c256809000460a4/4c2567ef00247c6acc256cc1006ff7d3/$FILE/Table%201.xls)
- Strauss, A. L. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 1-18). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research. Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Swann, W. B., & Hill, C. A. (1982). When our identities are mistaken: Reaffirming self-conceptions through social interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 43, 59-66.
- Sykes, J. B. (Ed.). (1987). *The concise Oxford dictionary of current English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1989). *Sources of the self: The making of modern identity*. Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.
- Taylor, J. (2003). Women's leisure activities, their social stereotypes and some implications for identity. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 66(4), 151-158.
- Thapan, M. (2001). Adolescence, embodiment and gender identity in contemporary India. Elite women in a changing society. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 24(3-4), 359-371.
- Thapar, R. (1989). Imagined religious communities? Ancient history and the modern search of a Hindu identity. *Modern Asian Studies*, 23(2), 209-231.
- Tolich, M., & Davidson, C. (1999). *Starting fieldwork*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Townsend, E., & Brintnell, S. (1991). Context of occupational therapy. In E. Townsend (Ed.), *Enabling occupation: An occupational therapy perspective* (pp. 9-25). Ottawa, Ontario: CAOT Publications ACE.
- Trochim, W. M. K. (2002). *Qualitative validity*. Retrieved May 12th, 2004, from <http://trochim.human.cornell.edu/kb/qualval.htm>
- Vaidyanathan, T. G. (1989). Authority and identity in India. *Daedalus*, 188, 147-169.
- Valenzuela Jr., A. (1999). Gender roles and settlement activities among children and their immigrant families. *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 42(4), 720-742.
- Walker, U. (2001). *Review of the measurement of ethnicity*. Retrieved September 1st, 2004, from http://www.stats.govt.nz/domino/external/web/prod_serv.nsf/3153e23ac69cb3d84c25680800821fa4/39ad6cadd252687bcc256b3b0072c553/%24FILE/ethnicity_other_main.pdf

- Wellington Indian Association. (2004). *Festival of lights: Diwali*. Retrieved August 26th, 2004, from <http://wia.org.nz/diwali.htm>
- Whiteford, G. (1997). Occupational deprivation and incarceration. *Journal of Occupational Science*, 4(3), 126-130.
- Whiteford, G. (2000). Occupational deprivation: Global challenge in the new millennium. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 63(5), 200-204.
- Wicks, A. (2003). *Understanding occupational potential across the life course: Life stories of older women*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: Charles Sturt University, Australia.
- Wilcock, A. (1991). We are what we do: An occupational perspective on life, health and the profession. *Proceedings of the 16th Federal Conference of the Australian Association of Occupational Therapists, Adelaide*, 73-93.
- Wilcock, A. A. (1996). *The relationship between occupation and health. Implications for occupational therapy and public health*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Adelaide, South Australia.
- Wilcock, A. (1998a). Occupation for health. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 61, 340-345.
- Wilcock, A. A. (1998b). *An occupational perspective on health*. Thorofare, NJ: Slack.
- Wilkins, W. J. (1982). *Hindu mythology*. Calcutta: Rupa.
- Wong, P. T. P. (1998). Implicit theories of meaningful life and the development of the personal meaning profile. In P. T. P. Wong & P. S. Fry (Eds.), *The human quest for meaning* (pp. 111-140). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- World Health Organization. (2003). *WHO definition of health*. Retrieved February 15th, 2005, from <http://www.who.int/about/definition/en/>
- Yerxa, E. J. (1998). Health and the human spirit for occupation. *American Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 52(6), 412-418.
- Yerxa, E. J., Clark, F., Frank, G., Jackson, J., Parham, D., Pierce, D., Stein, C., & Zemke, R. (1990). *An introduction to occupational science: A foundation for occupational therapy in the 21st century*. Binghamton, New York: Haworth Press.
- Yerxa, E. J., Clark, F., Frank, G., Jackson, J., Parham, D., Pierce, D., Stein, C., & Zemke, R. (1990). Occupational science: The foundation for new models of practice. *Occupational Therapy in Health Care*, 6(4), 1-17.

- Zajacova, A. (2002). Constructing the reality of the immigrant life. *Journal of Social Distress and the Homeless*, 11(1), 69-79.
- Zapf, M. K. (1991). Cross-cultural transitions and wellness. Dealing with culture shock. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 14, 105-119.
- Zemke, R., & Clark, F. (Eds.). (1996). *Occupational science: The evolving discipline*. Philadelphia: F.A. Davis.

APPENDICES

Appendix A



Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced: 19th July 2004

Project Title: Doing things differently: Indian women sustaining their sense of self and well-being in a new country.

Invitation

I am interested in talking with Indian women who have immigrated to New Zealand about their experiences of settling into a new country and specifically the things they did to sustain a sense of self and well-being. Therefore, following on from our telephone conversation in which you indicated an interest in participating in my study (as part of the Master of Health Science qualification), I am now sending you this information sheet.

What is the purpose of the study?

To uncover the things that Indian women do to sustain their sense of self and well-being in a new environment.

How are people chosen to be asked to be part of the study?

I am hoping to talk to between 8-12 Indian women who have immigrated to New Zealand within the last 10 years. People who feel they fit this criterion and are interested in being part of the study have answered my various advertisements that I have placed in local community places throughout Auckland, which Indian women are likely to access. Each woman has been asked to fill out a 'Demographic Data' sheet (included with this information) which will allow me to select participants and ensure that a range of stories are heard. Participation has been voluntary.

What happens in the study?

We arrange an interview at a place and time that is convenient to you. I will audio tape our conversation, which will last between 45-90 minutes, and also take some notes during this

process. The interview will be typed and you will receive a copy, which you are welcome to comment on and ask for things to be omitted. You will also be sent a copy of my analysis of your interview that you are welcome to comment on and then return to me. Alongside the initial interview, I may ask if I can observe you performing an activity, such as going grocery shopping and talk to you about this experience, or request a second interview to clarify further information. If you are willing, we may need to meet again at a later date so that I can have your opinion on some emerging ideas about the experiences.

What are the discomforts and risks?

You need to be aware that you will be talking about some aspects of your day to day experiences in your life, and this may cause upsetting emotions. If required, a free counselling session can be arranged through the AUT Counselling Service. You can withdraw any information from the study that you do not wish to have included in the final analysis.

What are the benefits?

Through this research, I hope to enlighten the community in regards to what is involved with the process of immigration and settlement in a new environment, to ensure that there is appropriate support available for those people who immigrate and perhaps struggle with settling into a new culture.

How will my privacy be protected?

All participants will be protected by confidentiality. I will be the only person who will know your true identity. If I do not type up the interviews, I will ensure that the typist signs a confidentiality agreement. You will choose a fictitious name and only be known by that name. I will not use any identifying details in my study or presentations. Any information with your name or contact details will be kept in a locked filing cabinet.

Coded interview data will be available to students and lecturers (approved by the researcher) at the Auckland University of Technology for the purpose of qualitative research analysis. If you do not want to have the data from your interview used in this manner, please indicate this on your consent form.

What are the costs of participating in the project?

The main cost of you participating is your time. This will be approximately 2 hours for the initial interview and another 2 hours for a later observation or interview (if required). I appreciate that your time is given voluntarily.

If you sustain any other costs relating to the project we can discuss appropriate reimbursement.

Opportunity to consider invitation

Thank you for reading this information sheet and considering being a participant in my study. If you would like to participate in this study it would be great to hear from you. Please reply by completing both the consent and demographic forms and posting them in the stamped addressed envelope (included with this information). If have any questions regarding the study that may help your decision as to whether or not to participate please contact me on the phone number or email listed below.

Opportunity to receive feedback on results of research

If you would like the opportunity to receive feedback on results of the research this can be arranged and will be discussed with you at our initial meeting.

Participant Concerns

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTECH, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz , 917 9999 ext 8044.

Researcher Contact Details:

Shoba Nayar
Ph: 0800 020 674
Email: shonay99@aut.ac.nz

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Clare Hocking
Principle Lecturer
School of Occupational Therapy, AUT
Private Bag 92006, Auckland
Ph: 09 917 9999 ext. 7120

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 24th August 2004. AUTECH Reference number 04/144

*Appendix B**Consent to Participation in Research*

Title of Project: **Doing things differently: Indian women sustaining a sense of self and well-being in a new country.**

Project Supervisor: **Clare Hocking**

Researcher: **Shoba Nayar**

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project (Information Sheet dated 19th July 2004).
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that the interview will be audio-taped and typed word for word and that the interviewer may make notes during the interview.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to commencement of data analysis, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant tapes and typed copies, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research. Yes/No
- I give permission for typed copies of my interviews to be used by other researchers – who have been approved by Shoba Nayar for the purpose of analysis once all personal identifiers have been removed. Yes/No

Participant signature:

Participant name:

Participant Contact Phone Number and Mailing Address:

.....

.....

.....

.....

Date:

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 24th
August 2004. AUTECH Reference number 04/144**

Note: The participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix C

Demographic Data Form

Name: _____

- Would you like to be interviewed...

At Home

At AUT

If you circled At Home please include your home address:

- To which age group do you belong? (please circle one)

18-25

26-35

36-45

46-55

56-65

65+

- In which year did you immigrate to New Zealand? (please circle one)

2004

2003

2002

2001

2000

1999

- Did you immigrate...

By yourself

With one other person

With a family

- When you came to New Zealand did you already have a job/education arranged?

Yes

No

Not Applicable

- How many people did you know in New Zealand before you immigrated?

1-5

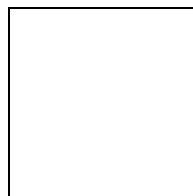
6-10

10+

Not Applicable

Signed: _____

Date: _____

*Appendix D**Ethical Consent Form***MEMORANDUM****Student Services Group – Academic Services**

To: Clare Hocking
 From: **Madeline Banda**
 Date: 24 August 2004
 Subject: 04/144 Doing things differently: Indian women sustaining their sense of self and well-being in a new country

Dear Clare

Thank you for providing amendment and clarification of your ethics application as requested by AUTECH.

Your application was approved for a period of two years until 24 August 2006.

You are required to submit the following to AUTECH:

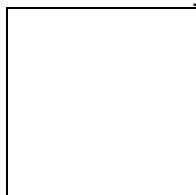
- A brief annual progress report indicating compliance with the ethical approval given.
- A brief statement on the status of the project at the end of the period of approval or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner.
- A request for renewal of approval if the project has not been completed by the end of the period of approval.

Please note that the Committee grants ethical approval only. If management approval from an institution/organisation is required, it is your responsibility to obtain this.

The Committee wishes you well with your research.

Please include the application number and study title in all correspondence and telephone queries.

Yours sincerely



Madeline Banda
Executive Secretary
AUTECH

CC: 9801141 Shoba Nayar

Appendix E

Interview Schedule

Can you remember doing an ordinary everyday thing – something that’s done differently in NZ? Can you tell me about that?	Social Alone – With others	Social For yourself – For others
Physical Physical surroundings People’s expectations	Physical Home/Community/Travel	Cultural (Different in NZ to India) Something wouldn’t have done – Something that felt the same
Cultural (Different in NZ to India) Some place wouldn’t have gone – Some place the same	Emotional Not going so well – Going well	Spiritual Being in the right place – Being out of place
	Prompts: Can you tell me more about... What happened when... Describe the setting...	Capture the Occupation: Who? Where? When? (soon after – awhile after) What? (smooth – hard) How did it start/end Why was it important to you?

We’ve covered a lot of ground and I’ll spend a lot of time with what you have told me. May I come back to you should I have more questions?

*Appendix F**Memo***23/01/05**

I wonder whether **Not Meeting Expectations** fits under or with **Not Fitting in a New Culture** somehow. Feels as though they are both alluding to the same thing which is around the individual not feeling comfortable in themselves, with doing, or with being in a new environment. Interesting to note that so far in these two clusters the majority of the codes comes from interviews 2 and 5, the two interviews so far that belong to women who have children. The other codes come from interview 3. She has felt different from the other participants so far in that number three describes herself and openly talks about being shy and keeping herself isolated so it would seem logical to think that she might have more difficult with fitting in the new culture. Why is this so though with the women who have children? Is there something about not just doing and needing to fit for oneself but rather there is a need to do it for the family and when this doesn't appear to be working it is more evident and the women feel it more? Is it also harder to negotiate one's way around the community environment if there are children involved? It would make sense to say it was easier because children can be a connection. However is it easier to explore the community environment if one does not have children to be looking after as well?

Appendix G

Table 2:1

Oh God, Where Did I Come?

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Causal Conditions	What Am I Doing?	Where To Go, What To Do Struggling Through Time Just Say Aunty
Contextual Conditions	A Transformed Environment	Seeing the Differences Paying the Price Missing the Bus Feeling Out of Place
Intervening Conditions	Awareness	Having Knowledge Surviving with Help Family Responsibilities
Actions/Interventions	Doing The Familiar	Keeping One's Culture Sticking to the Known
Consequences	Only Try And Hope	Experimenting Having the Right Attitude

*Appendix H**Table 3:1***Being In The Change**

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Causal Conditions	Getting To Know	Taking Time Establishing Contacts Seeking Knowledge Always Doing Something
Contextual Conditions	Different Ways	Accepting Change Doing Things the Kiwi Way
Intervening Conditions	Having Needs Met	Being Supported Being Resourced
Actions/Interventions	Learning And Doing	Gaining Skills and Expertise Doing Things Differently Being Discriminating
Consequences	Managing The Show	Becoming Independent Finding Own Ways Question of Survival

*Appendix I**Table 4:1***A New Zealander With An Indian Soul**

Paradigm Component	Categories	Sub-Categories
Causal Conditions	Right Place At Right Time	Feeling Homely Being Part of the Team
Contextual Conditions	Creating A Package	Building a Future Sharing of Two Cultures
Intervening Conditions	Discovering A Place To Stand	Being Assertive
Actions/Interventions	Doing More	Pursuing Opportunities Persevering
Consequences	Settled And Able To Do	Celebrating Achievements Everything is Alright