

The theory of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*

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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: _____

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ABSTRACT

Indian immigrant women are a growing minority group within the multicultural spaces of New Zealand society. Despite Indian immigrants being the second largest, and one of the oldest, Asian immigrant groups to this country, their experiences of settling in a new and unfamiliar environment have been largely overlooked. This grounded theory study using dimensional analysis was aimed at answering the question: ‘How do Indian immigrant women engage in occupations when settling in a new environment?’

In-depth interviews and observations of participants performing daily occupations were conducted with 25 Indian immigrant women living in one of three cities/towns located in the North Island of New Zealand. Theoretical sampling with constant comparative analysis was used to guide both ongoing data collection and data analysis. Categories were examined for their relationships and dimensions to arrive at a substantive grounded theory which has been named ‘*Navigating Cultural Spaces*’.

Performing occupations that reflected either the Indian or New Zealand cultures, or a combination of the two, were core elements in how Indian immigrant women settled in New Zealand. These ways of doing everyday tasks have been conceptualised as *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways* and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*. Working from each of these perspectives, the women sought to **Create a Place** in which they could ‘be Indian’ in a ‘New Zealand’ context.

In order to achieve the purpose of **Creating a Place**, Indian immigrant women constantly shifted between the three ways of working; thus, performing occupations that allowed them to reveal as much of their Indian culture as they felt comfortable with at any given time and situation. Their actions were influenced by the people, objects and social spaces that constituted the environment in which they engaged in occupations.

The significance of this study is that it reveals how the everyday occupations of Indian immigrant women are constantly modified through their interaction and interpretations of the environment, thus allowing them to move between and within the multicultural spaces of New Zealand society. This gives rise to *Navigating Cultural Spaces* which frames settlement as an ongoing and dynamic process and challenges the applicability of current models of acculturation in a New Zealand context. It is recommended that future research examines the migration process from an occupational perspective in order to assist with the development of migration policy and support services that best facilitate Indian immigrant women **Creating a Place** in New Zealand.

AND SO IT BEGINS

Why do people move? What makes them uproot and leave everything they've known for a great unknown beyond the horizon? Why climb this Mount Everest of formalities that makes you feel like a beggar? Why enter this jungle of foreignness where everything is new, strange and difficult?

Life of Pi – Yann Martel

The process of immigrating to, and settling in a new country, is unique for each individual, although similar patterns may occur. In many respects, the process of immigrating mirrors the journey of writing doctoral theses which often appear to follow a conventional formula; yet, are a reflection of the individual writer. This thesis is the story-telling of my research and as such is characteristic of myself; my thinking and writing. Here, I outline key points regarding the language and stylistic conventions of this work.

I have chosen to write this thesis using personal pronouns (e.g. *I/we, me/us, myself/ourselves, my/our*). I consider that it is an important characteristic which emphasises my role as researcher and author, and my ownership of this thesis and the ideas herein. Similarly, although the use of colour and diagrams are sometimes limited in the presentation of grounded theory studies, I have taken such liberties in order to present a piece of work which provides interest and originality in addition to academic contributions.

The use of foreign language is also noteworthy, particularly Māori, as it is the language of New Zealand's indigenous people and Hindi, as it is commonly used by the participants of this study. Māori words are an integral component of New Zealand language and culture, which convey meaning for New Zealanders and emphasise the unique New Zealand context of the research. Where possible, explanations of the Māori words, used in the thesis, have been included in a footnote.

Footnotes are used for explanatory or supplementary information without cluttering the text. Generally the footnotes contain contextual information for readers who may be unfamiliar with the New Zealand immigration scene.

Finally a note regarding the written presentation of findings, in a *'jungle of foreignness where everything is new, strange and difficult'*, I have chosen to identify certain words in a particular way. The core process is identified in bold/italics/capitals (***Navigating Cultural Spaces***), the purpose in bold/capitals (**Creating a Place**) and the perspectives in italics/capitals (***Working with Indian Ways***). Major dimensions, such as strategies and conditions have been capitalised and underlined (Keeping Past and Present), and sub-categories have been capitalised (Practising Indian Culture). Furthermore, I have edited participant quotes, removing 'um, ah, yeah, you know', and repetition, to assist with reading while retaining the flow and original intent of the text.

Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

*In the night you followed the path
 Never trodden before;
 You saw the sign in the sky
 And alone you went; ...
 In the narrow path of New Life,
 You are the forerunner, ignoring all limits,
 Conquering the impassable.
 In every step resounds the great yea;
 'I am! I am!'*

The Forerunner – Rabindranath Tagore

Part of the human experience, for many people, involves immigrating to live in a new place. My first experience of immigrating occurred at the age of 14 months, when my family left England to create a new life in New Zealand. Needless to say I have no recollection of this event, although discussions with my parents have shed some insight into the challenges of the process. The act of immigrating is not always an easy transition and is often more complex than anticipated. Having previously emigrated from their birth country India, to England, my parents were no strangers to establishing home in a new country. Yet, despite their experiences, they were still unprepared for many of the changes they would have to make, and adapt to, when in 1980 they left the city of Leicester in England and arrived in Te Kuiti, a small rural township in the middle of the North Island of New Zealand. Over the years, I have listened to, and come to appreciate, my mother's stories of what it was like travelling from the familiar surrounds of her upbringing in India to England and then building her home again here in New Zealand. They are stories of courage, loneliness, excitement, and endurance. As I reflect, I realise how the stories have become part of my journey; both as the daughter of an immigrant and an immigrant in my own right, and so it is these stories that have resonated within me as I have undertaken this research: a study about the journey women from India make in the process of immigrating to, and settling into, New Zealand society.

The focus of this study was on the everyday experiences of Indian women who have emigrated from India, as they sought to create a new home for themselves and their family in New Zealand. Central to these everyday

experiences were the assumptions made by the women and the people they encountered about how easy or challenging it was to engage in commonplace activities, such as cooking or going shopping, in an unfamiliar environment. Within the occupational therapy literature researchers acknowledge that immigration, resulting in a permanent change of living place, can be a stressful proposition that requires some form of adaptation and adjustment of valued occupations (Blair, 2000; Christiansen & Baum, 1997; Dyck, 1989; Hamilton, 2004). The word ‘occupations’, denotes any tasks or activities that people undertake in their daily life that hold meaning and purpose for them. For some individuals, changes to their everyday occupations are easily met and accommodated, while others struggle to meet the challenge of performing activities in a new environment.

This current research builds on a previous study I undertook for a Master’s of Health Science in 2005. In that study I spoke with 8 Indian women, who had immigrated to New Zealand, about their experiences of living in a new country. Findings revealed that occupations may come to be characterized as uncomfortable, unfamiliar or energy intensive experiences that give rise to feelings of incompetence, frustration, foreignness and ‘dis-ease’ (Nayar, 2005a). Add to this the multiplicity of ways an individual’s cultural values and beliefs may be confronted by the commonplace practices and assumptions of the local people, the potential for disruption to occupational performance is immense. Immigration therefore, is not only the process of moving from one country to reside in another, but extends to incorporate the living and being in a new environment (Jary & Jary, 1991). Environment can be defined as “the particular physical and social, cultural, economic, and political features of one’s context that impact upon the motivation, organization, and performance of occupation” (Kielhofner, 2008, p. 86). Environments are complex settings in which individuals function on a daily basis. If the environment is unfamiliar, an individual’s ability to effectively perform occupations may be challenged.

Understanding the process by which immigrants manage the change in occupations, which occurs as a result of being in a new environment, is important for two main reasons: first, recognising the threat to health and second, to inform the construction of support. From an occupational therapy perspective, occupation is central to health and wellbeing (Metaxas, 2000; Wilcock, 1996). Successful

engagement in occupation provides a sense of competence and enhances health, physically, mentally and emotionally. Alternatively, inability to effectively perform occupations may threaten a person's confidence and perception of self as a competent being, having detrimental effects on health. When the challenge to occupation results in disruption, the construction of support, whether from informal networks of family and friends, or targeted services, such as health centres, is critical to facilitating continued engagement in occupation. Generating a better understanding of the challenges immigrants encounter in their everyday occupations, and how they respond to the changes, is essential to establishing supports that facilitate immigrants' health and wellbeing.

This study employs a grounded theory methodology to assist with understanding the occupational experiences of Indian women who have immigrated to New Zealand. Situated within the interpretive qualitative paradigm, grounded theory methodology is useful in exploring the way people attach meaning to events in their lives (Grant & Giddings, 2002; Strauss, 1987). Within this study the women's experiences were gathered through in-depth conversations and observations that were carried out as they performed everyday occupations. An underpinning assumption in grounded theory is that within a social group there are shared but not always articulated basic social problems or issues (Glaser, 1998). In this study the issue is how Indian immigrant women do things to create a place for themselves in a new environment. Grounded theory is the chosen methodology for this study because it shows things about the processes that underlie societal functioning and thus, informs understanding of interactions between people, while at the same time contributing to knowledge about human immigration.

Aim of the Research

The aim of this research is to explain the occupational processes that Indian women, who have immigrated to New Zealand, engage in as part of settling in an unfamiliar environment and creating a place for themselves and their families in a new country. The question being asked is, 'How do Indian immigrant women engage in occupations when settling in a new environment?'

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to develop a substantive theory of the occupational practices of Indian immigrant women living in New Zealand. Within the New Zealand context, there is a paucity of literature specifically addressing the everyday experiences of immigrants and the actions they take to settle into a new country. Much of the existing research is situated within psychological or sociological fields of study. For example, a few researchers have explored the cultural and psychological challenges Asian¹ immigrants to New Zealand face, and their crises of identity (Eyou, Adair, & Dixon, 2000; Ho, Chen, & Bedford, 1999). Other researchers have chosen to focus on specific issues immigrants encounter, such as accessing employment (Abbott, Wong, Williams, Au, & Young, 1999; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Oliver, 2000; Pio, 2005, 2007a). Bedford (2008) argued that to date, information on the settlement experiences of immigrants in New Zealand has been anecdotal. In this study, the purpose of generating a theory is to provide reputable, trustworthy evidence within a framework that can be used to inform policy making and development of organisations working to support immigrants with successfully performing everyday occupations; thus, facilitating good health.

Both nationally and internationally, there is limited research of an occupational nature in the field of immigration. From an occupational perspective, a search of OTDBase, a database of journals with an occupation focus, for example, the American and British journals of occupational therapy, the *Journal of Occupational Science* and *Occupational Therapy in Health Care*, resulted in limited success. Entering the keyword 'immigrants' revealed a scant 10 hits, starting from one article published in 1985 to more recently two in 2004, one in 2006 and two in 2007. The majority of these articles came from research undertaken in Canada. Through generating greater awareness of the disruption to everyday occupations that occurs as a result of immigration and the implications this can have for maintaining good health during the settlement process, this study

¹ The definition of Asian as a category is contestable, for example in Europe and North America, this term generally does not include, and even excludes India. However, Asian is a term commonly employed in New Zealand vernacular and includes the resident Indian community. Thus, encompassing a vast array of cultures, religious, geographical, economic and political diversity, the term Asian is used in this study to delineate a group of peoples who have migrated to New Zealand from the Indian sub-continent, East and Southeast Asia.

will fill a gap in the knowledge base of immigrants and their daily activities, for the purpose of achieving informed government policy on supporting immigrants living in New Zealand.

Personal Background to the Study

This research began in 2006 when I commenced my studies as a doctoral candidate and, as indicated earlier in this chapter, builds on the work I did for my Master's thesis: *Two becoming one: Immigrant Indian women sustaining self and wellbeing through doing. A grounded theory study* (Nayar, 2005a). At the time of undertaking my Master's studies, I was employed as an occupational therapist within a community mental health centre, where I was witness to an increasing number of new immigrants accessing health care with mental health needs. It seemed that, for many of the people I met, the core of their struggles lay in the challenge of successfully performing everyday activities in a new and unfamiliar environment. My experiences echo those of Eleanor Slagle, widely considered by many scholars to be a founder of occupational therapy. In the early 1900s, Slagle embarked on a career in occupational therapy, working alongside many of the immigrants who were struggling to adjust to living in Chicago (Metaxas, 2000).

My work with immigrants in a mental health setting, combined with my personal experiences of being an immigrant and my memories of my mother's stories, brought my attention to the challenges implicit in immigrating. With a growing awareness of the difficulties new immigrants' experience, I turned to the health care literature to see what was written. Somewhat surprisingly this search once again exposed a dearth of information regarding mental health perspectives. This fuelled my desire to find out more about what happens for immigrants when they enter a new country, and so I commenced my Master's thesis. At the end of that process, I felt I had only scratched the surface of what was happening; hence, my return to study and this current research.

Locating the Author as Researcher

"We ask for revelations from others but we reveal little or nothing about ourselves" (Behar, cited in Etherington, 2004, p. 22). Given my background and life experiences, it would appear that as a researcher I am particularly well suited

to undertake this particular study. I have known what it is to be an immigrant and an Indian woman, both through my own experiences and those of my mother. As an immigrant, my mother's journey involved moving to a new country, twice, in a relatively short period of time. On each occasion, she was faced with challenges to her daily activities and had to acquire new ways of performing tasks in order to successfully adapt to living in a new environment. I am also an immigrant. Although too young to recall much of the experience of emigrating from England to New Zealand, as I have grown older I have been fortunate to immigrate to and live in other parts of the world. Each of these moves has been a valuable experience in coming to know and understand what it means to have one's daily activities turned upside down. Later on, as I undertook my training to be an occupational therapist, I came to appreciate the meaning of occupation and the need for individuals to be able to engage in occupation as part of good health.

Growing up in an Indian family, I have learned from my mother and other female relatives some of what it means to be an Indian woman. This meaning has been embedded in me through values I hold and ways in which I think and act. Being familiar with the Indian culture, it was not until I was questioned by my supervisors and colleagues who were less familiar with Indian practices about aspects of my data, I realised how immersed I am in the culture. This has meant I have at times been guilty of perhaps taking for granted understandings of culturally embedded occupations that are discussed by the participants. Yet, as much as I relate to being an Indian woman and an immigrant, and therefore feel a connection to the experiences of my participants, the reality is, I am situated on the borders of their world.

Where my participants have all been born and raised in India, I was born in England and raised predominantly in English speaking countries. Although I have been fortunate to return to India and be with family on a number of occasions, I have never been actively involved in the Indian community here in New Zealand. Furthermore, having lived a large portion of my life in New Zealand, I have taken on elements of the New Zealand culture. Therefore, for the most part, those who do not know me tend to assume I am a 'New Zealander' and do not see me as an Indian. While there are no exact definitions of what constitutes a New Zealander, some of the attributes that people use to inform their judgement regarding my status as a New Zealander include: my accent, the type of clothing I wear - being

more European oriented as opposed to traditional Indian clothing - how long I have been in the country and the colour of my skin. Thus, situating myself as a researcher in this study I find myself located between two worlds, that of the New Zealand culture and context to which my participants arrive, and that to which I strongly identify with and to a greater or lesser extent feel a part of, the Indian community. Bowers (1988) proposed that within a grounded theory study:

...optimally, the researcher should be able to maintain one foot in the world of the subjects and one foot outside that world, viewing actions from the perspective of the subjects while standing back and asking questions about what the subjects take for granted. (p. 43)

While this position is something I have strived to achieve throughout the research process, it has been a testing experience at times. In reading other researchers' experiences such as Southwick's (2001) study in which she described the complexities of holding both 'insider and outsider' status as a co-participant in her study of Pacific women's stories of becoming a nurse, I find I am not the first nor will I be the last to experience this struggle. The challenge as Southwick stated is to "articulate all of the complexities while at the same time retaining some sense of coherence" (p. 5).

Assumptions Underpinning the Study

As an occupational therapist the primary assumption I bring to this study is that immigration necessitates change in daily occupations and immigrants will, therefore, be required to engage in a process of adaptation and adjustment to both mundane and valued occupations. These changes in occupations can negatively impact on health and wellbeing, and while women are likely to have individual means of dealing with this change, there are just as likely to be patterns of similarity.

In my Master's research, I learned from the 8 women participants that immigration results in a disruption to the routines and habitual patterns of performance that people develop in their daily lives. These disruptions meant there was an increased demand for monitoring the environment and ongoing learning which placed stress on the women's performance and negatively impacted on their wellbeing. To minimise this disruption, participants reported deliberate repeated use of bus routes and shopping centres. Engaging with

constant environmental contexts assisted the women to experience a sense of competence through successfully performing occupation, thus supporting wellbeing.

Furthermore, wellbeing can be undermined by a lack of confidence in one's abilities. Findings from my Master's revealed that immigration sometimes meant no longer being able to perform familiar occupations, requiring the women to learn new ways of doing everyday activities and acquiring different skills. For some women, the time taken to learn and master new skills threatened their belief in their abilities and challenged their perceptions of self and wellbeing.

These findings revealed to me the complexity of engaging in occupations during a life transition, such as with the magnitude of immigration. The challenge in this study is to hold the assumptions gained from my Master's as possibilities and not necessarily the experiences of all Indian immigrant women.

Clarifying Key Concepts

In this section, I seek to clarify three key concepts that are used throughout this study: Indian, immigration and occupation. In brief, each of the three concepts considered here are imbued with multiple meanings depending on the individual reader's interpretation and the context in which they are used. As a central concept, the word Indian can be used broadly to acknowledge any person identifying with an origin stemming back to the Indian sub-continent. The concept of immigration is the overarching context within which the theory unfolds and occupation is the central focus for understanding how Indian immigrant women create a place for themselves and their families in New Zealand. The meanings of each concept as used in this study are discussed in detail below.

Indian

Internationally, the term 'Indian' is used to refer to people who do not necessarily identify with having a cultural connection to the Indian sub-continent. For instance, in North America, the term Indian generally refers to native North Americans or a member of the race of people living in America when Europeans arrived (The Trustees of Princeton University, 2009). However, in New Zealand, people of Indian origin are largely considered by members of mainstream society

to be part of the 'Asian' population residing in the country. Yet, the Indian community itself is not homogenous.

Members of the community throughout New Zealand identify themselves in a variety of ways. McKinnon (1996) observed that in 1991, the Indian community exhibited a threefold division – Fijian born Indians, New Zealand born Indians and Indian born Indians. This division is now fourfold and includes South African born Indians. In addition to birthplace, the number of years spent in the country divides Indian immigrants into 'new' and 'old' immigrants - old immigrants being those Indians who have a history dating back three or four generations in New Zealand. Furthermore, as the Indian community expands, the differences that exist within the Indian sub-continent become more pronounced in the New Zealand community with Indians identifying with their place of origin, for example, Goan or Punjabi, Malayalee or Tamilian.

Given this diversity of the Indian community in New Zealand, it is important to clarify how the term 'Indian' is used in this study, as to take a static 'ethnic group' approach would be misleading (Walker, 2001). 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, Punjabi, and Goan. For the purpose of this research, the term Indian shall be used to encompass any individual who was born and raised in India and identifies as being Indian. This classification accounts for length of time in New Zealand and where immigrants come from within India; yet, deliberately excludes those who were born outside of India, but nevertheless identify as part of the Indian community. The rationale for this decision is explained in Chapter Four.

In addition to delineating whom I would include in my definition of 'Indian', I also had to make a decision regarding whether I would talk to women, men and/or children. In a document prepared for the Mental Health Commission on the 'Mental Health Issues for Asians in New Zealand', it was suggested that research addressing the needs of Asian adult immigrant women in New Zealand, is very limited (Ho et al., 2002). It is for this reason, as well as my own identification as an Indian immigrant woman, I have chosen to talk with Indian women about their experiences of settling in New Zealand.

Immigration

The Forerunner (Tagore, 1974) is a poem that talks to the act of entering new territory, “ignoring all limits, conquering the impossible” (p. 40). To migrate is to enter new territory, to “move to a new area in order to find work” or a “move from one part of something to another” (Soanes & Stevenson, 2006, p. 905). Immigration specifically means “the movement of people from one country to another and who declare an intention to reside in the latter” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 397). Hence, in this study, the term ‘immigrants’ has been used to delineate a group of people who move from one country to another, with the intention of settling into the new country and establishing a home there, as opposed to ‘migrants’ which refers to people who more frequently, and repeatedly, move from place to place. As researchers have sought to understand the mechanisms by which people are enticed to move from their country of origin to a new part of the world, several theories have been developed to address the international patterns of migration. Indeed, according to Morawska (2007) there are no less than nine theoretical models, which can be broadly divided into two categories; macro level and micro level theories.

Macro level theories.

Macro level theories encompass larger global structures and processes in which the forces responsible for international population flows are located (Morawska, 2007). Examples of macro level theories include the ‘push-pull theory’, the ‘segmented labour market theory’, the ‘world system theory’ and the ‘political economy model’. These theories generally support the contention that economic factors exert the strongest influence over the decision to emigrate, despite the place of family reunification and political pressures as potential motivating forces (Winter-Ebmer, 1994). What these theories do not sufficiently address, if at all, is the impact of individuals and their local surroundings on their decision to engage in the immigration process (Morawska, 2007); a criticism that micro level theories attempt to redress.

Micro level theories.

Central to micro level theories of immigration are the features and needs of the individual, as well as local circumstance. Examples of micro level theories include, the ‘rational choice theory’, the ‘human capital theory’, the ‘new economics of migration’ model, and the ‘social capital theory’ (Morawska, 2007). In the context of this study, micro level theories provide a more compelling argument for immigration in that the focus is on the individual as the agent of change. Previous understandings of the experiences of Indian women who have immigrated to New Zealand (Nayar, 2005a; Nayar, Hocking, & Wilson, 2007), reveal family decision making and networks within New Zealand are strong factors that influence the immigration process. Micro level theories alone, however, do not account for why all Indian women who have immigrated to New Zealand chose to do so. The complexity of factors that shape international immigration has meant that while these theories are neither inconsistent nor mutually exclusive, none fully captures the act of immigration for all those who undertake the process. Rather, they “play some role in accounting for international migration in the contemporary world” (Massey et al., 1998, p. 281).

“Finding a general theory of migration with universal validity and applicability is the perpetual dream of those working on migration research” (Chang, 1981, p. 305). As with many social processes, theories of immigration are important for understanding population movements within wider political and economic contexts. However, it has been argued that no encompassing theory of immigration exists (Heisler, 2000; Massey et al., 1993). This may be in part due to the varying reasons for which people immigrate, reasons that affect the overall process.

Posited causes of immigration vary but most have been linked to political, religious, economic, climatic factors or simply the desire for exploration and adventure. As a process, immigration can be voluntary or forced, an involuntary act, as seen in the plight of many of the world’s refugees. The act of immigrating can be performed by individuals, families, tribes, and races (Manning, 2005) and can occur at any stage across the lifespan. The focus of this research is immigration as experienced by adults who have voluntarily relocated to New Zealand.

Occupation

Described as a “complex, multidimensional phenomenon” (Yerxa et al., 1990, p. 6), occupation is a concept that has evolved from the Latin root “occupatio” meaning “to seize or take possession” which are terms that convey action, employment, and anticipation (Englehardt, 1977). For the purposes of this study, occupation is taken to mean the everyday activities that people do throughout their life, for example, eating a meal, playing sport, and socialising with friends and family.

When people engage in occupations, they carry out activities that are generally self-initiated and goal directed. The kinds of purposes occupations might hold are addressed in Christiansen’s (1991) assertion that occupation is “engagement in activities... for the purpose of productive pursuit... maintaining oneself in the environment, and for the purpose of relaxation, entertainment, creativity, and celebration” (p. 26). Christiansen’s definition contains two key elements. Firstly, occupation occurs within a context and as such carries culturally embedded meanings (Clark et al., 1991; Gray, 1997). For instance, the occupation of ‘cooking a meal’ may be a means of enculturating children into the foods that are associated with the culture, such as the New Zealand dessert pavlova. Further, the culturally embedded meaning of preparing a meal might be that the task has been understood to be implicit in the mothering role, and therefore the responsibility of the women in the household. The cultural meaning of the occupation, cooking a meal, extends beyond the primary purpose of nutrition and ensuring hunger is abated (Sykes, 1987). According to Sabonis-Chafee (1989), all purposeful activity carries meaning for the doer; thus, preparing a meal is filled with cultural meanings, such as cooking for social engagement where people come together and connect with each other over food for a culturally significant event such as Christmas dinner.

The second key element in the context of this study, and taken from Christiansen’s (1991) definition, is the phrase ‘maintaining oneself’; which can be understood to encompass active engagement in occupations as a way of achieving a sense of efficacy that promotes wellbeing. Law, Polatajko, Baptiste and Townsend (1997) asserted that occupation is an important determinant of health and wellbeing. ‘Maintaining oneself in the environment’ fits well with this current study which seeks to understand how Indian immigrant women, through the

things they do, sustain wellbeing, or maintain themselves, as they settle in a new environment. To understand the complexity of occupation and its relationship to wellbeing, Kielhofner (1995a, 2002, 2008) has developed a conceptual model that seeks to capture and explain some of the processes that occur when people engage in occupations. The model is used here to demonstrate one way of considering a person's engagement in occupations.

Model of Human Occupation

Kielhofner's (2008) model of human occupation promotes a particular way of viewing the human being in relation to occupation. People constantly change throughout their lifespan, as they grow and interact with their environment. This ongoing change both demands and reflects humans' dynamic and complex nature, that can adapt to the challenges presented in daily life. Kielhofner theorised that the human system is made up of three components that explain how occupations are chosen, engaged with and performed. These components are volition, habituation, and performance capacity; each will be discussed in turn.

Volition

Volition is a term that implies "will or conscious choice" (Kielhofner, 1995a, p. 29) and accounts for a person's internal sense of motivation. More specifically, people's motivation to perform occupations 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. In the context of this study, immigrants who encounter the implicit occupational challenges that come with being in a foreign environment may doubt their capacity to engage in occupations, or alternatively, experience a sense of liberation in undertaking new challenges.

Habituation

Kielhofner (2008) proposed that the habituation subsystem incorporates "ways of behaving across time" (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 layout of the environment and social expectations for behaviour. 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 (Kielhofner, 1995b). When people are placed in a new environment, they are likely to be very conscious of once habitual behaviour. 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.

Performance Capacity

Further to volition, which guides occupational choice, and habituation, which organises behaviour, is the human capacity to perform. Previously conceptualised as the mind-brain-body performance subsystem (Fisher & Kielhofner, 1995), performance capacity draws attention to both the objective physical and mental components of occupational performance such as neurological, physiological, musculoskeletal and cognitive structures, as well as the subjective awareness of performance (Kielhofner, 2008). In discussing the subjective aspect of performance, Kielhofner (2008) employed the concept of "lived body" (p. 24), which is a way of understanding the body from the point of view of the lived experience. Kielhofner (1995c) articulated this further in his article '*A Meditation on the Use of Hands*'. He noted that the hand can be studied and understood as an object composed of muscle, bone, nerves, arteries, veins; however, this objective hand can be distinguished from our own hand through which we interact with the world, touching, grasping, reaching. Thus, we can look at a hand objectively, but we also use it subjectively to perform in the world.

The model of human occupation is one means of considering a person's occupational behaviour. Increasingly, there is interest in further elucidating the meaning of occupation and understanding its centrality in people's daily lives and in particular the relationship between occupational engagement and wellbeing. It is from this interest that the academic discipline of occupational science has emerged.

Theoretical Background to the Study

I have chosen to consider the theoretical perspectives of occupational science and symbolic interactionism as they inform this study. Occupational science aims to generate knowledge about the phenomenon of occupation in relation to humans as occupational beings (Zemke & Clark, 1996). Symbolic interactionism is a perspective derived from American pragmatism and can be used to consider how people act towards things based on the meaning they have for them, and how these meanings are modified through social interaction and interpretation with others (Charon, 2001). Together, occupational science and symbolic interactionism are the lens through which the literature and data for this research has been viewed and analysed, and hence, have a significant bearing on the generation of findings in this research.

Occupational Science

Occupational science was founded in the late 1980s in the United States. Led by Elizabeth Yerxa, occupational science was described as a “basic science, which would explore the phenomenon of occupation in its entirety” (Molke, Laliberte-Rudman, & Polatajko, 2004, p. 270) and seek to study the human as an occupational being. As the discipline has evolved, specific statements regarding the aims of occupational science have emerged. In 1996, Zemke and Clark stated that the aim of occupational science was to “generate knowledge about the form, the function, and the meaning of human occupation” (p. vii). In 2000, Primeau added that “as an academic discipline occupational science seeks to understand...its [occupation] centrality in people’s lives through generation of knowledge that captures occupation’s richness of meaning” (p. 20). The common essence of these definitions is the need to understand occupation, and the role of occupation in people’s lives.

As a discipline, occupational science acknowledges that it is not enough to merely define occupation. Given that occupation occurs within a context, it has many dimensions including, but not limited to: subjective, psychological, social, symbolic, cultural and spiritual (Hinojosa & Kramer, 1997). Based on this understanding, occupational science lays claim to being an academic discipline that is interdisciplinary. Yerxa and colleagues defended this positioning of

occupational science stating that “No science existing today can, of itself, explain occupation” (1990, p. 5). As such, occupational science “is a synthesis of ideas from other disciplines which have something to say about occupation, share a humanistic view of the human and preserve the ‘aliveness’ of the living human system” (Yerxa et al., 1990, p. 5). Within this acknowledgement of the collaboration and contribution of other disciplines, Carlson and Clark (1991) contended that “the subject matter of occupational science is more similar to that of the social sciences than to that of the physical sciences” (p. 235).

Occupation as the central concept within occupational science (Hocking, 2000), means that the scope for exploration is vast. The *Journal of Occupational Science* regularly publishes feature articles which seek to extend the knowledge of human occupation. Articles that have dealt with issues of occupation pertaining to lifestyle transitions, as experienced with immigration, have included, mothering (Francis-Connolly, 2000; Horne, Corr, & Earle, 2005; Pierce, 2002; Primeau, 1998), entering retirement (Rudman, 2005) and becoming a caregiver (Heward, Molineux, & Gough, 2006; Ludwig, Hattjar, Russell, & Winston, 2007; Segal, 2005).

Occupation inevitably involves interaction between the person, the environment and the occupation being performed. The interplay between these three components has been raised as a point of further exploration within occupational science. Dickie, Cutchin and Humphry (2006) have recently challenged the commonly held assumption in occupational science that occupation is individualistic. They draw on the work of Dewey to propose that occupation is transactional:

...occupation is no longer seen as a thing or as a type of self-action or inter-action arising from within individuals. In this view, occupation is an important mode through which human beings, as organisms-in-environment-as-a-whole, function in their complex totality. (p. 83)

The authors further argued that within occupational science research, there has been a lack of understanding regarding how occupations “are functionally integrated with social relationships, cultural contexts and community actions. These aspects of the transactional whole - the situations that we live - are the root

of occupation and meaning to an extent underappreciated by occupational scientists” (p. 87).

In addition to debating the interaction between person, environment and occupation, occupational science as an academic discipline, seeks to influence society at large. The potential for occupational science to change cultural values (Wilcock & Townsend, 2000) and create “occupationally just societies... based on people and their need, and indeed right to do” (Whiteford, 2000, p. 85) can be seen in the development of ‘rights-based’ concepts such as ‘occupational justice’ and ‘occupational deprivation’ (Townsend & Whiteford, 2005; Whiteford, 1997, 2000, 2004). These terms are not just exploratory or theoretical in nature; but have been applied to everyday situations in an attempt to bring the lived meaning and understandings of such concepts to life. For instance, O’Sullivan and Hocking (2006) argued older adults in residential care are occupationally deprived and cited evidence of impact on wellbeing. From an immigration perspective, Whiteford (2005) undertook research with Kosovar refugees living in Australia as a way of further elucidating the understandings of occupational deprivation. More recently, Brown (2008) has argued that elderly Chinese women who have immigrated to Canada are at potential risk of experiencing negative physical and psychological health issues which may result in an inability to engage in meaningful and health promoting occupations.

By focussing occupational science on larger social issues, Kronenberg (2006) has challenged the understanding of occupation as an inherently ‘positive’ or ‘apolitical’ term, stating “in various parts of the world the language of occupation has downright negative connotations, i.e. related to armed conflict, military occupation, (cultural and economic) imperialism, oppression, colonization of the raw environment, exploitation, etc.” (p. 1). Concurrently, the World Federation of Occupational Therapy (WFOT) has picked up on the concern of human rights as raised by occupational science. In 2006, WFOT published a position paper on this matter stating, “People have the right to choose for themselves: to be free of pressure, force or coercion; in participating in occupations that may threaten safety, society or health and those occupations that are dehumanising, degrading or illegal” (p. 1). Hence, in pursuing larger social issues, occupational science aims to further goals of widespread social justice (Molke et al., 2004).

Many areas of human occupation have been explored and push the established boundaries of occupational therapy, for instance debating the usefulness of categories of occupation (self care, leisure, productivity) and shifting the perspective of occupation from static to dynamic ones (Nayar et al., 2007). There are still areas however, which occupational science has yet to fully examine. For instance, pursuing the occupational literature for the occupational issues that arise for immigrants, revealed a dearth of knowledge in this area.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism can be traced back to the late 1800s and early 1900s to the works of William James, John Dewey, and George Herbert Mead (Denzin, 1992). Each of these men was influenced by Charles Pierce (1839-1914), the founder of a movement that became known as pragmatism. Pragmatism is a humanistic philosophy that is “inspired by the conviction that the ultimate test of a theory’s worth is its practical usefulness. With pragmatism, unlike so much of traditional metaphysics, one could actually set out and do something, even change the world” (Solomon & Higgins, 1996, p. 240). Little has been written about the experiences of immigrants from an occupational perspective and while ‘changing the world’ is beyond the scope of this study, it is hoped to provide some insights and ‘practical usefulness’.

Symbolic interactionism, as used in this study, stems from Mead’s (1934) work which acknowledged that there is an interconnection between the mind, self, and society. He stated that all behaviour is social because all individual activity is located in “natural social situations” (Mead, 1967, p. 8), which results in social processes. Mead was a world recognised scholar at the University of Chicago, a university that gave rise to a form of pragmatism that specifically studied people adjusting practically to new surroundings (Hewitt, 1997). It has been argued that this was a result of Chicago’s history as a pioneering town where many immigrants struggled for survival and fortunes grew (Kallen, 1973). Given the focus of this current study, exploring how Indian immigrant women engage in daily activities when settling in New Zealand, it seems fitting that symbolic interactionism, as influenced by Mead, is employed as a philosophical lens through which to better understand the women’s actions.

Blumer's Key Tenets of Symbolic Interactionism

Herbert Blumer extended the work of Mead and explored the ideas of symbolic interactionism as providing an approach for the analysis of human group activity and conduct. Blumer (1969) outlined three key tenets of this approach, which will be discussed in turn.

First, human beings act towards things located in the environment in which they live, on the basis of the meanings those things have for them. These things may include inanimate, physical objects such as trees or chairs, and other human beings, including family and friends. When people know what things are and what meaning to ascribe to them, then acting towards them becomes familiar and comfortable. In the context of this study, many immigrants bring with them objects from their old environment into a new environment. During this transition, previously familiar objects may obtain fresh meanings, challenging immigrants to behave in different ways as they interact with their new environment. For example, Indian women often use stainless steel containers for storing leftover food. Cooking on gas in India makes reheating these containers relatively easy; however, in New Zealand where microwaves are commonly used for reheating food, stainless steel containers lose one of their familiar functions.

Second, through communication and interaction with others, human beings constantly change personal interpretations about the world. Symbolic interactionism emphasises that human beings actively work, through interaction with others, to define their environment rather than simply respond to it (Charon, 2001). This interaction between individuals is possible through the sharing of significant symbols such as culture and language (Crotty, 1998; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998). In New Zealand, taking something to eat or drink when invited to someone's house, a concept known as 'bring a plate' is common practice; yet, in some cultures such as Indian society, this practice is contrary to beliefs of what defines a 'good host', where it is the role of the host to provide the refreshments. Some Indian immigrant women initially struggle with this concept; however, through participating in the occupation, interpretations of what makes a good host are re-considered, as they are able to see the benefits of such a custom, such as the decreased stress on the host and the increased time for socialising with guests.

Third, as people engage in social processes, meanings are constantly reviewed and modified. This development of meaning results from the experience and interpretation of the things that individuals do, which occurs both consciously and subconsciously. Blumer (1969) stressed that interpretation is a “formative process in which meanings are used and revised as instruments for the guidance and formation of action” (p. 5). For Indian immigrant women settling in New Zealand, the everyday activities they do are likely to change over time, perhaps shifting from doing things in a traditional Indian manner, such as in the example above, always providing the meal, to adopting New Zealand practices of requesting that guests bring a plate of food.

In reviewing the three key tenets of a symbolic interactionist perspective, I have come to realise that Blumer discussed the application of these tenets in the context of ‘normal everyday life’. Yet, in the context of this study, Indian women who have immigrated to New Zealand may not be familiar with or a part of ‘normal everyday life’. This realisation has generated new considerations such as living in a foreign environment, with new ways of doing everyday activities, new objects and new meanings, which may mean that the symbolic interaction that occurs becomes magnified through the intensity of interpretation and the handling of modified meanings. This may generate a variety of responses such as withdrawing from interaction to damp down the intensity of the interaction, or missing cues because the influx of new information is overwhelming, or possibly misinterpreting the meaning of objects and/or other people’s actions and responding in an inappropriate manner. This insight was a reminder not to take for granted the women’s experiences as a reflection of their person, but that their experiences result as a combination of both the person and a new environment.

Significance of the Study

This study is important given the increasing numbers of Indian immigrants travelling to New Zealand, with the desire to settle (Department of Labour, 2005). Currently the Indian community in New Zealand comprises the second largest Asian population. While it is difficult to specifically project the increase in emigration from India over the next 10 years, it is anticipated that the overall Asian population in New Zealand will grow from the present level of 18.7% to

34% of the total population by 2016 (Tse & Hoque, 2006). As Asian immigrants enter and settle in New Zealand, it has been recognised that a growing number of them, 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. These difficulties involve but are not limited to; language barriers and the inability for new immigrants to communicate effectively with the receiving population, employment problems, disruption of family and social support networks, and traumatic experiences prior to immigration (Ho, Au, Bedford, & Cooper, 2002).

While there is an increasing body of research and literature being produced that looks at the experience of new immigrants living in New Zealand, it is my belief that this current study approaches the issue of adjustment to a new country from a new and unique perspective. Much of the research tends to look at new immigrants' wellbeing in relation to psychosocial issues such as attitudes of the receiving country (Sobrun-Maharaj, 2006; Ward, 2006), specific health issues (Duncan, Schofield, & Duncan, 2006; Hoque, Lee, & Ameratunga, 2006; Metcalf, Scragg, & Jackson, 2006) or longer term settlement issues such as employment and education (Ho et al., 2002). As discussed above, people's everyday occupations undergo a significant change when they emigrate. However, there is little documentation that addresses this issue head on; and yet, the difficulties in undertaking everyday occupations are the common stories most often told by new immigrants.

This research provides evidence that supports the anecdotal stories of new immigrants and informs the growing body of New Zealand based research addressing the immigration experience. From an occupational perspective, this study brings new insights into the influence of the environment on what, how, where, when or why new immigrants choose to engage in occupation. As previously mentioned, there is a scarcity of information that explores the needs of immigrants and their occupational challenges. From a New Zealand based research perspective, I believe this study will contribute to knowledge by furthering understandings of the disruption to everyday occupations and the influence this has on new immigrants' wellbeing and the ease with which they settle in a new environment. Thus, this research will be a starting point for providing evidence of the occupational changes that occur as a result of

immigration, which may hold implications for current government policy and agencies offering assistance to new immigrants.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter One has set the scene for this thesis, clarifying the topic to be researched, explicating the aim and purpose of the study and highlighting my personal reasons for engaging in this study; including the issue of myself as a researcher, my fit with this study and the assumptions I have brought to this research. Three key concepts central to this research, 'Indian', 'immigration' and 'occupation', have been defined in order to clarify the meaning of each concept as used throughout this thesis. Further, the theoretical lenses through which this study has been approached, occupational science and symbolic interactionism, have been discussed as providing a framework for understanding the everyday experiences of Indian immigrant women as they settle into a new environment. A preliminary discussion of the significance of the study provides a context and rationale for this research.

Chapters Two and Three build upon the foundations laid in this introduction and provide a macro perspective to the context of the study. Chapter Two discusses the history of New Zealand as an immigrant nation, with particular reference to three groups of immigrants; Polynesian, European and Asian, followed by a deeper exploration of the history of Indian immigrants to New Zealand. Within this chapter the concept of biculturalism and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) are reviewed, as is New Zealand legislation concerning immigration.

In Chapter Three the pertinent literature informing this study is reviewed. The chapter begins with reviewing current theories of acculturation and settlement processes for immigrants. The second half of the review examines national and international literature, focussing specifically on the occupational challenges experienced by Indian immigrant women to gain preliminary understandings in relation to how women who emigrate from India, experience and settle in an unfamiliar environment.

Chapter Four presents the methodology of grounded theory and the methods used in this research. Access to the field, participant selection, ethical

concerns, and data collection and analysis are explicated. In the following four chapters, Chapters Five to Eight, the actual grounded theory, that is the processes that emerged from the data and the study findings are presented.

Finally in Chapter Nine, the research findings are discussed and located within the professional literature. The implications of the research for health practice, policy, and further research are considered along with the limitations and strengths of the research process.

Chapter Two: SETTING THE SCENE

Contemporary New Zealand is a country inhabited by immigrants comprising, amongst others, Māori, Polynesian, European and Asian cultural groups. This chapter presents an overview of aspects of immigration within the New Zealand context, providing a background to this study into how Indian immigrant women settle in New Zealand.

I begin by considering New Zealand's history as an immigrant nation, in particular highlighting the migrations of three broad cultural groups; the Polynesian, European and Asian populations². This review reveals that immigrants' journeys to New Zealand have not always entailed a smooth transition; as is the story of many Indian immigrants. The Indian community is historically one of the oldest Asian immigrant groups established in New Zealand, and is currently the second largest Asian group of the total population. I will review the growth of the Indian community in New Zealand, focussing particularly on Indian immigrant women and the relationship between Indian and Māori peoples; and the relationship of Indian immigrants with Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi). Finally, the chapter focuses on current New Zealand immigration policy and settlement strategy, frameworks that are central to immigrants' experiences of journeying to and settling in this country.

New Zealand: An Immigrant Nation

Aotearoa,³ New Zealand, is a country comprising over 120 diverse ethnicities and cultures. Overall, New Zealand has one of the highest populations of foreign born citizens in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), ranking fourth below Luxembourg, Australia and Switzerland (Dumont & Lemaitre, 2005). In 2005, almost 20% of New Zealanders were born overseas. In December 1994, Statistics New Zealand (2005) recorded 64,380 permanent and

² I acknowledge that these are not the only cultural groups residing in New Zealand; however, it is not my intention to provide a detailed account of all immigrants to New Zealand. Rather, my purpose is to introduce the concept of New Zealand as a country made up of immigrants from different cultures, and understand how this has influenced the development of immigration policy.

³ Until the 20th century, Aotearoa was used by Māori to refer to the North Island of New Zealand. In post colonial times, it is more commonly used by both Māori and non-Māori to refer to the whole of New Zealand.

long term immigrants were residing in New Zealand. Twelve years later in December 2006, this number had increased to 82,732 (Statistics New Zealand, 2008a).

Considered to be the last substantial landmass colonised by prehistoric people (Anderson, 1991), there is however, no consensus regarding the exact arrival date of the first immigrants to New Zealand. Potential dates vary from AD 0-500 to sometime around AD 1200 (Anderson, 1991; Kirch, 1986). The early date of AD 500 has been attributed to evidence of vegetation change left by early horticultural societies, which has been confused with changes resulting from natural causes (Anderson, 1991; Sutton, 1987). Radiocarbon dating has since confirmed that New Zealand was definitely colonised by the 14th century (Anderson, 1991). Some archaeologists and researchers have proposed the arrival of the Polynesian settlers, around AD 800, as a probable date that marks the beginning of New Zealand's development as an immigrant nation (Davidson, 1984; Green, 1975; Liu, Wilson, McClure, & Higgins, 1999; O'Connor, 1990).

Following the Polynesian settlers came the European immigrants, in the early 1800s, with a significant influx after 1840, and then again post World War II. From around 1840, a small population of Asian settlers also started to arrive. These communities have continued to grow and prosper, and in the 21st century, Asian immigrants have become a familiar part of the New Zealand cultural landscape. The journeys of each of the three immigrant groups, Polynesian, European and Asian, to New Zealand are briefly discussed below.

Polynesian Settlement

As New Zealand is a geographic outlier of Polynesia, it is believed that the first immigrants were people from Eastern Polynesia (Liu et al., 1999). In the subsequent centuries, several waves of migration to New Zealand from the islands in Eastern Polynesia took place with seven major waka or canoes making the thousand-mile journey (Liu et al.). Descending from these early Polynesian immigrants, are the Māori peoples, who are today acknowledged as Tangata Whenua – People of the Land (Bedford, Ho, & Lidgard, 2000). In New Zealand's history as an immigrant nation, Māori have played a significant role in shaping

today's society, as seen in part, by the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi with the British Crown.

Following the settlement of Māori, many travellers from the Pacific Islands immigrated to New Zealand seeking residence. New Zealand has always been an important destination for immigrants from the Pacific Islands, in the first instance providing prospects for employment and in more recent times, educational opportunities. Today Polynesian people constitute the largest community of immigrants in New Zealand, with approximately 67% of Pacific peoples in New Zealand residing in Auckland, the largest city in the North Island. As such, Auckland has become known as the “*de facto* capital city for several Pacific Island peoples” (Bedford et al., 2000, p. 3). Wellington is the second most common region for Pacific peoples to live, comprising 13% of the total Pacific Island immigrant population (Statistics New Zealand, 2008b).

European Settlement

In 1642, the Dutch navigator Abel Tasman sighted the West Coast of New Zealand but, following an incident with Māori warriors, did not come ashore (Keightley, 2004; Liu et al., 1999). European settlement was not to occur until well over a century later, starting with the arrival of the British naval captain James Cook and his crew in 1769. They are recorded in history as the first Europeans to chart New Zealand's coastline (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004; Statistics New Zealand, 2004). From 1800 to 1840 immigrants were English speakers, of an Anglo-Celtic origin (English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh), consisting of whalers, traders and missionaries; yet, their numbers were far from plentiful. It is estimated that as late as 1840, the European population of New Zealand was only 2,000, whereas the Māori population was numbered at around 85,000 (Davidson, 1984; Liu et al., 1999).

In 1840, the British Crown sought to establish an agreement between Māori, as the indigenous people of the country, and the European settlers by instigating the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi⁴ (Liu et al., 1999). In essence, Te Tiriti o Waitangi was an agreement between the British Crown and Māori that conferred full rights of British citizenship upon Māori, recognised Māori

⁴ For the English text version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, refer to Appendix A.

ownership of their lands and other properties and established a British governor in New Zealand. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a significant document that is today commonly accepted as relevant to all peoples living in New Zealand (Jamnadas, 2008). Addressing issues of protection of culture, participation in all civic matters and equal citizenship, Te Tiriti could be considered of interest to all immigrants. A detailed discussion of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the relevance of this document for Asian, and in particular Indian immigrants, is presented further on in this chapter.

Following the signing of Te Tiriti, an organised and structured flow of immigrants from England and Ireland began. As the number of European immigrants grew, tensions over land rights between the European and Māori resulted in increasing conflict and ultimately war. However, British immigrants continued to dominate until the 1970s (Bedford et al., 2000). A number of factors influenced this trend, including cultural and economic reasons. People considered to have least difficulty with adapting to life in New Zealand, in other words people who could speak the English language, were encouraged to make the journey. Proficiency in English was considered a marker of competency for a person to work and integrate with the greater population; which people at that time considered would ultimately result in their increased contribution to society. According to Hutching (2004) there were also historical and political reasons for the dominance of British immigrants. The signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi effectively established New Zealand as a member country of the British Empire. This meant that Great Britain had a vested interest in building New Zealand's social and economic standing on the international stage and was therefore keen to send immigrants who could contribute to this development. Travellers from Great Britain continued to constitute the bulk of immigrants entering New Zealand; however, following World War II, increasing numbers of Asian immigrants also made the journey.

Asian Settlement

Asian immigrants constitute the second largest immigrant population in New Zealand; yet, from the early 1900s right up until the late 1980s and early 1990s, Asian immigrants encountered barriers to entering the country. Many historians

have argued that before 1945, an unofficial ‘white New Zealand policy’ was followed by all governments, so that preference was given to European immigrants (Brooking & Rabel, 1995). The New Zealand government attempted to deter ‘non-white’ peoples, particularly those from Asia, from immigrating to New Zealand by establishing the Chinese Immigrants Restriction Act of 1881 and the Asiatic Restriction Act of 1896.

The Acts of 1881 and 1896 were an attempt by the government of the time to ease local fears about the increasing number of Asians, particularly Chinese gold miners, who were among the first non-Polynesian, non-European immigrants to come to New Zealand (O’Connor, 1990). Despite the legislative obstacles, many Asian peoples persevered in their desire to migrate, in particular immigrants from the Indian sub-continent. As India was part of the British Empire, Indian peoples were entitled to immigrate to New Zealand and were supposed to receive better treatment than immigrants from other Asian nations. This meant that Indian immigrants had to be excluded from the terms of the 1896 Asiatic Restriction Act. In order to resolve this issue and maintain the unofficial white New Zealand policy, the New Zealand government introduced the 1899 Immigration Restriction Act. Under this Act, immigrants seeking entry to New Zealand, who were not of British or Irish parentage, were obligated to fill in an application form in ‘any European language’, which in practice meant English (Beaglehole, 2008; Hutching, 2004; McKinnon, 1996). Despite the addition of extra tests, in the Immigration Restriction Acts of 1908 and 1910, the English language test failed to significantly halt the flow and increasing numbers of Asian immigrants.

As a result of the Acts’ failure to restrict the numbers of Asian immigrants, the European dominated New Zealand government adopted a change in policy and the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act was introduced in 1920 (O’Connor, 1990). The European language section was removed and was substituted with a system of permits, whereby anyone not of British birth or parentage, was obliged to apply to for residency prior to arriving in New Zealand. Permanent residence was granted at the discretion of the Minister of Customs (Brooking & Rabel, 1995). This meant that people wishing to immigrate to New Zealand from countries such as India and China, were at a distinct disadvantage. The result of these ethnically exclusive policies was that at the end of World War II, Europeans “comprised 93.57 percent of the total population, indigenous Maori

accounted for 5.8 percent, and the remaining 0.63 percent were ‘race aliens’ (mainly Chinese, Indians and Pacific Islanders)” (Brooking & Rabel, 1995, p. 36).

Despite changes in legislation aimed at curbing the flow of Asian immigrants to New Zealand, the Asian community continued to expand. It was not until the 1990s however, that there was a significant influx in New Zealand’s immigrant population from China, Hong Kong and North-East Asian countries such as Korea and Japan. Reasons for migration included seeking education and employment opportunities, and the attraction of an uncrowded environment in which to establish their families (Phillips, 2007).

The ethnic diversity of immigrants entering New Zealand, has often met with a less than enthusiastic response from sectors of the society, including politicians. In 1996 Winston Peters, leader of the New Zealand First political party, used the term ‘Asian invasion’ (In Unison, 2008) to refer to the high numbers of Asian immigrants entering New Zealand and intimated that this posed potential harm for the cohesiveness of society. New Zealand First, as a party, voiced their concerns in April 2008, when Peter Brown the party’s deputy leader stated, “there is a real danger we will be inundated with people who have no intention of integrating into our society” (Tan, 2008). Further, Asian students’ success in scholastic achievements often elicited resentment. Asian students were labelled a ‘drain on the economy’ because it was argued, they moved overseas to work upon completion of their education (In Unison, 2008). Despite being a country of mixed ethnicities and cultures, the media’s coverage of these racial slurs (Rasalingam, 2003) raised questions regarding how welcome Asian immigrants felt in New Zealand and whether they would ever be accepted as part of New Zealand society. For Indian immigrant women, this is a reality they have to confront when settling in New Zealand.

Indian Immigration to New Zealand

The Indian community in New Zealand continues to expand in both numbers and diversity. The latest figures taken from the 2006 Census of Population and Dwellings indicate that there are 104,583 people identifying as belonging to an Indian ethnic group living in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2008c). This figure has risen from the 2001 Census of 61,803; a growth of 68.2% (Statistics

New Zealand, 2008c). Furthermore, in the 2006 Census, India ranked number five out of nine of the most common overseas birth places of people currently living in New Zealand, a rise of four places (Statistics New Zealand, 2008c).

The diversity of the Indian community lies not only in the definition of 'Indian', as discussed in Chapter One, but in the classification of immigrants as they enter the country. Migration criteria are rarely simple to categorise (Stjernström, 2004) due to a combination of factors such as voluntariness, permanence (Berry & Sam, 1980), influence of society (Eichenbaum, 1975) and the application of different names for the same category. For instance, Indian women who immigrate to New Zealand may be labelled 'immigrants' (Berry & Sam, 1980) or 'settlers' (Manning, 2005). Predominantly, Indian immigrants living in New Zealand are classified as 'settlers', in that their decision to migrate is voluntary and made with the intention to permanently reside in this country. Alternatively, some Indian immigrants are 'sojourners'. They come to New Zealand for a specific purpose, with the intention of returning to India at a later date. For many Indian sojourners, tertiary education is the primary purpose for immigrating and despite their original intention it is not unusual for some to stay in New Zealand. Hence, these immigrants transition from sojourners to settlers.

Growth of the Indian Community

Indian immigrants have been recorded as arriving in New Zealand from the mid-1800s, although in the late 1800s their numbers were far from plentiful. Indeed, in the 1896 Census only 46 Indians were recorded as New Zealand residents. The majority of these Indian immigrants had come directly from the Indian states of Punjab and Gujarat (Brooking & Rabel, 1995; Leckie, 1995; Tiwari, 1980). There is still some uncertainty however, as to the identity of the first Indian to enter the country. It has been claimed that the first recorded Indian to settle in New Zealand was "Edward Peter... who arrived in Tuapeka in 1853" (Roy, 1978, p. 17). In 1998, it was suggested that the first Indian may have been a Bengali lascar (Indian seaman) who, in 1810, landed on the coastline of the South Island (Leckie, 1998). Neither of these claims is supported by any substantial evidence.

More recently, Leckie (2007) has undertaken extensive research into the history of Indian immigrants in New Zealand. In her work, Leckie proffered that

the origins of the Indian community can be traced back to Bir Singh Gill and Phuman Singh Gill, brothers who arrived to New Zealand via Australia, in much the same fashion as many of the Chinese gold diggers (Roy, 1978), in or around 1890. Leckie provides historical evidence in the form of both written and visual documentation that gives weight to the credibility of her claim.

The lack of clear documentation regarding the first Indian immigrants to New Zealand may be a reflection of the governments' earlier intentions to restrict their entry into this country. As previously mentioned (p. 6), Asians wishing to immigrate to New Zealand faced resistance from New Zealand government. Although the implementation of the 1899 Immigration Restriction Act was designed to deter Indian immigrants, it failed to successfully limit the number entering New Zealand. By 1920 there were 671 Indians residing throughout the country (O'Connor, 1990). In the Census of 1966, 46 years later, this number had grown to 5,646 (Roy, 1978). This increase was in part the result of Indian immigrants' resourcefulness as they were determined to overcome potential barriers, such as learning the English language, in order to gain entry into the country. As Roy (1978) explained, "Not only were illiterate Indians with splendid rote memories able to do this [learn English] 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).

Once in New Zealand, the challenges of building a home in a foreign land continued. In an historical survey of the Indian community in New Zealand, Tiwari (1980) wrote of the struggle Indian immigrants had in finding a place for themselves in their new country.

The early Indian settlers were not readily accepted by the white community as Indians were not permitted in the private bar and hotel; they were not admitted to balcony seats in the picture theatres, as they were exclusively for whites. All except one barber until 1958 refused to cut Indian hair in Pukekohe. Indians were also excluded from membership of the Local Growers' Association. (p. 11)

In the face of this opposition, the Indian community struggled to gain acceptance and in settling, "moved slowly, perhaps more slowly than many other settlers but certainly they did move according to the lines of adaptation" (Tiwari, 1980, p. 11). This adaptation can be seen in the types of employment that Indian immigrants have engaged in while living in New Zealand. Many of the earlier

Indian immigrants obtained employment as “peddlers, hawkers and domestics” (Roy, 1978, p. 18). According to Leckie (2007) it was common for Indian immigrants to seek temporary employment in the service sector, such as cleaning or kitchen work, until better opportunities arose. As the numbers of Indian immigrants increased, they established communities throughout the country and diversified into market gardening, retail green grocery, dairy farming and similar heavy agricultural labouring tasks (Leckie, 2007; Roy, 1978). Today, skilled Indian immigrants holding qualifications in health, business and law, seek entry to New Zealand.

Prior to World War II, the arrival of men from India constituted the bulk of the Indian community throughout New Zealand. Unsure as to whether they would stay in New Zealand, many of the men left wives and families back in India. Others intended returning to India when they had accrued enough money (Palakshappa, 1980); thus, there was limited need to bring their families out to New Zealand.

Indian Women

There has been little research that investigates the everyday lives of Indian women who have immigrated to New Zealand. Leckie (2004, 2007) provided the most comprehensive historical account of their experiences. She noted that up until World War II Indian immigrant women were scarce, with the first Punjabi women arriving in the late 1890s and early 1900s, and the first Gujarati women arriving in 1922. In a review of Indian migration to New Zealand in an historical context, McKinnon (1996) found that in 1926 there were only 172 Indian women residing in New Zealand, compared to 806 Indian males. Despite the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1921 requiring permits for prospective immigrants not of British birth or parentage to enter New Zealand, immediate family members, including children, wives and fiancées, of Indian residents in New Zealand prior to 1921 were granted exemption. Following World War II, increasing numbers of Indian women journeyed to New Zealand as part of family reunification.

Indian women who arrived as settlers in New Zealand faced similar difficulties as other immigrant women as well as having specific cultural

pressures to contend with. Some Indian women had married immediately prior to immigrating and had never lived with their husbands. Other women were still in their first years of marriage. Immigration meant not only negotiating the turbulence of settling into a new country, but adjusting to changed roles and routines from that of a single to a married woman. This included learning to perform domestic duties such as cooking and maintaining the house, activities that many of the women would have had help with, in the form of servants and extended family, back in India. Furthermore, living arrangements in New Zealand differed markedly from those in India. In New Zealand, married couples were expected to live on their own, unlike in India where following marriage, women would move in with their husbands and live in an extended family home. Thus, the women were deprived of the company of other Indian women who could share their culture and offer various forms of support (Leckie, 2007).

Despite these difficulties described above, Indian women worked hard to adjust to their new surroundings. In addition to maintaining the household, many women were an integral part of their family business; although this was officially considered to be unpaid labour (Leckie, 2007). A few of these early immigrant women also obtained paid employment outside the family business in factories or laundries. As more Indian women immigrated to New Zealand post World War II, the numbers of women in paid employment steadily increased. In the 21st century, Indian women arrive in New Zealand as skilled immigrants and obtain employment in a variety of industries (Pio, 2008).

The Indian and Māori Connection

Since the arrival of people from India to New Zealand, the Indian and Māori communities have had close connections, although the contact has not always resulted in an easy relationship. For many Indians, employment contexts were one way in which the two communities came into contact. Operating as hawkers and shopkeepers, Indian workers were often sought after by Māori living in rural areas with limited access to goods. With regards to a ‘working’ relationship, the 1929 Committee on the Employment of Māori on Market Gardens noted “Māori generally preferred to work for Chinese or Indian employers” (Leckie, 2007, p. 61); highlighting positive aspects of their relationships. However, relationships

between Indian men and Māori women were not always looked upon favourably in the work situation and accusations of economic and sexual exploitation were aimed at Indian men who employed Māori women to work in their market gardens (Leckie, 2007).

Although contact in the work place between Indian men and Māori women was at times fraught with tension, some Indian men deliberately sought marriage with Māori women as a way of remaining in New Zealand. This practice resulted in a number of unions (Leckie, 2007). Generally the relationship between the Indian and Māori communities has been one of respect; as evident in 1997 during the opening of the Pukekohe Indian Association Community Centre. In acknowledgement of the history of Indians in the region, the centre was opened with both a pōwhiri⁵ from local Māori and a blessing from a Hindu priest.

Although relations between the Indian and Māori communities have been largely positive, more recently, Asian immigrants, including Indian immigrants, have questioned their place in New Zealand society. This questioning has been in response to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the argument that New Zealand is a bicultural nation.

Biculturalism: New Zealand and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

The discourse surrounding New Zealand as a bicultural nation stems from the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, considered by many to be the founding document of New Zealand as a nation. The concept of biculturalism appears to have been first introduced in the 1970s in Canada (Young, 2008), during which time policies were developed by the Canadian government to address the grievances of a French-speaking minority. New Zealand is distinctive in the emphasis given to biculturalism in large part due to the presence of Māori, who have a prominent role in debates about the development of social and economic policy (Bedford, 2003). The question, then, is if Te Tiriti o Waitangi was an agreement between Māori and the British Crown, and New Zealand is considered a bicultural nation, what role or even power, do Asian immigrants have in the

⁵ A pōwhiri is a Māori ceremony in which newcomers are welcomed on to the land.

development of the country? To begin answering this question, it is necessary to provide a brief overview of the contents of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Signed in 1840, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a contract consisting of four articles. Three of these articles were included in the written version of Te Tiriti and have been symbolically represented in the values of ‘protection, partnership and participation’ for all peoples in New Zealand (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2007; Rasanathan, 2005). The first article, in relation to ‘protection’, granted Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom sovereignty over New Zealand. In an act of partnership, the second article guaranteed the Māori chiefs, who signed Te Tiriti full ownership of their lands including estates, forests and fisheries until such a time that they wished to sell their property. When such a time arose, Māori were obliged to only sell the land to the Crown. The third article, in reference to participation, guaranteed all Māori peoples the same rights as all other British subjects (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2007). Governor Hobson, the representative of the British Crown further agreed to an additional article protecting religious freedom, including the right to practise ‘customary traditions’. This article however, was not included in the written version.

When Te Tiriti was signed at Waitangi, there were two versions: the Māori language version and the English language version. Recent translations of the articles of the Māori version indicate a discrepancy between the two (Butterworth, 1988; Orange, 1992). Thus, when Māori chiefs signed the Māori language version of Te Tiriti, what they believed they were agreeing to was not necessarily what the British Crown was assenting to. For instance, in the second article, the English language version uses the word ‘properties’ implying physical and, less directly, intellectual property. In the Māori version, the word Taonga, meaning precious things/properties, is used. This term has much broader implications. The Māori usage of Taonga encompasses language and culture; less tangible aspects of property.

The issue of language and interpretation is compounded by the fact that, at the time Te Tiriti was signed Māori society was an oral rather than literate one. Thus, according to Belich (1996), the Māori chiefs who signed Te Tiriti would

have placed more value on what was spoken at the time by the British Crown, rather than the written words of the actual Treaty. As a result of these discrepancies and misinterpretations, Ip (2005) posited that there are really only two basic facts that most people agree on and recognise when discussing Te Tiriti o Waitangi, these are: Te Tiriti was signed between the Crown representative and Māori chieftains in 1840, and Te Tiriti established a partnership between the Crown and Māori and formed the basis of biculturalism as it informs New Zealand socio-political climate. Further, Ip argued that:

...if anyone ventures beyond these facts, then there is a maze of disputed histories, not to say different legal interpretations, and highly charged social theorisations, claims and counterclaims. As yet there exists no definitive interpretation of the Treaty, especially how it should be applied to the contemporary scene. (p. 1)

The essence of Te Tiriti o Waitangi was to establish a partnership between the Māori peoples and the British Crown that would allow two cultures, Māori and Pākehā⁶, to reside side by side in the one country. Yet, despite the intentions of Te Tiriti, it has only been in the last 40 years that the Māori culture and its traditional practices have become a visible part of society, giving substance to the use of the term biculturalism in the New Zealand context. This said, during the early 1980s the number of immigrants, particularly those arriving from the Pacific Islands and Asia, shifted the cultural demographics of the country and “almost before it had been properly acknowledged that New Zealand was bicultural, it became multicultural” (Wilson, 2007, p. 1). However, if New Zealand is to first be a truly bicultural nation, then all New Zealanders need to be aware of Māori worldviews and realities (Abel, 2006).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Asian Immigrants

The challenge for Asian immigrants is to understand the New Zealand society and its history; and furthermore, where they fit in relation to Te Tiriti. Jamnadas (2008), a well known journalist within the New Zealand Asian community,

⁶ There are no definitive oral or written records about the exact origins of the term ‘Pākehā’ and even today; many have difficulty defining its exact meaning (Ranford, 2008). Initially a Pākehā was that person who came from England, and settled or worked in New Zealand, but the word Pākehā is used more commonly now to refer to a New Zealander of Caucasian descent, and this is the sense in which it is used in this study.

contended that Asian immigrants, due to their own colonising background and separation from their indigenous source through migration, come very quickly to understand the interests and concerns of the indigenous people. He believed that as New Zealand's founding document, Te Tiriti anticipated that there would be immigrants and that they would have a place in New Zealand society.

In considering the relationship between Te Tiriti and immigrants, Jamnadas (2008), highlighted three direct links. First, Te Tiriti o Waitangi is about protection of culture, not just of the Māori culture, but the culture of all peoples living in New Zealand. This is a key issue of primary importance for immigrant communities. For many immigrants, retaining aspects of their culture in terms of traditions, practices and beliefs is an important part of the settlement process. A number of studies focussing on Indian immigrants in particular, have found that for this group, frequent trips to the homeland (Bhattacharjee, 1992), social cultural gatherings (Mehra, 1992) and consumption patterns involving Indian foods, clothing, furnishings, music and religion (Helweg, 1987; Mehta & Belk, 1991) have been vital in keeping their heritage alive. For immigrant communities living in New Zealand, Te Tiriti can be seen as a way to support the cultural practices of minority groups within a dominant cultural society that can be at times starkly different from their own.

Second, Jamnadas (2008) contended that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is about participation. The large proportion of immigrants who travel overseas to establish new homes are interested in being able to participate in all aspects of the new society, whether this is through employment, cultural festivals or community functions. Te Tiriti acknowledges that everyone has the right to participate, which supports the third relationship between Te Tiriti and immigrant communities. That is, Te Tiriti is about equal citizenship. This is of importance to immigrants, who seek recognition for having a valid role to play in contributing to and helping to construct local community and society at large.

Yet, while many Asian immigrants are rightful citizens of New Zealand and should thus be included in any dialogue regarding Te Tiriti, there is the dilemma that Asian communities were not party to the original signing of Te Tiriti. In a 2005 symposium addressing Human Rights, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Asian communities, Ip (2005) claimed:

...many Asians would have basic knowledge of the history of the Treaty and the circumstances under which it was signed. This knowledge would be on par with that of most non-Asian New Zealanders. What should be 'taught' is probably the relevance of the Treaty to contemporary New Zealand. When explaining a document upholding biculturalism in a multicultural reality, a clear message has to be relayed to all non Māori non Pākehā groups: where do they all fit? (Ip, 2005, p. 6)

From the viewpoint of the Indian and Chinese communities, there is no space for them as direct players in the construction of the meaning of Te Tiriti in modern life. Rasanathan (2005) a New Zealand born Sri Lankan further emphasised the issues:

The treaty is a contract and partnership between indigenous and coloniser, Māori and Pākehā. We are obviously not indigenous or Māori. Some argue that we are on the Pākehā or coloniser side. Well I know I'm not Pākehā... I have a very specific knowledge of my own whakapapa, culture and ethnic identity and it's not Pākehā. It also stretches the imagination to suggest we are part of the colonising culture, given that it's not our cultural norms and institutions which dominate this country. (Rasanathan, 2005, p. 2)

Rasanathan (2005) went on to say that generally Asian immigrants, regardless of how long they have been living in the country and whether they have New Zealand citizenship, are not seen as New Zealanders in a full sense. "The echo of 'where are you from?' still hangs over many of our introductions" (p. 1).

The dilemma that Asian communities face has significant consequences for establishing a home for themselves in New Zealand. Under the current legal interpretation of Te Tiriti, Pākehā or not, the Asian peoples are supposedly represented by 'the Crown'. Yet, there is some apprehension, and with good reason, about whether the Crown will look out for their rights. For instance, in 1995, a Chinese church group paid a deposit and legal fees to buy land to build a new church for the congregation, unaware that the local iwi had disputed the right of the Ministry to sell the land on account of unsettled land claims. When the church group went to visit the land they were met by Māori protestors and the end result of this encounter was that the Chinese:

bowed out to the delight of the iwi and praises of liberal Pakeha... The New Zealand public never asked how the Chinese church group fared after they lost the money and the church they wanted to build. They were just forgotten. (Ip, 2005, p. 6)

So what does this all mean for the Asian community? Rasanathan (2005) raised the point that, through the signing of Te Tiriti and the construction of biculturalism in society, Pākehā have been unmasked as the dominant culture. That is, it is now widely recognised that there is more than one norm in New Zealand but that many of the current institutions and practices are culturally specific to that of a ‘white Pākehā’ perspective. Through this unmasking comes the “realisation that different systems can be tolerated and even promoted” (Rasanathan, 2005, p. 6), which provides the opportunity to construct systems that genuinely meet the needs of the Asian communities, with the support of both Māori and Pākehā.

Durie (2005), a Māori scholar and prominent commentator on Te Tiriti and health issues in contemporary New Zealand, noted that biculturalism is the relationship between the state’s founding cultures where there is more than one. Multiculturalism on the other hand is the acceptance of cultural difference generally. Increasingly it is necessary to address how Te Tiriti o Waitangi in the context of multiculturalism is to be accommodated (DeSouza, 2006). Jamnadas (2008) proffered the discussion regarding the application of Te Tiriti to all members of New Zealand society is one in which immigrant communities are ready, able and willing to participate. As a living document, Te Tiriti belongs not just to Māori and Pākehā, but all those residing in New Zealand (Ip, 2005).

The relationship of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, as it applies to Māori, Pākehā, Asians, and other ethnic groups living in New Zealand is, and will be, a topic for ongoing debate, requiring negotiation and informed discussion. It is a debate central to New Zealand’s identity as an immigrant, multicultural nation and is an important consideration in the context of this study that seeks to understand how Indian immigrant women settle in New Zealand. At this stage, however, while further clarification as to where the Asian community sits in relation to Te Tiriti is required, it can be noted that Te Tiriti has been useful in unmasking the dominant discourse and making visible the presence of minority groups residing in New Zealand.

Preservation of Cultural Heritage

As a framework, Te Tiriti o Waitangi promotes the value and display of cultural difference (Peet, 2007). This awareness dates from the 1900s when the Young Māori Party is credited with initiating a Māori social, economic and cultural revival (Durie, 1996) that bore fruit in the late 1970s and early 1980s renaissance of Māori culture and increased awareness of the bicultural nature of New Zealand society.

Cultural Practices in Everyday Life

Māori artists have had a place in society since they arrived in New Zealand, through their rich history as carvers and weavers. The application of Te Tiriti o Waitangi principles, in particular ‘participation’ to everyday practices, has shifted the visibility of Māori art from places such as Marae to an international arena. The founding of Ngā Puna Waihangā (the Association of Māori Arts and Writers) in 1973 (New Zealand Culture Online, 2006), marked an increase in recognition of Māori artists through organised exhibitions and published books. Further, Te Māori exhibition of 1984 was a landmark event which took traditional Māori artwork to the world, touring the United States (Swarbrick, 2007). More recently, *toi iho*, the ‘Māori made’ trademark has been established by Toi Māori Aotearoa, an artists’ network, to promote and sell authentic, quality Māori arts and crafts (*toi iho*, 2008).

Alongside the development of Māori arts, the implementation of Te Tiriti principles in everyday life has been influential in the resurgence of *te reo Māori* (the Māori language). Under Te Tiriti, Māori claimed that the Crown had failed to protect *te reo Māori* which as a *Taonga*, national treasure, needed to be nurtured. In 1985, submissions were put before the Waitangi Tribunal, a permanent commission of inquiry charged with investigating and making recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown that breach Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 2008). In 1986 the Tribunal released its recommendations on *te reo*, which led to legislative and policy changes that have assisted with the revival of the Māori language (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2008). These days, there are *te reo Māori* schools, Māori radio stations and, in 2004, a Māori television channel began broadcasting.

Under the Treaty obligations, successive governments since 1980 have acknowledged the importance of Māori culture within society. This support of cultural practice has further encouraged immigrant communities to celebrate and engage in traditional activities as part of everyday living in New Zealand. For instance, the Chinese community throughout New Zealand celebrates the Lantern Festival and, within the Indian community, festivals such as Diwali and Holi are now celebrated in most of the major cities throughout the country (New Zealand Culture Online, 2008a, 2008b). This represents a significant shift in making visible the presence of immigrant communities in New Zealand society. For Indian immigrants, being able to engage in cultural festivals not only allows them to stay connected to their homeland, but allows them to showcase aspects of their culture to New Zealand communities.

The diversity and practice of cultures within society can also be seen in many of the larger cities within New Zealand, where aspects of Asian lifestyles are filtered in amongst the mainstream landscape. For instance it is not uncommon to find a New Zealand supermarket and an Asian supermarket, specialising in groceries from places such as China, Korea, Japan or India, within walking distance of each other. Increasingly, mainstream movie theatres which have been dominated by English language films or 'film festival' subtitled movies are embracing Asian theatre and screening Bollywood productions. The diversity in cultures can be further seen in the increasing development of religious sites, such as mosques and Hindu temples. At the national level the Citizens Advice Bureaux (CAB) has a Language Link service provided by trained staff who are able to deliver the CAB service in a wide variety of different languages including but not limited to Arabic, Hindi, Mandarin, and Somali (CAB, 2008). It could be argued that without Te Tiriti and the recognition of participation for all New Zealand peoples, many immigrants would not have the opportunities to enact many of the cultural values, beliefs and practices that are integral to their way of life.

Legislation in Practice

In addition to the visibility of traditional practices in everyday life, the influence of culture is becoming increasingly apparent in legislation, as seen in law pertaining to the land, social policy and health acts. The Resource Management Act 1991 and Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993 are both documents that reflect

Māori perspectives and values. For instance under the Resource Management Act, any building permit, land or water usage, or resource utilisation must take into account Māori environmental values. Social policy legislation has also sought to incorporate Māori beliefs and practices. Under the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act 1989, social workers are required to work with whānau⁷ and fit in with tribal arrangements to ensure that Māori children are raised within their own cultural context and with their own people rather than being taken into Child, Youth and Family custody (Durie, 1996).

A third example of the law recognising the significance of Māori culture is seen in the Mental Health Act 1992. As stipulated in this Act, any court or Tribunal that exercises power under the Act must show respect for a person's cultural and ethnic identity, language and religious or ethical beliefs (Parliamentary Counsel Office, 2007). Although this could be applied to any culture, not specifically Māori, the Act also notes that proper recognition of the importance of family ties to a person's wellbeing must be shown. Within Māori culture and health, it has been acknowledged that whānau play a significant role in the wellbeing of the individual (Durie, 1994) and increasingly health professionals are encouraged to consult with family when working with Māori clients.

While many of the legislative reforms in regard to Māori practice took place in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the increasing numbers of immigrants entering New Zealand in the 21st century has prompted a call for government to recognise and respond to the needs of Asian and immigrant groups. In 2008, Te Pou, the National Centre of Mental Health Research, Information and Workforce Development, produced two draft research agendas. These research agendas address 'Refugee and migration mental health and addiction' and 'Asian mental health and addiction'. At present, little is known about the prevalence of mental illness and addiction disorders for these two groups. Gathering information through the development of research agendas is vital to inform service developments that are responsive to their particular needs. Currently these documents are under review, for approval by the Ministry of Health.

⁷ Whānau is a Māori word commonly translated in English to mean 'family' or 'family group'. However, as a concept whānau extends beyond that of the immediate family, made up of parents and siblings, and links people of one family to a common ancestor (Te Kooti Whenua Maori, 2008).

In summary, the literature reviewed here shows that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is considered New Zealand's founding document and has been interpreted by many as the country's first immigration policy (Bedford, 2003; Sang & Ward, 2006). Based on biculturalism, yet applied in a multicultural reality, the challenge many Asian immigrants face is where they sit in relation to Te Tiriti and thus in New Zealand society. There is a relationship between Te Tiriti and immigrants and while these links have at times been tenuous, Te Tiriti has provided opportunities for immigrants residing in New Zealand to stay connected with their cultural origins amidst a dominant culture that is often far removed from that of their own practices. In addition to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the New Zealand immigration policy and settlement strategy influence New Zealand's immigrant communities.

Current Immigration Policy

With the election to office of the Labour Government in 1972, New Zealand's discriminatory immigration policies became the focus of significant questioning. Prior to that time, the New Zealand government had focussed on short term immigration programmes designed to reduce the mismatch in labour supplies and labour demands (Ongley & Pearson, 1995). In 1974, a review of immigration policy was called for and the announcement made that potential immigrants would no longer be discriminated against on racial grounds (Brooking & Rabel, 1995). The government started to focus on linking immigration levels more closely to employment, housing and other resources in New Zealand (Colman & Kirk, 1974). However, the Labour Government lost power in 1975 and it was not until they were re-elected in 1984 that substantial changes in immigration policy occurred.

The 1987 Immigration Act signified the shift in official thinking where immigrants were to be selected on the basis of personal merit rather than national or ethnic origin. One of the underlying factors for this change was the need to select immigrants who could fill high demand gaps in the workforce, as seen in the medical and legal professions, and contribute to the growth of the economy over a long term period. Three years later, in 1990, the immigration policy was again reviewed and in 1991 legislation developed that clarified how potential immigrants would be selected. A points system based on criteria delineating

personal merit, such as age, employability, educational qualifications and settlement funds was introduced. Today this system forms the foundation of New Zealand's immigration policy.

One of the strengths of current immigration policy is the transparent process for selecting skilled immigrants based on clear criteria, a selection process that is "responsive to demand pressures allowing for more stability and predictability in the inflow of new migrants" (Glass, 2004, p. 4). Yet despite this obvious improvement, there are still some areas of concern with the current immigration policy.

One area of concern is that simply having a process of selecting skilled immigrants does not ensure the success of their transition and settlement in New Zealand society. "There is evidence that immigrants are highly skilled, but also suffer high unemployment (and possibly high-underemployment) rates" (Glass, 2004, p. 4); a finding echoed in Pio's (2008) research of Indian women working in New Zealand and other studies (Abbott et al., 1999; Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996; Oliver, 2000) that document the experience of immigrants finding employment. On arrival many immigrants find that their qualifications are not accepted, entailing further training or in some instance retraining in a new field of work (Ethnic Affairs Service, 1996). Additionally, previous research (Nayar & Hocking, 2006) has shown that skilled immigrants may struggle with performing everyday activities integral to settling in New Zealand, such as utilising public transport which may be a necessary part of accessing employment or preparing meals with unfamiliar utensils.

Furthermore, while there is transparency in the selection process and how immigrants are awarded points, it could be argued that the immigration policy is nevertheless discriminatory. That is, the current policy does not allow people who are unable to accumulate the required number of points for entry to consider New Zealand as a possible destination for migration. Thus, while there are many Indians who are able to immigrate to this country, there are many more for whom it will never be a reality. While it is not my intention to debate the merits of restricted versus open migration, it needs to be acknowledged that there are restrictions with the current immigration policy.

In April 2006, the Labour led New Zealand Government announced a further review of the Immigration Act. According to the Minister of Immigration, the Honourable David Cunliffe,

Immigration helps build New Zealand – contributing to the diversity of our communities, the shape of our workforce and the growth of our economy. The government’s goal for immigration is to facilitate the entry of people with the skills we need, and assist them to settle into a new life in a new country... Since the current Act came into force in 1987 there have been major changes in the international environment and New Zealand’s priorities. The extent of these changes means it’s timely to properly review and update our legislative framework. (Department of Labour, 2006a, p. i)

The key words in the above statement are ‘new life in a new country’ which indicates recognition of the upheaval experienced by immigrants who, when they immigrate, leave behind all that is known and familiar. The emphasis is no longer solely on bringing immigrants into the country, but ensuring they are supported when they arrive and by inference engage in the occupations that are necessary for the process of settling in a new environment. This change in immigration policy perspective aligns with the New Zealand settlement strategy for immigrants.

New Zealand Settlement Strategy

Increasingly, the New Zealand government is recognising the need to provide support to immigrants with settlement issues and the process of becoming part of society. Until recently, advice on employment, health and other government funded services has been provided to people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds on the same basis as other residents (Office of Ethnic Affairs (OEA), 2002). However, when compared to the New Zealand norms, the trends are for some culturally diverse groups to fare poorly, particularly in relation to health, education, and justice (OEA, 2002). Without policies or services that are specifically designed to meet their needs, these trends may continue, compounding poor outcomes. Thus, “new immigrants... need more effective policies and programmes to target assistance to achieve better outcomes” (OEA, 2002, p. 13), which is in part what the review of the Immigration Act will hopefully achieve.

Over the past 15 years, an aspect of policy that has been focussed on by government bodies such as the OEA relates to supporting immigrants with high levels of education and skill to enter the country. Yet it was only in 2004 that New Zealand adopted a specific settlement policy (Bedford, 2008). This was released by the government in 2005 as the *New Zealand Settlement Strategy* (Department of Labour, 2005a). The Strategy attempted to co-ordinate development of settlement support services to address the barriers some immigrants' experience. The document outlines six goals for settlement, one of which is to support immigrants in 'obtaining employment', noting that "the speed with which they integrate into the labour market, finding work that fits with their skills and qualifications is a significant indicator of progress with settlement" (Department of Labour, p. 5).

The social engagements of new immigrants were also addressed, with three out of the six *New Zealand Settlement Strategy* goals focussing on social aspects of settling into a new community. These goals relate to forming supportive social networks, participating in community and social activities, and supporting immigrants to feel safe expressing their identity within the wider host community. In addition to these goals, the government's *Ethnic Perspectives in Policy* (OEA, 2002) called for an inclusive society, whereby people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds can be "seen, heard, included and accepted" (p. 1).

The third dimension needing to be addressed in order to support new immigrants is health care. It has been recognized that an increasing number of immigrants, particularly those from different cultures such as the Chinese or Indian communities, are accessing mental health services due to difficulty establishing life in a new culture. Nonetheless the strategic document *Improving Mental Health: The Second National Mental Health and Addiction Plan 2005-2015* (Ministry of Health, 2004) acknowledged that there was no national strategy or policy to address the mental health issues of the full range of culturally diverse groups living in New Zealand. Moreover, the Mental Health Commission's report *Mental Health Issues for Asians in New Zealand* proposed that with an increasing number of people opting to immigrate, there is a need for more research (Ho et al., 2002).

The above discussion indicates an increased awareness of the necessity to support new immigrants in the areas of employment, social engagement and health. What appears to be missing from the discourse is recognition of the importance of everyday activities that people need to do to live and survive, such as knowing where and how to obtain groceries, and how to convert these groceries into a meal using unfamiliar equipment or that these activities underpin employment, social engagement and health. Currently settlement initiatives are poorly resourced, spread across two government departments with modest funding. To achieve the goals of the Settlement Strategy, requires partnerships between central government, local authorities and community organisations (Bedford, 2008), as well as informed policy. It is one of the purposes of this study to generate evidence that will support the development of immigration policy.

Summary

As an immigrant nation, New Zealand has a long and chequered past in relation to welcoming immigrants. Today New Zealand can be considered a multi-ethnic society comprised of increasingly diverse immigrant groups. In 2009, Indian immigrants are the second largest Asian group in New Zealand society, with established communities throughout the country. Despite Indians being among the first Asian peoples to immigrate to New Zealand, legislative obstacles such as the unofficial ‘white New Zealand policy’ and the English language test, have their legacy in the relatively small Indian community established in New Zealand prior to 1966. In current times, a lack of acceptance from sectors of New Zealand society, have presented challenges to Asian immigrants establishing a home in this country. For many Indian immigrant women, the challenges to settlement were compounded by being in a new marriage and having a lack of family and cultural support.

The experiences of Indian immigrants have been shaped by the New Zealand context to which they arrive, and immigration policies of the time. Te Tiriti o Waitangi, established New Zealand as a bicultural nation. However, the diverse ethnic mix in today’s society renders New Zealand a multicultural reality. A review of the literature revealed that while immigrants often struggle to situate themselves in relation to Te Tiriti, the principles of this document, ‘protection,

participation and partnership', have created opportunities for immigrants to uphold traditional cultural values and practices in a dominant culture different from their own. Currently New Zealand immigration policy is changing with reviews being passed to update existing immigration legislation, determining who can enter the country. Furthermore, there is a growing awareness of the need to support immigrants to settle in a new country.

The following chapter furthers discussion of the pertinent literature in relation to this study; reviewing literature pertaining to settlement theories and the everyday settlement issues experienced by Indian immigrant women.

Chapter Three: LITERATURE REVIEW

Immigrating is an increasing global trend, with the result that the majority of the developed countries are now considered diverse, multiethnic societies (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). New Zealand is no exception. The growth in New Zealand's resident immigrant population, specifically the Asian community, has prompted the drive for research to better understand immigrants' needs and the impact of immigration on society at large. The increase in research focussing on aspects of immigration such as 'why' people immigrate, 'what' happens in the act of immigration and 'how' the settlement process unfolds for new immigrants is a trend that continues to burgeon both nationally and internationally (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

The intent of this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive review but to explore selected literature pertaining to two key ideas that inform this study; acculturation and the experiences of Indian women as immigrants. Acculturation is the result of first hand cultural exchange between two or more cultures over a period of time, with subsequent changes in the original culture (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Some of the theories of acculturation that address the dynamic between maintaining one's traditional culture, while adopting aspects of the dominant culture, are critiqued in this section. Because many of these theories have been developed outside of the New Zealand context, the applicability of acculturation theories within a New Zealand setting is also examined.

After considering the broader concept of acculturation, I review the national and international literature addressing the experiences of Indian women as immigrants. The intent of this section is to uncover what is currently known about how Indian women establish themselves in a new country and what issues they face during the settlement process. This review is useful for considering the potential challenges Indian women who immigrate to New Zealand may encounter.

The Settlement Process

As with many minority groups, how successfully Indian immigrants settle into their new home depends both on their willingness to learn about the new society

and the willingness of the host society to become better informed of their cultural practices. Thus, settlement is a two way process which requires the active participation of both parties in order to be successful. Smither (1982) provided an overview of different forms that relations towards minority groups have taken throughout the world. Although newer models and terminology addressing relations between the minority and dominant cultures have been constructed, Smither's framework provides a comprehensive summary of the core concepts. He posited five forms of relation: elimination, segregation, assimilation, fusion, and pluralism. Each of these relations will be briefly discussed, as they provide a basic understanding of concepts used in the theories of acculturation, which are critiqued within this literature review.

Elimination, in its simplest form, can be considered genocide. This is when the majority culture considers the minority group to be an irritant and finds reasons to expel the group. New Zealand's history as an immigrant nation has to some extent prevented this form of relations from happening. Through the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori were acknowledged as having a place in New Zealand, although they quickly became, and still are, a minority culture. Segregation however, a practice whereby minority groups are kept separate but retain their cultural practices, so long as they are compatible with the majority culture, has been evident in New Zealand history. For instance, early Indian immigrants were supported to trade their wares, but were never encouraged to settle amongst the white community (Leckie, 2007; Tiwari, 1980). Assimilation stresses that immigrants must sacrifice the ways of their birth culture and adopt those of the new culture in their entirety (Bennett, 1963; Dohrenward & Smith, 1962; Smither, 1982). As discussed in Chapter Two, prior to 1945, New Zealand governments favoured assimilation, adopting policy that gave preference to immigrants from Europe; those who would seemingly have least difficulty with adapting to life in New Zealand (Brooking & Rabel, 1995).

A further form of relations is fusion, whereby, members of diverse cultures join to create a new kind of culture (Glazer, 1956; Smither, 1982). Within the New Zealand context, the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi do not promote fusion; rather, minority groups are encouraged to retain their own heritage. Finally, pluralism occurs when individuals maintain their cultural identities while subscribing to the overarching goals of the larger group (Kallen, 1956; Smither).

‘Cultural pluralism’ a term coined by Goertzle (1975), relies on tolerance on the part of the majority and a willingness to learn the rules of a new culture, on the part of the minority. Given the multicultural reality of New Zealand society, pluralism may be the best way to describe relations between the majority and minority groups residing here.

The relationship between cultural groups, where one group forms the majority and the other group constitutes a minority, is one aspect of the immigration process that has been intensively researched by many academic disciplines including psychology, anthropology and sociology. Acculturation is a concept that originated within anthropology and, within migration research, is often used to describe the process by which immigrants acquire, and adapt to, a new culture (Berry, 1992; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Nesdale, Rooney, & Smith, 1997). I will provide a brief overview of the concept of acculturation before reviewing and critiquing some of the dominant models of acculturation discussed in migration literature. A review of factors contributing to acculturation as well as the characteristic course of acculturation will be considered.

Acculturation

As members of a minority culture, Indian women settling in New Zealand will at some point in their journey come into contact with the majority Pākehā culture and the indigenous culture, Māori. This process of contact between individuals and groups of people and the resulting changes in cultural attitudes, values and behaviours is often referred to as acculturation (Berry, 1990, 2001; Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986; Lopez, Ehly, & Gracia-Vazquez, 2002) and in principle, is a neutral term that implies that change may take place in either or both groups (Bailey, 1937). However, in the late 1980s and 1990s, research tended to focus on what happens for the minority group when living in the dominant culture. This aligns with Berry’s (1990) observation that “in practice acculturation tends to induce more change in one of the groups than in the other” (p. 294). More recently, trends in acculturation research indicate a shift in focus to the process of mutual change (Berry, 1997; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal,

1997). This shift in research direction is relevant to the current New Zealand context as a multicultural society.

Acculturation, as discussed in migration research, recognises that minority groups will have some experience of the culture from which they come, and consequently, bring that culture with them into the new society. Cuellar, Arnold and Maldonado (1995), studied acculturation in Mexican Americans and found that it is a process that affects individuals at the behavioural, affective and cognitive levels of functioning. Due to the voluntary nature of immigrants' cultural contact with new societies, one might expect a relatively easy acculturation experience and positive adaptation outcomes (Garza-Guerrero, 1974; Krupinski, Stoller & Wallace, 1973). However, immigrants are sometimes reported to encounter more problems than their voluntary status would suggest (Naidoo, 1992). Furthermore, the numbers of studies done in the area of immigration and mental health bear witness to the problems immigrants are alleged to experience (Burvill, 1984).

Acculturation permeates all facets of daily living including language, foods, cultural connections, beliefs and attitudes. Whether immigrants retain or lose their traditional culture, and to what degree, are questions central to the acculturation research. Similarly, these questions are of importance in this study, when exploring how and when Indian immigrant women engage in culturally mediated occupations as they settle in New Zealand. In an attempt to understand the process through which immigrants experience acculturation, researchers have employed varying perspectives and models, the most relevant of which will be discussed.

Models of Acculturation

Acculturation models, within the migration literature, primarily centre on the link between ethnic identity, that of the minority group, and mainstream identity, belonging to the dominant party. The most basic of these frameworks is a linear bi-polar model in which ethnic identity is seen to exist on a continuum from strong ties to one's traditional culture to strong identification with the mainstream, majority culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Phinney, 1990). Within this model, individuals are usually high in one and low in the other. For instance, as they gain

identification with the mainstream culture, they lose their identification with their ethnic origins and vice versa (Phinney, 1990). I would argue that given the complexity of culture and the fact that acculturation permeates all of a person's thoughts, words and actions, this model is too simplistic. These days, Indian women immigrating to New Zealand arrive to an established Indian community. This may make it easier for them to hold onto their traditional culture while simultaneously embracing elements of the new, dominant culture.

Berry, a prominent researcher in the field of cross cultural psychology, has attempted to redress the issue of acculturation as a bi-polar model. He developed a typology in which ethnic identity and mainstream identity are mutually exclusive; and therefore, can run parallel to one another (Berry, 1990, 1992; Berry et al., 1986). Accordingly, an individual can be high or low in one or both. The use of this two-dimensional categorical approach has increased over the last decade (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001) and is widely cited in migration research discussing the concept of acculturation (Kağitçibaşı, 2007). Berry's model is based on the answers to two questions: Is my cultural identity of value and to be retained? And are positive relations with the larger society sought? Individuals' answers to these questions result in four possible outcomes; marginalisation, assimilation, separation and integration.

It is the phrasing of the above questions which draws focus to the individual's perspective of acculturation, as opposed to a societal level process, that distinguishes Berry's (1990, 1992, 1997) model from that espoused by Smither (1982). At a societal level, Smither used the term 'elimination' whereby the minority group fits neither with the dominant or their traditional culture. From an individual perspective, Berry uses the term marginalisation. Likewise, the term pluralism is representative of a societal process, whereas the term integration, which involves "acceptance of two kinds of attitudes or orientations, among both the migrant groups and the larger society" (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006, p. 327), highlights the individual experience.

Using Berry's typology, it is possible to have a combination of cultures. In a study of acculturation attitudes among Indian immigrants, Krishnan and Berry (1992) found the overwhelming preference for acculturation was integration. The actual description of the participant sample is vague; however, the authors reasoned that their findings were due to the participants' mastery of the English

language and their educational background. Given New Zealand's immigration legislation and the current points system, which favours people with English language proficiency and university qualifications, it could be assumed that Indian women who migrate to New Zealand will also show a preference for integration.

While Berry's (1990, 1992, 1997) model acknowledges that both cultures play a part in the settlement process, the framework tends to categorise immigrants into one particular acculturative strategy – integration, marginalisation, separation or assimilation. In contrast, Taft's (1977, 1985) migration adaptation model allows greater movement, acknowledging that individuals shift across strategies at any given time. Taft's model, known as the multifacet socialisation-re-socialisation perspective, is not as widely employed as Berry's theory; but contains some useful elements in relation to this study. It incorporates both individual and contextual perspectives, acknowledging that it is possible for individuals to experience acculturation in one but not all facets of their everyday experiences. This point was illustrated in Cuellar et al.'s (1985), research which found that acculturation affects individuals at all levels of daily living, to different degrees. Thus, it is "possible to be acculturated with respect to one aspect of life (e.g. language) and not with respect to another such as commitment to the new country" (Sang & Ward, 2006, p. 257).

Re-socialisation, including psychological factors such as changes in attitudes and values, the acquisition of new social skills and emotional adjustment to a changed environment, is the process whereby immigrants adapt to their new surroundings (Taft, 1977). Based on factor analytic studies of various immigrant groups' adaptation, Taft's model consists of one aspect of socio-emotional adjustment and four aspects of integration; national and ethnic identity, cultural competence, social absorption and role acculturation (Sang & Ward, 2006). These aspects can be examined from subjective viewpoints consisting of attitudes and perceptions, as well as objective measures derived from ratings of immigrants' observable behaviour completed by outsiders. This model acknowledges individuals' experiences of settlement and acculturation, and aligns with my study which seeks to understand Indian immigrant women's perspectives on settling in New Zealand.

Extending the notion of individual variation within the acculturation process, two further models have been developed by Padilla (1980) and

Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980). Padilla (1980) posited the importance of cultural awareness, pertaining to an individual's knowledge of specific cultural material (e.g. language, values, food) of both the cultural group of origin and the host culture; and ethnic loyalty, which refers to the individual's preference of one cultural orientation over another. Preferences are "behavioural indices of both cultural awareness and ethnic identification and convey information about the extent of an individual's acculturation" (Padilla, p. 48). In this model, the less acculturated individual will prefer ethnic related activities and maintain social networks of the same ethnicity. Although the emphasis on the individual's preference is an important consideration in understanding acculturation strategies, the model falls short of explaining why a person will choose one culture over the other, which in this study, is important for understanding Indian immigrant women's actions in the context of immigration.

In addressing people's choice of culture, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) argued that the most important variable influencing the individual's acculturative strategy is the amount of time a person has been exposed to the host culture. Further, the greater the degree and availability of community support for the culture of origin, the greater the individual's retention of traditional practices and beliefs. The authors recognised that acculturation, as an individual process of accommodation to a total cultural context, may be either unidimensional or two dimensional depending upon whether the context is monocultural or bicultural. When the total cultural context is predominantly monocultural, this model posits that acculturation will tend to be unidimensional, whereby immigrants undergo a process of accommodating to the host culture and giving up the culture of origin. However, when the total cultural context is bicultural, the process of acculturation will be two dimensional, accommodating both the host culture and the culture of origin. This demands that immigrants participate in both cultural communities, hence "acculturation is a multidimensional process involving an accommodation on the part of the immigrant group to a total cultural context, thus the process may be unidimensional, two dimensional or multidimensional" (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980, p. 143).

It has been argued that the models discussed above, while offering "unique insights about the acculturation experience,... address very specific acculturation experiences, thus limiting their generalizability across varied groups" (Birman,

1994, p. 267). Birman offered an expanded framework of acculturation that can be applied to a multicultural society in which a variety of cultural groups coexist. Unlike Berry's two-dimensional model, Birman's orthogonal interaction model is three dimensional, incorporating seven different acculturative styles and two dimensions of acculturation, identity and behaviour. This gives rise to many acculturative styles, incorporating both the individual's needs and societal demands.

Summary of Acculturation Models

The above models highlight different aspects of the acculturation process, although predominantly, the models privilege either the individual's attitudes and actions or the cultural context, as influencing the outcome of settlement. Berry's (1990, 1992, Berry et al., 1986) model, while the most commonly cited, appears to be static in nature and can only be defined as a two-dimensional process. That is, individuals tend to get categorised into a particular acculturative strategy and the model lacks explanatory power in that how, when, or why they might move is not addressed in any detail. Taft's (1977, 1985) model gives voice to the individual and acknowledges that acculturation occurs on different levels and therefore, it is possible to utilise more than one strategy at any given time. Padilla further (1980) emphasised the importance of individual preference in the acculturation process, but did not seek to explain why individuals make their choice; while Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) stressed the influence of the total cultural context on the way in which an individual experiences acculturation. Birman (1994) further extended these two-dimensional models to create a model for a multicultural society in which an individual can assume one of several acculturative styles. Although researchers have developed models of acculturation each with their own variation, there are common factors that contribute to the overall acculturation process. These are discussed below.

Contributing Factors in Acculturation

The key factors in acculturation can be clustered into two categories. First, cultural maintenance, that is the extent to which cultural identity and characteristics are considered important by individuals and their maintenance

strived for; and second, contact and participation, whereby individuals become involved in other cultural groups or remain primarily among themselves.

Cultural Maintenance

Language familiarity and usage is one of the most frequently examined variables in the acculturation process (Berry, 1980; Padilla, 1980). Generally, a shift in language use is observed in relation to the minority group adopting greater usage of the dominant group's language. In a New Zealand context both English and Māori are considered official languages of the country. Thus, acculturation in this situation may involve shifts towards both. Some immigrants may resist the shift, increasing efforts to retain usage of their native tongue, including only listening to and speaking that language within the home.

Cultural heritage or the knowledge of a wide variety of cultural artefacts and materials, within both the first and dominant cultures, is another factor. Based on the findings of my Master's research, it may be that the greater the availability of community support with regards to accessing and utilising cultural resources, the more likely it is that individuals will engage in traditional practices (Nayar, 2005). In New Zealand there is growing community support and understanding of the cultural practices of a variety of immigrant groups, as previously discussed in Chapter Two.

Contact and Participation

The extent to which individuals will come into contact and involve themselves with other cultural groups can to some degree be shaped by their cognitive style. Over time, there tends to be a shift towards the norms found in the dominant group; although, individuals may engage in a process of switching between cognitive styles depending upon the situation and whether they are engaging with the first or the dominant group (Berry, 1976). Closely linked to cognitive styles are individuals' attitudes and willingness to become involved with other cultural groups. In relation to Berry's (1980) four acculturative strategies, assimilation may be enhanced if the individual displays a positive attitude towards initial cultural and psychological contact with the dominant group. Although immigrants may have a positive attitude toward the dominant Pākehā population, given the multicultural nature of New Zealand society, it is possible that involvement with

other cultural groups might limit the process of assimilation, engendering a shift towards integration.

Perceived discrimination by the dominant culture towards the minority group is a further dimension of acculturation (Padilla, 1980) and can pose barriers to interaction between the two groups, thus supporting ethnic distance. Interethnic distance is similar to the concept of marginalisation, which may or may not be the individual's choice. For instance distance may be maintained for a variety of reasons, such as religion or skin colour, and may result from consensus of the acculturating group or members of the dominant culture. As previously discussed, within New Zealand there have been racial slurs put out in the media, pertaining to Asian immigrants living in this country. Thus, it is possible that Indian immigrant women will perceive some form of discrimination which may influence their settlement process and the acculturative strategies they choose to employ.

Each of the factors discussed highlight the multifaceted and complex nature of acculturation. Two dimensions that influence the course of acculturation are context and time.

Characteristic Course of Acculturation

For acculturation to occur, two antecedents need to exist (Page, 2006). First, identification with one's original culture must be well established; and second, there must be a willingness, or openness, to modify one's original cultural identity and practices. In addition, the interplay of other variables such as the nature, purpose, duration and permanence of the contact between the minority and dominant cultures, alter the acculturation process.

Individual preferences for movement between one's cultural group and the dominant cultural group are known to vary according to context (Berry, 1992, 1997). For instance, in more private domains such as the home, individuals may seek cultural maintenance. Contrast this with public spaces such as the workplace, where immigrants might identify more strongly with the dominant culture. Within the New Zealand context, places of cultural exchange have been established in many of the major cities such as Auckland, where Indian movie theatres and

grocery stores are situated alongside mainstream venues. Thus, the switch in acculturative strategies is more visible as people move between public areas.

Over the course of acculturation, individuals are likely to explore different acculturative strategies before settling on one that is more useful and satisfying than the others (Berry, 1997). For instance, individuals may initially choose to speak their native language within the home. As time passes and they invite members of the community into their private space, they may opt to speak the language of the dominant culture. Furthermore, it could be hypothesised that when there is a lack of purposeful interaction or minimal contact, there will be less acculturation and, conversely, when contact occurs over a long period of time, acculturation will be greatest. What the models fail to address with regard to time is the everyday experience. Is it possible that the choice of acculturative strategies can change in a matter of minutes or hours depending on the situation and activity the individual is engaged in? Given Cuellar et al.'s (1995) contention that acculturation permeates all aspects of daily living, it may be that the act of settling in a new country will reveal a variety of acculturative strategies being used at different times in different circumstances, or in quick succession.

Applicability of Acculturation Models to the New Zealand Context

When considering the applicability of acculturation models to the New Zealand context, a key issue is the fact that this country is bicultural. Within the acculturation literature, biculturalism refers to the resulting interaction between the peoples of a majority or dominant group and a minority or second culture. Taft (1977, 1985) and Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) acknowledged that acculturation is a multidimensional, multifaceted process; however, their models emerge out of a bicultural context, as does Berry's (1990, 1992; Berry et al., 1986) and Padilla's (1980) models. So what happens when there are more than two cultural contexts?

In Chapter Two I explored how Te Tiriti o Waitangi sets the stage for a bicultural context in New Zealand. In this context, biculturalism signifies two established cultures, Māori and Pākehā, living side by side. Thus, immigrants coming to New Zealand bring a third cultural context. It is the interaction of a third cultural perspective within an already established bicultural society and how

immigrants move between all three cultures that does not appear to be sufficiently addressed in any of the current models of acculturation. Birman (1994) contended that her model addresses acculturation in a multicultural society; yet, the word biculturalism features prominently in the model. Thus, while each of the models provides pertinent ideas on the process of acculturation, the perspective of the models based on a 'two culture setting' limits the applicability of the models in a New Zealand context.

In summary, while the current models of acculturation offer ways of understanding the settlement process, there are limitations with respect to understanding the variations that appear when individuals from a similar background engage in the settlement process, and determining how acculturation occurs on a daily basis. Further, from a New Zealand perspective, the different interpretation of biculturalism complicates the application of these models in a New Zealand context.

In this first section, I have reviewed the relevant literature on the process of acculturation and different acculturation models. The following section reviews the literature specifically addressing the experiences of Indian immigrant women, both nationally and internationally.

The Experiences of Indian Immigrant Women

The literature reviewed to this point has centred on aspects of migration as they pertain to the New Zealand context. This current study addresses how Indian immigrant women settle in this country. What happens on a daily basis as they go about engaging in occupations in a new environment? What are the challenges they encounter and how do they respond to these?

Occupations that both satisfy the individual and meet individual and societal values are likely to have positive influences on a person's wellbeing. Conversely lack of occupations has the potential to negatively impact on wellbeing. 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) maintained that occupational deprivation is detrimental to wellbeing and one group of people she identified as

being at risk for occupational deprivation is minority ethnic groups, such as Indian immigrant women in New Zealand, who risk the loss of traditional occupations when settling into a new society.

The purpose of this section is to review the literature pertaining to the everyday experiences of Indian women as immigrants. In keeping with the definition of 'Indian' as set out in Chapter One, I will be restricting my review to Indian women who have emigrated directly from the sub-continent of India and to adult women, aged between 18 to 65 years. I will briefly summarise the New Zealand literature and what it offers in the context of this study, before reviewing the international literature.

National Literature

New Zealand research involving Indian immigrant women tends to be topic specific, focussing on two main areas: health or employment. Research from a health perspective has centred on social experiences and childbirth. Within New Zealand, little is known about the maternity experiences of immigrant mothers apart from DeSouza's (2004, 2005) investigation of the health and social experiences of immigrant mothers from Goa. Based on small scale ethnographic studies, DeSouza revealed a loss of rituals and the importance of maintaining cultural traditions when New Zealand ways were found to be inadequate to meeting their needs. Accordingly, the women balanced Goan rituals with a valuing of New Zealand care, thus positioning themselves within two cultural contexts.

Employment, as an occupation, holds implications for wellbeing and has been the focus of research by Pio (2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2007), who has undertaken extensive qualitative and quantitative studies of first and second generation Indian immigrant women and their employment situations. In a recent qualitative study, Pio (2005b) interviewed 20 Indian women between the ages of 27-52 years regarding their employment experiences and the challenges of finding work relevant to their qualifications and experience. All participants were fluent in English, held university degrees and were born outside of New Zealand. Findings of the study revealed that the initial journey of obtaining employment was one of trauma, hurt and identity struggles, as a result of multiple rejections of

job applications. For many of the participants, this was followed by a deep sense of fulfilment for having the conviction to turn their dreams and hopes into reality within the New Zealand context.

The works of DeSouza (2004, 2005) and Pio (2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2007) provide deeper understandings of specific challenges that migration poses for Indian women living in New Zealand. They are limited, however, with regards to generating broad understandings of the everyday activities that Indian women engage in as part of settling in a new country and how they manage this process.

Generally there is a notable absence of literature relating to Indian immigrant women. This is illustrated in the relatively recent publication, *Shifting Centres* (Fraser & Pickles, 2002), which tells the stories of women and migration in New Zealand history. Each chapter focuses on a different population, such as the Chinese, Jewish, Irish, German and British communities. Conspicuously absent is a chapter regarding Indian women and yet, as previously mentioned, the Indian community is the one of the oldest, and the second largest Asian population in the country. As previously described, Leckie (1998, 2007), a New Zealand historian, does provide some historical and contextual documentation of Indian women as early immigrants to New Zealand, in relation to the family and employment. However, her work does not address the experience of Indian women who have immigrated to New Zealand within the past 30 years. This is an area where international literature may provide further insights.

International Literature

The literature reviewed in this section has been grouped under three broad headings: identity, everyday experiences, and health and wellbeing. These headings have been drawn from my readings of the acculturation literature and my research perspective as informed by occupational science. Within the acculturation literature a key contributing factor, as discussed above, is identity; while everyday experiences and issues of health and wellbeing are central concepts within occupational science. Within this study, I believe all three concepts, may influence how Indian immigrant women experience settling in New Zealand.

Identity

Within the West, identity is predominantly 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). Over time, there has been a move away from structural functional conceptualisations that view identity as a passive, static structure towards interpretive, social constructionist, and postmodern conceptualisations that view identity as an active process involving ‘person-environment’ transactions (Laliberte-Rudman, 2002), a concept nestled within the philosophy of occupational science (Dickie, Cutchin, & Humphrey, 2006; Nelson, 1988; Zemke & Clark, 1996).

In contrast, literature pertaining to the Indian identity suggests more collective, societal identity (Mehta & Belk, 1991; Vaidyanathan, 1989). Vaidyanathan (1989) contended that the Indian identity has never been a personal affair, contingent on experience, as in the West, and that the only identity an Indian has is a cultural identity. This view was supported by Khare (1998) who felt that an Indian identity lies within the Indian culture and historical experiences. Thapan (2001) built 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 place in society as part of each individual’s birth heritage.

Some background to these assertions is provided by Guzder and Krishna’s (1991) comprehensive review of the cultural paradigms that exist for Indian women. They argued that the identity of Hindu women is framed by traditional family beliefs, such that the home and family are considered the domain of Indian women (Chanda & Owen, 2001) and have been primarily identified by their wife or mothering roles. To think of having an identity outside of the relationship to family is almost inconceivable (Vaidyanathan, 1989).

Immigrating means leaving behind family members; thus, in a new environment, without the extended network of family, Indian immigrant women may find their identity influenced by other external factors. Lewin’s (2005) study of 26 Anglo Indian women living in Australia found that perceptions of identity stemmed from the women’s physical attributes. Using in-depth semi structured interviews, Lewin discovered significant changes in the women’s perceptions of their skin colour and Indian heritage after settling in Australia. Many of them

discussed the advantages of having 'fair skin' noting that this allowed increased social mobility without the continued questioning, 'where are you from?' As revealed in Chapter Two, that question is often seen by immigrants as a subtle reminder that while they may live in the country, they were not born here, and therefore to some extent are not part of society.

In addition to physical attributes, the participants in Lewin's (2005) study perceived their identity to be grounded in experiences of racism and prejudice; experiences that had manifested through ignorance of Indian culture, a disregard for the diversity of Indian groups and a belittling of their Indian ancestry. With this awareness, the women consciously worked against perceptions of racism and prejudice to reclaim their identity. As discussed in Chapter Two, racism is a potential issue in New Zealand that may have a bearing on how Indian women perceive themselves and their position in society. Physical attributes and perceptions of racism and prejudice shape identity from an individual perspective. At a societal level, Indian immigrant women experience tension in identity construction as a result of ideological influences and values conflict.

For Indian women, immigrating to New Zealand may represent an opportunity or necessitate an active shaping and constructing of a new identity. As a Western country, with greater numbers of Pākehā than Māori, New Zealand society largely promotes values associated with individualism such as cognitivism, freewill and materialism (Laungani, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999). Alternatively, a collective culture, such as the Indian culture, is more likely to promote the ideals of emotionalism, determinism and spiritualism (Laungani, 1999). These collective values tend to be deeply embedded. Naidoo (1984, 1985; Naidoo & Davis, 1988) has explored identity issues for Indian immigrant women and argued that maintaining traditional cultural values is more important for the Asian Indian woman than her male counterpart. South Asian women are strongly committed to family and home and do not have the same tolerance as English cultures for practices such as interethnic dating or lack of respect for elders.

The complexity of shifting identities is revealed in Kumar's (1999) study of the meaning of migration, gender and identities of Asian Indian women. Kumar interviewed six Indian immigrant women, aged between 27-32 years, all of whom had been living in the United States between 4 to 8 years. Analysis revealed that the women created and balanced multiple notions of identity that shifted

contextually between traditional identities of meeting societal approval and maintaining limits with respect to sexual behaviour, which Kumar characterised as being good girls, and modern identities involving greater independence, opportunity and equality. These modern values, while challenging traditional principles, have been welcomed by some Indian immigrant women, particularly in aspects of modernisation such as achievement of higher education, career development, and autonomy (Naidoo & Davis, 1988). Further, Indian immigrant women have revealed the potential for high achievement, exhibiting high aspirations for themselves and their children (Naidoo, 1984, 1985).

Achieving balance in values belonging to one's traditional identity and those values representative of a new identity can be an uneasy process that is often played out in the re-construction of roles. Studies with Asian Indian immigrants to North America have found that first generation women support gender equality as well as general principles of feminism, a concept originally derived in the West (Dasgupta, 1986; Naidoo, 1986; Siddiqui & Reeves, 1986). In a discourse analysis of the domestic division of work between Indian men and women in the United States, Bhalla (2008) analysed 40 readers' letters written to the expatriate Indian newspaper *India Abroad* from 1978-1992. These letters highlighted the gendered nature of Indian settlement and the author argued that migration's adversity - the need to continue performing traditional roles within the house as well as taking on roles such as employment out in society - forced Indian wives to carve out new gender identities. At the core of this shift in identity was a desire for principles of shared domestic responsibility with men.

When it comes to maintaining cultural identity however, adopting new values, such as those of independence and career development, may conflict with traditional roles in the culture of origin (Moghaddam, Ditto & Taylor, 1990; Naidoo & Davis, 1988), creating difficulties with settling in a new environment (Beiser, Barwick & Berry, 1988; Carballo, 1994). Kumar (1999) noted "there is an inherent conflict and fear of loss that may be generated through acculturation and change" (p. 116), with Indian immigrant women feeling the conflict between wanting support and connection; yet, needing to distance themselves from these collective aspects of Indian culture.

The tension in constructing an identity that incorporates both new and traditional values has resulted in varying conclusions in regards to acculturation

and settlement. An exploratory study of an Indian and Pakistani immigrant community in Saskatoon, Canada, revealed that Asian Indian women showed poorer assimilation into Western culture than their male counterparts (Siddiqui, 1997). However, it would also seem that Indian immigrant women simultaneously welcomed values representative of the new environment, while retaining traditional values, thus wanting the best of both worlds (Naidoo & Davis, 1988); an approach leaning towards Berry's (1990, 1992) acculturative strategy, integration.

The challenges to identity pose a potential conflict for the women in my study. Having been born and raised in India, they are likely to be steeped in the Indian culture, including formation of identity linked to family and traditional roles. The New Zealand environment both demands and offers the opportunity to engage in new ways of thinking and doing.

Everyday Experiences

As previously mentioned, there are limited studies published in the field of occupational therapy and occupational science concerning the everyday experience of immigrants, and a lack of research that considers immigration from an occupational perspective. Drawing on the limited research, key themes that arise include: parenting, employment and influences on engaging in occupation.

Many Indian immigrant women still believe in incorporating their original values in their parenting style (Tewary, 2005). The challenge of parenting and the importance of educating children on their cultural heritage is a theme that has arisen in studies of Indian immigrants living in the U.S.A. (Hicky, 2008) and Canada (Choudhry, 2001). Hickey spoke with 20 Indian immigrant women as part of a larger scale study exploring the experiences of new immigrants residing in the U.S.A. Grounded theory methods were used to analyse transcripts and findings revealed that participants struggled with raising children based on traditional values at home, only to find their children were being taught different values when at school. These findings were consistent with those of a smaller study, in which Choudhry spoke with 10 women who had emigrated from India to Canada. The women in Choudhry's study also struggled to come to terms with the Westernisation of grandchildren and the weakening of family values, such as

respecting one's elders, which impacted on their role as a parent and their child care occupations.

The conflict that arises in the occupation of parenting for Indian immigrant women living in Canada has received limited support from Martins and Reid (2007). This study claimed to have used grounded theory methods in analysis though stopped short of developing a theory, and although participants came from a variety of South Asian countries, only two identified as Indian. Findings from the study indicated that a key concern for Indian immigrant women was fulfilling their traditional roles as - homemaker, caregiver and housewife and how they would instil the Indian culture in their children.

Employment is another everyday occupation that Indian immigrant women engage in and can be both a positive and a negative experience. Employment can be a means of meeting new people, establishing networks and social supports; however, it can also be an isolating experience. Over a two year period, Crewe and Kothari (1998) interviewed Gujarati immigrants; the exact number is unknown, living in Northamptonshire, England, regarding their employment experience. Using a gender analysis, findings revealed that many of the women entered paid employment in Britain for the first time and mostly found jobs working in factories. Contrary to the values of Asian collectivism and intensely supportive Asian communities, the women in this study often felt isolated and stressed by the demands of this new occupation. Although immigration affords opportunities for engagement in new occupations, such as employment, it may be that the outcomes do not always result in the anticipated success.

The idea that Indian immigrant women encounter limited options and intensified isolation has been further supported by large scale studies, at a governmental level, that address migration and multiculturalism (Banerjee, 2000; Health Canada 1999). Indeed, Choudhry (2001) found that although Indian immigrant women attempted to build personal social networks through religious and spiritual activities; ultimately, they faced a future full of uncertainty.

Reviewing the literature there is limited research directly addressing the occupations of Indian immigrant women. Studies have however, revealed a variety of factors that influence the women's ability to engage in occupations in a new environment. These include having access to education and a variety of community resources (Dyck, 2003; Hickey, 2008; Kumar, 1999; Martins & Reid,

2007; Prabhakar, 1999), being young and healthy, and having the ability to balance both new and traditional cultural values (Choudhry, 2001; Martins & Reid, 2007) and social connections (Choudhry, 2001; Dyck, 2003). Knowing what factors influence engagement in occupations however, is not enough. While the current research hints at the everyday occupations Indian immigrant women perform in a new environment, they do not reveal what the women actually do. For instance what are the occupations associated with the role of a housewife? In addition to passing on knowledge of their culture, what do the women do when they parent their children? Enhanced understandings of Indian immigrant women's occupations may have implications for understanding their health and wellbeing.

Health and Wellbeing

Maintaining good health and wellbeing requires active participation in all aspects of daily life. Dyck (2003) investigated what Indian immigrant women considered integral to maintaining health in a new environment. She conducted 10 individual semi-structured interviews and six focus groups with Sikh women who had immigrated to Vancouver, Canada. Each of the women had busy schedules maintaining employment as well as fulfilling family roles. The women identified dimensions of everyday life, both at home and in the community, which they considered integral to health. Within the home, prayer, food and home remedies were used to maintain wellbeing. Within the community, engaging in social networks and making connections through routine everyday activities were central to healthy living. The key finding was that keeping healthy is not only profoundly social but is also closely related to place.

One aspect of individuals' health and wellbeing that may be threatened in the process of migrating is their mental health. This topic features strongly in research pertaining to Indian immigrant women (Acharya, 2007; Prabhakar, 1999; Soni Raleigh, Bulusu, & Balarajan, 1990; Tewary, 2005). In particular, issues of cultural conflict, prejudice, and isolation and loneliness have been posited as potential sources of mental health issues. In 2005, Tewary reviewed various theories that explained mental health issues of Asian Indian immigrant women residing in the U.S.A. As with the women in Dyck's (2003) study, Tewary found that many of them were encouraged into higher education by their families in the

hope of getting good employment, while still being expected to be the carriers of cultural traditions. Many of the women struggle with this cultural conflict, which in turn, may induce stress and affect psycho-social development. Thus in an “alien land where the language, values, work atmosphere, socialising patterns are completely different, an Asian Indian woman might be completely lost” (Tewary, 2005, p. 8).

In addition to cultural conflict, prejudice may impact on mental wellbeing. Prabhakar (1999) investigated the relationship between acculturation (perceived prejudice, cultural orientation and language usage) and mental health (acculturative stress, distress and dissatisfaction) of Indian immigrant women residing in Chicago, United States. A cross sectional survey of 86 first generation Indian immigrant women between the ages of 21-55 years revealed that the majority of participants supported integration. Further, a multiple regression analyses showed that perceived prejudice and skin colour were significant predictors of mental health. These findings are consistent with Lewin’s (2005) more recent, yet smaller scale, qualitative study of Anglo Indian women in Australia that highlighted the influence other people can have on Indian immigrant women’s mental health.

Interaction with the dominant culture has the potential to uncover prejudice, yet lack of social interaction can be equally threatening to mental wellbeing. Choudhry (2001) interviewed 10 Indian women who had migrated to Canada and found that isolation and loneliness resulting from a lack of informal support and language barriers contributed to diminished mental health and wellbeing. One way in which isolation and loneliness may manifest is through the threat of violence within the home. Shirwadkar (2004) reviewed Canadian literature and documents addressing domestic violence and conducted interviews with women, numbers unknown, experiencing domestic violence while living in Canada. She revealed that while Canadian policies around domestic violence are more developed than other nations, they do not appear to meet the needs of Indian immigrant women. Domestic violence does occur in New Zealand society and the findings from Shirwadkar’s study raises awareness of direct threats to wellbeing that some participants may experience as they attempt to settle here.

The literature highlights a number of factors which may raise health and wellbeing issues for Indian immigrant women settling in New Zealand. It is

anticipated that this current study may support existing literature and provide further insights into the everyday strategies Indian immigrant women use to maintain their health and wellbeing during the process migration and settlement.

Summarising the Literature

A review of the key national and international literature has revealed the centrality of family and roles relating to the home, such as homemaker, parent and housewife, in the settlement process of Indian immigrant women (Bhalla, 2008; DeSouza, 2004, 2005; Martins & Reid, 2007; Naidoo, 1984, 1985; Naidoo & Davis, 1988). Linked to roles is the concept of identity, which filters throughout the literature, whether addressing topics of education and employment (Pio, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2007; Tewary, 2005), isolation and loneliness (Choudhry, 2001), or racism and prejudice (Lewin, 2005; Prabhakar, 1999). Another theme that has become visible in reviewing the literature is the importance of the environment in relation to the settlement process. The need for access to resources, an aspect of the physical environment (Martins & Reid, 2007), informal support (Choudhry, 2001) and social networks (Dyck, 2003), are influential in determining the ease with which Indian immigrant women settle.

Much of the international literature addressing the experiences of Indian immigrant women comes out of the United States, Canada and Britain. This is not surprising, given that these countries have been traditional destinations for Indian immigrants. In relation to this study, the findings from the international literature have particular relevance in that New Zealand is recognised as being part of the Western world and therefore, holds similar values to the countries identified above. Thus the international research findings have greater applicability when considered in a New Zealand context. The research is primarily qualitative, which has meant smaller numbers of participants. However, the depth of information and the description of research methods add to the robustness of these studies.

Although there is an increasing body of research on Indian immigrant women globally, this review of current literature uncovered few studies exploring how women engage in everyday activities during the settlement process and what it is they actually do as part of their everyday roles, for example being a mother, housewife or employee. Furthermore, although the studies discussed provide key

insights into aspects of everyday living as experienced by Indian immigrant women in a Western context, they do not address the overall process of settlement. For instance, how do the women go about ‘fitting in and coping with a new life’? What does this process look like? In one of the few studies explicitly exploring the everyday experiences of Indian immigrant women, Hickey (2008) provided some insights into the strategies that these women might use during the process of settling into a new environment; yet, many questions go unanswered.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed two key topics within the migration literature that inform this study. The first was acculturation, which can be considered the ability to stay in touch with one’s cultural heritage while simultaneously engaging with other cultures. Various models of acculturation have been developed, more recently from a psychological perspective, and are used within the migration literature to consider how immigrants settle in a new environment. These models tend to be constructed around a bicultural framework, in which the culture of the immigrant or minority group comes into contact with the host society or dominant group. In New Zealand, however, where two cultural groups, Māori and Pākehā, already co-exist, current models of acculturation do not account for the insertion of a third cultural context that immigrants bring with them. Further, it is argued that the present models of acculturation do not provide enough variation to account for individual differences that unfold during the course of settlement.

How Indian immigrant women experience settlement and matters arising in the acculturation process comprised the second body of literature reviewed in this chapter. Literature from within New Zealand and internationally pertaining to the everyday occupational experiences of settlement is scarce; although studies have been conducted focussing on specific aspects of Indian immigrant women’s settlement including issues to do with identity, health and wellbeing and employment. There was however, little evidence of how the women experience the everyday process of settling in a new environment and how they manage this transition; hence, the focus of this study.

Chapters One and Two set the theoretical and socio-historical contexts, while this current chapter has reviewed the pertinent literature as it informs the

key concepts of this study: acculturation and experiences of Indian immigrant women. In the following chapter, I discuss the methodology employed and the specific methods undertaken to gather and analyse the data.

Chapter Four: METHODOLOGY and METHODS

The purpose of this chapter is to explicate the methodology and methods used in the research process to explore how Indian immigrant women engage in everyday occupations as they settle in a new environment. The aim is to develop a substantive theory of the occupational practices of Indian immigrant women living in New Zealand that will contribute to national and international literature regarding the settlement experiences of immigrants and to the development of New Zealand immigration policy. This chapter is divided into three sections: methodological positioning, including an overview of grounded theory methodology as used in this study, data collection, and generating the grounded theory.

In the first section of this chapter, I will discuss the style of grounded theory, as used in this study. Since grounded theory was introduced in the 1960s, it has progressively developed into one of the most comprehensive qualitative research methodologies available (Haig, 1995); one that researchers continue to use and modify (Annells, 1996). My journey as a researcher, using grounded theory, has involved a series of twists and turns as I have sought to find the most productive way to work with the data. This has included trialling variations of grounded theory methods as articulated by Glaser (1978, 1992, 1998) and Schatzman (1991; Bowers & Schatzman, 2009). The combination of these methods has ultimately led to the development of the substantive theory in this study. In this section I will also explore the links between grounded theory and symbolic interactionism and occupational science, the theoretical perspectives underpinning this study, as discussed in Chapter One.

The second section focuses on data collection and the ethical conduct of the study. I will discuss the identification of the research participants and participant recruitment, and methods used for gathering the data. A grounded theory study involves the process of constant comparison between data collection, analysis and writing. Thus, while the practical application of grounded theory methods does not follow a linear process, for the purpose of delineating my decision making and actions taken along the research process, I have chosen to separate the writing up of data collection and data analysis.

Finally, the third section discusses the generation of the grounded theory in this study. This involves an explanation of the analytic process and tools used to facilitate the analysis. An audit trail is presented so that the processes are transparent and open to scrutiny (Morse, 1994) and an assessment of the quality of the research process is presented.

Methodological Positioning

Grounded theory is a qualitative methodology capable of exploring and understanding social processes that occur within society, in such a way that “explanations of phenomena are grounded in reality” (Grant & Giddings, 2000, p. 14). Developed in the mid 1960s, by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, grounded theory methodology was explicated in their classic text, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Glaser trained in research at Columbia University under the methodologist Paul Lazarsfeld, who was considered, at the time, to be an innovator of quantitative methods. During his training, Glaser’s thinking was further influenced by Robert Merton’s courses in theory development as well as his structural functional analysis of sociological problems, and social conditions that effect conformity and deviance in society. Strauss studied at the University of Chicago, a university historically known for its tradition in qualitative research methods (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), and was strongly influenced by the interactionist and pragmatist works of writers such as Dewey, Mead and Blumer (Eaves, 2001). The combination of Strauss and Glaser’s research ideas resulted in an “empirical approach to the study of social life through qualitative research and distinctive approaches to data analysis” (Clarke, 2005, p. xxi).

Increasingly, as researchers have employed grounded theory in their studies, the methodology has evolved to encompass different methods (Bryant, 2002, 2003; Charmaz, 2000, 2002; Clarke, 2003; Gerson, 1991). Despite these variations, the ultimate aim of grounded theory methodology is still apparent; that is, to discover and explain the underlying social processes shaping interaction and human behaviour.

The Grounded Theory Style used in this Study

This research study is based on grounded theory principles as explained by Glaser (1978, 1992, 1998) and Strauss (1987) and utilises dimensional analysis as developed by Schatzman (1991). At the start of this research, I initially intended to follow the principles of grounded theory as articulated by Glaser. This choice was informed by my experiences of using grounded theory for my Master's research and a desire to learn more about the methodology. To explain my change in approach requires a brief review of my history using the grounded theory methodology.

At the commencement of my Master's, I was a novice to qualitative research methodologies and I had a very limited understanding of grounded theory. During the coursework component, I attended a paper on qualitative research methods and immediately became interested in grounded theory. I felt I had found a methodology that appealed to my sense of logic, in that it required a systematic approach to data collection and analysis, while still allowing for creativity as part of the process of abstraction into theory development. I initially read Glaser's (1978, 1992, 1998) writings; however, I found myself becoming confused with terminology such as 'coding families' and the actual process required for analysis of data. At that point, I turned to Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) and what they term the 'conditional matrix' to frame my analysis.

Having followed the methods of Strauss and Corbin, when it came time to start my doctorate research, I felt I had a much better understanding of the principles of grounded theory and was keen to explore other variations. Thus, I returned to Glaser (1978, 1992, 1998). This time, armed with some experience, I was able to follow his writing with a much greater understanding. Keen to extend my use of grounded theory methodology, I made the decision to commence analysis using Glaser's methods. Despite my desire to learn, I soon became frustrated by what I felt was a lack of structure around 'how' to actually conduct analysis. In addition, I found myself still struggling to understand and apply concepts such as the coding family to my analysis. I found myself with fragments of analysed data but with no real sense of how to pull it all together.

At this point, one of my supervisors, Associate Professor Lynne Giddings, put me in touch with Professor Barbara Bowers. Following initial discussions with

Professor Bowers, I read Strauss' (1987) text *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. That helped me in some sense to 'go back to basics'. I found that through his descriptions and examples of how to do analysis, memoing and diagramming, I was able to re-engage with my data and I felt excited about the analysis I had completed thus far.

In addition to reading Strauss (1987), I turned to Schatzman's (1991) work on dimensional analysis, another method for proceeding with analysis within a grounded theory framework. Schatzman, a student and later colleague of Strauss (Bowers & Schatzman, 2009), developed dimensional analysis during the 1970s. Dimensional analysis is one methodological approach or variation on analysis of data within grounded theory and while generally informed by the core ideas and practices of grounded theory, it has its own procedures, epistemological assumptions and logic (Schatzman, 1991). Utilising what is known as a 'matrix', coded data is analysed and grouped according to perspective, context, condition, action/process and consequence to form a story and build a theory. I found that using the dimensional matrix provided me with more guidance as to how to proceed with analysis. In addition to having more structure, I also found I could be more creative, playing with concepts, while still keeping grounded in my data. The use of both Glaser's and Schatzman's approaches will be further explicated in the third section of this chapter, generating the grounded theory.

Grounded Theory and Symbolic Interactionism

Since the development of grounded theory, symbolic interactionism, which is rooted in social psychology (Charon, 2001), has been posited as the underpinning theoretical perspective. Dey (1999) contended that "the marriage of these two traditions...was intended to harness the logic and rigour of quantitative methods to the rich interpretive insights of the symbolic interactionist tradition" (p. 22). However, it was Schatzman who articulated, more directly, the links between grounded theory and symbolic interactionism (Bowers, 1988; Bowers & Schatzman, 2009; Kools, McCarthy, Durham, & Robrecht, 1996; Robrecht, 1995; Schatzman, 1991). Grounded theory methodology aims to generate understandings of social processes for particular groups in society; in this study, the social process of settling into a new environment for Indian immigrant

women. Central to understanding social process is the perspective taken by a person, in relation to a context. As a sociological perspective, symbolic interactionism is a way of considering the actions that occur within a social process. Thus, it is from a perspective and within a context that Indian immigrant women settling in New Zealand engage in everyday occupations. The outcome of this engagement will influence how they create a place for themselves and their family in a new environment.

From the perspective of symbolic interactionism, the social and political context within which the person operates is central in shaping personal beliefs, values, thoughts and actions. Thus, the environment within which we reside constructs the self and subsequent actions. The self in symbolic interactionism is a duality comprising both a *me* and an *I*. The thinking part of us is directed by the *I*. The *I* processes information and makes a decision about how the interaction will proceed. The actual act – or interaction – is led by the *me* aspect of self which is the interactor between the self and society. Thus, it is the *I* which interprets and contributes meaning to an event, and it is the *me* which subsequently acts (Bowers, 1988). The environment, with its variety of conditions and contexts, therefore, elicits change in people and shapes their actions as they either maintain previous ways of acting or adopt new ways of acting, in response to the interpretations they make of their surrounds. These interpretations are central to the construction of social process, which grounded theory ultimately seeks to elucidate.

As a sociological perspective, symbolic interactionism considers individuals to be co-constructors within society. That is, we interpret our world from others' responses to our actions and based on those interpretations, we act again. Mills (1967) contended that from a sociological perspective

We have come to know that every individual lives, from one generation to the next, in some society; that he lives out a biography, and that he lives it out within some historical sequence. By the fact of his living he contributes, however minutely, to the shaping of society and to the course of its history, even as he is made by society and by its historical push and shove. (p. 6)

In developing theory, the intersection between history and biography cannot be ignored. Within the context of this study, transitioning between old and new environments is a natural chapter in the developing biographical story of

immigrants. However, this transition means that immigrants enter a different historical sequence mid-stream, one of which they might have little understanding. The template for interaction between self and society needs to be re-designed as immigrants establish their place as part of a new historical sequence. Thus, the perspective, taken by a person in relation to a context, becomes central to understanding the unfolding social process. In this study, it is from the perspective of Indian immigrant women living in the context of a new environment that the social processes involved in using occupation to facilitate settlement are being explored.

Grounded Theory and Occupational Science

The opportunities for the use of grounded theory in occupational science studies are near endless (Stanley & Cheek, 2003). As previously noted, there is a paucity of research within the field of occupational science that addresses the occupational experiences of immigrants. Yet, the act of migration, and the resulting transition between old and new environments, is a common social process. Grounded theory research can be used to uncover the complexities involved in such a social process, thus furthering understanding of the occupational experiences of immigrants.

Yerxa and colleagues (1990) posited that “since occupational science deals with universals, it must necessarily be abstract at the conceptual level” (p. 4). When considering the utilisation of grounded theory methodology alongside an occupational science perspective, ‘abstract at the conceptual level’ is a key concept, in that ultimately, this is what researchers seek to achieve in generating a grounded theory. In grounded theory research, both inductive and deductive reasoning processes are used in analysis (Glaser, 1978, 1999). Initially data collection is shaped by inductive reasoning, ensuring that the theory that emerges is grounded in the data. As data analysis becomes focussed, deductive methods are used to move concepts from “the detailed descriptive to the more abstract, conceptual level” (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 15). Yet, while grounded theory needs to be abstract in order to account for the social processes of a group of people; it also needs to account for individual variation, keeping the theory grounded in the real life experience of the people engaged in the particular social

process. The same is true of occupational science, which as a discipline seeks to influence society at large, while keeping the notion of occupation central to understanding the everyday experiences of people's lives.

In 1990, Yerxa and colleagues outlined seven criteria methodologies must meet when applied to occupational science studies. Four of these criteria relate to the individual; the remaining three pertain to the wider research process. The criteria include:

1. Preserve the integrity of the individual.
2. Admit the individual's experiences as credible.
3. View the individual as an open system in interaction with the environment.
4. Include the past, present and future.
5. Utilise cross-verification by both the subject and other sources.
6. Preserve and describe the natural environmental challenge and degree of skill possessed.
7. Allow for the study of the individual as he or she develops occupational behaviour over the lifespan. (Yerxa et al., 1990)

Grounded theory addresses these criteria through the underlying philosophy of symbolic interactionism and the particular methods associated with the methodology. For instance, with regard to the first and second criteria, researchers employing a grounded theory philosophy are encouraged to make known their assumptions about the phenomenon under study before entering the field (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), to ensure the voices of individuals, their views and ideas about the world, are heard, respected, understood and interpreted; rather, than clouded by the assumptions that the researcher brings to the study. Further, using grounded theory methodology, the researcher does not begin with a preconceived theory; but allows the theory to emerge from data systematically gathered and analysed through the research process, which furthers the understanding of social and psychological phenomena (Chamberlain, 1999; Chenitz & Swanson, 1986; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). When utilising open ended questions, individuals are encouraged to recount their experiences in relation to things they consider important and it is this information that is analysed. In this manner, the processes of a social group, for instance in this study Indian immigrant women, are discovered and emerge from the participants' perspective.

Within grounded theory, as data analysis proceeds, the researcher returns to the original sources of data, such as written documentation, observations and interviews (Stern, 2009), to seek clarification and verification of the developing theory. Glaser (1998) advocated against using study participants for this purpose as he considered they might not completely comprehend the abstract theory which their own actions and behaviours are merely part of. Alternatively, Strauss and Corbin (1998) encouraged checking the findings with selected participants, believing that they should notice their own piece within the bigger puzzle. Although my data analysis in the first instance has been guided by Glaser (1978, 1992, 1998), it is Strauss and Corbin's view that has informed the practice of utilising cross-verification by both participants and other sources, in this study.

Another practice in grounded theory methods involves the interplay between data collection and data analysis (Charmaz, 2006). This technique means that the researcher is constantly moving from the present to consider what has happened in the past and what may happen in the future. A social process is not a static event. It contains movement and develops as new pieces of data become apparent or previously analysed data takes on new meaning. The ultimate act of grounded theory is to uncover the social processes individuals use in response to a particular phenomenon that includes elements of the past, present and future.

Given the alignment between grounded theory philosophy and practice and the specific criteria that methodologies must meet when applied to occupational science studies (Yerxa et al., 1990), I believe that grounded theory is a valid methodology to use in this study for two reasons. First, grounded theory methodology and methods suit the aim of the study, which is to explore the social process of how Indian immigrant women settle in a new environment. Second, it meets the specifications for a process that is implicitly occupational. Following on next, this chapter starts to detail some of the grounded theory methods utilised in this study, including participant recruitment and methods used for gathering the data.

Data Collection - The Participants

In this section, I will review the locations within New Zealand in which the study was conducted, recruitment of participants and rationale for participant selection. Additional details regarding participant characteristics are provided.

Location of the Research

This study was conducted in three locations within the North Island of New Zealand; the greater Auckland area and the Waikato district (which together extend from Warkworth in the north to Cambridge just south of Hamilton) and the Hawke's Bay region, specifically the cities of Napier and Hastings. Although Indian immigrant women settle in many parts of the country, these three regions were chosen for two reasons. First, the majority of Indian immigrants arrive in Auckland and choose to settle in this city, which has resulted in the development of an established Indian community. Hamilton, a smaller city in comparison to Auckland, has a growing Indian immigrant population and it was determined that the variance in geographical and population size of Auckland and Hamilton might yield different perspectives, adding depth to the data collected. The cities of Napier and Hastings are again smaller in size, with comparably fewer Indian immigrants residing in this part of the country. It was deemed that these three sites would be sufficient in terms of recruiting participants as part of both the purposive and theoretical sampling techniques used in grounded theory (Bowers, 1988; Glaser, 1978; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

The second reason for choosing the cities of Auckland, Hamilton, Napier and Hastings, was I had established relationships within these local Indian communities. Based on past experience of recruiting Indian women for research, I had learned that this group of participants respond best to being invited to participate in person, as opposed to receiving written information. Therefore, it was anticipated that the contacts I had in these communities might assist with facilitating the recruitment of potential participants.

In addition to the above mentioned locations, initially, it was anticipated that smaller townships such as Te Kuiti and Otorohanga, located in the rural setting of the Waitomo District, might be used. This was based on the assumption that immigrant Indian women living in these settings would have different

experiences to those living in city dwellings. While this may have added further depth to the study, ultimately I was unable to recruit participants from this region. The intermediary I used to make contact with potential participants reported that the three women she had approached had all declined to participate.

Participant Selection

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

1. Have immigrated to New Zealand between the years of 1980 and 2006 and have been living in the country for a minimum of 6 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;
4. Be aged 16 years or over.

In setting the first criterion, I wanted to capture the complexity of the settlement process as it unfolds over time. Thus, I was keen to see whether there might be similarities in the process for women who had emigrated 20 years ago compared with women who had been in the country only 4 years. A rise in the numbers of Indian immigrants arriving each year has fuelled the development of resources to meet the needs of this population. For instance, when my family immigrated to New Zealand in the early 1980s, it was rare to find shops selling Indian spices and groceries. These days, Indian grocery stores are relatively accessible, particularly in the larger cities; therefore, I assumed that the process of doing things 20 years ago would be different from how things are done today. A minimum of 6 months living in New Zealand was set to give participants the time to experience doing a range of occupations in their new context, and thus acquire experiences to discuss during the interviews.

The second criterion required women to have immigrated to New Zealand, with the intention to settle, either directly from India or from a previous country, in which limited time (up to 2 years) had been spent. This eliminated women who had a wealth of experience of immigrating and were considered more familiar

with having to do things differently and, thus, immigrating to New Zealand may not have constituted a new experience.

Regarding the third criterion, participants were required to independently engage in an interview, using the English language. This excluded women who were not proficient in the English language, which does raise questions about what the experience was like for those women and what difference there may be from my sample group. However, I deemed that including these women would have required an interpreter to ask and answer questions. Using an interpreter would have increased the possibilities of misinterpreting information; thus, skewing the data obtained. As a researcher, I hoped that by engaging with the women using a language I am skilled in, I could build a rapport and enable participants to feel at ease during the interview process.

The last criterion excluded children and adolescents under the age of 16 as I felt that the activities they engage in while settling in a new country were likely to differ from those of the adult population. A further consideration was the limitation of research in New Zealand regarding the settlement experiences of 'adult' Indian women.

At the start of the study, the number of participants needed to reach theoretical saturation was unknown. Ethical approval was founded on an educated guess of between 15-30 participants; however, the final sample size and composition were indeterminate.

Recruiting Participants

Grounded theory methodology advocates two stages of sampling: first purposive and then theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Both forms of sampling were used to recruit participants for this study. Initially purposive sampling was used to access participants who could speak to the issue being studied. Then, as analysis commenced, theoretical sampling was used to source participants who could clarify emerging concepts.

Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling implies that participants with certain attributes are selected based on the researcher's knowledge and specific purpose in mind (Berg, 1998).

In this study, a total of four participants were recruited through purposive sampling. Using the returned demographic data forms allowed me to initially select a diverse group in terms of age, length of time since migration, who they emigrated with and the number of people known in New Zealand before emigrating.

My first strategy for recruiting participants involved contacting leaders within the Indian communities to request assistance with locating potential participants. Based on past experience, I knew that if an intermediary found potential participants and gave them my contact details, they were unlikely to make contact. Therefore, if a woman indicated an interest in participating, the intermediary sought permission to pass on her contact details, so I could then make direct contact. This proved a successful technique and I quickly obtained four women who were willing to take part in the study as part of my initial purposive sampling.

A secondary strategy for recruitment involved placing flyers outlining details of the study and contact details for the researcher (See Appendix B), in a variety of public domains that Indian women were likely to frequent, such as supermarkets, libraries and universities, as well as shops selling Indian products to ensure the possibility of obtaining a broad sample. However, previous experience with using this technique had resulted in a poor response rate and this was the case yet again. I had no potential participants make contact as a result of having seen the flyer.

In comparing the data for similarities and differences within the initial four interviews, I was then able to make decisions regarding the use of theoretical sampling.

Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling, a hallmark of grounded theory, permits decisions about selection of participants to be made as research progresses, rather than being pre-determined (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Following initial analysis of data gathered through purposive sampling, theoretical sampling guides decision making and assists with seeking participants who can provide data that will clarify dimensions of emerging categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), theoretical sampling is key to grounded

theory methodology as it enables the researcher to obtain a participant population that will maximise opportunities to compare events and “bring about greatest theoretical return” (p. 202). Thus, theoretical sampling occurs reciprocally with data analysis and is guided by the need to acquire further information about particular events. A total of 21 participants were recruited for this study using theoretical sampling.

Ideally sampling continues until the researcher becomes aware that no new data relating to the categories is emerging and that relationships between categories have been fully developed; theoretical saturation. The application and use of theoretical sampling in this study will be demonstrated in the next section of this chapter, ‘Generating the grounded theory’.

As data analysis proceeded I identified the need to talk to women who could potentially provide more detailed responses to my questions and help with the development of concepts. I again turned to my intermediaries. This time I gave them specific details of who I was looking for and why. In this manner I recruited a further 15 participants. In addition to using intermediaries, during the course of my interviews, participants would sometimes volunteer the names of friends that they felt would be interested in taking part of the study. Using these contacts I was able to recruit 6 women who met the initial criteria for selection and were further able to answer theoretical questions derived from analysis, thus meeting my needs for theoretical sampling.

Once I received potential participants’ contact details, I would make a telephone call to each woman who had indicated an interest in the study, to introduce myself and explain what the study involved. Following the initial call, each participant was sent a package including a study information sheet, consent forms, a demographic data form (See Appendices C, D, and E), and a stamped addressed envelope. On receipt of returned consent and demographic forms, I again telephoned the participant to thank her for her interest and arrange a time for an interview. At this point, three women declined to participate and the reason for their decision is unknown. In total I recruited 25 women, over an 18 month period, all of who were involved in the study.

Participants' Characteristics

All of the 25 women who participated in this study were born in the Indian sub-continent and had immigrated to New Zealand between the years of 1980 and 2006. The women ranged in age from 18 to 65 years. While the majority immigrated to New Zealand with their families, eight women made the journey on their own, and two women arrived with only their husbands. Of the 25 women, 19 held tertiary qualifications, although none of the women had job offers when they first arrived. Two of the major Asian Indian religious groups were represented: Hindus and Christians, with only one Muslim participant. A detailed table of participant characteristics as collated from the demographic data forms is presented in Appendix F.

Data Collection – The Methods

In-depth interviews, a method common to grounded theory studies (Glaser 1992; Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998), were the primary source of data for this study. Participant observations formed a secondary source of data. As briefly touched on above, participant selection and data collection was initially guided by purposive sampling; followed later on with theoretical sampling and questioning. I will discuss each of these forms of data collection individually and as they unfolded in the context of the research process. In addition, I will discuss the use of memo writing and computer software as tools for analysis.

Individual In-depth Interviews

An initial interview schedule was created and used as a reference point to probe for further information (See Appendix G). The initial four interviews opened with a request statement 'Tell me about doing things differently in New Zealand'. As an opening prompt I soon realised that it did not naturally lead participants to talking about their experiences of immigrating; what went well, what they struggled with, or what they would do differently if they emigrated again. The question was too focussed on eliciting stories of occupation as opposed to leaving room for participants to talk about what mattered most to them in their process of settling in New Zealand.

Reflecting on the information obtained from the first four interviews, I concluded that the prompts on the initial interview schedule were limiting and I drafted a new interview schedule (See Appendix H). I began the next set of interviews with the opening request statement ‘Tell me about migrating to New Zealand’. From this initial statement, I then used the prompts on the interview schedule to ask clarifying questions to elicit further information. For example in an interview with Anaia, I sought to clarify her comments on the learning she had done as a teacher in New Zealand:

A: Though we teach, in India it’s a little different, here it’s more practical. Everything the planning and, it’s very nice, very well organised but it’s good, so I learned it.

R: So the learning that went on, how did that learning occur?

(R = researcher)

As data analyses progressed, I continued to open with the same question to warm participants up to the focus of the research; after which, I began asking specific questions to assist with developing dimensions of emerging concepts, arising during the course of analysis process (Bowers, 1988). For example, I had conceptualised that there was a relationship between participants’ feelings of ‘acceptance’ and their feelings of ‘being settled’. To find out more about this relationship I asked Neha:

R: If you don’t feel accepted here in New Zealand, or feel you don’t belong in this country, is it possible for you to feel settled here?

N: A very interesting question. I feel quite, I’m settled into the ways, the daily life of New Zealand, I can go through a day and come back okay but, I don’t feel happy... So, I think I’m settled into daily life, so that’s something that obviously you have to, you have to be settled because of your child, you have to at least give a semblance of being settled to your child. But deep down happy, no because, I’m just constantly juggling, I’m juggling too much to be happy.

The use of theoretical sampling and the generation of theoretical questions to further the analysis will be described in more detail in the next section ‘Generating the grounded theory’.

Each interview lasted approximately 60 to 90 minutes, with a total of 35 hours of interviewing. One participant requested the interview not be recorded, but agreed to hand written notes being taken during the interview. This created some difficulty in that I was unable to capture word-for-word quotes that could be analysed; however following the interview, the notes were written into a coherent transcript which I could then analyse line by line. The remaining 24 interviews were audio taped and transcribed verbatim. Participants were offered the opportunity to receive a copy of their interview transcript to check for accuracy and were asked to respond with any changes with a 3 week time frame; only two participants requested copies of their transcript, with one participant responding so as to correct the spelling of Indian words. Following analysis of the 25th interview, I felt that no new information was forthcoming and saturation of categories and concepts had been reached. At this point I stopped recruiting participants and no further interviews were conducted.

Participant Observations

Loftland and Loftland (1995) posited a “mutuality of intensive interviewing and participant observation as the central techniques of naturalistic investigation” (p. 19). In this study, field observations were used to supplement information elicited during individual interviews. For example, in an interview one of the participants talked about the difficulty she experienced with socialising with her colleagues at work. Following the interview, I arranged to spend the day with her at her workplace. As I sat observing the environment, it became clear that the difficulty with socialising was a result of physical and institutional barriers. The desks were arranged in groups of four with high partitions blocking her view of the other desks, so that once seated, she was unable to interact with her fellow colleagues. Further, she was told by her manager, at the beginning of her shift, when to take her breaks; thus, preventing her from spontaneously joining colleagues for lunch. Without the opportunity to observe her work setting, I may have interpreted the

information from her interview as a lack of social inclusion by work colleagues due to cultural differences.

To assist with capturing my observations, I used a modified 'field notes for participant observations' form (Morse & Field, 1995, p. 115), to record notes of incidents occurring during field observations (see Appendix I). I then generated memos based on the notes, and these were used as data for further analysis. In total 12 observations, a total of 50 hours were conducted in settings including; the work place, participants' homes, and community settings such as, the community hall where the celebration of cultural festivals take place or the local supermarket.

Overview of Data Collection

Data collection occurred over 18 months in three phases. The first phase comprised the initial four interviews and two observations. Following these interviews, a short break of 3 months was taken to allow for intensive analysis and emergence of concepts. For example, at this stage I was starting to develop a concept of 'learning curves'. This concept was about the different ways in which the women find out about, and interact with, their new environment. Within this concept, I began grouping codes such as 'struggling' and 'requiring motivation'.

The second phase of data collection involved a further 18 interviews and 10 observations. As I proceeded with data analysis, further new concepts emerged. In particular the concept of 'platforming' or 'having a platform' began taking a central position. It was at this stage of analysis I began questioning my theoretical development. The data was rich, yet I was lost as to how the concepts I was generating linked together; what were the relationships between concepts? I was also struggling with moving my concepts from descriptive through increasing levels of abstraction while still staying grounded in the data. To this point in the process, I had been following grounded theory methods as developed by Glaser (1978, 1992, 1998).

With a desire to develop my analyses I returned to the data I had already collected, and started re-working my analysis using the principles of dimensional analysis (Schatzman, 1991). As I started to integrate concepts, I undertook the third and final phase of data collection, resulting in the final three interviews. These interviews were important for checking the relationship between concepts,

resulting in a denser conceptualisation and clarification of the variations that existed within the general theory.

Collecting data in three phases allowed the opportunity for dwelling in the analytic process and developing my skills as a researcher using the grounded theory methodology. In due time, through the simultaneous process of data collection and analysis, I was able to keep refining analytic strategies and integrate emergent concepts into a whole theory.

Memo Writing

Keeping memos, a central process in grounded theory, is a technique used by researchers to record their thinking processes concerning the products of analysis or directions for further analysis (Richards, 2005), and for the grounded theory researcher, is a central process (Bowers, 1988; Glaser, 1992; Strauss, 1987). Glaser (1978) argued, “the bedrock of theory generation, its true product is the writing of theoretical memos. If the analyst skips this stage by going directly from coding to sorting or to writing – he is *not* doing grounded theory” (p. 83). Memos may involve drawing models and/or diagrams that designate relationships between categories to help progress theory or may be written reflections on the research process as it unfolds. In whatever manner memos are constructed, they are meant to be “analytical and conceptual rather than descriptive” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 217).

In the initial stages I found it difficult to move my memos from the descriptive into analytical conceptual thinking as advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1998). I then began reading about memo writing in Strauss’ (1987) text and found this beneficial in facilitating thinking about different styles of memoing. Later on, part of experimenting with memo writing involved trying different techniques, not just writing notes. At this time I discovered Clarke’s (2005) book *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory After the Postmodern Turn* and benefited from playing with the use of ‘situational maps’ to capture my thinking and move my ideas from basic descriptive to the analytical and conceptual (see example in Appendix J).

I utilised memos in various ways throughout the process: to generate questions about the data I had collected, capture thoughts regarding the

development of concepts and to map out relationship between concepts. Below are two examples of memos I wrote during the process of data analysis. The first example illustrates how memoing assisted with making decisions regarding ongoing data collection and theoretical sampling and questioning:

12.06.07: In the interview today A talked about feeling different or being different until she gets to 'that stage'. What does she mean by 'that stage'? What does 'that stage' look like? When will she know if she's reached 'that stage'? Do other women have a sense of needing to reach a 'stage' before they feel completely accepted and no longer different? Is a stage something fixed, like a stage on which people perform, or is it moveable? Do people return to the stage at different times, in different contexts? Perhaps a question I might ask in the next interview is: *Do you think there is a stage that you need to reach before you no longer feel different? If so how would you describe that stage?*

The participant in the above example had been in the country 5 years and seemed to have this notion of a 'stage' that she had not yet reached. Analysing the data from this interview, 'stage' felt like a significant concept that warranted further exploration. I wondered whether 'stages' were indicative of a linear process and if so, was this an accurate reflection of the process immigrants go through when settling in a new country? Taking time to pause in my analysis and capture my thoughts regarding this concept through memoing was valuable for shaping my decision about theoretical sampling. In considering how stages might develop or how many stages there are, I sought to talk with a woman who had lived in New Zealand for a longer period of time, and who might be able to offer more insights into the concept of 'stages'.

The second example is a memo in which I took an emerging concept and began to explore its dimensions and its relationship with other concepts.

29.06.07: Struggling - this is a concept that seems to be emerging across interviews. There are different forms of struggling. For some women there is a struggle that exists against the New Zealand view of what an 'Indian' is e.g. *you speak the English language well, or your qualifications aren't good enough they're from a third world country*. It is not just with New Zealanders that the women struggle. In a new environment, the women also struggle with the Indian community here - feelings

of being judged, where do you fit, why don't you speak the language, look at what she's wearing. I think there is also a silent struggle that goes on within the home away from external pressures. This struggle of what Indian is relates to roles within the house and that traditionally it is the women's role to do the housework. Here they have to negotiate this with the men of the house. So the women are struggling with different groups in society and with their own group - family. In response to the struggle, the women seem to engage in Resisting. So they resist by educating - *we're taught English in our curriculum which means there are probably 30 million people in my country who speak English as good as if not better than your 3 million New Zealanders*. They resist by not conforming to the Indian stereotype e.g. not wearing Indian clothing etc. With the Indian community they resist by not attending social functions, finding New Zealanders to socialise with. They resist at home through not quietly doing the household tasks, rather negotiating with family members around what tasks to share in the house.

One of my challenges in memoing was to capture my ideas as they came to hand and express these on paper without getting caught up in the analysis and losing some of my initial responses to the data. The first memo is an example of this as I recorded the questions that came as I pondered on the notion of stages. The next step in my memo writing process was to build links between concepts, developing analytical memos that were grounded in the data. While I was engaging in constant comparative analysis of interview transcripts, I began to conceptualise a relationship between the notions of 'struggling' and 'resisting'. It seemed that when the women were struggling with the demands of settling in New Zealand, they employed a strategy of resisting what would be expected of them, instead forming a new pathway through the struggle. At this point I returned to the data to see if I could find other examples of resisting in response to struggling while also searching for other strategies the women might use in situations representative of struggling. Thus, memoing became an important tool in decision making along the research process.

NVivo – A Computer Tool for Analysis

I was introduced to NVivo 7 by a colleague using the software for her own qualitative research. Although I consider myself to be competent when it comes to using computers, I much prefer ‘pencil and paper’ for doing analytic work. However, I was willing to try anything that might assist the research process, so undertook some basic training in how to use NVivo. As a tool NVivo does not analyse the data; rather, it is designed to assist the researcher with organisation of data. The benefit of using computer software is that it is a technical tool that can store large amounts of data and ideas, which can then be retrieved quickly and efficiently (Berg 1998; Richards & Richards, 1994; Richards, 2005).

In the initial stages of grounded theory analysis where a number of codes were generated, I found the programming too cumbersome to be able to hold, sort and organise all my codes. I also found myself getting frustrated at not being able to see all the data at once on the screen. At this stage I went back to my colleague who had first introduced me to NVivo. During our discussion she indicated that she too had struggled with using NVivo in the early stages of grounded theory coding and it was only when she started to collapse her codes into categories that she was able to more effectively use the software. I took on board her recommendation and felt I had greater success by using the software when I was further down the track with my coding.

Using NVivo had both advantages and disadvantages. The programme was useful to manage and retrieve data quickly. For instance, if I noticed a repetitive pattern, I was able to run a word search and see how often, and across how many interviews, that notion occurred. The ‘best of both worlds’ was a phrase I had heard spoken by many of my participants. When I ran a search for this phrase it appeared in 19 out of the 25 interviews; thus, I could conclude that it was a significant concept. The main difficulty was not taking the time to learn how to use the programme to its full capacity. Despite my lack of confidence and limited knowledge in how to best use the software, NVivo was invaluable in managing the data generated in this project.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval to proceed with this study was granted on 12th May 2006 by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee - AUTEK (Appendix K). Three key areas requiring ethical consideration were the possible benefits and risks for participants, the role of the researcher and the context within which the research is conducted. Of particular importance in this study, is the bicultural context of Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Each of the ethical aspects considered in this study are discussed below.

Informed Consent

As soon as potential participants were identified, they were provided with a complete explanation of the nature and purpose of the study, both verbally and through written information sheets (see Appendix D). From the initial point of contact, and at any stage throughout the research process, participants were encouraged to ask questions regarding the study. Once I had established with the participant that she had had all her questions answered, I then asked her to sign a form consenting to participate in the study. Written consent was obtained prior to each interview. Consent covered the possibility of using parts of the transcribed text taken from the interview to highlight aspects of the analysis in the final write up of the thesis. In addition, consent was sought to use parts of the transcribed interviews, with supervisors and peer researchers, for analytical purposes.

Maintaining Confidentiality

Maintaining participant confidentiality is critical in this study. The Indian communities throughout New Zealand are relatively small and as previously mentioned, Indian women comprise a minority cultural group. Throughout the research, all audio taped and written data, were only available to myself as the researcher, and my supervisors; except, where consent had been gained to use parts of the transcribed interviews with fellow researchers for analytic purposes. Confidentiality was maintained through replacing all names of individuals with pseudonyms, which participants chose for themselves, and changing any identifying details in the transcripts and thesis. These changes to the participants' identification will also be used in any reports, presentations, or publications

arising from the research. Material pertaining to the study, including typed transcripts of interviews, will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in my office and destroyed after 6 years, in accordance with the requirements of AUTEK.

Researcher Involvement

Glaser and Strauss (1967) stated that once immersed in data collection, researchers do not remain passive recipients of impressions; rather, they are active participants in the research process. During the interviews a constant challenge was how to maintain the boundaries between acting as a researcher while relating to the participants as members of the Indian community, of which I am a part. For instance, sharing a meal in the Indian culture is important for developing a relationship. Many times when I arrived at participants' homes, for the interview, I was invited to share a meal with them. I believe that engaging in this occupation with the women was important for building trust and establishing myself, not just as a researcher, but as an Indian woman. This positioning generated discussion and facilitated the sharing of information.

As a researcher, I needed to consider both my personal and professional safety. Anticipating 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 the interview location and the expected length of the interview. When talking about 'occupation' or everyday activities, it was considered possible that participants might discuss illicit/illegal activities that could potentially compromise my professional integrity. Participants were advised at commencement of the interview not to disclose such activities; all participants indicated an understanding of this concern and it was not an issue in the study.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Given the political context of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, research not involving Māori participants, as in this study, still requires the researcher to consider the possible implications of the study for Māori (Cunningham & Durie, 1998). First, research projects excluding Māori, funded in New Zealand, are done at the expense of a project that addresses Māori. Second, there is a need to consider how the research may impact upon Māori if framed in a more responsive way and third, the

research project can offer the Māori researcher an opportune training forum. After consultation with the AUT University Māori Research Group, Kawa Whakaruru Hau, there were no issues identified regarding the impact of this research for Māori.

I believe, however, that this research potentially impacts on Māori in two ways. First there is a need to consider that Māori are ‘Tangata Whenua’ and for immigrants – ‘Manuhiri’ – arriving into New Zealand, there is a need to understand the basic culture and political situation of this country, which includes Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Although I was alert to this issue, it was not something I deliberately raised with participants as I did not want to influence what they considered important in their process of settling into New Zealand society.

Second, the findings of this research may be relevant to Māori in highlighting the difficulties of performing everyday/traditional occupations, within a cultural framework, in a different setting where an individual’s culture is not the dominant one. This may generate questions and increase awareness of the issues for Māori who themselves may be considering the topic of immigration.

Generating the Grounded Theory

In this section I review the procedures used, during the course of analysis, to generate the grounded theory. There are two parts to this section. The first part outlines the research process following grounded theory methods as explicated by Glaser (1978, 1992, 1998). This includes a discussion of coding techniques and constant comparative analysis. The second part, details the application of dimensional analysis and the dimensional matrix as used to facilitate later analysis and generation of the theory.

Analytic Process – Part I

As previously mentioned, I commenced my analysis using grounded theory methods as described in texts published by Glaser (1978, 1992, 1998). Using Glaserian methods I engaged in substantive and selective coding of data and began generating concepts and categories. At this stage my coding tended to be more descriptive of what was happening and less conceptual.

The Coding Process

I began the coding process using open coding or substantive coding, which is the first stage of analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Stauss & Corbin, 1998) and requires data to be “broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, and compared for similarities and differences” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 102). Coding “is simply the process of categorising and sorting data” (Charmaz, 1983, p. 111). To begin coding, I examined the interview transcripts line-by-line to identify concepts that represent phenomena. During this examination, labels were given to sentences or phrases that captured the meaning of the phenomenon. These labels became 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).

As described earlier on in this chapter, the ‘Best of Both Worlds’ was a phrase used by 19 participants. In the early stages of analysis I kept this phrase as an in-vivo code, before it eventually developed into the perspective of *‘Working with the Best of Both Worlds’*. One aim in generating codes is to name them using action words. For example, during my coding the concept of building a Platform arose; a Platform being a foundation that the women could use to assist with settling in New Zealand. In generating a code for this concept I used the word ‘Platforming’. Glaser termed this approach to analysis ‘gerund grounded theory’ and 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; Schreiber & Stern, 2001).

Initially having transcribed the interviews verbatim, I proceeded with coding in pencil. Later on, I used the computer to assist with the process of collapsing codes into categories. During my initial coding, I was keen to get input from my supervisors and colleagues who understood the analytic process involved in grounded theory. I was fortunate to have a critical group consisting of one of my supervisors and two colleagues. During these sessions I sought consultation on my initial coding of raw data, generating theoretical questions, and the development of higher order codes and categories. An example of one of my early attempts at coding data is attached as Appendix L. A further example of initial coding of data, from across three interviews, can be seen in Table 1 (p. 98) on the following page. ‘Re-negotiating roles and routines’ emerged from the data as a

strategy and demonstrated how Indian immigrant women adjusted to the demands of a new context. Additional codes relating to this data were generated, but are not included here.

Table 1: Example of Initial Coding.

Raw data	Initial codes
<p>Oh it was very difficult, it was very difficult. Because you know how it is in India, even if you're upper middle class, we weren't very wealthy people, two servants, one to do the cooking and one to do the washing and cleaning. I had to negotiate with the children, it was always like now you brought us here, so you'd better help out. That sort of thing!! – Jean</p>	
<p>It's been very hard housework, for both of us you know and I think we had a lot of, marital discord because of housework. But um, we've learned to cope now, so we have family meetings...So every time the house work starts to get lopsided...We have family meetings and I just, write out a list of everything that's got to be if possible has got to be done and then mark out the things that my husband and I definitely do... And then um, get the girls to pick out an even share of the rest - Maria</p>	Re-negotiating roles and routines
<p>I feel that it's again we are doing accordingly what is suitable for us rather than really doing on the day which everybody in India is performing. So that's the reason, like his birthday I might celebrate on the weekend but on the day when he is born I celebrate at home at least and for other people I might celebrate over the weekend. That's the only I think for other people because someone else has to if I'm inviting I have to see their thing as well that's why I celebrate on the weekend – Ammalu</p>	

Constant Comparative Analysis

Once I had transcribed the interviews and gone through the coding process for the initial four interviews, I began to engage in the process of constant comparative analysis, as advocated by proponents of the grounded theory methodology (Giddings & Wood, 2000). Using the constant comparative method I worked my way through the initial and later interview transcripts comparing initial codes and looking for similarities and points of difference in my analysis. According to Hutchinson (1986), this type of interplay between the data allows for a proposed theory that is “molecular in structure rather than causal or linear” (p. 122). Constant comparative analysis is used within grounded theory studies to aid with

theoretical decision making and can be used to assist with preparing and asking questions in later interviews to deepen understanding of emerging concepts.

My initial interviews were conducted with participants living in Auckland and Hamilton, cities which have a comparatively larger Indian population to the rest of the country. In these interviews I discovered that having access to resources connected to India, such as Indian grocery products, places of worship, other Indian peoples, meant that the women could effectively maintain connection with their country of origin while establishing a new home for themselves and their families in New Zealand. When there was greater access to Indian resources, the women had more choices in terms of whether they engaged with Indian practices or adopted New Zealand ways of performing occupations. I began to compare interviews, looking for instances of where participants talked about engaging in Indian activities versus New Zealand activities and what they had available to them that facilitated their choice in any given situation. Furthermore, I engaged in theoretical sampling and began to ask theoretical questions related to the role of the Indian community and how the Indian community facilitated settlement.

Given my findings above, in that having access to Indian resources strengthened the women's ability to stay connected to their culture, I was keen to get another perspective. Therefore, I attempted to recruit women from smaller cities and more rural parts of the country. Despite the use of personal contacts this proved a challenging task; however, I was able to locate participants in the city of Hastings. What emerged from these interviews and theoretical questioning, was that in a city where there was a significantly smaller Indian population and limited access to Indian resources, there was less willingness to be seen engaging in culturally mediated occupations out in public, community spaces. Engaging in constant comparative analysis, allowed me to generate theoretical questions to further the development of specific concepts, such as *'Working with Indian Ways'* and thus deepen analysis.

As data analysis proceeded, the use of constant comparative analysis not only guided further interviews and what to look for in the data, but also took me back to the literature. In grounded theory, literature becomes part of the method by which the theory is compared, contrasted, sorted and expanded (Glaser, 1992). Thus, as concepts developed, I began to read around pertinent concepts. For

instance, at this point in my analysis, I was beginning to establish a concept around ‘place’ and the importance of ‘creating a space in which to live’. With this framework, I read about notions of place and environment and how these are constructed. The literature which is related to the findings of this research is presented in Chapter Nine, where the research findings are discussed more fully.

Analytic Process – Part II

Despite continuous reading of Glaser’s texts, when it came to abstracting concepts, I had difficulty coherently integrating concepts while staying grounded in the data. Furthermore, I had difficulty developing in-depth links between my categories. I struggled to make sense of what Glaser describes as ‘coding families’. When did I decide on a coding family? Could I have more than one coding family? Did I need a coding family? As outlined earlier, at this point in the analytic process I began to read around the process of dimensionalising, and the use of a dimensional matrix, as developed by Schatzman (1991), to facilitate analysis and generate theory.

Dimensional Analysis

At this stage in my analyses, I returned to the grounded theory literature, in particular Strauss’ (1987) text and the literature on dimensional analysis (Caron & Bowers, 2000; Kools et al., 1996; Robrecht, 1995; Schatzman, 1991). As I read about the dimensional matrix and the interplay between dimensions, their properties, the context and the outcomes, I realised I needed to return to my data and extrapolate the dimensions of the codes I had generated, by further constant comparative analysis within the same interview and between interviews. Table 2 illustrates the building of codes into dimensions and properties of a dimension.

Table 2: Conceptualising and Categorising.

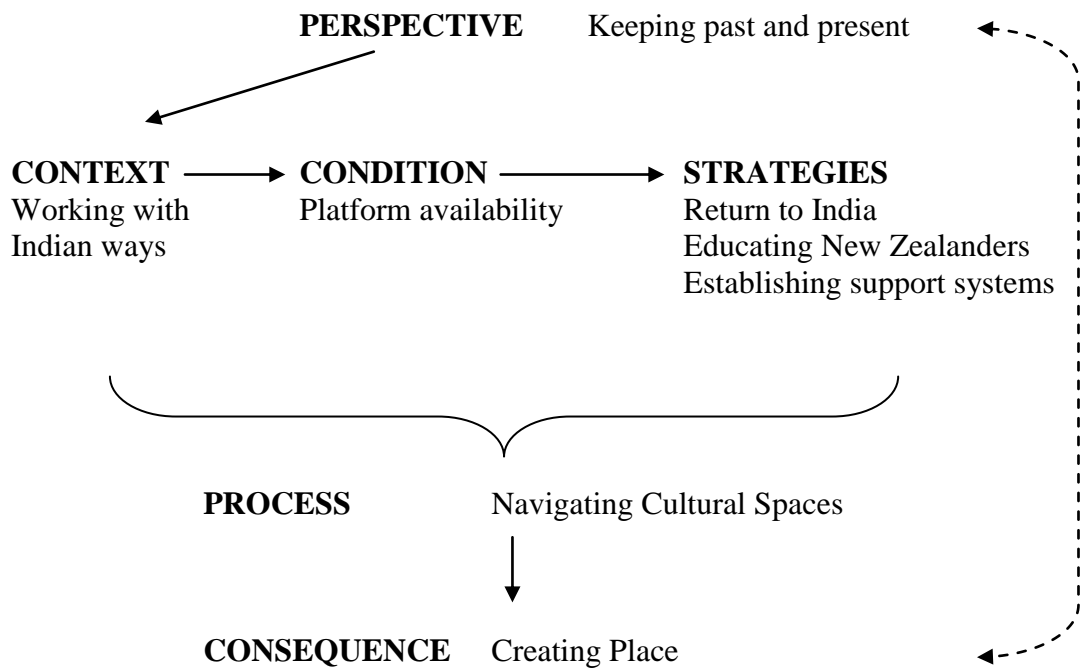
Codes	Dimensions	Salient dimension
Accessing resources Utilising connections	Gathering tools for doing	Keeping past and present
Merging social customs Re-negotiating roles/routines	Changing ways of doing	

By engaging in this process of constant comparative analysis, I was gradually able to uncover the dimensions of what it is that Indian immigrant women do when settling in New Zealand. Fundamental to grounded theory is the need for a tightly organised structure, that is, each concept, each category should be connected to the other categories. Without the connections, there is the risk of data simply becoming a “string of processes” rather than an integrated whole. The next step in my process was to begin forming conceptual relationships between the labelled concepts.

The Dimensional Matrix

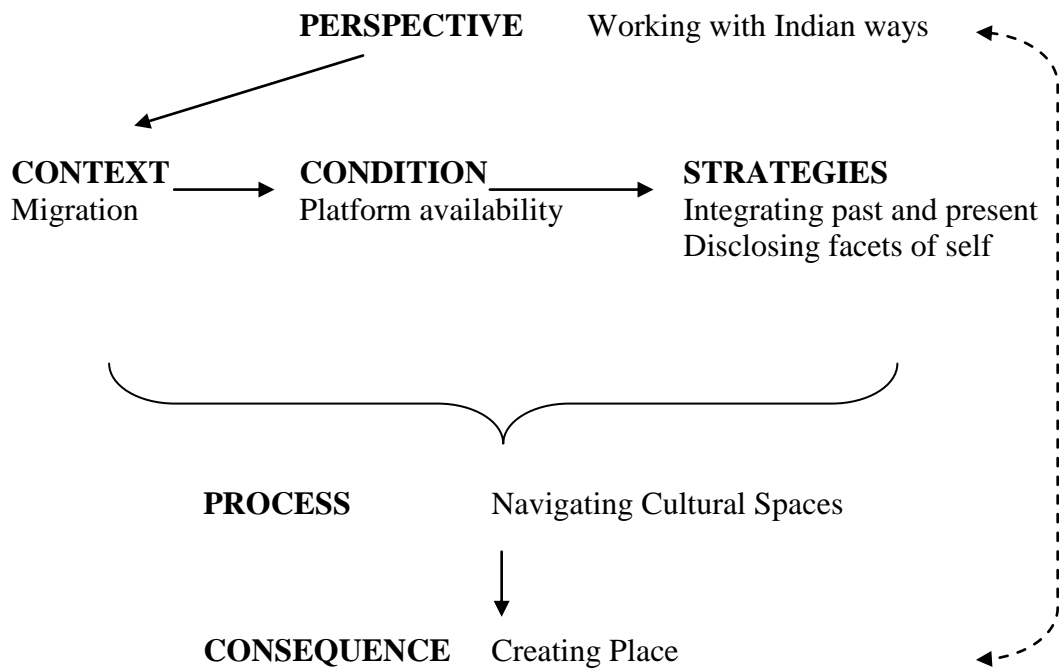
The dimensional matrix provides a framework for the ordering and conceptualising of data (Schatzman, 1991). Within the dimensional matrix are the elements which reflect the “complexity of a phenomenon by noting its attributes, context, processes and meaning” (Kools et al., 1996, p. 315). When using the matrix to organise data, Schatzman (1991) proposed that every dimension needs to be given an opportunity to act as perspective or context. By changing the perspective and/or the context, the opportunity arises for the whole process to change. Thus, at the forefront of dimensional analysis is the question of perspective. “Perspective not only determines the selection and designation of dimensions, it also directs their organisation and their relationships to one another” (Bowers & Schatzman, 2009, p. 100). Using the dimensional matrix, I sought to make transparent the things not explicitly considered in qualitative research.

To guide me in this part of the process, I turned to the work of Kools et al. (1996). These authors provide a diagram of a dimensional map that can be used to explore the relationships between the dimensions of a concept and to develop a matrix which best explains how participants seek to resolve the problems they encounter. Examples of how I used their framework to develop my own dimensional matrices are shown on the following pages as Figure 1 (p. 102) and Figure 2 (p. 103). The elements of the dimensional matrix are in bold.

Figure 1: Dimensional matrix: Keeping past and present.

The first matrix, depicted in Figure 1, reveals a relationship between being able to ‘keep the past and present’ while primarily ‘working with Indian ways’. Some participants were actively combining elements of their personal culture and that of the New Zealand culture, but were not always doing so to facilitate engagement in occupations reflective of the Indian culture. These women were actively working with New Zealand ways of performing occupations and their Indian ways of being and doing were secondary to their desire to be seen as a New Zealander. Furthermore, not having an adequate platform, that is resources available from the past that could be used in the present, limited their ability to integrate the past and present while ‘working with Indian ways’.

In the second matrix (p. 103), I experimented with shifting the concept of ‘working with Indian ways’ to the position of perspective. In doing so, I realised that a person working from an ‘Indian perspective’ may not always seek to keep their past and present and may utilise other strategies such as disclosing facets of self, in order to create a place.

Figure 2: Dimensional matrix: Working with Indian ways.

The use of dimensional matrices to plot different relationships amongst the salient dimensions that had arisen through the analytic process enabled me to create a coherent whole identifying the relationships between my concepts and lifting the level of abstraction to a substantive theory of the process Indian immigrant women engage in when creating a place in a new environment. This process will be explained in the research findings chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

During the process of applying dimensional analysis techniques to my data, I began experimenting with diagramming as a way of capturing the key elements of the process without getting lost in the complexity of the codes. This was a challenge for me because while I benefit from being able to view a diagram and gain an overall perspective of what is unfolding, I rely first and foremost on the story. There were times when I either had too many words or not enough words. In other instances I was caught up in the drawing of the diagrams and having words placed neatly in boxes, which took away from the movement of the process and rendered it static on the page. For an overview of the progression of diagrams depicting the theory generated in this study, refer to Appendix M. In

generating a theory, the next question that arises is how to assess the rigour of the research process and quality of the theory.

Quality and Goodness of the Research Process

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 answer (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 to counter arguments that label qualitative research as ‘unsystematic’ and ‘impressionistic’ (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

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 guaranteeing that the evolving theory grows out of the data itself. This process also ensures that 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 (1995), 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, Beck, & Hungler, 2001). To ensure credibility is achieved, it is important that participants’ narratives are truthfully 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. Furthermore, Corbin (1986) contended that an audit trail

needs to show consistent congruence between the theoretical perspective, methodology, and methods. This chapter has provided just such an audit trail.

Throughout this study, I met with my supervisors on a regular basis during which times we would explore the research process. I would use these sessions as opportunities to review sections of the interviews, initial coding and subsequent development of concepts. In addition to these meetings, I attended a grounded theory research 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. Throughout the process I also arranged meetings with a colleague using dimensional analysis for her doctoral research. These sessions were opportunities to engage in joint data analysis, read and discuss grounded theory texts and reflect on the research process.

Finally, in consultation with an international expert, I have furthered my analysis of the data and moved to a deeper understanding of grounded theory methodology, in particular, the use of dimensional analysis as a framework to guide the development and integration of research findings. This has added robustness to the research process.

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 effort to enhance transferability of findings I have used Chapters One and Two, to thoroughly describe the research context and assumptions central to the research. At this stage, further research is necessary to establish the applicability of the theory to other populations such as women from another culture and Indian women in distinctly different circumstances, for instance, having limited knowledge of the English language. In this current chapter, I have outlined the research process and methods involved with developing the theory, which I believe will address the issue of transferability when considering further research in this area.

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 in 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 matched the meanings conveyed by participants in the raw data was an important aspect of ensuring rigour. Memos were employed as a means of providing detailed information about the analysis process and allowed me 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 each interview, detailed field notes were written to supplement the interview transcript; I then sent those participants who expressed an interest, a copy of their transcribed interview to review. Throughout data analysis as concepts developed I met with five participants, who had provided detailed information of their settlement process during our first interview, to discuss my findings. This process was useful for determining to what extent the participants could see themselves in the generated theory, thus ensuring that my findings were grounded in the experiences of the participants.

Peer checking is another method of triangulation, whereby more than one person reads and codes sections of a transcript using the existing coding framework. As previously described, during data analysis I met on a regular basis with a colleague undertaking grounded theory research using dimensional analysis. During these meetings findings were discussed, in particular how the findings were generated, thus supporting triangulation and rigour of this study.

Confirmability and Fit

Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasised that a grounded theory must have ‘grab’. In other words, it must be easily understood by those who work in the field from which the theory was discovered. The authors asserted that one way in which the reader will judge the fit of the research is “if a reader becomes sufficiently caught up in the description so that he feels vicariously that he was also in the field” (p. 230).

Confirmability of the research can also be obtained by returning to participants with the research findings to seek feedback on the appropriateness of developing conclusions (Trochim, 2002). As part of the research methods, I took my substantive theory back to participants. Their response was positive with many spontaneously providing examples of where they saw themselves being, and where they currently were, in the process. In addition to returning to participants for member checking, I also presented my findings at seminars on migration and forums within the university to researchers working in the field of migration studies and immigrants themselves who are currently residing in New Zealand. I was pleasantly surprised by the encouraging responses I received. On no occasion did anyone disagree with my findings or state that they could not relate to some aspect of the process. This feedback has again affirmed the rigour of my research process.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to explicate the choice of methodology and the research methods that have been used in generating the findings of this study. To do this I divided the chapter into three sections. In the first section I detailed the links between grounded theory and the theoretical perspectives used in this study: symbolic interactionism and occupational science. Underpinning the links between symbolic interactionism and grounded theory is the sociological perspective from which individuals within society are considered to be joint actors, over time, developing shared patterns of actions and shared meanings through social processes. In this study the aspect of social process I am interested in is occupation. The discussion in this section highlighted the benefits using a

grounded theory methodology in this study for uncovering new understandings of the immigration process from an occupational perspective.

The collection of data including the research methods and ethical considerations involved in this process were discussed in the second section of this chapter. Given both the circular nature of grounded theory methods, seen in the concurrent collection and analysis of data, and at times in my own struggle with understanding the methodology, explicating the research process has been a challenging task. However, delineating between data collection and data analysis was useful for identifying the research participants and participant recruitment strategies used in this study.

The third section of this chapter elucidated the generation of the grounded theory in this study. Analysis of data involved a development of grounded theory methods initially aligned with those articulated by Glaser (1992, 1998) and then latterly, with Strauss (1987) and Schatzman (1991), in particular grounded theory dimensional analysis. Throughout data analysis I engaged in the practice of memoing, documenting my analytic process, which has provided an audit trail of decisions made and outcomes. Research findings have been taken back to participants, as suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1998), in order to check the fit between my findings and their experiences. Feedback in all instances has been positive.

Grounded theory is a demanding methodology often filled with uncertainty and confusion (Kalms, 2008). Overall, my journey using grounded theory methodology for this study has been a positively challenging experience. There have been moments of great joy as I have made connections and the pieces of the puzzle have fitted together and there have been times of frustration as I have dwelled in the depths of data and felt lost in the process. My desire to keep with the methodology and be open to learning new ways of using the methods, I believe, has resulted in a study that is well grounded in the data and has followed a safe, ethical process. With the guidance of my supervisors and my colleagues, I have developed my analytic skills using grounded theory dimensional analysis and uncovered the processes by which Indian immigrant women construct their lives in the context of a new environment. The research findings are detailed in the following four chapters, Chapters Five to Eight.

Chapter Five: THE THEORY

The everyday occupations of Indian immigrant women: A process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*

Within this study it was revealed that, for Indian immigrant women, settling in New Zealand involved a constant interplay of culturally mediated occupations; that is, occupations either shaped by traditional Indian or New Zealand practices and beliefs, or occupations that required a blending of cultures. The women sought to continually engage in occupations as part of settling into New Zealand society, through a process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. The outcome of this thesis, then, is a substantive grounded theory, which I have named *The everyday occupations of Indian immigrant women: A process of Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

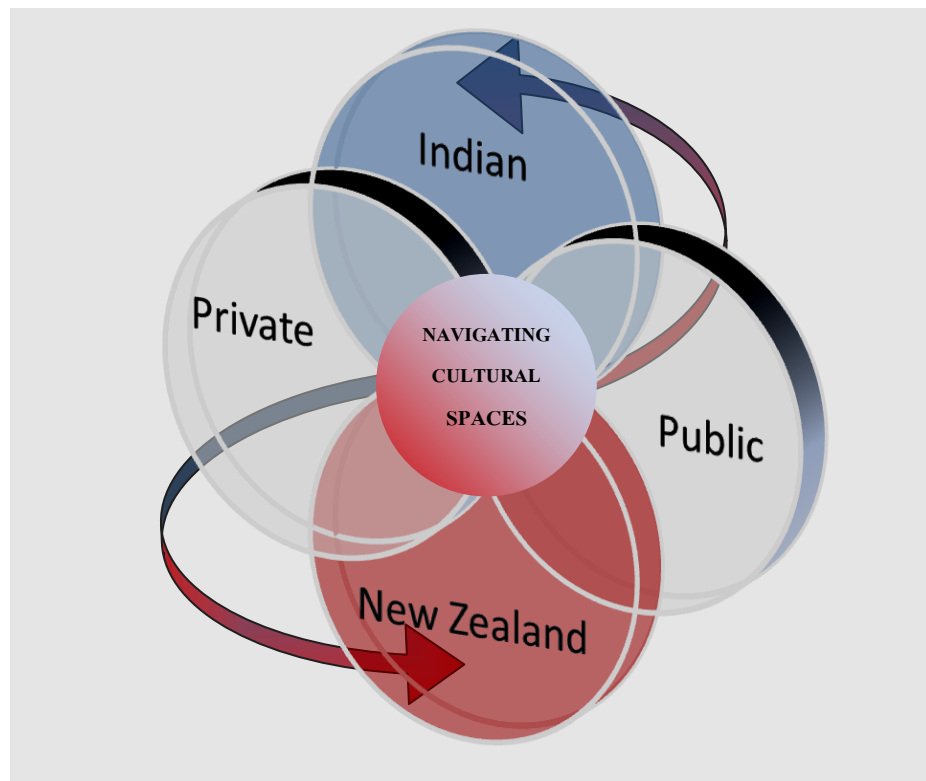
The primary question I sought to answer in this research was ‘How do Indian immigrant women engage in occupations when settling in a new environment?’ As the study progressed, secondary questions emerged, such as: For what purpose do the women engage in occupations? What conditions influence the decisions these women make when they engage in occupations as part of settling in New Zealand? How do Indian immigrant women conceptualise their different approaches to engaging in occupations? This chapter, which gives an overview of the theory, begins to answer some of these questions.

This is the first of four findings chapters and consists of two sections. First I present the core process uncovered in this theory, *Navigating Cultural Spaces*; and in the second section, I provide an overview of the substantive theory generated in this study. The remaining three chapters of findings will then explicate different parts of the theory. In Chapter Six I start by discussing the purpose for which Indian immigrant women engage in occupations when settling in New Zealand. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the different perspectives assumed by Indian immigrant women as they *Navigate Cultural Spaces*. In Chapter Seven I present the strategies used by the women when *Navigating Cultural Spaces*; and in Chapter Eight, I detail the salient conditions that influence the overall process.

Core Process: *Navigating Cultural Spaces*

Navigating Cultural Spaces is the core process in this substantive theory and emerges as a result of the women's efforts to move between their known ways of doing everyday tasks, and new occupations, for the purpose of **Creating a Place** for themselves and their families as Indian immigrants living in New Zealand. The combination of cultures, Indian and New Zealand, means the women journey through, moving in, retreating, reconfiguring, moving out of and moving between, their known culture and the new cultures they encounter in this society. This process of moving in and around cultures and working with different ways is conceptualised as *Navigating Cultural Spaces* and is diagrammatically presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Diagrammatic Representation of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*



Navigating Cultural Spaces is a dynamic process and a means for both 'being an Indian immigrant' and 'being in New Zealand'. In *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, participants bring together elements of being an Indian immigrant woman and being in New Zealand into the occupations that they enact within their daily

living. *Navigating Cultural Spaces* is an ongoing process. Regardless of the length of time the women have been living in this country, the very nature of occupations as shaped by individual experiences and the specific meanings individuals apply to occupations means that the women are continuously *Navigating Cultural Spaces* for the purpose of **Creating a Place**.

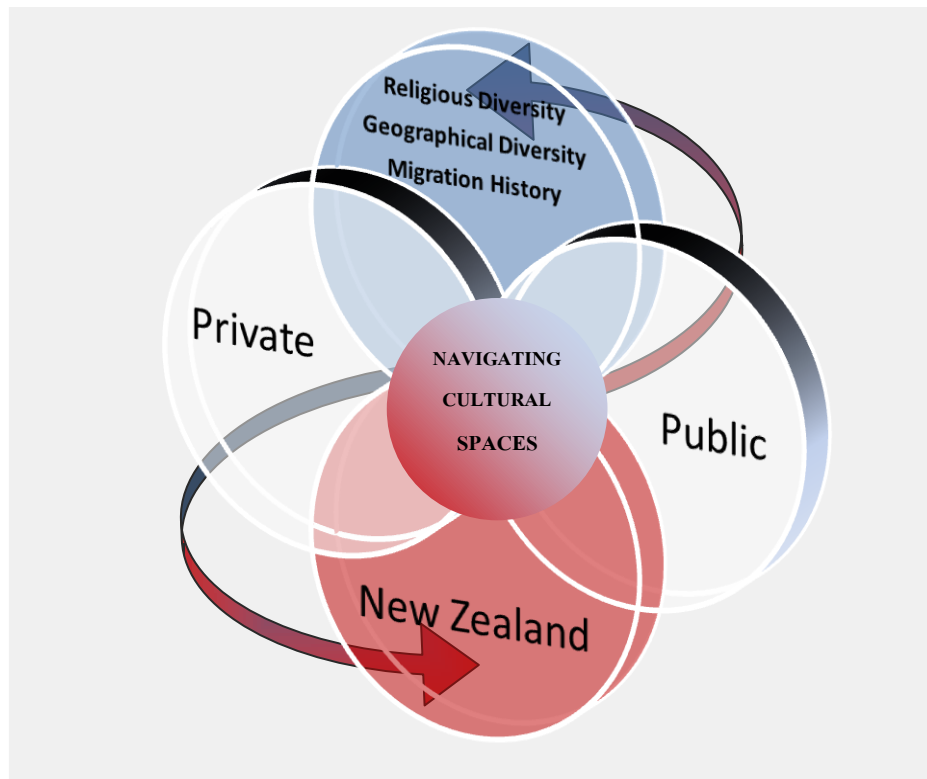
In the naming of this core process as *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, *Navigating* can be defined as finding the way, passing through, travelling through, crossing, traversing, steering, piloting, or plotting a route. It is a deliberate action in which individuals choose which aspects of the cultural spaces to integrate in their daily occupations which are enacted within both private and public spaces. The word 'culture' is defined as the "distinctive ideas, customs, social behaviour, products, or way of life of a particular society, people, or period" ("Oxford English Dictionary," 2009). In constructing *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, the word *Cultural* has a much broader perspective, in that culture is not just traditions, customs or way of life, rather culture is a concept that permeates all facets of the environment including geographical location and interpersonal spaces. Thus, in the context of this study, *Cultural* includes Indian and New Zealand ways of performing occupations and a way of life that can be viewed in both private and public spaces. *Spaces* are conceptualised as areas, places, openings, intervals, freedom, and liberty. *Spaces* are areas within which Indian immigrant women find themselves endeavouring to **Create a Place**. The subsequent discussion introduces each of these dimensions that constitute *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. This is followed by an extract from a participant's interview that highlights the complexity of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* as an Indian immigrant woman living in New Zealand.

The Indian Dimension

In many ways the Indian dimension is the starting place for *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. The Indian culture is something the women bring with them when they emigrate. They do not leave behind their culture when they exit the country, it is an innate part of them that not only identifies who they are but influences what it is they do. Thus, the Indian dimension was a space made more present when the women sought out safety, inspiration and rejuvenation.

Within the Indian dimension there are three elements. These are religious diversity, geographical diversity and the migration history of the Indian communities in New Zealand. The elements of the Indian dimension are depicted in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Navigating Cultural Spaces - The Indian Dimension



The Indian community, as discussed in Chapters One and Two, is diverse in terms of religion and geographical location. There are a number of religions represented within the Indian culture; however, the primary three are Christian, Hindu, and Muslim. All the participants in this study identified with one of these three religious groups. In New Zealand, the most common religion represented is Christianity. Indian immigrant women who settle in New Zealand and attend church are likely to interact more with members of the New Zealand public as opposed to those women, who are practicing Hindus or Muslims, and may find themselves *Navigating* primarily within their own culture.

Geographical diversity is an integral aspect of the Indian dimension with women identifying as either North or South Indian, and then more specifically with the state or region they come from, for example, Goan, Punjabi or Tamilian.

These geographical identifications are carried through into New Zealand where different groups have been established to represent these different communities, such as the Tamil Association. Another perspective of geographical diversity is the location in which the women settle when **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. Auckland has the largest population of resident Indian immigrants and these numbers tend to decrease as fewer Indians choose to settle in other parts of the country. This influences whether Indian immigrant women find themselves primarily *Navigating* within an Indian community or interacting with other cultural groups that are resident in New Zealand society.

A third aspect making up the Indian dimension is the migration history of Indians into New Zealand. As the second oldest group of Asian immigrants in this country, immigrants have come to identify with two main categories of identity: as ‘new’ or ‘old’ immigrants. Old immigrants are those who have three or four generations of ancestors living in New Zealand, while ‘new immigrants’ are those who have no prior family connection to the country. This sense of connection may determine the extent to which Indian immigrant women establish links with one another in the New Zealand context.

The New Zealand Dimension

In as much as the Indian dimension is a starting point for *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, the New Zealand dimension is the point of arrival and the space within which the physical act of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* occurs. The New Zealand dimension can both support and challenge Indian immigrants’ work towards **Creating a Place**. Thus, the New Zealand dimension was a space in which the women could experiment with different ways of performing occupations while all the time determining how much of their Indian self to reveal. Within the New Zealand dimension the key elements are Te Tiriti o Waitangi, history as an immigrant nation and the formation of Pākehā values. The elements of the New Zealand dimension are depicted in Figure 5 (p. 114).

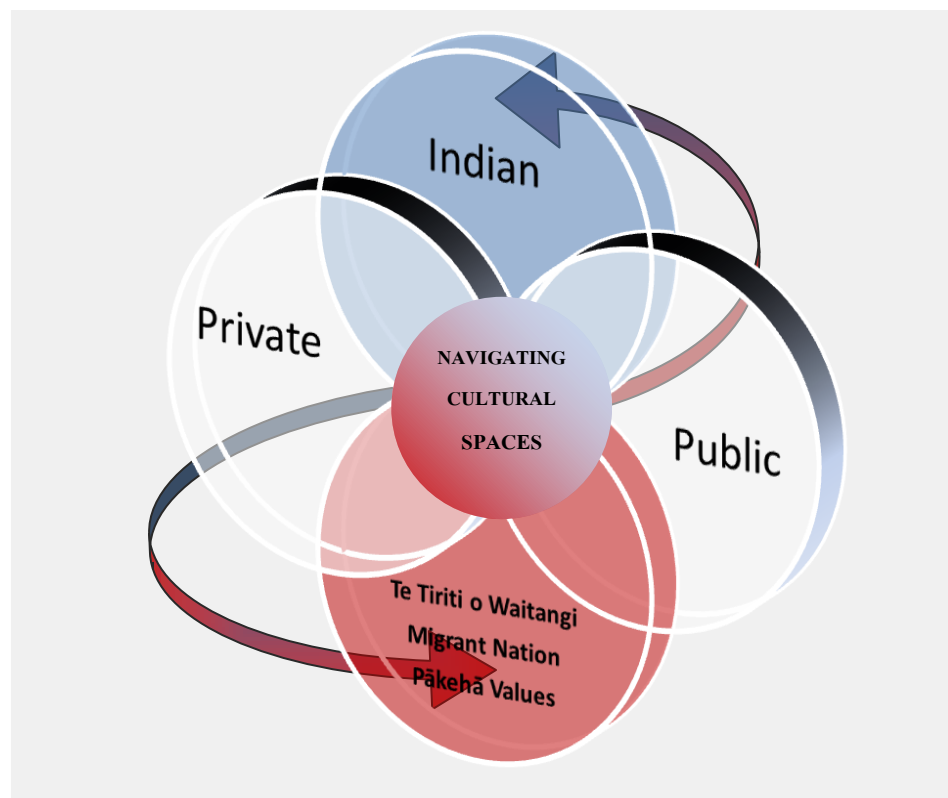
It is not my intention to provide here detailed descriptions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and New Zealand’s history as an immigrant nation, as these two aspects of the New Zealand dimension have been discussed extensively in Chapter Two. However, these are both important features of the New Zealand dimension within

which Indian immigrant women find themselves *Navigating*. Te Tiriti o Waitangi has the potential to both sustain and test how the women **Create a Place**. It can be supportive in that Te Tiriti recognises the worth of one's culture and the importance of being able to engage in culturally bound occupations; yet, it also raises questions about who supports these cultural endeavours and where Indian immigrants locate themselves as citizens of New Zealand who do not claim identification with either the Māori or Pākehā communities.

As an immigrant nation, New Zealand is a country in which the people that make up the society have, in general, demonstrated a willingness to welcome people of other cultures and their traditional ways of doing everyday activities. This has enhanced the cultural diversity of the country and opened up interactions between a multitude of cultures, not just Māori and Pākehā. Thus, *Navigating Cultural Spaces* takes place within a multicultural space.

Another feature of the New Zealand dimension is the predominance of Pākehā values that promote individualism over the collective needs of family and society. Pākehā values can present a challenge to Indian immigrant women who desire to hold on to their traditional values and pass these on to their children.

Figure 5: *Navigating Cultural Spaces - The New Zealand Dimension*

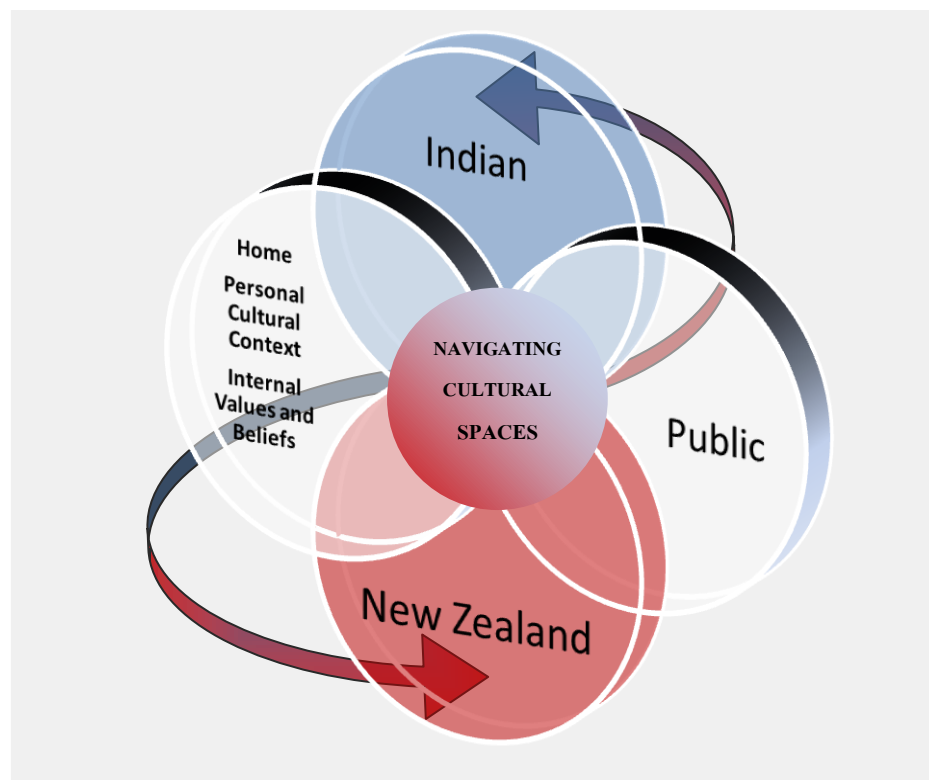


The different layers of the New Zealand dimension combined with the aspects of the Indian dimension create a complex space within which the women work towards **Creating a Place**. The visibility of their work and their process of *Navigating* further entails a shifting in and out of private and public spheres.

The Private Dimension

The private dimension is a space within which the women can identify with their Indian culture and engage in occupations representative of their culture, without external pressures from the public to act in ways more aligned with New Zealand customs. Within the private dimension the key elements are the home, the personal cultural context and individual values and beliefs that reflect what it is to identify as an Indian immigrant. Each of these elements is depicted in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Navigating Cultural Spaces - The Private Dimension



The private home, as in the physical establishment in which Indian immigrant women are **Creating a Place**, is a critical feature of the private dimension. It is within the home that the women can freely engage in traditional

practices and work at maintaining their cultural heritage without the pressures of having to conform to the outside world. In creating this private space, the women gather and use objects symbolic of their Indian culture; for instance, the use of stainless steel containers for storing food or the displaying of pictures and figures portraying the Gods they worship. Hence, a key feature of the home is the sense of safety it engenders. The women use their home to not only perform culturally bound occupations but to also experiment with different ways of doing everyday tasks without the risk of struggling or being seen to fail by members of the New Zealand public.

Within the private space, the women *Navigate Cultural Spaces* by identifying with their personal cultural context. As highlighted in the Indian space, the Indian community is diverse in terms of religion and geographical location of origin. The New Zealand community also contains religious and cultural diversity. Thus a Christian Indian woman may draw on elements of both the Indian and New Zealand spaces to create her personal cultural context with the privacy of her own home.

A further aspect of the Indian dimension is reflected in the values system, whereby many Indians subscribe to a collectivist culture. This has been touched on in Chapter Three as part of the literature reviewed that discusses the identity of Indian women. In respect to *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, the values symbolic of the Indian culture are conveyed through the women's actions and occupations. Balancing the private space is the public dimension.

The Public Dimension

The public space is an element of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* within which the women interact with members of the New Zealand community, exploring their surroundings and determining how much to reveal of themselves as Indian immigrants. Within the public space the key elements are the community, the social and political context and the external representation of what it is to 'be Indian'. The elements of the public space are depicted in Figure 7 (p. 117).

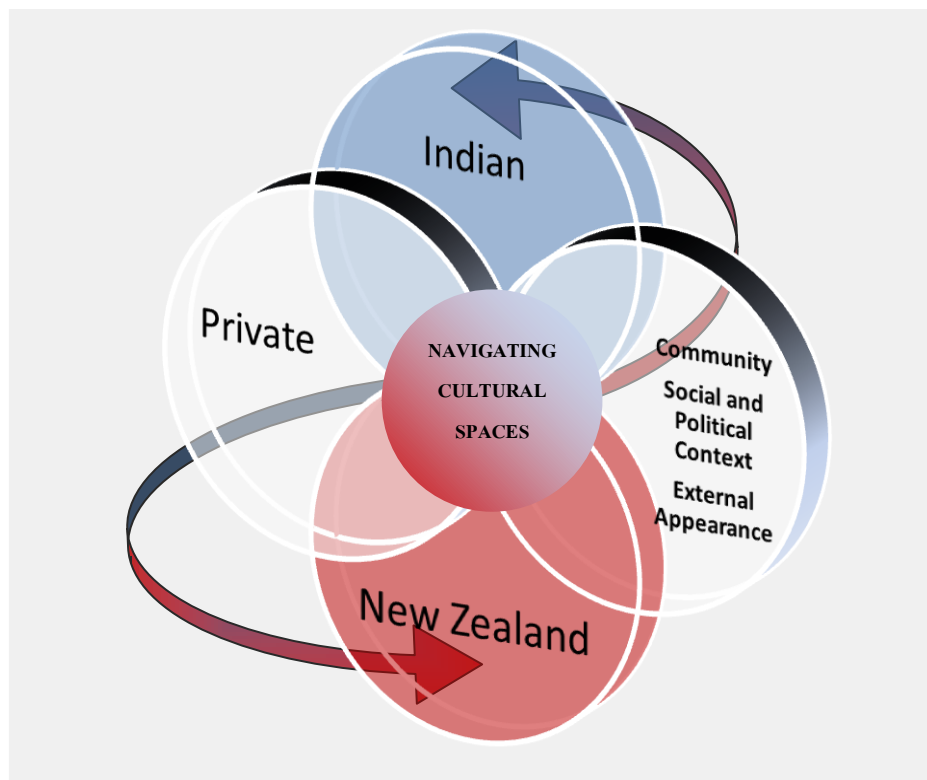
The community is the foundation of the public dimension; it is the visible bridge between the Indian and New Zealand dimensions and the place wherein a number of daily occupations are performed. Within the community there are

various cultural groups, such as the Indian and Chinese, the Māori and Pacifica and the European communities, to broadly name a few. These communities are located within geographical regions throughout the country and form the social and political context within which Indian immigrant women *Navigate Cultural Spaces*.

The social and political context refers to social norms, explicit and implicit, and the laws within which the women engage in their everyday occupations. This aspect of the public space influences decision making such as how and when to perform occupations for the purpose of **Creating a Place**.

External appearances are another feature embedded in the public dimension of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. External appearances refers to the women's control over the environment and the extent to which she is willing to reveal herself and her culture as something 'different' to that of the public majority. For example, in some instances it may be fine to wear Indian clothing, while on other occasions this may be a feature that the women choose to background as they perform their occupations.

Figure 7: Navigating Cultural Spaces - The Public Dimension



While the four dimensions of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* have been described above as separate entities, they are all intricately woven and reveal themselves to varying degrees within each of the occupations that Indian immigrant women engage in as they go about **Creating a Place** for themselves and their families in New Zealand. The following exemplar showcases the complexity of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* through the occupations that the participants engaged in on a daily basis.

Navigating Cultural Spaces: An Exemplar

In this section I have taken an excerpt from my interview with Nina to highlight her process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* through occupation for the purpose of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand.

It's balancing that Indianness now, where you want to push your child and you feel that okay I don't want my child, like no matter how balanced I try to be in front of you right now Shoba, I'm still a mum who'll absolutely whip my daughter's ass if she's going to be with a partner, who is not married to him and living with him under one roof. I mean I don't care if any Kiwi tells, any Kiwi or any Indian Kiwi or any Fijian Kiwi tells me that I'm being a conservative bitch, but I just do not believe my daughter's body is a commodity for any guy who she perceives as fit at that point in time, to be played with. So that's how I feel at this stage. Now when she's, I don't know how I'm going to feel at, when she's 20 or 30, but when I ask my husband, he said, 'no I'm not going to whip my daughter's ass, I'm just going to kill her'. No, you know we're not literally going to do that, but this is the way we're going to feel it's, because what, the one thing that has stayed intact with me. I've changed everything about myself, to some extent, I've, I've changed the way I've dressed, I've changed the way I, I speak, my accent has changed in a way without really realising it, the, the words and the content of what I speak has changed, my outlook has changed, my, my skills have changed, everything has changed. But the core of what I am when I came here, the values that are what's brought in the Catholic environment are still there. (Nina)

The context within which Nina is talking is that of an Indian immigrant women who is in the process of settling in New Zealand. The occupation that Nina discusses in this part of the interview is parenting, which as highlighted in Chapter Three of the literature review, is an occupation that raises difficulties for many Indian immigrant women.

For Nina, the root of her struggle with parenting her daughter in New Zealand lies in the conflicting values held by each culture. Within the ‘private’, ‘Indian’ spaces, Nina retains beliefs about not living with a man before marriage, beliefs which are grounded in her Indian culture and upbringing. These beliefs conflict however, with New Zealand Pākehā values, reflective of the ‘New Zealand’ space, in which it is considered acceptable for a man and woman to live together and not be married. As Nina talks, she also acknowledges the cultural diversity that exists in New Zealand and brings the ‘Indian’ and ‘New Zealand’ spaces into play when stating ‘*any Indian Kiwi or any Fijian Kiwi*’. Furthermore, she acknowledges the changes that she has had to make as part of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, in her clothing, her accent, even what she speaks about, external features of the ‘public space’. However, her values as a Catholic, once again referring to the ‘private’, ‘Indian’ spaces, she has not compromised and these are the values she brings to her role of a mother which influences her perspective of parenting.

The occupation of parenting for Nina, as an Indian immigrant woman **Creating a Place** in New Zealand, has involved a complex *Navigating* of *Cultural Spaces*. The interplay of the four dimensions: Indian, New Zealand, private, public, reveal themselves to varying degrees depending on the occupations being enacted. The different perspectives Indian immigrant women hold when *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, the strategies they employ and the conditions that influence the process will be considered as part of the overall theory outlined in the second part of this chapter.

Navigating Cultural Spaces was a continuous process that existed whether the women were **Creating a Place** in New Zealand or temporarily leaving the country to re-visit their country of origin, India. It is, therefore, fundamental to how Indian immigrant women perform activities on a daily basis when settling in a new environment. More specifically, *Navigating Cultural Spaces* occurred each time the women engaged in occupations throughout the course of the day.

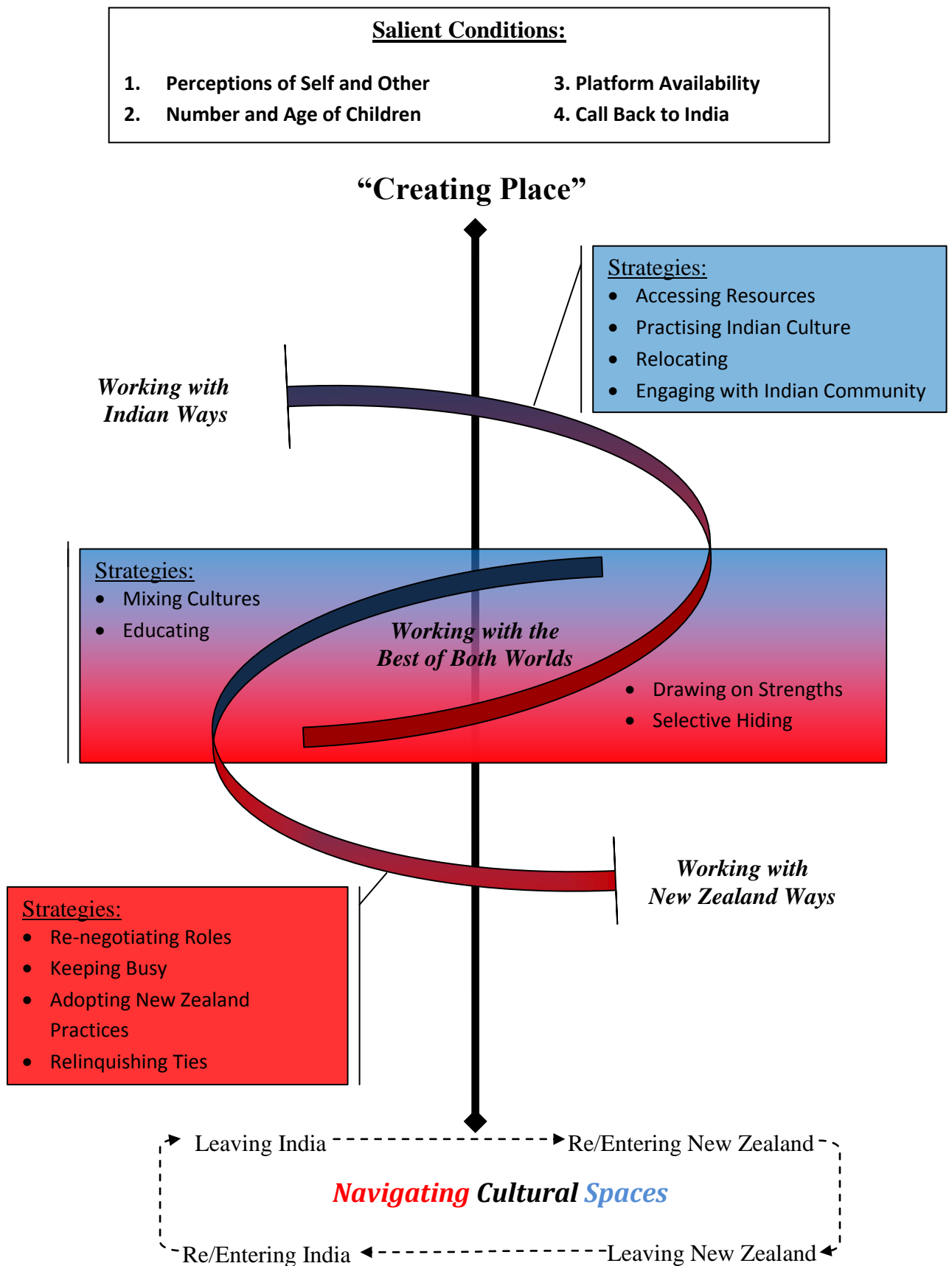
Occupations occur in different environments, involve a variety of skills, engage individuals and collective groups and are performed consciously and unconsciously. Within this process, the women were constantly journeying through and moving between, needing to keep themselves safe, knowing their capabilities and making the most of opportunities for exploring new ways of

doing everyday activities. By engaging in occupations, the women *Navigated Cultural Spaces* either by themselves or with others, interacting with their environment and engaging in multiple ways of performing occupations; thus, moving between the cultural boundaries, for the purpose of **Creating a Place**.

There were times when *Navigating Cultural Spaces* meant the women sought safety in performing occupations that were familiar and representative of their culture, before venturing out to try something new. Alternatively, there were times when the women experimented with trying to do things influenced by the New Zealand culture, thus acquiring new skills and resources before perhaps returning to what was familiar. Ultimately the desire for many women was to find a way of blending the components of different cultures within their daily occupations as they worked towards the purpose of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand.

The second section of this chapter provides an overview of the process that Indian immigrant women undertake as they **Create a Place** in New Zealand. This process, framed as a theory of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* is diagrammatically represented, as Figure 8 (p. 121), and has been included in Appendix N.

Figure 8: Navigating Cultural Spaces – The Theory



The Theory – An Overview

The everyday occupations of Indian immigrant women: A process of Navigating Cultural Spaces is a substantive theory that reveals the process Indian women, who have immigrated to New Zealand, engaged in as they worked towards settling in a new environment. The major components of this theory as depicted in Figure 8 (p. 119) are: the purpose towards which Indian immigrant work when settling in New Zealand, the process – how they achieve their purpose, the perspectives and associated strategies taken by Indian immigrant women as they work towards their purpose, and the conditions that influence the overall process. Each of these components will be overviewed below and discussed in greater depth in the remaining findings chapters, Six, Seven and Eight.

The Purpose

Creating a Place is the purpose towards which Indian immigrant women work when they arrive in New Zealand. They seek to **Create a Place** for themselves and their families by engaging in occupations within multiple contexts of an unfamiliar environment. These contexts include spaces representative of the Indian and New Zealand cultures, as well as the private and public aspects of the physical environment and the women's personal perceptions. All of the women identified two salient dimensions of **Creating a Place**. First, fulfilling their individual desires and family responsibilities and second, maintaining connection with their cultural heritage.

Many of the women either initiated the process of immigrating to New Zealand or were actively involved in the decision making process. The women were keen to experience living in a culture different from the one they had known. They perceived New Zealand to be a country filled with opportunities for better ways of living, not just for themselves, but also for their families; in particular their children. Education is held in high regard within the Indian culture. Coming to New Zealand, participants believed their children would be judged on their individual merit and face less competition and pressure in the classroom. Furthermore, having a New Zealand education would improve their children's opportunities for a future life outside of India. Although the women sought opportunities for their children in the New Zealand environment, they were also

keen to maintain traditional practices, wanting their children to be familiar with the Indian culture and have a strong sense of identity as a person of Indian origin.

The women were proud of their heritage and actively worked to ensure that elements of the Indian culture remained present in the New Zealand environment as they set about **Creating a Place**. Knowing when and where to actively present themselves as Indian was central to how participants situated themselves in New Zealand society. At times, participants deliberately worked to promote their culture and have a visible presence in New Zealand society. At other times, when participants felt it would not aide their chances of being able to do things in New Zealand, the women selectively hid their ‘Indianness’. When the participants had options for performing occupations, they actively worked to **Create a Place** in which elements of all cultures were visible in their everyday doing.

The Process

Navigating Cultural Spaces is the process by which Indian immigrant women worked towards their purpose of **Creating a Place**. In *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, the women were seen to constantly move between the four dimensions of the Indian and New Zealand cultures and the private and public spaces as they engaged in occupations throughout their day. As the women *Navigated Cultural Spaces*, they engaged in occupations that were reflective of their desire to maintain traditional ways of doing everyday tasks, they performed occupations that were reflective of New Zealand society, and they enacted occupations that required an active blending of cultures. How and when the women chose which occupations they engaged in was partly dependent on the setting, whether it was representative of a private or public environment and how willing the women were to reveal their ‘Indianness’.

In the process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, the participants perceived three main ways of performing occupations that determined how they **Created a Place** for themselves and their families, as Indian immigrants, in a New Zealand environment. For each way of ‘doing’, the women employed different strategies. The change in strategies was related to the participants’ individual desire to successfully *Navigate Cultural Spaces*.

The key feature of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* is the dynamic and continual nature of the process. Throughout a single day, the women engaged in multiple occupations. Each time they did so, they made decisions regarding which perspective they came from, how much of themselves they wanted to reveal and why they wished to enact that particular occupation. The ongoing decision making and the interplay between person, environment and occupation, meant that the women were constantly *Navigating Cultural Spaces* throughout the course of their day, their week, their life in New Zealand.

The Perspectives

The women in this study each had an experience that was unique; yet, there were patterns that revealed similarities between them. These patterns form the basis of three perspectives. First, the women described a perspective where there was an active *Working with Indian Ways* that centred on keeping the women and their families connected to the Indian communities within New Zealand society and the cultural practices of their heritage. Specific occupations, the social environment and the day-to-day organisation of the home were arranged in such a way that facilitated the women's ability to continue enacting familiar cultural traditions in an unfamiliar environment.

Second, participants described a perspective where there was an active desire to learn about ways of doing everyday activities aligned with New Zealand cultural practices. In this context, the occupations, social environment and organisation of the home was set up so that there was a predominant focus on fitting in and being seen to do as a New Zealander.

The third perspective participants described, involved a blending of cultures and practices in which the women engaged in more complex *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. The cultural borders between occupations, the social environment and the day to day organisation of the home became increasingly blurred, as the women sought to **Create a Place** in which the different cultures they encountered were interwoven in their performance of occupations. From each perspective, participants employed strategies for *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. The two key strategies used were Keeping Past and Present and Shaping Self.

Working with Indian Ways

The desire to maintain strong connections with India, for some women, resulted in the first perspective of *Working with Indian Ways* as part of **Creating a Place** for self and family in New Zealand. Within this context, the women were active in Practising Indian Culture, through their choice of clothing, diet, entertainment and enactment of religious and cultural festivals. The desire to maintain *Indian Ways* of doing tasks was influenced primarily by a drive to ensure their children remained cognisant of their cultural origins. In these instances, the location in which the participants chose to establish their homes had a diverse cultural mix, including an Indian community within its local population, which in turn meant the women were able to Access Resources, particularly resources needed for culturally mediated occupations. When this was not the case, some participants described Relocating so that they could generate more opportunities for Engaging the Indian Community. At times, the women experienced an external pull, a call back to India, which propelled them to work more closely with *Indian Ways*. All of the participants were determined to hold on to an element of their culture, although some were more willing to engage in occupations that reflected the New Zealand society.

Working with New Zealand Ways

From the second perspective, *Working with New Zealand Ways*, some participants began Adopting New Zealand Practices as an immediate response to being in a new environment. Without the traditional supports of family or friends, and needing to find employment to generate an income in order to survive, participants had limited choice but to engage in New Zealand influenced occupations. For other women, the shift to doing things shaped by the New Zealand culture was more gradual and was a decision made only after careful consideration of the risks and threats to personal and emotional safety. In some instances, this meant Hiding Self as Indian whereby the women actively worked to push aspects of their Indian culture to the background while Adopting New Zealand Practices. *Working with New Zealand Ways* at times required the women to consider Re-negotiating Roles within the private domain and persevering with their attempts to adopt New Zealand ways of doing in the public sphere. Engaging in New Zealand activities was influenced by both the women's perceptions of

their abilities and their perception of how others in society responded to them; the more positive the perception, the greater their willingness to try different ways of performing everyday activities. The availability of resources within the environment also shaped the occupations they engaged in. For instance, without access to Indian resources, the women were compelled to alter their activities.

Working with the Best of Both Worlds

The third perspective, *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*, was described by the majority of participants as central to **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. In this process, the women actively sought to find ways of **Mixing Cultures**, blending cultural practices and beliefs into their everyday activities. This way of doing was enacted by participants who recognised the need to be flexible in their interactions with New Zealand society if they were to **Create a Place** in which they and their families felt comfortable and accepted. At times, the women found themselves Educating members of the New Zealand public, so that it was not always a process of taking on board New Zealand ways of performing occupations but also being able to share something of their own culture and traditional practices. This at times required Drawing on Strengths to make the most of the situation and the ability to engage in Selective Hiding, whereby the women chose when and where to foreground or background their Indian culture.

The strategies that Indian immigrant women use, depending on the perspective they adopt as they *Navigate Cultural Spaces*, will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

The Conditions

How and when the women decide which perspective to work from as they *Navigate Cultural Spaces* and when and where they will alter their perspective, is determined by the four salient conditions of Perceptions of Self and Others, Number and Age of Children, Platform Availability, and Call Back to India. For example, when conditions were such that the participants' ability to engage in occupation was restricted by their knowledge of the new environment (Platform Availability), some participants focused on *Working with Indian Ways* before attempting to undertake new occupations and *Work with New Zealand Ways*. In

some instances the Number and Age of Children meant that while the women were keen to *Work with Indian Ways*, they were faced with having to *Work with the Best of Both Worlds* and incorporate *Working with New Zealand Ways* into their everyday activities. Each of these conditions will be described in Chapter Eight.

Summary

This research study revealed that when Indian immigrant women settle in New Zealand, they engaged in occupations according to contexts and conditions that required them to *Navigate Cultural Spaces*, for the purpose of **Creating a Place**. In *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, participants moved between a desire to hold on to traditional ways of doing everyday tasks, and an interest in experimenting with occupations reflective of the new culture. In *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, the women moved between three perspectives *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways*, and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*. The women employed specific strategies within each perspective. The process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* is influenced by four salient conditions.

The following chapter focuses on a detailed description of the research findings, beginning with the purpose for which Indian immigrant women engage in occupation in a new environment: to **Create a Place** for self and family and the process by which they do this: *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

Chapter Six: RESEARCH FINDINGS - PART I

The everyday occupations of Indian immigrant women: A process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*

This chapter of the research findings has two sections. In the first section I begin to explicate the purpose of **Creating a Place**, for which Indian immigrant women engage in occupations when settling in New Zealand. I will detail the categories and sub-categories that constitute this dimension of the theory. In the second section I explain the process *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, which the women engage in as they set about **Creating a Place**. In this section, three perspectives and the consequences of each perspective of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* are discussed.

The Purpose: Creating Place

I think firstly finding a place to settle down, that's the main challenge. Finding a job, settling down, being comfortable, getting back, into, onto the main line. Like when we uprooted ourselves and came back here, and then again getting back onto the main line which takes very long. That's the big challenge I think. Have to really work, strive, and get back into the stream again, which will take quite a bit of time. It is a big challenge. (Anaia)

The reality for Indian women who immigrate to New Zealand is that they leave behind their lives and the place they considered home, a place established over many years, both through generations that have gone before them and through their own constructions of personal meaning, expectations and accomplishments. Thus, the place they leave contains both a history and a personal biography. It is a space filled with familiar resources that have become integral to performing occupations, connections to people in society – family, friends, colleagues, and it is reflection of who they are – their skills, knowledge, interests. These women were educated in India, worked, socialised, and started families of their own in this environment. Within this place, the women constructed their biography, they were known by others and their actions were a reflection of the environment they inhabited.

The reasons the women had for deciding to immigrate to New Zealand were varied. Some saw it as a new adventure, a change of lifestyle, some emigrated for the future of their children, and some emigrated to follow their husbands. The decision was not one that the women entered into lightly. For all of them it involved months of planning and preparation. Even then, when the paperwork was completed and the prospect of immigration to New Zealand was no longer a dream but a reality it sometimes came as a shock. Sarah had a good job with a secure income and strong connections to her community and family. Not being prepared for the experience of migrating, getting the visa to come to New Zealand represented a tearing apart of her life in India.

When the visa arrived, I just rang my mum, and told her and she came over, and we both, I burst into tears on the phone in the first place. She came over and we both cried and she said to my husband, ‘what have we done, why are you taking her away, why are you all going away?’ That’s what my mother said to my husband. (Sarah)

While the reasons for immigrating were diverse, ultimately it was a decision that, for the women in this study, resulted in irrevocable change, which fuelled the need to **Create a Place**. Immigrating meant that they entered a new environment where they were a stranger to local society, they lacked a personal history with the community, and some resources or connections were no longer applicable and functional for the purpose of engaging in occupations. Their position in society, how they saw themselves and in turn how they were viewed by others, was altered. In this situation, the decision that Indian immigrant women were confronted with was: should they return to the environment and the place which they know and in which they are known, or should they stay in the new environment and work to **Create a Place**, build a history, and generate new connections and resources? The latter decision is often the harder to make, as the journey to **Create a Place** may be fraught with new trials and unexpected obstacles. Yet, for the participants in this study, deciding to stay in New Zealand was a choice they made willingly and one they had committed to despite the challenges.

One aspect of **Creating a Place**, was getting to know the local surroundings, including how and where to access resources. Having been born and brought up in their home towns in India, many of the women reported feeling

confident about getting to places and knowing where to access goods and services. However, coming to New Zealand, a new and unfamiliar environment, the women initially struggled with knowing where the best places were to access familiar resources needed for everyday living, such as Indian groceries. This unfamiliarity was compounded by a lack of visibility of stores, through signage and locality. Many of the stores stocking Indian groceries tended to be in the suburbs, rather than in the main shopping districts, areas which were harder to access via public transport. In India, the women were used to a range of different public transport options; both in terms of cost and actual transportation, for example, buses and rickshaws. In New Zealand, many participants had to depend on buses, which was the only affordable means of public transport; yet, were not always reliable. This made it difficult for the women to find places to buy their Indian goods and thus, engage in culturally meaningful activities.

A lack of familiarity with regards to other aspects of the physical environment, such as the houses they lived in here in New Zealand, also made it difficult for them to feel confident about engaging in certain activities. For instance, the physical construction of the houses meant relearning ways of creating a sense of familiarity. Having carpeted instead of concrete floors or electric instead of gas stoves required the use of different skills that the women were not necessarily equipped with. These skills sometimes took time to learn and as such hindered the women's ability to move ahead with **Creating a Place** in which they felt confident about doing things as Indian women in a New Zealand environment.

Differences in social structures and systems further impeded the women's sense of competence with doing things necessary to **Create a Place** and compounded the lack of familiarity with the environment in which they had arrived. Many of the women had to undertake further training or retrain in a different profession altogether, in order to gain employment. This meant they lacked an income and the money they had brought with them rapidly diminished in value when converted to New Zealand currency. Although the women were grateful to receive income support from the New Zealand government, they disliked the fact that they were dependent on the government for this support. In India, such assistance was absent and the women were used to working hard to earn their money. Thus, receiving payment for not actively contributing to society

did not align with the women’s values system and made it difficult for them to feel completely comfortable as Indian women in a New Zealand society.

As they encountered new situations, the women engaged in occupations and worked to establish where they wanted to be, who they wanted to be and what aspects of themselves they were willing to show others. **Creating a Place**, therefore, was about becoming a visible and active part of society. It was about being recognised for what one had to contribute to society and feeling comfortable and accepted in a different environment. The categories and sub-categories of **Creating a Place** are detailed in Table 3.

Table 3: Categories and Sub-categories of Creating a Place

Category	Sub-category
Establishing a Presence	Making connections Getting recognised
Building a Home	Prioritising family Maintaining cultural heritage

Purpose: Establishing a Presence

Indian immigrant women are a minority group within the greater New Zealand population. Part of **Creating a Place**, therefore, was becoming a visible part of society; that is, Establishing a Presence whereby they were an active part of their community. Entering a new and unfamiliar environment, Establishing a Presence was not an easy process. Rather, it could be energy intensive and time consuming, in part due to limited social networks and knowledge of New Zealand society; factors that might serve to ease their efforts of being seen. Establishing a Presence required a willingness of the women to learn and be open to all opportunities for interacting with others. Dhaksha recounted how her willingness to try something new helped with Establishing a Presence in her community.

I went to church and then I, met some of these acquaintances ‘hello, hello’ and this and that and, ‘are you working anywhere?’ I said, ‘no actually but I’d like to, you know, because now the children are all settled at school and all that, so I’d like to do something’. ‘So why don’t you work, how do you like this place [residential facility for the elderly]? It’s very nice and would you like to work here?’ And I said, ‘but I can’t, I don’t know, I’m not a nurse, I don’t know

anything about nursing'. I said 'My god, I would be terrible, these poor people, I couldn't, I couldn't! Let me be there and nurse them? When I don't know anything about nursing?' She said, 'no, no, many people don't know. It's just that you have to learn and it's nothing, it's just helping people, talking to them and helping them to dress because some of them are not, they've got dementia and all that'. So I said, 'well okay'. (Dhaksha)

Although Dhaksha did not have to work hard to create the opportunity to try something new, ultimately her willingness to step out of her comfort zone and take on a new challenge meant that she became a valued member of the community; thus, Establishing a Presence not just in the church, but also in the local residential facility for the elderly.

The sub-categories associated with Establishing a Presence are: Making Connections and Getting Recognised. Each of these is discussed below.

Sub-category: Making Connections

Part of Establishing a Presence and being seen as a contributing member of society is about engaging in the community and Making Connections with others. This may include connecting with members of an established Indian community or it may involve connections with members of the New Zealand public. Coming from a collective society where participants were used to being part of a large familial and social group, settling in New Zealand could be a lonely experience. Thus, Making Connections was integral to **Creating a Place** as it enabled the women to establish social networks to replace the ones left behind in India as both Priyanka and Priya identified:

I think finding a stable friendship group, just making good friends, that was really important for me. And a lot of other things, I think just becoming part of the community. (Priyanka)

When we were living in India, my parents had a fantastic circle of friends, I mean they went out and they made friends but my husband is not the type who would socialise a lot. So I had to look at getting my own network of people, my own support system. (Priya)

Making Connections was not only about social networks but was also beneficial for generating employment opportunities. When the women showed initiative and took the time to make contacts, they reaped the benefits. Maria initially settled in Auckland and found work at a local school. Later, she and her

family relocated to another city in the North Island for her husband's work opportunities. Four and a half years later, the family decided to return to Auckland and Maria stated:

I just happened to look at the gazette and I found a technology teacher advertised for the school that I had been at all those years ago, seven years prior. But I saw the email address, so I said I've got an email address. So I typed into the principal and I said, 'I don't know if you remember me but I was at your school seven years ago for three terms', and he replied saying 'Of course I remember.' And I said, 'I'm looking for a job any ideas, any leads, anywhere?' And he said, 'Don't look anywhere else come right back, of course I remember you, you have a job waiting here'.

For Indian immigrant women, Making Connections within both the Indian and New Zealand communities that could be utilised in the future was an important component in the process of **Creating a Place**. Sarah, like many other immigrants, faced the challenge of finding work that matched her qualifications. While searching for work, she joined an Indian group that provided her with support and helpful hints for obtaining employment. It was through this group that Sarah was put in touch with a New Zealander who was working in the same field and '*was very helpful to Indians*' (Sarah). Through this connection, Sarah eventually found a job in an organisation that suited her training and qualifications.

While the women identified Making Connections as necessary for Establishing a Presence, they also acknowledged that becoming part of the community required more than the initial connection. Getting Recognised for one's abilities and having something to offer was also a vital part of Establishing a Presence.

Sub-category: Getting Recognised

You have to be recognised, you know, people have to want you to come and work for them and people have to recognise you for what you are. That is the big challenge, you have to really work hard and show and prove yourself. (Anaia)

Coming to New Zealand and **Creating a Place** in the community, the women sought recognition for their skills and what they had to offer. Back in India, the women had, over the years, gradually established their position in society. In New Zealand, where they lacked such a history, they might be overlooked when people

were being selected for certain positions. When applying for jobs Nina found a common question put to her was, *'you're an Indian with no New Zealand experience, give me one good reason why I should hire you?'*. Her response was: *'if there was a course called New Zealand experience, or called the great Kiwi experience, I would love to take it. That was my only stat response and I never got that job'* (Nina). When she did pass the first stage of the interview she then encountered questions such as:

you are not local, how do we know you have the skills due for the job and you did not study [subject] in New Zealand, how can we be sure that the [subject] that you've studied in India, would prepare you adequately to be a [subject] teacher in New Zealand? (Nina)

For Nina, Getting Recognised for the contribution she could make meant having to actively promote herself, demonstrating what she was capable of and what she had to offer; a process that involved utilising one's skills and strengths and one that was mirrored by other Indian immigrant women. Priyanka used her experiences of immigrating to New Zealand, combined with her English language abilities, to offer a service to other immigrants entering the country.

I teach. Last year I used to teach English to refugees and migrants, they're adults. A lot of them are from China and Taiwan and things. I just did it like very Thursday for about three or four months. (Priyanka)

In the first instance, working alongside other immigrants was a stepping stone towards Priyanka Getting Recognised for what she had to offer as a member of the wider community. Thus, the outcome of Getting Recognised as having something to offer engendered a sense of belonging and fitting in, vital components of **Creating a Place**. Like Priyanka, Neenu used her skills and qualifications as the basis of what she could offer the community in which she was residing. The benefit of gaining employment in her area of expertise has been increased opportunities for social interaction. This has helped Neenu with Getting Recognised and Establishing a Presence in her community, which as Neenu stated, *'makes it easy, makes your life easy.'*

For the participants succeeding in Getting Recognised as Indian immigrant women who had skills to offer society often required persistence and high levels of motivation. Getting Recognised involved a willingness to make the most of all opportunities, even when those opportunities seemed unattainable. Ammalu was a

qualified medical doctor in India. Coming to New Zealand she had to undertake further exams to obtain registration. Although this was a difficult time, Ammalu persisted and passed her exams, at the end of which she started the job hunt. *‘I used to apply everywhere and maybe drove once to Hamilton to talk to the recruitment officers there, and went to Whangarei. Everywhere I tried but because there were no jobs, that’s why I didn’t get the job’*. Finally Ammalu decided to return to India but left her curriculum vitae with a friend who volunteered to apply for jobs on Ammalu’s behalf.

So she has taken everything and she was applying everywhere and finally I got a job in [city]. So when I was doing shopping... she called me and said ‘Ammalu, you’ve got the job in hospital in your [speciality area]’. That’s what I wanted, like I wanted to do all the time. (Ammalu)

Through Making Connections with people and finding ways to offer something to society, the women worked towards Getting Recognised and Establishing a Presence as they **Created a Place** in New Zealand. In addition to Establishing a Presence, **Creating a Place** involved Building a Home.

Purpose: Building a Home

Having a place to call home and a building in which to retreat, feel comfortable and safe, was an important part of **Creating a Place**. Some women arrived in New Zealand to a partly established home; as a result of their husbands already living in the country or having migrated ahead of the family for the purpose of Building a Home. For other participants, the task of buying or renting a property upon arrival in New Zealand was the first step towards Building a Home. Having friends or family already living in the country helped ease this transition; however, many of the women still had to find their own ways.

So we came here and we landed up in a motel. Okay we had, by that time we got to know one or two other people who sort of you know, came. So there were a couple who came a week before us and they said okay we’ll organise a motel for you when you come. So we said okay. So they booked a motel for us and we arrived... So my husband got the job but we were not able to get a house, 1995 was like a boom time for housing; no, rather for immigration. There were people coming in, people coming in and so it was a renters sort of thing, so they were not willing to give us because we had four kids, we just couldn’t, whether it was the kids, or whether it was just too many people, we were in the motel for more than a month. So we

were getting a bit frustrated, finally we got one place. It was nothing great. (Christina)

Once the women had secured a place within which to begin Building a Home, they had to familiarise themselves with the skills required to maintain it. Hence, having husbands or family already settled in New Zealand had its advantages in that when it came to learning new occupations, associated with household tasks, the women had someone who was already familiar with *New Zealand Ways* and could teach them the necessary skills.

We first lived in a house rented to us by the hospital that we were working for and in the broom cupboard was a vacuum cleaner and I knew, I knew that vacuum cleaners are used more often here because of carpeting. So I knew that even before I came here and to be honest vacuum cleaners are also used to clean carpets back in India but carpeted floors were not that common and it wasn't necessary for floors to be carpeted because it was not a cold place where I lived. So I knew I needed to use the vacuum cleaner... Well first of all I had to figure out how to use it!! Because I hadn't actually used a vacuum cleaner and I remember this was so many years ago, those were really old fashioned you know crusty old vacuum cleaners... So first of all we had to figure out and of course my husband had already done so because he had been here for a few months staying with the family and he had got around to doing those chores. So to a certain extent he showed me how to use the vacuum cleaner correctly. (Guddi)

Not only was maintaining the house about learning basic skills but it also involved furnishing the house with the resources required to perform the occupations. In Building a Home some women, such as Guddi, had resources supplied; others however, brought a combination of resources with them from India. Many of the women brought the fundamentals of a home. Maria arrived '*with my new pressure cooker and my pots and my pans and my kids*'. For Arul the fundamentals consisted of '*Indian photos, family photos*'. These became a lifeline when she felt homesick and missed her family back in India.

Securing a place in which to call home, learning the skills to maintain it and furnishing it with resources from New Zealand and India are all actions the women took towards Building a Home. In Building a Home the women became part of the community and **Created a Place** that reflected their position as Indian immigrant women living in New Zealand. The priorities that drove their actions

were considered in the sub-categories of Building a Home: Prioritising Family and Maintaining Cultural Heritage.

Sub-category: Prioritising Family

For many of the women, migrating to New Zealand and Building a Home in this society was done for the purpose of **Creating a Place** that afforded optimal opportunities for their children. Prioritising Family, in particular children, was central in Indian immigrant women's decision to migrate. When considering the educational opportunities available in New Zealand, one feature of the New Zealand educational system that attracted the women centred on the understanding that people were judged based on their individual merits of skill and ability. This was opposed to being in India where there existed a culture of bribery and 'who you know' in order to progress one's career. As Mumtaz explained:

We have taken a big decision of moving the whole family here and mainly it was for the children because we felt they would have a better future here. Because I mean back in India it is hard. I mean you have a lot of competition and studies and job and they really have to struggle to be somewhere... I mean you are just, actually you achieve something, if you have the merit here, whereas in India it was all on your influence. You can get on with anything there if you have money but here it's more you know you, you get justice here. I mean you're getting things on your own merit so that's one thing that I wanted my children to have that sort of life.

Thus, for some women, Building a Home centred on Prioritising Family and seeking opportunities, in particular for their children. When it came to finding somewhere to stay Anaia commented, *'I was looking at my children's school and looking out for a place also to stay. And mainly their school and children settling down, uniform, books, stuff'*.

Coming to New Zealand, the women were **Creating a Place** that their children could benefit from in terms of education, as described above, and future career opportunities. The participants found that New Zealand society did not exert pressure on youth to stay and succeed in tertiary education if they identified that this was not a match for their skills. Jean emigrated with her family and told the story of her son who was working in a supermarket; a valid option in New Zealand, yet one that would have been unacceptable back in India.

Here you have a wide choice, you can do what you want, and no one really looks down on you, which is good. We have that traditional

thing in India, oh is she a graduate, has she done her postgraduate, and is she professional, or has he done, like if you're just a seventh former they don't even look at you, you know. Like oh he hasn't been to uni. That's something that we don't have here, which I appreciate and the children also appreciate. Especially my son because, he somehow was not happy at uni, couldn't handle the studies and he gave up studies and he's working now in a supermarket, he's a checkout supervisor, checkout manager, and he'll soon be going into management training. If he was to do something like that in India the whole family would have said, 'oh my he's not a graduate' and things like that you know, which doesn't happen here. So that's a good part of the Western countries, nobody bothers. (Jean)

In addition to ensuring the needs of their children were met, **Creating a Place** in New Zealand was about prioritising other aspects of family life, as they experienced it in India. This included the enactment of roles and positions held by family members, for example husbands. Maria talked of the disruption that migrating had created in her husband's life and the importance of restoring a sense of normality, as they had known it in India, in their home here in New Zealand.

Part of me was so pleased that I could see the familiarity that I had been in previously with my husband going to work and things were like normal, like what I wanted normal to be... My husband was happy in his job and for me that was the most important thing. It's always been the most important thing that the man of the house is happy in his job and his work. Mine really takes second place. (Maria)

In this instance, Maria prioritised her husband's happiness in Building a Home and was willing to give up her job and move to a different city for the benefit of her husband's work. Maria was not the only woman who placed her personal needs secondary to those of the family for the purpose of Building a Home. Dhaksha was another woman who in **Creating a Place** prioritised her family needs over individual desires such as going out to work.

I mean I liked it and for one and a half year I worked. And then I gave it up because my boys started telling me, 'you're never here. Whenever I want to talk to you, you're never here. I have so many things to tell you and you're never here'. Because I never had a proper off. Sunday everyone used to be at home and I used to be at work. They didn't like that because all these years they had me to themselves and so I just gave it up and I'm staying at home now. (Dhaksha)

In some instances however, the women had little choice about Building a Home and the need for Prioritising Family. Arul's husband lived with his parents in an established home in New Zealand. He returned to India to marry Arul and subsequently she immigrated to New Zealand, where she took up residence with her husband and his parents in their house. Entering an established home, Arul's role as the daughter in law had already been shaped for her and she has found that, she was *'not able to do what I want... I can't make decisions by myself. Have to talk with husband and, with the mum and dad too'*. When talking about preparing the evening meal Arul commented, *'too many cooks in the house spoil the broth.'* Often she would sit on the sideline while her mother-in-law did the cooking.

For Arul, life was *'Still a little bit hard, still hard. Still I'm thinking why I've come here for what? Why I stay here? Probably just the luck, that's life'*. Her anguish was palpable throughout the interview; yet, her Indian values of Prioritising Family meant that her desire of Building a Home of her own was pushed to the background. In addition to Prioritising Family, a value shaped by the culture in which the women grew up, they considered Maintaining Cultural Heritage to be equally important.

Sub-category: Maintaining Cultural Heritage

Although the women faced Building a Home in an environment that held little resemblance to the country they came from, they were determined that within their home, their children should understand the Indian culture and be proud of their Indian heritage. To this end, Priya ensured that *'all the special days we do the pooja, we do everything. Every morning both of us [husband and Priya] make a point to pray so the girls can see us do it, they know it's to be done'*. Similarly, Lakshmi has made a point to *'keep speaking to my daughter in Malayalam because... my intention was that when we did go to India she should be able to adjust with our relatives and cousins'*.

As part of Building a Home, the women worked to **Create a Place** that embodied the values and traditions they were brought up with and that were inherent in the Indian culture. Maintaining Cultural Heritage through enactment of traditions and practices around the home was necessary to allay the fear that as their children grew older, they may never feel comfortable in either the New Zealand or Indian communities. Jane voiced this fear:

Because I've had my roots back home and I've grown up there, I don't, there's never a clash coming here because in my heart I'm always an Indian because I've grown up there, everything's done there. So that's what we fear for him [son]. Is he going to be never there, never here because he's never going to be 100% New Zealander as I said and he wouldn't be comfortable when, if he grows up here when if we take him back home he wouldn't have anything to identify himself back home. That's the main thing for us dilemma. Because we want him to be strong because that's the thing with us, no matter what happens we are strong because we have strong roots. Something happens we can just tackle it and go back home. Can he do that? (Jane)

Jane was not the only participant to worry about whether or not her children would feel comfortable with their Indian heritage growing up in New Zealand. As a result, many of the women with younger children actively incorporated occupations reflective of the Indian culture in their family and home life.

To perform occupations shaped by the Indian culture, the women needed to be able to access the necessary resources. These resources might be in the form of other Indian people or specific cultural goods, such as food items or clothing. At times, the location within which the women initially built their home proved inadequate, in terms of having the required resources. Mumtaz reflected on her move from Rotorua to Auckland:

Then slowly got settled to the life there, but wanted to move to Auckland because I felt more of the Indian community was here [Auckland] and the people were more open here. Because Rotorua was not so exposed to migrants. (Mumtaz)

The lack of immigrants in Rotorua meant that Mumtaz made frequent trips to Auckland to either purchase resources, which included Hindi movies on DVD, or attend the Indian cultural performances that she considered an important aspect of Maintaining Cultural Heritage in New Zealand.

Establishing a Presence and Building a Home were key dimensions of **Creating a Place**, which was the purpose for which Indian immigrant women engaged in culturally mediated occupations when settling in New Zealand. As the participants worked towards **Creating a Place**, they *Navigated Cultural Spaces*, moving between three perspectives.

Navigating Cultural Spaces: Perspectives and Consequences

Navigating Cultural Spaces is a substantive theory that revealed how Indian immigrant women settle in New Zealand from an occupational perspective. As the women **Created a Place** for themselves and their families, they continually shifted between different perspectives, or ways of working, which shaped the occupations they engaged in and how those occupations were enacted. In general there were three perspectives.

Working with Indian Ways was one perspective in which Indian immigrant women maintained a strong connection to their cultural roots within the New Zealand context. *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, from this perspective, meant that at times the women's sense of being Indian foreshadowed their decisions and interactions. A second perspective taken, at different times, by Indian immigrant women for the purpose of **Creating a Place** involved *Working with New Zealand Ways* and being seen to do things as a New Zealander. From this perspective, the women's interactions with the New Zealand environment meant back-grounding their Indian culture.

The third perspective encompassed the processes of the first two, whereby the women actively sought to combine the different cultures in their ways of doing everyday activities. *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*, the participants maintained their identification as Indian women in a New Zealand specific context, consciously choosing when and to what extent, they exposed their Indian culture as they engaged in their daily occupations. The following discussion explores each perspective and the associated consequences, outlined in Table 4 (p. 142), for Indian immigrant women as they *Navigated Cultural Spaces*.

Table 4: Navigating Cultural Spaces: Perspectives and Consequences

Perspective	Consequences
<i>Working with Indian Ways</i>	Staying connected to home Keeping safe
<i>Working with New Zealand Ways</i>	Becoming part of community Paving the way
<i>Working with the Best of Both Worlds</i>	Doing more than possible Having choice

Perspective: Working with Indian Ways

Working with Indian Ways was fundamentally about striving to maintain cultural practices and traditional ways of doing. For a number of women this perspective initially influenced their engagement in occupations upon arrival to New Zealand. In a new environment and with limited social connections, the women chose to perform occupations that were familiar and engendered a sense of competence. In time, as they gained knowledge and understanding of New Zealand society, some women chose to work from a different perspective. Others, opted to remain in New Zealand, however had limited interaction with their new surroundings and continued *Working with Indian Ways*. For these women their perceptions of the opportunities on offer in New Zealand prior to immigrating were not what they experienced. Neha explained:

Now, the picture of, I mean since we were in India at that time, it looked all very rosy and you know all very impressive, so thought ‘oh that looks very nice and maybe we should take a chance and come here...’. Then, when we came here, that was a sudden shock for us because, actually to tell you the truth, it’s a big difference between a Western culture and an Asian culture. It was sort of a cultural setback for us and we were not used to the things like doing all by ourselves, becoming independent. So these things did affect us quite a lot in the beginning. Financially our condition was very bad because there, there were there was a lot of struggle involved as well at the same time.

Despite their own struggles, the women held on to the opportunities that were available in New Zealand for their children, such as education. Deciding to stay in New Zealand, they engaged in ways of doing tasks that felt comfortable and chose to perform occupations in places where they knew they would gain acceptance.

For many women, this entailed utilising Indian resources such as, clothing, cooking equipment and groceries, entertainment DVDs and music, and socialising within local Indian communities. The consequences of *Working with Indian Ways* were: Staying Connected to Home and Keeping Safe.

Consequence: Staying Connected to Home

Working with Indian Ways meant participants retained a greater connection to their country of origin. The women worked hard to main this connection through frequent communication with family back in India. Although costs for international phone calls were reduced and access to internet was widely available, in the early days of adjusting to life in New Zealand, Staying Connected to Home was still an expensive exercise as both Lakshmi and Neha experienced.

We spend almost, not half, but I'd say 20% of our salary goes on phone calls to both our homes. (Lakshmi)

I always ring them [family] and talk to them, so in that way you're a bit closer to them. I used to do that every weekend when I'd come. Every weekend or maybe twice in a week, in spite of the fact that we didn't really have much money and we shouldn't be calling; at that time it was so expensive to be calling back home. And I think I used to buy \$20 phone card and it used to be used for only half an hour or so I can't remember. And I used to still be ringing back home my mum all the time and talking to her so that, that kept me going for quite a while. (Neha)

In addition to engaging in occupations involving family in India, the women focussed on Staying Connected to Home through the celebration of cultural and religious festivals. Work commitments and the timing of festival celebrations in some instances proved a challenge for participants. This did not deter them however, from making a concerted effort to perform the activities. Eva had her parents send her an Indian calendar so, '*now I know when we have different festivals that we used to celebrate back in India, so I do make some sweets, Indian sweets and all, this is how we celebrate*' (Eva). Neenu found that having a community group to assist with celebrating festivals was equally helpful.

We have got our own community people, like community cultural programmes are there, religious programmes, gatherings are there... We can gather for everything, almost all, we celebrate almost all our cultural programmes here. Like Onam, Vishu, Christmas, and we do monthly gathering among our community, so it's alright. (Neenu)

Staying Connected to Home, meant the women actively sought access to cultural resources (a strategy discussed in the following chapter) and worked to ensure that their children were immersed in ways of doing everyday occupations that reflected an understanding of their cultural heritage. Another consequence of *Working with Indian Ways* was Keeping Safe.

Consequence: Keeping Safe

By engaging in traditional occupations and practices, the women actively worked at Keeping Safe. Performing familiar occupations that required no re-learning bolstered the women's confidence in their abilities to successfully live in this country. Rachel found that being able to continue cooking Indian food to serve to New Zealanders has made her life easier.

Inviting people over, we find that most Kiwis enjoy Indian food, at least every Kiwi that we've had over has enjoyed Indian food. So they always want to sample what we can cook here and things, so it's actually worked out quite easy. (Rachel)

Through cooking Indian food or performing occupations reflective of the Indian culture, Rachel and other participants were able to focus on Keeping Safe, which allowed them time to become accustomed to living in a different environment and enabled participants to gain confidence in their abilities and their understandings of the new culture. From a position of safety, the women were able to evaluate the risks and benefits of going out into the community and trying different ways of doing.

Pinky moved with her husband from Auckland to Hastings for employment opportunities. In Hastings she has found herself isolated, without an Indian community such as the one she had in Auckland. As a result, Pinky has ascertained that Keeping Safe while working in Hastings has meant she would be better off wearing New Zealand clothing as opposed to traditional Indian dress. Her decision has been reinforced when she commented that the few times she has worn a churidhar to work, she has either '*been laughed at or asked what the special occasion is*' (Pinky).

As the women became more comfortable with their environment and found themselves *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, they shifted between a focus on

Working with Indian Ways and a willingness to try *Working with New Zealand Ways*.

Perspective: Working with New Zealand Ways

To achieve their purpose of **Creating a Place** Indian immigrant women recognised the need for flexibility and openness in *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. *Working with New Zealand Ways* was about trying different ways of doing that reflected New Zealand society and enabled the women to gain new skills and resources, thus promoting greater interaction with members of the community. The women who engaged in this perspective were keen to embrace New Zealand culture and without the restrictions of family in India, discovered a freedom in being able to wander and explore. Rachel explained:

Getting to know life in New Zealand, probably because it's so different from everything in India, in India you know you've got your family all round and extended family and uncles and aunts and everything and it's not the same thing, you don't just hop into a bus and go where you want and wander through and things like that. It's a little bit more restricted there I guess for want of a better word, so it was, it was interesting, it was great to feel free and to be able to do what I wanted, to go to shops and supermarket shopping and getting to know how people did things here, using ATM machines. Little things like that. (Rachel)

Some women were not as fortunate as Rachel and did not have the time to wander. For these women, their circumstances meant that they were thrown into *Working with New Zealand Ways*, even if initially it was not their preferred perspective. For women who arrived on their own and were faced with Building a Home and quickly Establishing a Presence, interacting with the New Zealand environment and *Working with New Zealand Ways* was critical for surviving. Sandra immigrated to New Zealand on her own with the purpose of gaining employment and then sending for her husband and 6 month old baby. Without familiar connections to provide guidance, Sandra had to interact with the New Zealand community, taking the initiative to ask for advice, *'I had to initiate, I had to ask. Nobody's going to come and tell you unless you ask. I had to ask them and then they told me'* (Sandra).

Although Sandra was initially hesitant about asking for assistance, she quickly realised it was something she needed to do and her confidence in her

abilities to survive in an unfamiliar environment grew. The consequences of *Working with New Zealand Ways* were: *Becoming Part of Community and Paving the Way*.

Consequence: Becoming Part of Community

Engaging with the New Zealand community involved performing new activities that were not available or had not been experienced in India, and having increased interaction with members of the New Zealand public. Unlike the women who were keen to primarily *Work with Indian Ways* and limited their socialising to within the Indian community, Indian immigrant women who chose to *Work with New Zealand Ways*, were more likely to invite colleagues or social acquaintances from other cultural communities, to social events.

My colleagues are very familiar with my house. And the church, especially my home group, they are very familiar as well. And they are from, like they're really mixed, so you have, Pakeha people and you have Cook Island and Maori and Middle Eastern people as well. And a Pakistani. So it's really, really mixed. (Sarah)

Sarah's quote reflects the multicultural diversity present in New Zealand society and how being willing to *Work with New Zealand Ways* did not necessarily mean just the 'white, Pākehā way' but a way of performing occupations that was not traditionally representative of the Indian culture.

Working with New Zealand Ways and *Becoming Part of the Community* has exposed Indian immigrant women to different ways of doing. Through work, Sally was invited by colleagues to attend a social dance. It was expected that at this event, European dances, such as the waltz, would be performed. Although Sally had no previous experience of European dancing and would not have envisioned doing this occupation back in India, she accepted the invitation and enrolled in dancing lessons with her husband. Even though Sally did not feel very confident at the actual event, she still made a point of dancing and enjoyed herself.

We went there and you know we did dance, somehow we did it. And we did lots of wrong steps and then right and then wrong again. But it doesn't bother me (laughter). You know if somebody likes to look at my dance then look at it, if you don't like it then don't look. So, it wasn't like a formal performance like that I had to give, so I wasn't worried about it. (Sally)

Through participating in occupations that are influenced by New Zealand culture, the women learned more about the environment and the different cultures within which they were *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. As a result, the women were more informed when it came to making decisions about when and what occupations to perform. In India, Mumtaz would have relied on servants to assist with preparing meals; whereas in New Zealand, she has learned to do things that are more aligned with New Zealand practices. In making changes to her way of doing, she has been able to make an informed decision about her need to have a servant.

I mean in India you cook your breakfast, you cook lunch and you know dinner. And it's always cooking and you have guests all the time. Because of all the, I mean you get most of the things, or almost, you don't have to go through the cleaning of rice and all those things..., here you get, I mean, good quality stuff here and cooking is much more easier. I stuck to the Kiwi plan of just cooking once a day and having bread and all for breakfast, so it was not, I mean cleaning once, I mean I, I didn't find, miss the servants so much. Actually I felt relieved because I didn't want to depend on them. So it was, I could do my own work and then sort of, independent. (Mumtaz)

For Mumtaz, not having to rely on a servant to assist with the everyday occupation of meal preparation was congruent with the norms of New Zealand society and reflected her *Becoming Part of the Community* and embracing how things are done in New Zealand. In addition to *Becoming Part of Community*, Indian immigrant women who chose to *Work with New Zealand Ways* found themselves *Paving the Way* on their journey towards **Creating a Place** in New Zealand.

Consequence: Paving the Way

Settling in New Zealand, the women soon recognised the differences in societal norms and values compared to the ones they were accustomed to in India. Some women struggled to reconcile these differences and opted to *Work with New Zealand Ways* for the sake of *Paving the Way* for their children. *Paving the Way* was about ensuring their children did not experience the same struggles as their mothers. In some instances, this has meant deliberately going against traditional ways of doing.

Like should I give my daughter spaghetti bolognese today because it's the European food and we don't eat any meat. So shall I give her

that or shall I just give her rice and dhal. But then she has to get used to eating some kind of meat as well otherwise she will struggle as we are struggling. If we go to any hotel here, you won't have Indian food. Like you will have sandwiches with lots and lots of leaves, without any protein and then you will starve for the whole day and you will get headaches when you come home because you haven't had enough lunch. So I don't want her to go through the same things. So I'm getting her to eat chicken and fish and a little bit of beef. Beef is, totally, it's out of the question back in India. But then eating spaghetti bolognese is not eating bulk pieces of meat. So I'm having to make that choice everyday... So probably when she grows up she may not like any meat the way we didn't like. I tried eating, I used to eat meat before, chicken before, but then I stopped eating it. I don't eat it anymore, but now I have started tasting it because I have to taste it before I give it to her to make sure that it's okay. But then my husband won't, he won't even smell it. It's all, you know, thinking at that moment, what's the best and then just trusting your instincts. (Eva)

Eva's story highlights the turmoil of *Working with New Zealand Ways*. However, in adopting this perspective, the women paved the way for their children and other members of society.

Making a major life transition such as migrating inevitably involves challenges as new occupations are performed and familiar occupations reconfigured to meet the demands of living in a new country. The longer the women lived in New Zealand, the more experience they had with overcoming these challenges. The women paved the way for later Indian immigrants by using their knowledge to teach new immigrants to the country about some of the challenges and ways of overcoming them. Christine recalled her experience of buying her first house.

And somehow you don't realise that, you think you're getting a house and because you've left a house which is fully established, somehow in your mind, where we were, where I was concerned, I don't know. I had never visualised entering a house with four walls and nothing in it. (Christina)

As a result, *'If I had to do it again, I'd really get, my stuff because later, you know as years went by, we used to tell the other Indians to bring their stuff. When you get a nice home, you feel more comfortable.'* (Christina)

Sally recounted the initial days of learning when she began working. She has since passed on her knowledge to new employees at her workplace.

I have to figure out how I perform to that expectation. For that what I did was an observer post, was an observer for a few weeks... just so that I can get used to it... after that quite a few new people came and if I get a chance to tell them I always tell them that you do some of the observer thing. You know, get in touch with somebody who can show you around and take you for few weeks to see how things happen because it is very different from what you do in India. The whole set up is different, the method of referring. I mean each and every thing is different. (Sally)

Likewise, Manju has used her experiences to help new immigrants.

It was good in a way because many of the newer people who came, would come to us for advice... what did you do and what's the best place to buy a house or what should we do. So we became like a model family in a way, according to them who had settled and who had, you know children had settled. So people would come to us for advice... We didn't have all that. (Manju)

Indian immigrant women engage in a process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* for the purpose of **Creating a Place** for themselves, their families and sometimes for the benefits of other immigrants. At times, the women *Navigate Cultural Spaces* from either a perspective of *Working with Indian Ways* or *Working with New Zealand Ways*. The complexity of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* has for some participants resulted in a third perspective: *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*.

Perspective: Working with the Best of Both Worlds

For the majority of women in this study, *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* was a perspective they strived to attain and the one they believed would be most beneficial for the purpose of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* involved engaging in occupations that merged aspects of the Indian and New Zealand cultures, in order to meet the demands of the new environment, while satisfying the women's desire to maintain their Indian heritage. For many of the participants, *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* was a balancing act and was often the end result of having first tried *Working with Indian Ways*, then *Working with New Zealand Ways*, before settling somewhere in the middle. Nina described this process in mathematical terms.

There's something called regression to the mean where obviously, you know mathematically, if you're on one scale eventually you will reach the other scale and then until it balances out, it oscillates to a balanced mean and that's the way, what happened with my husband

and me. When we landed here, I was totally anti Kiwi, for a while and he was totally anti Indian, and then he became pro Indian, and then I became anti Indian, it, it actually, I can actually see that happen and now we're actually reaching that balance where we integrate aspects of both cultures into our lives. (Nina)

Working with the Best of Both Worlds was not something the women could do by themselves. The set up of the environment and the availability of Indian and New Zealand resources also contributed to the women's ability to engage in occupations that combined both cultures. For instance, having access to familiar resources in an unfamiliar environment, helped ease the participants' transition of emigrating from India to **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. As Lakshmi commented:

You feel you can accept the country more when you have access to things that you do back home. So the resentment decreased and the feeling of being independent, in a way you didn't feel like a prisoner. So it was a lot more comfortable.

The consequences of *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* were: Doing More than Possible and Having Choice.

Consequence: Doing More than Possible

Working with the Best of Both Worlds, for many of the women, meant being able to do more than they had thought was possible, had they remained in India or **Created a Place** in New Zealand from the sole perspective of *Working with Indian Ways*. Neha spoke of the difficulties she experienced being in New Zealand, struggling to find a job in her area of expertise and feeling unaccepted by her colleagues. In the face of adversity, she completed a master's degree, an occupation she would not have considered, or conceived as being possible, had she remained in India.

So I did my master's in [subject] at the university. Just finished it last year, so that was another thing, I never dreamt I would have done my master's but all these things actually inspired me that you had to do something more to be able to settle down here. (Neha)

For Neha, Doing More than Possible has presented positive challenges to perceptions of self and encouraged her to extend her individual capabilities as she worked towards **Creating a Place**. Sally is another participant who discovered

capabilities she did not have the opportunity to utilise in India and as a result found herself Doing More than Possible.

See all that mesh there [pointing to decking rail outside], the metal mesh, we didn't have that and I used to worry about that for my son, you know he would go on the balcony and he would jump off from there and stuff like that. So I could actually go to Mitre 10 [hardware store] and just explain to them what I want to do and they were very helpful and suggested this is what you can do and this is the stuff and we can cut it for you and this is the staple gun and you can staple it on the wood. And I did it all by myself, I couldn't have done it probably in India. (Sally)

Working with the Best of Both Worlds, the women found that if they were willing to try something different, then the opportunities could be created. However, unlike Neha and Sally who had a choice in their decision to do more than what they considered possible, Ammalu learned the hard way of the opportunities New Zealand afforded. A few years ago, she was diagnosed with a tumour on her spine and had to be rushed in for an emergency operation, with the risk that she may not walk again. During this experience she realised that by choosing to live in New Zealand, even if she was unable to walk, she would still be able to do the things that were important to her, such as working and caring for her son, occupations that she would not have been able to do independently, if she was living in India.

Doing More than Possible, therefore, enabled the women to build on their current abilities and learn new skills for the purpose of **Creating a Place**. A second consequence of *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* was Having Choice.

Consequence: Having Choice

Working with the Best of Both Worlds, the women moved in and between cultures, choosing the elements from each culture they wished to utilise in order to get the optimal benefit from the occupations they performed. Lakshmi and her friends gathered for social evenings on a regular basis and as was traditional, it was the responsibility of the woman, whose house they are gathering at, to prepare the refreshments. However, after a long day at work, Lakshmi felt, *'it was not fair on the woman who has called us. We talked about it and we started saying, okay let's all bring a dish each,'* a form of potluck which is a traditional New Zealand custom. By using this element of the New Zealand culture in their social

gatherings, the women were still able to meet once a month and maintained their Indian connections.

Working with the Best of Both Worlds also afforded women a greater array of options when it came to deciding about engaging in occupations. Had they chosen to work primarily with *Indian Ways* or *New Zealand Ways*, the options available to them may have been restricted. Maria found that when she socialised with Indian women ‘*and they’re talking about things that... don’t interest, necessarily me, then I don’t get a buzz out of it, cooking and specials at the supermarket, yet I will get right in there and talk about the specials*’. Alternatively, by choosing to utilise the perspective of *Working with New Zealand Ways* and socialising with New Zealand women, Maria found that she had the option of talking about topics that did interest her, such as politics.

Ultimately *Working with the Best of Worlds* meant that the women had choices available to them, even if they did not wish to take them up.

When we were in Auckland we saw, women driving the bus. Ah, that was really, very surprising. My how nice, how women because women don’t do all that in India. It’s a man’s world there and women doing all those things, this is really nice. (Dhaksha)

Although Dhaksha had no intention of ever driving a bus, the fact that she could do so, made her more amenable to *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*.

Summary

In this chapter I have explored the purpose of **Creating a Place**, for which Indian immigrant women engage in occupations as they settle in New Zealand. Three perspectives: *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways* and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*, and their associated consequences, underpin the process by which the women enact occupations as they *Navigate Cultural Spaces*. The following chapter focuses on each of the three perspectives Indian immigrant women employed when **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. The particular strategies utilised within each perspective, as part of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, are explicated.

Chapter Seven: RESEARCH FINDINGS - PART II

As women *Navigate Cultural Spaces* for the purpose of **Creating a Place**, they employ two sets of strategies: Keeping Past and Present, and Shaping Self. This chapter describes those strategies and the associated sub-categories, before explicating the different ways each strategy manifests within the perspectives described in the previous chapter; *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways*, and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*.

Dimension: Strategies

Indian immigrant women used two sets of strategies as they *Navigated Cultural Spaces* and worked towards **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. The first strategy, Keeping Past and Present, facilitated a merging of different aspects of each culture. The purpose of this strategy was to create an environment in which the women were able to choose when and how they would engage in *Ways of Working*.

Shaping Self was a second set of strategies used by Indian immigrant women when their purpose was to actively maintain their Indian culture in a New Zealand context. The strategies for maintaining their culture involved actively presenting themselves as Indian in the way that they did things or selectively hiding aspects of their Indian selves to facilitate successful engagement in occupations. When and how the women utilised each strategy was in response to the things that happened to them and their own perspective of being in New Zealand. Table 5 (p. 154) outlines the primary strategies and associated sub-categories used by Indian immigrant women for the purpose of **Creating a Place**.

Table 5: Strategies for Creating a Place and Sub-categories

Strategy	Sub-categories
Keeping Past and Present	Accessing resources Re-negotiating roles Mixing cultures
Shaping Self	Presenting Self as Indian <i>Relocating</i> <i>Practising Indian culture</i> <i>Keeping busy</i> <i>Educating</i> <i>Drawing on strengths</i>
	Hiding Self as Indian <i>Engaging with Indian community</i> <i>Adopting New Zealand practices</i> <i>Relinquishing ties</i> <i>Selective hiding</i>

Strategy: Keeping Past and Present

'I would say... not forgetting your past, appreciating a lot of what's in the past and also enjoying the present.' (Christina)

Keeping Past and Present was a strategy the women used as a way of incorporating aspects of India into their life in New Zealand; but not so that it blocked *Working with New Zealand Ways* and *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. The key feature of this strategy was how the women integrated aspects of the environment including objects, people and places, which are influenced by societal expectations and laws, into their occupations. Thus, many of the women maintained their Indian culture by using Indian objects or resources in their everyday activities, which engendered a sense of familiarity in an otherwise unfamiliar environment. This enabled the women to keep doing activities from their past, while connecting them to the present environment within which they performed occupations.

Some of the traditional resources, in the form of inanimate objects that Indian immigrant women kept using in New Zealand, included Indian spices for meal preparation, Bollywood movies, and the use of personal items of clothing such as bindis. Only when these were unavailable or unsuitable for use in the new environment, did the women actively look for New Zealand resources that could be substituted into their everyday occupations. In addition to inanimate objects, as part of Keeping Past and Present, many of the women actively sought to maintain connection with family and friends in India, while establishing new connections in New Zealand that assisted with **Creating a Place**. These connections with the human aspect of environment were a form of support and encouragement when learning new ways of doing in unfamiliar surroundings. Support might include words of encouragement or more active guidance, where participants were given physical assistance or a demonstration, to complete an activity.

In addition to Accessing Resources and supportive relationships, Keeping Past and Present involved adopting new roles or re-negotiating previously established roles to better suit the demands of the New Zealand environment and thus, successfully *Navigate Cultural Spaces*. For example, the place within which participants settled sometimes required them to take on a more active role, such as driving a car, in order to access resources required for their occupations. Coming from Indian where public transport is convenient and inexpensive, being a driver is not a role the women would have necessarily performed on a regular basis.

Another aspect of Keeping Past and Present involved Mixing Cultures, whereby Indian immigrant women continued to interact with members of the Indian communities, while also establishing relationships with other cultural groups in New Zealand society. Mixing Cultures enabled the women to develop connections that could be called upon to provide the particular support they needed, depending on the occupational demands.

In respect to the place aspect of environment, Keeping Past and Present was not always easy. Many of the women were tertiary educated and held professional qualifications, which they were unable to immediately make use of upon migrating to New Zealand. Keeping Past and Present required the women to do advanced training or sit exams in order to use their Indian qualifications within the New Zealand workforce. By doing what was necessary in the present, many of the women were able to eventually pick up what they were familiar with and start

using that as part of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. Being able to keep their past in their present was central to facilitating the women's movement between the different *Ways of Working*. A second strategy used to *Navigate Cultural Spaces* involved Shaping Self.

Strategy: Shaping Self

Shaping Self referred to the strategies the women employed to actively maintain their Indian culture. As a key strategy, Shaping Self is about how comfortable it is to be Indian women, in a New Zealand environment. The strategy corresponds to their personal motivation, skills, interests, knowledge and values. How and when they engaged in Shaping Self depended partly on the people they interacted with and the opportunities available for participants to show aspects of their Indian heritage. Shaping Self was also partly dependent on their own perspective of **Creating a Place**. If the women were more focussed on *Working with New Zealand Ways*, they were less likely to display aspects of their Indian self and preserve Indian ways of doing things. Alternatively, when *Working with Indian Ways* and the *Best of Both Worlds*, the women were likely to reveal more of their Indian culture, actively maintain ties with Indian people and avoid conflict between the cultures. Shaping Self thus has two dimensions: Presenting Self as Indian and Hiding Self as Indian.

Presenting Self as Indian

There were times when the women chose to actively engage in cultural practices such as celebrating Indian festivals and cooking Indian food. In doing so, they worked to retain and reveal their Indian heritage. When participants experienced that others responded positively to their display of Indian culture, they felt more accepted which engendered an increased sense of belonging in the community.

Some of the women who actively sought to engage in Indian cultural practices found it easier to socialise with Māori and Pacific Island peoples, as they felt that they shared more in common when it came to values and cultural practices. For instance, Māori and Indian cultures are largely based on collectivism, wherein the needs of the family are more important than those of the individual. Hence, presenting as Indian was easier in two circumstances: first,

amongst people who are also Indian and second, amongst people with similar values and beliefs, for example, Māori.

All the participants in this study were keen to maintain cultural traditions and practices; however, there were times when the strategy of Shaping Self required Hiding Self as Indian.

Hiding Self as Indian

During the course of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* all of the women, at times, opted for Hiding Self as Indian. This strategy was not about denying one's Indian culture. All of the participants in this study strongly identified with being Indian; however, in some instances, the women chose to render their Indian identity selectively invisible. That is, their Indian culture was always present to their personal self and depending on the circumstances, would be revealed to others.

Hiding Self as Indian was a strategy Indian immigrant women used to facilitate fitting in with colleagues and creating connection. For instance, many women found that gaining employment was one situation where it was in their best interests to actively work at Hiding Self as Indian, rather than standing out. One way in which participants did this was through their choice of clothing.

Additionally Hiding Self as Indian was a strategy that enabled Indian immigrant women to blend in with the community, engaging in activities that did not align with traditional customs or personal values. This selective hiding allowed participants to stay connected to their Indian culture within the privacy of their own homes. For instance, Priya found that she has had to speak using the English language when she is at work and mixing with members of the New Zealand public. However, English is not her native tongue, therefore, '*we have to talk in Gujarati at home, we have to insist that they [children] talk back in Gujarati no matter how it is*' (Priya).

This brief overview has revealed the basic strategies the women employed as part of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. The way each strategy was played out depended on whether the women were *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways*, or *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*. Each of these perspectives and its associated strategies will now be discussed.

Working with Indian Ways

All of the women in this study identified the importance of retaining connection with their Indian culture. *Navigating Cultural Spaces* for the purpose of **Creating a Place**, and the challenges this process entailed, meant that some women worked at doing things in an Indian manner, both initially and in the longer term. In order to **Create a Place** and maintain a strong identification with their Indian culture in a New Zealand context, participants engaged in the specific strategies as detailed in Table 6.

Table 6: Strategies for Working with Indian Ways

Strategy	Sub-categories
Keeping Past and Present	Accessing resources
Shaping Self	Relocating Practising Indian culture Engaging with Indian community

Keeping Past and Present: Accessing Resources

Being able to do things as they would have been done back in India was critical for women who worked towards maintaining strong links with their Indian heritage while living in New Zealand. Thus, having the necessary resources, such as incense for religious ceremonies or fresh stocks of cumin and garam masala for cooking, that facilitated engagement in familiar occupations was particularly important when considering the geographical locations in which some of the women were **Creating a Place**.

Today, in contrast to 20 years ago, Indian resources for cooking, clothing, and Indian entertainment, can be readily accessed in major New Zealand cities. However, there are still smaller towns and cities situated throughout New Zealand where Indian resources are not so readily available. In these instances, the women worked hard to access what was available, which on occasion meant regularly travelling long distances to larger cities where they could stockpile the resources they required. Guddi had firsthand experience of this situation. *'When I came out here we would have to travel to get hold of Indian spices. I mean it wouldn't, they*

weren't easily available... certainly in Auckland it is a lot easier than say it would be in New Plymouth' (Guddi). In the present day however, many women still actively obtained resources from back in India. They accessed these resources by going back to India, getting others who were going to India on holiday to bring things, or having items sent directly from India, as Eva explained:

...some homemade Indian spices, I get them from India. And sometimes recipe books, Indian recipe books. I have got them from India and sometimes my parents will send me some traditional Indian clothes or maybe some, some what do you say, CDs and all Indian classical music CDs so that my daughter also gets to listen to them. And some jewellery for her.

Spices used for cooking were commonly sought from suppliers in India. Although these could be accessed in New Zealand, knowing the quality of the product and its origin was considered important. At the time of the interview, Pinky was expecting her brother-in-law to visit from India. She stated that she had asked him to bring the masalas and cooking ingredients with which she was familiar. In addition she asked him to bring incense and other resources needed for their daily prayers. The consequence of accessing Indian goods this way was that the women maintained a closer connection to India, reinforcing their culture in an unfamiliar environment.

Another resource the women sourced from India was medication. Many medicines, available over the counter in Indian pharmacies, in New Zealand required a visit to the doctor and a prescription.

What you don't get is non-prescription medicines. I mean prescription medicines like if you had a call or a sore throat and you felt that you had an infection you could go out and buy an antibiotic or if you had a urinary infection that you're sure of you would go out and buy the medicine which you can't do here. So whenever we go to India we buy a stock of it and come. Someone is always going to India and we say please can you get us a stock of this medicine. (Lakshmi)

Having medications on hand reduced the costs and time associated with treating what the women consider minor ailments. In some instances, Accessing Resources as a strategy for managing the New Zealand environment motivated the women to consider strategies of Shaping Self, such as Relocating, Practising

Indian Culture and Engaging with Indian Community as a means of increasing their sense of comfort as Indian immigrant women.

Shaping Self: Relocating

Although the majority of new immigrants landed in Auckland when they first arrived in New Zealand, some then relocated to other parts of the country. This was a trend followed by the Indian immigrant women and their families in this study. While all of the women were living in two larger cities and one smaller city, many of them had also lived in smaller townships or rural settings. With fewer Indian resources and smaller Indian communities, many of the women found it difficult engaging with Indian practices in smaller townships. Mumtaz found that:

...at the time in Rotorua, didn't even have an Indian grocery shop. So we had to come all the way here [Auckland] to get our stuff and even the movies and things like that. Though later on we started getting all those there, but we, initially we had to come here.

The women initially attempted to retain their Indian culture by employing strategies such as Accessing Resources. Ultimately, however, they found that it was a struggle and often times an intensely lonely experience trying to sustain their culture in a rural setting without an Indian community for added support. The end result was a decision to relocate to a larger city where they could readily obtain Indian resources and be amongst members of the Indian communities with whom they had a connection. Mumtaz recalled that in Rotorua, *'the Indians who were there were mostly here from generations, like the Gujaratis. So just a few people were the new migrants and I never felt at home.'*

Being with other Indian immigrants the women felt comfortable wearing traditional clothing and found that they had people with whom they shared similar values and traditions and could socialise with; thus, actively Presenting Self as Indian. One way in which they did this was through observing religious and cultural festivals.

Shaping Self: Practising Indian Culture

Working with Indian Ways, the women prioritised performing cultural occupations. Participants made a conscious effort to know the dates on which

particular religious festivals should be celebrated in New Zealand and deliberately created the time to undertake the associated tasks. In some instances, the women had to adapt how and when they performed their celebrations to fit in with New Zealand culture; however, this did not deter them from completing the activity.

I feel that it's again we are doing accordingly what is suitable for us rather than really doing on the day which everybody in India is performing. So that's the reason, like his birthday I might celebrate on the weekend but on the day when he is born I celebrate at home at least. And for other people, I might celebrate over the weekend. That's the only, I think for other people, because someone else has to. If I'm inviting I have to see their thing as well, that's why I celebrate on the weekend. But festivals and all that I try to celebrate on the day. (Ammalu)

Since the 1990s, many cities throughout New Zealand celebrate Indian festivals such as Diwali. Engagement in these festivities is optional and many members of the Indian community do not partake. However, for Indian immigrant women **Creating a Place** in New Zealand from a perspective of *Working with Indian Ways*, attending these festivals was considered important to be able to interact with members of the Indian community and showcase their culture to the New Zealand public.

In addition to a public display of *Working with Indian Ways*, the women continued Practicing Indian culture within the home, from speaking their own language, to the way they washed the dishes. Guddi recounted, *'We wash dishes in a very different way in India, they're scrubbed and washed under the tap. Whereas here you, you know, put them in a sink full of soapy water'*. When I observed Guddi preparing an evening meal at home, I noted that she washed her dishes as she would in India, rather than using the New Zealand style she described. Performing household activities in ways that were familiar, as opposed to adopting *New Zealand Ways* of doing, reflected what the women believed to be the 'right' way of doing things and served to remind them of their Indian culture. Dhaksha, for instance, has continued to prepare meals as she would do back in India.

What we do is, we have not kept the New Zealand timings. Like how people have their tea. And we do not call it tea at home, we call it dinner, we have always called it dinner. And we do not have our meal at 5 o'clock or at 6 o'clock, we have it at 8 o'clock and at 5 o'clock between 5 and 6, whatever we have just our cup of tea and cake or biscuits or what you would call here as cuppa. That's what

we do and lunch, and we have a proper breakfast. We just don't have cereal and milk or whatever. But eggs and bacon and toast. And lunch I mean we don't just, just have a sandwich or anything... it's proper, rice and dhal. (Dhaksha)

Engaging in household activities took place within the private domain; however, for the participants in this study, attending to their spiritual needs was an aspect of Indian culture that encompassed both private and public domains. From the perspective of *Working with Indian Ways* having access to places of worship, in which to practice their faith, was a central occupation for Indian immigrant women **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. Attending services at the local church or worshipping at the temple were a part of their weekly routines in India and have continued to be central to their way of living in New Zealand. *'Of course we have always gone to church... we have been brought up that way... it was one of the first places we went when we came here.'* (Dhaksha)

Celebrating festivals, maintaining household activities and keeping their faith are all ways in which Indian immigrant women engage in Practising Indian Culture. The women made the effort to engage in these practices regardless of where they were living. However, being part of an Indian community facilitated *Working with Indian Ways*.

Shaping Self: Engaging with Indian Community

Interacting with members of the Indian community was another strategy the women engaged in from the perspective of *Working with Indian Ways*. Being amongst an Indian community engendered a sense of safety which came from knowing what to expect and how to behave. Some participants mentioned that to have New Zealanders in the home would mean changing their ways of doing, for example, using a knife and fork to eat rather than their hands. Emma's experience of socialising with people from both the Indian and New Zealand communities highlighted this tension.

I guess if you're having, like for instance we've had like, I know we've got a lot of family in Auckland. If I put it across to you as what they did for their big events in their lives. They've called Kiwis and Indians together but it didn't seem to go too well together to be quite honest. Simply because you just don't eat the same food for one, which is the major thing and secondly it's, you just feel, what do you call it, you just feel very, like you are, you have to, be very formal with them you know what I mean? Unless of course you

know the couple. But your first instincts with a Kiwi is that you are very formal whereas if you meet an Indian, you're not as formal. I don't know why that is. I don't know whether it's just a vibe we put out and hence you go like that but 'til you get to know them a bit better, you tend to be a bit more formal than you would with an Indian you hadn't met before. (Emma)

Manju has had similar thoughts:

No I always felt whether they would really blend and our way of partying would be different from their way of partying... I just feel that the way that we have our parties, our functions, our talk, our things are quite different from theirs. And our friends may tend to, without thinking, say stuff or criticise and I wouldn't feel very comfortable... You know we are very blunt and some may ask stupid questions and things and I didn't want them [New Zealanders] to have to face that.

Thus, socialising with other Indians where explanations of cultural practices were not required made occupations easier and saved feelings of discomfort.

Engaging with the Indian Community was a strategy the women employed in both their home life and community interactions. Participants accepted that seeking employment or collecting their children from school would mean interacting with the wider community. However, in social situations, mixing with Indian people re-created an atmosphere of extended family and friends. Hence, Maria made a point of Engaging with the Indian Community, *'I socialise as a family, family social life in Auckland is almost entirely Indian as a family'*.

In choosing to interact socially with the Indian community, the women have needed to alter their interactions to fit with the New Zealand context. Lakshmi has found that the structure of New Zealand houses restricts entertaining large numbers of people, which is common for Indian gatherings. As a result she has reduced the number of people she invites at any one time, thus altering the way the interaction occurs while still engaging in the occupation.

You can't seat, that's another thing, the houses are so small that we hesitate to call more than three families because in winter the kids have to be indoors and it's very difficult to entertain children between say 7 and 10.30 or 11 when we finish, inside a couple of rooms. So, your, the numbers that you usually socialise with is also reducing because our homes are much smaller. (Lakshmi)

The women also made a concerted effort to connect with members of the Indian community through sharing in religious festivities and belonging to

regional groups. Many of the participants were members of an Indian association, such as the Tamil Association or the Gujarati Society and assisted with organising cultural events, including bringing entertainers from India to perform in New Zealand.

The strategy Shaping Self has two dimensions, Presenting and Hiding Self as Indian. As a strategy for Presenting Self, Engaging with the Indian Community is a way of establishing a social group where the women were known and felt comfortable, an integral aspect of **Creating a Place**. Alternatively, Engaging with the Indian Community can be construed as a means for Hiding Self from the New Zealand community by focusing on *Working with Indian Ways*. As the women *Navigated Cultural Spaces*, they re-evaluated the usefulness of *Working with Indian Ways*. For some women, a change in perspectives to *Working with New Zealand Ways* afforded greater opportunity.

Working with New Zealand Ways

Working with Indian Ways and maintaining Indian practices were important for all the women in this study; yet, some believed that **Creating a Place** in New Zealand required *Working with New Zealand Ways*. This meant performing occupations that reflected the New Zealand context. Table 7 details the specific strategies employed from a perspective of *Working with New Zealand Ways*.

Table 7: Strategies for Working with New Zealand Ways

Category	Sub-categories
Keeping Past and Present	Re-negotiating roles
Shaping Self	Keeping busy Adopting New Zealand practices Relinquishing ties

Keeping Past and Present: Re-negotiating Roles

Moving to New Zealand signified a shift in roles. Back in India some participants focussed on their role as a paid employee, while extended family took care of

their children or attended to household occupations such as preparing meals. Furthermore, Indian immigrant women settling in New Zealand were likely to be from a middle-upper class background, have been to university, were employed and able to meet the point requirements to enter New Zealand. Given their situation they would have employed servants to assist with domestic duties such as the cooking and the cleaning. Without extended family and servants to assist with maintaining the family and household, the women found themselves assuming new and unfamiliar roles as they **Created a Place**.

I mean there [in India] we sort of took things for granted and we just leave it here and a servant will come and clean it up and you know things like that. But over here [New Zealand] we've got to do it, we can't just leave things in the sink. (Dhaksha)

Settling, doing up, doing the housework, like we used to, we were used to going out of the house, coming back and finding everything spic and span with the maid doing everything including the beds. So we used to go out and come home and find the house so untidy! Think 'oh my god, what's happened'. Until we realised, I mean we got to, into the thing of doing it. (Christina)

For some participants, this change in roles was a big adjustment.

I did grow up with a silver spoon in my mouth and I had a, I had maids indulging my every women's fancy. So coming here was like going from queen to slave sort of position, and it was very hard, you know I thought I was the cat's whiskers when I came here... then I realised that I wasn't. (Nina)

I hadn't really done those things because my status in India was very different from my status here. In India I was just a student and then I came here as a married woman, so having to look after the house so to speak, that was quite different. (Guddi)

Creating a Place in New Zealand without the assistance of extended family and servants meant that some women had to do more around the house in addition to maintaining fulltime employment. Successfully managing this transition entailed Re-negotiating Roles among immediate family members. This meant engaging family members to assist with household chores. When asked how she did this Jean commented, *'I had to negotiate with the children'*. Without negotiating, a change in domestic roles could not be obtained. Even with consent, Re-negotiating Roles was not something all family members were comfortable

with. Dhaksha talked about starting shift work at a residential care facility for the elderly which meant that she was often not at home to prepare the meals. She commented, *'My husband helped with the cooking, yes he did! He didn't like it, but he did it, he had to!'* Likewise, Mumtaz commented on changes in her husband's behaviour:

My husband... after coming here, earlier back in India I can't, couldn't even imagine him lifting a cup and putting it in the sink to wash. But here, when I came, at the time I mean, he, especially with him because he was, he's the eldest son and was doted upon by mother and all that, he started cleaning. We didn't have a dishwasher when we came, so he used to wash the dishes and it was, even my, my brother-in-law, the first time when he saw him washing dishes he took a photo and sent it back to my mother-in-law.

The change in roles also involved the construction of new routines. Maria instigated regular family meetings as a forum for divvying up household chores.

We have family meetings and I just write out a list of everything that's got to be, if possible, has got to be done and then mark out the things that my husband and I definitely do because we're the ones who pay the bills and so we do the groceries and whatever. And then get the girls to pick out an even share of the rest you know, so that we divide it four ways and it works. And then sometimes it falls over and we start again. (Maria)

Christina learned from the way things were structured in her workplace and implemented these at home.

Right in the beginning I remember after I joined the library what I did was, I was quite taken up with the way the library was, working. That was my first job I had ever done, was quite taken up with the, team spirit and the way that they organised things so that people could just come and do things and the roster. So what I did when I came home was I made a roster. Especially with the younger ones, for those two days I was not at home, this hour to this hour for t.v., this hour to this hour do this. And that helped a hell of a lot because it gave them some structure I think.

Working with New Zealand Ways Indian immigrant women actively set about Re-negotiating Roles and sharing responsibilities with family members. Yet, they did not abandon their old roles; rather, these were modified to reflect the New Zealand context. Thus, as a strategy, Re-negotiating Roles was about keeping elements of their past, while creating new ways of doing in the present that better aligned with the demands of the place in which they were settling. In addition to managing their environment, the women engaged in strategies that

enhanced their ease with being Indian women while *Working with New Zealand Ways*. These strategies included Keeping Busy, Adopting New Zealand Practices and Relinquishing Ties.

Shaping Self: Keeping Busy

‘And otherwise I started doing, like not to put myself into lonely position, I started doing odd bits and something, I wouldn’t have got anything out of it but still I used to keep myself busy all the time.’ (Ammalu)

Living in New Zealand without social networks and previously constructed routines, participants consistently kept busy, learning about *Working with New Zealand Ways*. Changes in the physical environment propelled the women towards Keeping Busy. Many commented on how quiet New Zealand was compared to the hustle and bustle of Indian society.

Landed here, he was there and was driving me home and I looked around and said, ‘is there a curfew in here today!’ cause I could hardly see any people. (Jane)

The first thing I said to my husband is where are all the people and he said well get used to it because this is all there are, this is all you have, so that was a huge shock to the system, basically there were no people on the roads, no people in public places compared to India. (Guddi)

In response to changes in her environment, Christina found that Keeping Busy *‘was good. Helped me as well, because the thing that strikes you when you first come is the quietness. It’s so quiet... I just was finding it quiet so I started doing things!’* Christina, like other participants, found that Keeping Busy was a way of replicating aspects of their life back in India – Keeping Past – while simultaneously getting to know what they could do and what was expected of them in New Zealand – Keeping Present.

Employment was one occupation through which the women asserted themselves and actively kept busy in order to successfully **Create a Place** in New Zealand. For Ammalu, demonstrating her capabilities and gaining the respect of her New Zealand colleagues initially meant working extra hours; making herself available at all times, to prove that she could be trusted to do the work.

I left my phone number on the board and I said anybody, any time irrespective of day, night, any time I am more than happy to come... and then by the time he [manager] came also, he realised that Ammalu like stays longer hours and doesn't work according to like our association, time or anything. If there is work I won't leave it and go, I work. And day, night I'll come and do what's needed. (Ammalu)

From the perspective of *Working with New Zealand Ways*, Keeping Busy was a strategy the women consciously employed and persevered with for the purpose of **Creating a Place**. Another strategy they used involved Adopting New Zealand Practices.

Shaping Self: Adopting New Zealand Practices

Adopting New Zealand Practices, as a sub-category of Shaping Self, was a key strategy used by many women when *Working with New Zealand Ways*. In Adopting New Zealand Practices, Indian immigrant women back grounded their Indian practices as they experimented with different ways of doing that aligned with New Zealand culture. Sometimes Adopting New Zealand Practices meant learning from past experiences and altering ways of doing, as Eva recalled:

Like at work, there are so many people who don't like Indian that I have experienced over time. Before when I started, I used to bring Indian food but then they were not very receptive about that. And then you learn from the experiences so, so now I have stopped bringing. I would rather go to an Italian bakery and bring some brownies, that's what they would love to have. And they will remember that probably for the next month or so, that I had brought those yummy brownies from the Italian shop. So okay Italian! (Eva).

Although the women sought to retain elements of the Indian culture in their everyday activities, many of the women embraced *Working with New Zealand Ways* and developed new skills through adapting activities which could be performed in a New Zealand context. In India many of the women relied on public transport rather than driving. Coming to New Zealand, they embraced learning the occupation of driving and experiencing the freedom associated with this activity.

I figured out that I need to learn how to drive. That process took about a year for me to actually get through from a learners to what is it called, the restricted, the restricted license. But since then, life is a lot easier and now if I look at my lifestyle I would say it's, in terms

of movement and freedom, I'm a lot more equipped than I was even in India because you're driving on your own, you can get out at any time, feel secure that you have your own transport... once I started doing my own thing it was fantastic. I didn't feel that I had to depend on someone, you know. (Lakshmi)

Priya too has learned to drive since coming to New Zealand and has found it a safe mode of transportation.

Oh I loved it, I loved it. No problems at all. Like I said, when you come from a place where there is absolute chaos on the road, this is very safe. I love it because I know I've got the children in the backseat. I'm not worried about someone cutting across. Things like that, they just make you feel safer.

Sometimes Adopting New Zealand Practices involved engaging in occupations that differed from traditional customs. Maria highlighted a number of New Zealand activities that she has partaken in, which she would not have done were she back in India.

I do enjoy a gin and tonic occasionally and I'm pleased that I can have it without being, you know, like I'll have it with Indian friends or with others, whereas in India I would have been careful... I can dress, I can, I don't wear shorts because I don't think I have the figure for it but I can if I want to, you know. I can wear shorts and singlets and nobody's going to brand me or criticise me for it. Just that it's there. I can have lunch with a male colleague, I mean my husband doesn't have a problem with it and I can have, and that's fine, you know. So those little things. It's empowering, it's freeing and it just takes away a lot of shackles that, actually you don't necessarily do those things but you grow in other areas simply because those constraints are taken away. So that's really I think such a huge plus for Indian women here. (Maria)

In addition to Adopting New Zealand Practices, another strategy the women employ as part of *Shaping Self*, is Relinquishing Ties.

Shaping Self: Relinquishing Ties

Creating a Place in New Zealand involves interacting with the community both for work and social purposes. A strategy the women used to facilitate interaction with the community involved Relinquishing Ties. The most common form of Relinquishing Ties was to stop wearing saris or churidhars in their everyday lives, tending to save these for special occasions such as weddings, and start wearing trousers and skirts. The practical advantage of wearing trousers was that it

provided increased protection from the cold weather, an aspect of the physical environment many participants struggled with. More importantly, changing dress made them less visible as being from India and, therefore, someone different. As Guddi stated, working in a hospital, patients do not want to be confronted with difference; rather, they want to be comforted and know that they are in good hands. Hence, she chose to wear European clothes.

Salwaars, well to be honest salwaars are more convenient at work compared to saris but they still are, especially if you are wearing a duppatta with that, you have to be watchful that it doesn't, they're still a bit floaty compared to and the other thing of course is that you don't want particularly to stand out, which is a bit silly because you look different so you're going to stand out anyway, but you want to minimise that instinctively rather than boldly stand out and also it sort of alienates people if you dress differently, so you want to make patients feel comfortable rather than particularly, you don't want to be, you know, look different if you can help it because the general public doesn't find it stimulating you know to, it's all very well to dress differently for the sake of being interesting but the general public when they're sick and they come to be treated, they want to be treated by somebody they can feel some sort of empathy with and feel confident about. They're not particularly looking for interesting, glamorous looking doctors. So that would be the main reason. (Guddi)

Anaia has had a similar experience.

...of course we like, we wear all our jewellery and all in India, what we wear and all those things it's a traditional part of us. But here we don't. So we just have to give up some things because you have to be part of this community and day-to-day places you go, work, you can't be wearing those kind of things every day.

Relinquishing Ties was an acknowledgement of the women's willingness to shift from a perspective of *Working with Indian Ways* and establish new ways of being and doing. For instance, watching Indian movies was an occupation Ammalu enjoyed, which she has relinquished for the greater good of *Working with New Zealand Ways*. Instead, Ammalu has started viewing English movies so that she and her colleagues have something in common to discuss at morning tea and lunchtimes. Furthermore, her reading material has shifted to books about New Zealand history and those by English authors. For Ammalu, having an understanding of the country's history and being able to talk with her colleagues

about subject matters they have a shared understanding of, is an important part of *Working with New Zealand Ways*. Sally has had a similar experience.

In the beginning there was a bit of problem, like I couldn't understand the language completely and so that was sort of a barrier. Plus the content what they talk and what we talk about is different. Now what movies they knew and what I know was different, what music they talked about and I don't know any idea of that music and opera and stuff like that. But there were few common things as well that you can talk so communication like it wouldn't flow as smoothly as with the person of same culture and same thing but at the same time it gives you opportunity to know the new things as well. And I mean I think once you have decided to live in another country, it's best for you to know more about them anyway, you know if you want to really integrate. (Sally)

Relinquishing Ties also involved letting go of people and for Indian immigrant women keen to *Work with New Zealand Ways*, this has meant Relinquishing Ties with their children. For example, in India flatting is not actively practiced, with children tending to stay at home until they are married. In New Zealand however, Indian immigrant women are challenged with doing things in a New Zealand context which has meant allowing their children to do things in a similar manner to that of their peers, even if it does cause anxiety.

I've had to close my eyes to a lot of things and I'm in fact having to worry about a lot of things as to how I'll handle it when she does become a teenager and she does ask me why she cannot go out. I don't know if I'll ever send her out on a date, knowingly as you're supposed to here. I mean if she went without me knowing I suppose, but I worry about it quite a bit when I came here. She wears her pants with her crack showing and she wears clothes which are inappropriate. When she rolls her socks down or when she goes to school all scruffy, I do feel bad, so but I was very strict the first 6 months and then I stopped and I said I need to ease off and let her learn to adjust and see where the line is drawn. I didn't let her go for sleepovers. I still don't, until I know the person really well. (Lakshmi)

Although the strategies participants employed when *Working with New Zealand Ways* often involved back grounding their Indian culture, it was never forgotten. From the perspective of *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*, Indian immigrant women actively sought to foreground their Indian culture within a New Zealand context.

Working with the Best of Both Worlds

'It was an amalgamation. I do, I still do a bit of Indian things but I would say it's an amalgamation of both Indian and New Zealand ways.' (Christina)

For the majority of participants in this study, **Creating a Place** in New Zealand has been the result of engaging in occupations that blend cultures. *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*, Indian immigrant women continued to value their Indian culture and ways of performing occupations, but were not so committed to holding onto every facet of *Working with Indian Ways*. Lakshmi's story of shopping for fish highlighted the changes that occur in adapting to a new environment, yet still maintaining her *Indian Ways*.

Then you still have your notions that you come with, that you want fresh fish. You don't want to fish from frozen place, you want it fresh only. So you go to Blockhouse Bay for your meat, you go to TaiPing for your fish... then as petrol prices started increasing, you dropped out a couple of things and said, 'okay, I'll compromise and I'll buy fresh fish and freeze it myself, at least I'll know when it is frozen'. (Lakshmi)

Whether the women were performing activities within a private or public space, they were capable of moving between different ways of working. However as with the previous two perspectives, the women who focussed on *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*, had specific strategies they engaged in as part of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. These strategies are detailed in Table 8.

Table 8: Strategies for Working with the Best of Both Worlds

Strategy	Sub-Categories
Keeping Past and Present	Mixing cultures
Shaping Self	Educating Drawing on strengths Selective hiding

Keeping Past and Present: Mixing Cultures

In Auckland actually we're exposed to a lot of cultures. But then I think the best deal would be to keep all the good things from all the

cultures, especially with us, the Indian culture, family values is something which, the attachment to the family, respect of elders and all that, all those things should be there. But some things we can take from them too, that's what I feel. (Mumtaz)

In *Keeping Past and Present*, the women who chose to *Work with the Best of Both Worlds*, actively sought to mix with other cultures. At times, as Mumtaz suggested, Mixing Cultures involved taking the good other cultures had to offer, while keeping the best of one's own culture. Mixing Cultures was about accepting different ways of living, which sometimes required extra effort for participating in occupations.

For example next Friday we are having a sort of, it's not an actual team building... But then we felt you know, the staff is not getting enough interaction with each other, so we thought of putting, I mean putting our own money and doing something next week. So we, all of us thought of going to this restaurant in Manukau, so we had to put \$30 each for the thing and, we have about, even my colleagues, six Indians are there. And I am the only one who has, I, I didn't think twice of joining the, group I mean. But my other five Indian colleagues, they have some excuse. They felt it was, they couldn't, not that they can't afford it, they can afford it as much as me, because they get the same pay, but for them maybe the priorities are different. I mean they think in a different way, they feel it is a waste or something. So I think you have to put in your own effort also. Like when you are with them you know, you have to keep to your culture, I mean, I mean some of the things, you have to retain some things about your culture but then you have to be open to them too and you know. Like it is their way of life we have to accept that and some of the things we have to keep. (Mumtaz)

Mixing Cultures took place in many different settings, as Christina experienced.

My husband also through work, meets a lot of different people. He entertains a bit and so that's the thing we do, and so we have a lot of different, we mix with a different, with a lot of different cultures. We mix with a lot of local Kiwis, we have Kiwi friends and we have church where we have exposure to different, different groups. We do a lot of church activities together, yes we do. We also have a lot of Indian, where we have only Indian people. Then we have school, children in the school, so we meet a lot of other, so we do, we do. (Christina)

Sometimes the women took an active role in facilitating the mixing of cultures, organising events and learning about the different groups living in New Zealand. As a result, participants were able to make informed decisions about

what aspects of other cultures they wished to incorporate into their ways of working. Dhaksha helped organise an event at church where different cultural groups gathered to learn more about one another.

It's, it's like a mixed bag, where everybody is ultimately brings in their own little pieces of their country and of their culture you know and it's all sort of shared and everybody has a little of something... In our church, our parish, we organised two consecutive years, a cultural diversity month where we had, a diverse cultures. I mean we had a, in church we had mass and had a celebration and everything was, the mass was dedicated towards cultural harmony and various people came with their flags of different countries and tried to sort of say a welcome in that, particular language, if they knew it... And we had something like almost 38 different nationalities, from Zimbabwe and where all, where all, Irish people and they spoke in Gaelic and you know. So that was a lovely and then after that we had a little concert, a little sort of entertainment. After the spiritual thing, we had a little cultural celebration where the people had, like the Tongans had their dance and sing and the Filipinos did something and the Samoans did something and you know and the South Africans they did something. And then we had a little meal and everybody bought a typical traditional dish. You know like Samoans brought something that was typical of Samoa and it was lovely. (Dhaksha)

By Mixing Cultures, the women sought to find ways to Keep the Past and the Present, as they **Created a Place**. In doing so, it was as if they created another space in which they could act without facing repercussions from either the Indian or the New Zealand communities. Ultimately, however, Emma has found that Mixing Cultures is a balancing act.

I guess, you know, you either go one way to more of an extent, or you go the other way to more of an extent so you're either, you've got to kind of, choose which side of the block you want to be on. Whether you want to be more of a Kiwi and less of an Indian... so you, it's really difficult to find, you know the centre point and be on it continuously. So you either go this way or that way at some point and you create friction along the way but you've got to balance out to see if you're going to be able to live with it or not. (Emma)

Mixing Cultures incorporates the people aspect of environment and was a strategy participants used when *Navigating Cultural Spaces* from a perspective of *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*. Having considered ways in which the women manage their environment, Educating, Drawing on Strengths and Selective Hiding are strategies of Shaping Self that signal a sense of ease with which Indian women move as immigrants in New Zealand society.

Shaping Self: Educating

Educating or providing information is an important strategy for *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* and as a sub-category of Shaping Self is about being visible as Indian women, within New Zealand society. In the course of **Creating a Place**, participants found themselves teaching New Zealanders about the Indian culture, values and the diversity of the country. Educating occurred through both formal and informal means. Sarah discussed an interactive formal presentation she gave to colleagues.

People didn't know anything about India, so I did a presentation, I took and it was a big audio visual one of, it was actually a module... and like I did one, what's the word, session, and a three and a half hour session where I took, I had, they didn't have power point and I didn't have a computer anyway so I had, overheads and I took a Hindi video and I took all our albums, like our wedding albums with all the jewellery and clothes and everything. And also I come from, my parents, come from the Orthodox Church of India, which even in, many Indians don't know about it. So, there was a lot of education that I provided that I gave to them. (Sarah)

Christina took a more informal approach, Educating work colleagues during the course of general conversation.

In the [workplace] everybody was quite interested and sort of, because my name and surname also intrigued people, had to explain to them what Catholic, and how we have Catholics in India who, because the conversions were giving Christian names you see. But then as the years went by with the British being there, Christian names and English names got a bit mixed up. You know most are Christian names really, they're most Christian names because when I look, most of the names are Christian, surnames are also Christian, so I had to explain all that to people. It was just a matter of explaining, educating people. (Christina)

Sarah too used informal conversations as an opportunity for Educating New Zealanders, although she is unsure how much they believed.

I remember the lady dropping me off one day, the manager and looking at our house from the outside, it was a unit... it was a two bedroom unit and she said, this place must be, this house must be a luxury compared to what you must have been used to in India. And I was so mad and I said to her, that we had a much bigger house in India, yes we did live in a rented house but we had a much bigger house and it was much more comfortable and if she had to see my parents' house, it looks like a palace, it's so huge. And they found it

really hard to believe. And I have a feeling they thought I was making it up too.

Working with the Best of Both Worlds not only involved Educating the New Zealand public, but on occasion involved the women Educating family members, as discussed previously in relation to Re-negotiating Roles. As a strategy, Educating allowed participants to be present as Indian women in New Zealand society. Educating and Presenting Self as Indian sometimes required the women to draw on their strengths.

Shaping Self: Drawing on Strengths

Working with the Best of Both Worlds was a perspective that required the women to be flexible with using their skills and strengths in any given situation. The women drew on their strengths as a strategy for presenting themselves as capable Indian immigrant women, whatever the situation. Strengths can be conceived as an internal mindset, a willingness to make the most of opportunities and do the things that bring enjoyment. Despite some initial embarrassment, Mumtaz has used her internal strengths to try new ways of doing everyday occupations.

I feel if you are, you know if you don't put yourself out there and you know, it is difficult I think any place, even in India if you were not proactive... Otherwise to find your own happiness I think, some things you have, if you just sit there and moan that you are missing so many things, things won't work out for you. So certain things you have to, like, find happiness in things. Maybe you may not initially but then, if you've got like for example, gym or something, I go there, I mean I go there just 5 days a week. And, initially it was, like an exercise thing but now I really enjoy it, I even start joining the classes like, bodyjam and all that which, was, first I felt really embarrassed to go for that, but then I started really enjoying the thing. Certain things, only when you go there and experience it yourself, you know that you enjoy it. (Mumtaz)

Strengths also came in the form of external resources, such as people. When Neha was struggling in her job it was her need and desire to support her family that fuelled her strength to continue.

It was just because he didn't have a job. If he had a job I would have definitely resigned. There was a point where I was absolutely broken down and he told me, 'just resign, don't worry, just resign'. And I thought no, that would be a coward you know sort of resigning, that is just giving up because and proving that I'm not worth it. So I thought no and anyway he didn't have a job so I thought no I can't

resign, I can't afford to resign. That was a good thing in fact because if he had a job I would have resigned which wouldn't have been good for me. (Neha)

While Neha's strength was drawn from her desire to do what was best for the family, Priya has found her strength in the form of her husband who has supported her to do things she would not have considered.

He's the one who's pushed me. He's the one who has said to me, I'm taking care of the kids, go out for a drink with your friends. Like, people from work would invite me but I would never go, I was like, you know, I'm going to be out of place over there. And he would be like 'Why? Why are you going to be out of place over there? Just because you're Indian, no, just go'. And I think people at work were not expecting me to come, so it's been a good change for them also, now they include me in these things. So he's, been instrumental in you know all the courageous stuff I talk about, but he's really been there pushing me into it... he's been very supportive throughout. (Priya)

Drawing on Strengths as a sub-category of Shaping Self has enabled the women to be active members of society while maintaining their Indian culture. Holding a perspective of *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* has at times however, meant that the women have sought to selectively hide aspects of their Indian self.

Shaping Self: Selective Hiding

Sometimes *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* required participants to be selective in how and when they chose to reveal aspects of themselves as an Indian immigrant woman. From a perspective of *Working with New Zealand Ways*, the women actively relinquished their style of clothing in order to blend with their environment. However, when *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*, the women made choices about their clothing depending on the situation they found themselves, as has been Eva's experience.

So Kiwis are more receptive but still there is going to be, and there will always be some kind of like, there, that level of acceptance of will still, there will be some difference... that's what I have experienced, they will try and go for a European person if, even if they see your name, Indian name on your CV. So yes, I have, sometimes, made, a conscious effort, not to wear Indian clothes when I am, going in the other community, yes. (Eva)

Selective Hiding therefore was a choice. It was not something the women did because they felt external pressure to conform to one way of being; rather, it was a strategy they employ based on how they felt at any given moment. For Emma, changing her accent depending on who she was talking to was one strategy she employed as part of Selective Hiding.

Four years down the line it's, I know, like... if I'm talking to somebody at work, my accent totally switches. Whereas if I'm talking to him [husband] or talking to you know, anybody else that's Indian, my accent switches back to that. (Emma)

Switching accent was also a strategy that Priyanka used when it came to making friends. *'I could speak English pretty well, even in India, like I didn't really have that much of an Indian accent... but to make friends I basically just changed my accent'* (Priyanka).

Working with the Best of Both Worlds was an active blend of Mixing Cultures, Educating, Drawing on Strengths and Selective Hiding. They were strategies Indian immigrant women employed as they engaged in their daily occupations and interacted with the New Zealand environment. From this perspective, the women worked to foreground and background their Indian culture as part of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

Summary

This chapter has outlined three general perspectives and the specific strategies that Indian immigrant women employed when they migrated to New Zealand. These perspectives were *Working with Indian Ways*, women who wished to retain a strong element of their Indian culture; *Working with New Zealand Ways*, women keen to experiment with doing things that reflected a New Zealand way of living and; *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*, women who sought to integrate elements from both cultures into their everyday occupations. Within each of these perspectives, Indian immigrant women engaged in two sets of strategies: Keeping Past and Present and Shaping Self. Within each of these strategies, are sub-categories which have been used in this chapter as examples to illustrate how Indian immigrant women worked towards **Creating a Place**.

As Indian immigrant women engaged in the process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, interacting with the New Zealand and Indian communities through everyday occupations, they continually shifted between perspectives. The following chapter explores the salient conditions that altered the course of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* for Indian immigrant women settling in New Zealand.

Chapter Eight: RESEARCH FINDINGS - PART III

As Indian immigrant women **Created a Place** for themselves and their families in New Zealand, they worked from three different perspectives: *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways*, and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*. This chapter explains the salient conditions that influenced the women, in this study, in decisions to shift between the three perspectives as they engaged in *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

Dimension: Conditions

The process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* for the purpose of **Creating a Place** as described, in Chapters Six and Seven, tends to shift in the presence of certain salient conditions. Conditions are those circumstances that facilitate, interrupt or prevent Indian immigrant women's work of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. The conditions discussed in this chapter are detailed in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Salient Conditions of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*

<u>Salient Conditions</u>	
1. Perceptions of Self and Others	3. Platform Availability
2. Number and Age of Children	4. Call Back to India

While there may be others, these four conditions appear to create systematic change and affect almost all of the dimensions described in this theory. Although the conditions are presented separately in this chapter, they interact to varying degrees as Indian immigrant women engage in their daily occupations, giving rise to high levels of complexity when exploring how the participants shifted perspectives as they *Navigated Cultural Spaces*. Table 9 (p. 181) outlines the four salient conditions and their respective sub-categories as discussed in this chapter.

Table 9: Salient Conditions and Sub-categories

Conditions	Sub-categories
Perceptions of Self and Others	Perceptions of connection Perceptions of disconnection
Number and Age of Children	Not having children Watching children grow Having older children
Platform Availability	Accessing critical components Usefulness of platform
Call Back to India	Taking temporary respite Withdrawing permanently

Condition: Perceptions of Self and Others

Perceptions of self was related to how the women viewed themselves in terms of their personality, skills and abilities. Perceptions of others was the women's interpretation of the way other people, including family and members of the New Zealand and Indian communities, responded to them. These perceptions both facilitated and challenged their work of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. When Indian immigrant women experienced positive Perceptions of Self and Others, they were more likely to actively engage in *Working with Indian Ways*, within public spaces. Concurrently, positive perceptions engendered increased confidence in their reception by members of the New Zealand public, thus facilitating *Navigating Cultural Spaces* from the perspective of *Working with New Zealand Ways*.

There were times when the perceptions created a disconnection, increasing difficulty with **Creating a Place**. When there was a risk of Perceptions of Self and Others as a disconnection, the women continued to *Work with Indian Ways* but only in the privacy of their homes. In public spaces, they made a concerted effort to be seen *Working with New Zealand Ways*.

Perceptions constantly shift over time; it was not a steady progression from being disconnected to connected. Rather, feelings of connection and disconnection were constantly in flux. From a symbolic interactionist perspective,

humans constantly change their interpretations about their environment and alter their actions through communication and interaction with others. Thus as a salient condition, Perceptions of Self and Others influenced Indian immigrant women's everyday occupations and their process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. Table 10 details the first salient condition, Perceptions of Self and Others, and its associated sub-categories.

Table 10: Salient Condition: Perceptions of Self and Others

Condition	Sub-category
Perceptions of Self and Others	Perceptions of connection
	Perceptions of disconnection

Sub-category: Perceptions of Connection

Creating a Place involved interaction with others, both formally as in relationships with work colleagues and informally via social networks. Successful connection, therefore, required a joining of self and others, which could be brought about through sharing similar values.

I've noticed that it's easier to mix with the Samoans and Tongans and Cook Islanders, than mixing with the, Kiwis, and the Britishers and the white people. I think it is cultural because they have the same, cultural and traditional values as we have. (Jean)

Hence, when Indian immigrant women sought to establish connection with others, they looked for similarities in the way things were done across cultures that would facilitate the connection.

Like I find that the Indian community is more hospitable and even the Pacific and Māori communities they are very, they are like us. Like very hospitable and, Kiwis are more, I mean the white Pakeha community are more, I mean, not, I mean their system, their things, the way they do things are different. Like when you go for a, when you're invited for a dinner, you take, plate. Where, if you can, they're more selfish if you look into things. Maybe it's the way, their culture is. (Mumtaz)

We Indians we talk so much about our families, our children, what they are doing and our husbands but you get the feeling that the

white people don't like anyone to probe in to their life. They don't want to be asked about husbands and where they are working and children, what they are doing. They sort of clam up when we talk about that. They talk about school and what did you teach today and how did you do this, or where did you go shopping, where did you buy that outfit, but when it comes to talking about personal things, they sort of shy away... But I've noticed that the Islanders, mix better with us. (Jean)

Specifically, the women identified that Indian food, as a common interest, could be used to generate connections. Rachel found that, “*most Kiwis enjoy Indian food, at least every Kiwi that we've had over has enjoyed Indian food*” which has made socialising and cooking for New Zealanders a more pleasurable experience. Jane had a similar experience:

Actually when we were in Tauranga we started a curry club in his hospital, like all the anaesthetists and nurses and all, they would all make a curry and bring a plate that was really nice. I think, a few friends came over for dinner, like his nurses and anaesthetist and all and I cooked dinner and we were having and it was, just started like oh it would be nice if everybody could come and oh then let us all bring a plate and things like that. They used to make good curries.

Creating a Place involved adjustment and negotiations in which the participants strove to feel settled in an unfamiliar environment but were often confronted by both planned for and unanticipated challenges. Sometimes, the women deliberately established a connection in order to facilitate engagement in their daily occupations. Ammalu also used the common like for Indian food to further connections with her colleagues and successfully *Navigate Cultural Spaces*.

Then when I was talking to somebody, they said ‘Oh Kiwis and everybody like Indian food’. Okay, then I started cooking Indian food and taking to [colleagues] because... I have to impress these [colleagues]... getting 20 [cases] it was really difficult. So I started work in January, started in February giving food to everybody, and trying to impress them with Indian food, I'm used to bribing in one way but it worked. It worked, by March 20th I finished 16 [cases]. (Ammalu)

When the women had positive Perceptions of Self and Others their ability to develop connections was strengthened. These connections could be used to support the women with their occupations. Rachel had to complete further studies

and apply for registration before being allowed to work in New Zealand. She attributed her success in achieving the necessary requirements to the connection she developed with another Indian woman who was facing the same challenge.

I met another girl who was also in Hamilton at the time who was also giving the exams so we used to get together a few days of the week and try and do some combined study and things like that and there were a couple of [practitioners] in town who were nice enough to let us use their clinics early in the mornings just to practice on models so for practice sessions and things. So they were quite supportive that way. It was through this other friend that I got to know, she knew this [practitioner] and so he agreed to let us both come and use it. So if it hadn't been for her, probably would have struggled a bit but thanks to her, managed to get some help for the clinical exam. (Rachel)

Perceptions of Connection smoothed the progress of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand and shifted the women's process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. Instead of keeping with a perspective of *Working with Indian Ways*, Perceptions of Connection facilitated a move towards *Working with New Zealand Ways* and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* in which the women committed to **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. There were times however, when Perceptions of Self and Others were not so positive and gave rise to Perceptions of Disconnection.

Sub-category: Perceptions of Disconnection

Despite the anxieties associated with immigrating, the women were optimistic about **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. However, when they began engaging in occupations, the women sometimes doubted their abilities or perceived that their efforts were not well received by the New Zealand public. When the women perceived that their skills and abilities went unrecognised, this led to a doubting of self and feelings of not belonging, as Neha experienced:

There was certain errors that I used to make which now if I look I think oh those were man too little, too little for me to be picked up because I've seen even the most senior people doing those things and nothing been said to them... which I think that it just makes you lose your confidence. And the more you are picked up the more mistakes you do and there was a point where I thought maybe I should resign the job, maybe I'm not good enough at all and that actually made me feel quite bad. (Neha)

For some women, the doubting of self that arose in response to others' words and actions was framed as perceptions of racism. The participants stated their experience of racism was subtle, yet their interactions with others at times left them feeling unaccepted, stereotyped and unable to break into what appeared to be established ways. As Jean commented, *'they don't say anything to your face, but you can feel it, you can feel it you know'*.

When the women began to question their Perceptions of Self and Others, they experienced a disconnection as caused by visible features, stereotyping about what Indians can do, and cross-cultural misunderstandings. Jean related her experience of job seeking and getting called to work at a school predominantly attended by white middle-upper class students.

I have been to a few schools, in central Auckland, and there you can really feel the discrimination. Schools in central Auckland, most of the teachers are white, the permanent teachers and they don't even bother to even acknowledge you. Like you get the feeling 'Oh she's come from India what does she know', that sort of thing and you say you've done your master's and all they think 'Oh, she did it in India', you get that sort of feeling. Very subtle... and from the name the principal expected to see a white person or Spanish or something like that. They'd look at me and say 'Are you Jean?' I'd say yes. 'Oh okay you have to go to the staff room' but you could, from the body language and all you knew that he was expecting someone different. And I never got called there again, I never got called there again. (Jean)

While it cannot be assumed that the Principal's actions were in response to Jean's physical appearance as an Indian woman, this story revealed that Jean's perception of the Principal's actions were enough to make her feel excluded from the school community. Although the women in this study talked about identifying themselves as New Zealanders, they felt that in reality they would always be perceived by other New Zealanders as Indian, because of their accents or the colour of their skin.

But when you come across as a new immigrant woman who's just come, I mean not new, 7 years round, speaking with a different accent but absolutely fluent with the language, you're perceived in not, not everybody does this, I'm not generalising, there's some pretty neat teachers out there, but you are generally perceived to be an upstart. (Nina)

I don't think anybody would see me as a New Zealander. Would they? If, if I go somewhere the first question obviously wouldn't be 'Oh are you a Kiwi?' They would never say that... (Jane)

The perception of racism from members of the non-Indian New Zealand public revealed itself in different ways. For Jean, Nina and Jane, it was Others' body language, words, and actions that engendered Perceptions of Disconnection. For some women, disconnection was perceived in a lack of words and the stereotyping of what Indians are capable of doing. When Maria moved from Auckland to Napier and started work at a local school, she immediately felt that her opinions and skills were not recognised.

Because my school, in all the 4 years, couldn't identify, couldn't take this Indian women playing Western music on the piano. It didn't seem, they never ever asked me to play. But I did at church and that was fine whereas here, back in this school, I am the pianist for the choir, so I am the school pianist here. But there, they would sing without a pianist at assemblies but they would never ask me, because they didn't ever think that I would be able to do it, you know. And even if I said, I'm able to do it, they just didn't ask me, it was as if, it was not possible. And that was probably the Indian thing. That and it bugged me, it really bugged me it's like, you know, that was a closed, there are some areas I didn't even think I could go. (Maria)

Maria at first attributed the lack of acknowledgement to being Indian, a foreigner. *'I think it was a preconceived notion that I might not be able to cope... and I wouldn't understand the work environment and I think, because I'm Indian. Because I'm a foreigner, it's not just because I'm Indian'* (Maria). Ultimately, however, she came to know that an Irish woman who worked at the school felt similarly. *'So it was partly a provincial type of cliquishness, and when she, every time she told me I'd actually say, felt a release that it wasn't because I was Indian'* (Maria).

Christina and Neha also carried Perceptions of Disconnection resulting from a stereotyping of the Indian community. Christina talked of her colleagues' shock when they learned that she was Christian and was fluent in 'Western' arts.

Dancing, now they talk about dancing and if I say 'Oh I know this and you know we do dancing' and all it's a bit, I mean, you know, I have to explain to them what the background is, we're not pulling it out of our hat, we really do it, we really, there are Catholics who are so good at jive, so good at the, waltz, so good at the thing, that we're

not taking it out of our hat. This is how it is. India is like that.
(Christina)

For Neha, the stereotyping that she perceived as a form of disconnection was more general. *“If you come from India the sense that they get or they get a message saying ‘Oh India, that’s a third world country’ which is not true or ‘Indians do not know how to speak English’”* (Neha).

The differences cultures perceive in one another may not always be accurate. However, cross-cultural misunderstandings may inadvertently cause disconnection. For example in Māori culture, asking where one is from is an important part of knowing the other. Yet for some women, such a question only served to heighten a sense of difference and a disconnection from belonging to New Zealand society.

No matter how long you’re here, if you go somewhere or meet somebody the first question is always going to be ‘Oh so which part of India are you from?’ (Jane)

Cultural expression and language can inadvertently result in disconnection, particularly in the early days of **Creating a Place** and getting to know the cultural norms of the new environment. Sally recounted a time when her lack of knowledge regarding the local language led to a mix up of events.

Other thing was tea, the evening tea. I think that dinner is tea isn’t it? And I was like tea is tea a cup of tea is tea for me and dinner is dinner. So my dad actually came here as well after about 2 years of us coming here. So he met somebody and he invited that person for a cup of tea... and that person came at about 6 o’clock and we all had tea and then he was there and we said okay, we’re going to have dinner, do you want to have some dinner as well with us. And he had some dinner and we were like, you know we thought if somebody comes for tea, you expect them to you know like, that means you’re inviting them for 1 hour or 2 hours and that’s it. It’s not for dinner, so we don’t expect them to stay for dinner but he stayed. That’s fine but later on we came to know that probably we were supposed to give him dinner anyway. So we came to know okay, what does that mean. If you want to invite somebody for tea, you have to really clarify is it for a cup of or dinner or what is it.

Sometimes individuals’ responses, as opposed to understanding local language, lead to Perceptions of Disconnection. Already feeling a lack of connection due to her Indian qualifications not being recognised, Ammalu’s

Perception of Disconnection was furthered by New Zealanders' response to her situation.

When we came to Auckland everybody used to say 'Oh gosh you're a doctor, poor thing, poor you'. That's what I used to hear. Why? In India like people used to say 'Oh that's great, you're a doctor, that's really nice you must be really intelligent to become a doctor and getting in to medicine and passing exams' that's what I used to hear and when I came directly, when they first started saying, I felt really low.

Perceptions of Self and Others was a salient condition that made the process of *Working with New Zealand Ways* harder than anticipated for Indian immigrant women. The second salient condition, Number and Age of Children further influenced participants' efforts to **Create a Place** in New Zealand.

Condition: Number and Age of Children

Immigrating with or without children, and the age of the children at the time of migration, is the second salient condition in this theory. The majority of participants in this study emigrated as part of a family, while others gave birth and raised their children in New Zealand. Only two participants did not have children, although their decisions regarding engagement in occupations for the purpose of **Creating a Place** were influenced by the thought of one day raising a family in New Zealand. Thus, Number and Age of Children influenced the perspectives of Indian immigrant women *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

Depending on the situation, Number and Age of Children either facilitated *Working with Indian Ways* or shifted women towards *Working with New Zealand Ways*. Within the home, the women were more likely to enact cultural traditions so that their children maintained links to their Indian heritage. However, as the children grew older, the women found themselves considering a shift from *Working with Indian Ways* toward *Working with New Zealand Ways*. Having older children, the women were less inclined to keep *Working with Indian Ways* believing that their children had an embedded understanding of the Indian culture. This meant they could experiment with doing things the *New Zealand Way* or choose to *Work with the Best of Both Worlds*, without risking their children's connection with their heritage. Table 11 (p. 189) outlines the category Number and Age of Children and associated sub-categories.

Table 11: Salient Condition: Number and Age of Children

Condition	Sub-category
Number and Age of Children	Not having children
	Watching children grow
	Having older children

Sub-category: Not Having Children

A common reason for migrating was the belief that New Zealand was a society in which people are judged on their individual merits, thus offering greater opportunities for their children. For women without children, other factors such as study or being with husbands influenced their decision to immigrate. Not Having Children meant that in some circumstances it was easier to *Navigate Cultural Spaces* from the perspective of *Working with Indian Ways* because the women did not have to contend with settling children into two different cultures. Additionally, retaining *Indian Ways* was important for maintaining values that could be passed on when the women decided to have children.

When we have kids here and we do want to have kids but, it just makes it that more difficult when you bring up kids in this country because you don't know, I don't want them to pick up a lot of these values that you have here, I mean that the people have here, which you know, I don't agree with as a person. Forget about being Indian or anything, I just don't agree with it as a person and don't want my children to have those kinds of values. Whereas if the same child would be brought up in India, like for us for instance, we've been brought up so you've got those values and you come here and you know that you know, you know what you know and you want, you won't bend it because you've already established those values. (Emma)

Alternatively, Not Having Children meant that it was easier to transition perspectives from *Working with Indian Ways* to *Working with New Zealand Ways*. The women had greater freedom to experiment with different ways of doing, without having to prioritise the needs of a child. Guddi recalled the experience of buying her first home prior to having her daughter.

When we first came to Auckland, that's when we seriously looked for a house because until then every year we moved and just stayed in a rented house and there was no guidance, nobody to guide us we

just had to do it ourselves. So we didn't have mum and dad guiding us on that kind of stuff you know we just had to do it. So that was stressful but on the other hand we'd already been in the country for nearly 4 years I think, 4½ years and we already knew the process of looking through other friends and so on and we did have some money saved too and we didn't have too many demands. We didn't have a child at that time to make, sort of have financial demands of us, so it wasn't as stressful as I can imagine it might be for a more recent migrant who comes with children. (Guddi)

In some instances, women such as Sandra, opted to leave their children in India, while they began the process of settling into New Zealand. Thus, temporarily Not Having Children. Sandra came first to find employment and begin **Creating a Place** before her husband and daughter migrated. Despite not feeling part of the New Zealand community and not having her daughter physically present, the opportunities New Zealand offered motivated Sandra to persevere with *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

I didn't feel really good in my working environment where I was the only Indian and others were all you know, are all white people and I was very stressed out there. One or two people were always behind me, like you know I was from different country and they didn't, you know they didn't like me entering the ward and sort of racialism I felt... but there are good future opportunities for my family all together. Good opportunities, good living conditions and good climatic conditions. (Sandra)

As a condition, Not Having Children influenced which perspective Indian immigrant women chose to work from when *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. The second sub-category, Watching Children Grow, generated further changes in the process as the women worked to **Create a Place**.

Sub-category: Watching Children Grow

The transition from Not Having Children to Watching Children Grow creates further complexity in *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. Before giving birth to her first child, here in New Zealand, Eva subscribed to the television stations that broadcast Indian programmes.

We have got Indian channels at home, so she [daughter] gets to see and learn, in Indian languages as well. So right now she, I talk to her in English and my husband also talks to her in English, but both of us talk to each other in Marati, and we watch Hindi channels so she's

now understanding some Marati, that's our local language, mother tongue, and she's picking up some Hindi words as well. (Eva).

Eva's motivation for **Creating a Place** that included aspects of India, was so that her daughter would be able to know both cultures and '*have a good platform over here so she doesn't have to struggle as I, as we did here*' (Eva). Hence, her transition to Watching Children Grow was grounded in the perspective of *Working with Indian Ways*. On the other hand, Guddi has managed the transition through *Working with New Zealand Ways*.

When Guddi immigrated to New Zealand, she did not have children. She commented that working in the same profession as her husband, '*our social was through work mainly but that's changed since our daughter's born and she's started going to child care. And she's started going to school now so we have even more friends through our daughters' friends' parents, so that's changed*' (Guddi). Shifting from Not Having Children to Watching Children Grow has meant increasing interaction with the wider New Zealand community and embracing *Working with New Zealand Ways*.

Watching Children Grow while **Creating a Place** potentially raised difficulties in *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. The women who had children, placed importance on *Working with Indian Ways* including celebrating Indian festivals, speaking their native language or socialising with other Indian families. This could, however, result in increased pressure when **Creating a Place** as seen in Ammalu's story.

But in Indian culture, I don't know, I don't count like how many festivals we get, but every festival got its own like background history and why we are doing and that sort of thing. To teach my son what is Indian culture I have to like perform some rituals... but I may be doing nights... but still I'll try to wake up like 4 o'clock. Last week... like I woke him up like 5 o'clock, you have to, I said you cannot have breakfast, you have to have shower first and then when you do pooja and then you have because 7.30 I have to be there in the day I was [at work] so it's a bit hard but I want him to know, he may not understand now but if I start doing like when he understands 5 years old he might think 'last year you didn't do that, why are you doing today mummy?' So that's the reason. Even when he was like baby, we used to wake him up and do, like this is our festival you have to do. (Ammalu)

Working with Indian Ways was not only for the purpose of instilling knowledge about the Indian culture but also for keeping their children connected with extended family.

And it's like my Mum, I felt really sorry for her because my mother in law can speak decent English, my mother is still not that good and she said to me once on the phone, a couple of years ago, she said to me, I feel so sad that I'm missing out on your children and even if they pick up the phone all I can say is how are you and I can't understand a word of what they say back and I don't know to ask them. You know and she was so upset about it and that's when we decided, no we have to start talking in Gujarati at home, we have to insist that they talk back in Gujarati no matter how it is, or at least Hindi or whatever because it isolated them from a lot of people back home because they couldn't understand a word of what was happening. (Priya)

Watching Children Grow the women found themselves interacting with the New Zealand public and shifted towards *Working with New Zealand Ways*. Priya recalled, '*going to school, going to play groups, having children you're forced to just come out. And that's what I did*'. Furthermore, having children and watching them grow up in New Zealand, encouraged the women to engage in occupations that they had not previously done; thus, adopting a perspective of *Working with New Zealand Ways*. Although Guddi loved the water, she did not know how to swim; the birth of her daughter prompted her to learn.

I learned to swim after my daughter was born. That was another thing, now I had a child, in case I should be able to pretend to rescue if then things like that was another reason to learn to swim in that you have a child now. If you're going to take your child in to the swimming pool or something with you then the least you should be able to do is swim. (Guddi)

Thus, having children growing up in New Zealand required the women to constantly shift between *Working with Indian Ways* and *Working with New Zealand Ways* so that their children should feel comfortable moving between both cultures. This in turn made it easier to *Navigate Cultural Spaces* from a perspective of *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*.

Finally, for some participants, observing their children growing and settling in New Zealand meant they were more likely to commit to **Creating a Place**, even if their ultimate desire was to be back in India. Neha had given this a lot of thought.

Oh what are we going to do basically, what do we do, how do we go about it. Thinking whether we should be here in New Zealand or should we be going back. Because I thought I might just give a trial for 2 years and then go back. My initial intention was the same I thought 3 or 4 years maximum and then I'll return, I'll go back. Now I think once my kids grow up, I'll go back. I mean I want to retire and go back home because although I'm here I still miss home, so I think it's just me basically. (Neha)

In addition to Not Having Children and Watching Children Grow, Having Older Children further influenced Indian immigrant women's process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

Sub-category: Having Older Children

Having children of an older age, for instance those in their teenage years, meant that the women were not always thinking about having to *Work with Indian Ways*, thus easing their work of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. Having raised their children in India, the women felt less pressure to actively engage in Indian occupations. Jean believed that this was due to the children's upbringing and their developed understanding of the Indian culture.

I'm happy that I came when my children were already, teenagers, quite grown up... I felt by the age of 18 they had that Indian culture and tradition, so I too prefer that. Especially in terms of getting married and having children and staying with your husband for life and you know not having partners and not living with people before you get married, that sort of thing... I was happy mine were old enough. I think I wouldn't have come if they were much younger. I would have put it off 'til they had grown up and actually imbibed those Indian values and culture. (Jean)

Having Older Children also meant that the women had another form of support when they were struggling with maintaining *Indian Ways* in a New Zealand context and *Navigating Cultural Spaces* from a perspective of *Working with New Zealand Ways*. Coming from a culture where the family is the central unit, the women felt able to share with their older children the struggles they were facing and work as a family to move through the difficult times. When Manju experienced challenging times, rather than *'moaning and groaning with people here and so, just sit and talk as a family. Just the four of us and you know, what do early in life we learned that we keep things to our self'* (Manju).

Christina found that **Having Older Children** assisted with settling her younger children as she worked towards **Creating a Place** in a new environment.

Anyway the older kids were able to understand the move better than the younger ones. The younger ones couldn't understand what had happened. They used to tell my family back home, okay we'll take the next bus and come home! You know because we used to go to, we were in Bombay Mumbai and we used to go to Mangalore for a holiday and they were used to taking the bus so they thought it was like that. Older ones understood it so they helped the younger ones and so they all settled down. (Christina)

The Number and Age of Children is a salient condition that influenced Indian immigrant women's engagement in occupations as they *Navigated Cultural Spaces*. Having Older Children helped ease the stress associated with immigrating and meant that the women could consider *Navigating Cultural Spaces* from either one of the three perspectives. Platform Availability is the third salient condition in this theory.

Condition: Platform Availability

When Indian women immigrate to New Zealand, they and others, such as family or friends, created an infrastructure that would assist them with engaging in everyday occupations when *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. The women referred to this infrastructure as their 'platform'. A platform is the place on which they stand, a place to move from, and a place to move to. It consisted of the many resources that Indian immigrant women required in the process of **Creating a Place**. These resources may be in the form of personal components, for instance skills, knowledge, emotions; or external environmental resources, such as people, objects and locations in which activities are performed.

One dimension of Platform Availability was social support, the lack of which influenced participants' process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

I mean that is one thing that we do miss here quite a bit. Is you know because the fact that we've been born there [India] and we've been brought up in school there and everything I think if we were brought up here, you'd be still having most of the friends that you've been brought up with around you or you know, somewhere round kind of thing so you feel a bit more settled than you, than you would now because you've just got the, limited kind of friend or family circle, that you would not have there. So I think it definitely makes a big difference. (Emma)

Sometimes the women arranged aspects of their platform prior to emigrating, such as accommodation. Constructing a platform while still in India was made easier when participants had family and/or friends, resident in New Zealand, who were willing to establish resources for them. In some instances, having an established platform was useful and facilitated *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. Alternatively, there were times when Indian immigrant women discovered that their pre-constructed platform had limited use and initially hampered their attempts at *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

In the majority of cases, Indian immigrant women constructed elements of their platform upon arriving in New Zealand, when they were able to locate firsthand what they needed to **Create a Place**. The condition of Platform Availability and its associated sub-categories are depicted in Table 12.

Table 12: Salient Condition: Platform Availability

Condition	Sub-category
Platform Availability	Accessing critical components Usefulness of platform

Sub-category: Accessing Critical Components

A critical component of a platform is the resources required for enabling the women to engage in occupations. When the women left India, they left behind many of the external platform components, such as social networks and objects they would need to cook, serve meals and care for their house. For some, this was due to a lack of knowledge about where they were going and what they could bring, as Christina explained:

Our stuff... we decided that we would not ship anything, in those days we were one of the early Indians, I think, so people were not sure about shipping things. And so, we just came, kitchen things that somebody said take, so enough necessities you know to start off the kitchen. (Christina)

As a result, the women sought out many of their external components upon arrival. Sometimes the women were given a helping hand with this task, as Manju and Christina experienced.

I remember when we first came and we had a rental home, we didn't know one fine day we found a big box outside our door and we wondered what it was. Then later on, we heard the neighbour next door call out, a Kiwi girl and she said, 'oh why don't you take the box in, I have given it to you as a gift', I just did not know and she had put a lot of glasses and cups, nice things. (Manju)

We had to go out, get things, buy second hand stuff because we couldn't buy anything new. Anyway... by that time we, friends introduced us to friends and they sort of gave us bits and pieces but we bought a few things. So that's what, how it started. (Christina)

For many participants Accessing Critical Components of their platform, meant *Navigating Cultural Spaces* from a perspective of *Working with New Zealand Ways*. That came about because their lack of knowledge regarding the New Zealand environment and how to access things necessitated connecting with members of the New Zealand public and finding out about the New Zealand resources needed for the purpose of successfully **Creating a Place**.

In contrast, **Creating a Place** in a city or town where there was greater access to critical components needed for these Indian occupations assisted the women to *Work with Indian Ways*. Guddi acknowledged that this has become easier over time.

You would struggle to get a good variety of vegetarian food, again having said that, it's changed since I've been in New Zealand. When I came out here we would have to travel to get hold of Indian spices. I mean it wouldn't, they weren't easily available and without the spices, coming up with an enjoyable variety of vegetarian foods is really hard. Whereas now it is different, you can even get some vegetarian, Indian vegetables like drumsticks and eggplant and ladies fingers, a lot of things that we couldn't get before. Probably because there are more Indians in New Zealand now and there is a demand for it and certainly in Auckland it is a lot easier than say it would be in New Plymouth. (Guddi)

Rachel, on the other hand, found that although the resources are available, the inconvenience of Accessing Critical Components could at times make *Working with Indian Ways* a difficult perspective to hold.

There are a few Indian shops in Hamilton at the moment but you don't get everything that you want in one shop. At least there's one shop so far that stocks pretty much all that I use... so you know when I go there I try and remember everything I need and buy it in one go because then I hate starting to cook and then realising that I don't have something that I need. So that is a pain sometimes. It would have been easier if it was available in the supermarkets and

things so you didn't have to make a separate trip just to pick the essential things you needed really but obviously that's not possible.
(Rachel)

When the critical components could not be accessed, some women sought out substitutions which would enable them to continue performing their traditional occupations, thus *Navigating Cultural Spaces* from a perspective of *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*. Ammalu's story exemplified this process.

I try to celebrate on the day and celebrating that becomes a bit hard and some ingredients for something that we cook on that day we might not get it and then we have to use some other sort of thing and then it becomes a little bit hard. So started using, because you know neem flowers, what we make sort of pasand [sweet] and in that you use neem flowers because that is like the thing that you have to have all sour, hot and bitter everything so that in the whole year you'll have like mixture of everything, sweetness, everything, so that's why I wanted to like have that but you can't get neem flowers here. So then maybe have to use something else to make it bit like bitter, add something else which is bitter, add into that pasand and make it.
(Ammalu)

When the participants in this study immigrated to New Zealand, they needed to access many of the critical components of their platform that they had left back in India. Being in New Zealand presented an opportunity for rebuilding their platform using different resources that would ease their work of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand.

Sub-category: Usefulness of Platform

A platform has many uses. It provides safety, is a form of connection, facilitates growth and can be used to identify and maintain one's cultural orientation. The New Zealand environment was vastly different from the one Indian immigrant women have known. People, locations in which to perform daily activities, objects in the environment change, and knowledge and skills that were once valued may no longer be useful in the new setting. How Indian immigrant women used their platform influenced their success in **Creating a Place**.

Emigrating from India left gaps in all the participants' platforms. While the women actively engaged in Accessing Critical Components needed for filling those gaps, the resources available in New Zealand were not always suitable. As a

Hindu, Lakshmi sought solace in praying at the temple. Although a Hindu temple exists in Auckland, she has struggled to continue this occupation.

That's another thing we may not, visits to the temple have reduced because we don't have the flexibility of going at the times that we want to, you know. And the kind of arthis that we are used to is not there anymore... I'm South Indian, so I'm used to granite, I'm used to black, I'm used to a certain way of pooja and the temple that's accessible here is North Indian temple. These are issues which may seem small if you're actually counting things but for a person who is used to praying and who is used to going to a temple for some comfort, you go and see white marble and you see crest above murthis and you see, you hear a prayer in Hindi, though I speak Hindi very well, I have lived in the North, it still doesn't sit with me. I've missed out on that. (Lakshmi)

In this instance, the limited Usefulness of Platform resources Lakshmi has access to has meant her desire to keep *Working with Indian Ways* has diminished.

When they arrived in New Zealand and found that they were missing components of the platform, or that the components they did have were of little use, the women moved towards *Working with New Zealand Ways*. Maria's story highlighted the impact of this salient condition on her process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

He [husband] came here [New Zealand] 2½ months earlier presumably to set up a base for us. But he did nothing of the sort... and I arrived with my new pressure cooker and my pots and my pans and my kids. So we were in this little room, the four of us and the first night he says 'You know I'll give you guys a good holiday here for a month and then we'll go back'. And I had mentally closed shop, though I hadn't sold my home and that, I had actually come here, to make this move. So I wasn't going to, I couldn't accept that... and virtually 5 days after I got here, I was doing market research for one of these market research organisations... in malls and that and I was doing and then I started doing door-to-door interviews. I had sent my papers for teacher registration and I was waiting for the registration to arrive so in the interim period I started doing these little jobs. (Maria)

For Maria, the need to have a solid platform to **Create a Place**, meant that *Working with New Zealand Ways* became the priority for establishing new ways of doing. This was a common experience for many women who found that their Indian qualifications were of little use, meaning they either had to retrain or complete further studies in order to work.

One thing that really upset me was the fact that they do not, NZQA does not recognise that university [in India] because it was from another state. Whereas... there has been a lot of instances where you could have done a degree from India from a stupid university and you would have got a degree at the end of it. Whereas I've gone through the, you know, the proper channels of doing it, and then you come here and you realise that, they don't recognise that because it's from that university. Whereas they recognise, even, you know a crazier university which is some kind of weird place in India, it's there on their website, which you would never, you know, where if you were from India, you would never ever want to study from there because it's one of those crazy kind of places. (Emma)

The Usefulness of Platform also determined how easy or difficult the women found those early days of **Creating a Place**. In some instances, the resources and knowledge that the women brought with them being inaccurately based on information received from others. This made it difficult for them when they first arrived, as both Sarah and Emma experienced.

The people who were here and family in particular, gave us a whole lot of stupid advice. They said, it would cost very much to buy clothes in New Zealand, so just take a lot of, you know, it was going to be winter when we moved here, so they advised us to buy lots of warm clothing and also clothes for the children and for ourselves and in the end we never, we ended up never wearing those things and we wasted a lot of money buying those. (Sarah)

The unis have a certain, person that you go to like an education consultant there and you have to go through these particular people and they advise you, really badly... I started off with the certificate, which when I came here, 6 months after I had come here when I got the gist of what was going on, I realised that since I already had a degree, I should have actually been in a much, you know, higher rank of the degree here. (Emma)

Overall, Platform Availability and its sub-categories Accessing Critical Components and Usefulness of Platform was a salient condition that shifted the women between the perspectives of *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways*, and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*. The fourth condition uncovered in this theory is Call Back to India.

Condition: Call Back to India

The distance between India and New Zealand is always a concern for Indian immigrant women. As a salient condition the Call Back to India can occur at any

time. Sometimes ‘the call’ is anticipated, as in the case of a family wedding; at other times, it is unexpected, such as the sudden illness or death of a family member. Thus, while Indian immigrant women might feel settled in New Zealand and be actively *Working with New Zealand Ways*, the Call Back to India has the potential to shift them from this perspective, once again fore-grounding their Indian culture and their immigrant status.

Receiving a Call Back to India therefore, kept their culture ever present in the process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* and shifted their perspective to *Working with Indian Ways*. When back in India, the women continued working towards **Creating a Place** in New Zealand, stocking up on components of their Platform, such as medications and spices, which enabled them to continue *Working with Indian Ways* and *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

The Call Back to India, while emphasising a perspective of *Working with Indian Ways*, required the women to *Work with the Best of Both Worlds* as they negotiated with family and community members both in New Zealand and India about ways of performing occupations. As a condition, the Call Back to India could result in a permanent or temporary change to *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. Table 13 details the category Call Back to India and its associated sub-categories.

Table 13: Salient Condition: Call Back to India

Condition	Sub-category
Call Back to India	Taking temporary respite Withdrawing permanently

Sub-category: Taking Temporary Respite

For many participants, the Call Back to India was always present and as a salient condition, was capable of disrupting their work, even if only for a short period of time. As Mumtaz said, ‘*I don’t want to keep rushing back or, you know, I’m happy over here. But I would like to visit Indian just for a, I mean just to have a holiday.*’ Thus Taking Temporary Respite, while outwardly an interruption, was critical for keeping the women connected to their culture, which ultimately

strengthened their self concept as Indian immigrant women living in New Zealand.

For some women the Call Back to India triggered a difficult time of mixed emotions. The realisation that parents were ageing, and increasingly susceptible to illness, was a reminder that prompted them to return to India.

We go every 2 years and in between I went, I think once I went, you know 1 year, because my dad got sick and my mum. And my husband's got my parents there, so generally all of us go every 2 years. But I think once I went in between, after 1 year, so we've been going often. (Christina)

That is another thing, after my dad passed away, I went to India and I went, that was the first time I went to India. (Mumtaz)

For Mumtaz, the Call Back to India influenced her perspective, as without any living parents, she felt less compelled to return to India focussing instead on *Navigating Cultural Spaces* from a perspective of *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*. In doing so, she retained features of her Indian heritage, without actively *Working* from a perspective of *Indian Ways*.

In the long term, Taking Temporary Respite facilitated the women's journey of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* through reinforcing their Indian culture, both for themselves and their families. Some women viewed returning to India as an opportunity to reconnect their children with extended family and their heritage. As Priya explained:

The trip to India this year has been good. They've [the children] learned to accept that yes we have family there. It's people they've just heard of, they didn't remember and they will remember now. 'Oh mum I didn't know I grew up with that one.' And my elder one went, 'I think I remember this house.' Small things like that. I took her to the bank and she says, 'Mum I think there's a room over there and it's got a ladder in it and I know I used to sit on there.' That's all she could remember, she didn't know it was the vault where you know if we ever had to go there she would be playing over there in one corner while I finished my work or whatever but she remembered there's a ladder in there. Small things like that but the idea is to make memories. (Priya)

It is these memories the women bring back to New Zealand that are used to teach their children about their heritage, or act as a reminder of their culture when

Navigating Cultural Spaces from a perspective of *Working with New Zealand Ways*.

Sub-category: Withdrawing Permanently

In some instances, the Call Back to India developed over a period of time in response to the dissatisfaction Indian immigrant women experienced as they **Create a Place** for themselves and their families in New Zealand. When ‘the Call’ became strong enough, some participants found themselves considering Withdrawing Permanently to India, retreating from the process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. Lakshmi was one participant who considered leaving New Zealand and if not for her father’s influence, would have responded to the Call Back to India.

For 6, actually for 2 months Jan and Feb I said I’m going back, I’m not going to work here. And I took admission for my daughter in India, because I felt the schools were not what I wanted them to be. I was used to a very organised system where the child came back with homework and there were books that I could see that she was learning. I was used to a syllabus, I was used to some form of tests where I knew the child was being made to perform at least to the best of her ability irrespective of whether she came first or second or last. So the change in school and the syllabus and method of teaching disappointed me, and I wanted to go back and then it reached a stage where my dad said, ‘You cannot do that. You cannot separate from your husband and come and stay here for the sake of education. Children have lived there as well and they all grow up, so long as you don’t relocate after a couple of years, that would really make it tough on the child. As long as your husband is clear that he is going to continue there I don’t advise you to come’. And I didn’t want to go against his wishes... I decided on staying back. (Lakshmi)

Withdrawing Permanently, as a sub-category of the salient condition Call Back to India, has the potential to prevent Indian immigrant women from successfully **Creating a Place**. However, for the women in this study, it was a condition that served to keep their culture at the forefront of their actions when *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

Summary

When Indian immigrant women engage in the process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, for the purpose of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand, their work is influenced by certain conditions. In this study four salient conditions that systematically influenced the dimensions of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* and the three perspectives of *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways* and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*, emerged. These were: Perceptions of Self and Others, Number and Age of Children, Platform Availability and Call Back to India. This chapter has explicated the different conditions to show how they facilitate, interrupt or prevent the work that Indian immigrant women do as they settle in this country.

In Chapter Nine I discuss the findings as explained over the course of Chapters Five to Eight and explicate the key arguments of this study that have arisen from the findings. Further, I will discuss the implications of the findings, together with the strengths and limitations of the study.

Chapter Nine: DISCUSSION

Knowledge about the everyday lives and cultural traditions of specific immigrant groups can be as valuable to researchers as knowledge about immigration trends and demographics. (Hickey, 2008, p. 363)

Introduction

From the outset of this study, I have chosen to take an occupational perspective on gathering and interpreting the data. This position was assumed after an initial review of literature indicated a paucity of research addressing the everyday experiences of immigrants in general; and more specifically, Indian immigrant women, as they perform everyday activities within an unfamiliar environment (Bhola, 1996; Hickey, 2008; Mehra, 1997; Nayar et al., 2007; O'Brien, Dyck, Caron, & Mortenson, 2002). Employing an occupational lens proved an informative way of viewing the processes Indian immigrant women engaged in, and for generating a substantive theory that addressed how they settled in New Zealand. Mostly the participants were able and willing to discuss their experiences of performing daily activities in a new, multicultural environment, which provided valuable insights into the significance of the occupations people undertake during times of environmental transition, such as with migration.

The findings of this study revealed that Indian immigrant women engaged in occupations when settling in a new environment for the purpose of **Creating a Place**, a home in which they developed a history and wrote their personal biographies as Indian women living in New Zealand. The process the women participated in as they worked towards **Creating a Place** was *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. This was a dynamic process in which the women were constantly shifting between three perspectives: *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways*, and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*. Within this process, the women employed specific strategies. These strategies comprised two key approaches: Keeping Past and Present, which involved working with dimensions of the environment, including people, objects and places; and, Shaping Self, which was the way participants used their personal knowledge, skills, interests, values and motivation, to achieve a sense of comfort with being Indian immigrants in a New Zealand environment. Further to their

chosen strategies, the women's process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* was influenced by salient conditions which shaped how they **Created a Place**. These conditions reflected aspects of the environment and the person, and included Perceptions of Self and Others, Number and Age of Children, Platform Availability and Call Back to India. Each of these conditions could either propel the women towards *Working with Indian Ways*, or *New Zealand Ways* or finding ways to bring the *Best of Both Worlds* together. For instance, Indian immigrant women who had a positive Perception of Self and Other might *Work* more with *New Zealand Ways* or the *Best of Both Worlds* as opposed to maintaining *Working with Indian Ways*. Having Children of a young age however, might promote *Working with Indian Ways* thus ensuring their children are aware of their Indian heritage.

The complexity of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* reflected the ongoing shifts, in thoughts, feelings and actions, which Indian women found necessary to **Create a Place**. Entering New Zealand as immigrants required a commitment to establishing a new life in an unfamiliar environment, central to which was their desire to feel accepted and included as contributing members of the new society. Furthermore, being committed to **Creating a Place** required action and a willingness to try different ways of doing everyday activities. The findings revealed that through the participants' enactment of everyday occupations, Indian culture became increasingly visible and accepted, even while individuals at times struggled to have the contributions they could make to New Zealand society recognised. Ultimately, *Navigating Cultural Spaces* was a theory of how the participants in this study worked to achieve a balance between maintaining their identity as Indian women and living in an environment that was culturally very different from the one they had known.

In this chapter, I posit two key conclusions I arrived at during the course of this study. First, the occupations that Indian immigrant women perform when settling in New Zealand bring them into interaction with people, objects and social spaces, which constantly modifies their interpretations of the space they are navigating and the strategies they enact. This process is not linear and is always in flux as women interact with their context and as their personal life story unfolds, thus the process never ends. The second key conclusion is that the current models of acculturation have limited applicability in the New Zealand context and do not

account for the dynamic nature of immigrants' settlement experiences. These key conclusions will be considered in relation to current literature.

Following discussion of these conclusions, I will consider the implications of the findings from this study for immigrant support services, policy makers and occupational science. The chapter concludes with a review of the relative limitations and strengths of the study. The question of validity is addressed in relation to the rigour of the research process.

Creating a Place: Revisiting Occupation in Context

The immigration process implicitly involves people changing their environment, which as defined in Chapter One, can be conceptualised as “the particular physical and social, cultural, economic, and political features of one’s contexts” (Kielhofner, 2008, p. 86). The interface between environment and occupation has been addressed extensively in occupational science literature, with the common acknowledgement that the environment is a critical factor in human performance (Dickie et al., 2006; Dunn, Brown, & McGuigan, 1994; Eakman, 2007; Gray, Kennedy, & Zemke, 1996a, 1996b; Rowles, 2008). This section considers how occupations are modified through people’s interactions with, and interpretations of, environment by first considering the meaning of place; and second, the transactional nature of occupation.

The Meaning of Place

The concept of place and the meanings of place have been explored extensively in the literature (Gustafson, 2001; Massey, 1994; Relph, 1976; Rowles, 2000; Shank & Cutchin, *in press*). In 1976, Relph identified three components of place: physical setting, activities and meanings. The combination of these components align with what Hamilton (2004) has termed ‘occupational situations’, which consolidates the link between the occupations in which people are engaged, the meaning associated with the occupations, and the place in which the occupations occur.

The environment is both a means of organising human performance and a way of making meaning manifest (Crabtree, 1998). Hence, 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). That is, immigrants’ ‘occupational situations’ determine the ease with which they settle into unfamiliar surroundings and how they feel about their experience. Thus, from a symbolic interactionist perspective, an important element of changing environment, via migration, is the new meanings that people experience in the occupations that constitute their daily lives (Baptiste, 1988; Jonsson, Borell, & Sadlo, 2000).

The construction of meaning, as located in the environment, is an individual experience as argued by Massey (1994, 1995) who posited that places are processes and do not necessarily mean the same thing to everybody. Rather, it is through the performance of everyday occupations that people derive their own unique, individual meaning of place. The relationship between occupation, meaning and place is reflected in the findings of this study, in particular, Lakshmi’s story of worshipping at the temple. The temple was constructed for all those who practice and worship in the Hindu faith. Its design and protocols however, are representative of temples located in North India. As a Hindu woman from South India, Lakshmi has a very different experience of attending the temple. Her occupation of worshipping has diminished as a result of a lack of connection with the building and the meaning of the place has altered in that it no longer provides her with the same sense of safety and comfort that worshipping at a Hindu temple in South India previously afforded her.

The meaning of place alters through enactment of occupation and over time as individuals’ personal biographies of being in place unfolds, and the environment is shaped to meet theirs and others’ needs. Sally’s story demonstrated how the history of New Zealand as a country catering to the Indian community has developed through the interaction and interpretations of Indian peoples who immigrate to New Zealand and members of New Zealand society who have come to appreciate aspects of the Indian culture.

In the beginning I lived in Auckland for 1½ years and they had the one or two Indian shops there, so most of the basic things where I lived were there, like the spices and dhal and rice and chapatti flour and all that. But some of the things like canned food and quite a few other things were not available. But over time, I think as the number of Indians has increased and I think other people like Kiwi people they also go and buy Indian stuff and try that out; we are getting quite a lot of things, most everything now and the number of Indian

shops has increased as well over time. Because when we shifted to Hamilton in '97, there was only one shop, one Indian shop here. And now I think there are about five, five at least. (Sally)

Sally's description highlights the environment as a dynamic 'space' which keeps developing, altering the meanings people ascribe to their enactment of occupations in place, at any given moment in time. Thus, when considering the context for this study: that of migration and the resultant change in environment, the critical factor in 'occupational situations' is place, or as Pierce (2003) noted, the 'social space' in which the occupation is performed. The link between occupation, meaning and place can be further elucidated when considering occupational situations from a transactional perspective.

A Transactional Perspective

The Person-Environment-Occupation (PEO) model was developed in the late 1990s by Law and colleagues (1996). Defined as "the dynamic experience of a person engaged in purposeful activities and tasks within the environment" (Law et al., p. 16), the PEO model "illustrates a transactional view of occupational performance at the intersections of person, environment, and occupation" (Townsend & Polatajko, 2007, p. 6) and is another means of considering 'occupational situations'. From a transactional perspective, occupation is contextualised as central to the relationship of person and place (Cutchin, 2001, 2007; Dickie et al., 2006). As a framework, a transactional perspective provides an understanding of the "continuity, improvisation, and integration" inherent within the person-place relationship (Shank & Cutchin, *in press*), which in this study was revealed through the strategies the women employed when ***Navigating Cultural Spaces*** for the purpose of **Creating a Place**.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, the women in this study used two key groups of strategies when **Creating a Place**. These strategies aligned with their chosen way of 'working' when ***Navigating Cultural Spaces*** and were reflective of either the 'environment' or the 'person' component of the PEO model. The environment as conceptualised in the PEO model incorporates cultural, socio-economic, institutional, physical (including objects) and social (including people) elements (Law et al., 1996). The first key strategy used by Indian immigrant

women was Keeping Past and Present and involved the women utilising different elements of the ‘environment’ to engage in occupations that reflected *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways*, or *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*.

Shaping Self was a group of strategies reflective of the ‘person’, which in the PEO model is defined as a “unique being who assumes a variety of roles simultaneously” (Law et al., 1996, p. 15). Within this model, a person is made up of attributes and life experiences comprising amongst others features, those of self concept, personality style, cultural background and personal competencies. Thus, the participants used their personal knowledge, skills, interests, values and motivation, to provide meaning to the occupation and achieve a sense of comfort with being Indian immigrants in a New Zealand environment. The strategies of Keeping Past and Present and Shaping Self were integrated and reflected in the women’s performance of everyday occupations, again revealing the link between occupation, meaning and place as a transactional process.

As the core process, *Navigating Cultural Spaces* is the means by which Indian immigrant women employed the above strategies as they moved in and out of, and moved between ‘occupational situations’. In this study, the occupational situations emerged in the dimensions of: the private space, bounded by the walls within which the women built their homes; the public space, the community in which the women interacted; the New Zealand space, with its multiplicity of cultures; and the Indian space, comprised of its own individual communities. Each of these spaces is a dimension of the environment and influenced the occupations the women engaged in and the meanings they made of their experiences. These findings reflect the current dialogue within the occupational science literature in which researchers have argued that occupation is transactional (Aldrich, 2008; Cutchin, Aldrich, Bailliard, & Coppola, 2008; Cutchin, Dickie, & Humphry, 2006; Dickie et al., 2006; Shank & Cutchin, *in press*).

Using a transactional perspective, the findings of this study revealed functional relationships between the women’s domestic, familial, social and vocational situation; their interaction with the Indian community; and New Zealand’s history of migration, and its culture, population density, climate, politics, transportation and health systems, as well as the physical layout of homes, shops and workplaces. Thus, framing the act of immigrating as a

transactional process gave rise to a weaving of experiences that simultaneously diverged and converged depending on the occupations being enacted. For instance within the New Zealand environment the freedom afforded for performing occupations, such as drinking in public, were experienced as liberating. Yet in this same environment, differences in values relating to occupations concerning centrality of family and sexuality were threatening. The shifts between private and public spaces, in particular, highlighted the tension of the transactional perspective.

In the public space, vocational situations could be experienced as tinged with racism and where transactions were informed by New Zealand stereotypes of Indians and Indian culture, the women felt frustrated and made concerted efforts to hide their self as Indian. Alternatively, in the private space, transactions with younger children elicited strong cultural commitments. Simultaneously, cultural transactions as seen in the practising of Indian festivals and New Zealand norms, such as bring a plate, elicited a learning and acceptance from both Indian immigrant women and members of New Zealand society, thus melding cultural differences within occupations. This study has further uncovered the complexity of environment, and revealed the concept of ‘spaces’ within which occupations are performed, as central to Indian immigrant women’s process of **Creating a Place**.

Navigating Cultural Spaces: Revisiting Models of Acculturation

The second key conclusion arrived at during the course of this study concerns current models of acculturation that purport to account for the experiences of immigrants as they settle in a new culture. Based on the literature reviewed and the findings of this study, I would argue that the current models of acculturation, such as those developed by Berry (1990, 1992, 1997), Taft (1977, 1985), Padilla (1980), Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980), and Birman (1994), do not adequately describe the experiences of immigrants in a New Zealand context and fail to fully capture the dynamic nature of immigrants’ settlement experience, which occurs as a result of engagement in everyday occupations. Given that people, meaning and places are constantly modified and changing, there is value in revisiting the applicability and construction of models of acculturation.

The New Zealand Context

In existing models of acculturation, emphasis has been placed on the degree of similarity, or difference that exists, between the social behaviour and the values, belief systems, and gender and family roles of the incoming group and the host society. These behaviours differ significantly between collectivist cultures of the East, such as the Indian subcontinent and the individualistic cultures of the West, including New Zealand (Berry, 1997; Laungani, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999; Triandis, 1990). One example of the difference between Eastern and Western cultures that arose in this study was around the value of children in family:

I think it is cultural... We have strongly knit families and we're very concerned about our children, our children don't leave the home at 16 and 18 to you know, flat with friends. Maybe it's a cultural background... like I had some close friends, Kiwi friends, and I just came and we were not used to this thing about partners and flatting at the age of 15, 16. And I remember these Kiwi friends, ladies working with me at the supermarket saying, 'My god, I'm just waiting for my daughter to turn 18.' I said, 'Why?' 'So she can leave and go.' I said, 'My god, we don't want our daughters to leave, even after they're married.' (Jean)

The differences in values and behaviours of members of the dominant culture of the host society and the ethnic culture of immigrants have been an accepted standard for considering how specific immigrant communities integrate into a new country (Berry, 1997; Sam, 2000). As discussed in Chapter Three, a significant limitation in the use of the current models of acculturation is that they are limited to a bicultural focus, only addressing the culture of the dominant population and the culture of the immigrant population being researched. In Chapter Two I explored how Te Tiriti o Waitangi as an agreement between Māori and the British Crown sets the stage for a bicultural context in New Zealand. In this context, biculturalism signifies two established cultures Māori and Pākehā as being equal partners in society. Thus, immigrants who enter New Zealand encounter two cultures and introduce a third cultural perspective, which is not easily accounted for in current acculturation models. The limitations of models that take a bicultural viewpoint can be discussed drawing on Jean's story above, of family values and the importance of staying closely connected with children.

From a Pākehā perspective, which closely aligns with values of individualisation, children are encouraged to leave the home and establish lives

independent of their nuclear family. Jean's story highlighted the discrepancy between this Pākehā way of thinking and behaving and the Indian culture, which is based on collectivism and embraces the notion of keeping family together. Thus, using this example, current models of acculturation might categorise Jean as experiencing 'separation', that is she highly values her own culture and is not so accepting of the New Zealand culture. Alternatively, when discussing Māori culture, many of the participants in this study, including Jean, felt that they shared similar collective values such as placing emphasis on keeping family together.

It's easier to mix with the Māoris and Samoans and Tongans and Cook Islands than mixing with the, Kiwis, and the Britishers and the white people. I think, I don't know why that is so. I think it is cultural because they have the same, cultural and traditional values as we have. We also have strongly knit families and they're very concerned about their children. Their children don't leave the home at 16 and 18 to you know, flat with friends. Maybe it's a cultural background, and they really care about their children. (Jean)

In this scenario, considering Jean's experience from the standpoint of Berry's (1990, 1992) model of acculturation, for example, it could be hypothesised that Jean feels integrated, she is able to mix with members of society through the sharing of similar values. Hence, in a New Zealand context, Jean can be experiencing both 'separation' (from interactions with Pākehā) and 'integration' (based on interactions with Māori). The difficulty is that the current models of acculturation do not allow for Jean to be experiencing both forms of acculturation at the same time because they do not account for the interactions of more than two cultures.

Hence, when revisiting models of acculturation in the New Zealand context, Te Tiriti o Waitangi must be considered. Birman (1994) has attempted to capture the diversity of experience when immigrants enter a multicultural context. However, even this framework has its limitations. Birman's model, while accounting for multiple cultures, still argues that there is one primary, dominant culture with which other cultures interact. Te Tiriti o Waitangi gives equal status to both Māori and Pākehā, despite numerical supremacy of one partner – Pākehā. Therefore, in a New Zealand context, the idea that more numbers equates to one primary, dominant culture and it is this culture with which all other cultures interact, is an argument that has little weight.

In everyday practice, Te Tiriti has come to symbolise a relationship between two cultures Māori and Pākehā. The reality is however, Te Tiriti was an agreement between Māori and the British Crown, wherein the Crown represented all post-Māori settlers and it is to this perspective that we must return. Acknowledging Te Tiriti as a relationship between Māori and all post-Māori settlers, establishes a context for parallel sets of bicultural relationships in a multicultural setting, for example Indian-Māori and Indian-Pākehā. This perspective offers a way through the issues of cultural dominance which further requires revisiting the nature of acculturation models as they are constructed.

Acculturation: A Dynamic Process

Based on the findings of this study in which the women engaged in multiple occupations throughout the course of a day, constantly creating meaning out of these occupations and often altering their actions in response to those meanings, I argue that the process of acculturation is much more immediate and dynamic than the models constructed by Birman (1994) and Berry (1990, 1992, 1997) suggest. Birman contended that the acculturation process occurs in stages. That is, as individuals experience cultural change, they may become more or less positively attuned to the host society. Berry's model of acculturation, which is widely used in migration studies, also reflects a change that occurs over time, in which people ultimately choose one way or another, dependent on how aligned they are with the culture of the host society and how much of their own ethnic culture they wish to retain. Based on Birman and Berry's models, the immediacy of the acculturation process is stifled, with people's movement between different cultural experiences restricted to a gradual shift over time.

The findings of this study revealed that Indian immigrant women work towards **Creating a Place** in New Zealand through a process of ***Navigating Cultural Spaces*** which, depending on the occupational situation, entails ongoing shifts on a more pressing basis, between three perspectives: *Working with Indian Ways*, *Working with New Zealand Ways* and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*. These perspectives align with the categories developed in Berry's model of acculturation without necessarily binding immigrants to one particular mode of acculturating over a lengthy period of time. For instance, *Working with Indian*

Ways could be seen as ‘separation’, *Working with New Zealand Ways* a form of ‘assimilation’ and *Working with the Best of Both Worlds*, a way to achieve ‘integration’. Revisiting models of acculturation from a process of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* however, reveals that immigration and the settlement process is dynamic and in flux, influenced by immigrants’ interpretation of their personal and situational demands, and others’ attitudes and actions, and as a theory shows greater relevance and applicability to the New Zealand context.

The following case example, outlined in Figure 10, captures Lakshmi’s experience of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand and demonstrates how through adopting different *Ways of Working*, Lakshmi engaged in *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, shifting between modes of acculturation within a relatively short time frame.

Figure 10: Case Example - Lakshmi

At the start of the week, Lakshmi was called for a job interview. When attending the interview (occupation) she was asked questions pertaining to her accent, her choice of clothing and her ability to relate to her colleagues. Based on these questions, she perceived (condition – Perceptions of Self and Other) that the interviewer did not recognise her skills and abilities and only saw an ‘Indian’ person sitting in the room (constructing meaning for the occupation). Her perception of this interaction was that she was positioned, by the interviewer, in an acculturative mode of ‘separation’ where she was identified as being an Indian who did not readily fit with the New Zealand culture. The next time she went for an interview she *Worked with New Zealand Ways*, changing the clothes she wore to that of the mainstream society (strategy – Hiding Self as Indian), adopting the acculturative construct ‘assimilation’, to be seen more like that of a ‘New Zealander’.

Later that week, Lakshmi was invited to the wedding (occupation) of her child’s teacher (condition – Number and Age of Children). The teacher was a New Zealander and had a wedding typical of a Western affair. Lakshmi chose to wear a sari, *Working with Indian Ways*, and had an enjoyable time socialising with primarily New Zealand guests and generally feeling included (constructing meaning). This example illustrates that within the week, she moved between positions of ‘separation’, ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’, where she could be an Indian immigrant woman living in a New Zealand context.

In *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, the women, such as Lakshmi, were able to choose which perspective to work from in order to make the most of their occupational situations. In doing so, they also worked towards **Creating a Place** in which they felt safe and experienced an increased sense of wellbeing during what was on occasion considered to be a turbulent, emotional, time of transition. What this means however, is that specific pathways outlining how immigrants settle in a new culture cannot be predicted or constructed. With the current models of acculturation, it can be assumed that over time, immigrants work towards a mode of 'integration'. The findings of this study challenge that assumption. Some participants facilitated their settlement through enacting strategies that reflected a mode of 'integration' immediately upon entering the country. Other women chose to stick with their particular culture and known ways of doing. Thus the dynamic nature of the settlement experience meant that the participants chose their particular mode of acculturation depending on their individual circumstances which fluctuated over time. The concept of time can be further considered from a symbolic interactionist and occupational perspective.

From a symbolic interactionist perspective, people construct meaning and alter their behaviour in response to the interactions they have with others. As this study has shown, these interactions usually occur within the context of occupational situations. From an occupational perspective, the everyday activities that people engage in are central to constructing their lives and meanings of self. In considering acculturation through these two perspectives, settlement can be conceptualised to be a dynamic process in which the women are constantly moving between the experiences of integration, assimilation and separation, minute by minute, hour by hour, as they engage in their everyday occupations. Current models of acculturation fail to incorporate immigration as a transactional process, whereby immigrants (to varying degrees and at varying times) embrace their situation, reconstructing their occupational routines, traditions and practices, and the resources, practices and attitudes in the host country change, in response to their presence.

There are three advantages of recognising the dynamic nature of the settlement experience. The first is that it allows for the constant change and development that occurs in both people and places. Cultural diversity is an everyday reality, manifested in the increased intercultural contact brought about

through colonisation, immigration and general population movement (Stuart, Jose & Ward, 2009). Acknowledging settlement as a dynamic process, of interacting with an increasingly multicultural space, increases awareness that immigrants encounter and potentially incorporate values, beliefs and practices of an array of other cultures. If this possibility is embraced, members of both immigrant and host cultures will become increasingly knowledgeable and welcoming of a variety of cultures.

A second advantage of interweaving differing cultures into everyday tasks is that there is the prospect of reducing some of the ‘negative connotations’ or criticisms that go along with categorising immigrants into one particular mode of acculturation. For instance, the mode ‘separation’ pertains to immigrants who display a tendency to keep within their respective cultural boundaries. This can be perceived as not wanting to fit in and be accepted by the host society, when it could be that immigrants are keeping within their culture because it provides a sense of comfort and safety in an unfamiliar environment. Alternatively, immigrants who favour an acculturative mode of ‘assimilation’, whereby they align themselves with those values and practices of the dominant culture, could be seen as abandoning their own culture when they are actually attempting to learn more about their new environment to generate feelings of belongingness and acceptance. Recognising the settlement experience as a dynamic process potentially minimises the risk of immigrants feeling pressured to conform to one particular acculturative mode based on the possible responses from others.

The third advantage of recognising acculturation as a dynamic process is that it allows the act of settling in a new country to be an ongoing process that does not end simply because one engages in occupations that are reflective of an acculturation mode ‘integration’. Regardless of the length of time the women have been living in this country, the very nature of occupations as shaped by individual experiences, the specific meanings individuals generate from engagement in occupations and the fact that occupations are enacted on a daily basis meant that in this study, the women were continuously *Navigating Cultural Spaces* for the purpose of **Creating a Place**. Thus, so long as immigrants engage in everyday activities, embracing acculturation as a dynamic process, they can continually ‘navigate’ to gain the best advantage of their current circumstances, or situations they find themselves in, as they occur.

Ultimately, these insights into the advantages of recognising the dynamic nature of the settlement process raise questions about the support that immigrants are offered when they arrive in the country. For instance, in addition to services supplying immigrants with support or knowledge about the new culture, should immigrants also be provided with ways in which to successfully hold on to their own culture while living in a country where they represent minority group? Is it enough for policy to support immigrants with predictable steps on the journey of settling, for example getting a job or encountering the health service, or should policy also address the smaller encounters with social spaces, such as ‘host preparedness’, so that the journey towards settling might be smoother and more likely to lead to feeling accepted and becoming a contributing member of society? The next section addressing the implications of this study begins to address this issue.

Implications of this Study

In considering the findings of this study and the key conclusions discussed above, I believe this study has a contribution to make both nationally and internationally. At a national level, the findings challenge aspects of the current practices of immigrant support services and decisions of policy makers. Internationally, the processes revealed in this study hold implications for the field of occupational science.

Implications for Immigrant Support Services

Over the last decade New Zealand has seen increasing numbers of immigrants entering the country from various parts of the world. In 2005, the Labour led government released the New Zealand Settlement Strategy, the aim of which was to co-ordinate development of settlement support services to address the barriers some immigrants experience (Department of Labour, 2005a, 2005b). As discussed in Chapter Two, the Strategy documented six goals for settlement, one of which related to supporting immigrants to obtain employment and a further three directed at social aspects of settling into a new community including; forming supportive social networks, participating in community and social activities, and supporting immigrants to feel safe expressing their identity within the wider host

community. These goals align with aspects of the settlement process that the participants in this study discussed, therefore from that perspective the government was on track when it developed the Strategy. It would appear however, that the actual implementation of the Strategy goals has not yet been achieved. The findings of this study revealed that a number of the women, including those who arrived after the Strategy was put in place, struggled with obtaining employment and forming supportive social networks outside of the Indian community. Furthermore, they have not always felt safe expressing their Indian culture in the wider host community. It would seem that it will take time for the Strategy to be implemented and its effects to be felt. Therefore, there is a need to monitor progress as experienced by new immigrants.

When considering the topic of occupation, currently the focus of support services is on occupation in the sense of finding 'paid employment'. This study highlights a much broader meaning of the word occupation and the impact that everyday activities have in determining how positive new immigrants feel about settling in New Zealand, which has implications for the kinds of support immigrants need. One such area of support is in receiving practical and relevant advice pertaining to daily life. In a 2005 survey of skilled immigrants' experiences of settling in New Zealand, 15% of those surveyed would have welcomed more information on 'daily life' (Department of Labour, 2006b). What is meant by daily life is not defined in the survey, however drawing on the study findings, I would suggest a need for the provision of information such as what to bring with them to New Zealand, for instance suitability of clothing, and resources with which to equip the home, such as items for the kitchen. Having this practical advice would assist the women with developing their 'platform' which could be of immediate use upon landing in the country; thus, assisting them to feel settled more quickly.

Once in the country, practical support that participants in this study valued included; being linked into cultural groups where they could practice their English language skills in a safe environment, while maintaining their own language and having others with whom to perform culturally bound occupations. Enabling this link would be useful for promoting feelings of acceptance and competence in an unfamiliar environment. Additionally, having clear pathways for accessing education to upgrade qualifications to assist with gaining entry into the New

Zealand workforce would provide immigrants with a career direction rather than being left to struggle when they arrive and discover that the qualifications which helped them immigrate to New Zealand have limited acceptance. This is an issue also of relevance for policy makers and will be addressed further on in this chapter.

While the women were capable of locating goods and services, they had to initiate assistance to be guided in the right direction. Thus, in considering the need for support around everyday activities or occupations, a challenge for services to consider is how best this support can be implemented and how effective their current supports are in meeting immigrants' needs. The Immigrant Action Trust was established in 2003 and part of its mission statement is to "provide understanding of living in New Zealand and what the Treaty of Waitangi says about immigrants" (Migrant Action Trust, 2009). On the Migrant Action Trust website, there is a section on useful links to assist immigrants to settle. One particular link is titled 'About New Zealand – Getting Around' and when clicked, directs the user to the Wisers Maps website. This website is a virtual map of New Zealand cities and towns, whereby if you know the name of the shop you want to visit or the specific address within a location, you can obtain directions of how to get there from your starting point. As a starter for 'getting around New Zealand' this is not the best website resource for new immigrants who are unlikely to know the exact street address or the name of the local shop selling Indian goods. Hence, practical support such as putting them in touch with someone to show the way would be of more benefit.

Nowadays, many services offer support for immigrants in New Zealand via the internet, providing information linked to specific websites (Auckland Regional Migrant Services, 2009; Migrant Action Trust, 2009; Webhealth, 2009). Yet, this study identified that many of the women benefited from having others help them with learning where to perform occupations, such as grocery shopping, and how to perform occupations, such as vacuuming. This support came in either the practical form of having someone to do the occupation alongside them or through verbal assistance and being provided with the information needed to successfully complete the task. As discussed in Chapter One, understanding the process by which immigrants manage the change in their occupations is essential to establishing supports that facilitate immigrants' health and wellbeing. This

study has shown that for Indian immigrant women having support, in the form of another person, was critical for experiencing success with performing occupations and providing a sense of competence that enhanced their wellbeing.

Furthermore, many women in this study arrived as part of a family unit and had friends and family already living in the country. This made it easier for them to get the necessary support with performing everyday activities. There are immigrants, however, who journey to New Zealand on their own or with a partner and do not have the support of a community network. For these immigrants, there is the difficulty of not knowing how to perform occupations in a new environment and in addition, the pressure of having to find people or places that can offer them support. Many of the participants noted that if they had not asked, they would not have received the necessary support. *“No I had to initiate, I had to ask, nobody’s going to come and tell you unless you ask”* (Sandra). Thus, the challenge for services that offer support for new immigrants is how to make themselves visible; visibility in terms of how will immigrants know about the services they offer and how will they gain access to the support when it is needed?

There are two ways in which immigrant support services could enhance visibility; first, through the availability of volunteers who can provide ‘hands on’ assistance for immigrants, helping them to perform everyday activities out in the community. 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 would assist with creating an extended network of support. One of the participants in this study, Priya, commented:

So just having someone to talk to is so important. People who are new and it’s not just Indians, it’s everyone, people who are new are lonely. They’re very lonely and even if I’d known, if there was somewhere like a place where women could get together maybe for an hour a week to just sit and have coffee. They can pay a dollar or something, they can go there, meet people, like you have with the senior citizens or something. Something for new migrants, I think it would make all the difference.

Second, immigrant support services could develop visibility by working with members of the local community to develop host preparedness. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, racism is a reality that many Asian immigrants are confronted with in New Zealand, and the participants in this study were no exception. The women experienced both institutional and personal racism as they

engaged in their everyday occupations. At times, their perceptions of racism shifted them towards the safety of *Working with Indian Ways*, while on other occasions; the women adopted *Working with New Zealand Ways* to counter the racism and facilitate *Navigating Cultural Spaces*. Educating the local community of the benefits immigrants bring to society with the aim of diminishing personal and institutional attitudes and practices, that could be perceived as racist, would be a valuable role for immigrant support services in facilitating the settlement of new immigrants.

An appreciation of the transactional nature of the immigration process, as uncovered in this study, suggests a variety of avenues for supporting immigrants, from assisting them to locate familiar resources and navigating employment relations, to interpretation of local practices and cultural values. One way in which services can be assisted to provide appropriate support for immigrants is through the development of policy.

Implications for Policy Makers

At a government level, the findings of this study have implications for policy makers in their decisions, starting from how the settlement process is conceptualised, through to the implementation of policies that address the everyday needs of immigrants living in New Zealand. Current policy has conceptualised the settlement process along the lines of the acculturation models reviewed in Chapter Three, whereby immigrants as they settle are seen to adopt one of four modes of acculturation: separation, marginalisation, assimilation or integration. Many of the settlement goals addressed in policy are targeted at longer term roles and occupations representative of integration, such as paid employment or becoming a homeowner. Given the findings of this study and the concept of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* as another means of viewing acculturation, I would challenge policy makers to consider conceptualising settlement not as something that happens at stages, with the ultimate goal of integration, but as a process that is dynamic and in flux depending on everyday occupations.

Understanding immigration as a transactional process, at the core of which are the everyday occupations people perform, suggests a need for policy makers

to promote community readiness to host its new members. Findings from this study highlight the importance of communication and the potential disconnection that can happen when there is a breakdown in communication as a result of different values, beliefs and/or traditional practices, between cultural groups. For example, a number of the participants had been asked the question, ‘Where are you from?’ meaning ‘What country did you emigrate from?’ As discussed previously, for Māori, knowing where one is from is an important aspect of identity; however, for the participants, hearing this question heightened their awareness of being an ‘outsider’, someone who is ‘different’. While Young (2005) has suggested that the friendly implication of this question is that “You can’t be a New Zealander because you are not of European or Maori stock - so where do come from?” (p. 2), it raises the issue that although immigrants are theoretically part of the general community, they are not accepted as such.

In addition to generating increased awareness of differences in cultural practices with respect to ‘language’, there is also a need to address the ‘actions’ of New Zealanders, in particular the attitudes and practices of potential employers. The Settlement Strategy developed a goal around assisting immigrants to obtain employment. While the government has policies in place to assist with supporting skilled immigrants to enter the country, there has been little in the way of support for immigrants after they arrive. Many of the participants in this study talked of the difficulties they had with finding employment, and their experience of what they termed ‘subtle racism’, which they believed stemmed from New Zealand employers’ perceptions of whether they would ‘fit in’ to the workplace (i.e. what style of clothes did they wear and how strong was their accent) and in part due to their Indian qualifications not being recognised. These findings are supported by the 2005 survey of skilled immigrants in which just over 20% of respondents reported difficulty in getting work in New Zealand due to discrimination as an immigrant and 25% felt that their skills or experience were not accepted by New Zealand employers (Department of Labour, 2006b). If the government is encouraging skilled immigrants to come to New Zealand, then it has a responsibility to ensure that they are supported on arrival. This includes making an effort to educate and influence, or promote community readiness of those New Zealanders with whom new immigrants will come into contact.

Promoting community readiness so that members of the New Zealand public are aware of the impact their words and actions might have for new immigrants is a critical step towards welcoming immigrants and helping them feel settled in an unfamiliar environment. Yet the concept of promoting community readiness is not new. In the report *Being Accepted: The Experience of Discrimination and Social Exclusion by Immigrants and Refugees in New Zealand* (Butcher, Spoonley, & Trlin, 2006) the authors wrote:

When asked about what could be done about the difficulties of discrimination, prejudice and social exclusion they experienced or perceived, three broad courses of action were identified: 1. Promote the development of knowledge and understanding in the host population with regard to the backgrounds and situations of new settlers...” (p. vii).

The government’s *Ethnic Perspectives in Policy* (OEA, 2002) calls for an inclusive society, whereby people from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds can be “seen, heard, included and accepted” (p. 1). Furthermore, in the *Local Government Act 2002* (New Zealand Government, 2002) it is stated that one of the purposes of local government is to “promote the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of communities” (p. 19) and that when making decision, local authorities “should take account of – (i) the diversity of the community...” (p. 21). Thus the drive to promote community readiness needs to happen at a national and local government level.

Policy needs to actively promote settlement as a two-way process in which members of New Zealand society may benefit from receiving specific knowledge and practical experience on the potential benefits of welcoming immigrants into society and more general information regarding the diversity in cultures and philosophies that shape immigrants’ interactions and everyday activities. Research has shown that “the more direct contact people have with immigrants, the more positive and tolerant they are on virtually all immigration issues” (Spoonley, Gendall & Trlin, 2007, p. vii). Although the racism experienced by many of the participants in this study was described as ‘subtle’ rather than ‘overt’, the women perceived they had come across some form of racial discrimination either in the workplace or in social situations. The issue of racism that is currently present amongst the New Zealand public and the tolerance of members of the New

Zealand society towards immigrants of differing ethnicities needs to be made overt when constructing policy to support immigrants with settling in society.

In addition to generating policy that guides the development of support services the findings of this study hold implications for other organisations that may encounter immigrants. From a health perspective, I would argue that immigrants are one group of people who have an increased susceptibility to experiencing stress related disorders, due to the upheaval experienced in **Creating a Place** in an unfamiliar environment. Hence, there is a need to consider what services are being offered by the health system. In a 2005 survey of the settlement experiences of skilled immigrants, it was found that 40% of immigrants said Immigration New Zealand could have provided more detail about health services including an overview of public and private health systems and how they worked (Department of Labour, 2006b). For many immigrants, a ‘biomedical’ approach would not be sufficient. Rather, practical assistance in *Navigating Cultural Spaces* or counselling focussed on *Navigating Cultural Spaces* would be of benefit. In much the same way that health services have established relationships with Māori and Pacifica to ensure their needs are being met in a culturally appropriate manner, health services need to establish relationships with immigrant communities to ascertain their specific needs.

Moving away from a static, linear perspective to conceiving settlement as a dynamic, transactional process demands a rethinking of how the settlement process is conceptualised. Policy makers are in a position to promote community readiness, through language and action, to ensure immigrants are welcomed into the country and supported in their efforts to **Create a Place**.

Implications for Occupational Science

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. A decade later, Connor Schisler and Polatajko (2002) considered the environment-occupation-person interface for Burundian refugees living in Canada and extended the relationship between occupational content and context. These authors acknowledged that more studies with people from diverse

cultures who have experienced an environmental shift were needed to deepen understanding of the nature of these relationships; a call this study has attempted to answer.

What this current study has shown is that the things Indian immigrant women do in their daily lives and the occupational situations they encounter are dynamic events that either facilitate and enhance the experience of being in a new environment as they **Create a Place**, or challenge the process of settling and becoming part of the New Zealand context. Thus, the key conclusion or relevance to occupational science, as posited in this study, is the critical impact context has on immigrants' occupations and connections. It has long been acknowledged within occupational science that occupation is contextual, yet our understandings of how occupation mediates person-place interactions have been limited.

When occupational science first emerged as an academic discipline, Yerxa and colleagues (1990) contended that there was a need to be interdisciplinary and synthesise ideas from other disciplines that had something to say about occupation. Given the pervasive nature of occupation, in that occupations are performed by all people, in all parts of the world, at all times of the day, I would argue that a number of disciplines have something to offer the study of occupation. For instance, much of the literature reviewed in Chapter Two regarding the occupational experiences of Indian immigrant women was not written from an occupational perspective, yet offered some pertinent insights into the daily occupations of Indian immigrant women. Therefore I believe the challenge for future occupational science researchers is to move beyond what is currently known and actively employ theoretical or philosophical perspectives from other disciplines, such as environmental psychology or behavioural geography, to consider how we frame our understandings of occupation.

Most recently Cutchin and colleagues (Cutchin, 2001, 2007; Cutchin et al., 2006, 2008; Dickie et al., 2006) have drawn on Dewey's pragmatist philosophy to conceptualise occupation as activities that are created in "concert with the community, society and culture – so much so that we need to drop the first-person idea and think not of things (subjects) but of the relational processes that generate them" (Cutchin et al., 2006, p. 98). From their study, the authors proffered the concept of 'occupation as transaction' with the environment.

Given the findings of this study, as guided by the theoretical perspectives of occupational science and symbolic interactionism, I suggest that occupational science could benefit from employing a symbolic interactionist perspective to inform understandings of occupation and how people make meaning of their occupation. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, people constantly construct meaning and modify their actions in response to their transactions with the world. This study revealed similarities in the participants' response to a new environment and how this shaped their occupational experiences, while also acknowledging that people are unique individuals who have their own processes. Thus, *Navigating Cultural Spaces* is a transactional process that arises from symbolic interaction and accounts for the dynamic manner in which immigrants settle in a new environment. Occupational science researchers need to be interdisciplinary in their study of occupation and go beyond static descriptions of an environment-occupation-person interface to capture the dynamic, lived experience of performing occupation in context.

In addition to drawing on the theoretical and philosophical perspectives from a range of disciplines to frame understandings of occupation, it is time that occupational science researchers started to use their knowledge and understandings of occupation to inform other fields of research. Given the link between place, occupation and meaning, the resources available in, and the receptiveness of the environment, is an aspect of immigration that requires greater consideration in immigration and settlement research. This study has shown that the discipline of occupational science can bring a unique and rich perspective to migration studies and more widely other areas that might affect immigrants' experience of settling in a new environment, such as the importance of engaging in culturally mediated occupations to support wellbeing.

Having considered the key conclusions and implications of the study findings for immigrant support services, policy makers and the field of occupational science, I now consider the strengths and limitations of the research.

Research Strengths and Limitations

In Chapter Four, Methods and Methodology, I addressed the strengths of the study design using Lincoln and Guba's (1995) criteria for judging the soundness of

qualitative research. Once again, using Lincoln and Guba's criteria, I will revisit the strengths of the study and discuss the limitations that became apparent during the research process.

Credibility and Dependability

The legitimacy of the theory is corroborated by its fit with existing literature. As highlighted in the review of literature in Chapter Two, research addressing the everyday experiences of Indian immigrants is limited. Hickey (2008), one of the few researchers to specifically explore the everyday experiences of Indian immigrants has stated, that the "voices of Asian Indian women, in particular, have been absent from the literature" (p. 363). Hickey's research revealed three themes pertaining to everyday experiences, including: differences in gender roles; maintenance of ethnic culture, such as use of the native language in the home, diet, clothing and participation in the Indian American community; and differences in family life such as perspectives on dating and values of importance. Elements of these themes align with the findings of this study; in particular, strategies for maintaining ethnic culture and differences in life perspectives.

Findings of this current study also fit with research exploring the everyday experiences of Indian immigrants, both male and female. Fenton (1988) and Dhruvarajan (1993) both suggested that Hindu immigrants experience successful acculturation; maintaining their own value systems while negotiating with the values and expectations of the host society. The perspective of *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* highlighted how Indian immigrant women in New Zealand combine elements of both cultures in their daily occupations, which aligns with the work of Fenton and Dhruvarajan. Furthermore, research shows that first generation Indian immigrants work to re-create an Indian community within the home environment as a means of instilling ethnic traditions into their children's way of life (Hodge, 2004; Kurien, 2001). Studies of Indian immigrants in the United States further reinforce the idea that Indian immigrants actively reproduce traditional cultural practices (Helweg & Helweg, 1990; Saran & Eames, 1985). This idea was clearly represented in the findings of this study, within the perspective of *Working with Indian Ways*.

The perspective of *Working with Indian Ways* further encapsulates previous findings in my master's study, discussed in Chapter One, which revealed that occupations may come to be characterised as uncomfortable, unfamiliar or energy intensive experiences that give rise to feelings of incompetence, frustration, foreignness and 'dis-ease' (Nayar, 2005, 2007). As part of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, when the participants encountered occupations that were unfamiliar and uncomfortable or left them feeling incompetent, they were more likely to turn to *Working with Indian Ways*, which entailed performing familiar occupations that provided a sense of mastery.

When situating the findings of this study in relation to the national literature on different immigrant groups and their settlement experiences, there does appear to be some alignment. In the book *Shifting Centres* (Beaglehole, 2002), a chapter discussing the experiences of Jewish immigrant women revealed similar experiences to those of the women in this study. Beaglehole noted that for Jewish immigrant women a primary purpose of settling in New Zealand was for the benefits of their children's future. In addition, the women discussed their social environment and the limited social interaction with members of the New Zealand community because "when you invited them, they didn't invite you back" (Beaglehole, p. 93). Similar words were uttered by the participants in this study, "I have given breakfast to one of my neighbours but they have never called us" (Sandra).

In addition to the literature, the credibility and dependability of the study are also situated in my experiences of conducting the research and presenting the findings. As discussed in Chapter One, entering this study I found myself located within both Western and Eastern cultures. Having been born in England and completed the majority of my education in New Zealand, I am very much part of the New Zealand culture. However, I have grown up in an Indian context, my parents emigrated from India and I have been fortunate to travel to India on several occasions. In addition to locating myself within multiple cultural worlds, I also experienced dual roles in being a researcher and identifying as an Indian immigrant woman. Situating myself within these multiple contexts and remaining clear about my position throughout the research process has at times been a demanding task. To ensure that the findings of the study have been grounded in the data gathered from the participants and are therefore, dependable, I have

discussed my findings in supervision sessions where I have been challenged to articulate my reasoning. This has helped clarify what have been my assumptions, based on my experiences, and what are the experiences of the participants.

In addition, the credibility and dependability of research was supported through returning to participants with research findings to seek feedback on accuracy of transcripts and interpretation of data. The feedback in response to these meetings was positive, with participants recognising and relating to the theory. Data coding drew frequently on the use of participants' language for concepts, or "in-vivo" codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and this feature further ensured that interpretations were grounded in the data. Moreover, the credibility of this research was checked through presentation of findings at two seminar presentations held within the university, one international conference (Nayar, 2008a) and one New Zealand conference (Nayar, 2008b). Further, I was invited to present my findings at a national workshop, '*Cultural Identities in a Globalising Worlds*' sponsored by UNESCO and the Royal Society of New Zealand (Nayar, 2009). The positive feedback from researchers at the presentations provided strong support for the dependability of this study.

Confirmability and Transferability

This study has contributed an initial understanding and generated a substantive theory of the process by which Indian immigrant women engage in everyday activities as they transition into and **Create a Place** in a new environment. The theory is, however, limited in its scope with regards to the number and representation of the women who participated and in terms of the period of time in which the study was conducted. The study relied primarily on gathering information from each participant over the course of a 90 minute interview, with the interviews carried out over a 2 year period. This meant I did not gather data from individual participants over an extended time. Thus, findings do not have the strength of a longitudinal study which tracks what happens to the women in a further 15 or 20 years time. Furthermore, I relied on participants' recall of initial experiences of being in New Zealand. For some participants who had been residing in the country for 10 or more years, their recollection of their early experiences of settling in this country may not have had the accuracy of other

participants who were in their first few years of **Creating a Place** in New Zealand.

Although I did conduct some field work observations with participants, these were limited due to difficulties with arranging to accompany participants as they engaged in their everyday activities. Observations with more participants, or multiple observations with a few participants performing occupations in the new environment, may have provided greater depth of analysis and deepened understandings of the categories. Furthermore, although data saturation was reached for the categories that are described in this study, and the data was able to explain variation between women, there were instances where the data showed slightly different perspectives that may have altered the theory. For instance one participant had migrated to New Zealand from a small rural village in India and had not been educated past primary school. This was a different experience to the rest of the participants who migrated from cities and the majority of whom were tertiary educated.

The findings of this study are in concordance with findings from other studies, such as Hickey (2008), however, at this 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 this study. Without employing the specific methodology and associated research procedures of grounded theory, as in this study; and without studying other groups, such as immigrant men or other ethnic immigrant groups, it is difficult to know if this theory is more than a substantive theory and whether a formal theory may develop. A further possible limitation of the study and hence transferability of findings, involved the participation of chiefly Hindu and Christian Indian immigrant women, mainly from well-educated middle-class to upper-middle class families. The Indian community in New Zealand is diverse and comprises other religious factions that have not featured in this study, such as the Muslim, Sikh and Parsi communities. Without talking to women from these communities, the theory is limited in its ability to be generalised across all Indian immigrant women living in New Zealand.

Interestingly, I did find support for the confirmability and transferability of these findings in a recent study addressing the politics of identity for British born Chinese (Spencer, 2006), in which the “parameters of inclusion, exclusion,

otherness and belonging are challenged” within the ‘diaspora space’ (Spencer, p. 191). Spencer concluded that the participants are “conscious of navigating between cultures. The middle ground is hard to find as it is constantly clawed back by each culture” (p. 197). These findings stimulated the awareness that living as an immigrant in a foreign country is an ongoing dynamic process and, together with the experiences of the participants in this study, generated the emergence of the key concept *Navigating Cultural Spaces*.

Conclusion

This study provided a starting point for understanding the process by which Indian immigrant women work towards **Creating a Place** in New Zealand. By the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, New Zealand is committed to being a bicultural nation; yet, the reality is, New Zealand is a country home to a diverse number of ethnic groups. Thus, the journey that Indian immigrants undertake when settling in New Zealand is one of *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, in which they move in and between multiple cultures, situated within one society. From an occupational perspective of immigration, the concept of *Navigating Cultural Spaces* contests current understandings and applicability of models of acculturation, that in comparison, appear restrictive and linear.

The participants of this grounded theory study demonstrated that the process of settling in a new environment is dynamic, influenced by the women’s engagement in everyday occupations, and their interpretation of their personal and situational demands, others’ attitudes and actions. Under conditions where the women felt confident in their abilities to perform occupations in unfamiliar surroundings, they *Navigated Cultural Spaces* from a perspective of *Working with New Zealand Ways*. Alternatively, there were times when the women chose to *Work with Indian Ways*, holding onto enacting daily activities that were representative of their culture. *Working with the Best of Both Worlds* Indian immigrant women sought to blend cultures into their ways of doing everyday tasks. These findings have revealed that **Creating a Place** in an unfamiliar land is a process that requires perseverance and determination to be ‘Indian in a New Zealand context’. It is a process influenced by both the women’s occupations and the responses of the host community, in which dimensions of racism and

acceptance emerge. The challenge for immigrant support services and policy makers is to translate these understandings into everyday practices that both welcome and assist immigrants as they settle in New Zealand.

For Indian women, their journey as immigrants does not end with their arrival into New Zealand. The journey continues so long as the women engage in everyday occupations, *Navigating Cultural Spaces*, going ‘beyond all borders’ to meet the demands of the worlds in which they are **Creating a Place**.

*Out of the dim past they have come in crowds –
Seekers and devotees;
Have come through the lion-gate of Time’s long past –
Travellers and warriors,
Whose eternal journey is towards the future....
Who knows at what primary time Man came
And stood at the crossroads of the universe?
His sustenance was in his blood,
In his dreams
And in the very path he trod....
Through the gaping centuries he strode out
Into the Unknown, into the Unseen.
In his blood the trumpet sounded:
‘Beyond all borders, go beyond!’*

The Eternal Traveller – Rabindranath Tagore

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Appendices

Appendix A: Te Tiriti o Waitangi

English Version

The following version of the Treaty is taken from the first schedule to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.

The Text in English

Preamble

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands - Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the First

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

Article the Second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

W HOBSON Lieutenant Governor.

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof: in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty.

[Here follow signatures, dates, etc.]

Reference:

Waitangi Tribunal. (2009). *Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Retrieved January 4, 2009, from <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/english.asp>

Appendix B: Recruitment Flyer

Appendix C: Information Sheet



Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced: 1st March 2006

Project Title: Wellbeing and Immigrant Women's Everyday Occupations: A grounded theory study.

Invitation:

I am interested in talking with women who have immigrated to New Zealand from India about their experiences of settling into a new country and specifically the things they did to sustain their well-being. Therefore, following on from our telephone conversation in which you indicated an interest in participating in my study (as part of my PhD qualification), I am now sending you this information sheet.

What is the purpose of the study?

To uncover the things that immigrant women do to sustain their well-being in a new environment.

How are people chosen to be asked to be part of the study?

I hope to talk to between 25-40 women who have immigrated to New Zealand within the last 25 years. People who feel they fit this criterion and are interested in being part of the study will have answered my various advertisements that I placed in local community settings throughout Auckland, or been approached by a member of a cultural community or someone who has already participated in the study. Each woman is 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 is 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. These observations will be identified from activities raised in your interview and will occur at a time and place suitable to you. I will take notes of what I observe throughout the activity and use these observations as data to be analysed alongside your interviews. You have the right to say no to participate in an observation. Following analysis of data, I may request a second interview to clarify things from the first interview. 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. I will then arrange to meet with you at the end of my study to provide feedback on my findings.

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 might be upsetting. 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 specifically identifying details in my study or presentations. Any information with your name or contact details will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. At this stage there are no plans to use the information outside of this study. However, it may be that I go on to do other studies similar to this, where it would be beneficial to include the information you share. Should this occur, I will ensure that there will be no identification of your involvement as summary data only will be used.

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), plus the time to read and correct the interview transcript and report of findings. 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 the demographic form and posting it in the stamped addressed envelope (included with this information). If you 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, AUTEK:

Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

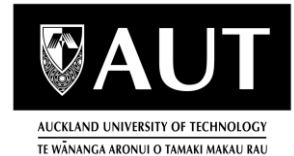
Researcher Contact Details: Shoba Nayar
Ph: 0800 020 674
Email: scn@clear.net.nz

Project Supervisor Contact Details: Clare Hocking
Associate Professor
School of Occupational Therapy, AUT
Private Bag 92006, Auckland
Ph: 09 921 9999 ext. 7120

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 12th May 2006

AUTEK Reference number 06/58

Appendix D: Consent Form



Consent to Participation in Research

Title of Project: Wellbeing and Immigrant Women’s Everyday Occupations:
A grounded theory study.

Project Supervisor: Clare Hocking

Researcher: Shoba Nayar

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project (Information Sheet dated 1st March 2006.)
- 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 be asked to be observed carrying out an everyday activity such as grocery shopping and that I have the opportunity to say no to this if so wished.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project up to a month following receipt of the typed interview transcript, 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

Participant signature:.....

Participant name:

Participant Contact Phone Number and Mailing Address:
.....
.....
.....

Date:

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on
12th May 2006**

AUTEC Reference number 06/58

Note: The participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix E: Demographic Data Form

Demographic Data Form



Name: _____

Would you like to be interviewed...

At Home

At AUT

At another arranged location

If you circled At Home or Other Location please include your home/other location address:

To which age group do you belong? (please circle one)

20-25

26-35

36-45

46-55

56-65

65+

When did you immigrate to New Zealand? (please circle one)

1981-1990

1991-1995

1996-2000

2001-2006

Did you immigrate...

By yourself

With one other person

With a family

(i.e. husband/children/parents)

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 F: Table of Participant Demographics

Int. No.	Age	Religion	Emigrated With	Employment/ Profession	People Known	Time Line
1	36-45	Hindu	Family	No HR	0	2003 - Auckland
2	36	Hindu	Family	No Insurance	1-5	2003 - Auckland
3	36	Hindu	Family	No Doctor	1-5	1996 – Auckland 1997 – Hamilton
4	36	Christian	Husband	No Doctor	1-5	1992 – Hamilton 1993 – Thames, Te Kuiti 1994 – Wellington 1995 – New Plymouth 1997 – Auckland
5	36	Hindu	Husband	No Doctor	1-5	1996 – Auckland 1999 – Hamilton
6	26-35	Christian	Self	No Dentist	1-5	1998 – Hamilton
7	36-45	Hindu	Family	No Medical Technologist	1-5	2002 – Hamilton
8	26-35	Hindu	Self	No Housewife	1-5	1998 – Auckland, Tauranga 1999 – Wellington 2000 – Hamilton
9	46-55	Christian	Family	No Teacher	1-5	1995 – Auckland 1996 – Hamilton 1997 – Napier 2003 – Auckland
10	26-35	Hindu	Self	No Factory Worker	1-5	1992 – Auckland
11	20-25	Christian	Family	No Student	1-5	1995 – Auckland 1996 – Hamilton 1997 – Napier 2003 – Auckland
12	56-65	Christian	Family	No Counsellor	1-5	1995 – Auckland

Int. No.	Age	Religion	Emigrated With	Employment/ Profession	People Known	Time Line
13	26-35	Hindu	Family	No Administrator	6-10	1987 – Auckland
14	46-55	Christian	Family	No Librarian	1-5	1995 – Auckland
15	56-65	Christian	Family	No Teacher	1-5	2000 – Auckland
16	36-45	Hindu	Self	No Nurse	1-5	2001 – Hamilton
17	20-25	Christian	Self	Yes Childcare	1-5	2001 – Auckland 2005 – Hamilton
18	26-35	Christian	Self	No Nurse	0	2005 – Hamilton
19	26-35	Hindu	Self	No Physiotherapist	1-5	2000 – Auckland
20	26-35	Christian	Self	No Teacher	6-10	2001 – Napier 2004 – Auckland
21	46-55	Christian	Family	No Psychologist	10+	1997 – Auckland
22	46-55	Christian	Family	No Housewife	10+	2001 – Hastings
23	26-35	Hindu	Family	No Shop Keeper	10+	2001 – Auckland 2002 – Hastings
24	46-55	Muslim	Family	No I.T.	1-5	2001 – Rotorua 2004 – Auckland
25	46-55	Christian	Family	No Teacher	1-5	2000 – Auckland

Appendix G: Interview Schedule

<p>Can you remember doing an ordinary everyday thing – something that’s done differently in NZ? Can you tell me about that?</p>	<p>Social Alone – With others</p>	<p>Social For yourself – For others</p>
<p>Physical Physical surroundings People’s expectations</p>	<p>Physical Home/Community/Travel</p>	<p>Cultural (Different in NZ to India) Something wouldn’t have done – Something that felt the same</p>
<p>Cultural (Different in NZ to India) Some place wouldn’t have gone – Some place the same</p>	<p>Emotional Not going so well – Going well</p>	<p>Spiritual Being in the right place – Being out of place</p>
	<p>Prompts: Can you tell me more about... What happened when... Describe the setting...</p>	<p>Capture the Occupation: Who? Where? When? (soon after – awhile after) What? (smooth – hard) How did it start/end Why was it important to you?</p>

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 H: Revised Interview Schedule

Tell me about immigrating to New Zealand.	Look for wellbeing (note: explore further)	Look for occupation (note: explore further)		
Tell me about doing everyday activities in New Zealand	Feeling down/upset/sad	Occupations done /not done	Rationale for doing /not doing occ.	Nature of occ. (eg pulled, pushed)
	Feeling good/happy/	Occupations done /not done	Rationale for doing /not doing occ.	Nature of occ. (eg pulled, pushed)
	Maintaining 'Indianness'	Occupations done /not done	Rationale for doing /not doing occ.	Nature of occ. (eg pulled, pushed)
	Prompts: Can you tell me more about... What happened when... Describe the setting...		Capture the Occupation: Who? Where? When? What? (smooth – hard) How did it start/end Why was it important to you?	

Appendix I: Observation Field Notes Form

FIELD NOTES FOR PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS***Participant:******Activity:******Observation Date:******Starting Time:******Finishing Time:******Location:******People Present:***

Description of environment (e.g. layout, any physical patterns, significant objects in the area, placement of people and furniture):

Non-verbal behaviour (e.g. tone of voice, posture, facial expressions, eye movements, body movements, and hand gestures):

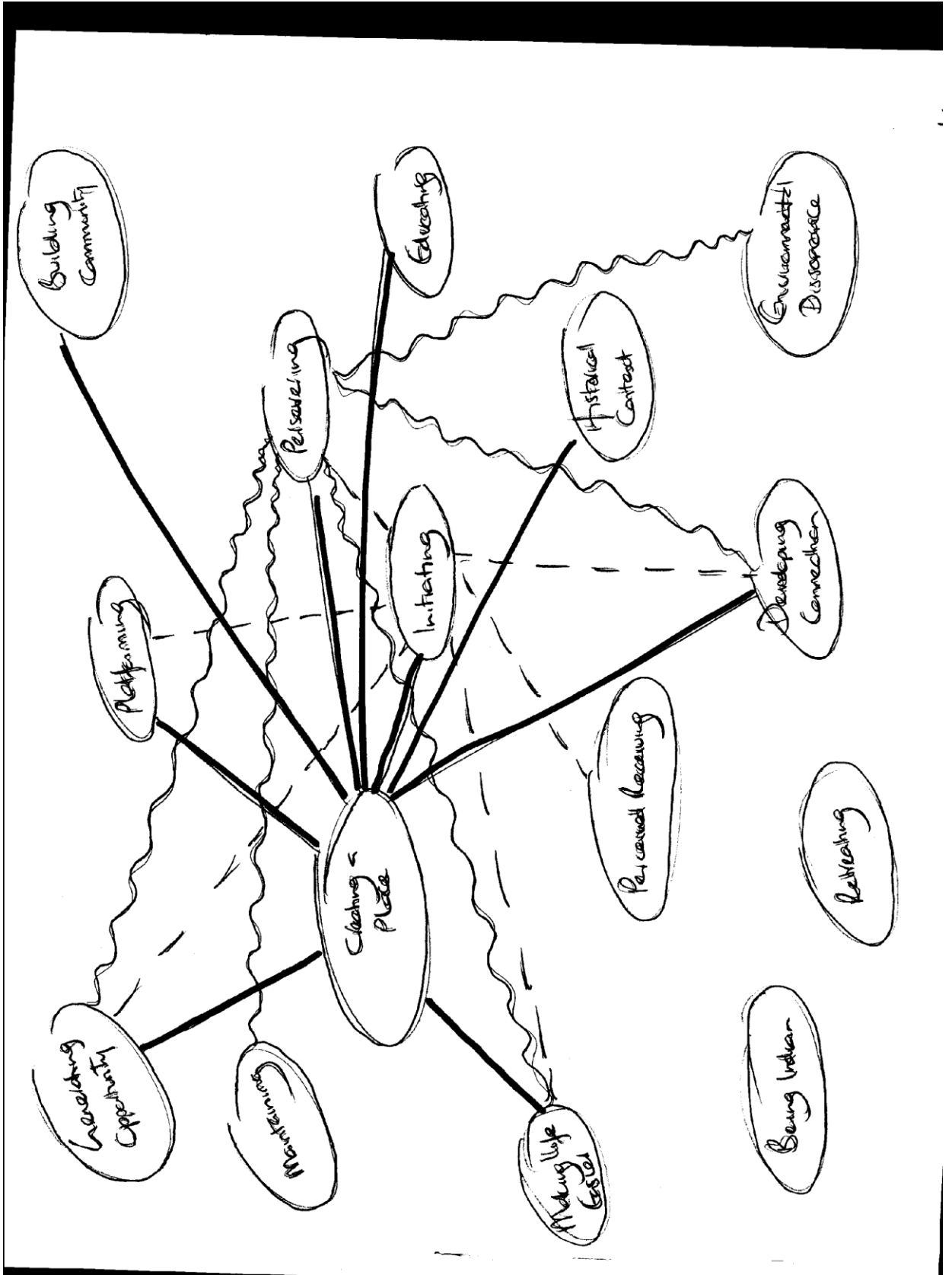
Content of activity (e.g. reactions, planning, motivation or involvement of others):

Researcher's impressions (e.g. participant's responses to certain people, events, or objects):

Analysis: (e.g. researcher's questions, tentative hunches, trends in data, emerging patterns):

Situational problems (e.g. timing of activity, interruptions, available material of decision making):

Appendix J: Example of Memo Using Situational Maps



Appendix K: AUTECH Approval



MEMORANDUM

To: Clare Hocking
 From: **Madeline Banda** Executive Secretary, AUTECH
 Date: 12 May 2006
 Subject: Ethics Application Number 06/58 **Wellbeing and immigrant women's everyday occupations: a grounded theory study.**

Dear Clare

Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. I am pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTECH) at their meeting on 10 April 2006. Your ethics application is now approved for a period of three years until 12 May 2006.

I advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit to AUTECH the following:

A brief annual progress report indicating compliance with the ethical approval given using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/ethics>, including a request for extension of the approval if the project will not be completed by the above expiry date;

A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/ethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 12 May 2006 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

You are reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that any research undertaken under this approval is carried out within the parameters approved for your application. Any change to the research outside the parameters of this approval must be submitted to AUTECH for approval before that change is implemented.

Please note that AUTECH grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this. Also, should your research be undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply within that jurisdiction.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all written and verbal correspondence with us. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact Charles Grinter, Ethics Coordinator, by email at charles.grinter@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 8860.

On behalf of the Committee and myself, I wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'M. Banda'.

Madeline Banda

Executive Secretary

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Shoba Nayar scn@clear.net.nz

Appendix L: Initial Attempts at Coding

Interview 9/20 Date 25/08/07 Participant: Nina
 arrived somewhere → purpose destination
 came from somewhere
 landed in New Zealand on the 20th ah the 11th of January 2001 and

um, from day one it was (bit of) a lonely experience especially the first day of marriage, (adjusting to a new country,) adjusting to ah a new husband. And ah, a new um, adjusting to new perspectives

mainly. [When, as soon as I landed in New Zealand, I had my husband stayed with me for one month just to help me adjust, to get to know the systems better and ah, like I often notice when I go in to a supermarket I rarely knew that you had to take these um little

9 bags and ah put your raisins in or the cashew nuts in, (it started with these silly little things and it was a learning curve from, at, at every step of the way and ah how to use an EFTPOS card and how to ah,

12 basically pay a bill using phone banking or internet banking. Very, very basic stuff that ah, a born and bred Kiwi would really take for granted but was something, new for me. And also the, the way

15 women dressed and ah also, the clothes that I had brought there was a huge difference in the two so it was right up from ah, the fashions, the taste, the outlook, I seemed different every step of the way And the, for a long time actually looking back at that I feel

19 that um, I focussed too much on thinking that, that differences meant wrong, that I was wrong because I was different and ah, and also my husband had a wonderful, wonderful friend circle there ah,

21 he played under water hockey in Napier, and he had a lot of friends who played with him and then eventually because now I was a new bride um, he was able to bring me in to the circle, where his friends

25 it sort of really increased, it, it widened our social network and

emotions expectations
 arrived somewhere
 came from somewhere
 tuesday
 left behind
 perspectives
 made to
 come
 2 journeys
 4
 1- immigration
 2- marriage
 3- ANZC
 4- ANZC
 5- ANZC
 6- ANZC
 7- ANZC
 8- ANZC

- food
- language
- prices
- money
- climate
- people
- clouds
- color
- patterns
- pet pills
- greyed off
- h. regularly
- architecture

day 1 - immediate of impact
 a) immediacy
 b) later condition
 c) doesn't happen

no one to ask
 alone
 no support
 - a bit not
 - a lot known
 - not at all

to what degree
 is it a feature
 bit? something else takes you away from loneliness

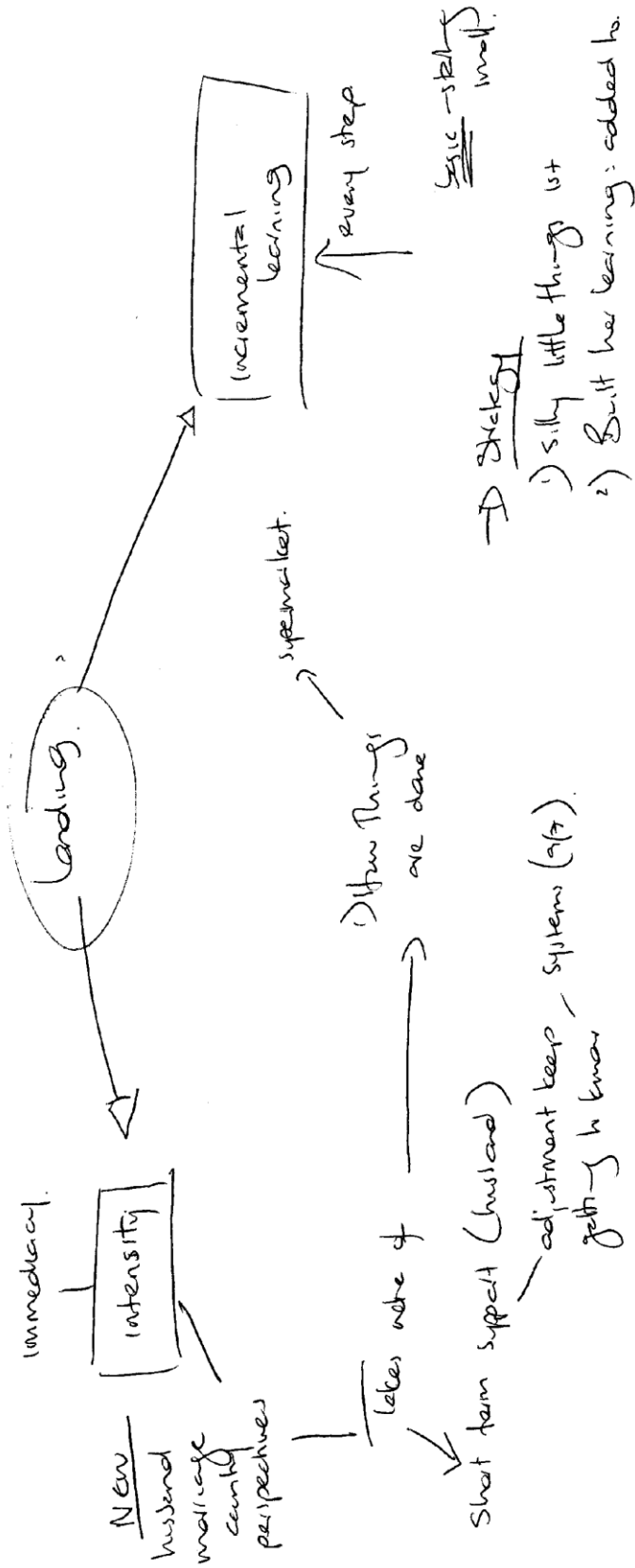
bits of day 1
 new country
 new perspectives
 new husband
 first day married.

under the conditions of everything new
 → the learning intensity is immediate

? when does intensity change

- if I'm so wrong, when did I become right?
 what's the shift?
 when does it happen?
 MEMO

- first day married
 - new husband
 - new journey
 different responsibilities
 setting of roles
 getting to know someone different
 finding patterns together
 learning each other's ways
 [negotiating of roles] *MEMO

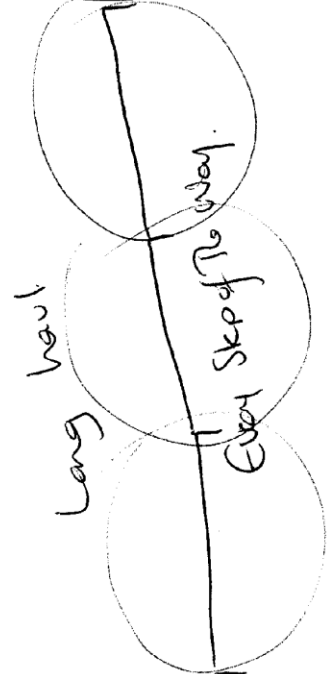
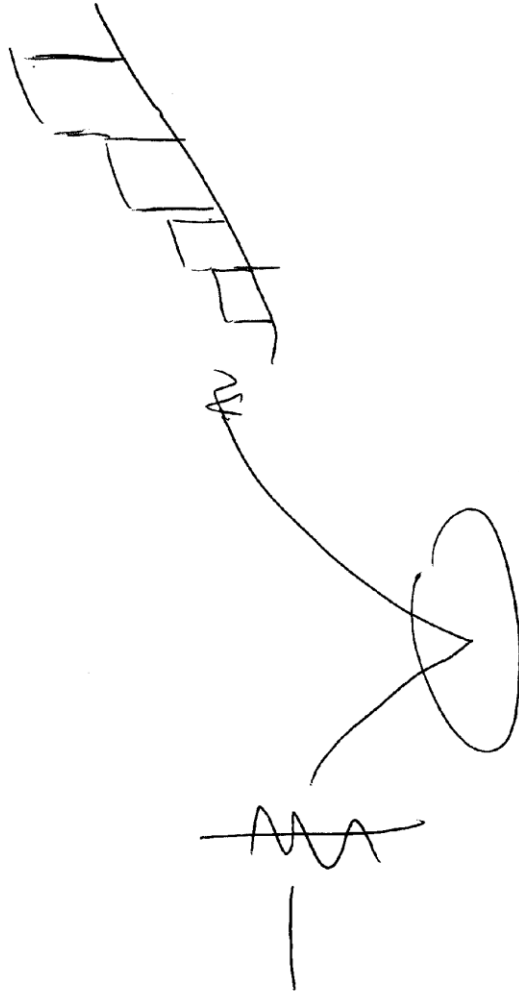
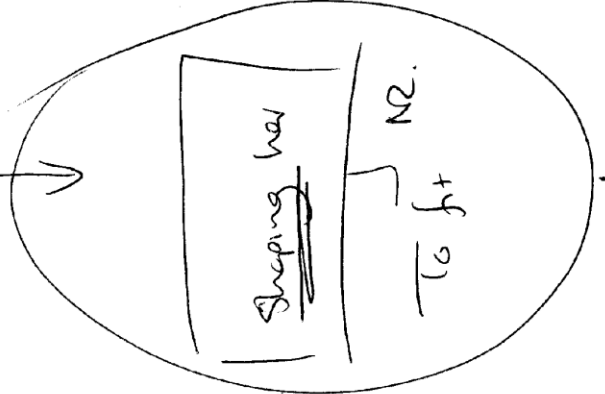


- Richesed
- 1) food - eating
 - 2) money - cost - skills

1) -> fundamental needs
 2) -> fitting in - (clothing) -> kinds of
behavior difference -> feeling way -> comparing.

2/10/07
 9/20

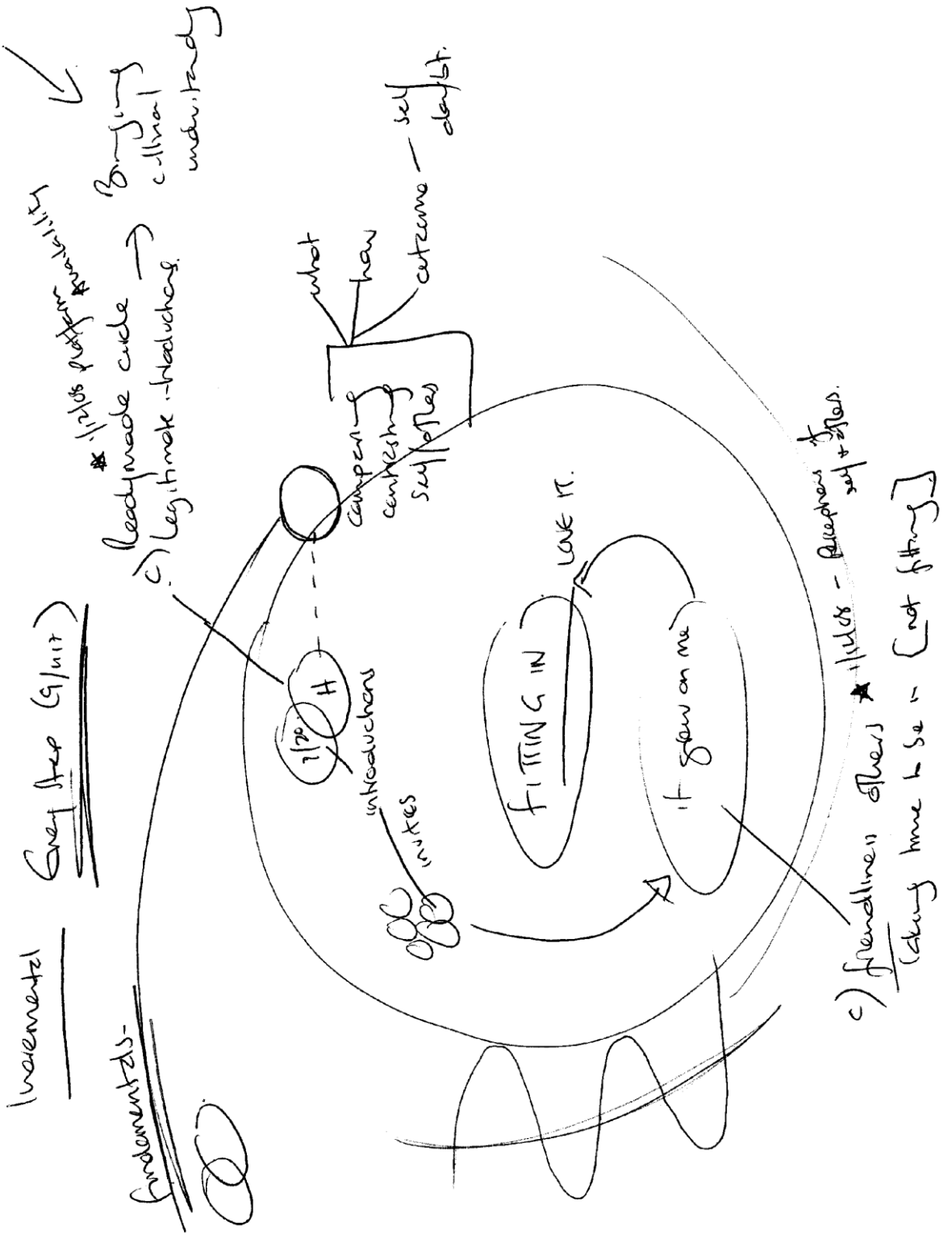
2/10/07
7/20.
Landing (5/1)



immediacy

has decision

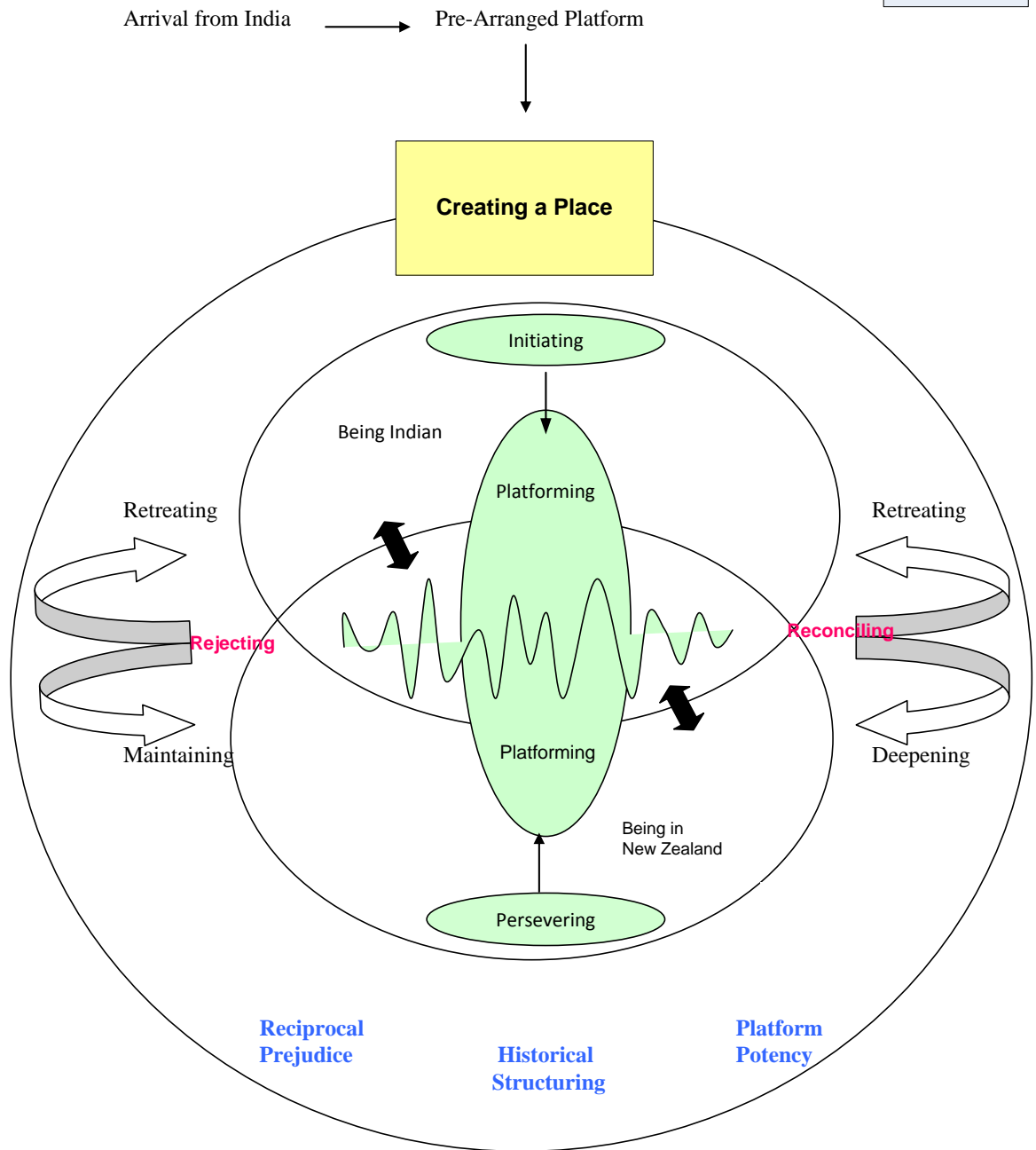
What shape will she be



Appendix M: Diagram Development

Context: Migration, moving between countries

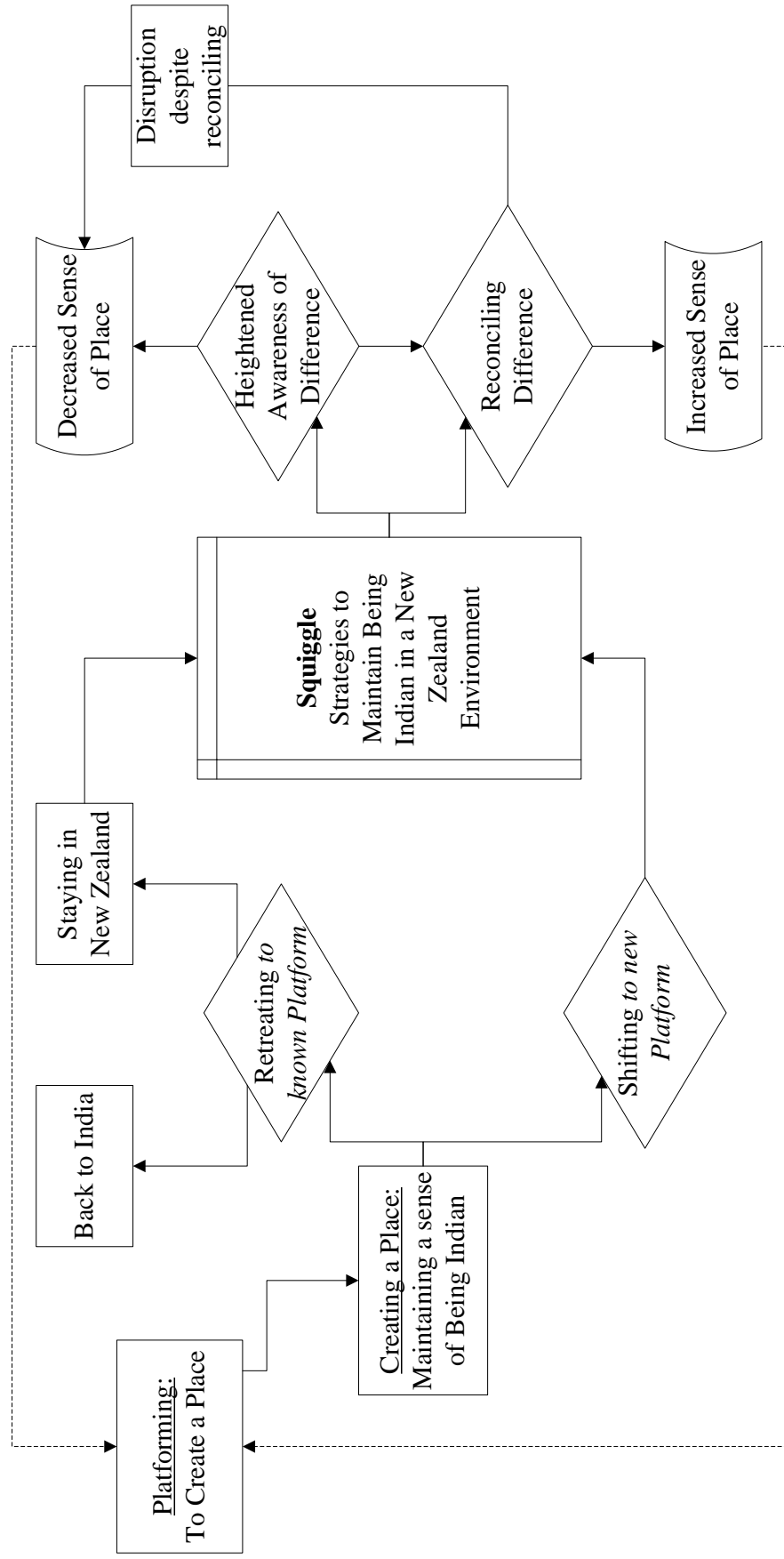
15/04/2008



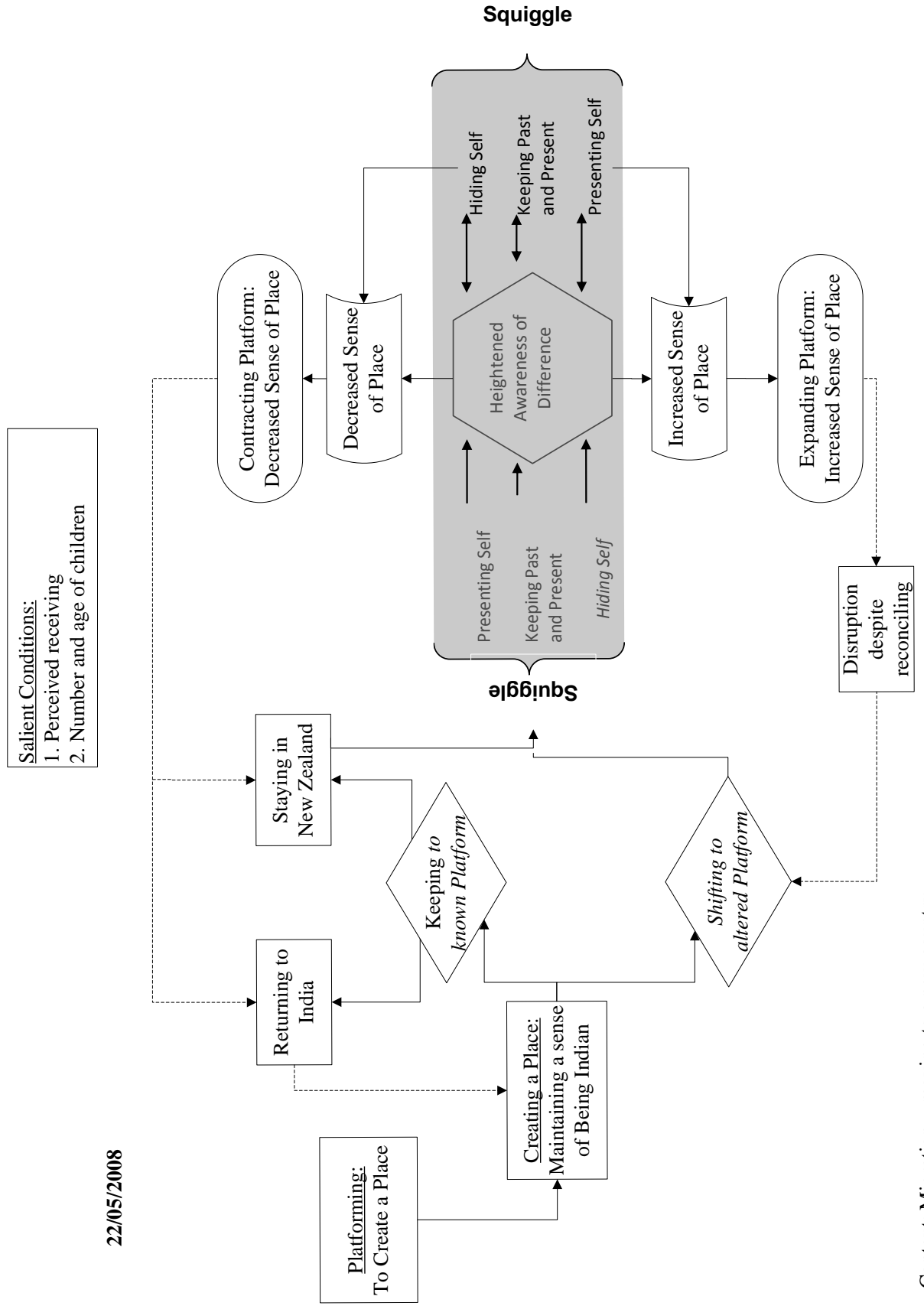
“the squiggle”
Negotiating the Cultural Intersect
? Weighing Cultures

09/05/2008

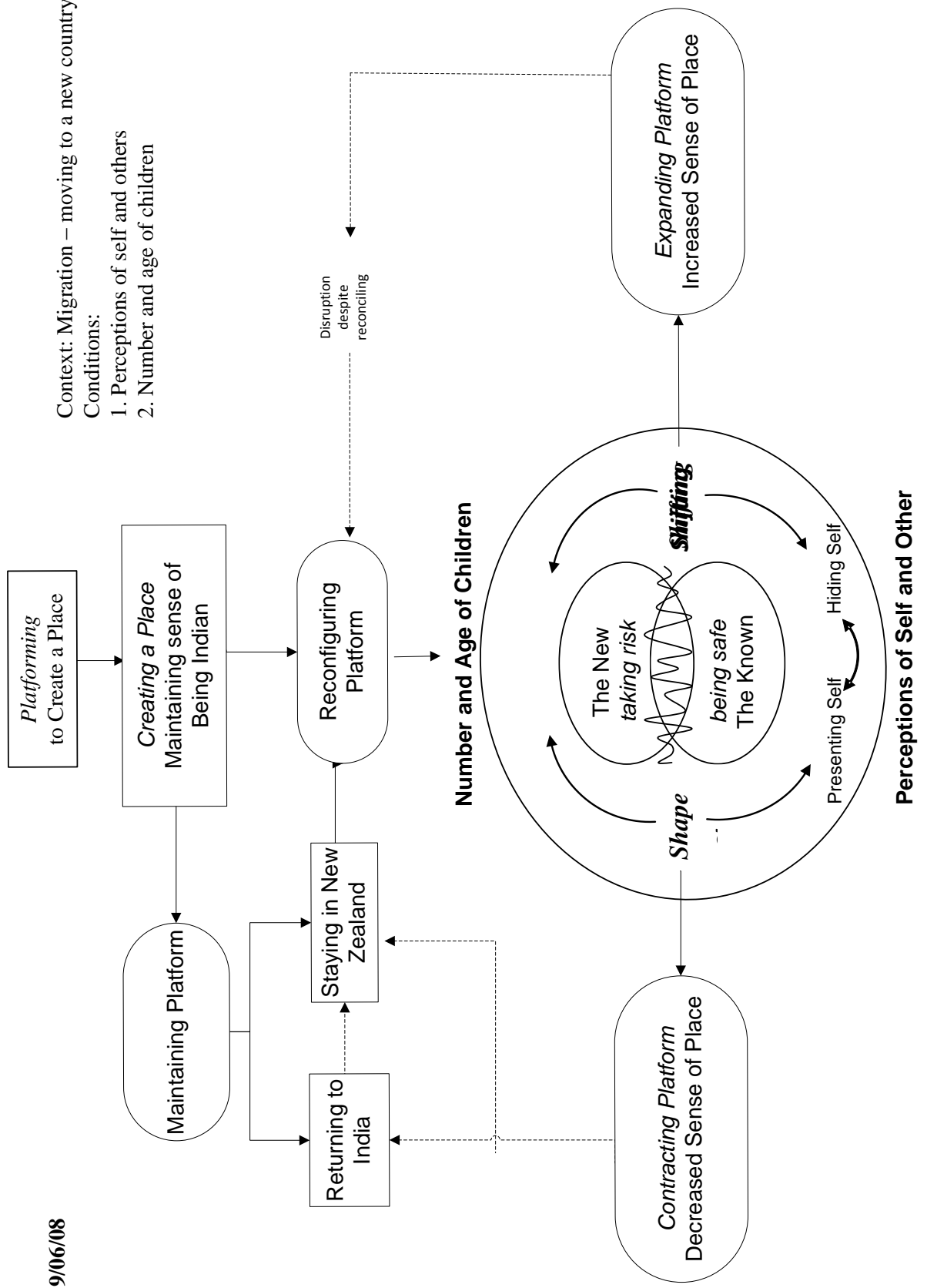
Salient Conditions:
 1. Perceived receiving
 2. Number and age of children



Context: Migration – moving to a new country

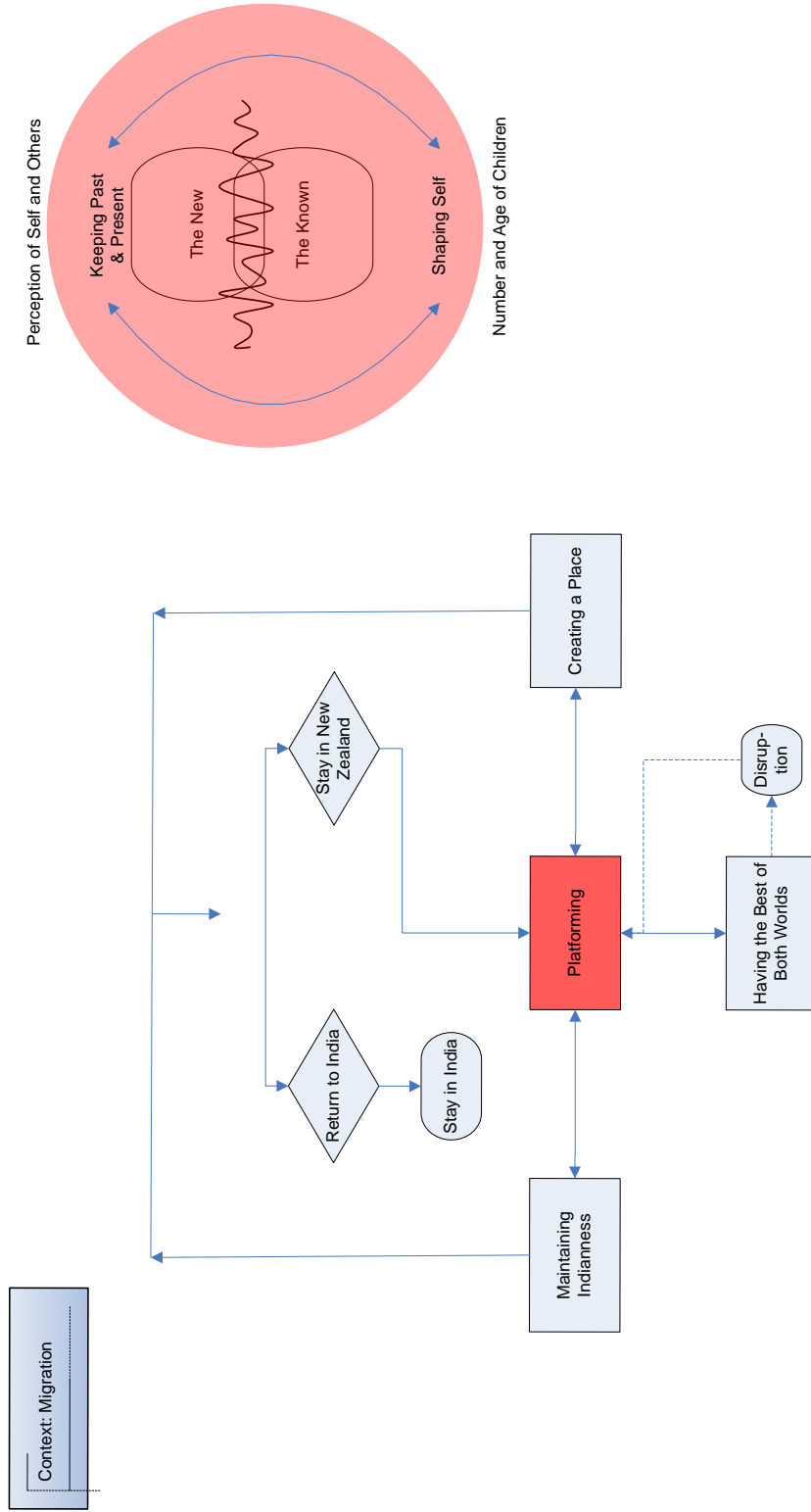


19/06/08



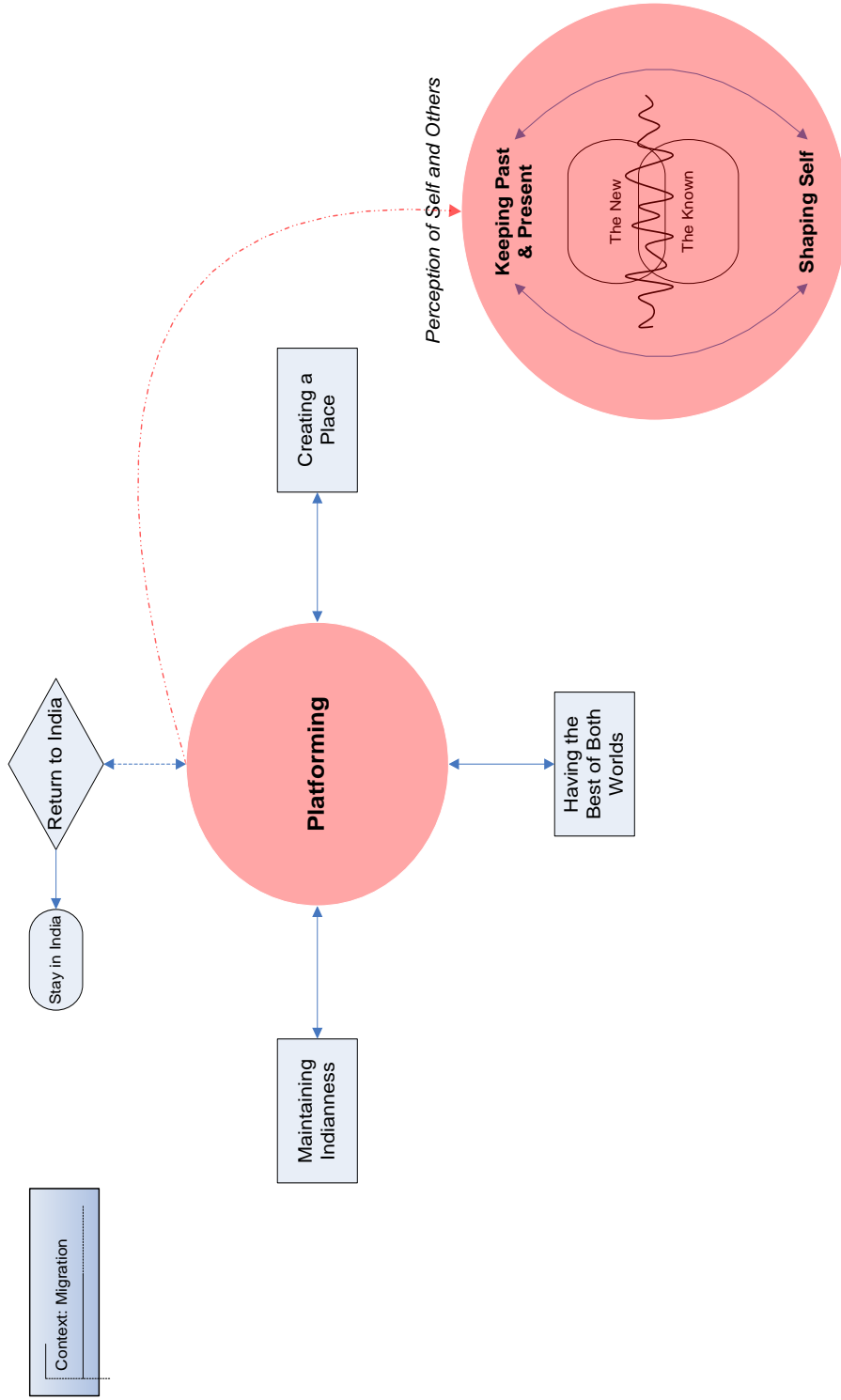
Platforming: Immigrant Indian Women Living in New Zealand

Monday, August 04, 2008



Platforming: Immigrant Indian Women Living in New Zealand

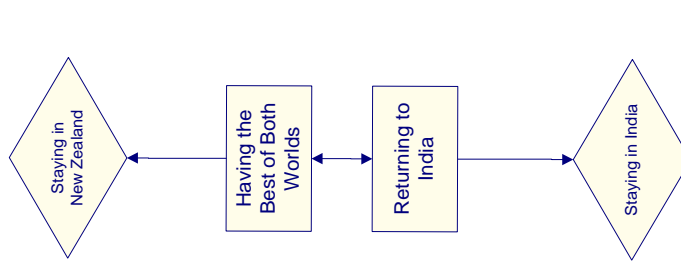
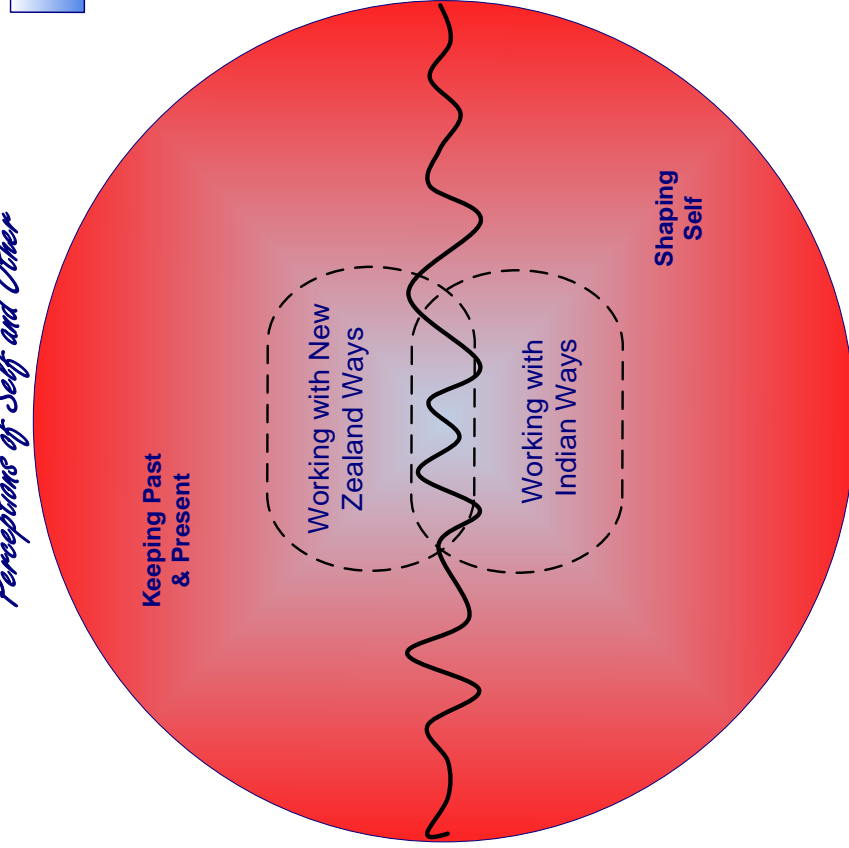
Monday, September 01, 2008



Navigating Cultural Spaces: Immigrant Indian Women Living in New Zealand

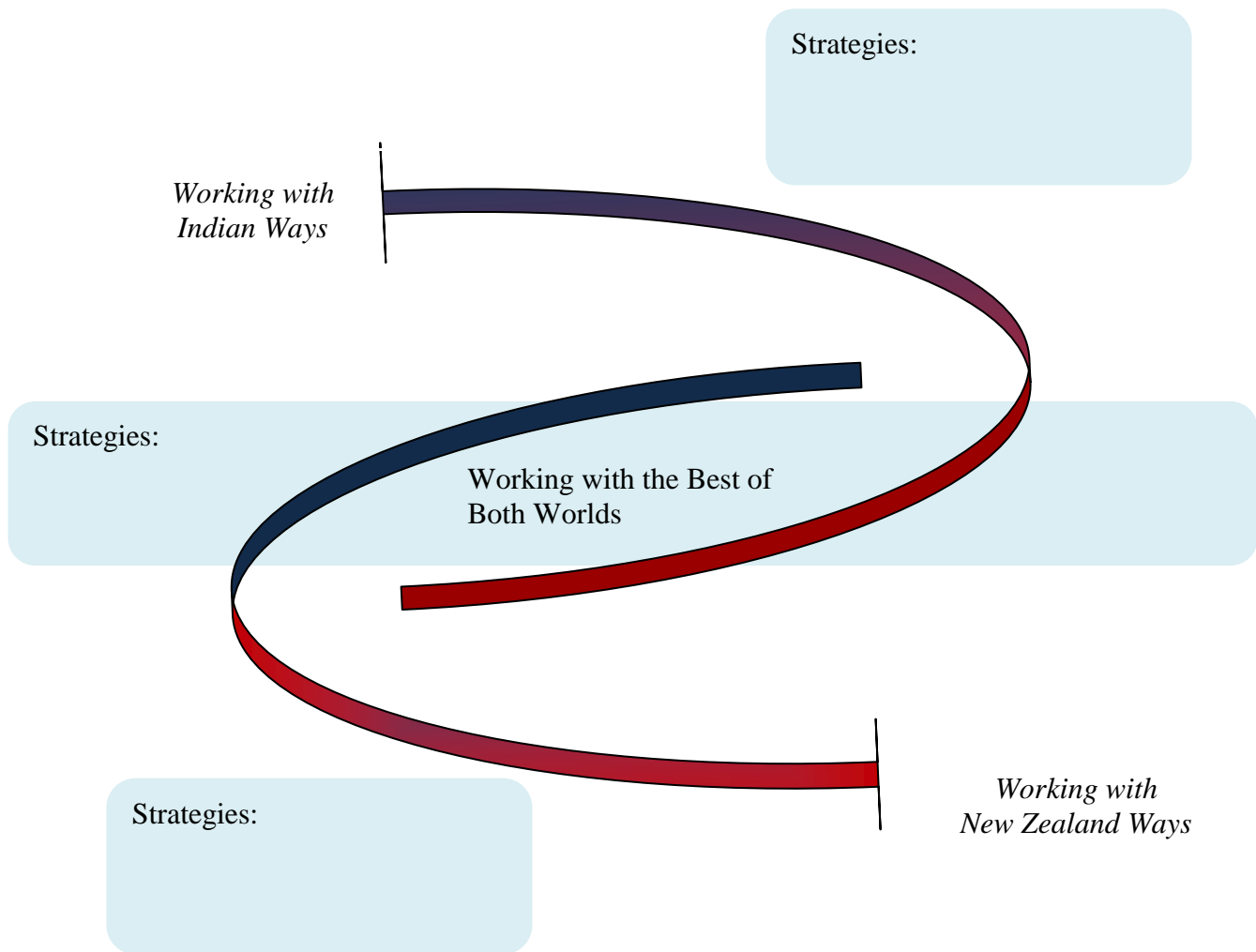
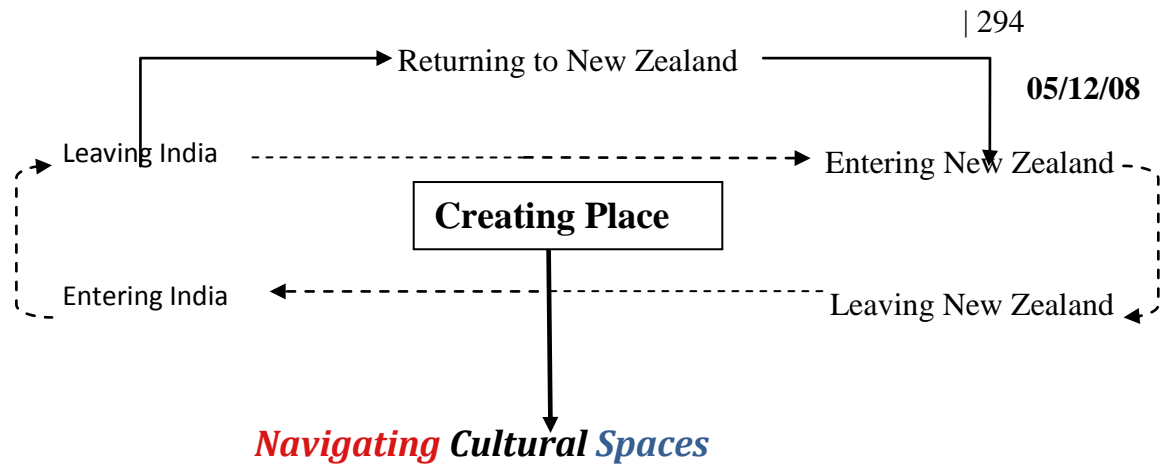
Wednesday November 05, 2008

Perceptions of Self and Other

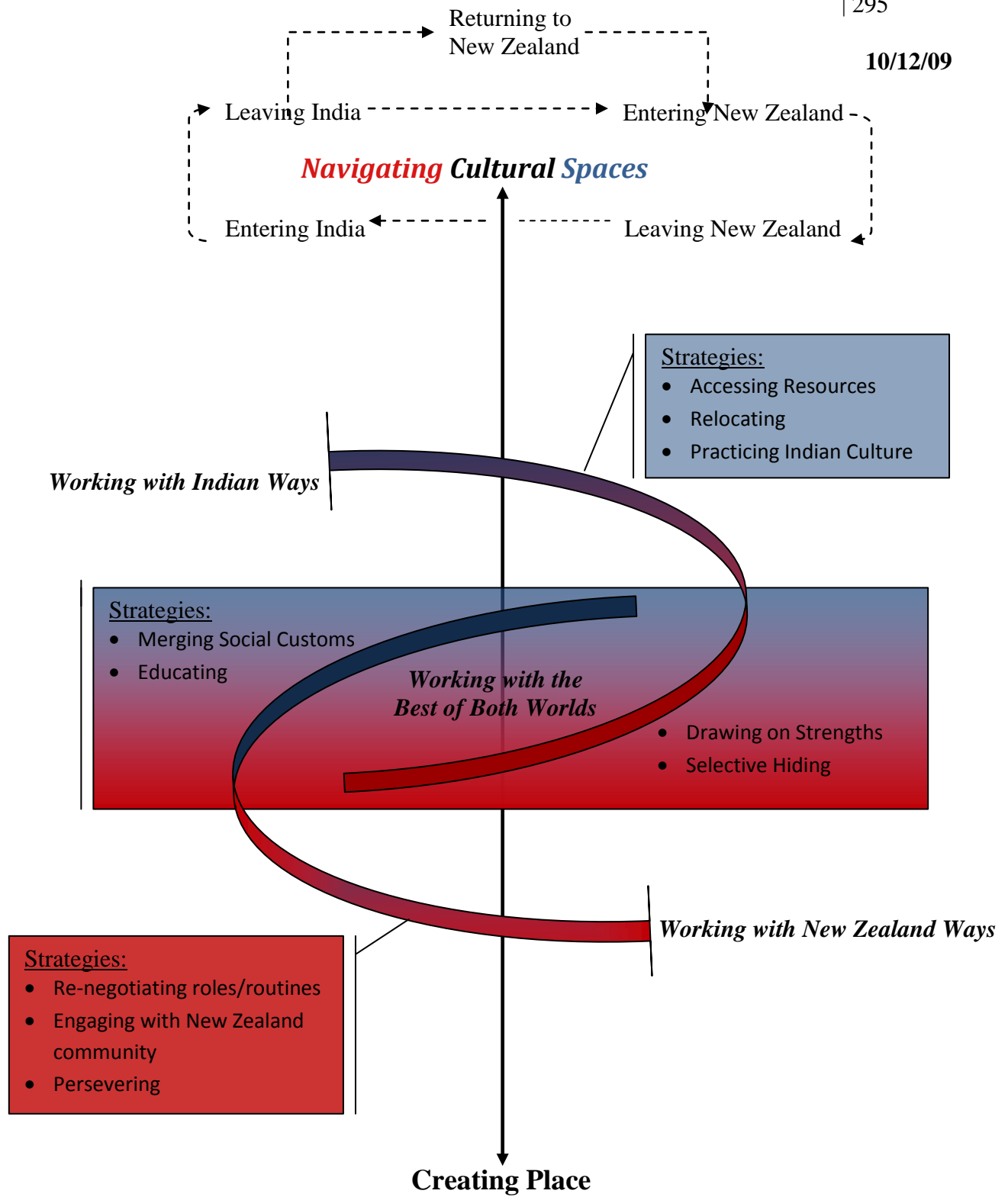


Context: Migration

Number and Age of Children



- Salient Conditions:
1. Perceptions of Self and Other
 2. Number and Age of Children
 3. Platform Availability
 4. Call back to India



- Salient Conditions:**

1. Perceptions of Self and Others	3. Platform Availability
2. Number and Age of Children	4. Call back to India

Appendix N: Diagram of Substantive Theory – Navigating Cultural Spaces

Salient Conditions:

<p>1. Perceptions of Self and Other</p> <p>2. Number and Age of Children</p>	<p>3. Platform Availability</p> <p>4. Call Back to India</p>
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