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Acculturation Trajectories and Quality of Life in South African Immigrants Living in New Zealand

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of**

Doctor of Clinical Psychology,

**at Massey University, Palmerston North,
New Zealand.**

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*To my parents: Pieter and Bernadene:
Ultimately it is because of you that our migration journey began and
I credit our success as migrants to your faith, courage and perseverance.*

Abstract

Contemporary migration research using quantitative methods is limited by the use of variable-centred analysis, static measures of acculturation and a focus on negative outcomes. The current study sought to gain the benefits of both quantitative and qualitative approaches to migration research. The aim of this study was to explore the acculturation trajectories and quality of life in a group of South African immigrants living in New Zealand. The benefits of qualitative analysis were retained in the current study by a focus on case-centred rather than variable-centred analysis, incorporating a temporal perspective to capture migration experiences over time (trajectories) and using semi-structured interview data to examine individual experiences of migration. However, this study also employed quantitative analysis in the form of cluster analysis of interview data to detect shared acculturation patterns within subgroups of cases. Following this, thematic analysis was used to explore individual cases within these subgroups which were used to form profiles of shared acculturation trajectories.

Participants in this study were a snowball sample of 50 South African immigrants, aged 18 years and over, who had lived in New Zealand for up to 11 years. Participants were asked to complete a one hour semi-structured interview, a short socio-demographic questionnaire and the World Health Organisation Quality of Life measure (WHOQOL-100). The interview focused on migration experiences in the pre-, early, mid and current phases of migration and the main focus of interviews was motivations for migration, employment experiences, social support, stress and coping at different phases of migration.

The two primary forms of analysis in this study were profiling cases and thematic analysis. Following cluster analysis of the interview data, selected clusters were characterised using interview, quality of life and socio-demographic variables at discrete phases of the trajectory. Clusters which were exemplars of three emergent meta-themes, child-focused, social support and employment, were selected and profiles were generated and interpreted following thematic analysis. The three types of profiles generated were: profiles of selected clusters of cases at discrete phases of the trajectory,

primarily quantitative profiles of these same clusters of cases across the complete trajectory, and a qualitative elaboration of profiles of cases who shared similar trajectories.

This study highlights the possibility of exploring both shared and idiosyncratic experiences within samples of immigrants. The profiles of acculturation trajectories highlight some important issues for South African immigrants living in New Zealand, including pre-migration contextual issues, employment experiences, financial stress, and participation in South African communities. Key findings of this study were the importance of children in motivations for migration, evidence of various levels of employment satisfaction in early migration although often employment satisfaction increased in later phases of migration, and finally this study showed important differences between Afrikaans and English-speaking South African immigrants with regards to their social support experiences and preferences. This study offers an approach to migration research which uses both quantitative and qualitative methods. In addition this study provides an alternative approach to migration research which is case-based, acknowledges the complexity and temporal aspects of acculturation, and examines the broad consequences of migration.

Acknowledgements

Academic study, particularly research, has often been described as a journey. In my view this journey holds some parallels to the process of migration; inevitable highs and lows, the need for determination and commitment and the essential ingredient of support from family and friends. The nature of this study also entailed many actual journeys across the North Island interviewing participants. Like the initial stages of migration, I felt both excitement and apprehension. To my delight I found the reception of my participants reflected the same experience many described when arriving in New Zealand; a warm welcome and friendly hospitality. Thank you for every cup of Rooibos, the ‘melk tert’, the encouragement and most valuable of all; your time, energy and the honesty with which you told your stories. It is my sincere hope that your migration stories, portrayed in this study, will benefit those who are contemplating or starting the migration journey.

At the start of this study I believed I understood much about the transition which takes place during migration. However, I did not anticipate the rich and unique experiences that my participants would relay. I came to a new appreciation of migration stories and witnessed the value of being given an opportunity to remember and share these experiences. I have learned that the migration journey is unfolding and that the decision to move from your country of origin will continue to impact on your life in ways that are hard to anticipate. I have also learned that no matter how well acculturated we become, our origin and roots remain.

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I count myself lucky to have many great friends. The friendships I have formed through university, work and tennis have provided some much needed encouragement and light relief amongst the intensity of this thesis. In particular, I want to thank my greatest friends Amanda and Debbie: *"I love us". I live with constant awareness that I don't deserve to have such good friends! Thank you for your amazing friendship, your unfailing love and support. You both continue to provide a tangible demonstration of true friendship which has been unwavering through both good and bad days.*

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Preface

This study examined acculturation trajectories of South African immigrants living in New Zealand and their current quality of life. The term ‘trajectory’, as used in this study, encompassed the experience of migrants over time. Acculturation trajectories were examined here by exploring migrants’ experiences at four phases of migration: pre, early, mid and current migration. The aim of the study was to examine the nature of acculturation trajectories and current quality of life of South African immigrants and to explore whether there were subgroups of South African immigrants in the sample.

Migration has often been likened to the metaphor of transplanting a tree. As a young sapling, new root systems are vulnerable to the effects of harsh environmental conditions, yet often less affected by the process of transplantation. Trees of greater maturity typically have well-established root systems which have developed over the course of many years. At times, these roots are entangled with those of other nearby trees as they have become established and matured alongside each other. These strong, sturdy trees are well accustomed to their environment, having weathered many harsh conditions. Transplanting these trees, particularly to a markedly different environment, is a complex task. Their root systems need time to re-establish and some roots may be severed during transplantation. My experience as a South African emigrant to New Zealand was somewhat challenging in the initial stages. However, my new roots quickly developed and took to the new environment. The relocation of the mature trees in my family - my parents, grandmothers, and other extended family - was more challenging because of their deeply ingrained root systems. The challenge of relocation has been greater for them and part of them is likely to always remain in South Africa. As a South African immigrant, I have my own migration story and experience. I was born in Bloemfontein, South Africa, but raised in a predominantly English-speaking city called Pietermaritzburg. My family and I moved to New Zealand when I was eleven years old. We each had unique challenges and obstacles to overcome. As a young adolescent with an unmistakable South African accent, I was attempting to form an identity coupled with the uncertainty which accompanies a significant change of location and culture. In those first years, I longed to ‘fit in’ and be a ‘kiwi’ but each time I opened my mouth I was reminded that I was different. I was thankful that, at

least from the external appearance, I appeared the same. This awkward transition did not last long and after a year my kiwi accent sounded almost authentic, I was well integrated into high school, had good friends and was involved in a number of hobbies and sports. In those early days I had a longing to be part of the majority. Nowadays I am more appreciative of the unique experiences I have had as an immigrant and I can see this has shaped who I am today. While I have never looked back and I am grateful to be accepted as a New Zealander, I am always surprised to find a sense of familiarity and connection when I meet other South Africans.

As a training Clinical Psychologist, I am passionate and interested in people. The combination of my clinical training and experience, as well as time working in a therapeutic community has taught me that no one person experiences events in the same way. People are diverse and unique and while there is a sense of relief in finding others who are similar to us, we also long to know that we are different, that our story is unique and worth listening to. This study sought to identify both the similarities and differences within this sample of South African immigrants living in New Zealand. This approach stands in contrast to testing complex multivariate models using aggregated data which loses sight of the individual experience. However, this study also sought to identify similarities within the sample rather than pursuing a completely idiosyncratic level of analysis as often seen in case study research designs. Instead both similarities and differences were explored in order to highlight the diversity within the sample and provide a greater understanding of participant's experiences of migration. The method used in this study is one that aimed to honour this paradox; our desire for both commonality and individuality, our similar yet unique stories. The method also allowed participants to tell their migration story which was often not only beneficial for the purpose of this study but also facilitated opportunities for participants to reflect on and make sense of their experiences. These individual migration stories were coded and subgroups of participants were identified within the sample at different phases of migration using cluster analysis. A central focus of the study was then to further characterise the subgroups and to explore quality of life consequences of various migration experiences.

As a group of immigrants, many of us are grateful to live in a country of peace, safety, incredible scenic beauty, generous and friendly people. This gratitude however, should not be mistaken for a desire to renounce our origins. Our situation is unique in that we chose to leave but many feel they had no choice but to leave. Participants often conveyed experiences of loss and grief for the history, heritage and culture left behind in South Africa. While at times South African emigrants have been called traitors or deserters and accused of “jumping ship”, I believe the migration story of South African emigrants is one that reflects courage and bravery. The decision to leave South Africa does not equate to a people who are disconnected from their country or ashamed of who they are. South Africa is a country of vibrancy, richness, red soil, vast beauty and unique wildlife. The decision to leave South Africa often comes from the recognition that the next generation deserve more and that safety, security, freedom and quality of life are worth the many sacrifices encompassed in migration.

The first chapter of this thesis provides a global and national context for the study of migration with particular emphasis on the migration of South African immigrants to New Zealand. The second chapter includes definitions of key terminology used in migration research which helps clarify terms used in subsequent discussion. Chapter Two also provides a summary of key theoretical models and frameworks in migration literature. A detailed discussion of Berry’s (2006) model of acculturation strategies is provided here which is central to migration literature and research, and widely supported. This section also identifies other important migration theories, including some who challenge traditional, mainstream approaches to studying migration. In the second chapter several variables implicated in migration research are identified. A rationale for the use of quality of life outcomes is also provided in this closing section. Chapter Three provides a critical review of prominent migration studies. This chapter also includes review of migration studies conducted in New Zealand and research with South African immigrants. The final section of Chapter Three highlights the limitations of existing research which provide the rationale for the approach utilised in the current study. Following this, the aim and focus of the present study is presented. Chapter Four outlines the method of the current study including the study design, participants, materials and procedure, pilot study, and ethical considerations. There are three results chapters in this thesis which relate to the three types of profiles generated and

interpreted. Chapter Five provides the results of cluster analysis and profiles of selected clusters of cases at different phases of their trajectories. Chapter Six then provides the profiles of individual cases from within these clusters viewed from a whole trajectory perspective and Chapter Seven provides profiles of cases who shared similar trajectories. The final chapter, Chapter Eight includes a summary of this study, discussion of results, methodological caveats, recommendations for future research and concluding remarks about this study.

Chapter One: Migration Context

The first two introductory chapters will provide a context and foundation for migration research. The first chapter begins by providing several statistics for global and New Zealand migration. This discussion highlights the importance of migration for the social, political and economic climate of New Zealand. In the discussion regarding New Zealand migration, a brief outline of migration policy is also provided. Following this, key issues related to South African immigrants, who are the focus of this research, are also discussed.

Global and New Zealand Migration

This section briefly highlights the importance of migration within a global and New Zealand context and examines South African immigration to New Zealand which is the focus of this study, in greater detail. New Zealand migration statistics are provided to support the claim that New Zealand migration is an important issue and the high number of South Africans living in New Zealand suggests that they are a population which should be considered. In addition, New Zealand immigration policy and the implications of these policies for both South African immigrants and other migrant groups are also discussed in this chapter.

Few psychological theories regarding motivation to migrate exist. Carr (2004) suggests six main motivations to migrate: the promise of better income and economic opportunities, political factors, career or vocational opportunities, lifestyle factors, cultural factors where similar or better opportunities for diversity may be possible, and family factors. While migration for those in developing countries is restricted, the age of globalisation has enabled many people to move freely across boundaries. For people in developed countries, globalisation has been achieved through advanced and efficient modes of communication, transportation and related technological advances. The movement of people across the world has become an important part of economic and human capital growth (United Nations, 2009). International mobility has the potential to improve the economic, political, social, health and educational aspects of an individual or family but it also highlights a key element of human freedom which is the

ability to choose where to live (United Nations, 2009). According to the 2009 United Nations International Migration Report (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2011) an estimated 213.9 million people worldwide were regarded as international migrants (having migrated once in their lifetime) in 2010. This figure rose from an estimated 155.5 million international migrants in 1990. As a percentage of the world's population it is estimated that international migrants increased from 2.9% in 1990 to 3.1% in 2010 (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2011). Given these statistics and the broader implications of migration for migrants, their families and the host society, we can conclude that global migration is an important issue.

Migrants in New Zealand

New Zealand has become a multicultural society over recent years. Statistics from the last New Zealand census indicate that nearly 1 in 4 New Zealanders were born overseas. According to the 2006 census, approximately 879,543 of the resident population living in New Zealand were born outside of New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). More recent statistics from the United Nations show that 962,072 people in New Zealand or 22.4% of the New Zealand population, were international migrants in 2010 (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2011).

Successful migration is an important issue for both people living in New Zealand and for the international migrants who move to New Zealand. Successful migration is indicated when migrants settle, contribute and remain in the country after taking up residence (Shorland, 2006). Current migration statistics indicate that New Zealand has a consistent and increasing number of migrants who leave New Zealand each year (Shorland, 2006). While migrants may leave because they miss their homes and families or have business obligations, unsuccessful settlement and adaptation to New Zealand is also a contributing factor for some migrants (Shorland, 2006). The loss of migrants from New Zealand is an important issue which impacts on both the health and wellbeing of migrants, and also the economic growth of New Zealand. The focus for policy makers in New Zealand should therefore not only be on attracting and selecting

migrants, but also retaining them (Bürgelt, Morgan & Pernice, 2008).

New Zealand immigration policy has important implications for New Zealand's migration population. A number of changes have been made to immigration policy since it was formed. A brief overview of New Zealand immigration policy issues are provided here (for a more detailed discussion see Bedford, Ho & Bedford, 2010).

In the late 19th and 20th century, New Zealand policy favoured European settlers and migration from Europe grew steadily due to widespread labour shortages in New Zealand. In the 1960s and 1970s, severe labour shortages also prompted a large increase in Pacific migration. This later subsided and many Pacific Island migrants were deported back to their home country. During the 1970s, New Zealand experienced a stream of refugees from Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam. In 1986 and 1991, changes were made to New Zealand's immigration policy which resulted in a large influx of settlers from non-traditional sources (Sang & Ward, 2006). The policy changes in 1991 led to active recruitment of "skilled and entrepreneurial" immigrants as it was believed that this would contribute to the economic growth and prosperity of New Zealand (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2010). The points system was introduced awarding points for age, qualifications, employment experience, sponsorship by family or community groups, job offer or settlement and investment funds.

The most significant consequence of these policy changes was a 240% increase in immigration from diverse countries located across the continent of Asia (Henderson, 2003). This policy was later revised and more defined and challenging criteria for entry into New Zealand were introduced, as well as stricter taxation provisions and statutory registration requirement before points were awarded for qualifications. The statutory registration requirement for both teachers and doctors decreased the flow of immigrants who gained entry into New Zealand but were unable to practice on arrival thus creating significant barriers for employment within these specific fields. Points were no longer allocated for investment funds and the introduction of a language filter restricted entry of immigrants. The 1995 review of immigration policy added social cohesion as a goal of successful immigration policy and language regulations were also introduced. Over recent years, a number of important changes have been made to immigration

policy. In 2003, immigration policy shifted from passive acceptance to active recruitment of skilled migrants (Bedford et al., 2010). The introduction of a two stage invitation selection system occurred at this time and has remained the current selection system for migrants. The selection system requires potential migrants to register an 'expression of interest' (EOI) based on health, character, English language pre-requisites and a minimum number of points. Those who register are placed in a pool of migrants and those with the highest level of points are invited to apply for residence. Once an application is lodged there are two main streams whereby migrants are accepted into New Zealand. The first stream grants residence to those who have demonstrated the ability to settle into New Zealand (e.g., successfully studied or worked in New Zealand or have a job offer). The second stream permits migrants to enter a work to residence two-year programme and is granted for those migrants who are yet to demonstrate their ability to settle in New Zealand (Bedford et al., 2010).

Since the introduction of this selection system, numerous changes have been made to the number of points allocated and the categories for point allocation. The top five countries represented in the EOI during 2006-2008 were people from the United Kingdom, China, South Africa, India and the Philippines (Bedford et al., 2010). In the future, a number of important changes are likely to occur in New Zealand immigration due to issues of trans-Tasman migration and an ageing population. The implications of these issues will have important effects on the demand for younger skilled migrants and may result in further changes to immigration policy (Bedford et al., 2010). An understanding of immigration policy and migrant selection processes provides important information about the pre- and early migration experiences for migrants who seek residence in New Zealand.

South African Migrants in New Zealand

The number of people born in South Africa who now live in New Zealand has increased over the years. In 1981, this figure was 3,996, ranking South Africa the 17th most common birthplace of people living in New Zealand at that time. However, in the most recently available census data, South Africa was ranked the 6th most common overseas birthplace of people living in New Zealand, with 41,676 South African-born people

living in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The skilled category of residence approvals remains the main avenue for settlement in New Zealand. Migrants from India, Britain, South Africa and China have been identified as the largest source of migrants approved for entry into New Zealand (Henderson, Trlin & Watts, 2001).

During periods of political instability, South Africa has experienced periods of mass exodus such as in 1994, prior to the first democratic elections. Since then many South Africans have left the country due to increasing levels of violence, crime and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Violent crime has become a defining characteristic of post-apartheid society (Frueh, 2003). The South African Police Service (SAPS) reported the murder rate in South Africa between 2011 and 2012 was 30.9 per 100,000 in population (SAPS, 2012). This is over six times higher than the murder rate in the United States which was 4.7 per 100,000 (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2011). South Africa has been described by some authors as the most violent country outside a war zone (Bennett & Rigby, 1997). It is difficult to establish a true picture of crime in South Africa due to disparity between crime statistics from the South African government which show rates of crime are stable or even declining, compared to the daily experiences of people living in South Africa (Frueh, 2003).

Statistics of violence and crime in South Africa do not adequately convey the effect that crime has had on South African society and day-to-day life there (Frueh, 2003). The result of high rates of violence, crime and an uncertain future is the exodus of large quantities of people out of South Africa, resulting in a phenomenon labelled 'brain drain' (Marchetti-Mercer, 2009). This occurs when large quantities of people with specialised skills which are difficult to replace, leave a country. In South Africa, 'brain drain' caused the South African government to begin an initiative called the 'homecoming revolution' which targeted up to an estimated 1.2 million South Africans living and working in Britain.

Harrison and Nortje (2000) suggest that there are unique elements of involuntariness and loss for South African immigrants. While the decision to emigrate from South Africa is often classified as voluntary, some argue that South African emigration may be more accurately defined as semi-voluntary due to political instability, violence, crime,

high rates of unemployment and decline in infrastructure (Khawaja & Mason, 2008).

The emotional costs of emigration for South African migrants may include feelings of concern and guilt for leaving family and friends behind, and anger at feeling forced out of the country due to economic and political instability, safety and security risks. The exodus of South Africans has at times been perceived as desertion by those still living in South Africa and emigrants who return to South Africa may experience criticism and resentment by those who have remained living there (Marchetti-Mercer, 2009).

Problems of adjustment may also be experienced by immigrants settling into a new country who feel they can no longer return to South Africa and those who do return find they no longer fit into South African society (Marchetti-Mercer, 2009).

A complex picture of adaptation emerges from the studies conducted with South African immigrants living in New Zealand and Australia and will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Khawaja and Mason (2008) suggest that, on the surface, South African immigrants appear to assimilate successfully, although participants in their study frequently reported feelings of loss and grief. Pernice, Trlin, Henderson, North and Skinner (2009) compared a group of South African migrants with two other migrant groups and contrary to expectations found the South African sample experienced poor mental health levels despite greater employment success. The researchers proposed that unique motivational factors for migration to New Zealand may account for this unexpected finding. Clearly a better understanding of the circumstances of South African migration and their experience of life in New Zealand is needed.

Poot and Cochrane (2005) call for more research with South African immigrants living in New Zealand. While some research has been conducted, a greater understanding of the unique context of South African emigration and how this impacts on settlement in New Zealand is needed. One possible explanation for the limited research with this population may be due to the lack of visibility, given that the majority of South African immigrants are Caucasian and have the ability to speak English (Meares, Lewin, Cain, Spoonley, Pearce & Ho, 2011).

This chapter discussed the global and New Zealand context for migration research and demonstrates that migration is an important issue which influences the social, economic

and political environment of both the host society and the migrant's country of origin. There are a range of potential factors which may be implicated in South African migration to New Zealand. An understanding of the context of South African emigration and the influence this has on settlement in New Zealand is necessary in order to assist South African immigrants with adaptation to life in New Zealand.

Chapter 2: Migration Theory

This chapter will provide an overview of prominent migration theories. The first section will begin by providing definitions of several key migration terms which relate to the current study. The next section will provide an overview of several migration theories, starting with early theories and later discussion of contemporary theories and different migration frameworks which attempt to account for the complex process of migration. The final section of this chapter outlines several key variables highlighted by these theories and indicates which of these factors are considered in the current study.

Terminology

This first section provides definitions for some of the key variables included in the current study. Considerable overlap exists within the literature and at times terms are used interchangeably. The aim of this section is to provide some clarity and precision around terms used in subsequent sections.

Migrants, immigrants and refugees.

In the most recent human development report issued by the United Nations (2009), a long-term migrant is defined as a person who changes their usual place of residence for a period of at least one year. People who have resided in a new country for more than three months but less than one year are classified as short-term migrants. There is some variation in the time criteria associated with the definition of migrants in different countries. In New Zealand, long-term migrants are defined as those migrants who have established permanent residence in New Zealand (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2011).

The motives for emigration, movement away from an individual's country of origin, vary but common reasons include professional opportunities, better salaries and working conditions, the presence of natural and man-made disasters, or poverty and famine (Hernández-Plaza, García-Ramírez, Camacho & Paloma, 2010). Immigrants and refugees are the two main types of long-term migrants and may be distinguished according to their motivation for migration. Refugees are often greatly influenced by

‘push’ factors and involuntary decisions to migrate are often characterised by tumult and loss. In contrast immigrants are often influenced by ‘pull’ factors such as employment, greater opportunities and a better lifestyle. The decision made by immigrants is usually voluntary and is typically characterised as a planned and hopeful choice (Westermeyer, 1990). However, other authors have suggested that the characteristics of immigration are not this simplistic and even planned and desired relocation has involuntary aspects (Brody, 1990).

While it may be assumed that South Africa emigrants are motivated by similar pull factors to other immigrant groups, there are important differences in the push factors. Given rising levels of political instability, violence and crime, Khawaja and Mason (2008) suggest South African migrants may more closely resemble a group called ‘anticipatory refugees’ rather than immigrants. Refugees are a group characterised by reluctance to uproot and are distinguished from voluntary migrants by the absence of positive motivations to settle elsewhere (Kunz, 1973). Kunz (1973) distinguished between two types of refugee groups: ‘anticipatory’ and ‘acute’ refugees. ‘Anticipatory refugees’ are a group that leave their home country before deterioration of military or political situations prevent orderly departure and that emigration from the country may result in gradual economic restrictions. This group find it intolerable to stay in their home country. Kunz (1973) assert that in this situation, pull motivations have little part to play in the decision to leave and that a ‘push permit’ notion is more fitting, where a person seeks out other possible countries to settle in due to apprehension about the future in their home country. While South African migrants typically report both push and pull motivations for emigration, Kunz’ (1973) description of anticipatory refugee movement has important similarities to the nature of South African emigration and highlights the unique context of South African migration which may be more influenced by push rather than pull factors.

Acculturation.

Acculturation is a term used to describe the process of change experienced by immigrants or refugees. A formal definition of acculturation provided by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936) is often cited in migration literature. These authors define

acculturation as “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.” (p.149). The fundamental assumption of this definition is that people can move successfully between cultures, the process can be managed to increase the possibility of successful adaptation, and mental health problems may be reduced or prevented (Berry, 1990). An important point which is at times overlooked in definitions of and research regarding acculturation is that mental health problems following migration are not inevitable (Rudmin, 2009). As a result, research has neglected the broader implications of migration and the possibility of positive changes occurring as a result of migration.

Acculturation is a dual process of both cultural and psychological change, where individuals acquire new, culturally appropriate skills to live in the new society and become satisfied with life conditions in the new context (Hernandez-Plaza et al., 2010). T.D. Graves (1967, cited in Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999) used the term ‘psychological acculturation’ to highlight the psychological and behavioural changes which result from sustained contact with members of other cultural groups. Others have used the term ‘psychological acculturation’ to refer to the changes which occur on an individual level relating to a person’s values, attitudes and identity (Sam, 2006).

Some authors argue that the term ‘acculturation’ is used too liberally and the literature demonstrates ambiguity around the changes which may result from changes in culture versus changes which may result from life events unrelated to migration. Phinney (2006) suggests that the term ‘acculturation’ should only be used to describe changes that result from cultural contact and suggests that researchers should avoid describing the “effects of acculturation” as this oversimplifies the term and implies that acculturation is a single entity. These authors highlight the difficulty of defining processes which relate to acculturation and demonstrate the complexity of this concept.

While the term ‘enculturation’ has been used interchangeably with ‘acculturation’, there are important differences. ‘Enculturation’ is described by Berry (2001) as the process of becoming a competent member of, and identifying with, one particular culture. The term ‘enculturation’ neglects to acknowledge the dual and dynamic nature of change

which occurs when two cultures come into contact, while ‘acculturation’ acknowledges the involvement of two cultures (Berry, 2001). Therefore enculturation is a necessary consideration when examining acculturation but enculturation is not sufficient to account for the entire process of acculturation which is also about the contact between two cultural groups. Acculturation is further complicated when the host society is bicultural (as in New Zealand) as this incorporates the contact between multiple cultural groups.

Clearly acculturation is a key concept in migration research. This discussion highlights some of the ambiguity around definitions of acculturation. This thesis will argue that the complexity of acculturation should be acknowledged more explicitly and when studying migration, attempts should be made to translate the process of acculturation into research methodology in order to gain a greater understanding of migrant’s experiences.

Adaptation.

Adaptation is a term often used either interchangeably with acculturation or used in relation to acculturative processes. While the formal construct of adaptation is not a key focus of the current study, this term is described here briefly in order to distinguish this concept from that of acculturation.

Psychological and sociocultural adaptation, are two major outcomes of the acculturation process (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). According to Ward and Kennedy’s (1994) model of adaptation, ‘psychological adaptation’ refers to the psychological and emotional wellbeing of the migrant and ‘sociocultural adaptation’ is the ability to fit in and negotiate interactive aspects of the new environment. Psychological adaptation is understood and interpreted within a stress and coping framework and sociocultural adaptation within a cultural learning paradigm (Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

The culture learning approach proposes that adaptation is a form of learning culture-specific skills and problems which may result from difficulties with social encounters in the new environment (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). This approach recognises the

importance of culture-specific variables such as length of residence in the new culture, cultural distance, cultural identity, language and communication competence, nature of contact with host nationals and previous overseas experience (Ward et al., 2001). According to the stress and coping framework, migration is seen as a process that is stress-provoking and dependent on resources and coping responses. Personal and demographic factors, personality factors, pre-migration stressors and cultural distance are also important considerations in this framework. The concept of adaptation as described by Ward and colleagues considers the importance of variables which influence the experience of migration such as interactions between the migrant and host society. In addition, this framework examines the broad outcomes following migration which relate to both psychological and socio-cultural processes.

Acculturative stress.

Acculturative stress is also a prominent term in migration research. Acculturative stress is defined as “a reduction in health status (including psychological, somatic and social aspects) of individuals who are undergoing acculturation, and for which there is evidence that these health phenomena are related systematically to acculturation phenomena” (Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987, p. 491). Five types of changes occur as a result of acculturation: physical (e.g., new location), biological (e.g., new types of nutrition), cultural (e.g., political, economic, linguistic), psychological (e.g., behaviour and mental health status) and develop new sets of social relationships (Berry et al., 1987). Acculturative stress relates to the nature of the new society (monocultural versus bicultural or multicultural), the type of acculturating group (refugee or immigrant), the mode of acculturation (assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation) and the individual's or group's coping abilities (Berry et al., 1987). In addition, acculturative stress refers to the negative psychological and psychosomatic consequences of cross-cultural contact and change (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

The set of stress behaviours which result from the process of acculturation are varied and depend on a number of individual differences and social variables. Lowered mental health status is often seen as a result of acculturative stress, specifically confusion, anxiety and depression. Individuals may also experience feelings of marginality,

alienation, identity confusion and stress may manifest through physical symptoms (Berry et al., 1987). Studies of acculturative stress are prominent in existing migration research. The concept of acculturative stress has been well defined and acknowledges the potential influence of multiple factors during migration. However, it should be noted that while migration has the potential to cause stress and negative health outcomes, migration may also enhance and benefit migrants and their families. Examining acculturative stress alone as a consequence of migration takes a narrow view of acculturation and does not acknowledge the potential for migration to benefit migrants and their families. For this reason, the current study examines the broader notion of quality of life.

Culture shock.

Another term which has been used to describe the experience of migrants following migration is culture shock. While there is no clear definition of culture shock, authors agree that it is a disorientating experience which occurs when a person finds that the perspectives, behaviours and experience of an individual, group or society are not shared by others (Furnham, 2010). Symptoms of culture shock, which include strain, sense of loss and feelings of deprivation, rejection, confusion, surprise, anxiety, disgust or indignation at cultural differences, may also be a normal part of adaptation; however, at times these symptoms may lead to more serious clinical issues for migrants (Furnham, 2010). Other forms of shock have also been observed in migrant groups. These include 're-professionalisation' and 're-licensing shock', where trained professionals' qualifications are not accepted by the host country and they are required to retrain; and 'business shock' which may occur due to the subtle differences in business practice between cultures (Furnham, 2010). Culture shock conveys the reaction some migrants may experience during their encounter with a new culture. However, like acculturative stress, this concept is limited by an exclusive focus on the negative consequences which may result from migration rather than also examining the potential benefits or positive changes which may also occur.

Quality of life and wellbeing.

A central argument in the current thesis is that mental health problems as a result of acculturation are not inevitable. Acculturation has the potential to both improve an individual's life as well as cause significant stress and on-going problems in adaptation. Although the focus of migration studies is often on negative health outcomes, there are positive outcomes associated with migration as well. Rudmin (2009) goes so far as to say acculturation is generally not stressful and cites a number of studies which provide evidence for this claim.

Positive outcomes of migration have been investigated in studies exploring concepts such as wellbeing and quality of life. Notions of wellbeing and quality of life take a broader view of migration and can help identify some of the unknown effects of migration. Examining these constructs allows for the possibility that migration may strengthen individuals and families and improve aspects of their life. Wellbeing is a broad ranging concept and may be examined at a personal, relational and community level. On a personal level, it relates to personal control, self-determination and positive identity, whereas on a relational level, wellbeing relates to the nature of relationships between immigrants and the host population and equal opportunities for social participation. Finally, on a community level, wellbeing requires access to key resources and formal social support (Hernández-Plaza et al., 2010).

The World Health Organization New Zealand Group (Billington, Landon, Krägeloh & Shepherd, 2010) assert that a full and accurate measurement of the health of a country requires more than inferences made by experts. They state that it is important to know how satisfied people are by important aspects of their life and to know how they feel about themselves and their subjective experience of health and wellbeing in order to gain an accurate reflection of person's health. Quality of life is defined by the WHOQOL Group as:

...an individual's perception of his/her position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which he/she lives, and in relation to his/her goals, expectations, standards and concerns. It is a broad-ranging concept, affected in a complex way by the person's physical health, psychological state, personal

beliefs, social relationships, and their relationship to salient features of their environment (WHOQOL Group, 1994, p.1)

Quality of life relates to three main categories: role functioning, life satisfaction and wellbeing, and social-material conditions (Gladis, Gosch, Dishuk, & Crits-Christoph, 1999). Quality of life incorporates both positive and negative aspects of health and acknowledges the broad effects of health on an individual's psychological state, social and emotional status, and role functioning (Gladis et al., 1999). Symptom-focused approaches, where presenting complaints are only examined if meeting clinical significance, are a narrow and limited view of health and disease (Gladis et al., 1999) and the quality of life construct goes beyond this focus and examines the broad consequences of migration.

While the World Health Organisation identifies the importance of understanding quality of life, minimal research with South African immigrants (or other immigrant groups) has taken this focus. Previous migration studies have often used measures of physical and general mental health such as the Short Form Health Survey (SF36), the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ), or the Hopkins Symptom Checklist (HSCL) to measure the change which occurs following migration. These measures generally focus on physical and general mental health symptoms which include anxiety and depression scales. They neglect, however, to examine the broader implications of migration such as life satisfaction, employment, beliefs, values, social relationships and the interplay between physical and psychological states, which may be ignored or masked by a general screening tool.

In summary, this section provides definitions of several key terms used in migration literature. Of central importance to the current study is the definition of acculturation. Acculturation is a complex construct and a key element in the definition of acculturation suggests that it is a *process* of change which occurs during contact between different cultural groups which is limited by measurement of acculturation as a static construct. Related concepts such as acculturative stress and culture shock tend to focus solely on negative outcomes following migration and neglect the possibility that migration may enhance the lives of migrants and their families. For this reason, it is more informative

to draw on broader notions such as wellbeing and quality of life, and the current study examines quality of life in South African immigrants.

Theories of Migration

Early migration theories.

Migration and mental health.

Early research on migration and mental health has been traced back to the early 20th century where statistical data was collected from state mental health institutions. This data indicated that immigrants consisted of 70% of the hospital population and about 20% of the total population (Ward et al., 2001). This was the foundation for research from the early to mid-1970s.

Early migration studies were initially based on clinical observations of incidence of mental health problems among migrant populations. From these early studies, several prominent theories emerged in order to explain the presence of mental health among migrants. Odegaard's (1945) Social Selection Theory (also known as Self-Selection Theory and Premorbid Personality Theory) grew from observations of clinical cases among migrant groups, particularly cases of schizophrenia. This theory proposed that migrants' vulnerability to illness predisposed them to migration. However, it has been criticised for being too deterministic and ignoring the influences of the new society (Pernice, 2010).

Eitinger's (1959) Social Causation Theory (also known as External Stress Theory, Stress Hypothesis and General Hazard Theory) followed on from Odegaard's theory but attributed poor mental health during migration to external stresses alone. Eitinger suggested that stressors such as cultural changes, economic and social difficulties precipitated mental disorder. Again this theory was considered too simplistic but was instrumental in a shift away from examining rates of mental disorder in migrants and towards emphasis on examining the conditions which contributed to mental disorder in migrant groups (Pernice, 2010).

Goldlust and Richmond's (1974) Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation was an important early migration theory which is still influential in migration research today (Pernice, 2010). Goldlust and Richmond advocated a multivariate approach to studying migration in recognition of the complexity of human behaviour and the need for a more sophisticated explanation of adaptation. Recognition of the number of potential factors which influence migration and the complexity of human behaviour and acculturation is a key focus of the current study.

Phasic representations of migration.

If acculturation is a *process* of change, acculturation research should incorporate elements of time. Some early migration theories incorporated elements of time when accounting for changes which occurred during migration. Three prominent theories which examined migration across phases of time among refugees, sojourners and migrants are discussed briefly here. While there are important differences between the experiences of immigrants, refugees and sojourners, these theories provide a useful foundation for later studies which examine experiences of migration over time.

Tyhurst (1977) suggested that there are three inter-related stages among refugee groups. He proposed that in the first stage, which lasts up to two to three months after arrival, there is an absence of symptoms and refugees will experience a sense of euphoria. According to his theory, during the second stage 'general disequilibrium' which reached its peak at six months post-arrival, refugees experience a cluster of symptoms including paranoid behaviours, hypochondria, anxiety and depression with somatic complaints. In the last stage, he suggested that refugees experience Social Displacement Syndrome where difficulties are experienced in sense of self, orientation, mood, interpersonal relationships and social skills. Tyhurst also suggested hallucinations could occur during this stage. While this theory incorporated the notion that during migration changes occur over time, Tyhurst's theory only focused on the negative symptoms which may occur following migration without considering underlying causes of these difficulties (Pernice, 2010).

Lysgaard (1955) was among the first to suggest a U-shaped pattern of migration experience in his study with sojourners. Figure 1 illustrates Lysgaard's theory of

migration. This figure shows an early stage of euphoria where Lysgaard suggested adjustment was easy and successful. However, in the next stage Lysgaard suggested that sojourners experience culture shock and a period of crisis before emotions improved. Oberg's (1960) theory regarding culture shock echoed this U-curve pattern. Oberg suggested that sojourners move through stages of shock but eventually achieve satisfactory adjustment. He suggested four stages of emotional reaction during culture shock: honeymoon (euphoria, enchantment, fascination and enthusiasm), crisis (inadequacy, frustration, anxiety and anger), recovery (crisis resolution and culture learning) and adjustment (enjoyment and functional competence in new environment) (Ward et al., 2001).

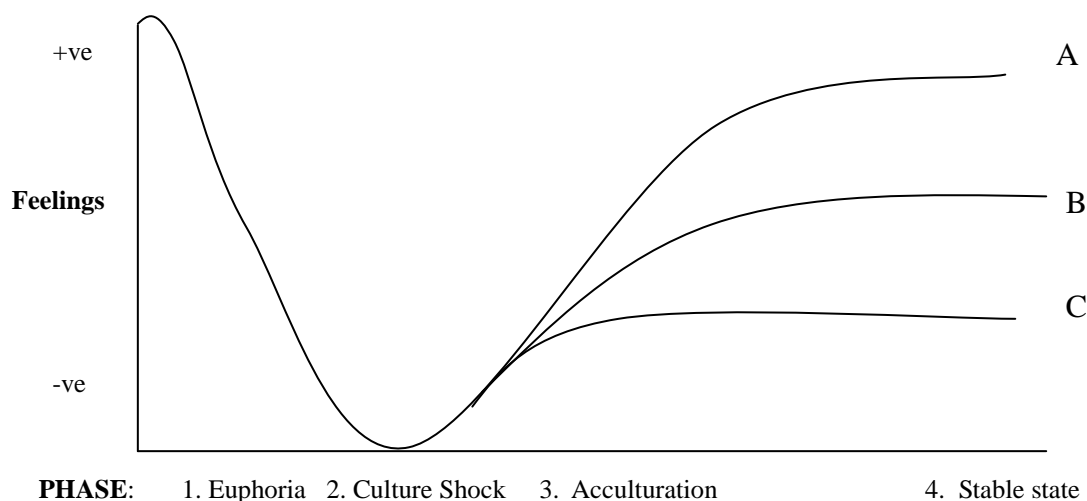


Figure 1. Lysgaard's (1955) Acculturation Curve showing changes from negative to positive emotions according to four phases of migration. This figure also illustrates outcomes of migration according to three different levels of feelings (A,B,C). Adapted from Hofstede (2001, p.423).

While the U Curve hypothesis remains popular, there is a lack of empirical evidence and sound theoretical basis for this model (Furnham, 2010). Numerous studies have disputed the U Curve theory. For example, Ward, Okura, Kennedy and Kojima's (1998) study with sojourners found no evidence of a U Curve pattern and instead demonstrated that adjustment problems in their sample were greatest at the time of entry into New Zealand and problems decreased over time. Ward and colleagues (1998) argued that, according to the stress and coping framework, greater psychological distress will be experienced on arrival as this is the time when most immediate life changes occur in the context of limited resources and social support. In addition, greater sociocultural

difficulties are experienced at the point of entry as the sojourner is least familiar and knowledgeable about the host culture and has had limited encounters with people from the new culture. While these theories diverge somewhat, these researchers highlight the important notion that changes occur over time during transitions to a new culture and that solely examining static outcomes is a narrow view of acculturation.

Sluzki's (1979) theory of migration is often cited in migration literature, although this theory also lacks empirical evidence. Sluzki proposed four phases of migration which occurred across all cultures. The first phase labelled 'the preparatory phase' referred to a period of time in which families committed themselves to the decision to leave their country of origin and experienced a mixture of feelings ranging from excitement and euphoria to ambivalence, sadness and fear. The second phase was called 'act of migration' which involved the physical relocation of the migrant. During the third phase, 'overcompensation', Sluzki asserted that migrants experienced a sense of euphoria and the impact of migration stress was not apparent as their focus was on survival and adaptation to their new surroundings. In the fourth phase, 'decompensation' or 'crisis', Sluzki theorised that difficulties, symptoms and conflicts became apparent. He also suggested the main task of this phase was to reshape one's identity, find a balance between one's old and new identity and learn new rules of behaviour. His theory also suggested this phase was characterised by conflict within families as children adapted faster than their parents.

The final two phases of Sluzki's theory have received the most criticism. For example, Pernice and Brook (1996) assert that migrants experience a period of adjustment where they pass through stressful periods with some mental health improvements over time rather than experiencing a period of euphoria and later crisis. While more research is needed and important differences exist between different cultural groups, these theories demonstrate the notion that migrants experience a number of changes during migration, some of which are stressful and others which are more positive. Research would benefit from studying acculturation as a process and in ways that examine the possibility of both negative and positive consequences.

Summary.

Early migration theories raise important considerations which are key elements of this thesis. This section highlights the importance of recognising the complexity of acculturation as seen in Goldlust and Richmond's (1974) theory of migration. This section also described theories which included elements of time in the study of migration. These theories demonstrate the importance of examining the process of migration over time; however, they often focus exclusively on negative health outcomes and theories which describe distinct phases where mental health crisis or euphoria occurs lack research evidence. These early theories begin to highlight migration as a process by illustrating phases of migration. In addition, they highlight the possibility of varied responses to migration that may change over time.

Contemporary theories of migration.

In the 1980s, research shifted to conducting community surveys which investigated levels of psychological distress among immigrant populations. These studies found there were no significant differences in migrant groups when compared to the general population and at times lower levels of symptomatology were evident. From this point, research extended beyond specific mental health problems and considered broader concepts of values, identity and acculturation strategies (Ward et al., 2001).

John Berry's model of acculturation is a well-established migration framework. While some have criticised this model of acculturation (discussed later), Berry's (2006) model remains one of the most influential and well supported accounts of acculturation. Berry was instrumental in suggesting that acculturation is a multidimensional rather than unidimensional process. The unidimensional model of acculturation was dominant for many decades. This approach assumed that migrants moved along a continuum from maintenance of immigrant culture to adoption of host culture, with biculturalism at the midpoint where migrants were thought to retain aspects of their heritage culture while adopting key elements of the new culture. This model also assumed that migrants would inevitably adopt the new culture and failed to account for the changes which could occur in the host culture as a result of contact with immigrants. Berry (2006) proposed a bidimensional approach to acculturation where immigrant and host culture

identity were examined independently. Berry suggests that acculturation proceeds according to the degree of participation in the cultural life of the new society and the degree to which an individual maintains their original cultural identity. According to this model, these variations lead to four different acculturation strategies or attitudes (shown in Figure 2). Individuals may adopt different strategies at different times and according to different life issues.

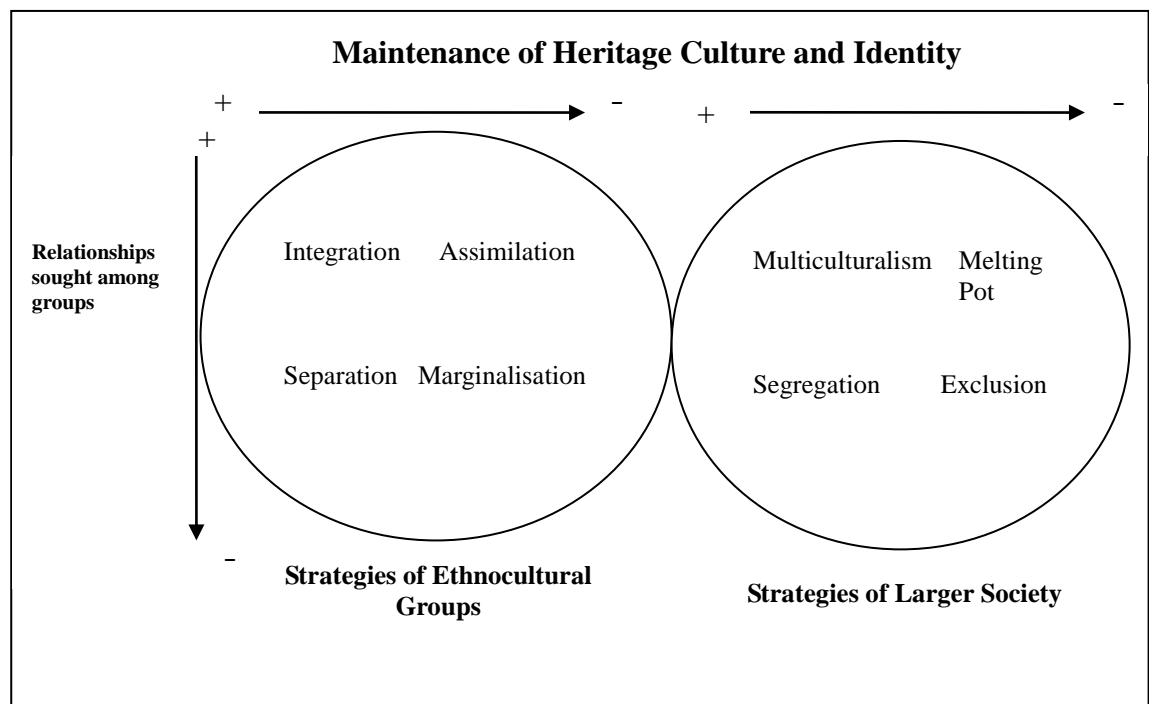


Figure 2. Berry's model of acculturation strategies which shows four acculturation strategies for both the ethnocultural and larger society groups (Berry, 2006, p. 35).

These four distinct strategies of ethno-cultural groups employed by individuals are defined by Berry (1990) as follows: Assimilation occurs when individuals relinquish their cultural heritage and seek daily interaction and absorption into the established, dominant culture. Integration describes an acculturation strategy where the individual or group retains their original culture identity while engaging in daily interactions with the dominant group. Individuals maintain some degree of cultural integrity but simultaneously seek to participate as an integral part of the larger society. This strategy can only be chosen and pursued when the receiving society is open and inclusive. Separation occurs when individuals place value on maintaining their original culture identity and wish to avoid contact with individuals in the new society. No substantial

relationships are formed within the host country. Separation or segregation may occur when individuals do not wish to participate in the new society or are excluded. Finally, marginalisation occurs when individuals lose cultural and psychological contact with both their traditional culture and the host culture. As a result, individuals may experience feelings of alienation, loss of identity and acculturative stress. Berry's (2006) model of acculturation strategies highlights the varied responses or approaches to acculturation.

Research also recognises that the outcome of acculturation depends on a variety of group and individual characteristics. Research by Berry and colleagues (1987) suggests there is a link between acculturation strategies employed by individuals and the level of acculturative stress experienced. Marginalisation and separation strategies are associated with higher levels of stress, where assimilation is associated with intermediate and integration with low levels of acculturative stress. According to this model, the relationship between acculturation and stress is moderated by the nature of the larger society (pluralistic/multicultural/assimilationist), the type of acculturating group (immigrant, refugee/native, ethnic/sojourner), demographic, social and psychological factors. The degree of voluntariness, movement and permanence is also known to influence the relationship between acculturation and stress, where voluntary migrants may experience less difficulty due to positive initial attitudes (Berry et al., 1987). Individuals without permanent social supports may experience more mental health difficulties, where those who possess a variety of coping strategies that allow them to adapt successfully, generally experience lower levels of acculturative stress. Berry and colleagues highlight the importance of factors such as education, age, gender, prior intercultural experiences and contact experiences in the relationship between acculturation and stress.

Acculturation does not occur in a vacuum and depends on the specific context of time, place and socio-political background. The notion of 'fit' is an important consideration in migration research although relatively little has been written about this.

Acculturation fit occurs when an immigrant's style of acculturation matches the acculturation style expected and preferred by the local community where the migrant is living (Mace, Atkins, Fletcher, & Carr, 2005). An understanding of the particular

cultural context is therefore essential when conducting acculturation research (Sam, 2006). Acculturation attitudes are evident in national policies which either discourage or encourage acculturation. Dominant groups may vary in their tolerance towards individuals. Monistic societies often place pressure on acculturating individuals to change and do not provide ethnic social support to assist individuals. This has important implications for the mental health of immigrants (Berry, 1990). A multicultural society is one whose objective is cultural diversity which is achieved by mutual accommodation (Berry, 2001).

Related to Berry's (2006) model of acculturation strategies is his theory of acculturative stress. This theory examines the outcomes of acculturation. Berry and colleagues (1987) describe four predictors of acculturative stress. The first is that education appears to be a consistent predictor of low stress. The possible explanations for this are that education usually includes aspects of European teaching and also provides more intellectual, economic and social resources to help deal with changes. Education may also encourage the individual to view acculturation as a challenge and new opportunity as opposed to a stressor. Acculturation attitudes are the second predictor of acculturative stress and, as mentioned earlier, studies have shown that integration strategies are usually associated with less mental health difficulties. Prior experiences are another predictor of acculturative stress and may be examined using the notion of push and pull factors which have been found to be significantly and positively correlated with stress (Berry et al., 1987). This suggests that, when individuals are forced to leave, they may experience resentment and have a negative attitude which can lead to high levels of stress. People who experience a number of pull factors may have unrealistically high expectations which may also result in high levels of stress. Variables which indicate contact experiences are also predictive of acculturation stress. For example, social support and greater participation with the host society leads to less stress. Berry and colleagues highlight the importance of social support variables such as being a sponsored immigrant, being part of a Christian organisation and having close friends as mediators in the relationship between acculturation and stress in Korean immigrants. Figure 3, taken from Berry (2006, p. 45) illustrates the many variables which may moderate the relationship between stress and acculturation.

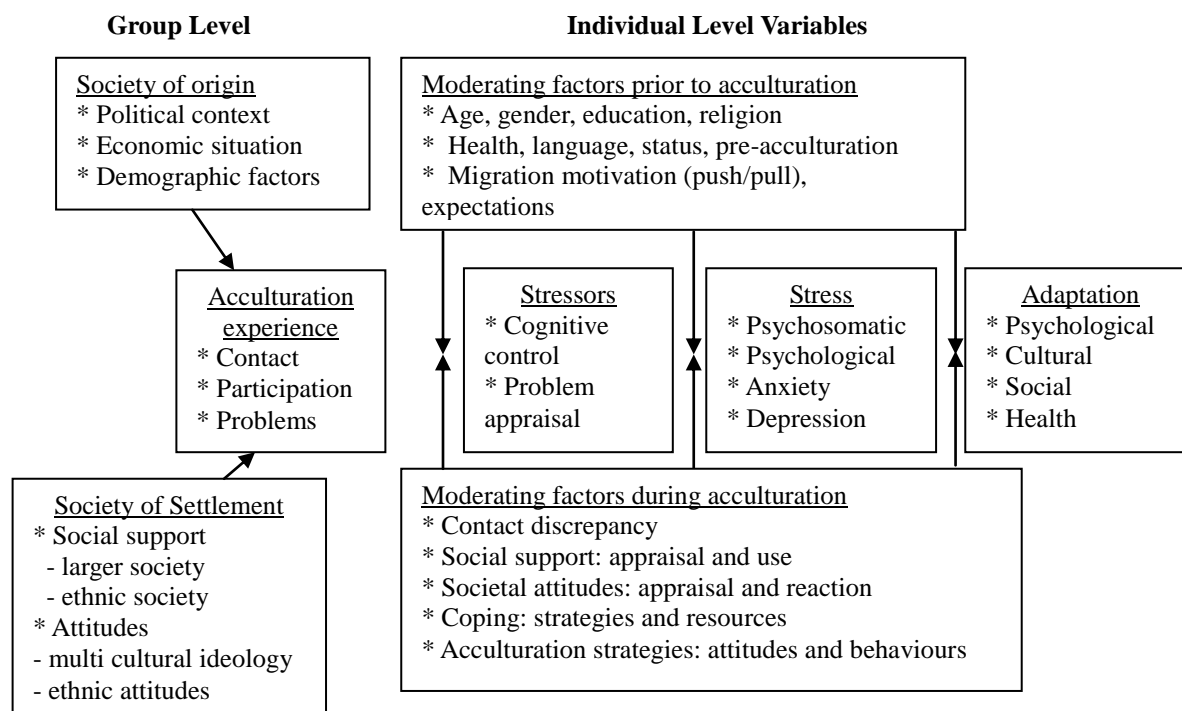


Figure 3. Diagram illustrating variables at both the group and individual level which influence the relationship between stress and acculturation (Berry, 2006, p.45).

While this framework provides a useful way of examining the effects of acculturation, critics state that it is difficult to distinguish between mental health problems and acculturative stress symptoms. Rudmin (2009) argues that the concept of acculturative stress has become a ‘catch all’ construct and proposes that it should no longer be used as an intervening variable between migration and outcomes or as a measurable construct. He cites numerous reasons for this argument; most notably that acculturative stress is often operationalised as depression, anxiety or psychosomatic symptoms and studies often include additional measures of these symptoms. Acculturative stress is also limited by the sole focus on the negative consequences of migration and ignores the potential for migration to benefit migrants. Alternative approaches to the study of migration have been used which address some of the problems with contemporary quantitative approaches to migration research, and will be examined next.

Qualitative case-based approaches.

Qualitative analysis is an alternative to quantitative approaches used in conventional migration research. Qualitative analysis of individual cases provides detailed accounts of migration experiences and highlights heterogeneity within typically small migrant

samples. This form of analysis facilitates in-depth understanding of individual migration experiences and the current study sought to retain some of the benefits of this approach which is discussed in more detail later. One example of a case-based analytic approach to the study of migration was used by Kadianaki (2006, cited in Kadianaki, 2009) and highlights several important issues for migration research, some of which are incorporated in the current study.

Kadianaki's 2006 study (cited in Kadianaki, 2009, 2009b) is an example of a case-based approach to studying migration. Kadianaki highlights the complex and dynamic nature of migration which is influenced by a number of interrelated factors and occurs within the context of time and culture. Kadianaki asserts that there is no homogeneity among groups of migrants. Migration research often implicitly assumes one pathway through migration. However, another possibility is that migrants may reach similar end points through various acculturation trajectories or pathways. Kadianaki's study demonstrates migrants have unique life trajectories and they relate to their environment in dynamic ways. She encourages migration researchers to use methodological approaches to studying migration which allow for variability and individuality within samples in order to gain a greater understanding of migration experiences.

Kadianaki (2009) suggests studying life trajectories of migrants through in-depth interviewing and exploration of: 1) personality, familial conditions and important life experiences, 2) social, political and economic circumstances of upbringing, 3) ways that migration has been shaped with regards to resources and ruptures, and 4) ways the migrant perceives the future. Kadianaki's approach to studying migration experiences is case-based and highlights the dynamic and temporal aspects of acculturation. Her approach also recognises the complexity and heterogeneity of individual migration experiences which stands in contrast to contemporary quantitative migration research. Kadianaki's study will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter and then later her approach will be discussed in relation to the approach of the current study.

Summary.

The theories outlined in this chapter provide an important foundation for future migration research. While early theories focused exclusively on negative outcomes of

migration, they acknowledge that acculturation is a process which occurs over time. Contemporary theories of acculturation such as Berry's framework highlight the many variables implicated during migration. However, contemporary quantitative migration research typically provides information on homogeneous aspects of migration experience. An alternative approach to studying migration is Kadianaki's study which is case-based and examines individual trajectories of migration experience. This approach informs the approach of the current study and is discussed in more detail in the next chapter. The following section provides a more detailed discussion of the variables included in some of these theories and identifies variables which are the focus of the current study.

Migration variables.

The experience of migration is influenced by a number of factors. A central argument in the current thesis is that measuring acculturation using a single proxy variable (an approach used in several studies) oversimplifies this complex process. Migration research has also at times neglected to consider the pre-migration context of migrants. Motivations for migration, for example, are an important pre-migration consideration and theories suggest this has important implications for acculturation. Pre-migration factors are discussed below, followed by a discussion of important variables in the post-migration phase and socio-demographic factors which are thought to influence a migrant's experience of migration.

Cabassa's (2003) framework of contextual factors (see Table 1 below), based on John Berry's work on acculturation, effectively illustrates the number of variables which are considered important when conducting migration research. Cabassa (2003) highlights the importance of contextual factors and states that these factors have a direct impact on migration experiences but are often overlooked. In the context of South African emigration which is the focus of this thesis, knowledge of the unique pre-migration contextual factors is crucial. As highlighted in the first chapter, push factors such as crime, violence and political instability in South Africa are often factors which motivate South African emigration. This issue relates to what Cabassa classifies in the table below as 'immigration context' factors regarding the type of migrant. For South African

immigrants, the perception of migration being voluntary, involuntary or semi-voluntary is also an important consideration.

Post-migration factors including those discussed in Berry's acculturation framework are also included in this table. Issues such as cultural distance and expectations of the host society are also important considerations in the current study. South African immigrants may be an invisible group of immigrants in New Zealand as they are often Caucasian and have a degree of English proficiency. On the surface the cultural distance between South Africa and New Zealand may appear unremarkable; however, important subtle cultural differences may exist, especially for Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. In addition, expectations of New Zealand may largely be influenced by word of mouth or whether immigrants have had opportunities to visit New Zealand prior to migration. This is likely to influence experiences in the early phase of migration, and these factors will be examined in the current study. The following section provides a more detailed discussion of some of the factors identified in this table that have been shown to influence the process of acculturation and highlights the variables which will be considered in the current study.

Table 1*Framework of Contextual Factors Influencing Acculturation (Cabassa, 2003, p. 131)*

Prior immigration context

Society of origin factors

- Political environment
- Economic environment
- Social environment

Individual factors

- Demographics before immigration
- Reason for immigration
- Role in immigration decision
- Prior knowledge or contact with host society
- Separation from social support networks
- Loss of significant others

Immigration context

- Type of immigrating group
- Route of immigration
- Level of danger in the immigration journey
- Duration of immigration journey

Settlement context

Society of settlement factors

- Political environment
- Economic environment
- Social environment
- Immigration policies
- Societal attitudes toward immigrants

Individual factors

- Demographics during and after settlement
 - Age at time of settlement
 - Legal and residency status
 - Cultural distance between culture of origin and culture of settlement
 - Time in new culture
 - Expectations for life in new culture
-

Pre-migration factors.*Society of origin.*

Recent research with skilled immigrants shows that post-migration factors are not a clear determinant of mental health and research should examine pre-migration factors (Pernice, 2010). Several factors related to a migrant's society of origin should be considered. These include the level of preparation and information about the prospective country of destination, the attitude of the individual and how emigration is perceived (Pernice, 2010). While emigration is viewed favourably in some countries such as The Netherlands, in other countries emigration is considered a traitorous act (Pernice, 2010). Gray, Delany and Durrheim (2005) conducted a review of South African national newspapers and observed the external conflict around emigration from

South Africa. Their survey revealed that those considering leaving South Africa were seen by some who remained living in South Africa as selfish and greedy, depriving the country of much-needed skills and were labelled as traitors who were ‘jumping ship’. Their analysis of interviews with participants who were considering emigration identified a strong sense of both nationalism and anti-nationalism among participants. The authors concluded that, for participants considering emigration, there was a dilemma of nationalism as individuals who simply wanted to emigrate may be seen as acting unpatriotically. This dilemma is an important consideration in understanding the context of South African emigration and may potentially influence decisions about whether to return to South Africa once emigrating and impact on relationships with family and friends as well as decisions about whether to visit their homeland.

Circumstances of migration.

Migration literature also recognises that there are important differences for voluntary versus forced migrants. Bhugra (2004) states that the nature of push and pull factors will determine the type of responses to the new society for the migrating individual and those around them. Research has shown that forced migration may result in lower levels of mental health due to, what Pernice and Brook (1994) refer to as, ‘a crisis of loss (what is left behind) and load’ (facing the challenges of living in a new country). Traumatic pre-migration experiences such as war, famine and torture are likely to affect the mental health of migrants. Sluzki (1979) also highlighted the importance of related pre-migration factors, such as who is responsible for the decision and whether all members of the family are equally committed. At times, conflict may result within families if children are not involved in the decision to leave one’s country of origin. Children may also have different experiences and not fully understand their parents’ concerns or reasons for leaving. Some families may visit potential destinations prior to making a decision; others may not visit before migrating. The family approach to telling others about migration may also differ. In some families, the decision may be characterised by a sense of finality and ‘burning their bridges’ with no intention of returning. Others may tell their friends and families that they are going for a little while and leave the door open to returning. Other differences may exist between legal and illegal migration. These factors are believed to have a significant bearing on the outcomes of migration (Marchetti-Mercer, 2009).

The context of South African emigration is an important consideration in the current study. How South African immigrants are perceived by friends and family back home is likely to influence their relationships with important sources of social support in South Africa and decisions about whether to return to South Africa for visits or permanently if migration is deemed unsuccessful. This section also highlights the issue that some South African immigrants may be motivated more strongly by push rather than pull factors due to issues of violence, crime and political instability in South Africa. These motivations for migration have important implications for acculturation and are key considerations in the current study.

Post-migration factors.

Society of settlement.

Among post-migration factors, the size of the migrant's population within the country of settlement is thought to have implications for the wellbeing of the migrant. Studies have shown that large clusters of people from the same country of origin may serve as a mediator between the migrant and the new culture and therefore act as protection against mental health difficulties (Pernice, 2010). Other important factors in the society of settlement include acceptance, equality, respect, discrimination, language ability, social support and employment (Pernice, 2010). As discussed earlier, with regards to Berry's (2006) model of acculturation, immigration policy and societal attitudes towards migration have important implications for the health and wellbeing of the new migrant.

Social support and support networks.

Social support is well established as a key factor in predicting psychological adjustment and physical health in migrants. Ward and colleagues (2001) also suggest that good marital relationships may act as a buffer against the effects of transitional stress. However, there are conflicting views on the value of co-national versus host national forms of social support. Relationships with other expatriates may serve a protective function and provide the migrant with psychological security, a sense of belonging and decrease stress, anxiety, alienation and feeling powerless. However, relationships with other expatriates also have the potential to impede culture learning and willingness to engage in the host society (Ward et al., 2001). Due to the number of other South

African immigrants living in New Zealand, this is an important consideration in the current study.

There is the potential for both advantages and disadvantages to participation in migrant communities. The adverse effects on the migrant are thought to occur when following migration, a contagion effect is seen where individuals become insulated from the host society and therefore do not learn functional problem-solving skills. In addition, those migrants experiencing stress may create a 'sinking ship' effect where others are negatively affected and stress is exacerbated. A study by Hack-Polay (2008) examined the contribution and role of migrant organisations with Polish migrants living in South London, suggesting that community organisations assist migrants by reducing culture shock and disorientation and thereby easing the transition into a new community. They also suggest that community organisations have the potential to alienate and confine the migrant if they only encourage connection with other migrants. Organisations which adopt an insular approach may only encourage migrants to speak in their native language and form friendships with other immigrants. Hack-Polay (2008) also suggests that migrants develop language competence more quickly when they form friendships with those in the host country. Clearly, there is a potential for migrant communities to be both harmful and helpful, where relationships with expatriates may either create greater adjustment problems or serve as a buffer and decrease levels of stress (Ward et al., 2001). Participation in South African immigrant communities and the implications of participation or non-participation are examined in the current study.

Employment.

Employment is an essential component of successful immigration and is likely to impact on multiple domains of a migrant's life, such as access to health care, resources, social networks and financial stability (United Nations, 2009). Unsatisfactory employment may also affect migrant's expectations about their new home country, and create feelings of uncertainty about the future and financial strain which may increase the risk of anxiety and distress (Pernice et al., 2009). An important migration task is to find work that matches the migrant's qualifications and experience which research demonstrates has an impact on occupational wellbeing (Mace et al., 2005). 'Broken promises' is a phenomenon which occurs when there is a mismatch between the

employment expectation of the migrant and occupational outcomes (Carr, 2004). Poor adjustment may occur when a migrant's expectations are not met, or they experience underemployment or unemployment. As many South African immigrants gain entry into New Zealand through the skilled migrant category, they are likely to have certain expectations about employment which utilizes those skills or experience. Given the implications for acculturation, employment expectations prior to migration and experiences at different stages of migration are considered in the current study.

Adverse employment experiences are often seen when unemployment or underemployment occurs. Underemployment occurs when a migrant is employed at a level that is lower than previous employment, qualifications and experience or equivalent workers in the field (Maynard, Joseph & Maynard, 2006). Attempts have been made to identify a common causal mechanism operating between underemployment and increasing levels of depression and other physical and mental difficulties. However, this has not been established which may be due to intervening variables unique to particular individual-job outcomes (Dooley & Prause, 2004). Variables such as being married, level of education, social class, and satisfaction with the job lost are thought to moderate the effects of adverse employment change (Dooley & Prause, 2004). The reduction in job hours or job loss has important consequences for an individual such as the loss of time structure, loss of social engagement, loss of status and a lower wage for the individual. This may lead to psychological difficulties such as depression and substance abuse (Dooley & Prause, 2004). The consequences of these changes may also have long-lasting effects that persist even after re-employment, for example, when a family's savings are used to compensate for lower wages and when important expenditures such as children's college education are forgone (Dooley & Prause, 2004).

It is well established that some immigrants frequently experience unemployment and underemployment both globally and in New Zealand (Ward & Masgoret, 2007). The most recent New Zealand census data indicates unemployment levels are particularly high for recent immigrants in the fields of medicine, civil engineering and dental studies (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Factors associated with positive employment outcomes in New Zealand, include being able to speak proficient English, being a skilled migrant,

being the principal applicant, having prior work experience in New Zealand, having a post-secondary school education and being aged between 25 and 54 years (Ward & Masgoret, 2007). However, even after meeting these requirements, unemployment or underemployment may still occur. Ward and Masgoret (2007) suggest that there is a gap between the objectives of skills-based immigration policy in New Zealand and the entry of immigrants into the New Zealand labour force. Their study suggests that one of the barriers to finding full-time employment that fits the experience and qualifications of employers is the response of recruitment agencies to migrant candidates from certain countries.

Studies on employment and mental health suggest that workplace bias may account for high levels of underemployment where the immigrant's skills are discounted and devalued even when their skills are equivalent or better (Pernice et al., 2009). Perceived discrimination, prejudice, lack of fluency in the dominant language, lack of country-specific skills, and a preference for informal human capital may account for immigrant unemployment or underemployment in New Zealand (Pernice et al., 2009). Although race, ethnicity and immigrant status may not be relevant job factors, at times this may disadvantage skilled immigrants (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2010). Bias and discrimination in the workplace affects both the individual's physical and mental health, but also hinders national cohesion and potential economic growth (Podsiadlowski & Ward, 2010). During periods of economic recession, these forms of bias and discrimination may be more apparent due to high unemployment rates. While acculturation and the wellbeing of immigrants may be examined at a purely organisational level, Podsiadlowski and Ward (2010) suggest that organisations are microcosms of wider society and that they reflect patterns of bias and discrimination that exist at a societal level.

Underemployment may also occur among immigrants due to a lack of New Zealand qualifications or experience. This creates a 'catch 22' situation where immigrants gain entry into New Zealand based on their experience and qualifications which are then not recognised or valued post-migration. This tendency indicates there is distance between immigration policy and recruitment practice. Difficulty is frequently encountered when attempts are made to register within medical and teaching fields in order to practice in

New Zealand and information on the re-registration process is difficult to locate and unclear (Henderson et al., 2001). Accessing employment in New Zealand is assisted by contacts with friends, organisational networks, and employers who have a positive attitude towards difference. Some professions and organisations commonly employ people from different cultural backgrounds and evidence shows employers have positive experiences with employing immigrants (Henderson et al., 2001). Given the impact of finding suitable employment on the health and wellbeing of immigrants, Henderson and colleagues (2001) urge for a settlement policy to facilitate the economic and social integration of immigrants.

This section highlights issues of unemployment and underemployment and suggests that achieving satisfactory employment is an important aspect of acculturation. In addition, unemployment or unsatisfactory employment experiences may have numerous implications for wellbeing and it is important to consider employment experiences in studies with migrants. Therefore, employment is a central focus in the current study.

Demographic factors.

Language.

Language is the most clearly recognizable part of culture and in order to communicate in another language, the person must take on a new frame of reference (Hofstede, 2001). There are many elements to language and language has strong links to culture. For example, humour is often culture-specific and in many cases untranslatable (Hofstede, 2001). Others have noted that childhood experiences, memories and feelings are connected to language, and differences in aspects of language may result in feelings of inferiority, incompetence, anxiety and shame (Marchetti-Mercer, 2009). Language use also has both cultural and political dimensions and is a symbol of identity. The culture learning framework (Ward et al., 2001) highlights the importance of acquiring social knowledge and skills relevant to the new culture. Social interaction among distinct migrant groups relies on communication style and competence which is made challenging by more subtle differences in social interaction. For example, known differences exist between communication styles and patterns across different cultures in the following areas: etiquette, conflict resolution, nonverbal communication, rules and conventions, and forms of address (Ward et al., 2001). Marchetti-Mercer (2009) also

point out the importance of other aspects of language which include vocabulary and accent differences.

Language acquisition has been used as an indication of migration outcomes in some migration research. Language has also been associated with different acculturation orientations. For example, Berry and colleagues (1987) found that native language usage and preference for use of native language were associated with weaker assimilative responses. Studies have also observed differences within a family which may occur as children often acquire the language of the dominant country more quickly as they are more receptive and do not wish to be perceived differently by their peers. These aspects of language are frequently overlooked in existing migration literature.

South African immigrants living in New Zealand primarily include both English and Afrikaans-speakers. Afrikaans is a language which is associated with important cultural traditions. The current study will consider issues relating to language and the implications of language for acculturation experiences of South African immigrants living in New Zealand.

Gender.

Studies often report that migrant women are at greater risk of psychological difficulties as a result of migration (Ward et al., 2001). Researchers have accounted for these differences by suggesting that (1) men may be more active in finding employment and doing other activities in the new country while women maintain links to their country of origin through correspondence, or (2) the man may dominate the decision to leave and the woman simply follows (Bhugra, 2004). However, results vary and the findings of studies are strongly influenced by the choice of outcome measures (Ward et al., 2001). The current study will therefore consider the potential differences in acculturation processes between men and women.

Age.

Age effects are also thought to influence the relationship between migration and health outcomes. Ward and colleagues (2001) suggest that a curvilinear relationship is likely to exist where stages of adolescence and older adulthood present greater risk of

difficulty. Adolescents have the added stress of identity and development and this age group often places a high value on peers and peer acceptance. Therefore fitting in and belonging may be particularly important to this group. The tension between encouraging children to acculturate quickly in the hopes of successful migration and managing the loss of the old culture and values may ensue (Ward et al., 2001). The term 1.5 generation has been used to describe the generation of children who have immigrated with their parents and are therefore neither first nor second generation immigrants (Danico, 2004). The 1.5 generation often take on the values and beliefs of both cultures and will face different issues to their parents. Few studies have examined these differences or acknowledged the unique issues that the families and individuals of a 1.5 generation must face.

Trans-generational differences may also be observed among older adults. Problems may become apparent for older adults who move to follow their children, not because they wish to leave, but because they are psychologically and physically dependent on them. This may result in older adults becoming isolated, having given up lifelong friends and networks in their home country. Older adults may have fewer resources and find it more difficult to acquire new culture skills (Ward et al., 2001). Clearly age at migration has important implications for acculturation experiences and will thus be considered in the current study.

Summary

In summary, this chapter provides an overview of prominent early and contemporary migration theories. While research evidence is lacking for some of the early migration studies discussed, they illustrate attempts to incorporate temporal aspects of acculturation and highlight the changes which may occur during different stages of migration. Examining the *process* of acculturation is a key focus in the current study and an alternative approach to examining migration over time will be presented in the Method Chapter. Contemporary migration research discussed in this chapter illustrates various attempts to incorporate the large number of factors implicated in migration. Theories presented here attempt to provide a comprehensive migration theory. John Berry's work on acculturation is prominent in migration literature and has provided a

foundation for many migration studies. However, critics caution against an overreliance on acculturation theories and, when aggregated data is incorporated into these studies, understandings of individual migration experiences and differences within a sample are inhibited. The chapter also examined a case-based approach to migration research. Irini Kadianaki's theory of migration was provided and several key ideas raised by this researcher are the focus of the current study. These will be discussed at the end of the next chapter.

This chapter also highlights some of the important variables incorporated in existing migration research. Several pre and post-migration factors, as well as socio-demographic variables, were highlighted. Pre-migration factors including society of origin and circumstances of migration are particularly important considerations in studies with South African immigrants due to issues of violence, crime and political instability in South Africa which often motivate emigration. In addition, this chapter discussed the importance of post-migration factors such as social support and employment which are also key areas of focus in the current study.

Chapter 3: Migration Outcomes Research

This chapter will provide a critical discussion of both international and New Zealand research which examines migration and the consequences of migration with regards to the mental health and wellbeing of migrants. The outcomes or consequences of migration are examined using various constructs in migration research. For instance some studies examine clinical disorders such as anxiety and depression, whereas others discuss general mental health consequences which are at times also referred to as psychological or adaptation outcomes. The current study aims to examine the broader consequences of migration by examining quality of life.

This chapter will also examine migration and employment experiences and the impact this has on acculturation. This was identified as an important aspect of acculturation in the previous chapter and is a key focus of the current study. In addition, this chapter discusses existing research with South African immigrants living in New Zealand and Australia. Finally, the last section highlights some of the limitations of existing research and identifies ways in which this study will address these issues.

International Migration Research

Numerous studies have examined the relationship between migration and mental health. However, the findings of studies are at times limited by the complexity of the relationship between acculturation and mental health, insufficient measures of acculturation and the considerable differences between cultures. Koneru, Weismann de Mamani, Flynn and Betancourt (2007) reviewed the current literature on acculturation and mental health, citing studies which provide evidence of an association between acculturation and stress, eating disorders, depression, alcohol and drug use and more severe psychopathology such as schizophrenia. However, they propose that, while studies consistently demonstrate a relationship between acculturation and substance abuse and use, there is considerable heterogeneity across the findings of other outcome studies which indicates that the relationship between acculturation and mental health issues such as depression, stress, and eating disorders is complex.

Anxiety and depression are commonly cited as mental health problems in migration research. Bhugra (2004) notes that symptoms of anxiety may be associated with migration-related stress and suggests it may be useful to examine stress-related difficulties encountered by migrants. While depression is sometimes viewed as a common or even normal response to immigration which may resolve over time, if few resources are available to the individual and symptoms are left untreated, this may develop into a serious clinical disorder such as Major Depressive Disorder which is likely to have serious economic and emotional consequences for the migrant (Aroian & Norris, 2002). Depression has been associated with lack of local family, being female, being unmarried, unemployment, pre-immigration loss, language difficulties, occupational change, discrimination and not feeling at home for some migrant populations (Aroian & Norris, 2002). Assessment of depression and mental health may be challenging as symptoms and distress may manifest in somatic symptoms and this presentation may differ from cultural norms of the dominant society. In these situations there is the potential for symptoms to be misinterpreted if the health practitioner is not familiar with that particular culture (Aroian & Norris, 2002). The incidence of depression and anxiety among migrants is an important issue. However, the focus on clinical symptoms provides a somewhat narrow view of the consequences of migration and neglects broader issues such as financial satisfaction, stress, wellbeing as well as the possible benefits of migration for migrants and their families. In addition, the experiences of migrants are likely to change along the trajectory of acculturation which is largely ignored in studies which examine static outcomes of migration.

The review of acculturation and mental health outcome studies by Koneru and colleagues (2007) raises several important issues which account for inconsistency in findings which are also the focus of this thesis. This review highlights the complexity of acculturation and demonstrates that acculturation has a differential impact on mental health outcomes among different cultural groups. In addition, this review highlights the inconsistency of the operationalization of acculturation and also cites several studies which have used single variables such as language acquisition to measure acculturation. Proxy variables used to measure acculturation such as language acquisition are not adequate as they do not account for the changes which may occur in aspects of migrant's lives such as values, beliefs, expectation, roles, norms and cultural practices

(Koneru et al., 2007). Many studies cited in this review incorporated unidimensional measures of acculturation despite recognition that acculturation is a bidimensional process. Finally, this review identifies the importance of analysing changes which may occur over time. Koneru and colleagues (2007) state that this is critical as the relationship between stages of acculturation and outcomes may not be linear over time.

Acculturation research.

Empirical evidence suggests an integrative acculturation strategy is associated with higher levels of mental and physical health and the most adaptive outcomes (Berry et al., 1987). Berry (2001) suggests that bicultural identities and integration attitudes predict better psychological and social adaptation. This finding is now widely supported (e.g., Ward & Kennedy, 1994; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). An Australian study by Niles (1999) also showed that when individuals adopted an integration approach to acculturation, they received the benefits of both cultural groups and had better mental health outcomes. At times, studies have asserted that the most dominant views and values should be adopted. An alternative view proposes that attachment to one's culture of origin may serve as a buffer to the negative impact of migration and may therefore be beneficial (Vega et al., 1998). This view is consistent with an integration approach to acculturation. This finding suggests that both maintaining the migrant's culture of origin and adopting the values of the new society are important aspects of acculturation for migrants and may be most beneficial for migrant's health and wellbeing.

Berry and colleagues (1987) examined acculturative stress in 1,197 migrants from five different migrant groups living in Canada. Within each group of refugees, native people, immigrants, sojourners and ethnic groups, different types of acculturation experiences were evident. The results of the study identified different predictors of acculturative stress such as education, social support, acculturation attitudes, and pre-migration experiences. An example of these differences were seen in the sojourner population, where push and pull factors were associated with different levels of acculturative stress. Further, individuals who felt forced to leave their country of origin were thought to exhibit poor attitudes and resentment towards migration which may

account for higher levels of acculturative stress. This study also highlighted the importance of social support variables evidenced in the Korean immigrant population, where immigrants with close Korean friends reported less acculturative stress. This study highlights the importance of several aspects of migrant's experiences which are important considerations when examining acculturation and the consequences for mental health and wellbeing such as pre-migration experiences and social support which are the focus of the current study.

New Zealand Migration Research

General health.

When examining general health, some studies have shown that migrants experience greater levels of health when compared with the ethnic population. For example, Hajat, Blakely, Dayal and Jatrana (2010) investigated the mortality of immigrants living in New Zealand and found that some immigrant groups in New Zealand (those from Asia and Europe) show a mortality advantage when compared with New Zealand born counterparts which declined with increasing duration of residence in New Zealand. These authors offer several explanations for this finding including the 'healthy migrant effect' which occurs because only the healthiest and strongest members of a population are permitted to migrate. In addition, they state that immigrants' socioeconomic status, which is necessary to provide the financial means and opportunity to migrate, may also contribute to improved levels of health. Despite these explanations, Hajat and colleagues (2010) propose that acculturation may contribute to improved immigrant health or alternatively the health of immigrants may deteriorate as they adopt the values, attitudes, customs and behaviours of the new country.

Mental health and wellbeing.

Some theories predict that immigrants will have better mental health levels than refugees, based on the notion that refugees are forced to leave their country of origin and will therefore have more difficulty resettling in a new country (although refugees may also experience relief at escaping adverse conditions). Pernice and Brook (1994) compared mental health levels of refugees and immigrants living in New Zealand.

Their study found higher levels of depression and emotional distress in an Indochinese refugee sample, although Pacific Island immigrants experienced the highest levels of anxiety. Pernice and Brook (1994) suggest that the mental health of immigrants may be affected by cultural differences between migrant groups and different motivations for immigration. In this study push factors played a central role for the refugee sample which was thought to contribute to low levels of mental health due to little or no control over the decision to leave their country of origin. The study suggests that the presence of high demands in the new country and little control over the situation tests the emotional resilience and coping resources of migrants which is likely to increase vulnerability to psychological distress. The Pacific Island immigrant population in this study reported better levels of mental health which were attributed to the influence of pull factors such as the desire for better job opportunities, better living standards, better education opportunities, and a strong sense of belonging, intact culture, language and close proximity to country of origin. The British population which experienced even better levels of mental health have a shared cultural affinity with New Zealand and have responded to pull factors such as job opportunities, quality of life factors and employers compensating for resettlement costs. Therefore, there are various push/pull motivations for migrant's wellbeing. Motivations for migration and the perception migrants have of their move being voluntary or involuntary are an important consideration for South African immigrants due to issues of violence, crime and political instability in South Africa. These are key considerations in the current study.

Another study by Pernice and Brook (1996b) surveyed a sample of Southeast Asian refugees, Pacific Island immigrants, and British immigrants living in New Zealand. This study examined the relationship between demographic characteristics, post-migration factors and mental health levels and found that age, gender, marital status and educational level had little influence on levels of emotional distress in migrant groups. However, these findings contradict other studies which suggest that these factors are important considerations in mental health outcomes in migrant groups.

New Zealand researchers have also examined the relationship between the duration of residence in New Zealand and mental health status among migrants. Sluzki's (1979) theory of the phases of immigration (detailed in Chapter 2) suggests an initial period of

euphoria followed by a mental health crisis; however, research has not always supported this theory. Pernice and Brook (1996) tested Sluzki's model of a euphoric/symptom-free phase and mental health crisis. The findings of their study did not provide evidence for these phases in refugee or immigrant populations living in New Zealand. The authors suggest mental health may improve with duration of residence. A second study by Pernice and colleagues (2009) again found no evidence of a euphoric period followed by a mental health crisis, rather mental health across all three immigrant groups was poor in comparison to the New Zealand population over the first two years but slightly improved over the next three years. Due to a small sample size and high levels of attrition over the five phases of data collection, these findings should be interpreted with caution. While these two New Zealand studies do not support aspects of Sluzki's (1979) theory with regards to a period of euphoria, they provide some evidence of changes in immigrant's mental health over time. The current study will also examine changes over time; however, rather than examining a collective pattern of change, individual migration experiences at different phases of migration will be examined.

Employment, Mental Health and Wellbeing

Several studies have demonstrated the impact of employment on mental health and wellbeing of migrants. For example, a study of psychological wellbeing among skilled immigrants from India, South Africa and the Republic of China living in New Zealand by Alpass and colleagues (2007) found that employment status contributed to social functioning and other various aspects of mental health. Employment was shown to contribute to the wellbeing of immigrants in several important ways, including facilitation of relationships and providing an income, identity and status. Pernice and colleagues (2009) compared employment status, duration of residence in New Zealand and mental health levels among skilled immigrants from China, India and South Africa. This study found that employment did not improve mental health status scores in the first two years. However, these authors suggest that this may be due to underemployment or occupational stress experienced by migrants in the early stages of migration. Pernice and Brook (1996b) highlight the impact of the economic climate and suggest that unemployment affects both New Zealanders and migrant groups within

New Zealand where migrant workers who were once considered an asset may be seen as taking job opportunities from New Zealand-born citizens.

Employment and migration research has largely neglected to examine employment experiences over time. However, a study by Aycan and Berry (1996) who examined the impact of adversity in employment life (status loss, unemployment and underemployment) on psychological wellbeing and adaptation for Turkish immigrants living in Canada, showed that aspects of employment experiences changed according to the duration of residence in the new country. Employment problems identified in Aycan and Berry's (1996) study included status loss, status mobility, duration of unemployment and employment status. Income, occupational status and overall employment status gradually improved with duration of residence in Canada. Employment difficulties in the first six months were attributed to lack of competence in language, difficulty getting credentials recognised and lack of Canadian work experience. While these findings have limited generalizability due to the context and type of migrants surveyed, the research illustrates the negative impact of unemployment and underemployment on psychological wellbeing and adaptation (acculturative stress, negative self-concept and alienation), as well as highlighting aspects of employment experience which may change over time.

South African Migrant Research

This section provides several examples of existing migration research with South African immigrants living in Australia and New Zealand. In addition, this section will highlight studies which examine some of the unique contextual factors of South African emigration and aspects of post-migration experience such as loss, grief, stress and coping.

As noted throughout this thesis, the pre-migration context for South African immigrants is an important consideration when examining acculturation experiences of this group. Pernice and colleagues (2009) highlight the importance of push / pull motivations in mental health outcomes for South African immigrants. They hypothesised South African immigrants would have better mental health than immigrants from China and

India due to greater employment success and cultural affinity with New Zealand. However, the South African immigrant group had the same mental health status as other groups in the study. The authors concluded that important differences exist in the acculturation processes of migrant groups in New Zealand which impacts on the health and wellbeing of the acculturating group. They suggest that while both push and pull factors may motivate South African migration to New Zealand, push factors such as violence, crime, and increasing political instability may have more influence and it is important to include these factors in any investigations of migration research with this population.

The pre-migration context has important implications for acculturation processes for South African immigrants. Udahemuka and Pernice (2010) examined the interrelations among psychological motives to emigrate and acculturation preferences with 105 African migrants in New Zealand. Their study found that motivation to migrate (push/pull factors) was linked to acculturation preferences. More specifically, they found that voluntary migrants, whose main motivation for migration was related to a better life for children, exhibited a high preference to adapt to New Zealand culture. Forced migrants who were attempting to escape their home country preferred to maintain their culture of origin. The findings of this study contradict findings by Porter (2006) who found that South African immigrants, who were motivated by escaping their home country, preferred an assimilation style of acculturation, whereas migrants who were motivated by an attraction to New Zealand and a future for their children preferred an integration style of acculturation. However, it is important to note that in the first study, ethnicity was not examined and in the second study, participants were mostly of European descent.

While ethnicity may account for some differences in acculturation preferences, these contrasting findings raise the issue of individual differences within samples of South African immigrants. One possible explanation for the preference of South African immigrants may be due to mixed civic and assimilation state ideologies of South Africa. Porter (2006) found that those who adopted an assimilation strategy were more likely to be a victim of violent crime, have more negative views of South Africa and feel the need to disconnect. This was in contrast to South African immigrants who favoured an

integration style and overwhelmingly stated that the main reason for migration was their children's future. Although all participants in the study felt it was important to make friendships with others in New Zealand, those pursuing an integration strategy were more likely to have made and maintained friendships (Porter, 2006). It is important to examine acculturation preferences of both the acculturating group and the dominant society, and pre-migration experiences and motivations for migration can have a significant bearing on a migrant's approach to resettling in a new country. Thus, in the current study motivations for migration, pre-migration experiences and interactions with the host society will be considered.

Loss and grief have been identified as important issues in past research with South African immigrants. Khawaja and Mason (2008) examined predictors of psychological distress in South African migrants living in Australia and found that, while levels of psychological distress in South Africans were not clinically significant, grief and low self-esteem were reported by this group. These researchers found that grief contributed most to levels of psychological distress experiences by participants and the sample indicated that they were largely happy with their life in South Africa but were significantly affected by experiences of violence, crime, lawlessness, breakdown of infrastructure and compromised job opportunities.

In the study by Khawaja and Mason (2008), psychological distress was not affected by gender and employment status, and levels of distress decreased with longer duration of residence. A qualitative study with South African immigrants living in New Zealand by Meares (2007) highlights the presence of loss and grief in this population and also found that migration is characterised by disruption even when the migrant has a high skill level and work experience, and when the country of destination has actively recruited them. However, this study focused on the gender experiences of South African immigrants and found that loss was an important aspect of female South African immigrant's experience. These losses were often related to a reduction in their role as an income earner as a result of migration as they assumed the main responsibility for domestic duties which were previously undertaken by hired help in South Africa. Meares suggests that females endure considerable costs to careers, freedom and emotional wellbeing as a result of migration. These two studies highlight the

importance of examining loss and grief in South African immigrants and suggest that there may be different types of losses for women and men.

Sources of stress and coping strategies are an important element of migration research as they may provide knowledge and understanding of how to support future migrants. For example, interfamilial emotional and practical support, as well as individual characteristics such as optimism, humour and the ability to support oneself were identified among South African immigrants who adapted well following migration (Greef and Holtzkamp, 2007). In addition, open and honest communication, social support, and formal forms of support such as career and community support were also identified as important resources for South African immigrant families (Greef and Holtzkamp, 2007).

Bennett and Rigby (1997) examined the stressors and coping strategies of both recent (lived in New Zealand for less than five years) and long-term (lived in New Zealand for five years or more) South African immigrants living in New Zealand. Both groups of South African immigrants reported separation from family and friends was the most challenging aspect of migration. Recent immigrants reported difficulties such as feeling uncertain about the decision to migrate, financial restrictions, financial security and feeling unfamiliar with the new community. For long-term immigrants, difficulties were associated with the loss of lifestyle, standard of living, career, country and roots. Both groups indicated difficulties in re-establishing friendships, networks and their reputation and they both also reported financial difficulties. This study highlights important differences in sources of stress and coping among short-term versus long-term South African immigrants. The current study will take this further by examining patterns of change across the migration trajectory according to several aspects of immigrant's experiences including sources of stress and coping.

Existing research with South African immigrants living in New Zealand or Australia indicate there are some important differences between South African immigrants and immigrants from other countries. Most notably, research indicates pre-migration factors in South Africa such as high rates of violence, crime as well as political instability have important consequences for settlement into a new country. By the same token, South

African immigrants may be more influenced by push rather than pull factors. Other factors which may have important implications on settlement in a new country, specific to South African immigrants, include being unable to return to their country of origin due to safety or financial constraints, and leaving close friends and family behind in an unsafe environment. These issues are important as they highlight important contextual factors which distinguish South African immigrants from other immigrant groups and have important implications for the acculturation process. In addition, among South African immigrants there are likely to be different motivations for migration and different pre-migration and post-migration experiences such as sources of stress and coping. The variability among South African immigrants is a central focus in the current study and the methodological approach employed recognizes the possibility of both similarities and differences within a sample of South African immigrants. The following section highlights some limitations in existing research with migrants which are central to the distinct methodological approach used in the current study.

Limitations of Existing Research

The review of current migration research and literature provided in the preceding three chapters highlights important methodological issues which were considered in the current migration study. Three primary limitations were identified in existing research and will be discussed in detail in the remaining part of this chapter. These limitations relate to the emphasis in migration research on static measures of acculturation, variable-centred approaches using aggregated data and an exclusive focus on negative outcomes of migration. This section argues that there is necessity for research which examines migration as a dynamic process and allows for the possibility of both similarities and differences in the experience of migrants within a sample. In addition, a case will be made for migration research which examines the broad implications of migration as oppose to solely focusing on negative health outcomes. This discussion lays the foundation and framework for the design of the current study which is introduced at the end of this chapter.

Static versus dynamic measures of migration.

By definition, migration is about the *process* of change and movement from one culture to another. While several theories acknowledge that acculturation is a dynamic process, few studies have translated this into research methodology. The change which occurs within migrants and the host country during migration is central to the definition of acculturation, yet very few acculturation studies examine these changes (Phinney, 2006).

Berry's (2006) framework of acculturation strategies has been central in acculturation research and Ward (2008) acknowledges the significant contribution Berry's framework has made to migration research. However, Ward also suggests that an over-reliance on these and other frameworks restricts progression in the field. A limitation of bidimensional approaches of studying acculturation is that they neglect to incorporate the dynamic nature of acculturation when translated to measurement and research (Cabassa, 2003). It is possible for migrants to engage in all four acculturation strategies at different times and within different contexts of migration. In other words, it is highly possible that identification with ethnic groups changes in relation to time, context and culture (Kadianaki, 2009).

Time and context are essential components of the acculturation process and acculturation strategies are part of a process set in a broader sociocultural context, yet research has often examined acculturation strategies as a static outcome or predictor of adaptation. Process elements are often overlooked in acculturation research. Acculturation should be examined over time with consideration of factors which moderate adaptation prior to and during acculturation. Ward (2008) highlights important directions for future research, which include the need to gain a deeper understanding of the acculturation process, as well as examining how people arrive at acculturation orientations and whether acculturation orientations change over time.

Phinney (2006) argues that while time-related variables commonly used in acculturation research (e.g., generation of immigration or length of time in a new culture) are valuable, they give no insight into the processes of time and do not account for

individual experiences. The length of time in a new context is a problematic measure of time as it is confounded by the age at which an individual arrives in the new context. For example, migrants of a younger age may find it easier to acquire a new language. Rather than simply describing acculturative change, migration research must identify underlying mechanisms that account for differences across time and across individuals. In order to address these limitations, Phinney (2006) advocates for the use of marker of time variables together with variables which provide insight into the underlying processes of acculturation. Important variables of change include language acquisition and proficiency, customs, social networks, identity and values. By examining these two groups of variables, markers of time and variables of change, it is possible to link processes of acculturation clearly.

Kadianaki (2009) asserts that stability of human nature is overemphasized in psychology and traditionally variation within samples has been considered 'noise'. In order to understand the psychological processes involved in migration, it is important to examine the dynamic processes involved and explore how people make sense of their life experiences. In a study by Kadianaki (cited in Kadianaki, 2009), individual processes of migration were examined by studying the 'trajectory' of individual cases. The term 'trajectory' is used to describe the process of studying a single case within a system, taking into account the structural and temporal context of the individual. Kadianaki (2009) suggests that studying the life trajectories of individuals allows us to examine broader elements of acculturation. Contextual factors incorporate notions of time and trajectories of acculturation which promotes a fuller understanding of how the acculturation process occurs and what influences adaptation (Cabassa, 2003). Byrne (2002) suggests that by examining trajectories researchers are able to examine the system as dynamic and temporal.

In order to understand more about the individual experience and process of migration, Kadianaki asked participants to describe their life prior to migration, motivations and expectations, contact and feelings toward the new society, and thoughts and plans about the future. Kadianaki (2009) illustrates that time aspects of migration trajectories are suppressed when classifying individuals in order to gain a random sample. An alternative approach to measuring the migration process using cross sectional design

studies is for the researcher to construct a narrative using information gathered from participants' accounts of experiences at different phases of time.

Variable versus case-centred approaches.

The second limitation of existing migration research is that quantitative studies are centred on variables and aggregated data. Existing research often combines acculturation variables into a single index or individual proxy variables such as language acquisition which is then used to predict the outcomes of acculturation. While bidimensional theories of migration are commonly cited, a review of migration research by Koneru and colleagues (2010) highlighted a surprising number of studies which incorporated unidimensional measures.

Proxy variables are an indirect measure of acculturation and give a fragmented and confusing view of the process. Proxy variables provide information on possible relationships between variables but do not explain how and why these relationships form (Cabassa, 2003). It is important to recognise that acculturation is made up of many phenomena which change independently and that no single entity can encompass the complexities and nuances of this process of change among immigrants (Phinney, 2006). The operationalisation of acculturation is fraught with theoretical and methodological inadequacies where acculturation is examined as a single index of generation status, language preference or years of residence in the new culture (Nguyen, Messé, & Stollak, 1999). Single indices used to measure acculturation are problematic as they cannot fully account for the complexities of the acculturation process. However, unidimensional-bipolar approaches (based on an assimilation acculturation strategy) are also problematic as this assumes a perfectly inverse relationship between ethnic and host cultures. Unidimensional approaches to studying acculturation do not permit involvement in both cultures and assumes a mutually exclusive-type relationship with either culture (Nguyen et al., 1999). In other words, unidimensional approaches ignore the complexity of acculturation which involves working out how to live with and between two cultures, rather the minority group yielding to the more dominant culture (Berry, 2009).

The study of migration trajectories enables us to learn more about the way people interact and operate as individuals. Byrne (2002) states that the study of trajectories enables researchers to understand the collective as more than an aggregate of individuals. Phinney (2006) also advocates for examining varied individual pathways of acculturation and suggests that variable-oriented approaches may not be as insightful as person-oriented approaches. The majority of acculturation studies are variable-oriented, which only provides information on the relationship between variables, giving a broad view of the acculturation process which may mask individual differences. Person-oriented approaches enable researchers to group individuals based on their similarity on variables of interest (Phinney, 2006).

Greater emphasis on the individual experience of migration is needed and research must acknowledge the influence of personal and situational characteristics as well as pre, during and post-migration experiences. Berry (2001) highlights the importance of examining aspects of acculturation at an individual level. He suggests the general processes of adaptation are similar across all acculturating groups even when there are differences in culture, environment and economic factors. However, he also notes that what does vary is the course of adaptation, level of difficulty experienced and outcome of the migration experience. In addition he states that differences in individual-level changes following contact will lead to individual differences in psychological changes (Berry, 2001).

Kadianaki (2009) takes this point further and asserts that homogeneity is unattainable in a sample of human beings. Kadianaki advocates for a shift away from traditional methods of developing generalized knowledge towards the study of idiosyncratic life trajectories. Kadianaki applied this method in order to examine individual experiences of migrants moving to Greece. Using this approach, Kadianaki studied single cases and built a model based on their experience which was then used to repeatedly test other cases. The issue of heterogeneity within a sample is evidenced by narratives of participants from Kadianaki's study (cited in Kadianaki, 2009) where several representations were provided for the term 'migrant'. Kadianaki reported that some individuals found the term 'migrant' attractive, others rejected it, and occasionally some used the term when conscious of commonality with others.

Kadianaki (2009, p. 491) states “We should not be afraid to embrace the variability and individuality of psychological experiences, as this seems to be a crucial step towards rich understanding.” Kadianaki invites researchers to reconsider the assumption that all members of a group have the same qualities or that they belong to the group by the same degree of membership. She echoes what others have suggested, “that there is no homogeneous group of migrants; individuals have unique life trajectories, and relate to their environment dynamically” (Kadianaki, 2009, p. 480). Such an approach seems to fit well with efforts to understand the complexity of acculturation. Acculturation is a multifaceted process which is made up of many changes as individuals make contact with a new culture.

Negative outcomes versus broader implications.

The third limitation identified in current migration research is a dominant focus on negative outcomes following migration. While migration literature acknowledges that migration has the ability to both enhance a person’s life as well cause significant disruption, few studies actually examine the broader implications of migration for wellbeing and quality of life. Many migration studies focus on negative health outcomes which occur following migration. For example, migration research has examined levels of depression, anxiety and severe clinical disorders such as schizophrenia among samples of migrants. While the presence of clinical disorders is an important aspect of migration research, the process of migration impacts on many broad domains of life, including relationships, health, occupational satisfaction and financial status. Quality of life is a construct which encompasses many important domains affected by migration, including the perception of a person’s position in life in the context of their values, culture, goals, expectations, standards and concerns in life.

The definition of quality of life also addresses the complex interaction of physical and psychological domains of life, levels of independence, and the person’s relationship to the environment (WHOQOL Group, 1994). The use of this construct in migration research will assist in addressing some of the previous limitations by examining both negative and positive consequences of migration, and by encompassing broad domains of life, which acknowledges the complexity of interactions among domains of life and

the multifaceted nature of migration.

Summary.

In summary, this chapter provided an overview of international and migration research, including research with South African immigrants. The final section of this chapter discussed several important limitations identified in existing migration research. Three key limitations were identified in current migration research which forms the basis of the design of the current study. This is discussed in the following section.

The Present Study

Researchers have conducted studies which examine the health outcomes of migrants in New Zealand, however, little is known about the experience of migration over time and particularly the experiences of South African immigrants. Previous research has largely examined the negative health outcomes of migration using variable-centred approaches and aggregated data which limits our understanding of acculturation processes and how migration affects broad domains of life. This study will examine migration in a more diverse way and attempts to capture the complexities of migration by investigating individual experiences and pathways across time with a sample of South African immigrants who have moved and resettled in New Zealand. The study asks whether acculturation trajectories can be identified in South African immigrants in New Zealand, and how these trajectories relate to their current quality of life.

In Chapter 2 and 3, the work of Irini Kadianaki (2009) was introduced as an alternative approach to the study of migration. The current study has important similarities and differences to Kadianaki's study. Like Kadianaki's, this study examines acculturation as a dynamic process rather than measuring static endpoints or reporting on aggregated statistics as is the case with many contemporary quantitative studies. To do this, Kadianaki examined individual pathways of migration or trajectories. Kadianaki's study examined individual cases and she argues that individual experiences are, by definition, unique. The current study begins by examining individual cases but also seeks to identify whether and at which point individual experiences converge. In other words, an attempt is made in the current study to identify both similarities and

differences within the sample. Levels of description as well as the particular aspect of migration experience examined will largely determine the extent to which homogeneity or heterogeneity of a sample is evident. The current study sought to identify subgroups of participants which may provide a useful intermediate analytic strategy between that of individual migration experiences and aggregated samples of participants. Like Kadianaki's, the current study examined migration trajectories; however, this study also examined endpoints of migration through the use of a quality of life measure. This decision was made in order to examine the broad consequences of acculturation rather than only measuring negative mental health outcomes.

Kadianaki (2009) argues that the random sample has no place in interpretative research and her research is solely qualitative. The approach of the current study was to use a snowball sampling technique and incorporate both qualitative and quantitative analytic strategies using cluster analysis and thematic analysis of clusters. However, in the current study statistical analysis was used as an exploratory tool rather than for statistical inference purposes. Kadianaki also argues that data collection methods which respect subjectivity should be incorporated into migration research using methods such as semi-structured interviews, which was the approach of the current study in order to collect data on individual migration experiences.

Kadianaki's (2009) approach is also similar to the current study in that the purpose of her research was to explore and generate insights regarding migration experience rather than to test theory. However, Kadianaki applies formal theory in order to gain an understanding of migrant's experiences, whereas the current study is not based on formal theory but is informed by both migration literature and personal knowledge of migration. Therefore, the current study asserts that an understanding of migration experiences may also be gained by the use of more informal collections of relevant constructs.

Following a discussion of three important limitations of existing migration research, the preceding section outlined the overall aim and focus on the current study. This section also compared and contrasted the current study with Kadianaki's study. The next chapter provides the method for the current study.

Chapter 4: Method

This chapter provides information about the method used in the current study. The first section outlines distinctive analytic elements incorporated in the design of the current study which addresses some of the key limitations of existing migration research discussed at the end of the last chapter. In addition, this chapter provides information about the pilot study and the main study including participants, materials and procedures, data coding, analysis, interpretation and ethical considerations.

Study Design

The main objective of this study was to describe the acculturation trajectories of fifty South African immigrants living in New Zealand beginning prior to migration and ending with current quality of life. This study used a cross sectional design and incorporated both qualitative and quantitative data. Data consisted of: interview responses to questions about migration at three phases (pre-, early and current), a multidimensional measure of quality of life (WHOQOL-100) and socio-demographic data to further contextualize participant's experiences.

This study incorporated aspects of a case-study approach, including a focus on cases rather than variables, a temporal perspective to capture trajectories and, semi-structured interview data to gain information about individual experiences of migration. In addition to this, a quantitative analytic approach was chosen in the form of cluster analysis with interview data to assist with detection of shared acculturation patterns. The resulting clusters of cases were then used to focus on aspects of acculturation and to show where there were shared migration experiences within the sample.

Using cluster analysis to identify cases with similar experiences is limited by the number of variables, where large numbers of variables create difficulties with detecting or interpreting clusters. For this reason, in the current study, cluster analyses were performed separately for each phase of migration. This enabled detection of clusters but removed the focus on trajectories and individual cases (addressed in later stages of analysis). For each cluster analysis, the profile of variables were examined and particular clusters were selected for further analysis as they represented exemplars of

emergent meta-themes which appeared central to the experience of acculturation. These chosen clusters were then used for subsequent analysis (although not all clusters were chosen so not all cases appeared in subsequent analysis). Chosen clusters were further analysed relative to other clusters and characterised in terms of their profile of variables, as well as quality of life and socio-demographic profile.

Following this, analysis focused on the experience of migration over time for individual cases within selected clusters. Within each selected cluster, the experience of each case was explored along the trajectory using all available data. This phase of analysis is similar to conventional case trajectory analysis but was conducted with selected cases at different phases of migration and within themes. In the final stage of analysis, various trajectories that appeared shared were described.

In summary, there were two main activities in the analytic process of the current study: profiling cases and using thematic analysis to do so. Three types of profiles were generated and interpreted following analyses (which are reported in the following three results chapters):

1. Profiles of selected clusters of cases within different phases of their trajectories and with trajectory variables,
2. Primarily quantitative profiles of these same clusters of cases tracked across phases and viewed from the whole trajectory,
3. Profiles which include qualitative accounts from cluster members with shared acculturation trajectories.

Participants

The inclusion criteria for participation in the main study was that individuals were born in South Africa, were residents or citizens of New Zealand who had lived in New Zealand for at least 6 months and for a maximum of 10 years (in order to enhance recall of migration experience), and were aged 18 years or over.

Participants were 50 South African immigrants living in New Zealand and included 17 (34%) men and 33 (66%) women who were aged between 23 and 73 years, with a mean age of 45.50 years ($SD = 9.93$ years). The relationship status of the sample included 86% of participants who were married or in de facto relationships. Only 10% of the sample had no children. The dominant first language was Afrikaans (68%) followed by English (32%). The most common current occupation of participants included education professionals (18%), health professionals (12%), and business, human resource management or marketing professionals (10%). University qualifications were held by 78% of the sample and 22% had secondary school level education. Entry into New Zealand was gained through the skilled migrant or points system for 56% of the sample and 26% gained entry through visa application.

The duration of residence in New Zealand for participants ranged from 10 months to 11.08 years (one participant indicated on arrival at the interview that they had been living in New Zealand for over 10 years. For the sake of rapport this individual was still included in the study as the length of residence in New Zealand was still deemed appropriate for this study). The average length of residence in New Zealand was 5.45 years ($SD = 2.82$ years). The most common provinces participants were born in included Gauteng (42%), Western Cape (22%), and Kwa-Zulu Natal (12%). Gauteng (52%), Kwa-Zulu Natal (18%), and Western Cape (10%) were the most common South African provinces that participants had moved to New Zealand from when migrating to New Zealand.

Materials

Socio-demographic questionnaire.

Participants were asked to complete a short socio-demographic questionnaire (see Appendix C) which took approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. This questionnaire included questions about the length of residence in New Zealand, qualifications and employment as well as marital status and number of children.

Semi-structured interview.

Participants were interviewed using a semi-structured approach (see Appendix D for the interview schedule) which took about an hour. Open-ended questions were employed to gain more understanding about participants' experiences of immigrating and settling in New Zealand. Interview questions were developed from a thorough review of existing migration literature and from the researcher's personal knowledge and experience of South African immigration. Variables of interest in the study included motivations for leaving South Africa, attractions to New Zealand, social support and employment. The interview schedule included repeated measurement of key variables which enabled analysis of patterns of change across the migration trajectory using cluster analysis. Trajectory variables included social support, employment, coping strategies, and sources of migration stress. Other interview questions addressed phase-specific issues. Examples of variables which were only examined within specific phases of migration included the influence of different push and pull motivations which was only relevant to the pre-migration phase, or identity and belonging, which were only examined in the current phase.

WHOQOL-100.

In order to determine the quality of life consequences of different migration experiences, current quality of life was measured using the WHOQOL-100. A decision was made to measure quality of life using the WHOQOL-100 as this measure assesses both positive and negative experiences across broad domains of life. The WHOQOL-100 is a comprehensive measure which has been rigorously tested and found to demonstrate high validity and reliability (Billington et al., 2010).

The WHOQOL-100 is a 100-item self-report instrument which consists of 6 domains and 24 facets. The six domains are: Physical Capacity, Psychological, Level of Independence, Social Relationships, Environment, and Spirituality/Religion/Personal Beliefs. In the current study 12 of the 24 facets were examined during analysis as they were deemed most relevant to the current study. The facets included in analysis were: Positive Feelings, Self-esteem, Negative Feelings, Medication, Work Capacity, Personal Relationship, Social Support, Physical Safety, Home Environment, Finances,

Recreation/Leisure and Spirituality. Four additional items pertain to overall quality of life/health. The WHOQOL-100 uses a 5-point Likert scale to rate the intensity, frequency, or evaluation of the selected attributes of quality of life over the past two weeks. The questionnaire takes approximately 30 minutes to complete. A score of overall quality of life is provided along with facet and domain scores which are transformed to reflect a 0 to 100 scale (a high score corresponds to favourable quality of life) (Bonomi, Patrick, Bushnell & Martin, 2000).

The WHOQOL-100 is available in approximately 30 different languages and many versions are available for use. The WHOQOL-100 is available for use upon notification of the World Health Organisation. Permission for use of the WHOQOL-100 was given by the WHOQOL New Zealand group (see Appendix F). A decision to use the generic version rather than the Australian version was made in consultation with the WHOQOL–New Zealand Group, who advised the generic version would be more appropriate for South African participants. This version of the WHOQOL-100 was tested in a sample of 443 adults, 251 chronically ill, 128 healthy and 64 childbearing adults (Bonomi et al., 2000). The WHOQOL-100 demonstrated acceptable internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.82-0.95$ across domains) and reproducibility (0.83-0.96 at 2 week retest interval). Construct validity was demonstrated by correlation with the Short Form-36 and Subjective Quality of Life Profile and the ability to discriminate between diverse samples in the study (Bonomi et al., 2000).

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in order to test the interview schedule and get feedback about the interview and questionnaires. Pilot studies assist with the wording and order of interview questions, as well as general procedural matters (Oppenheim, 1992). The pilot study was conducted to test the sequence of study components, i.e. first administering the socio-demographic questionnaire, then conducting the interview, and sending the WHOQOL-100 questionnaire two weeks later. During pilot study interviews, observations were made regarding the sequence and flow of interview questions and the participant's ability to refer to specific phases of migration and answer questions in this way. The pilot study also provided an opportunity to assess the

effectiveness of asking questions repeatedly in different phases of migration which appeared to work well. The appropriateness of questions was also assessed and determined by participant's willingness to respond and from their feedback at the conclusion of the interview. The length of the interview process and number of questions included in the interview schedule was also assessed.

The pilot study included five South African immigrants living in New Zealand who were known to the researcher (1 female, 4 males), but were separate from the 50 main study participants. The age range of pilot participants was 26 to 50 years of age (mean age 34.6 years). Two of the participants were psychologists, one was a student, and the other two participants were working in information technology and administration jobs. Interviews with pilot study participants were conducted by the researcher.

The feedback from pilot study participants demonstrated that in addition to the benefits of conducting interviews for research purposes, the process of constructing and telling stories also personally benefited participants. Participants also made suggestions to include questions such as whether participants would choose to immigrate to New Zealand over again and exploring whether having a choice to leave made resettling easier or harder. The pilot study also highlighted the importance of broader cultural diversity. Ethnic diversity was observed in participants from English versus Afrikaans backgrounds. Afrikaans participants spoke about the value of speaking in their mother tongue and their belief that humour is culture specific. Changes to the structure and sequence of the interview schedule were subsequently made on the basis of feedback from the pilot study.

Procedure

Fifty-one South African immigrants were recruited using snowball sampling (one participant did not return the WHQOL-100 questionnaire so data for this participant was excluded from this study, leaving 50 participants). Participants were recruited through the researcher's network of South African family and friends, and by advertising with South African clubs and organisations including South Africans in New Zealand (SANZ), Die Afrikaans Klub, and Brokkies (a South African newsletter). Snowball

sampling was used in the current study as it assisted in recruiting a sample of cases which were sufficient in number and diversity to generate variability and subsequently perform cluster analysis. Recruitment of participants for this study was not aimed at forming a representative sample.

Respondents to advertisements emailed or phoned the researcher if interested in participating in the study and their contact details were obtained so that the information sheet could be posted or emailed to them. Interested participants were sent an Information Sheet (see Appendix A) and given an opportunity to ask questions. Participants then contacted the researcher by phone or email if willing to proceed with participation in the study and an interview time was then scheduled either in their home or workplace. Prior to the interview, participants were asked to complete a Consent Form for participation in the study and for the interview to be sound recorded (see Appendix B). After gaining consent, participants completed a socio-demographic questionnaire (see Appendix C) which took approximately 5-10 minutes to complete.

At the start of the interview, the researcher explained that the interview would focus on four phases of migration: pre, early, mid and current migration. Approximate timeframes were discussed together with each participant according to their length of residence in New Zealand (i.e. together with participants, the definition of migration phases were determined). Once the interview was completed, participants were asked to recommend other South African immigrants from their network who may have been interested in participating in the study. Participants were also given information about the final stages of the study which included mailing the WHOQOL-100 to participants, providing them with an opportunity to review their transcript and mailing them a summary of the results.

The WHOQOL-100 was mailed to participants two weeks following the interview with a freepost envelope for return. This interval of time was given in order to capture participants' current quality of life in New Zealand and minimise the potential influence of historical issues discussed at the interview on WHOQOL-100 data. Following this, participants were mailed a \$10 MTA voucher in recognition of their participation (not intended as a form of compensation). Participants were also given an opportunity to

review their interview transcript and, if willing, provide written consent for extracts from the interview to be used to support discussion of findings in this thesis (see Appendix E). Once the study was completed, a summary of the study's findings were provided for participants (see Appendix G).

Data Analysis

Data coding.

Once all 50 interviews had been conducted, the majority of interviews were transcribed by the researcher (two paid transcribers assisted with 15 interviews). Transcription informs early stages of analysis and assists in developing a more thorough understanding of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For the purpose of this study, the level of transcription included verbatim accounts of all verbal content of interviews which is required for thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Next, the initial coding scheme developed by the researcher during the pilot study was revised. The revision of this coding scheme took place over several weeks and in consultation with one research supervisor. The coding scheme was based on variables of interest captured by interview questions; however, several new variables emerged from interviews in the main study which were included in the new coding schedule. Examples of new variables included the presence of a trigger event in the pre-migration phase, whether language was an issue in early migration, and sources of stress and coping across all phases of migration. WHOQOL-100 data was also entered into SPSS (version 19) and scored.

Following revisions, five interviews were selected to evaluate the coding schedule. These five interviews were identified as potentially problematic to code given the nature of the interview (i.e. few pauses, gaps in data due to running out of time) and were deemed a good test of the interview schedule. Following the coding of these five interviews, problematic variables were discussed with one supervisor. Examples of problematic variables included those variables where there was not enough evidence in the data to support coding such as 'expectation of work qualifications and experience being used in New Zealand' and 'satisfaction with income'. A decision was also made to combine some variables such as 'match of employment to qualifications' and 'match of employment experience' which became 'match of employment to qualifications and

experience' as this was better supported by the data. During consultation with one supervisor a decision was also made to exclude mid-migration phase data for the purpose of cluster analysis as the quality of data was considered insufficient.

After discussing problematic variables, all interview data was coded into present/absent dichotomies (initially an attempt was made to use 3- or 10-point rating scales; however this was rejected as being unworkable). During extensive consultation with one research supervisor, a decision was also made to code the level of importance for some variables where there was sufficient data to support this. For example, a decision was made to rate the most important source of social support and the importance of South African social support at each phase of migration. The present/absent dichotomies for all variables included in cluster analysis are presented in Table 2, categorised according to the phase of migration.

In order to increase intra-rater reliability, a decision was made to code variables measured repeatedly in sequence for each case. For example social support variables measured in the pre-, early and current migration phases were coded within a case before moving onto the next variable in that case. With respect to inter-rater reliability, the researcher consulted extensively with one supervisor in order to clarify decisions and resolve issues about coding. Given this systematic process, involving two coders, it was felt that no further attempt to establish inter-rater reliability was necessary nor was it practicable.

Once all cases were coded, the number of variables was further reduced according to three main criteria: variability, redundancy and discriminability. Variables that did not show a spread of values were excluded. Sufficient variability was determined by a dichotomy split of at least 90/10 presence/absence or absence/presence for each variable. Variables with insufficient variability were excluded from analyses. However, variables which were measured repeatedly were kept in each phase if endorsed by 10% of the sample in at least one phase. In addition, variables which were highly correlated and therefore provided very similar information were deemed redundant and excluded. Redundancy was determined using phi correlations where variables correlating greater than .8 were excluded. Where two variables were highly correlated, a decision was

made to keep the variable which included the most variability. An additional consideration which informed decisions about whether to include or exclude variables was based on an interpretative decision about whether a variable would be expected to discriminate amongst different types of migration experiences and quality of life according to knowledge of the migration experience and migration literature.

Table 2: Interview Variables Corresponding To Each Migration Phase
Frequency of Variables across the Sample (n=50)

Phase	Variable	% Present
<i>Pre-migration</i>	Push Factors	Violence/Crime 64
		Political instability 20
		Limited job opportunities 36
		Future outlook 32
		Opportunities for children 50
	Most important push factor	Violence/Crime 34
		Political instability 4
		Limited job opportunities 16
		Future outlook 6
		Outlook for children 20
	Experience of violence/crime	Personal experience 34
		Family member 30
		Friend/work colleague 26
	Trigger event	38
	Part in decision to migrate	38
	Visit to New Zealand prior to migration	52
	Was New Zealand your first choice	76
	Pull Factors	Safety/Security 32
		Job opportunities 46
		Scenic beauty/climate 30
		Similar culture/English speaking 32
		Met entry criteria 28
		Friends/family in New Zealand 28
		Opportunities for children 42
	Most important pull factor	Safety/Security 8
		Job opportunities 16
		Scenic beauty/climate 6
		Similar culture/English speaking 8
		Met entry criteria 12
		Friends/family in New Zealand 24
		Opportunities for children 26
	Nature of farewells	Open/Final 26
	Reactions of others to you leaving	More positive than negative 73
	Your feelings about leaving	More positive than negative 89
	Preparation for migration	Own research 80
		Talked with others 50
		Professional service/agent /seminar 38
	Entry into New Zealand	Skills shortage list 62
		Visa 28

Phase	Variable	% Present
Cont'd	Types of social support in New Zealand prior to migration	Family 30 Friends 30 Acquaintances 10
	Pre-migration sources of stress	Family/friends left behind 24 Finances 10 Packing up 22 Paperwork 16
	Biggest Pre-migration source of stress	Family left behind 20 Finances 4 Packing up 14 Paperwork 8
	Employed prior to migration	26
	Arrival in New Zealand with others	75
	Did you arrive with children	49
	Employment	
	Were you employed	80
	Match: qualifications/experience	71
	Satisfaction: role/position	47
	Satisfaction: environment/ colleagues	63
	Social support	
Early Migration	Types of social support	Family 29 Work colleagues 37 Hobby/sport 20 Other South Africans 61 South African church / club 29 Church 18 Formal organization 16
	Most important source of social support	Family 12 Work colleagues 10 Hobby/sport 10 Other South Africans 22 South African church / club 16 Church 8 Formal organization 8
	Importance of South African social support	42
	Stress	
	Type of stress	Lack of support network 40 Family left in South Africa 42 Finances 44 Housing 32 Employment 56 Paperwork 24
	Biggest source of stress	Lack of support network 20 Family left in South Africa 12 Finances 8

Phase	Variable	% Present
Cont'd		
	Housing	8
	Employment	28
	Paperwork	6
	Coping	
	What helped you cope	
	Positive attitude	41
	Faith	25
	Support networks	37
	Spouse/nuclear family	37
	Employment	12
	Most important coping strategy	
	Positive attitude	22
	Faith	14
	Support networks	31
	Spouse/nuclear family	20
	Employment	4
	First impressions of New Zealand	More positive than negative 71
	Feelings in early migration	More positive than negative 62
	Language problems	40
Current Phase	Employment	
	Employed?	82
	Match: qualifications/experience	76
	Satisfaction: role/position	83
	Satisfaction: environment/ colleagues	82
	Social support	
	Types of social support	
	Family	31
	Work colleagues	37
	Hobby/sport	22
	Other South Africans	57
	South African church / club	22
	Church	20
	Formal organization	14
	Most important source of social support	
	Family	15
	Work colleagues	4
	Hobby/sport	15
	Other South Africans	27
	South African church / club	15
	Church	10
	Formal organization	4
	Importance of South African social support	34
	Stress	
	Type of stress	
	Lack of support network	18
	Family left in South Africa	49
	Finances	33
	Housing	2
	Employment	16
	Paperwork	4
	Biggest source of stress	
	Lack of support network	10

Phase	Variable	% Present
<i>Cont'd</i>		
	Family left in South Africa	27
	Finances	18
	Housing	2
	Employment	12
	Paperwork	2
	Coping	
	What helped you cope	
	Positive attitude	57
	Faith	20
	Support networks	35
	Spouse/nuclear family	35
	Employment	12
	Most important coping strategy	
	Positive attitude	22
	Faith	14
	Support networks	31
	Spouse/nuclear family	20
	Employment	4
	Feelings about living in New Zealand	More positive than negative 84
	Experience of people living in New Zealand	More positive than negative 88
	Ties to South Africa now	
	Parents	60
	Children	16
	Extended family	68
	Friends	44
	Experience of loss of culture	26
	Intention to return to South Africa permanently	18
	Intention to leave New Zealand permanently	45
	Visit back to South Africa	66
	Visit back to South Africa within first year	23
	Visit back to South Africa within first two years	48
	Identity	
	As a South African	53
	As a New Zealander	9
	Appreciation of New Zealand	
	People/culture	62
	Efficiency/ sense of order/ infrastructure	28
	Scenic beauty/ climate	28
	Safety / security	52
	Lifestyle	24
	Opportunities	44
	Sense of belonging in New Zealand	42
	Sense of home in New Zealand	57
	Sense of fit in New Zealand	67
	Future outlook	More positive than negative 76
	Better off living in New Zealand	78
	Same decision now	83
	Turning point	46

In order to examine the pattern of change across migration phases, trajectory variables were formed using variables measured in both early and current phases of migration. The quality of mid-migration data was considered insufficient to include for the purpose of cluster analysis and was also excluded during formation of trajectory variables. Trajectory variables were formed for social support, coping, stress, and employment variables. In order to do this, trajectory variables were created by recoding data within four possible categories: Present at early and current migration phases (PP), present at the early but not current phase (PA), absent at the early phase and present at the current phase (AP), and absent at both early and current phases of migration (AA). This process explicitly classified cases and identified whether cases were consistently present versus partially or completely absent for each of the relevant variables. Cases which were consistently present at both early and current phases (PP) on trajectory variables were coded as one and cases either partially present (PA or AP) or consistently absent (AA) were coded as zero. Trajectory variables were used to help identify the stability of issues such as social support, employment, stress and coping for cases across phases of migration. In other words, trajectory variables were formed to permit cluster analyses of stability and change in selected variables.

Cluster analysis.

In this study, cluster analysis was employed as a data analytic strategy for exploratory rather than taxonomic purposes. Cluster analysis was used to determine whether there were subgroups of cases within the sample and this provided an organized approach of analysing complex migration data. A series of cluster analyses were performed with interview data from three phases of migration: pre-, early and current, and with trajectory variables formed from variables measured repeatedly in order to analyse the stability of key variables over time. Due to problems with missing employment data (for unemployed participants), cluster analysis was performed with variables from interview data for each phase, first including all variables for that phase and then with all variables for that phase except employment variables. In total eight cluster analyses were performed. This included four cluster analyses from within phases and with trajectory variables (including employment variables) which was then repeated excluding employment variables. In summary, the eight subsets of data which cluster

analysis was performed on were:

- 1) Pre-migration phase data
- 2) Early migration phase data (including employment variables)
- 3) Early migration phase data (excluding employment variables)
- 4) Current migration phase data (measured repeatedly, including employment variables)
- 5) Current migration phase data (measured repeatedly, excluding employment variables)
- 6) Current migration phase data (only measured in the current phase)
- 7) Trajectory variables (including employment variables)
- 8) Trajectory variables (excluding employment variables)

A brief description of cluster analysis as it relates to the present study is provided here. For a full description of cluster analysis, see Romesburg (2004). Cluster analysis is a useful approach for case-based research. Agglomerative Hierarchical cluster analysis was employed as an exploratory tool to cluster cases with similar patterns of variables within and across phases of migration in the current study. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis has the advantage of widespread use and it provides a transparent process in order to make cluster solution decisions (Kettenring, 2006). The agglomerative method initially treats every case as a cluster unto itself and with each successive step similar clusters are merged (Norušis, 2012). Cluster analysis requires two strategies: a measure of similarity and a method of forming clusters. Binary squared Euclidean distance measures were used to capture how two cases differed in their profile on the variables (see appendices H-O for Binary squared Euclidean distance matrices for each cluster analysis performed). The clustering method used was Ward's Method. Ward's Method is well known for forming well separated groups of similar size (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010).

Decisions about the number of clusters that were detectable in each analysis were made using three criteria. The first was to look at dendrograms which showed how clusters of cases were forming at various stages. The second and most important criterion was to examine the interpretability of the cluster solutions suggested by the dendrograms.

Where there was uncertainty about the number of clusters displayed in the dendrogram, different solutions were explored based on the interpretability of clusters. The third criterion was to examine the number of cases within different cluster solutions. Cluster solutions with a small number of cases were less desirable given the total sample size. A variety of other measures and clustering methods were explored for each of the cluster analyses. However, none of the other measures and methods produced clusters that were more easily interpreted.

The solutions from cluster analysis can be distorted by a variety of issues, including multicollinearity, variables on different scales, order of cases and outliers (Hair et al., 2010). Multicollinearity, that is very high correlations among cluster analysis variables can distort clusters, therefore as stated, any such variables were excluded at this variable selection stage. As all variables included in cluster analysis were on the same dichotomous scale, standardisation of variables to prevent distortion of cluster solutions was not necessary. In order to check the possibility that case order might affect cluster formation, cases were randomly ordered and solutions compared across re-orderings. The solutions appeared to be robust with respect to case order. Outliers can distort cluster solutions; however, inspection of the values in the squared Euclidean distance coefficient matrices suggested none of the cases in any of the analyses should be regarded as outliers.

Methodologists often stress the need to validate particular cluster solutions; however, in the current study cluster analysis was not used for taxonomic purposes but as an exploratory tool to identify similarities and differences within the sample and reduce the complexity of data in case-based analysis. For this reason, validation was not considered necessary. However, while no formal validation processes were implemented, emphasis on interpretation of cluster solutions provided a form of conceptual validation.

Data Interpretation: Themes and Profiles

Following cluster analysis of interview data, three meta-themes were identified during thematic analysis of clusters based on the characterisation of each cluster.

Characterising variables were identified by examining a) the percentage of cases in a cluster that provided a present response on a given variable, and b) the correlation between a given variable and cluster membership. A key focus in the current study was to examine the quality of life consequences of migration experiences for this sample. In order to identify whether subgroups of cases differed according to current quality of life, WHOQOL-100 data was compared by examining median values of the overall WHOQOL-100 score, domains and selected facets on this measure for subgroups within each phase. Socio-demographic differences between clusters were examined by calculating the median values of socio-demographic variables including age of participant, number of children, and age of oldest and youngest child. These analyses were descriptive and no attempt was made to test for statistical significance.

A decision was made to compute median rather than mean scores in order to compare subgroups of the samples on particular variables to assist with cluster interpretation. The conventional approach for comparing continuous variables such as age and quality of life is to compute mean scores. However, this is misleading if the distribution is non-normal due to outliers or skewness. Due to very small subsample sizes and the nature of variables in the current study, the use of medians was considered a more appropriate and robust measure of central tendency as it is not affected by skewness or outliers.

Once characterising variables were identified within each cluster, thematic analysis was conducted to search for themes and patterns occurring across phases of migration. A theme is defined as something important about the data in relation to the research question and it represents a patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In addition, thematic analysis was used to explore patterns of acculturation trajectories with individual cases of subgroups. As each individual case was examined, patterns of migration occurring across migration phases within each theme were noted. This information was then used to develop descriptive profiles of acculturation experiences for each theme based on similar acculturation patterns within subgroups of participants. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, three types of profiles were generated and interpreted following cluster analysis and thematic analysis. These profiles were: profiles of selected clusters of cases within different phases of their trajectories and with trajectory variables, primarily quantitative profiles of these same

clusters of cases tracked across phases and viewed from the whole trajectory, profiles which include qualitative accounts from cluster members with shared acculturation trajectories.

Thematic analysis is a flexible approach which is independent of theory and not epistemologically specific (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this study an inductive form of thematic analysis was used to produce themes which were strongly linked to data rather than theory. Constructs were selected based on literature and the researcher's own experience as an immigrant. While migration literature informed interview questions, formal migration theory was not used to guide analysis or interpretation in the current study.

Ethical Considerations

This study was approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, Southern A on 1st November 2010 (approval number 10/70). Ethical issues for this study included decisions around which participants were appropriate for the pilot study and the main study. The researcher decided to recruit participants that were known to her for the pilot study in order to enable more forthcoming feedback about the interview questions and process. Although the study posed little risk of harm to individuals, the researcher listed support organisations specific to migrant groups on the Information Sheet (see Appendix A). The researcher also identified an appropriate person to consult and access for her own support in case any distressing personal issues related to migration arose during the interview process. This person is a South African Clinical Psychologist. When the interviews were conducted in participants' homes, the researcher informed a family member or friend when and where she was going and carried a cell phone.

Written consent was required for participation in several aspects of this study including participation in the interview, completion of the socio-demographic questionnaire and WHOQOL-100. In addition, participants were asked to consent that the interview would be sound recorded (see Appendix B). Confidentiality was maintained by removing potentially identifying information from interview transcripts such as names

of workplaces or family members. Participants were given an opportunity to review their transcript and were asked to provide written consent for the use of extracts in this thesis (see Appendix E).

Participants from the same family were kept to a minimum in order to gain as much diversity in the sample as possible and to ensure responses from participants were independent. While some participants were from the same family (2 were parents and 6 were spouses of participants), the researcher generally encouraged only one person per family in order to gain as much diversity in the sample as possible.

Personal statement.

In the current study, the researcher's personal knowledge and background of South African immigration influenced several aspects of the study. The ability and willingness of participants to engage in research and recall both pleasant and challenging aspects of their migration experience requires the ability of the researcher to inspire trust and safety (Kadianaki, 2006). The researcher in this study conducted all interviews for both the pilot and main study and also transcribed the majority of interviews. In thematic analysis the researcher plays an active role in identifying patterns and themes of interest (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A brief statement regarding the background and the influence of the researcher on this study will be provided here.

I am a South African immigrant who has lived in New Zealand for 17 years. My brother and I emigrated with my parents when I was 11 years old. My immediate family are English-speaking; however, my grandparents include a mixture of Afrikaans and English-speakers. My immigrant status combined with my training in Clinical Psychology provided an impetus for this study. During my training as a psychologist, I became interested in the factors which assisted in my own migration journey to New Zealand. In particular, I was interested in the differences between South African immigrants and other immigrants living in New Zealand who, on the surface appeared similar, yet seemed motivated to emigrate for different reasons and subsequently experienced migration in contrasting ways.

My nationality appeared to be a strength in three main stages of this study, namely during recruitment, interviews, and data interpretation. My position as a South African immigrant facilitated the recruitment of participants for this study through established networks of other South Africans living in New Zealand as well as advertising through South African immigrant communities such as clubs and churches. My experience was that South African immigrants appeared responsive to advertisements and some participants appeared willing to participate in this study because of my personal background as a South African immigrant. This knowledge and experience also aided in understanding participants during the interview process, particularly in the frequent use of common South African colloquialisms such as “bakkie” and “braai”. My background also assisted in locating participants within their South African context given my geographical knowledge of the country. This knowledge and understanding gained from my own experience of migration further facilitated data interpretation. However, it was also considered that this background had the potential to distort interpretation and the appropriateness of the researcher was discussed with supervisors. At times participants appeared to make assumptions about my background based on the city I was born in and about my current knowledge of living in South Africa. For this reason, in addition to the personal information provided in the information sheet for this study, I reiterated the age at which I emigrated from South Africa, the length of time I had lived in New Zealand and my background as an English-speaking South African immigrant at the interview.

Chapter 5: Cluster Analysis Results

The next three results chapters will provide the results according to the three types of profiles generated and interpreted as outlined at the start of the Method Chapter which were: 1) Profiles of selected clusters of cases within different phases of their trajectories, 2) Primarily quantitative profiles of these same clusters of cases tracked across phases and viewed from the whole trajectory, 3) Profiles which include qualitative accounts from cluster members with shared acculturation trajectories. This chapter will provide the first results, those of the cluster analysis and profiles of variables for selected clusters of cases at different phases of the migration trajectory: pre-, early and current phases.

The first section provides the results of cluster analysis performed with interview data from three migration phases (pre-, early and current) and with interview data measured across phases of migration (trajectory variables). Following cluster analysis with this data, phi/Cramer's V correlations were computed in order to identify characterising variables within clusters at each phase of migration. As cluster analysis was used as an exploratory tool rather than for statistical inference purposes, significance results are not reported here.

Having identified and selected clusters which were exemplars of emerging themes following cluster analysis, a key aspect of the current study was to examine current quality of life of participants. WHOQOL-100 data of clusters identified during cluster analysis were compared and this information is provided in the second section. The final stage of this part of the analysis was to further contextualise clusters by comparing socio-demographic data among clusters. These results are provided in the final section.

Interview Data

This section will provide the results of cluster analysis performed with interview data within three phases of migration: pre-, early and current. As outlined in the Method Chapter, trajectory variables were formed with data measured repeatedly in the early and current phases of migration. Cluster analysis was then performed on interview data from each phase and with these trajectory variables formed from variables measured

repeatedly. Cluster analysis was performed twice with data from each phase including and excluding employment variables in order to combat problems with missing employment data. Decisions regarding cluster solutions for all interview data were made based on the associated dendrogram (provided in appendices), interpretability of cluster solutions and the number of cases included in each cluster.

This section will provide the results of cluster analysis for each phase of migration data. Results presented in the tables below provide the percentage of cases (rounded to the nearest whole number) that endorsed the characterising variable and the correlation between the characterising variable and cluster membership (rounded to 2 decimal places). Variables with phi/Cramer's V correlations of at least .30 were noted and only these variables are included in the tables below. Characterising variables are listed in rank order where variables with the strongest correlation to the cluster are listed first.

Pre-migration phase data.

There were 34 variables from the pre-migration phase which were included in cluster analysis and a decision was made to use a two-cluster solution ($n = 26, 20$) (see Appendix H for the associated dendrogram). Using phi correlation coefficients, 13 of the 34 variables from the pre-migration phase were found to differentiate between the two clusters (see Table 3).

Cluster 2 had a strikingly higher percentage of participants who endorsed the variables: 'Push factors: Opportunities for children', 'Pull factors: Opportunities for children', and 'Arrived in New Zealand with children' compared to cluster 1. Based on the characterisation of variables in this phase, cluster 2 was provisionally labelled the 'child-focused' cluster. Only cluster 2 was selected from this phase for further analysis as this cluster provided an exemplar of the emergent child-focused theme.

Table 3.*Characterising Variables in Pre-Migration Phase Data (n = 46)*

Variables	Present Cases %		Phi
	Cluster 1 (n=26)	Child-Focused Cluster (n=20)	
Push factors: Opportunities for children	19	95	.75
Pull factors: Opportunities for children	15	75	-.60
Arrived in New Zealand with children	23	80	.57
Preparation for migration: Service / agent / seminar	15	70	.56
Social support in New Zealand: Family	54	5	-.52
Trigger event	62	15	-.47
Preparation for migration: Own research	65	100	.43
New Zealand first choice	92	55	-.43
Arrival in New Zealand with others	62	95	.39
Pull factors: Friends and family in New Zealand	46	10	-.39
Pull factors: Safety and security	19	55	.37
Sources of stress: Migration paperwork	27	0	-.37
Pull factors: Culture/English	42	15	-.30

Early phase data.

Cluster analysis was performed with early migration phase data both including and excluding employment variables. There were 23 variables in cluster analysis of early phase data including employment variables and a decision was made to use a three-cluster solution ($n = 15, 12, 9$) (see Appendix I for the associated dendrogram). Within this phase, 9 of the 23 variables were found to differentiate between clusters.

Table 4 shows that cluster 3 was characterised by family social support whereas cluster 1 was characterised by social support from work colleagues. Both clusters 1 and 3 included a high percentage of cases that experienced either partial or full employment satisfaction illustrated in the variables: 'Employment: More satisfied than dissatisfied with role and/or position' and 'Employment: More satisfied than dissatisfied with work environment and colleagues'. In contrast, cluster 2 shows a high percentage of participants endorsed the variable 'Employment: Match', however, there were a high percentage of participants who experienced employment dissatisfaction illustrated by the low percentage of cases who endorsed the variables: 'Employment: More satisfied than dissatisfied with role and/or position' and 'Employment: More satisfied than dissatisfied with work environment and colleagues'. The results of analysis in this

phase showed that all three clusters were characterised by different employment experiences. As a result, cluster 1 was provisionally labelled ‘Employment satisfaction and Work Colleagues Social Support’, cluster 2 was labelled ‘Employment Dissatisfaction’ and cluster 3 was labelled ‘Employment Satisfaction and Family Social Support’.

Table 4.

Characterising Variables in Early Migration Phase Data (including employment variables) (n=36)

Variables	Present Cases %			Cramer's V
	Employment satisfaction & Work Colleagues Social Support (n=15)	Employment Dissatisfaction (n=12)	Employment Satisfaction & Family Social Support (n=9)	
Social support: Nuclear family	0	17	100	.88
Social support: Work colleagues	73	8	56	.57
Coping: Positive attitude	80	17	33	.57
Source of stress: Housing	60	0	22	.57
Coping: Support network	60	50	0	.50
Employment: More satisfied than dissatisfied with role and/or position	53	17	78	.47
Employment: More satisfied than dissatisfied with work environment and colleagues	80	33	78	.45
Employment: Match	47	83	89	.42
Source of stress: Family	53	8	44	.42

Analysis of early migration phase data excluding employment variables was performed on 19 variables. A decision was made to use a three cluster solution (n=15, 16, 17) (see Appendix J for the associated dendrogram). Within this phase, 9 variables were found to differentiate between clusters. Table 5 shows that cluster 2 included a higher percentage of participants who reported their spouse and nuclear family as a source of coping and social support compared to clusters 1 and 3. However, a high percentage of participants in cluster 1 and 2 reported work colleagues as a source of social support and no participants in cluster 3 reported work colleagues as a source of social support in the early migration phase. A high percentage of participants in cluster 2 and 3 indicated that work was a source of stress in the early migration phase and just over half of the participants in cluster 2 and 3 also said finance was a source of stress. For some

participants in cluster 3, lack of support network was also a source of stress. Cluster 1 contained the highest percentage of participants who felt more positive than negative about living in New Zealand, although a high percentage of cluster 2 also reported feeling more positive than negative about New Zealand.

Table 5.

Characterising Variables in Early Migration Phase Data (excluding employment variables) (n=48)

Variables	Present Cases %			Cramer's V
	Cluster 1 (n=15)	Cluster 2 (n=16)	Cluster 3 (n=17)	
Coping: Spouse/nuclear family	7	81	18	.68
Source of stress: Work	7	75	77	.64
Social support: Work colleagues	60	50	0	.56
Social support: Family	20	63	6	.53
Social support: Hobby/sport	47	13	0	.50
Source of stress: Finance	13	56	59	.41
Feelings about living in New Zealand: More positive than negative	87	69	41	.39
Source of stress: Lack of support network	20	31	65	.39
Source of stress: Migration paperwork	0	31	35	.37

Summary.

Results of cluster analysis performed with interview data from the early phase of migration was conducted twice: including and then excluding employment data to combat problems with missing employment data. The first cluster analysis in this phase (early phase data including employment variables) revealed important differences between all three clusters. These three clusters are exemplars of the emerging employment theme. This analysis showed differences among clusters according to levels of employment satisfaction and sources of social support. The second cluster analysis performed with early phase data where employment variables were excluded did not reveal a consistent pattern and therefore these clusters do not form part of the employment meta-theme.

Current phase data.

Analysis of current phase data included three cluster analyses. The first cluster analysis included all current phase variables measured repeatedly (in the early and current phase). This analysis included 23 variables and a decision was made to use a two cluster solution ($n = 12, 23$) (see Appendix K for the associated dendrogram). Table 6 shows 7 of the 23 variables in this phase differentiated the two clusters. The results in this table show that cluster 1 contained the highest percentage of participants who reported their support network was a source of coping and other South Africans living in New Zealand were a source of social support in the current phase. Cluster 1 also contained the highest percentage of participants who felt stressed by their families living in South Africa. In comparison, cluster 2 was characterised by employment satisfaction in this phase and about half of cluster 2 reported their family as a source of social support and coping. As the differences between clusters in this phase of data analysis did not reveal a consistent theme, these clusters were not selected for further analysis.

Table 6.

Characterising variables in the current migration phase (including employment variables) ($n=35$)

Variables	Present Cases %		Phi
	Cluster 1 ($n=12$)	Cluster 2 ($n=23$)	
Coping: Support network	83	22	-.59
Social support: Family	0	52	.52
Coping: Spouse/nuclear family	8	57	.47
Employment: More satisfied than dissatisfied with role and/or position	58	96	.47
Employment: More satisfied than dissatisfied with work environment and colleagues	58	96	.47
Source of stress: Family living in South Africa	83	35	-.46
Social support: Other South Africans living in New Zealand	92	48	-.43

The second analysis included current phase variables measured repeatedly; however, employment variables were excluded from this analysis (in order to combat problems with missing employment data). A total of 20 variables were included in the cluster

analysis and a decision was made to use a three cluster solution ($n = 19, 15, 11$) (see Appendix L for the associated dendrogram). Significance results are not reported as cluster analysis was used as an exploratory tool not for statistical inference purposes.

Within this phase, 7 of the 20 variables were found to differentiate between clusters. This information is presented in Table 7. Cluster 1 contained the highest percentage of participants who currently felt stressed by family living in South Africa. Clusters 1 and 3 had similar percentages of participants who reported other South Africans living in New Zealand as a source of social support in the current phase; however, a higher percentage of participants in cluster 3 reported South African social support in New Zealand as important to them in the current phase and more participants in cluster 3 reported participation in South African clubs and churches. In contrast, no participants in cluster 2 reported South African social support as important in the current phase. In addition, this cluster had the lowest percentage of participants who reported that other South Africans living in New Zealand as a source of social support and the lowest percentage of participants who reported participation in South African clubs or churches in New Zealand.

Cluster analysis in this phase of data revealed important differences between clusters and these clusters were selected for further analysis as they were exemplars of the emerging social support theme. Based on the contrasting characterisation of cluster membership in this phase, clusters were provisionally labelled 'Informal South African Social Support', 'South African Social Support is Not Important' and 'South African Social Support is Important', respectively.

Table 7.

Characterising Variables in the Current Migration Phase (excluding employment variables) (n=45)

Variables	Present Cases %			Cramer's V
	Informal SA Social Support (n=19)	SA Social Support Not Important (n=15)	SA Social Support is Important (n=11)	
Source of stress: Family living in South Africa	90	13	18	.73
South African social support in New Zealand important	39	0	82	.64
Social support: Church	47	0	0	.59
Social support: Other South Africans living in New Zealand	79	27	82	.52
Social support: South African clubs or churches in New Zealand	16	7	55	.45
Source of stress: Migration paperwork	0	0	18	.38
Coping: Support network	58	27	18	.36

Having performed cluster analyses on interview data from the current phase (including and then excluding employment variables) on variables measured repeatedly (early and current phase), cluster analysis was then performed on variables in the current phase which were only measured once. A decision was made to use a three cluster solution ($n = 8, 16, 16$) (see Appendix M for the associated dendrogram). A total of 24 variables were included in cluster analysis and 15 variables were found to differentiate between clusters, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8 shows cluster 1 contained the highest percentage of participants who reported intentions to return to South Africa permanently, whereas only a small percentage of participants in cluster 2 and 3 reported intentions to return. Cluster 1 also included the highest percentage of participants who reported a loss of culture since leaving South Africa. In addition, all participants in cluster 1 said they had ties with parents, extended family and friends in South Africa and all participants in cluster 1 had visited South Africa since migrating to New Zealand. Cluster 1 contained the highest percentage of participants who reported appreciation for the opportunities and safety offered by New Zealand despite their intentions to return to South Africa. Both clusters 1 and 2 also included a high percentage of participants who reported appreciation of New Zealand

people and culture. A higher percentage of participants in clusters 2 and 3 reported feeling better off living in New Zealand. In addition, both clusters 2 and 3 included a higher percentage of participants who reported a sense of fit in New Zealand society and felt more positive than negative about their future in New Zealand compared to cluster 1. As a consistent pattern was not detected between the profiles of clusters in this phase, these clusters were not selected for further analysis.

Table 8.

Characterising variables in the current migration phase (measured once) (n=40)

Variables	Present Cases %			Cramer's V
	Cluster 1 (n=8)	Cluster 2 (n=16)	Cluster 3 (n=16)	
Intend to return to South Africa permanently	75	6	6	.69
Ties to South Africa: Friends	100	56	13	.66
Aspects of New Zealand appreciated: Opportunities	88	13	63	.60
Feeling better off living in New Zealand	38	100	81	.57
Feelings of fit in New Zealand	25	94	56	.55
Aspects of New Zealand appreciated: People and culture	75	88	31	.54
Ties to South Africa: Extended family	100	38	81	.54
Visits to South Africa: First 2 years	75	63	19	.48
Feelings about future in New Zealand: More positive than negative	38	88	88	.48
Visits to South Africa: 1 st year	50	31	0	.47
Ties to South Africa: Parents	100	38	56	.46
Visits to South Africa: Anytime	100	69	44	.44
Ties to South Africa: Children	0	38	6	.43
Experience of loss of culture	63	13	31	.40
Aspects of New Zealand appreciated: Safety	75	31	69	.39

Trajectory variables.

In order to analyse patterns of change across phases of migration using cluster analysis, trajectory variables were created using variables that were measured repeatedly in the early and current phases of migration (as discussed in the Method chapter). Trajectory variables were formed for social support, coping, stress, and employment variables.

This process explicitly classified cases and identified whether cases were consistently present versus partially or completely absent for each of the relevant variables.

Trajectory variables were used to help identify the stability of issues such as social support, employment, stress and coping for cases across phases of migration. In other words, they provided a means of directly examining patterns of change and stability for these particular variables.

Cluster analysis was performed with two sets of trajectory variables; the first included employment variables and the second excluded employment variables. In the first analysis where employment variables were included, a total of 21 variables were included in the cluster analysis and a decision was made to use a two-cluster solution ($n = 14, 16$) (see Appendix N for the associated dendrogram). In this phase, 4 variables were found to differentiate between clusters as seen in Table 9. This table shows that, compared to cluster 2, participants in cluster 1 reported greater employment satisfaction in terms of match of qualifications and experience and satisfaction with role, position, work colleagues and environment across the migration trajectory in both early and current phases of migration. In addition, employment was not reported as a source of stress across the migration trajectory for participants in cluster 1.

Table 9.

Characterising Variables from Analysis of Trajectory Variables (including employment variables) ($n=30$)

Variables	Present Cases %		Phi
	Cluster 1 ($n=14$)	Cluster 2 ($n=16$)	
Employment: Match of work to previous experience and/or qualifications	100	38	-.66
Employment: More satisfied than dissatisfied with role and/or position	86	6	-.80
Employment: More satisfied than dissatisfied with work environment and colleagues	93	25	-.68
Source of stress: Work	0	25	.37

In the second analysis with trajectory variables excluding employment variables, a decision was made to use a two-cluster solution ($n = 27, 20$) (see Appendix O for the associated dendrogram). In this phase, 7 out of 18 variables were found to differentiate

between clusters. This information is provided in Table 10. This table shows cluster 1 included the highest percentage of participants who consistently reported work colleagues and other South Africans living in New Zealand as sources of social support across the migration trajectory. In addition, cluster 1 also included the highest percentage of participants who consistently reported support networks and maintaining a positive attitude as coping strategies across the migration trajectory. However, cluster 1 also showed a slightly higher percentage of participants who experienced employment and financial stress across the migration trajectory compared to cluster 2.

Table 10

Characterising variables from Analysis of Trajectory Variables (excluding employment variables) (n=47)

Variables	Present Cases %		Phi
	Cluster 1 (n=27)	Cluster 2 (n=20)	
Social support: Work colleagues	55	7	-.53
Social support: Other South Africans living in New Zealand	70	33	-.36
Coping: Support network	50	11	-.43
Coping: Positive attitude	60	19	-.43
Source of stress: Finance	35	11	-.30
Source of stress: Work	25	4	-.32
Feelings about living in New Zealand: More positive than negative	95	19	-.76

Summary.

The results of cluster analysis with pre-, early, current phase and trajectory variables of interview data revealed that it was possible to form subgroups of participants who had different profiles of variables at various stages of migration. For each cluster, variable profiles were examined and subsequently particular clusters were selected for further analysis, as exemplars of emergent meta-themes which appeared central to acculturation experience. In the pre-migration phase cluster 2 was for selected for further analysis and labelled 'Child-focused' as it was an exemplar of the child-focused theme. In the early migration phase data (including employment variables), all three clusters were selected for further analysis. These clusters were exemplars of the employment theme and were labelled 'Employment Satisfaction and Family Social Support', 'Employment

Dissatisfaction’ and ‘Employment Satisfaction and Work Colleagues Social Support’. The third and final set of clusters selected for further analysis were identified in the current migration phase data (including employment variables). All three clusters in this phase were exemplars of the social support theme and were labelled ‘Informal South African Social Support’, ‘South African Social Support is Not Important’ and ‘South African Social Support is Important’. These clusters will be examined in more detail in the next results chapter. No clusters were selected as exemplars of emerging themes from analysis with trajectory variables; however, patterns of stability across the trajectory as indicated by these variables were examined during case-based analysis and incorporated into profiles provided in the next two chapters.

Quality of Life Data

After examining the profiles of variables for selected clusters following cluster analysis, a central focus of the current study was to examine the quality of life in South African immigrants living in New Zealand and to explore whether clusters identified in the series of cluster analyses with interview data differed according to quality of life. Quality of life was examined at a cluster level as shown in the section below and later during thematic analysis of individual cases within clusters. In order to do this, the median WHOQOL-100 data for clusters within each migration phase were compared. Medians provided the most useful information as the shape of distribution was taken into account (as discussed previously on page 73) and these values are provided in the tables below. WHOQOL-100 data included an overall quality of life score, 6 quality of life domain scores and 12 selected facets. Median differences of the WHOQOL-100 between clusters that were equal to or greater than 8% were noted and are shown in bold type in the tables below. This 8% threshold was established as this value appeared to highlight useful and interesting differences between clusters.

Table 11 shows that in the pre-migration phase data, both clusters had similar median overall quality of life scores. Medians across all six WHOQOL domains were also similar between clusters 1 and 2, although small differences were noted on physical and psychological domains. Table 11 shows the child-focussed cluster (cluster 2) had slightly higher average scores on the physical and psychological domains compared to

the non-child-focused cluster (cluster 1). When examining medians for the selected WHOQOL-100 facets, small differences were noted on the ‘finance’ and ‘recreation and leisure’ facets. On both of these facets, the child-focused cluster had lower medians than cluster 1.

Table 11.

Pre-Phase Data: Median Values of WHOQOL-100 Data

	Cluster 1 (n=26)	Child-Focused Cluster (n=20)
	Overall Quality of Life Score	
	16	15
	WHOQOL-100 Domains	
Physical	67	79
Psychological	72	88
Independence	88	91
Social	74	69
Environmental	77	73
Spiritual	75	81
	WHOQOL-100 Facets	
Positive feelings	69	63
Self esteem	72	75
Negative feelings	72	69
Medication	94	100
Work capacity	97	91
Personal relationships	75	69
Social support	75	72
Physical safety	81	88
Home environment	75	72
Finances	69	59
Recreation / Leisure	66	56
Spirituality	75	81

Table 12 shows the median scores for early migration phase data including employment variables. All three clusters had similar average overall quality of life scores with medians of 15 or 16. There were small differences between medians on the ‘independence’, ‘social’ and ‘environmental’ WHOQOL-100 domains among the three clusters in this phase. Small differences were also noted between clusters for ‘medication’, ‘home environment’, ‘finances’, and ‘recreation and leisure’ WHOQOL-100 facets. Cluster 2 was labelled the ‘Employment Dissatisfaction’ cluster based on characterising variables from interview data following cluster analysis and this group had the lowest median on the ‘finances’ facet. However, cluster 1 which is labelled ‘Employment Satisfaction and Social Support from Work Colleagues’ also had a low median on the ‘finances’ facet.

Table 12.

Early-Phase Data (including employment variables): Median Values of WHOQOL-100 Data

	Employment satisfaction & Work Colleagues Social Support (n=15)	Employment Dissatisfaction (n=12)	Employment Satisfaction & Family Social Support (n=9)
Overall Quality of Life Score			
	16	15	15
WHOQOL-100 Domains			
Physical	73	70	73
Psychological	68	70	71
Independence	91	92	84
Social	69	75	77
Environmental	75	70	81
Spiritual	75	78	75
WHOQOL-100 Facets			
Positive feelings	63	69	63
Self esteem	69	72	75
Negative feelings	69	69	75
Medication	100	94	88
Work capacity	94	94	94
Personal relationships	69	75	75
Social support	69	75	75
Physical safety	81	81	81
Home environment	75	63	81
Finances	56	53	75
Recreation / Leisure	63	53	63
Spirituality	75	78	75

As seen in Table 13, the median overall quality of life on the WHOQOL-100 data in the early migration phase excluding employment variables were similar for all three clusters (15 or 16). No notable differences on WHOQOL-100 domains were evident for this data. However, median values of WHOQOL-100 facets were lowest for cluster 2 on the 'positive feelings' and 'recreation/leisure' facets. Clusters 2 and 3 had higher medians on the 'personal relationship' facet than cluster 1.

Table 13.

Early Phase Data (excluding employment variables): Median Values of WHOQOL-100 Data

	Cluster 1 (n=15)	Cluster 2 (n=16)	Cluster 3 (n=17)
	Overall Quality of Life Score		
	15	15	16
	WHOQOL-100 Domains		
Physical	71	73	75
Psychological	69	66	73
Independence	88	86	91
Social	67	69	74
Environmental	75	69	76
Spiritual	75	79	81
	WHOQOL-100 Facets		
Positive feelings	63	59	69
Self esteem	75	69	75
Negative feelings	75	69	69
Medication	100	94	100
Work capacity	94	91	88
Personal relationships	63	72	78
Social support	75	72	75
Physical safety	81	81	81
Home environment	81	75	75
Finances	69	63	63
Recreation / Leisure	69	59	56
Spirituality	75	75	81

As seen in Table 14, in current migration phase data which included employment variables, both clusters had a median overall quality of life of 15 on the WHOQOL-100. Small differences were noted among medians on the ‘physical’, ‘social’, ‘environmental’, and ‘spiritual’ domains of the WHOQOL-100. Cluster 1 had a lower median for all domains apart from the ‘spiritual’ domain. When examining medians of selected WHOQOL-100 facets, differences were also noted between clusters on the ‘negative feelings’, ‘personal relationships’, ‘social support’ and ‘finances’ facets. Cluster 1 had lower medians compared to cluster 2 on all of these facets apart from the ‘spiritual’ facet. The biggest difference between medians on the WHOQOL-100 facets was seen on the ‘finances’ facet where cluster 1 had a lower median than cluster 2.

Table 14.

Current Phase Data (including employment variables): Median Values of WHOQOL-100 Data

	Cluster 1 (n=12)	Cluster 2 (n=23)
Overall Quality of Life Score	15	15
WHOQOL-100 Domains		
Physical	66	78
Psychological	66	73
Independence	88	92
Social	57	71
Environmental	65	77
Spiritual	84	75
WHOQOL-100 Facets		
Positive feelings	63	69
Self esteem	69	75
Negative feelings	63	75
Medication	97	100
Work capacity	94	94
Personal relationships	63	75
Social support	66	75
Physical safety	81	88
Home environment	75	75
Finances	44	69
Recreation / Leisure	56	56
Spirituality	84	75

Table 15 shows medians for current migration phase data which excluded employment variables. Similar median overall quality of life scores were reported by participants in all three clusters with median scores of 15 and 16 on the WHOQOL-100. Differences were noted among medians on the ‘psychological’, ‘social’, ‘environmental’ and ‘spiritual’ WHOQOL-100 domains. Cluster 2 which was labelled ‘South African Social Support is Not Important’ following cluster analysis of interview data, had a higher median than other clusters on ‘psychological’, ‘social’, and ‘environmental’ domains. Cluster 3 which is labelled ‘South African Social Support is Important’, had the lowest median on the ‘psychological’ domain, however, on the ‘social’ domain the medians of cluster 1 which is labelled ‘Informal South African Social Support’ and cluster 3 labelled ‘South African Social Support is Important’ were similar. Differences between clusters were also noted among medians of selected WHOQOL-100 facets. Cluster 2: ‘South African Social Support is Not Important’, had higher medians on ‘positive feelings’, ‘personal relationships’ and ‘social’ facets.

Table 15.

Current Phase Data (excluding employment variables): Median Values of WHOQOL-100 Data

	Informal SA Social Support (n=19)	SA Social Support Not Important (n=15)	SA Social Support is Important (n=11)
Overall Quality of Life Score			
	15	16	15
WHOQOL-100 Domains			
Physical	73	73	72
Psychological	65	73	56
Independence	88	88	94
Social	63	74	67
Environmental	65	81	75
Spiritual	88	75	75
WHOQOL-100 Facets			
Positive feelings	56	75	63
Self esteem	69	75	56
Negative feelings	63	75	69
Medication	100	100	97
Work capacity	88	88	100
Personal relationships	69	81	63
Social support	69	75	56
Physical safety	81	81	94
Home environment	75	75	69
Finances	56	75	63
Recreation / Leisure	56	75	44
Spirituality	88	75	75

Table 16 shows the medians for WHOQOL-100 data in the current migration phase including variables only measured once. Cluster 1 had the lowest median overall quality of life. When examining WHOQOL-100 domains, differences were noted between medians on the ‘social’ and ‘spiritual’ domains. Cluster 1 had the lowest ‘social’ domain median but the highest ‘spiritual’ domain median. When comparing medians of selected WHOQOL-100 facets, cluster 1 had the lowest median for the ‘positive feelings’, ‘negative feelings’, ‘personal relationships’ and ‘social support’ facets. Cluster 3 had the highest ‘physical safety’ facet median.

Table 16.*Current Phase Data (variables measured once): Median Values of WHOQOL-100 Data*

	Cluster 1 (n=8)	Cluster 2 (n=16)	Cluster 3 (n=16)
	Overall Quality of Life Score		
	14	16	16
	WHOQOL-100 Domains		
Physical	75	77	73
Psychological	68	74	70
Independence	89	92	91
Social	54	79	65
Environmental	78	77	77
Spiritual	88	75	75
	WHOQOL-100 Facets		
Positive feelings	56	75	66
Self esteem	75	75	69
Negative feelings	59	78	69
Medication	94	94	100
Work capacity	91	100	91
Personal relationships	59	81	66
Social support	56	75	75
Physical safety	81	81	91
Home environment	78	75	75
Finances	63	69	63
Recreation / Leisure	66	59	66
Spirituality	88	75	75

Table 17 includes WHOQOL-100 data for trajectory variables including employment.

This table shows there was no difference in median overall quality of life. Cluster 1 had a higher median on the ‘psychological’, ‘social’ and ‘environmental’ WHOQOL-100 domains compared to cluster 2. When comparing median values of selected WHOQOL-100 facets, the most notable differences between clusters were on the following facets: ‘negative feelings’, ‘work capacity’, ‘finances’ and ‘recreation and leisure’. Cluster 1 had higher medians compared to cluster 2 for all of these facets.

Table 17.

Trajectory Data (including employment variables): Median values of WHOQOL-100 data

	Cluster 1 (n=14)	Cluster 2 (n=16)
Overall Quality of Life Score		
	16	16
WHOQOL-100 Domains		
Physical	73	71
Psychological	74	66
Independence	91	89
Social	77	69
Environmental	79	67
Spiritual	78	75
WHOQOL-100 Facets		
Positive feelings	69	66
Self esteem	75	69
Negative feelings	81	69
Medication	94	100
Work capacity	100	91
Personal relationships	78	72
Social support	75	72
Physical safety	84	81
Home environment	75	75
Finances	72	47
Recreation / Leisure	69	56
Spirituality	78	75

Median values of WHOQOL-100 data for trajectory variables excluding employment are provided in Table 18. Median overall quality of life scores were similar for both clusters (15 & 16). The only notable difference between medians on WHOQOL-100 domain scores was seen on the ‘social’ domain. When examining medians of selected WHOQOL-100 facets, differences between clusters were evident on the ‘work capacity’, ‘personal relationships’ and ‘recreation and leisure’ facets. On all three of these facets, cluster 1 had higher medians than cluster 2.

Table 18.

Trajectory Variable Data (excluding employment variables): Median Values of WHOQOL-100 data

	Cluster 1 (n=27)	Cluster 2 (n=20)
Overall Quality of Life Score		
	16	15
WHOQOL-100 Domains		
Physical	77	73
Psychological	73	68
Independence	89	88
Social	75	67
Environmental	80	75
Spiritual	75	81
WHOQOL-100 Facets		
Positive feelings	69	63
Self esteem	75	69
Negative feelings	75	69
Medication	100	94
Work capacity	100	88
Personal relationships	78	69
Social support	75	69
Physical safety	81	81
Home environment	75	75
Finances	66	69
Recreation / Leisure	72	56
Spirituality	75	81

Summary.

In this section the median values of quality of life data were compared between clusters for interview data from the pre-, early and current phase data and trajectory variables. Following cluster analysis, several clusters were selected for further analysis and were identified as exemplars of the emergent meta-themes. Overall only small differences were evident between clusters with regards to overall quality of life. However, the quality of life data for selected clusters are of particular importance and will form part of further profile description in the next two results chapters. No clusters were selected as exemplars of emerging themes from analysis with trajectory variables; however, patterns of stability across the trajectory as indicated by these variables were examined during case-based analysis and incorporated into profiles provided in the next two chapters.

In the pre-migration phase, the 'Child-focused' cluster had slightly higher median values on the physical and psychological domains and slightly lower mean values on the finance and leisure/recreation facets of the WHOQOL-100 when compared to the non-

child focused cluster. In the early-migration phase, the quality of life of clusters which are exemplars of the employment theme were of special interest. Comparisons of median values for quality of life data between these three clusters revealed that the cluster labelled 'Employment Dissatisfaction' had the lowest median value on the financial facet. The cluster labelled 'Employment Satisfaction and Work Colleagues Social Support' also had a lower median value on the financial facet compared to the cluster labelled 'Employment Satisfaction and Family Social Support'. In the current migration phase, comparisons between clusters with regards to quality of life data for the clusters which were exemplars of the social support theme are of particular importance. Cluster 2, labelled 'South African Social Support is Not Important' had higher median values on the psychological, social and environmental domains of the WHOQOL-100 when compared with the other two clusters. In addition, this cluster had higher median values on the positive feelings, personal relationships and social facets. In contrast, cluster 3 labelled 'South African Social Support is Important' had the lowest median value on the psychological domain but a similar median value to cluster 1 labelled 'Informal South African Social Support'.

Socio-demographic Data

Having compared the quality of life between clusters following cluster analysis, socio-demographic data were also examined in order to contextualise these clusters further. In order to identify whether clusters differed according to socio-demographic data, two types of analysis were conducted first with non-continuous and then continuous data. For non-continuous socio-demographic data (i.e., gender, marital status, language, qualifications, occupation, province born and moved from), phi/Cramer's V correlations were examined in order to identify whether socio-demographic variables characterised cluster membership at different phases of migration.

Only two socio-demographic variables were found to characterise cluster membership in all phases of data (i.e., pre-, early, current and trajectory variables). Three sets of current migration phase data were analysed in cluster analysis. These included current migration phase data measured repeatedly where employment variables were included and then excluded, as well as current phase data that was only measured once.

Differences among clusters according to socio-demographic data were only revealed in the current phase data where variables were measured once. Analysis revealed the 'highest level of education' variable significantly characterised cluster membership in the current migration phase data with variables only measured once. Cramer's V was .512 (n=40). Cluster one included 75% of participants with a postgraduate or higher level of qualification, whereas 56.3% of cluster 3 had postgraduate qualifications, and 56.3% of cluster 2 had university qualifications. In the current phase where variables were measured repeatedly but employment variables were excluded, the 'first language' variable also significantly characterised cluster membership. Cramer's V was .447 (n=46). Cluster 1 included 83.3% who reported Afrikaans as their first language and 84.6% of cluster 3 participants reported their first language was Afrikaans. Differences between the labelled clusters identified following cluster analysis were not evident during analysis of non-continuous socio-demographic data.

In order to analyse continuous socio-demographic data (i.e., age, number of children, age of children, years in New Zealand) at different phases of migration, median values of socio-demographic data were compared between clusters identified following cluster analysis of interview data. The medians for socio-demographic variables where differences were observed are shown in Table 19. In the pre-migration phase, cluster 2 labelled 'Child-focused' included slightly younger participants and the median age of their children was slightly younger than cluster 1. In the early migration phase (including employment variables), the median ages of the oldest and youngest children were higher for cluster 3. This cluster was labelled the 'Employment Satisfaction and Family Social Support' cluster following cluster analysis. In early migration phase (excluding employment variables), cluster 3 had the lowest median for oldest and youngest child compared to the other two clusters. Median values of socio-demographic variables in current migration phase data (including employment variables) showed cluster 2 which was labelled 'South African Social Support is Not Important' following cluster analysis, had the highest median age of oldest and youngest children. In current migration phase data (excluding employment variables), median values between clusters were similar. In the current migration phase data with variables only measured once, cluster 1 had the lowest median ages of children. Median values of trajectory phase data where employment variables were included showed cluster 2

had younger children whereas comparison of medians in trajectory phase data excluding employment variables showed the children of participants in cluster 2 were on average slightly older.

Overall, few differences were noted among socio-demographic variables for the labelled clusters. This section identified that the 'Child-focused' cluster included slightly younger participants and younger children when compared to the other cluster. In addition, the cluster labelled 'South African Social Support is Not Important' had slightly older children compared to the other clusters.

Table 19.
Median Values of Socio-Demographic Data for all Migration Phases

		Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3
Pre-migration				
	Age	48	41	
	Number of children	2	3	
	Age of oldest child	23	12	
	Age of youngest child	22	12	
Early migration (including employment)				
	Age	43	42	48
	Number of children	2	3	2
	Age of oldest child	12	15	23
	Age of youngest child	13	13	22
Early migration (excluding employment)				
	Age	47	48	41
	Number of children	2	3	2
	Oldest child	21	23	12
	Youngest child	19	19	12
Current migration (including employment)				
	Age	42	49	43
	Number of children	2	2	2
	Oldest child	14	23	19
	Youngest child	9	22	15
Current migration (excluding employment)				
	Age	43	42	
	Number of children	2	2	
	Oldest child	19	20	
	Youngest child	17	17	
Current migration (measured once)				
	Age	42	49	44
	Number of children	2	2	2
	Oldest child	18	23	23
	Youngest child	13	22	17
Trajectory variables (including employment)				
	Age	46	42	
	Number of children	2	2	
	Oldest child	22	12	
	Youngest child	17	14	
Trajectory variables (excluding employment)				
	Age	43	45	
	Number of children	2	2	
	Oldest child	18	23	
	Youngest child	15	17	

Summary

This chapter provides the results of cluster analysis which was used to generate and interpret profiles of selected clusters of cases at different phases of their trajectories. Following cluster analysis, clusters of cases were selected at various phases of data which were identified as exemplars of three emerging meta-themes: Child-focused, Employment and Social Support. In the pre-migration phase, the variable profile of cluster 2 revealed a focus on children in this phase of migration and was labelled accordingly. In the early migration phase, the variable profile of all three clusters showed contrasting employment experiences. These three clusters were selected for further analysis and as exemplars of the employment theme. They were labelled 'Employment Satisfaction and Work Colleagues Social Support', 'Employment Dissatisfaction' and 'Employment Satisfaction and Family Social Support'. Finally, in the current migration phase, all three clusters were selected for further analysis and as exemplars of the social support theme due to contrasting sources and preferences for social support. These three clusters were labelled 'Informal South African Social Support', 'South African Social Support is Not Important' and 'South African Social Support is Important'.

Following cluster analysis, selection of exemplar clusters and labelling of these clusters, quality of life and socio-demographic data was examined. Comparison of median values for quality of life data revealed some small differences on WHOQOL-100 domains and selected facets for the labelled clusters. For instance, the Child-focused cluster had slightly higher median values of the physical and psychological domains; however, this cluster was slightly lower on the finance and leisure/recreation facets. When examining socio-demographic data, the Child-focused cluster also had, on average, younger participants in this cluster and the children of participants in this cluster were also slightly younger in comparison to the other cluster.

With respect to clusters relating to the employment theme, small differences were also noted between the median values of WHOQOL-100 data. For instance, the cluster labelled 'Employment Dissatisfaction' had the lowest score on the finances facet and the cluster labelled 'Employment Satisfaction and Work Colleagues Social Support' also

had a low median value on the finance facet compared to the cluster labelled 'Employment Satisfaction and Family Social Support'. With respect to socio-demographic variables, no notable differences were identified between these three clusters.

For the social support theme, small differences among median values of WHOQOL-100 data were also identified between the three clusters selected as exemplars of this theme. The cluster labelled 'South African Social Support is Not Important' had higher median values on the psychological, social and environmental domains compared to the other two social support clusters. In addition, this cluster had higher median values on the positive feelings, personal relationships and social facets compared to the other two clusters. The cluster labelled 'South African Social Support is Important' had the lowest median value of all three social support clusters on the psychological domain of the WHOQOL-100. When examining socio-demographic variables for these three clusters, small differences were only observed in the age of participant's children. The cluster labelled 'South African Social Support is Not Important' had slightly older children.

Chapter 6: Profiles of Migration Trajectories

The previous chapter provided profiles of selected clusters of cases at different phases of the trajectory using cluster analysis. This chapter provides the results for the profiles of the same clusters of cases presented in the previous chapter; however, this chapter provides the results regarding the percentage of cluster members with particular experiences. These profiles were developed following analysis of individual cases within selected clusters with the respect to the whole trajectory. This chapter also includes extracts from interviews with participants which illustrate aspects of these acculturation experiences.

Child-Focused Theme

As discussed in the previous chapter, following cluster analysis, Cluster 2 from pre-migration phase data was selected as an exemplar of the child-focused theme and subsequently labelled accordingly as the 'Child-Focused Cluster'. The following profile is a description of the individual profile of participants within this cluster and their migration trajectories.

There were 20 participants in this cluster, consisting of 35% (rounded to nearest whole number) men and 65% women. The average age of participants in this cluster was 42 years (range 30-62 years) and 80% of participants were in their 30's and 40's. The average age range of participants' children was 11-15 years. Afrikaans was the first language for 80% of participants in this cluster and 80% of participants arrived in New Zealand with their children. Entry to New Zealand was through the skilled migrant category for 65% of participants and by visa for 25%. Only 20% of participants in this cluster had secured employment before moving to New Zealand. The average length of residence in New Zealand was 6 years and the length of time participants in this cluster had lived in New Zealand ranged from 3 to 11 years.

Limited opportunities for children in South Africa were a push factor for 95% of participants in this cluster and this was the most important push factor for 45%. Other push factors for this cluster included 'Violent Crime' (75%), 'Future Outlook' (40%), and 'Political Instability' (25%). Experiences of violence or crime had occurred either personally or within the family of 45% of participants in this cluster. The following extracts illustrate these motivations for leaving South Africa for participants in this child-focused cluster.

"You were growing up being free as a child, going into the mountains, having picnics with your friends wherever you wanna go and all of sudden your kids need to go to school, home, lock them up and there they have to stay until you get home. So that is the quality of life that you can, what you reduced to and the changes that there was and you want something better for your kids so that was just the reason why we in the end decide to emigrate." Interview 25

"With the kids now, when we talk to them as well, you now know how they lived in fear because they tell us they had little places in their cupboards where they will hide if something happened." Interview 37

"And point number two our children might have not been able to get a job which is fairly common in South Africa. I think from all our friends and family's children, I don't even know if 40% have jobs. And I mean anything between the ages of 24 and 26, ja. And it's not that they can't, it's not that they not qualified, it's just the unemployment is just so high, over 40%, it's just the reality. So parents have to keep their children alive and help them." Interview 21

"I didn't want to (leave) because I was comfortable where I was, but yeah just for my son, the school that he went to had security gates and you had to buzz in and you had to verify who you were before you could actually have access to the property and if you had somebody to go and pick him up on your behalf you had to check it through with the office first, and stuff like that because kids were abducted from school. And travelling at night became a risk." Interview 48

The pull factors or reasons for choosing New Zealand for participants in this cluster were also often related to the safety and future outlook for participant's children. 'Opportunities for children in New Zealand' was a pull factor for 75% of this cluster and 'Safety and Security' was an additional pull factor endorsed by 55% of participants in this cluster.

"I think for opportunities to study, work opportunities, to be free. So our main consideration- expectation was for our kids to have a normal life and normal decisions made not based on what the colour of your skin is. So definitely, mainly, for our kid's safety and for us, safety." Interview 25

Methods of coping in the early phase included maintaining a positive attitude (65%) and receiving support from family (35%). Maintaining a positive attitude was an important coping strategy for this group and was reported by 35% of participants in both the early and current phase of migration.

"Everything is now your attitude and with a strong personality you can kind of force that attitude into a positive direction." Interview 11

"That's the type of stuff - there's very good things that happen but there's also the negative but I think what you have to do is when you here you have to concentrate on the positive things otherwise it will totally shut you down, it will break you and you won't get through it." Interview 4

Participants also frequently referred to their nuclear family unit as a source of coping. For participants within the child-focused cluster, receiving support from family including the spouse of participants appeared to be an important way of coping.

"I have learned that I would say our marriage you know, what me and my husband had, we had to really, really work very hard a couple of...four years to be patient with each other and to understand each other's emotions and to stick together. We really, really had to work at it. I don't know why, it's just a lot of stress emigrating." Interview 25

“With the trauma, because I see immigration as a huge trauma that you go through, and with this roller coaster ride that you have... to work through it each time and I think it can make or break a marriage as well. I think we were really lucky, in the sense that we could share it and when I was up, he was down or the other way round. We would talk through it or if we're both down, it's like oooh, we feel terrible. Have a cup of coffee, I know how you feel. So I think we grew a stronger relationship...personally we grew immensely.” Interview 37

During the early migration phase, support from other South African immigrants living in New Zealand or South African clubs and churches was reported by 70% of participants in this cluster. This decreased slightly in the current phase, where 65% of participants in this cluster reported other South African immigrants living in New Zealand or South African churches and clubs were a form of social support. Family living in South Africa was a source of stress across the migration trajectory (early and current phases) for 40% of participants and 50% of participants reported family ties with their parents still living in South Africa and 65% reported ties with extended family still living in South Africa.

“Leaving my sisters - I've got three brothers, and I had two sisters then there. The youngest was upset, because I left. The other four was just...they were upset, they didn't show it that much, so I didn't think they were so upset. The way that they are now, they don't even talk to me. Not at all. Not an email, not a text. Nothing. I try to contact them, zilch. So they were more upset than what I thought.” Interview 37

“It's not just knowing. I don't see my mum and my dad but knowing that they can't enjoy, to be grandparents. It's like I cut them off of their last few years on you know on the planet to be grandparents. It's a tough part. So what type of life do they have now if they don't have their grandkids, they don't have their own kids. So that's a rude - feels rude to me, feels to me, for everything they did in life for me, I can't do nothing for them you know so it's a bit - that's a bit - that's a bit hard...at this stage I don't know how to work that out of my system. Do I need to feel responsible? Don't I need to feel responsible?” Interview 4

“So part of the end of the honeymoon phase was the isolation and the loneliness and the lack of resources and the lack of support. It was dreadful because after I did get a job then I had children, but I had a part-time job so I had to drop them off at school, go to work and finish work to come and pick them up and there was nobody else if I was late. If a meeting ran late, if anything happened to my car then there was nobody else to pick them up and there were a couple of days that I would be late or something would happen, there would be an accident on the road and I couldn't get there and I know my child is sitting outside the school and there's nobody there and they'd sense having nobody there. I think that's been the worst; that's been the hardest. I can feel myself getting upset when I talk about those things, the total lack of reliance of anybody but us and that my child was unhappy at preschool and that was the sense of absolute disasters. What now? I've got to go to work and my child is refusing to go to school and there's nobody else to look after him and I haven't got a nanny, I haven't got a grandmother, I haven't got anything; there's only us.” Interview 12

Despite the negative impact of separation from family living in South Africa and at times a lack of social support, during the current migration phase, 80% of participants in this cluster reported feeling more positive than negative about the future and 75% of participants in this cluster said they would make the decision to immigrate to New Zealand again. Further, while only 55% of participants in this cluster reported a sense of ‘fit’ and only 40% reported a sense of belonging in New Zealand, 65% of participants in this cluster reported feeling better off and stated that New Zealand felt like home to them. Many participants in this cluster recognised the benefits of the safety and security New Zealand provided for their children and families.

“I feel quite positive about life now...So we feel very safe and we feel very relaxed and we've noticed there's an enormous difference, our stress levels are much, much lower even though there are other things that stress us out still. But we're far less stressed. And we were more thoughtful and we think decisions through a lot more, so we live more carefully. But I think in terms of general satisfaction, I would say, I'm as satisfied with my life as I was in South Africa and possibly even more so.” Interview 12

“Very positive, I feel that there’s lot of scope for me still to learn and pursue a dream still and become part of something unique and also find my own little niche somewhere in the world but I think the scopes there and I feel positive about that, enthusiastic.” Interview 10

“I just think...and I know this sounds selfish but I can have anything I want to have here and I can't do that in South Africa. I want to have a peaceful lifestyle, I can have that. If I want to go live on the sea, I can have that too. It's a bit like America isn't it? It's the land of dreams. You can have anything you want to have. If you want to own a boat, do it. Things that I never thought that I'd be able to do - you want to go spend a holiday in Australia, you want to go to Fiji, do it. I feel very hopeful about our future - it's full of lovely possibilities. And I'm excited about XXX growing up here. Not having to deal with rubbish.” Interview 28

The median score of overall quality of life was similar for both clusters in the pre-migration phase (child focused and non-child focused). For the child-focused cluster, the median overall score on the WHOQOL-100 was 15/20. This cluster had a slightly higher median on the ‘Physical’ domain of the WHOQOL-100 (79/100), however, the median score was lower for participants in this cluster on the ‘Finances’ (59/100) and ‘Recreation and Leisure’ (56/100) facets when compared to the other cluster.

Employment Theme

Following cluster analysis, three clusters were selected for further analysis and as exemplars of the employment theme. These three clusters showed different levels of employment satisfaction and sources of social support (i.e., family versus work colleagues). The three clusters were labelled ‘Employment Satisfaction and Work Colleagues Social Support’, ‘Employment Dissatisfaction’ and ‘Employment Satisfaction and Family Social Support’. The following section provides profiles of individual cases from within these three clusters relating to employment experiences and migration trajectories.

Cluster 1: Employment satisfaction & work colleagues social support.

This cluster included 15 participants, 53% (rounded to the nearest whole number) were women and 47% were men, and Afrikaans was the first language of 67% of participants. The average age of participants in this cluster was 42 years and 80% of participants in this cluster were both married and had children. The length of residence in New Zealand for participants in this cluster ranged from 1 to 11 years with an average length of residence in New Zealand of 6 years. Within this cluster, 60% of participants had lived in New Zealand for less than 5 years. In addition, 60% of participants in this cluster had tertiary qualifications and 40% were employed prior to migration. Sixty percent of participants (or their spouse) were admitted as skilled migrants, whereas 33% entered New Zealand on a visa. Limited job opportunities in South Africa were a push factor for 73% of this cluster and job opportunities in New Zealand was a pull factor for 27% of participants.

This cluster of participants were characterised by partial or full work satisfaction in the early phase of migration. Within this cluster, 80% of participants reported feeling more satisfied than dissatisfied with their work colleagues and work environment in the early phase. In addition, 53% of this cluster was more satisfied than dissatisfied with their work role and position and 47% felt their early employment matched their qualifications and experience.

“So expectations of the job, yes I would say there I found there were lots of support given to immigrants, new teachers cos that was my first year, good orientation program, induction program, make you feel welcome, comfortable so no I think they did everything they could to make it comfortable for me.”

Interview 10

“It was great. The people were fantastic. It was the best thing that happened to me because I was surrounded by foreigners and I, even though, I joked with my students, even though I speak English, we would talk about funny things about New Zealand, because I still felt like a foreigner. Even though I looked like I

fitted in. I had so much in common with my Thai students and my Cambodian students and my Somali students. So it was a great - really a great experience.”

Interview 28

This cluster reported maintaining a positive attitude (80%) and support networks (60%) as common early coping strategies. In the early migration phase, 87% of participants in this cluster reported feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand. The main source of social support for this cluster in the early migration phase was work colleagues, reported by 73% of participants. Employment was also reported as a coping strategy for 20% of this cluster.

“Within that week I met up with quite a few other South Africans at work and one of the things they said is the company requires is an IRD number so one of the chaps took me through to Takapuna to have an IRD number issued. The same guy actually took me through to AA to get my driver's license converted so he actually did quite a lot for me and I didn't know him from a bar of soap which is quite nice.” Interview 11

In the current phase, fewer participants reported feeling more satisfied than dissatisfied with work colleagues and work environment (53%) and slightly fewer reported more satisfaction than dissatisfaction with their role and position (47%) compared to the early migration phase. However, the number of participants who felt their current employment matched their qualifications and experience was the same (47%). Work colleagues were a source of social support for fewer participants in the current migration phase (53%) and employment was reported as a coping strategy by only 13% of participants in this phase.

Both employment and finance were a source of stress in the early migration phase for 47% of participants and housing was a source of stress for 60% of this cluster. While employment and financial stress were reported as a source of stress by fewer participants in the current phase, 33% of participants in this cluster still reported financial stress and 27% reported employment stress in the current phase.

“Maybe the biggest thing – South African Rands - at that stage when I did it – it’s actually interesting when I did a calculation on a spread sheet - the rate at that stage was 3/1 and I thought let’s look at a worst case and I think I did a 5/1 - at the end of the day that is where it ended up - that was a big knock and you start losing a lot of money. Houses are quite expensive here and maybe the labour rates are higher so you got to work out - especially at my age - I was 45 when I came across and I thought how can I make it to get to retirement and still survive and I think that maybe is still a bit of a worry. In South Africa the house was paid for and from then on it was just going with...that’s still something that worries me - how are we gonna afford it?” Interview 2

“Now I tell myself if it was 20-30 years ago it would have been much, much easier cos you could think to the future as starting afresh and you can really sort things out nicely and rebuild a career and that kind of thing. But I am at that point in my life where I don’t want to really start afresh but I have to now. ” Interview 11

Ninety-three percent of participants in this cluster felt more positive than negative about living in New Zealand in the current migration phase. Within this cluster, 73% of participants reported feeling better off living in New Zealand and 80% said they would make the decision to immigrate to New Zealand again. On the WHOQOL-100, this cluster reported positive overall levels of current quality of life and 53% of this cluster reported overall current quality of life at or above 16/20. However, 53% of participants reported low financial satisfaction ($\leq 56/100$). In addition, 33% of participants in this cluster reported intentions to return to South Africa and 27% reported intentions to leave New Zealand.

Cluster two: Employment dissatisfaction.

This cluster included 12 participants, 67% (rounded to the nearest whole number) were women and 33% were men. The average age of participants in this cluster was 44 years. Only one participant in this cluster was unmarried and all participants had children. Within this cluster, 67% were Afrikaans and 33% were English. All

participants had tertiary education. Entry to New Zealand for 58% of participants was gained through the skilled migrant category and for 25% through visa. Prior to migration, 42% of participants in this cluster had secured employment in New Zealand. The length of residence in New Zealand ranged from 2 to 9 years and the average length of residence in New Zealand was 5 years. Half the participants in this cluster had lived in New Zealand for less than 5 years. Limited job opportunities in South Africa were a push factor for 33% of this cluster and job opportunities in New Zealand was a pull factor for 42%.

“That would have, could have taken from a month to six months in South Africa, that’s how scarce jobs are for people was in that, in 2007 when we left.”

Interview 4

“So I basically worked on the way [what] they said to me, they said to me "XXX here’s jobs, it looks good." Interview 4

This cluster was characterised by employment dissatisfaction in the early phase of migration. While 83% felt their employment matched their qualifications and experience in the early migration phase, only 33% of these participants reported being more satisfied than dissatisfied with their work colleagues and work environment, and 17% were satisfied with their role or position.

“And I probably applied, because I wanted a part-time job where I could be at home and take my son to school and be there when he comes home from school, just to soften the blow of having to come to everything new. Couldn't find anything and I wasn't even looking for a teaching position, I was looking for something that's got to do with school, you know like helping out in the library or teacher aiding. Nothing, nothing, nobody would touch me. I probably applied to anything from between 75 to 100 part time positions, all seeking lower qualifications, you know, not even teaching, nothing, nothing. And then probably in May the following year I got a job as a cleaner at XXX Hospital cleaning the theatres at night. That's the only job I could find. The rate wasn't that great, but I could work and the landlady at the time, she helped me a lot, just

keep on talking to me when I was only person, just wanted to go home at all costs. I suppose for my husband it must have been really difficult because it was his decision to uproot us and I can't find work.” Interview 48

“And then we moved over to XXX to XXX Street and then I started job hunting and that was a real wakeup call because I had a reputation in South Africa, I was well known, I was known in the publishing industry and I was known as a teacher and I knew if I applied for a job in South Africa I would probably get it. To come here and not even crack an interview, it was unbelievable. The only job I could get was a teacher aide job that I was doing, that I hated, I hated it. And just to not even crack an interview; you've got all this experience, and that was tough.” Interview 45

“Six months my first job. I didn't enjoy it, but I think that was a whole load of things. The XXX unit there was very cliquey, a lot older people, of course I was still reasonably young with a young child and there wasn't really people that were in that category when I was there. So I found it quite hard and I just didn't really enjoy it at all.” Interview 16

“My husband had a very bad experience cos he really had to step down a lot from what he was used to. He worked at XXX at that stage repairing cell phones so he was just sitting at the table repair cell phones and that was just not easy. He's more into...although he's not an engineer he worked with the engineers so he was in that, that was on the level he was and that was what he was used to. So now he had to sit in the bench, on the bench so ja it was very hard for him.” Interview 25

Only one participant in this cluster reported work colleagues as a source of social support in this phase. In addition, employment was reported as a source of stress for 67% of this cluster and financial stress was reported by 33%. In the early migration phase, only 50% of participants in this cluster reported feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand.

In the current migration phase, greater satisfaction was reported in some areas of employment by this cluster. Satisfaction with employment role and position increased considerably from 17% to 75% of participants reporting greater satisfaction with this aspect of employment. Satisfaction with work colleagues and environment also increased, where 67% of participants reported being more satisfied than dissatisfied with this aspect of their current employment compared to 33% in the early migration phase. In addition, more participants reported work colleagues as a current source of social support (33%). However, there was a decline in the number of participants who reported feeling like their current employment matched their qualifications and experience (67%) from 83% in the early migration phase to 67% in the current phase.

Employment and finances remained a current source of stress for 25% of participants in this cluster. Currently, 42% of these participants reported intentions to leave New Zealand and 17% intended returning to South Africa. However, 83.3% of participants in this cluster reported currently feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand, said they felt better off living in New Zealand, and would make the decision to migrate to New Zealand again.

The currently quality of life of participants in this cluster, measured by scores on the WHOQOL-100, showed that 50% of participants reported high levels of overall quality of life at or equal to 16 ($\leq 16/20$). This overall score is similar to the other two clusters. This cluster reported the lowest levels of financial satisfaction (although similar to cluster one) on the WHOQOL-100 and 50% of participants in this cluster scored at or less than 50 on the financial facet ($\leq 50/100$). This cluster also scored slightly lower on the home environment and recreation and leisure facets when compared to the other two clusters.

Cluster 3: Employment satisfaction & family social support.

This cluster included 9 participants, 78% (rounded to the nearest whole number) were women and 22% were men. The average age of participants in this cluster was 49

years. Within this cluster, 78% of participants were married and had children. In addition, 56% were Afrikaans and 44% were English. The length of residence for participants in this cluster ranged from 2 to 9 years and the average length of residence in New Zealand for this cluster was 6 years. Limited job opportunities in South Africa were a push factor for 44% of participants in this cluster and job opportunities in New Zealand was a pull factor for 33%. Entry to New Zealand for these participants was gained through the skilled migrant category for 33% and through visa for 44%. Prior to migration, no participants in this cluster had secured employment in New Zealand.

This cluster was characterised by employment satisfaction and family social support in the early phase of migration. Within this cluster, 78% of participants reported feeling more satisfied than dissatisfied with several aspects of employment, including work colleagues, work environment, work role and position. In addition, 89% felt their early employment matched their qualifications and experience.

“So, on the job front I've never had problems. I stayed with my first employer for four years, stayed with my second employer for two years and now I've been with this one for a year. I've always felt extremely lucky where I've been employed and I've had good opportunities, so I'm really okay with what I do.”

Interview 13

“I found a job as a front shop assistant in a big pharmacy, XXX that is open 13 hours a day, so there's lots of shift work available and I work generally about three days a week, some odd hours, 3 till 9. And I'm thoroughly enjoying it. I'm on the other side of the counter, but my expertise can still come in with selling cough mixtures and vitamins and I've had to learn to sell Lotto tickets and makeup, it's all been new challenges and I've enjoyed it immensely.” Interview

15

Feelings about living in New Zealand during this phase were reported as more positive than negative by 67% of participants in this cluster. Work colleagues were reported as a source of early social support for 56% of participants in the early migration phase.

Family was reported as a source of early social support for all participants in this cluster and assisted 67% of this cluster in coping with migration.

Both employment and finance were a source of stress in the early migration phase.

Work-related stress was reported by 56% of participants and financial stress was reported by 44% of participants in the early phase, however, fewer participants reported financial stress in the current phase (22%).

In the current phase, there was an increase in the number of participants reporting satisfaction with work colleagues and work environment from 78% in the early migration phase to 89% in the current phase. Further, satisfaction with current role and position increase from 78% in the early migration phase to 100% in the current phase. The number of participants who reported that their employment matched their qualifications and experience remained the same from early to current migration phases.

“I’m a character at work, “I want to talk to the South African”, “I want an appointment with the South African”. So I was the ‘South African’. But that’s nice. Because then they actually trusted you. You get that it takes some time... it’s my confidence, it’s more, it’s the same thing and you know you’re doing the right thing. People are impressed with what you do. Sometimes you think it’s just where you work, the people know you for that long so they’re happy with the way that you do stuff.” Interview 37

“I would say it’s more laid back. Yeah it was certainly like that in the offices of XXX and the other job, place that I worked at but in saying so I think it varies entirely on management. If one, like this is now a new manager that we’ve got, the previous manager was a bit more free and easy, but this new one we’ve got she’s go, go, go, so and I’m happy, I like that, I like to be busy. I don’t like being, twiddling my thumbs and looking for work.” Interview 35

“I’ve never had anybody kind of indicate that you’re a foreigner we don’t want you here, I’ve not ever come across that from any individual, or any bosses or anything and I’ve...okay I haven’t moved around a lot, I’ve just been I think in three jobs.” Interview 35

Family social support remained a constant source of support for this cluster. The number of participants who reported family social support remained at 67% in the current migration phase. Slightly fewer participants reported work colleagues as a current source of social support (44%). In the current phase of migration, the number of participants in this cluster who reported feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand increased from 67% to 78% from the early to current phase of migration. Further, 89% said they felt better off living in New Zealand and would make the decision to migrate to New Zealand again. Currently, 56% of this cluster reported intentions to leave New Zealand; however no participants in this cluster reported intentions of returning to South Africa.

The average (median) overall quality of life for participants in this cluster was 15/20 on the WHOQOL-100. Forty-four percent of participants in this cluster reported high levels of overall quality of life with scores of 16 or above ($\leq 16/20$). Lower levels of financial satisfaction were reported on the WHOQOL-100 by 22% of these participants ($\leq 50/100$), although this cluster reported slightly higher levels of financial satisfaction than the other two clusters.

Social Support Theme

Following cluster analysis, three clusters were selected for further analysis and as exemplars of the social support theme. These three clusters showed different sources of social support and the importance of South African social support in New Zealand. The three clusters were labelled ‘Informal South African Social Support’, ‘South African Social Support is Not Important’, ‘South African Social Support is Important’. The following section provides social support profiles of individual cases from within these three clusters and describes their migration trajectories.

Cluster 1: Informal South African Immigrant social support.

This cluster included 19 participants, 79% (rounded to the nearest whole number) were women. The average age of participants in this cluster was 43 years. Afrikaans was the first language for 84% of these participants and 42% of this cluster reported language difficulty in early migration.

“I feel so dumb - no one can understand you, it’s like my daughter telling me, she works for XXX, the other day the one person asked her “Can you please speak English?” She said, “I am speaking English!” I think no-one realises - you've got so many dialects.” Interview 6

Most participants in this cluster were married with children (90%). The most common birth place and most common province that participants in this cluster had moved from was Gauteng (53%). When leaving South Africa, 58% of participants in this cluster reported no intention or option of returning to South Africa if migration was unsuccessful. Social support in New Zealand prior to migration was reported by 53% of participants and 68% of this cluster arrived in New Zealand with their spouse or family. Sources of social support included family members, friends or acquaintances. The average length of residence for participants in this cluster was 5 years, and the range of time participants in this cluster had lived in New Zealand was 0.80 to 11 years.

Informal support from other South African immigrants living in New Zealand was a distinguishing feature of participants in this cluster. During the early migration phase, 79% of participants in this cluster reported that other South African immigrants living in New Zealand were a source of social support.

“I needed that one South African...that one person that I could just say whatever to and they know exactly what I am saying and also do the bit of cultural joking and they got it.” Interview 1

“Yes, it's very nice having a South African, which thinks the same way as you do. Yes. So the two of us can have a quiet, private discussion, now and again about, okay, which was something that was interesting to us, the way things work okay, so probably we South African, we don't understand that one. And so it's nice to have that but if she wasn't here, I think it would still have been nice. It's just a bonus to have someone from your... that gets the way we think.”

Interview 50

“That was also you know, very comforting at least to have somebody that you can just...you have the connection because you're from South Africa, you know. That was the only one. At least you had that little bit of a... oooh I can phone her.” Interview 51

“But then you talk to other people, and they say oh, other South Africans, and they say just stick with it, you'll, in a year or two, give yourself a year or two and I think that's what we, we just, went by is by people that's already gone through that, saying to us don't worry it will get better. That pushed us through.”

Interview 10

However, only 32% of participants reported participation in formal South African support groups such as clubs or Afrikaans churches in the early phase. Additional sources of social support for this cluster in the early migration phase were reported by 84% of participants in this cluster. These sources of social support included people from their children's school, church, work colleagues, sports or hobbies or formal organisations. Work colleagues were a source of social support in the early migration phase for 42% of this cluster.

“You either have to do in Rome as the Romans do or you will isolate yourself in your cultural group and not integrate into the wider society and that's also happening with a lot of Afrikaans South Africans...We don't attend Afrikaans church. We have more Kiwi friends than Afrikaans friends. We do have lovely Afrikaans friends but we feel we have become more like Kiwis, without losing our identity.” Interview 26

“I went to local gym and social netball and church and it’s all good but it’s really not much just meeting heaps of people but not really having a connection with people it just takes time. We went to a few South African churches and still trying to decide where we fit in. We went to a few local churches. We meet heaps of people but I must say it’s still hard because just from XXX he cycles and so we meet a lot of new people though that; through my work, his work, our friends and their friends and school and that but I still think it will take a few years. It takes a lot of work. You meet a lot of people but like I said we came from South Africa with 20-30 year old friends and now you have to make new relationships. It’s not the meeting that’s the problem, it’s making new relationships and friendships that will last--that’s hard.” Interview 24

“For me my social networks would be church people, teaching colleagues and people I meet through my kids.” Interview 48

Family in South Africa was a source of stress for 58% of participants and lack of support network affected 47%. Common coping strategies for this cluster during the early migration phase included support networks (42%), maintaining a positive attitude (37%), family (26%), and faith (32%). In the early migration phase, 58% of this cluster reported feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand. Of those who felt more negative than positive about living in New Zealand in the early phase, 63% reported family in South Africa was a source of stress, 50% reported lack of support network as a source of stress, and 75% reported either work or finance stress.

“We were, I was emotional, I was crying when I get a letter from my Dad. You wanted to phone them every day. You needed support, you needed help, guidance. You making decisions for you, we were newlyweds, now your parents are not there anymore to guide you making life decisions basically. So that was a bit difficult to get through.” Interview 10

“I just been having a lot of health issues, family in South Africa and that makes it very difficult for me to be here but when I came, everything was okay. My mom is 95. My mom was in good health and because I’m mobile, I travel a lot.

Ja, so see her 5-6 times a year, I get the opportunity to go back. So I've been back twice a year, at least twice a year all the time I've been here because I haven't set up a family here and I'm not going to. I have a friend and whatever but that's not, not setting up home." Interview 19

"Something that I have noticed with the people in South Africa, is getting worse is the grief, the grief is not stopping. It's getting harder for them cos you so far away and we not there for them. Mum and dad is going into retirement home now and we have to help them decide over the internet, we can't go with them and have a look at the place - practical things - and it broke my heart when my little one asked me one day "Mom what is a cousin?" because they have no idea what a family structure is - and my son said to his grandfather initially uncle - he couldn't understand what is a grandfather - he doesn't know." Interview 26

In the current migration phase, social support from other South African immigrants remained constant from the early migration phase (78%). Other sources of social support in the current migration phase included church (47%), work colleagues (42%), people from school (26%), hobbies and sports (21%), and formal organizations (16%). Participation in South African churches and clubs decreased over the migration trajectory for participants in this cluster with only 16% reporting South African churches or clubs as a current source of social support compared to 32% in the early migration phase. For 21% of participants in this cluster, South African social support was consistently important across the migration trajectory (early and current phase).

The most common coping strategies for this cluster in the current phase included support networks (58%), maintaining a positive attitude (53%), faith (37%) and family (32%). Current sources of stress for participants in this cluster included family in South Africa (90%), finance (32%), lack of support network (26%), and employment (21%). When compared with the early migration phase, fewer participants reported lack of support network as a source of stress in the current phase (47% to 26%). However, there was an increase in the number of participants who reported family in South Africa as a source of stress (58% to 90%). Many participants in this cluster had ties to South Africa. These ties included parents (84%), extended family and children (90%), and

friends (58%). Over half of these participants reported three or more sources of social support in South Africa (58%).

In comparison to other social support clusters, a large number of participants in this cluster reported intentions to leave New Zealand, where 37% reported intentions to move to a country other than South Africa, 21% intended to return to South Africa and 11% were contemplating either option.

“I don’t see us going back to South Africa, definitely not. Of that we are sure, but I don’t know if we will stay here forever. May decided to go somewhere else whether Australia or Europe or where there is opportunity.” Interview 24

“We can’t, we won’t be able to move back to South Africa. Yeah, no he won’t be able to. It’s just the way it is. We knew. We might move to another country and we always left that possible. I would love to go to Europe for a year or maybe take a gap and luckily the company where my husbands working, they actually do that, they a world-wide company and they do that quite often, they send you know, not like exchanges because not always somebody coming back but they will do that so that’s great, so we looking forward to doing that at some stage and doing it for a year or two. I don’t know, I guess it will depend on where the kids are.” Interview 20

In the current migration phase, 53% of participants in this cluster reported a sense of ‘fit’ in New Zealand and felt better off. In the current phase, 58% of this cluster said they would make the decision to immigrate to New Zealand again. The majority of participants felt more positive than negative about New Zealand people (90%) and 63% said they appreciated New Zealand people and the culture. In the current phase of migration, 47% of participants in this cluster said New Zealand felt like ‘home’, however, only 26% of this cluster felt a sense of belonging in New Zealand.

“For me personally, the hardest is you don’t really belong anywhere. You don’t really belong with South Africans, you don’t belong with Kiwis, you don’t belong with immigrants. But you adjust and it just is different. You still feel as

though you don't belong and that's really hard because it's something that gives you direction and ah I don't know... It's that part that's the hardest for me."

Interview 24

"It's 50-50 for me. When we travel of course it's always nice to come back to this home and at the end of the day this is my home but in my heart it's still South Africa." Interview 24

Overall, current quality of life reported on the WHOQOL-100 was similar for all three clusters in the social support theme. However, within this cluster 56% of participants reported overall quality of life scores of 15/20 or more and 56% reported satisfaction in the social domain of 60/100 or more. Scores on the social domain for this cluster were lower than cluster two.

Cluster 2: South African social support is not important.

There were 15 participants in this social support cluster; 67% (rounded to the nearest whole number) women and 33% men. The average age of participants in this cluster was 48 years, although the age range of participants was 23 to 73 years. Within this cluster of participants, 80% were married and 47% had children aged 15 years or older. English was the first language for 60% these participants and 40% were Afrikaans-speaking. The most common birth place was Gauteng (33%) and the Western Cape (27%) provinces. The most common South African province that participants moved to New Zealand from was Gauteng (60%) and Kwa-Zulu Natal (20%). The average length of residence in New Zealand for participants in this cluster was 8 years, and the range included 2 to 11 years. Of the participants in this cluster, 87% left with no intention or option of returning to South Africa if migration was unsuccessful. Prior to migration, 47% of this cluster reported family social support in New Zealand and 87% migrated to New Zealand at the same times as their spouse and children. Friends and acquaintances living in New Zealand were other sources of social support in New Zealand prior to migration were reported by 33% of participants in this cluster. Language was not an issue for most (87%) participants in this cluster.

Various sources of social support were reported in the early phase of migration. The most common sources of social support in this phase were family (40%), work colleagues (33%), hobbies or sport (33%) and/or formal organizations (27%). Other sources of social support for participants in this cluster included other South African immigrants living in New Zealand (20%), church (13%), South African churches or clubs (7%) and school (7%).

“The first thing I did was join the yacht club, being such a keen sailor and my husband, sort of being a sailor, the first thing we did was join the yacht club, we were living right next to it in XXX. Also I had bought a new boat even before we moved out here. We'd been here five weeks when I managed to buy a boat. And of course that gave us a first step into meeting people. And the people there were all fantastic at introducing us to other people. So that was amazing. We found the people so friendly and so accepting of South Africans.” Interview 15

No participants in this cluster reported South African social support as important to them in the early migration phase.

“You get these South African cliques and I thought “no I don't want to be part of that”. You sit there and gripe about the old world - you know I've gone out of that, I've moved on, I want to move past that, I don't want to sort of keep on going back to the old world. So look forward and just go on.” Interview 2

Family living in South Africa and lack of support network was reported as an early source of stress for 33% of participants in this cluster. Coping with early migration and stress was most commonly assisted by support networks (40%), keeping a positive attitude (33%), family (20%), and faith (13%). Feelings about living in New Zealand were more positive than negative for 73% of participants in the early migration phase.

As in the early phase, this cluster reported a variety of social support clusters. Sources of social support in the current phase for this cluster included family (47%), hobbies and sports (33%), formal organisations (27%), and work colleagues (20%). Other South

African immigrants were a source of social support for only 13% of participants in this cluster and participation in South African clubs and churches was only reported by 7% of participants in the current migration phase.

“We found the people so friendly and so accepting of South Africans and then what I did is I went and volunteered at the SPCA and I met a few more people there, so that was, again it was just a matter of go...but to meet people you have to go out and make the first move, you can't expect anybody to come to you, being me, I talk all the time.” Interview 15

“Eventually we started going to the sailing community and started getting into it. Mainly through work or through other means - hobbies or interests like boating and stuff like that.” Interview 2

South African social support was consistently reported as unimportant to 87% of participants in this cluster, both in the early and current phases of migration. Only 13% of this cluster stated that South African social support was important in the current migration phase. Some participants expressed strong views about participation in formal South African support groups in New Zealand.

“I've always felt a little bit different to the mainstream South African Afrikaans speaking South Africans and so back in South Africa, never really identified with any traditional South African groups and maybe it's a wrong assumption but it's an assumption that people who move here maybe share particular beliefs around South Africa which I don't share so I didn't want to move to the North Shore, I always rented on this side of the bridge and it was quite important for me that X [my son] is in a school that is multicultural that represents what New Zealand is about. And for that reason I have never been to a South African festival or joined South African groups.” Interview 8

“I am pretty happy - the only thing that really upsets me is the part of the community that still wants to do things the old South African way. They want to have their own thing - come on guys just move on in life - that really gets me -

and that's maybe why I don't wanna get involved in that area - just do my own stuff." Interview 2

"There was always the Rhodesians, when they left, when they flooded out of Rhodesia to South Africa, they were called the 'when we' club. When we were in Rhodesia....They form clicks and they have their gatherings. It's not healthy for a new country. No we've had many invitations to go to the South Africa club, but we don't go. We not interested." Interview 35

Family living in South Africa was a current source of stress for only 13% of participants (compared to 33% in the early migration phase) and lack of support network was reported as a source of stress for only 7% in the current phase (compared to 33% in the early phase). In this cluster, fewer participants reported parents living in South Africa (47%) compared to cluster one, although more participants in this cluster reported extended family living in South Africa (47%). This cluster also reported ties to South Africa through friends (40%) and children (20%), however, only 13% reported multiple (3 or more) sources of social support in South Africa in the current phase. During the first two years of living in New Zealand, 40% of participants in this cluster visited South Africa.

The most common approach to coping in the current phase was maintaining a positive attitude (60%), relying on support networks (27%), family (27%), and faith (7%). The majority of participants in this cluster reported more positive than negative interactions with New Zealanders (80%). In addition, 67% of participants in this cluster, felt more positive than negative about living in New Zealand in both early and current phase of migration. No participants in this cluster reported intentions of returning to South Africa although 47% reported intentions to leave New Zealand. All participants in this cluster reported feeling better off living in New Zealand and 93% said they would choose to migrate to New Zealand again. Sense of 'fit' in New Zealand was reported by 73% of participants in this cluster and 87% felt more positive than negative about the future.

“I love it here because I feel that it’s not a judgemental society. It’s quite accepting of all kinds of people and I like the fact that there's not, I don't think there is a lot of pressure to be any particular one which I really appreciate. It’s really nice.” Interview 8

New Zealand felt like ‘home’ to 53% of participants in this cluster and 40% felt a sense of belonging in New Zealand. Appreciation of New Zealand people and culture was reported by 73% of these participants. Overall quality of life was high for 73% of participants in this cluster (15/20 or more) and 93% reported high levels of social satisfaction (WHOQOL-100 Social Domain score of 60/100 or more).

Cluster 3: South African social support is important.

There were 11 participants in this social support cluster which included 64% (rounded to the nearest whole number) women and 36% men. The average age of participants was 46 years and included 73% of participants aged in their 30s and 40s. Within this cluster, 82% of participants were Afrikaans. Only one participant in this cluster was unmarried and 64% had children older than 15 years. The most common birth place of participants in this cluster was Gauteng (46%) and this was also the most common place in South Africa that participants moved to New Zealand from (36%). The average length of residence in New Zealand for these participants was 5 years (range 0.83-9 years). This cluster included slightly more recent migrants than other clusters, where 64% of participants had lived in New Zealand for less than five years. Sources of social support which already existed in New Zealand prior to migration included friends (46%), family (27%), and acquaintances (9%). Prior to migration, 91% of participants in this cluster left South Africa with no intention or option of returning.

“We also, both XXX and I, we just said very much you've got to be on the same page, you're making this commitment, it's not a test drive, none of us have been out here. It's not the case of have a look around, see if it's okay, if it's not we'll go back. It’s commit to it and look at it and you make the best of what you've got ahead of you.” Interview 44

Within this cluster, 82% of participants migrated to New Zealand with their families and first impressions of New Zealand were more positive than negative for 64% of these participants. Language was an issue in the early migration phase for 46% of these participants.

“And suddenly everything in English and you feel unsure about yourself and you don’t know all the ways and customs and procedures and what...how they do it so it’s just a lot of information, a lot of new ways and all that stuff.”

Interview 25

“...I say to her "must I do that?", "must I do that" I don’t know why she’s angry, angry, angry on me and then one day she talk to Afrikaans teacher and she say why is X like that and then the Afrikaans lady a teacher talk to me and say X you know what ask her can I do this, can I do that? You understand what I mean? I say why? cos in Afrikaans you can say "moet ek dit doen?" and that’s a nice word, it’s I want to do it, yes. And she can’t take it because I say, should I...Must I do it so now I try not to say that ja and yes that was very, very, very hard for me I must be honest to you.” Interview 27

“That’s why I am by [with] Afrikaans Dr because if you have pain, I can’t think in English, to describe that, that’s right and the same in my church, I like to listen in Afrikaans, ja.” Interview 27

“I find it difficult to meet socially with English speaking people. At work it’s fine, because it’s just the work circumstances so you can make a joke. I don’t know... if they get you over for a drink, it’s always difficult to communicate, because you don’t know what they find funny. And the way that we put things is more the Afrikaans way, and they don’t understand your joke and you feel like ooooh.” Interview 37

The importance of South African social support in New Zealand was a distinguishing feature of participant’s migration experience for this cluster. South African social support was reported as important by 64% of participants in this cluster in the early

migration phase. Only South African social support was reported by 55% of participants in this cluster in the early phase of migration. Other South African immigrants living in New Zealand were a form of early social support for 91% of participants and 64% reported participation in South African clubs or Afrikaans churches.

South African social support was consistently important across the migration trajectory (early and current phases) for 64% of participants in this cluster. Only 18% of this cluster said South African social support was never important to them and only one participant (9%) reported South African social support was important in the early but not current migration phase. In the current phase, 45% of this cluster reported only South African sources of social support. In addition, 82% of participants in this cluster people reported other South African immigrants as a source of social support and 55% reported participation in South African clubs or Afrikaans church in both the early and current phase of migration.

“All the support from the South Africans, I think that was really nice, to get the support from the other South Africans here that you didn't know from a bar of soap. But they were just so helpful. Also you thought, well what do you want? I mean you know how you come here from South Africa it's a different culture, but hey, they helped us, borrowed some furniture.” Interview 36

“That’s actually a bit of the maybe bad thing because of the many South Africans here on the shore because you mingle with them, you speak a lot of Afrikaans still and I say bad thing because you don’t really speak English socially, you don’t really make kiwi friends and all that so and we are still in that circle unfortunately because that’s a comfort zone for us which is not really, I know it’s not that, a good thing. We need to emerge or talk to or get acquainted or make friends with other people in New Zealand, not only South African but ja that’s what we did the first year because there were so many South Africans and went to the South African church and that’s what our friends were made up of - South Africans.” Interview 25

Sources of stress for participants in this cluster in the early migration phase included lack of support network (46%) and family living in South Africa (27%). Sources of coping in the early phase for these participants included family (73%), maintaining a positive attitude (36%), faith (27%), and support networks (27%).

Sources of stress in the current phase for participants in this cluster were family living in South Africa (18%) and a lack of support network (18%). Only 18% of this cluster reported multiple (3 or more) ties to friends and family in South Africa. Current ties in South Africa for this cluster included extended family (46%), parents (27%), children (18%), and friends (18%). Coping strategies for this cluster in the current phase included family (64%), maintaining a positive attitude (64%), faith (18%), support network (18%), and employment (9%). Family was reported as an early source of support for 36% of this cluster and for 46% in the current migration phase.

Feelings about living in New Zealand became increasingly positive for participants in this cluster and, in the current phase, 82% of participants in this cluster reported feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand. In the current phase, 91% of participants in this cluster reported feeling better off living in New Zealand than South Africa and all participants said they would make the decision to migrate to New Zealand again. In addition, 73% of participants reported a sense of 'fit' in New Zealand and 73% felt more positive than negative about the future. New Zealand was reported to feel like home to 64% of these participants and 45% reported a sense of belonging to New Zealand. Within this cluster, 55% of participants reported intentions to stay living in New Zealand permanently, while 36% reported intentions to leave to move to another country and only one participant (9%) was considering returning to South Africa.

“For me it’s very good really...I think we are really feeling our feet here and settling down and all that stuff ja so with things like this and things are like slowly settling down and everybody is at ease and all that stuff.” Interview 25

“I don’t personally I don’t want to go back to South Africa with the uncertainty that there is in South Africa. I prefer to have more security than that and although I from the typical South African concept of that you can have security

when you have money, that doesn't apply to New Zealand but even so I still feel more security here. I personally am more secure here than what I would have been in South Africa. And you know my personal freedom to be able to walk in the mornings with my dog, that's more important to me than living in a big house in South Africa with a wire fence around me. It ja, and just the way you perceive freedom and the way you wanna live. So I think that's one thing that I've learned about myself, is that I value certain things and freedom, my personal freedom is definitely one of the major issues for me." Interview 21

The overall quality of life reported on the WHOQOL-100 by participants in this cluster was similar to cluster one but slightly lower than cluster two. This cluster also reported similar levels of satisfaction to cluster one on the social domain, personal relationships and social support facets of the WHOQOL-100. However, these scores were lower than cluster two on this domain and these facets.

Summary

In summary, this chapter provides the results for the generation and interpretation of profiles of cases from clusters identified in the previous chapter. The profiles presented in this chapter focus on the percentage of cluster members with particular experiences across the migration trajectory for the child-focused, employment and social support themes. While, Chapter 5 provided profiles of selected clusters of cases at different phases of the migration trajectory, the current chapter provides profiles from these clusters across the whole migration trajectory. The child-focused profile illustrates children were an important factor in motivations for migration in the pre-migration phase for the child-focused cluster. This cluster also demonstrated that maintaining a positive attitude was an important coping strategy for this group and separation from family and friends was an on-going issue across the migration trajectory. The employment theme consisted of three clusters of participants who reported varying employment experiences. The employment profiles demonstrate that employment satisfaction typically increased along the migration trajectory; however, financial stress was evident for many participants, at both early and current phases of migration. The social support profiles illustrate two distinct attitudes towards participation in South

African communities in New Zealand. These profiles highlight important differences between Afrikaans and English-speaking South African immigrants and show that language was an important issue for some participants. The next chapter will provide profiles of cases with similar trajectories for each of the three meta-themes and elaborate further on the issues raised here.

Chapter 7: Profile of Cases with Shared Trajectories

This final results chapter provides the results pertaining to the generation and interpretation of profiles of cases with similar trajectories. These profiles were generated following thematic analysis of individual cases and migration trajectories within clusters for each theme. During thematic analysis of these individual migration trajectories, several shared migration trajectories were identified within the three meta-themes. This chapter provides qualitative accounts of the shared acculturation experiences of participants within these clusters.

Child-Focused Theme

As stated earlier, one cluster was selected as an exemplar for the child-focused theme in the pre-migration phase. There was one case profile within the child-focused theme with a similar migration trajectory. This profile is provided below with further qualitative elaboration of the shared migration trajectory for individuals in this cluster.

Child-focused profile.

In the pre-migration phase, opportunities for immigrant children were reported as both push and pull factors for participants in this group. These two characterising variables were central to the child-focused theme. Participants in this group reported their reasons for emigration were due to concerns about the limitations on educational and occupational opportunities for their children in South Africa. These participants also frequently reported direct experiences of violence and crime, either personally or within their family and social network. In addition, violence, crime, political instability, and future outlook were additional push factors for many in this group. The primary reason for choosing to immigrate to New Zealand was due to the perception that New Zealand would provide greater opportunities for immigrant children.

Many in this group emigrated with their families and arrived in New Zealand with their children. As Afrikaans was the first language for many participants in this group,

language was an issue for some in the early phase. While a degree of English proficiency is required for immigration to New Zealand, difficulties with local phrases and colloquialisms were often reported. Language difficulties also created an additional challenge for some immigrant children, particularly when starting new schools and adjusting to writing, learning, and conversing in English.

Separation and distance from family members living in South Africa was the most common source of stress for participants in this group and many reported family ties with parents and extended family living in South Africa. For immigrants, leaving family members behind in South Africa is particularly stressful given high rates of violence and crime. Some participants also reported concerns about the level of health care which impacted on participants with elderly or unwell family members. Separation from family and friends also contributed to a lack of social support in New Zealand which was another source of stress reported in the early migration phase. This was particularly difficult for immigrants who were employed full-time and had young children as there were few social supports to assist, particularly when children were sick or needed to be collected from school. Housing was also commonly cited as a source of stress which was often due to unfamiliarity with suburbs and finding suitable rental accommodation. Participants reported the challenges of adjusting to the different style and build of houses in New Zealand. Financial stress was the other most commonly cited source of stress for these participants in the early migration phase. Participants most often attributed financial stress to the poor exchange rate, the actual cost of immigration and, at times, periods of unemployment in the early migration phase.

Maintaining a positive attitude was the most common coping strategy for participants in the child-focused group in both the early and current phases of migration. This positive outlook was important to assist the family with migration and for some it appeared to serve as a protective factor to assist with the grief and loss experienced in leaving South Africa. The nuclear family unit and other South African immigrants living in New Zealand were often the main source of social support in the early phase for this group. Participants reported that other South African immigrants often had similar experiences and were a good source of information while resettling. Contact with other South Africans also helped foster South African traditions such as cooking certain foods and

speaking Afrikaans which was particularly important for immigrant families who felt it was important for their children to maintain language and traditions.

Few changes occurred in the mid-migration phase. Coping strategies such as keeping a positive attitude remained an important way to manage stress. Throughout the migration trajectory from the early to current migration phase, financial resources were unsatisfactory and a source of stress for this group. However, from the outset these participants sought to maintain a positive outlook and consistently reported feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand. As well as keeping a positive attitude, their support network, which often included other South Africans met either informally or formally, assisted in coping with the migration transition.

Currently this group of participants reported feeling more positive than negative about the future and were particularly appreciative of the safety and security as well as the opportunities offered by New Zealand. These participants still had multiple ties back to South Africa, including parents or extended family and this was a source of stress for this group. There was a sense of loss and concern associated with separation from extended family members and this was a primary consideration for participants who reported intentions to return to South Africa permanently.

Overall, these participants reported high levels of quality of life. It was not surprising to find that satisfaction and/or opportunity for recreation and leisure was lower for this group given many had young families. Financial satisfaction was also lower for this group; however, other quality of life domains reflected high levels of satisfaction with current quality of life.

Summary.

This profile described the main migration trajectory of participants who were focused on children in the pre-migration phase. This profile highlights the impact of separation from family members in South Africa following migration and the consequences of reduced family social support. For some of these participants, participation in South African communities in New Zealand helped foster language and traditions, particularly

for Afrikaans immigrants. In addition, these participants frequently cited maintaining a positive attitude as a coping strategy.

Employment Theme

As stated earlier, three clusters were selected as exemplars of the employment theme in the early-migration phase. These three clusters had contrasting employment experiences and are distinguished by the level of employment satisfaction and sources of social support in the early migration phase. Subsequently the three clusters were labelled 'Employment Satisfaction and Work Colleague Social Support', 'Employment Dissatisfaction', 'Employment Satisfaction and Family Social Support'. Following thematic analysis of individual cases within these clusters, profiles of cases with shared similar trajectories were identified. The following profiles provide further description and interpretation of the migration trajectories for individuals in these clusters with shared trajectories.

Cluster 1: Early employment satisfaction & work colleague social support.

Within cluster one, two primary profiles were identified following thematic analysis of individual cases within this cluster. These two profiles represent subgroups of cases within the cluster. The first profile represents the subgroup of participants within cluster one who reported satisfaction with all aspects of their employment in the early migration phase. The second profile represents the subgroup of participants within cluster one who reported only partial work satisfaction in the early migration phase. These two profiles are presented below.

Profile 1.

This group consisted mainly of women and about half of this subgroup held tertiary-level qualifications. In addition, this group included both English and Afrikaans immigrants and the age and occupation type of this subgroup varied. Most of these participants were attracted to New Zealand by employment opportunities and New Zealand was their preferred destination country.

This subgroup of participants reported positive employment experiences during the early migration phase. In addition to reporting satisfaction with their work colleagues and work environment, they also stated feeling satisfied with their role and position in this employment. They believed their employment in the early migration phase matched their qualifications and previous employment experience. Most participants in this subgroup also stated that their work colleagues were a source of social support in this phase and they felt more positive than negative about living in New Zealand.

Most of this subgroup continued to experience positive employment in the mid and current phases of migration despite change of employment for some participants during these phases. They reported feeling more satisfied than dissatisfied with all aspects of employment in the current migration phase. In addition, this subgroup continued to feel positive about living in New Zealand and reported high levels of quality of life of the WHOQOL-100.

Profile 2.

This subgroup of participants included both men and women. Many had tertiary-level qualifications and about half of these participants reported gaining employment prior to migration. Employment opportunities were a push or pull factor for some participants in this subgroup and most stated that New Zealand was their preferred country.

This subgroup of participants initially experienced only partial work satisfaction. They described feeling satisfied with their work colleagues and work environment and some reported that their work colleagues were a source of social support in the early migration phase. However, participants in this subgroup reported dissatisfaction with their role and position within the company and about half believed that their employment in the early migration phase did not match their qualifications and experience. Finance and work were prominent sources of stress for these participants. However, despite partial employment satisfaction and employment stress, all participants in this subgroup reported feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand in the early migration phase.

As the years progressed, half of this subgroup experienced increasing levels of satisfaction in their employment. In the current migration phase, these participants reported feeling satisfied with all aspects of their employment and most believed their employment matched their qualifications and experience. The other half of this group continued to experience dissatisfaction in their employment. Finance and work stress were reported by participants who experienced both increasing employment satisfaction and those who experienced employment dissatisfaction in the current phase. Despite the two varied employment trajectories within this subgroup of participants, most reported high levels of overall current quality of life. Many also said they would make the same decision to immigrate to New Zealand again and remained feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand.

Cluster two: Employment dissatisfaction profile.

Within cluster two, one primary employment profile was generated as an exemplar of the participants in this cluster who experienced employment dissatisfaction in the early migration phase.

Profile 3.

This subgroup of participants included both men and women who were all married with two to three children. There were slightly more Afrikaans participants in this subgroup and some reported language difficulties in early migration. These participants had lived in New Zealand for between three to seven years. Most held tertiary level qualifications and job opportunities were a factor that motivated their migration, either because of the limited job opportunities in South Africa or because of the perception that New Zealand offered good job opportunities. New Zealand was also the preferred country for most participants in this group. Very few of these participants were employed prior to migration.

In the early migration phase, this subgroup reported feeling dissatisfied with all aspects of their employment. They specifically reported feeling more dissatisfied than satisfied with their work colleagues, work environment, role and position within the company. Despite this, they reported feeling more positive than negative about living in New

Zealand. As the years progressed, employment became more satisfactory for about half of the participants in this subgroup, who currently reported feeling more satisfied than dissatisfied with all aspects of their current employment and believed their employment matched their qualifications and previous work experience.

In the current phase, some participants reported intentions to leave New Zealand and a few intended returning to South Africa. In addition, some of this subgroup reported employment and financial stress. Current quality of life varied greatly for participants in this group. The lowest level of quality of life was 9/20 and the highest was 20/20.

Cluster three: Employment satisfaction & family support.

Within cluster three, one primary employment profile was generated as an exemplar of the participants in this cluster who experienced employment satisfaction in the early migration phase. This cluster of participants showed a similar employment trajectory to participants in cluster one. However, for this subgroup, family rather than work colleagues were reported as an important source of social support.

Profile 4.

Most participants in this subgroup were women with tertiary level qualifications who had previously worked in a variety of professions. All participants in this subgroup left South Africa with no intention or option to return. The main reasons for leaving South Africa for this subgroup related to the future outlook, crime, violence and opportunities for their children. Only some participants left because of limited job opportunities in South Africa and some were attracted to New Zealand because of friends and family living in New Zealand which provided a source of social support prior to migration. For most people in this subgroup, New Zealand was the preferred destination country.

Participants in this subgroup were all satisfied with their employment in the early migration phase. They reported satisfaction with their work colleagues and work environment, as well as their role or position within the workplace. They also reported that their early employment matched their qualifications and previous work experience. While some participants stated that their work colleagues were a source of social

support in the early phase, all of this subgroup reported family as a source of social support and sometimes a form of coping with migration stressors in the early phase. Most participants in this subgroup reported feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand in this phase. However, employment and financial stress were commonly reported by these participants despite positive employment experiences.

All participants in this subgroup experienced positive employment from the early migration phase, through to mid and current phases of migration. In addition, participants reported high levels of satisfaction with all aspects of their workplace, colleagues, and role and position. In addition, most participants in this group described consistently feeling positive about living in New Zealand throughout migration.

As stated earlier, all participants in this subgroup left South Africa without the intention of returning in the prior to migration phase and, in the current phase of migration, no participants in this subgroup reported intentions of returning to South Africa despite some reporting ties to family members (including children). Some participants reported intentions to leave New Zealand and financial stress was possibly a contributing factor for some. Most of these participants said they felt a sense of fit in New Zealand, would migrate to New Zealand again, and felt better off. Most also reported high overall quality of life and scores on personal relationship, social support, and self-esteem facets were also high for this group.

Summary.

This section provides four profiles which are based on clusters selected as exemplars of the employment theme. These profiles described several different employment experiences which were identified in the early migration phase. Varied experiences of employment satisfaction were evident among subgroups of participants. In addition, profiles in clusters one and three showed similar levels of employment satisfaction in the early phase; however, the main source of social support for these subgroups differed.

Social Support Theme

As stated earlier, three clusters were selected as exemplars of the social support theme in the current migration phase. These three clusters of participants reported different social support preferences and experiences and are distinguished by the main source of social support in the current migration phase and the level of importance placed on South African social support in New Zealand. Subsequently the three clusters were labelled 'Informal South African Immigrant Social Support', 'South African Social Support is Not Important', and 'South African Social Support is Important'. Following thematic analysis of individual cases within these clusters, profiles of cases with shared trajectories were identified. The following profiles provide further description and interpretation of the migration trajectories for individuals in these clusters with shared trajectories.

Cluster one: Informal South African immigrant social support.

Profile 1.

Within cluster one, one primary social support profile was generated as an exemplar of the participants in this cluster who reported informal social support from other South African immigrants in the current migration phase.

Most participants in this subgroup were Afrikaans women in their 30s or 40s and were married with children. Many of these participants were born and moved to New Zealand from Gauteng and reported leaving South Africa with no intention of returning. These participants also reported having friends and/or family already living in New Zealand.

Many participants in this subgroup arrived in New Zealand with their spouse and children. In the early migration phase, language was an issue for some in this subgroup. Other South African immigrants living in New Zealand were a source of social support for many participants in this subgroup in the early migration phase. Other South African immigrants were often met informally through word of mouth rather than from

participation in South African clubs or Afrikaans churches. These participants also reported the main avenue for meeting people was through their children's school and through hobbies and sports. Having a good support network and maintaining a positive attitude about living in New Zealand were the primary coping strategies to assist with migration-related stress at this time. For some participants in this subgroup, faith and nuclear family were additional coping strategies. In addition, participants reported feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand in the early migration phase.

Over the migration trajectory, some participants in this subgroup reported different sources of social support at different phases of migration and, for some, the importance of these social supports also changed. However, social support from South African clubs or Afrikaans churches was not reported as an important source of social support at any stage of migration for most participants in this subgroup. Currently, various sources of social support including other South African immigrants were reported by this group. These participants still had ties to friends and family in South Africa and many of these participants still had parents living there. Family in South Africa was a source of stress for many participants in this subgroup in the current phase. However, participants reported coping with this and other stress by relying on their existing support networks in New Zealand.

Some participants in this group considered leaving New Zealand permanently (although not returning to South Africa). However, most participants said they felt a sense of fit in New Zealand and felt at home here. These participants generally reported more positive than negative experiences with New Zealand people and they appreciated the people and the culture of this society. Overall, these participants also reported high levels of current quality of life and many also reported high levels of social satisfaction on the WHOQOL-100.

Cluster two: South African social support is not important.

Profile 2.

Within cluster two, one primary social support profile was generated as an exemplar of the participants in this cluster who reported that support from South African immigrants or South African communities was not important to them in the current migration phase.

This group consisted of more English than Afrikaans-speaking participants and there were also more women than men. In addition, most participants in this group were married with children. Prior to migrating, many in this group already had family members or friends living in New Zealand and most reported leaving South Africa with no intention or option of returning.

Most participants in this group arrived in New Zealand with their nuclear family. Language was generally not an issue. Early sources of social support for this group included family in New Zealand, work colleagues, and people met through sports and hobbies, church, school, and or formal organisations such as Plunket or Settlement Support. However, very few of these participants participated in social activities (formal or informal) with other South African immigrants and they stated that South African social support was not important to them. At times participants in this group stated strong views about participation in formal South African communities and reported focusing on integrating into New Zealand society. In the early phase of migration, these participants stated feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand. Their coping strategies included relying on their support network in New Zealand, including family members, their faith, and keeping a positive attitude. As the years progressed, these migrants continued to report more positive than negative feelings about living in New Zealand. As in the early phase, South African social support (informal or formal) was not reported as an important source of social support by many participants in this group in the current phase. Currently, the support network for these migrants included family members and people met through hobbies or sport, formal organisations, work, school or church. Participants in this group reported family, support networks, and keeping a positive attitude as coping strategies utilized in the current phase. Overall, these participants reported fewer sources of stress than other

migrants and, while they did report still having family and friends living in South Africa, this was often not a source of stress for them.

Participants in this group did not visit South Africa within the first two years of living in New Zealand. Currently, they reported no intention of returning to South Africa although they had considered moving to another country. Overall, they reported their experience of New Zealanders had been more positive than negative. Many participants in this group described a sense of fit in New Zealand society and for some New Zealand felt like home and they belonged. All participants in this group reported feeling better off living in New Zealand compared to living in South Africa and most said they would make the decision to migrate to New Zealand again. Most participants also stated feeling more positive than negative about the future, and they appreciated New Zealand people and culture. Overall, these participants reported high levels of quality of life and were satisfied with social aspects of their current life.

Cluster three: South African social support is important.

Within cluster one, two primary social support profiles were generated as exemplars of participants in this cluster. Participants within this subgroup reported that South African social support was important in the current migration phase; however, during thematic analysis, two contrasting migration trajectories were identified. The profiles of these two subgroups are provided below.

Profile 3.

Most participants in this subgroup were Afrikaans, in their 30s and 40s and married with children. They left South Africa with the option of returning if migration to New Zealand was unsuccessful.

These participants did not know anyone living in New Zealand before migration and they moved to New Zealand prior to their family. The most common reason for this was in order to find suitable employment and accommodation while family in South Africa sold the house and arranged for furniture to be packed and moved. In the early migration phase, these participants often experienced language difficulties similar to

those discussed earlier (such as colloquialisms). South African communities in New Zealand were a source of support in the early migration phase for this group. The most commonly reported South African communities in New Zealand were South African clubs and Afrikaans churches. These groups provided participants with an opportunity to meet other South African immigrants with similar migration experiences and who often spoke the same language. Some participants in this group had other sources of social support in the early phase apart from South African groups such as people from schools, hobbies and sports. Most participants in this group said they felt more negative than positive about living in New Zealand in the early phase of migration. The reasons for this most commonly related to the stress of leaving extended family in South Africa, not knowing many people in New Zealand, and employment and financial stress.

For these participants, social support with other South African immigrants through clubs and Afrikaans churches remained important across the migration trajectory. In the current phase, these participants reported multiple ties with family or friends living in South Africa. Some intended to return to South Africa permanently. Many of these participants did not experience a sense of fit in New Zealand society or feelings of belonging or being at home in New Zealand. In addition, they said knowing what they knew now about the stresses of having family in South Africa, the challenges of working and socializing in New Zealand, they would not make the same decision to immigrate to New Zealand. These participants often felt worse off living in New Zealand compared to South Africa. Overall, this group of participants reported lower levels of quality of life compared to other participants in this study and reported low levels of social satisfaction.

Profile 4.

This subgroup consisted of both male and female Afrikaans immigrants aged in their 30s or 40s. Most participants in this group were married with older children (15+ years). These participants were relatively new immigrants, having lived in New Zealand for less than five years. They reported some social support in New Zealand prior to migration. They left South Africa with no intention or option of returning.

These participants arrived in New Zealand with their family and their first impressions

of New Zealand were more positive than negative. Language was not an issue for them. Early sources of social support for this group were primarily other South Africans living in New Zealand and people from South African clubs or Afrikaans church. These participants stated that South African social support was important to them in the early migration phase but their support network also included family members and people from work, school, church, hobbies or sport, and other formal organizations. These participants reported coping with the migration transition in various ways, including relying on their faith, family and support network as well as maintaining a positive attitude.

As the years progressed, these migrants reported a continuation of this pattern of social support and remained feeling more positive than negative about living in New Zealand. In the current phase, they reported feeling better off living in New Zealand compared to living in South Africa, and they would make the decision to migrate to New Zealand again, knowing what they know now. Participants in this group also said they felt a sense of fit in New Zealand society and experienced a sense of belonging and feeling at home. In addition, they reported feeling positive about the future and appreciative of New Zealand people and culture. Participants in this group reported high levels of overall quality of life and were satisfied with the social aspect of their life in the current phase.

Summary.

The profiles provided for the social support theme include descriptions of differing migration trajectories with regards to social support experiences. The first profile described the migration trajectory of participants who reported informal sources of South African social support from other South African immigrants living in New Zealand. The second profile described the migration trajectory of participants who did not participate in South African communities in New Zealand and who reported that South African social support was not important to them. The final two profiles described migration trajectories of participants who reported that South African social support was important to them in the current migration phase. Typically subgroups of participants in the third cluster 'South African Social Support is Important' participated in formal South African communities in New Zealand such as Afrikaans churches or

South African clubs. Varying degrees of social support from other South Africans and South African communities in New Zealand raises important issues about the value this support provides and the alternative sources of social support from those who choose not to participate in them.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provides the profiles of cases with shared similar migration trajectories relating to the three meta-themes. The profile described in the child-focused theme is an exemplar of the participants within the child-focused cluster which was identified in the pre-migration phase. Thematic analysis of participants in this subgroup highlighted pre-migration factors such as push/pull motivations for migration and concerns about safety and opportunities for children of participants. Further, participants in this cluster raised issues regarding separation from family and friends following migration and ways of coping with migration stress.

Thematic analysis was then conducted with the three clusters selected as exemplars of the employment theme in the early migration phase. From this, four employment profiles were formed which represent contrasting employment experiences of participants and their migration trajectories. These profiles showed that many participants reported satisfaction with aspects of their employment and generally employment experiences improved along the migration trajectory. However, there were some participants who continued to experience unsatisfactory employment experiences and for some underemployment was an important issue. Financial stress was also an issue discussed by participants with varying levels of employment satisfaction and was an important issue for these immigrants due to the poor exchange rate and for immigrants in the mid to later years of life who were approaching retirement.

Thematic analysis was also conducted with three clusters which were selected from the current migration phase as exemplars of the emerging social support theme. From this analysis, four profiles were formed which consisted of four contrasting social support experiences and the migration trajectories of these participants. The social support profiles provided in this chapter showed that some subgroups of participants sought

informal support from other South African immigrants living in New Zealand, while others also sought formal sources of South African social support in New Zealand through Afrikaans churches or South African clubs. These profiles also varied according to the level of importance subgroups of participants placed on South African social support in New Zealand and participants appeared to hold quite strong views towards participation in formal South African communities. These profiles raised issues regarding the types of social support available in New Zealand for South African immigrants and the potential benefits or costs of participation in these groups. In addition, language was an important issue raised by participants in these clusters which is examined further in the Discussion section of the next chapter.

Chapter 8: Summary, Discussion & Conclusions

In the preceding three chapters, the results of three types of profiles which were generated and interpreted during analysis were reported. Chapter 8 provides a summary of the study, discussion of findings and key issues raised by participants during thematic analysis of profiles, as well as a discussion of the contribution this study makes to the field, methodological caveats, implications, recommendations for future research, and overall conclusions.

Summary of the Study

The aim of this study was to explore acculturation trajectories and quality of life in South African immigrants living in New Zealand. The design of this study encompassed three distinctive elements: a case-centred rather than variable-centred approach, a focus on the process of migration at specific phases of migration rather than using static measurement of acculturation, and exploration of the broad implications of migration (positive and negative) by assessing quality of life using the WHOQOL-100 rather than solely focusing on negative outcomes of migration.

To assist with the ability to detect acculturation patterns, two primary strategies were employed. The first was to examine participants' migration experiences at different phases of migration. To do this, interview questions focused on pre-, early, mid- and current phases of migration. Once interview data was coded, the second strategy was to use cluster analysis as an exploratory tool to determine whether it was possible to group cases within and across phases of migration. The analysis revealed that subgroups of South African immigrants did exist within the sample at various phases of migration and across the migration trajectory. Following the cluster analysis, clusters were selected as exemplars of three emerging meta-themes: Child-focused, employment and social support. Three types of profiles were generated and interpreted during analysis: profiles of selected clusters of cases at different phases of their trajectories, quantitative profiles of these same clusters of cases across the whole migration trajectory and profiles of cases who shared similar trajectories. The profiles provided in Chapter 7 illustrated

patterns of acculturation trajectories and quality of life consequences for subgroups of participants according to the three meta-themes.

Within the child-focused theme, one main pattern of acculturation was identified for a subgroup of participants. For this subgroup, migration was characterised by a desire for better opportunities for their children. This profile highlighted the influence of violence and crime, as well as issues relating to political instability, job opportunities and future outlook in South Africa. Safety and security was a key attraction for migration to New Zealand. The experience of participants in this child-focused group also highlighted the impact of separation from extended family members who were left behind in South Africa. The reality of this loss and separation appeared to become apparent once participants had arrived in New Zealand and the cost of securing a safe environment for their children at the expense of separation from family and friends was a prominent feature of this profile. Separation from family had a number of implications for South African immigrant families. For Afrikaans-speaking immigrants, the loss associated with separation from extended family members contributed to a loss of language, identity and tradition. Some participants attempted to compensate for this by becoming closely connected to other South African immigrants living in New Zealand, creating a kind of pseudo-family in order to foster maintenance of Afrikaans language and tradition for both themselves and their children. Small differences were noted in aspects of quality of life for the child-focused group when compared to the rest of the sample. While the overall quality of life for this group was similar to the rest of the sample, the child-focused group reported slightly higher levels of physical and psychological satisfaction and wellbeing. However, participants in the child-focused cluster also reported slightly lower satisfaction with financial and recreation/leisure aspects of their current life.

Differences in employment experiences during migration were evident in the profiles of participants in this study. These profiles illustrated the varied implications of unsatisfactory employment and unemployment for participants at various phases of migration. Employment clearly affected multiple domains of migrant life, where satisfactory employment assisted with establishing relationships with New Zealanders and provided financial stability. While the overall quality of life for the subgroup of

participants who experienced employment dissatisfaction in the early phase was similar to those who experienced employment satisfaction, the subgroup who experienced early employment dissatisfaction reported the lowest levels of satisfaction on financial and home environment facets of quality of life. Gaining employment prior to migration or in the early migration phase was clearly beneficial. Migrants often described their first months and years of living in New Zealand as being fragile and vulnerable.

Employment, like social support, appeared to be another lifeline which assisted with the transition into a new environment. Of the two subgroups of participants who experienced early employment satisfaction, the subgroup characterised by family social support in the early phase reported the highest level of satisfaction in home environment and social aspects of quality of life compared to other subgroups in the sample.

Employment profiles specific to women and older adults also raised some interesting issues pertinent to these populations. Several women discussed the impact of unemployment on social and emotional functioning and for older adults, the difficulty of acquiring suitable employment and the presence of financial constraints were important issues.

The profiles formed under the social support theme in this study illustrate important differences between English and Afrikaans-speaking participants. Various South African immigrant networks and communities exist in New Zealand, including South African clubs and Afrikaans churches. Participation in these groups was a dividing issue among participants in this study. Those participants opposed to participation in South African communities in New Zealand asserted the importance of integrating and participating in New Zealand society. Their perception of these communities were that they attempted to recreate a version of South Africa in New Zealand and these participants avoided association with these groups in order to prevent becoming a “when-we” (someone who reminisces about being in South Africa) or part of a South African clique. The concerns raised by participants in this subgroup are also raised in migration literature which suggests migrant communities have the potential to reinforce negative (as well as positive) norms and behaviours (Rostila, 2010). While the overall quality of life reported by the subgroup of participants who viewed South African social support as not important in the current phase was similar to other social support subgroups, this group reported the highest levels of satisfaction on psychological, social

and environmental aspects of quality of life. They also reported the highest levels of positive feelings and satisfaction with personal relationships and social facets of their quality of life.

In contrast, the subgroup of participants within this study who rated South African social support as important credited South African networks and communities in New Zealand for facilitating a smoother migration transition for them. Accounts from participants within this subgroup highlighted both practical support, in the form of accommodation, transport, employment opportunities and emotional support which provided participants with opportunities to feel connected, especially in the early migration phase when many aspects of their new environment were unfamiliar and unknown. For these participants, South African communities were a source of encouragement and support where South African immigrants who had lived in New Zealand for a longer duration were able to pass on advice and reassurance. As illustrated in the child-focused profile, these networks created a pseudo-family for some participants, particularly Afrikaans-speaking immigrants as participation in South African community facilitated maintenance of key cultural elements such as language, identity and tradition. Overall and specific aspects of quality of life for participants within subgroups who reported South African social support through other migrants or South African communities in New Zealand was similar, however, the subgroup who rated South African social support in New Zealand as important, reported slightly lower levels of psychological wellbeing in the current phase.

Based on the views and experiences of participation in South African communities in New Zealand illustrated in this study, it seems most useful to acknowledge the dynamic and varying experiences of participants. For some participants, these South African communities were a lifeline, particularly in the early phase of migration and for some participants these communities continue to provide a way of maintaining culture and identity. For others, maintaining cultures and traditions through these communities was less important and their focus remained on forming a new culture and identity in New Zealand.

In summary, the three themes identified in this study included several profiles which illustrate similarities and differences between the acculturation experiences and quality of life consequences of subgroups of South African immigrants in this study.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore the acculturation trajectories and current quality of life of South African immigrants living in New Zealand. This section provides discussion of issues raised during thematic analysis relating to the three meta-themes: child-focused, employment and social support, with links to previous migration research and literature.

Child-focused theme.

Thematic analysis of participant's migration experiences within the child-focused cluster revealed several important issues for South African immigrants which are discussed here. This section will begin by providing discussion of pre-migration contextual issues raised by participants in this cluster, including push/pull motivations for migration and the attitudes towards South African emigration. Following this, post-migration factors reported by participants in this cluster are discussed, including the impact of separation from friends and family living in South Africa following migration and maintaining a positive attitude as a way of coping with migration-related stressors.

Pre-migration context.

Push factors.

Motivations for migration have important implications for acculturation and this thesis argued that in the context of South African emigration, push factors may have more influence than pull factors in the decision to emigrate due to issues of violence, crime and political instability in South Africa. Participants in the child-focused cluster frequently reported violence, crime, uncertain future outlook and limited opportunities for children in South Africa as reasons for emigrating. Previous research with South African immigrants has also demonstrated the importance of push factors for this group. For example, Pernice and colleagues (2009) suggested that push factors appeared to

have more influence than pull factors for South African immigrants following the unexpected finding that South African immigrants reported similar mental health levels to other immigrant groups in this study. South African immigrants were expected to have better mental health following migration due to similar cultural affinity to New Zealand and employment success. However, Pernice and colleagues (2009) suggest issues in the pre-migration phase such as push factors may account for these findings. In addition, Meares and colleagues (2011) reported that South African families chose to emigrate in order to live safely, provide a better life for their children and live a more relaxed lifestyle. While safety was a push factor for many participants in the current study, it appeared to be a particularly important consideration for the child-focused cluster due to a strong desire to raise children in a safer environment allowing them more freedom and opportunities.

Khawaja and Mason (2008) suggest that due to the influence and type of push factors experienced by South African immigrants, the term ‘anticipatory refugee’ may more closely resemble the nature of South African emigration than the term ‘immigrant’. This suggestion is based on recognition and understanding of the severity of the violence and crime in South Africa. Fifty people are murdered each day in South Africa and the country has the highest incidence of child and baby rape in the world (Statistics South Africa, 2012). Crime and violence are pervasive and persistent issues for this country. Frueh (2003, p. 140) suggests that “the spectre of crime affects the daily life of every South African, altering established patterns, imposing restrictions on movement, and adding both material and psychological costs to a range of activities that used to be significantly more free”. Participants in this study not only described awareness of or concern about high levels of crime, but many had direct experiences of violence and crime. All South African immigrants are likely to be affected by violence and crime in South Africa in some way, whether incidents occur personally, within their family, through work colleagues and acquaintances, or through media exposure to these issues.

While South African emigration has been classified in various ways in migration literature (i.e. anticipatory refugees, reluctant migrant, immigrants), a focus on how South African immigrants perceive the nature of their emigration is most important and likely to affect their acculturation experience. In the current study, there was some

variation in the way participants perceived the nature of their emigration. Contrary to the motivations of refugees, participants in the current study typically reported feeling like it was their choice to leave South Africa and many also stated that they were not forced to emigrate. However, many participants did report a reluctance to leave South Africa and some felt they had no choice but to leave because of safety concerns, high unemployment and limited opportunities for children. Participants in the child-focused cluster frequently described high standards of living in South Africa and the decision to leave South Africa was often made more difficult because participants had established careers, were mortgage-free, and had large social networks of family and friends. Participants also often described a deep sense of connection with Africa: the wildlife, lifestyle, and scenic beauty. This study suggests that future research should not assume that South African immigrants are motivated to leave their country for the same reasons as similar immigrant groups. This study also highlights the difference within samples and this sample of South African immigrants showed various views on the extent to which they were “pushed” out of South Africa and the extent to which this decision was a choice.

Perceptions of South African emigration.

Another important issue in the pre-migration phase raised by participants in the child-focused cluster was attitudes towards South African emigration. Participants in this study reported mixed reactions from friends and family regarding their decision to leave South Africa. For example, participants reported positive reactions from other South Africans who had also considered emigration and by those who acknowledged the severity of violence and crime and felt uncertain about South Africa’s future. However, others responded more negatively and participants reported being called traitors and accused of running away from the problems in South Africa. A study by Gray and colleagues (2005) who reviewed public perceptions of emigration in South Africa supports the findings of the current study and these authors reported similar descriptions to those participants in the current study.

The attitudes towards South African emigrants create challenges for migrants in both the pre- and post-migration phase. In the pre-migration phase, these attitudes at times caused participants to question their decision to emigrate and feelings of guilt were

commonly associated with this decision. Many participants with elderly parents and family members found the decision particularly difficult and the pre-migration phase was sometimes associated with feelings of ambivalence and tension between desiring a better future for their children yet separating their children from important family members. The impact of attitudes towards South African emigration were also reported in the post-migration phase by participants in this study where the decision to migrate ruptured or damaged relationships with friends and family. Gray and colleagues' (2005) study supports this finding and they described on-going effects of attitudes towards South African emigrants on relationships with friends and family. For some participants in the current study, the decision to emigrate caused strain or offence in family relationships or friendships with those still living in South Africa and participants discussed the difficulty of returning to South Africa to visit as their friends and families. Participants also gave examples of friends and family not wanting to know about their life in New Zealand as they held strong views on emigration.

Participants in this cluster highlight that emigration is a fairly contentious issue for some people living in South Africa. There are two possible reasons for this. One is that having lived in South Africa all their lives, South Africans may be accustomed to patterns of living which compensate for increased safety risks. Participants in this study reported quite extraordinary security measures that are now common-place in South Africa. In addition to security systems, security gates and burglar guards which are standard security measures, participants also reported more extensive measures which have become common-place in recent years. For example, participants described steel in the roof of a house to prevent burglars accessing their homes and security gates within their actual homes to section off different rooms. It is likely that South Africans who have never been outside the country do not have a point of comparison and therefore do not understand these motivations for emigration.

Another possible reason for minimising these issues is that this serves as a protective factor which assists people to continue living in South Africa. Those who remain may hope that the situation in South Africa will improve and while issues like murder rates are reported to be decreasing, other issues such as rape and the AIDS epidemic persist. The decision to leave South Africa is a brave one although this is not always the view of

those left behind. In a country that has undergone years of struggle and racial, economic, and political difficulty, many hold onto the promise of a new South Africa and believe things are improving and will continue to do so. For the people that remain in South Africa, a continued mass exodus is perhaps disheartening and may threaten the hope for the country they are trying to create.

In some countries such as The Netherlands, emigration is viewed favourably (Pernice, 2010). Attitudes towards South African emigration appear unique and possibly relate to the country's political history, current prevalence and persistence of violence and crime, economic deterioration, and subsequent high rates of emigration. This study shows that the perception and attitudes towards South African emigration is an important issue which affects migrants both in the pre- and post-migration phase.

Pull factors.

Immigrants from various countries are attracted to New Zealand. Participants in this study listed numerous pull factors to New Zealand, including scenic beauty, climate, culture, English speaking, having friends and family living in New Zealand and meeting entry criteria. For participants in this study who were focused on children, the motivation to move to New Zealand was primarily due to the belief that the country would provide a safer and more secure environment to raise children. In addition, participants perceived that New Zealand would provide greater opportunities for employment, academic and sporting pursuits for their children. These push factors reflect similar findings to those found in the Longitudinal Immigration Survey conducted in New Zealand [LisNZ] (Statistics New Zealand, 2010) where researchers found the common reasons for migration to New Zealand were the relaxed pace of life or lifestyle, the climate or clean, green environment, employment opportunities, and to provide a better future for children. In the LisNZ study, 27% of participants reported choosing New Zealand for safety reasons and South African participants were more likely than all other migrant groups to choose New Zealand to ensure a better future for their children and safety from crime. Migrants from South Africa were also more likely than other migrant groups to report feeling very safe in New Zealand.

Post-migration factors.

Migration and family.

The act of migration often causes disruption to important family relationships. Migration not only impacts the migrating family but also family members who are left behind. Family and friends living in South Africa was frequently reported as a source of stress and this was evident at all stages of migration. While this issue was reported frequently by participants in the child-focused cluster, participants from other clusters in this study also reported family ties to parents and extended family living in South Africa. A study by Bennett and Rigby (1997) with South African immigrants living in New Zealand also reported this as an important issue. Their study showed that separation from friends and family was the biggest challenge for migrants who had lived in New Zealand regardless of the duration of residence in New Zealand.

Separation from extended family appeared to affect South African immigrant families living in New Zealand in several important ways. The first was that family still living in South Africa was a source of stress for participants. Often fears for the safety of family members were reported, particularly when participants had elderly parents living in South Africa. Frequent visits to South Africa in order to maintain relationships with family and assist with health care issues or attend important family events were also reported by these participants. Visits to South Africa are expensive due to air fare costs and at times this was also unsettling for new migrants who were attempting to adjust to life in New Zealand.

The loss of relationships with extended family members also appeared to have important consequences for the children of migrants living in New Zealand and some participants expressed a great sense of sadness and guilt that their children had little to no relationships with their extended family as a result of migration. In addition, participants frequently reported a sense of guilt and sadness at leaving their family behind. Very few studies have examined grief and loss in migrant populations. Furnham and Bochner (1989) suggested that, during migration, a person is deprived of specific relationships and significant objects such as family or friends and occupational status. They also acknowledge that grief is a unique experience and that there are wide variations in individual's reactions to loss. Family, particularly for Afrikaans migrants,

is a source of identity, traditions, and values. Participants appeared to continually weigh up the benefits of living in New Zealand against the cost of living away from their extended families. For participants who were focused on children, seeing their children successfully transition to life in New Zealand appeared to ease some of the difficulty associated with separation from extended family. For others, it still appeared to be a difficult tension which for some influenced a decision to return to South Africa.

Coping: positive attitude.

Coping and resilience factors are an important aspect of migration research as this provides information which may assist future migrants. However, due to the number of mediating and moderating variables implicated during migration, the ability of some migrants to cope successfully with migration and the tendency of others to deteriorate is not well understood (Greef & Holtzkamp, 2007). In the current study, numerous coping strategies were identified during interviews with participants. Family members and support networks were identified as important sources of coping. In addition, faith and maintaining a positive attitude were important coping strategies for participants. For this particular group, who were focused on children, keeping a positive attitude was the most commonly cited coping strategy.

Ward and colleagues (2001) distinguished between primary and secondary coping strategies. The former refers to direct actions or task-oriented behaviours employed in an attempt to alter stressful situations. Secondary coping strategies, such as maintaining a positive attitude, are cognitive processes where individuals attempt to change their perceptions and appraisals of stressful situations. Participants in the child-focused cluster often reported a sense of optimism in both the pre and post-migration phases despite a number of stresses and they also often expressed an appreciation of the safety and opportunities provided by New Zealand. Further, participants in the child-focused cluster reported high overall quality of life and they reported high levels of satisfaction across multiple domains of quality of life. This way of coping appears to reflect a deliberate decision about how to approach the challenge of migration. Udahemuka and Pernice (2010) reported that South African immigrants who emigrate in order to provide a better life for their children have a high preference to adapt to life in New Zealand. Given this group typically consisted of families with young children, this way of coping

is consistent with effective parenting strategies such as role-modelling and re-framing difficult situations in a positive way. Maintaining a positive attitude appears to be an effective strategy which frames migration in positive way. Participants described the ability to maintain this positive attitude in the face of stressful situations by reminding themselves about the reasons for leaving South Africa and by intentionally being around positive people.

Summary

In summary, participants in the child-focused cluster raise important issues for South African immigrants. These participants highlight the influence of push factors in the decision to emigrate and how the views and attitudes towards emigration of those still living in South Africa impacted on their acculturation experience. The importance of push and pull factors have been demonstrated in migration research and this study supports these findings and also highlights the unique pre-migration context of South African emigration. These participants also highlight issues in the post-migration phase such as the impact of separation from friends and family following migration and maintaining a positive attitude and a sense of optimism as a way of coping with migration stress. The next section will provide discussion on employment issues raised by participants in this study.

Employment theme.

This section will provide discussion of some of the issues raised by participants during thematic analysis of clusters which were exemplars of the employment theme. The importance of satisfactory employment in achieving positive migration outcomes is well established (United Nations, 2009). In the current study, employment, particularly in the early phase of migration, not only served as a source of financial security but also facilitated opportunities to meet other people living in New Zealand. In addition, employment offers or contracts were often necessary in order to gain residence status in New Zealand and therefore employment was seen to offer a sense of stability, security, and permanence which are essential for immigrant families to settle and begin rebuilding their lives. In the first part of this section, employment motivations for migration in the pre-migration phase are discussed briefly. Following this, both positive

employment experiences and employment challenges raised by participants in this study are discussed. Financial stress which was an important issue for many participants in this study is also discussed here.

Employment motivation for migration.

Employment opportunities were both a push and pull factor for participants in this study. Participants attributed poor employment prospects in South Africa to the high overall unemployment rate and to affirmative action policies. Some participants were explicit in attributing the state of employment opportunities to affirmative action policies which gives preference to certain ethnic groups in South Africa. This issue was also reported by participants in the South African sample of a study which was part of 'The New Settlers Programme'. Trlin (2010, p. 167) states that "the perceived effect of affirmative action programmes underlies concerns about perceived and actual deterioration of social services and economic conditions and opportunities". Some participants in the current study referred to this situation as the "pale male" story, referring to the perception of reduced employment opportunities for white, middle-aged men in South Africa. Participants in this study not only reported concerns about future employment opportunities for themselves but also for their children.

Positive employment experiences in New Zealand.

The results of the current study demonstrate that, for participants in this study, there were varying employment experiences which changed across the migration trajectory. Four employment profiles were provided in the final results chapter and three of these profiles demonstrated partial or high levels of satisfaction with aspects of employment in the early migration phase. Some participants reported continued levels of employment satisfaction from early to current stages of migration, whereas others reported increased levels of employment satisfaction in later phases of migration. This study highlights the changes which occur with regards to employment experience during the process of migration.

Coates and Carr (2005) offers several possible reasons for favourable employment experiences of some immigrant groups in New Zealand. Their study showed that immigrants who are perceived as similar to the majority of the population may

experience less job selection bias. They related this finding to the Similarity-Attraction Theory (Byrne, 1992) which suggests that people are attracted to those they perceive as similar to themselves. Coates and Carr (2005) report that the chances of being selected for a skilled profession in New Zealand is better when the candidate's country of origin is similar to that of New Zealand. While there are important cultural differences between South Africa and New Zealand, many of these differences are subtle and this theory may help explain the positive employment experiences of South African immigrants in this study.

Participants in this study frequently commented on the multi-cultural working environment in New Zealand. Participants often found the diversity in the New Zealand work environment assisted with the transition as there were other employees in a similar situation to themselves. The presence of people from other cultures appeared to facilitate an acceptance of difference and diversity. Some participants also commented on the number of other South Africans in their working environment, with one participant reporting his attendance at a work meeting which was held in Afrikaans which ironically was an experience he never had in South Africa. A number of participants also specifically commented on the friendly and welcoming reception of New Zealanders into the workplace. While some participants appeared to struggle with the change in work environment and culture, others found the work conditions in New Zealand more favourable. Some participants commented that the more relaxed work environment and at times slower pace of work life had perceived health benefits. Some participants also remarked on their perception that South African employees were regarded highly in New Zealand and have a positive reputation. These participants believed these perceptions of South Africans in the workplace facilitated their transition to the new working environment. Several participants remarked on the work ethic of South African employees which they attributed to a more competitive employment market in South Africa, driven by high unemployment rates and affirmative action policies.

Employment challenges in New Zealand.

The transition to employment in New Zealand also provided numerous challenges for participants in this study and for some participants work was a source of stress.

Employment challenges were more frequently reported in the early stages of migration, where some participants were unemployed for several months and others felt unsatisfied with some or all aspects of employment. The challenges faced by participants in this study are similar to those found in a study by Meares and colleagues (2011) who stated that the most common employment difficulties among South African immigrants in their study were a lack of local experience, not knowing people in the industry, employer attitudes, difficulties associated with accent, no suitable job opportunities, lack of recognition of qualifications, and being over-qualified. As stated earlier, often levels of employment satisfaction increased, however, some participants in this study continued to struggle to find suitable employment and a few participants experienced periods of unemployment in both early and later stages of migration.

Several subgroups of participants reported low levels of employment satisfaction at various stages of migration. Participants in this study were asked to describe their experience of their work environment, work colleagues, the level to which they believed their employment matched their previous experience and qualifications, and the degree to which they were satisfied with their role or position in their employment at various stages of migration. The challenges regarding work environment described by participants included the physical layout of offices and also the perception that the working culture was more laid back and relaxed in New Zealand. Participants often described their working environment in South Africa as fast paced which they attributed to a tendency for South African people to be driven and the survival mentality of South Africans where there are also high unemployment rates which creates the necessity to prove oneself in the working environment.

An additional factor contributing to less satisfactory employment experiences in New Zealand by participants in this study were participants' descriptions of working in positions or in roles which were lower than those held in South Africa. In addition, some subgroups of participants were employed in work that did not match their previous work experience or qualifications. Underemployment is recognized as an important issue in migration literature. A study by Meares and colleagues (2011) did not find evidence of significant occupational downward mobility in their sample of South African immigrants living in New Zealand. However, Ward and Masgoret (2007)

suggest that immigrants frequently experience unemployment and underemployment both globally and in New Zealand. Underemployment appeared to be a contributing factor to unsatisfactory employment experiences in New Zealand for some participants in this study. Being unable to utilize experience and skills was often a source of frustration and stress, and some participants also found it frustrating to work in more general roles rather than specialist positions consistent with previous employment in South Africa.

Financial challenges.

One of the main sources of stress for participants in this study was finance and this was frequently reported whether participants were employed or unemployed. Financial concerns were also commonly reported across the trajectory, both in the early and current phase of migration. South African immigrants often reported a previously high standard of living in South Africa. Some participants reported earning bigger salaries in South Africa, whereas they reported earning less money in New Zealand and found the cost of living higher.

Meares and colleagues (2011) compared the prosperity of South African, Korean, Chinese and Indian immigrants living in New Zealand and found that South African immigrants were more prosperous than these other immigrant groups. However, they stated that only 59% of employee participants owned their own home, and 85% had a mortgage. In addition, 9% of South African employees in this sample used their savings for regular daily expenses. While the study by Meares and colleagues suggests that South African immigrants may experience relative prosperity compared to other immigrants groups, some participants highlighted the significant expense associated with relocation, the higher cost of living in New Zealand and lower wages. This study echoes some of the findings in the current study and highlights the impact of financial stress on participants and the adjustments required by participants to live within their financial means. For South African immigrants, the financial situation is exacerbated by a poor exchange rate and the actual cost of migration.

This study also portrays the financial impact of migration in the middle and later stages of life. Middle age is typically a stage of life where most adults have been employed for

several years and have built a sense of financial stability and security. Many participants reported being mortgage-free and at the peak of their careers prior to migration. For many, migration disrupted their sense of financial security, and participants described feeling a sense of vulnerability following migration. Some participants also described their concerns regarding the number of years before retirement and feeling like they did not have enough working years to build up the necessary savings for retirement. Older adult immigrants may experience these difficulties more acutely. While there were only a small number of older adults in this study, their experiences highlight important elements of migration which warrant further research. Anecdotally, older adults often experienced delays or difficulties retrieving the pension from South Africa once emigrating. There are several obstacles to gaining employment in New Zealand which are unique to this age group. Further research is needed on the different employment challenges faced by these two age groups.

Despite this financial stress, many participants described feeling better off living in New Zealand and their comparison often reflected a perception that their standard of living in New Zealand may be lower but their quality of life was better. This was reflected in both their narrative comparisons of life in South Africa versus life in New Zealand, and in scores of overall quality of life on the WHOQOL-100.

Summary.

In summary, the profiles provided for the employment theme highlight some of the positive aspects of employment experience reported by participants in this study. These profiles also demonstrate some of the challenges faced by South African immigrants in either finding employment which is often a requirement for residency in New Zealand, or finding employment which utilizes the qualifications, experience and skills of these immigrants. In addition, this section also highlights the financial challenges and stress reported by participants despite various levels of employment satisfaction.

Social support theme.

Migrants may potentially experience a number of immigration-related losses: the loss of shared values and traditions, social status, significant relationships, financial security,

familiar patterns of being and relating to people, and the loss of self-identity which may be connected to the loss of mother language (Henry et al., 2009). Social support is a fundamental aspect of quality of life for most individuals. Migration often results in separation from important support networks and places distance between relationships with people whom migrants have shared histories with. Intangible losses such as loss of language, values or social networks often go unrecognised (Casado, Hong, & Harrington, 2010). Participants in this study often reflected on the impact of losing their social support in South Africa and the challenge of establishing new relationships in New Zealand.

This section will discuss some of the important issues raised by participants during thematic analysis of clusters relating to the social support theme. Social support was an important theme across all phases of the migration trajectory in this study. A number of different sources of social support were reported, including family members, work colleagues, other South Africans, and people met through school, hobbies, or formal organizations such as Settlement Support, churches, or South African clubs. The social support theme in this study raised an important issue relating to the potential benefits and costs of participating in South African immigrant communities in New Zealand. The following section will begin by discussing sources of South African social support in New Zealand, particularly formal South African communities such as South African clubs and Afrikaans churches. This section will also briefly discuss the role of language and culture in relation social support as described by participants in this study. Following this, alternative sources of social support for those participants who reported avoiding participation in South African communities are discussed.

South African social support in New Zealand.

In this study, South African social support refers to organized networks of South African immigrants which exist throughout New Zealand. For the purpose of this study, participation in South African communities was distinguished from socialising with other South Africans on a more informal/personal basis. South African clubs and Afrikaans churches were the two main types of organized South African social support groups described by participants in this study. These organizations usually hold formal gatherings for church services or more informal meetings aimed at providing

opportunities to socialize and meet other South Africans. Participants described distinct attitudes towards participation in these communities. Some participants made a deliberate decision to avoid South African groups in order to integrate into New Zealand society and form friendships with New Zealand people. For other participants, these groups were a valuable source of information and support which assisted them during migration.

As illustrated in the social support profiles of the current study, some participants described the importance of South African social support in isolated phases of migration (more commonly in the early phase) and for others it was important across the migration trajectory. Participants gave various reasons for participation in South African groups. For some participants, these groups provided opportunities to meet like-minded people and to share migration experiences. South African clubs and Afrikaans church communities across New Zealand facilitate opportunities to meet other South Africans and assist in maintaining Afrikaans language, identity, traditions, and customs. While some research has highlighted the potential disadvantages of participation in migrant communities, others have noted the benefits. Mirsky (2004, p.415) states that groups of peer-immigrants are important at certain stages of migration as they provide “a temporary asylum from the external environment and the internal conflict.” Mirsky refers to the internal conflict between the longing for one’s homeland and the desire to create a new home following migration. In addition, Meares and colleagues (2011) in their study with South African immigrants living in New Zealand, found that increased intimacy in friendships with other South African immigrants developed as this recreated a sense of extended family.

Afrikaans ‘kerk’ and church social support.

The Christian faith is a central aspect of life for many South Africans and at times faith was a coping strategy which assisted participants with migration-related stresses. Participants frequently reported attendance at either English or Afrikaans churches in New Zealand. Due to the large number of South African immigrants living in New Zealand and the number of Afrikaans speakers, Afrikaans churches and services as part of English speaking churches are being provided for South African immigrants throughout New Zealand. These services are often based on the beliefs and practices of

the Dutch Reformed Church movement. Barkhuizen and de Klerk (2006) state that membership to Reformed Churches has been considered an essential aspect of Afrikaner identity. Participants described the value of attending a church which was consistent with their religious beliefs and practices. They also noted the advantage of engaging in aspects of the service such as singing hymns and praying in their mother-tongue. In addition, church attendance provided an opportunity to form new friendships and receive support throughout migration.

Language challenges.

While language challenges were more frequently reported by Afrikaans-speaking participants, some English-speaking participants also reported difficulty, particularly in the early migration phase. The types of language challenges reported by both English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans included understanding accents and colloquial phrases used in New Zealand, and the difference in humour. Language and humour have the ability to connect people and being able to laugh together may indicate a level of acceptance in a new society. Therefore, humour is an important element of migrant's experience and adjusting to a new sense of humour and being able to share this is an important task in migration. Some participants highlighted the culture specific nature of humour and described situations where it was too difficult to translate the meaning of a joke or phrase into English and where participants felt that humour lost its essence when shared out of context. A few participants also remarked on the nature of some South African humour, commenting that South Africans often laugh in the face of adversity which they attributed to the survival mentality of many South Africans, a consequence of living in a country with a history of considerable challenging circumstances.

For English speakers, migration to New Zealand does not require significant linguistic adjustment (although there may be differences in vocabulary and accent), whereas for Afrikaans speakers, their first language is no longer frequently used in public situations (Barkhuizen, 2006). Language is a key component of Afrikaans culture. Identity and traditions are embedded within the context of Afrikaans language. According to the 2011 census data from South Africa, Afrikaans is the third most common language in South Africa after isiZulu and isiXhosa (Statistics South Africa, 2012). For some participants, very little English was spoken in South Africa, which creates additional

challenges for Afrikaans-speaking South Africans who immigrate to New Zealand.

In New Zealand, the most recent census data shows that the number of people speaking Afrikaans in New Zealand has increased in recent years. In 2001, census data indicated that Afrikaans was the first language for 12,783 respondents. In 2006, 21,123 people living in New Zealand stated Afrikaans was their first language (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). At times participation in South African social support appeared more important for Afrikaans-speaking South Africans compared to English-speaking South Africans, although there were exceptions. For example, South African social support was also important to some English-speaking South Africans and was not important to some Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

Afrikaans: More than a language.

A study by Barkhuizen and Knoch (2005) investigated the emotional responses of participants to diminished exposure and opportunities to speak Afrikaans and engage with Afrikaans culture once living in New Zealand. An important finding in their study, which resonates with descriptions from participants in the current study, was a term these authors phrased as 'linguistic longing'. Participants in Barkhuizen and Knoch's (2005) study described a beauty and richness in the Afrikaans language and participants referred to idioms that distinguished Afrikaans from other languages that were not easily translated.

Afrikaans is not just a language for some South Africans. Marchetti-Mercer (2009) states that language is the basis of identity, and that childhood experiences, memories, and feelings about object relations are embedded in language. Afrikaans represents a culture and an identity with important implications for religious and political standings. Barkhuizen and Knoch (2005) suggest that Afrikaans is important for an immigrant's sense of emotional security, expression, negotiation of self-identity, and socialization into a new culture. They also suggest that involvement in an Afrikaans church or church with Afrikaans members and being surrounded with other South Africans in other aspects of life are two important strategies which assist Afrikaans South Africans with the loss of language and identity when immigrating to New Zealand.

The loss of South African and Afrikaans identity was also an important issue for some immigrant families in this study. Some participants remarked on their grief that their children would lose their Afrikaans identity and that in the future they may no longer speak Afrikaans. Participants in Barkhuizen's (2006) study also described feelings of resignation that their children would speak more English and less Afrikaans and they would also become more like New Zealanders socioculturally. Barkhuizen identified several strategies employed by Afrikaans people in order to maintain the language and identity once living in New Zealand. These strategies included maximising exposure to Afrikaans through interactions and relationships with Afrikaans people and forming a 'language policy' in families and home environments which encouraged frequent use of Afrikaans. This strategy aligns with reasons for participation in South African communities in New Zealand provided by participants in the current study. Participants in this study also appeared to cope with the anticipation of loss of identity and Afrikaans language in two main ways. Some participants appeared to accept that these changes were inevitable and the advantages of raising their children in a safer environment appeared to outweigh the disadvantages of losing their South African identity. Other parents reported a more pro-active stance aimed at maintaining language and tradition within the family unit.

Alternative sources of migrant social support in New Zealand.

While acknowledging the important benefits and value of migrant communities, some authors have also highlighted the potential for these groups to be a source of strain for migrants. Rostila (2010) states that homogeneous and closed migrant groups have the potential to facilitate the transmission and maintenance of both positive and negative information, norms and behaviour. In addition, some studies have shown that closed migrant groups may be detrimental to the health of migrants. Pernice and Brook (1996) acknowledge the benefits of established migrant communities in their study with Pacific Island and Southeast Asian migrants. However, participants in their study also reported difficulties associated with the need to conform and respond to the expectations of ethnic groups. While there is no evidence in the current study that participation in South African communities in New Zealand had negative health consequences or that they were a source of strain, some participants reported active decisions not to engage in South African communities. In addition, some participants in this study made a

deliberate decision to avoid South African communities or organizations in New Zealand as they believed their participation in these groups would limit opportunities to integrate into New Zealand and meet New Zealanders. Others also described a perceived tendency for some South African groups to reminisce about living in South Africa and participants used descriptions such as “when we’s” or “cliques” to describe groups of South Africans living in New Zealand who they believed spent too much time discussing their lives in South Africa rather than fully integrating into New Zealand.

Another reason given for not engaging in South African communities in New Zealand was due to the importance for some participants to be recognized as being different to the South African immigrant collective. Some participants noted the difference among South African immigrants living in New Zealand despite the same homeland and felt that a common birthplace was not sufficient reason to form friendships with other South Africans living in New Zealand. There are important differences between English and Afrikaans South African immigrants but even within Afrikaans culture there are different approaches to establishing new support networks following migration. Alternative sources of social support identified by participants in this study were with people from hobbies or sports, work, church, or their children’s school. Some participants believed having young children was advantageous during early migration as this facilitated interactions with New Zealanders.

It seems that both approaches, choosing to participate in South African communities and choosing to integrate into New Zealand society, have some value in the creation of new support networks. The Turkish proverb “no road is long with good company” (anonymous) conveys an important truth for the migration journey illustrated by the experience of participants in this study. Establishing new friendships, whether with other migrants or with New Zealanders, are necessary to help ease the challenges and stresses, the longings and desire for familiarity when building a new life in a new land. Berry’s (2006) framework on acculturation demonstrates that integration is the optimal approach to acculturation and is associated with better health outcomes. This framework implies that, for South African immigrants living in New Zealand, the extremes of either approach, seeking only to socialize with other South African immigrants living in New Zealand or attempting to re-establish a ‘mini South Africa’ in

New Zealand by socialising exclusively with other South Africans, is likely to have negative consequences for immigrants. By the same token, denying one's country of birth and the role this has on identity, taking a stance to avoid and forget a migrant's homeland is also likely to have a detrimental effect on the wellbeing of South African immigrants. Acculturation attitudes are not static and immigrants are likely to fluctuate between these approaches as they seek to re-form their identity as an immigrant. Forming a new identity while maintaining the identity associated with culture of origin is an important and challenging task for migrants and is highly influenced by social interactions. The extract below effectively illustrates one participant's approach to integration in New Zealand and conveys that while it is a challenge to balance two seemingly contrary cultures and identities, it is possible to both maintain one's roots and traditions while embracing that of a new culture.

"I don't drive around with South African flags or car stickers on my car because I'm that invested in it. I don't advertise it because I actually want to integrate into society, but I still need to feel comfortable inside myself and I am not a Kiwi, so I can't pretend to be one, but I don't have to advertise that I'm not you know... So we do it in those ways, little rituals and way we spend time and our music, we listen to a lot of South African music and we sing South African lullabies to our children and we tell them African stories, lots of that kind of thing. So we do keep the identity alive in many ways. But we also embrace Kiwi things, so we've learnt the Kiwi national anthem, we encourage our children to do that and my husbands learning Te Reo and the children learn it at school, we encourage them to participate in Kapahaka." Interview 12

Summary.

In summary, participants in the social support clusters highlight important issues for South African immigrants living in New Zealand. Participation in South African communities was an important issue for participants in this sample and some participants reported finding this a valuable source of support. Migration literature suggests that migrant communities may impact migrants in both positive and negative ways and this study highlights some of the benefits of participating in South African communities experienced by participants in this study. However, other participants

cautioned against participation in these communities and their concerns reflect some of the potential disadvantages discussed in migration literature. Some participants made a purposeful decision not to participate in South African communities and their experiences of social support in New Zealand were also discussed in this section. Language and culture were also discussed in relation to this theme and differences between Afrikaans and English-speaking participants were evident. The issues raised by participants in this study with regards to language and culture support the finds of Barkhuizen (2006) and Barkhuizen and Knoch (2005) who have studied aspects of language and culture with South African immigrants living in New Zealand.

Summary.

The discussion in this chapter highlights some of the key issues raised by participants in this study during thematic analysis of profiles for the child-focused, employment and social support theme. These issues raise awareness of important considerations for research with South African immigrants and promote a greater understanding of their migration experience.

Contribution to the Field

This section considers the contribution the findings discussed in the preceding section make to migration literature, while highlighting some of the novel aspects of this study.

An important focus of this study was to explore the acculturation experiences of South African immigrants living in New Zealand over three phases of migration: pre-, early and current. The profiles of participants in this study highlight the various changes which were experienced across phases, and were evident in all three themes: children, employment and social support. This study supports the general proposition of early theorists such as Lysgaard (1955), Tyhurst (1977) and Sluzki (1979) who developed phasic representations of migration and emphasized the importance of examining the changes which occur over time when migrating. While some contemporary theories acknowledge that migration is a dynamic process, few researchers have translated this into actual acculturation measurement and research. As discussed in the early chapters of this thesis, bidimensional approaches and the use of single proxy variables when

studying acculturation neglect the dynamic nature of migration. The current study offers an alternative approach to studying migration using a cross-sectional design while still examining the experience of migrants over time.

Findings in this study also relate to the work of John Berry. In particular, the social experiences of participants reflect aspects of Berry's (1990) model of acculturation attitudes or strategies discussed in the early chapters of this thesis. While a variety of dynamic social experiences and attitudes were described by participants in the current study, some links can be made between the profiles in this study and two main acculturation attitudes described in Berry's model. For example, some participants described a desire to maintain their South African identity while interacting with New Zealand society and adopting New Zealand values, an acculturation attitude Berry labels as 'integration'. Berry describes integration as an acculturation strategy where the individual or group retains their original cultural identity while engaging in daily interactions with the dominant group. Other participants in the current study reported a decision not to engage in South African communities in New Zealand and little or no desire to maintain their South African identity. This attitude is likened to what Berry describes as 'assimilation', which is when immigrants relinquish their heritage and seek daily interaction and absorption into the dominant culture. While acculturation attitudes were not a key focus of the current study, the attitudes and strategies portrayed by participants provide some support for aspects of Berry's model.

The current study also supports elements of Cabassa's (2003) framework of contextual factors discussed in the early chapters of this thesis where pre-migration factors relating to society of origin and reasons for immigration were highlighted as important issues when studying migration. The pre-migration context was an important focus of the current study and profiles of participants demonstrated that, in particular, the reasons for migrating had an important influence on the migrant's experience. Cabassa's framework also highlights the importance of demographic factors such as age, gender, employment and language. The current study showed that these were important considerations when exploring the experience of acculturation, and profiles of participants in this study highlighted various experiences of employment and the importance of language for some migrants.

This study also makes an important contribution to migration literature specific to South African immigrants, supporting some existing research and extending some of the current knowledge about this population. This study highlights that there are important similarities and differences within this sample of South African immigrants. While the differences between Afrikaans- and English-speaking participants were most notable, the profiles in this study also demonstrated similarities and differences within these two subgroups. As outlined in the discussion, language was a particularly important issue for some Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and the experiences of some participants in this study regarding feelings of grief and loss associated with language reflect similar findings to that of Barkhuizen and colleagues (e.g. Barkhuizen & Knoch, 2005).

In addition to the contributions made to migration literature, this study also provides application of a distinct methodological approach to studying migration which seeks to address some limitations identified in existing research. The method employed in this study sought to retain the benefits of both qualitative and quantitative analysis where the benefits of qualitative analysis were retained by a focus on case-centred analysis, incorporating a temporal perspective of acculturation trajectories, and using a semi-structured interview to honour individual experience of migration. In addition to this, quantitative analysis using cluster analysis of interview data was employed to detect shared acculturation patterns. Later, thematic analysis was used to explore individual cases within subgroups which produced profiles of both shared and idiosyncratic experiences of South African immigrants. This method addressed three main limitations of existing research discussed in the early chapters of this thesis and aimed to examine acculturation as a dynamic rather than static process, in a case-centred rather than variable-centred approach, and examine the broad implications of acculturation by measuring quality of life rather than only the negative outcomes of migration.

The findings of this study which relate to South African immigrants specifically extend current understandings of this population and indicate that it is useful to explore the possibility of similarities and differences within other migrant groups. As discussed here, and later in this chapter, the method of studying migration outlined in this thesis offers an innovative methodological approach which addresses some caveats in existing

acculturation research. This approach provides one way to bridge gaps in previous research, and represents the only attempt in the (published) literature to do so.

Methodological Caveats

This section highlights the limitations identified in the current study. These limitations were related to the sample, missing data and the researcher's background.

Sample.

In the current study, participants from the same family were not actively recruited, however, parents of two adult children were recruited and spouses of six participants were also included in the study. Where more than one participant was recruited from the same family of immigrants, issues of dependency were considered. Participants from the same family increased the possibility of affecting cluster analysis in a way that would exaggerate homogeneous solutions. For example, clusters emerge from shared experiences; however, the inclusion of participants from the same family may have resulted in clusters emerging due to shared migration rather than common experiences of unconnected cases. The implications for this are that a study which excludes relatives may produce less homogeneity than the current study. The possibility of excluding related cases for these reasons was discussed with research supervisors, however, the consequences of excluding cases and therefore reducing the sample size were deemed unfavourable. In addition, the origin of dependency issues relates to statistical inference which is based on an assumption of independence (Hair et al., 2010). However, the focus of this study was on descriptive not statistical inference.

A different sample may produce different results but this should not invalidate the results of the current study as the aim was not to produce stability or repetition but to expose the diversity of migration experiences within this sample. As this was the aim of this study from the outset, a sample of South African immigrants which were diverse were recruited rather than attempting to recruit a representative sample.

The primary aim of this study was to explore the possibility of subgroups of South African immigrants within the sample. In order to do this, analysis focused on

identifying shared acculturation experiences within subgroups of the sample rather than experiences shared by the whole sample. Therefore shared migration experiences for the sample as a whole were not highlighted or discussed in great detail. An example of this is the experience of violence or crime by participants while living in South Africa. This and other issues, characteristic of the whole sample rather than factors which distinguished subgroups within the sample, were therefore not analysed in great detail. While this study suggests that issues of violence and crime are important for South African immigrants as a whole population, this was not a key focus of the current study.

Other methodological caveats relating to the sample in the current study were also considered. As there was no intention to generalise the findings of this study to a South African migrant population, there was no need to recruit a probabilistic sample for inferential statistics. In addition, there was no intention to form a stable taxonomy that may replicate across samples. As a consequence of these two issues, a diverse sample was sought and cluster analysis was used to examine this diversity and identify homogeneous subgroups.

Missing data.

The issue of missing data was raised in the Method chapter. There were two main reasons for missing data. The first was due to the original coding of data in the mid-migration phase. Coding data for this phase was problematic as it was difficult to define the timeframe for this phase and recent immigrants who had only lived in New Zealand for one to two years did not have sufficient data to code the mid-migration phase. For this reason, mid-migration data was excluded from cluster analysis. The second reason for missing data was that some participants were unemployed at various phases of migration which resulted in missing data for employment variables. In order to assist with missing employment data, a decision was made to perform cluster analysis twice for each subset of data, including and then excluding employment variables. The researcher considered excluding cases or calculating values using imputation which are common methods employed for managing missing data in multivariate analysis (Hair et al., 2010). However, exclusion of cases with missing data would reduce the sample size considerably. Imputation was also deemed unsuitable as this could potentially push a

case toward the direction of the majority of cases which was at odds with the focus on subgroups of cases for this study.

Occasionally during data coding, missing data was also evident for various variables on a few cases. Missing data for this reason was indicative of the absence of evidence for a particular variable. In order to differentiate between the evidence of absence (i.e., a participant indicating a particular phenomenon did not occur during their migration experience) and the absence of evidence (i.e., missing data for a particular variable in a case), different data codes were assigned to differentiate between these two issues where the absence of evidence for variables were left without a code and the evidence of absence was coded as zero.

Phases of migration.

An additional methodological caveat in the current study relates to the phases of migration. Four phases were examined in the interview: pre, early, mid and current migration. Prior to the interview, discussion took place with participants to agree on approximate time periods relating to these phases according to the length of time participants had lived in New Zealand. Once these phases were defined, interview questions were targeted at these periods of time. Due to the varying lengths of residence in New Zealand, these migration phases, particularly the mid and current phases, differed among participants. The implications of this relate most strongly to the current phase and trajectory variables, given that mid-migration phase data was excluded from analysis and the early migration phase referred to the first one to two years of living in New Zealand for all participants. For participants who had lived in New Zealand for a greater duration, it is possible that recollection of early migration experiences was less accurate. In addition, when examining stability of variables over time using trajectory variables, it is possible that change was more likely for participants who had lived in New Zealand for longer duration and those with shorter duration may have reported more stability on trajectory variables. However, during analysis, length of residence in New Zealand was not shown to differentiate among clusters and this variable was also examined during thematic analysis of individual cases within subgroups before forming profiles. Profiles formed following thematic

analysis also discussed duration of residence in New Zealand where participants within subgroups showed similarities for this variable.

Quality of life.

A key focus of the current study was to examine the quality of life of South African immigrants living in New Zealand. During analysis of WHOQOL-100 data, differences in overall quality of life between clusters were often small although differences on some of the WHOQOL-100 domains and facets were noted. One explanation for these small quality of life differences is that participants in this sample had similar experiences of issues measured by the WHOQOL-100. For example, during interviews many participants discussed financial stress as an important issue in the current phase. It is also possible that due to the breadth of domains included in the WHOQOL-100, sufficient measurement of more subtle issues relating to migration were not assessed. For example, during interviews many participants reported separation from family and friends living in South Africa as an important issue for them in the current migration phase.

Researcher's background.

While the researcher's background as a South African immigrant was largely advantageous for the purpose of this study, at times, participants made assumptions about the researcher's current knowledge and experience as an immigrant. An example of this was seen during the recruitment phase where the advertisement stated that the researcher was born in Bloemfontein. As a result, some participants assumed the researcher was Afrikaans and subsequently responded to the advertisement in Afrikaans. While the advertisement also stated that the researcher was raised in an English-speaking city called Pietermaritzburg, she was also careful to explain to respondents that her ability to speak and understand Afrikaans was limited and ensured that participants were comfortable conversing in English before they were recruited. Prior to interviews, when the researcher introduced herself, she reiterated her background as an English-speaking immigrant who had lived in New Zealand for 17 years in order to minimise assumptions.

Although no problems were identified during data analysis or interpretation, the possibility that interpretations could be distorted or filtered by the researcher's background and experiences as a South African immigrant were considered. In order to assist with this possibility, interpretation of data was well supported by evidence from interview transcripts which were also checked by research supervisors to ensure that adequate justification was evident for interpretive claims. Cluster analysis was an additional method of gaining some objectivity in data interpretation.

Directions for Future Research

The current study has important implications for both the methodological approach of future migration studies and for future studies with South African immigrants who were the focus of the current study. The first part of this section provides suggestions about the methodological approach of future migration research based on the approach used in the current study. This is followed by suggestions for future research with South African immigrants who were the focus of the current study.

The methodological approach used in the current study addressed three primary limitations of existing migration research: 1) the use of variable-centred approaches and aggregated data, 2) measuring acculturation as a static construct and 3) focusing exclusively on the negative outcomes of migration. This study advocates for a case-centred approach which examines patterns of change over time and the broad consequences of migration including both positive and negative changes. This study used both qualitative and quantitative data. The use of semi-structured interviews provided information about individual migration experiences and using cluster analysis as an exploratory tool, it was possible to identify idiosyncratic and homogeneous migration experiences within a sample. Future studies should examine both patterns of similarities and differences within samples of migrants in order to gain a rich understanding of their experience. This study also provides an effective method of examining patterns of change over time using a cross sectional approach to studying migration. By asking participants to describe their experiences at different phases of migration during semi-structured interviews and then analysing data within and across phases, the study examined acculturation as a dynamic rather than static process.

Examining changes over time is an essential aspect of migration research as process elements are implicit in the definition of acculturation and future migration research should incorporate methods which examine acculturation as a process rather than a static construct. Finally, this study examined quality of life which is a broad construct which allows for the possibility of both positive and negative changes to occur following migration. More research is needed on the positive changes which also occur following migration.

Future studies with South African immigrants should recognise the unique context of migration for this group. Given the pre-migration experiences of South African immigrants and the influence of push factors out of South Africa such as crime and violence, this group of immigrants face important migration challenges which influence their acculturation experiences in vital ways. Future studies should also consider the impact of separation from friends and family who remain in the country of origin which was an important issue for participants in this study. This study also highlights some of the differences between Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans and future research with South African immigrants should examine these differences and the potential implications this has for acculturation. This study showed that people may experience migration in different ways and have different preferences for social support as demonstrated by decisions about whether to participate in South African communities in New Zealand.

The acculturation trajectories of South African immigrants in this study also raises suggestions for other possible areas of research with this population including older adults given that their migration experience may be different in important ways due to, for example, longer histories in South Africa and problems accessing their pension. These issues appear to impact on their ability to establish new support networks and also contribute to financial stress. While a number of participants reported satisfaction with employment in New Zealand, financial stress was often described. Further, a number of participants in this study reported considering moving to another country and some reported considering returning to South Africa. More research is needed in this area in order to understand the reasons why South African immigrants may not remain in New Zealand.

Conclusion

Migration is a multifaceted and dynamic process and those who are courageous enough to venture on the migration journey have rich and diverse experiences. As stated at the outset, the method used in this study is one that aimed to honour the similar yet unique experiences of migrants. The profiles which emerged within the child-focused, social support and employment themes of this study are rich and diverse and these profiles reflect the similar and different aspects of migration experience within this sample of South African immigrants living in New Zealand. These profiles represent the stories of courageous and resilient migrants. They illustrate that having a common birthplace, language and nationality do not translate to one common experience of migration. This study demonstrated that both similarities and differences were evident within this sample of South African immigrants. In addition, the study demonstrated the benefits of conducting migration research which is case-focused, examines acculturation as a process and examines the broad implications of migration using the quality of life construct.

Trlin (2010, p 162) summarised the South African immigration experience by describing the process as one of “leaving a way of life, a culture, a place that one was intimately familiar with and at ease in; a web of personal relationships that may or may not be maintained and a once assured but now uncertain future for another that in some respects is equally uncertain”. Participants in this study often likened their migration experiences to the transplantation of a tree. Their migration stories reflected a process of painful uprooting and separation from a country which many felt connected to and this process often involved the need to forge new ground and develop new root systems. In the early migration phase in particular, participants questioned the cost of sacrifices made during migration such separation from family and friends in South Africa. During this phase new roots were still developing and feelings of disorientation were often experienced. However, as seasons changed and years progressed, many reflected on the fruits of seeing their children become established in New Zealand and flourish in a safer environment. For some first generation South African immigrants, New Zealand may never be a place of belonging or home but the stories of immigrants showed evidence of re-emergence and the development of new root systems; some still fragile and

vulnerable while others well established and providing stability and shelter for others who were new to the environment. In all the migration stories shared in this study, the perseverance, courage and fortitude of South African immigrants resounded and their experiences are a beacon for others who may be considering migration.

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Appendix A: Information Sheet



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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TE KURA PŪRENGA TANGATA

Determinants of Quality of Life in South African Migrants in New Zealand.

Hi

My name is Kara Duxfield and I am a doctorate student at Massey University in Palmerston North. I was born in Bloemfontein, South Africa and I have lived in New Zealand with my family for sixteen years. I would like to invite you to participate in a research project I am conducting about South African migrants in New Zealand.

The aim of this study is to explore the accounts of South African migrants in New Zealand in order to analyze the relationships between their experiences as migrants and their quality of life.

Little research exists about South African migrant groups in general. However, even less is known about the unique experiences of South African migrants in New Zealand. It is hoped the information from the study will be used by health professionals and social service agencies to help support migrant groups as they resettle, while also informing policy makers. Information from this study may be publicly disseminated at seminars, conferences and in publications.

To take part in this study, you need to:

- be born in South Africa and be a citizen or resident of New Zealand, and
- have lived in New Zealand for 10 years or less, and
- be 18 years old or over.

If you decide to take part in the study, I will ask you to:

- Attend an interview and answer questions regarding your migration experience. This will take up to one and a half hours to complete.
- Fill out a questionnaire regarding your quality of life.

All interviews will be audio taped and transcripts will be typed by myself or an employed transcriber. You will be given an opportunity to read and edit your transcript before the final report is written. To protect your identity, all information given to me will be kept on a password protected computer which is only accessible to my academic supervisors and I. This information will be destroyed five years after the study is completed. To identify you throughout the study a pseudonym will be used instead of your actual name. Data will be collated and analyzed to identify themes and patterns. You may ask for a summary of the study's results and feedback from your interview once the project is completed. I will also send you a \$10 MTA voucher to thank you for your time and input.

Te Kunenga
ki Pārehuroa

School of Psychology – Te Kura Hinengaro Tangata
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand T 06 356 9099 extn 2040 F 06 350 5473 <http://psychology.massey.ac.nz>

Questions in this study are focused on your migration experience and your quality of life. You do not need to answer any questions you are uncomfortable with and a list of support organisations is provided below. You may wish to contact one of these organizations if you experience any emotional distress or discomfort as a result of our discussions.

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study at any point;
- Ask any questions about the study, at any time, during participation;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- Be given access to a summary of the study's findings when it is concluded.

If you are willing to participate in the study, and have no further questions please complete the consent form attached which states that you have read and understood this information sheet.

If you do have any questions, please feel free to contact myself or my supervisor, Dr Joanne Taylor. Our contact details are below:

Kara Duxfield, Doctorate student researcher
karaduxfield@hotmail.com, 027 5347 451

Dr Joanne Taylor, Supervisor, Senior Lecturer in Psychology
J.E.Taylor@massey.ac.nz, 06 350 7599ext 2065

List of Support Services

South Africans in New Zealand Club	www.sanz.co.nz
Migrant Action Trust	09 629 3500
Migrants Support Services	09 636 7334 or 09 636 7335
Lifeline	0800 543 354
Samaritans	0800 726 666

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 10/70. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Julie Boddy, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, telephone 06 350 5799 x 2541, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix B: Participant Consent Form



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Determinants of Quality of Life in South African Migrants in New Zealand.

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.

I wish/do not wish to have my data retained for 5 years.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name - printed

Te Kunenga
ki Pūrehuroa

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Appendix C: Demographic Questionnaire



Determinants of Quality of Life in South African Migrants in New Zealand.

1. What is your name: _____

2. What is your gender? Male Female

3. What is your date of birth? _____/_____/_____

DAY / MONTH / YEAR

4. What is the highest qualification you have obtained?

 - Primary school
 - Secondary school
 - University
 - Post-graduate

5. What is your occupation? _____

6. What is your marital status? _____
 - Single
 - Married
 - De facto relationship
 - Separated
 - Divorced
 - Widowed

7. How many children do you have? What are their ages?

8. How is your health? (CIRCLE BELOW)

Very poor	Poor	Neither poor nor good	Good	Very good
1	2	3	4	5

9. What health problems do you have at the moment? _____

10. Are you currently ill?

If yes, what is your diagnosis? _____

11. What city were you born in? _____

12. What is your first language? _____

13. When was your application for permanent residence in New Zealand approved?
_____/_____

MONTH / YEAR

14. When did you move to New Zealand? ____/____
MONTH / YEAR

15. How many people including you in your application for permanent residence?

Appendix D: Interview Schedule

I want to start by saying thank you for your willingness to be part of this study. I really appreciate your time. Any questions or anything unclear from the Information Sheet? To give you an idea of the plan for today, I am going to ask you to fill out this short 1.5 page survey which will only take about 5-10 minutes. This will give me a bit of information about who you are, where you are from, how long you have lived in NZ etc. After this we will go through the interview together. Of course any questions that you prefer not to answer that's fine – you don't have to answer them.

During the interview I will be asking about your experiences and for you to walk me through the process of migrating, starting back in South Africa and what it was like before you came to New Zealand. I want you to talk about your experience right from the time you decided to make the move up to today. It's a lot to cover but we will get there within the hour.

[Looking over questionnaire – reflect on some details]

And you live in.....

This many kids.....

And you've lived here for

1. So I'd like to follow this up by asking you some more in depth questions about your experience of coming to New Zealand. Start by telling me where it all began?

Where did the migration process start for you?

What happened when this decision came to the surface?

1a. What circumstances lead to your decision to migrate?

1b. How did these issues impact on your day to day life in South Africa?

People often have many reasons for leaving a country; whether it is to do with finances, safety, political issues and or quality of life.

2. Tell me about the decision making process for you and your family

2a. Did you visit NZ first before deciding?

2b. How did this affect your feelings about moving or influence your decision?

2c. Who made the decision to move?

2d. Did all family members agree?

2e. How did you feel about leaving South Africa?

2f. What made this decision easier or harder?

3. What were your reasons for choosing New Zealand rather than other countries?

3a. What countries did you consider moving to?

3b. What were the most important considerations in your choice of country?

3c. What attracted you to New Zealand?

4. Tell me about the process of telling others you would be emigrating.

4a. Who did you tell?

4b. When did you tell them?

4c. Did you tell some people straight away and others later? Ie. Immediate / extended family

4d. How did people respond?

4e. How did you feel during this time?

5. Tell me about packing up and saying goodbye?

- 5a. What did you have to leave behind?
- 5b. What went smoothly?
- 5c. Were there any difficulties?
- 5d. How did you feel about this process?

6. Let's talk about when you first arrived in New Zealand: the first few days and weeks.

- 6a. Did you all arrive together or alone?
- 6b. Why did you do it this way?
- 6c. What were your initial impressions?
- 6d. What did you find different or strange?
- 6e. What feelings and emotions did you and your family experience?
- 6f. Were there things that were helpful during this time?
- 6g. Was anything unhelpful?

7. Describe your first few months in New Zealand.

- 7a. How did you go with finding a house, schools for your children, work, and meeting new people?
- 7b. What sorts of things did you and your family do when first settling in New Zealand?
- 7c. What sorts of things did you notice?
- 7d. Were there things that were different and or similar to South Africa?
- 7e. What do you remember feeling at that time?
- 7f. Was anything hard to get used to?
- 7g. Did you miss anything?
- 7h. Was anything easy to get used to?
- 7i. Was anything surprising?
- 7h. What helped?

8. What was the first year in New Zealand like?

- 8a. How did you find 'work life'?
- 8b. How did you meet new people?
- 8c. How did you form friendships?
- 8d. What was school like for your children?
- 8e. How did you feel about the New Zealand way of life?
- 8f. How did the reality of living in New Zealand compare with your expectations?

9. Did anything change over the second, third and ongoing years of living in New Zealand?

- 9a. What changed?
- 9b. Did aspects of life get easier or harder?
- 9c. How did you feel during these next few years?

Sometimes migrants may question their decision to migrate if family members are unhappy or feeling homesick or when people find it difficult to find work. Sometimes people may feel guilty or sad about having left or feelings of nostalgia at reminders of South Africa etc. At times people may return to their home country.

- 10a. Did you experience anything like this?
- 10b. Did you ever consider returning to SA?
- 10c. What influenced your decision to stay?

11. Tell me about your experience of finding employment in New Zealand?

Some migrants may get a job before they migrate, others may not find work for sometime or sometimes people may get work that is different to their previous level of qualification or experience.

- 11a. How did you find a job?
- 11b. How does your employment here compare with employment in South Africa?
- 11c. To what extent do you feel your experience and qualifications match the job requirements?
- 11d. Did your experience of finding work match your expectations? Why or why not?
- 11e. How do you feel about your current job?
- 11f. To what extent do you feel you fit with the job environment and other colleagues?

12. Tell me what you have experienced socially with friends and family in New Zealand?

- 12a. Are your friends other migrants and or people from New Zealand?
- 12b. How do you socialize?
- 12c. Do you feel connected or part of a social circle in New Zealand?
- 12d. Do you have anything in common with New Zealand friends?
- 12e. Is anything different to your relationships with friends & family in South Africa?
- 12f. Have relationships with friends and family in South Africa changed since you first arrived in New Zealand?
- how?
- 12g. How do you feel about your friendships and family relationships now?

Sometimes migrants experience a significant event which is like a crisis or turning point. For example a family member returns to their country of origin or something happens with family or friends back in their country of origin which requires the person to return to SA. Other examples of turning points are when a person finds a good group of friends or a good job here which helps them feel more settled.

13. What crisis or turning points do you remember?

- 13a. How did this affect you and your family?
- 13b. How did this affect your feelings about living in New Zealand?

14. How are things for you now?

- 14a. What is different to a few years ago with regards to family life, work, social activities and your outlook?
- 14b. Have you and your family made any changes to fit in with other New Zealanders?

- *language, customs, food, attitudes*
- *what areas of life? Ie. School, work, friends*

14c. Do you think your experiences in South Africa affect your day to day life in New Zealand?

- *safety, concern for your family & friends there, identity*

14d. How do you feel about your decision to move to New Zealand now?

15. To what extent do you feel you now fit in to New Zealand society?

15a. Are some things easier now compared to when you first arrived?

15b. Are there some things you find difficult?

15c. Is it the same for other members of your family?

15d. Do you think any members of your family adjusted or adapted faster or slower or found it harder or easier to adjust to New Zealand way of life?

16. People think about their own identity in a number of different ways – as an individual / group / city / country / community / culture.

16a. What does identity mean to you?

There are many different ways of maintaining ones identity such as joining a club or organization with other migrants or buying products from their country or continuing traditions from that culture or by making frequent trips back to their country of origin.

16b. In what ways do you maintain this / these identities?

Sometime people want to blend in and be a part of their new society, other times people find it important to let others know about their country of origin.

16c. How do you feel about being a South African migrant in New Zealand?

16d. What do you perceive other New Zealander's feel about you as a South African living in New Zealand?

16e. To what extent do you feel a part of 'kiwi' culture?

16f. In what ways have you felt either included or excluded from New Zealand?
society?

16f. Do you feel that you 'belong' in New Zealand? Why / why not?

16g. Do you believe others in New Zealand feel you 'belong' here? Why / why not?

17. What have you learned / gained from your migration experience?

18. Can you describe how you feel about your future as a migrant in New Zealand?

- *worries / fears / hopes / outlook*

Finish

Just before I ask the final question for our interview, is there anything else you would like to tell me about your experience of migrating from South Africa to New Zealand?

19. What would you say to other South Africans who may consider migrating to New Zealand? *(words of wisdom / advice / helpful to know)*

In about 2 weeks I will send you a questionnaire which includes questions about your quality of life, health and other areas of your life based on the past 2 weeks. The instructions are provided on the questionnaire. It will take up to 30 minutes to complete. It will include a paid, self addressed envelope for you to return it to me. I would really appreciate if you could complete this questionnaire as it is a vital component for this study. This is a very important part of the study and without this information I am not able to get a complete view of your experience.

Are there others you know who may be interested in participating in this study? Obtain detail.

Appendix E: Transcript Consent Form



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TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

Determinants of Quality of Life in South African Migrants in New Zealand.

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview(s) conducted with me.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this may be used in reports and publications on the condition that I am not identifiable.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full Name - printed _____

Appendix F: Permission for use of WHOQOL-100



Dear Kara Duxfield,

Your request for permission to use the WHOQOL-BREF has been referred by WHO Geneva to us, the New Zealand WHOQOL Group, based at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT), Auckland. Our national WHOQOL centre has the responsibility to approve the use of the WHOQOL instruments in New Zealand.

We agree to your proposed use of the WHOQOL on the conditions that it is only used under your professional supervision; that the forms are collected back from your respondents after they have been completed and used; and that the instrument is not used for purposes outside your present project. These conditions are important to adhere to in order to protect the integrity of the instrument.

Over the last year we have been validating the WHOQOL-BREF for New Zealand and find that the generic WHOQOL-BREF is suitable for use here. We are currently in the process of establishing new national items that may be given with the BREF, but scored separately to the existing 4 domains and 24 facet structure of the generic version. We are also compiling New Zealand reference norms for the WHOQOL-BREF but as yet do not have them calculated.

You have indicated your wish to use the WHOQOL-100. To our knowledge this tool has not been officially used in NZ before. However the NZ WHOQOL-BREF version matched the Australian and generic English versions so there should not be any validity issue in using either of these 100 item versions in NZ. Make sure that any item of the WHOQOL-100 not in the BREF has the scale descriptor equivalent to the NZ-BREF version. The national items being developed in conjunction with the BREF should be available in the next 3 months. If your study has not started before then you may wish to include these items. We expect about 6 to 8 of them. As noted above they are scored independent to the existing WHOQOL facets and domains. Note the WHOQOL-100 has a 6 domain structure not 4 as for the BREF.

Once you have finished this project and have published to your satisfaction we would appreciate a copy of the anonymous data but with biographical information so that we may use it in the continual updating of national norms.

If you have need of the scoring keys or require any other information, please do not hesitate to contact us. Our good wishes for the project and your team.

Yours sincerely,

Erin Hill

Secretary
New Zealand WHOQOL Group
Auckland University of Technology
phone: +64 9 921 9999 ext 7542
e-mail: erin.hill@aut.ac.nz

Appendix G: Summary Letter for Participants



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AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

Determinants of Quality of Life in South African Migrants Living in New Zealand.

Dear

I am writing to let you know about the study which you participated in between 12 and 18 months ago. This study is now in the final stages and the analysis of data is complete. The purpose of this correspondence is to provide you with a summary of the results of the study, and to ask for your permission to use quotes from our interview to support some of the key findings in my study. These quotes will contain no identifying information in them.

Study group

A total of 51 South African immigrants from various parts of the North Island took part in the study. Participants were recruited through advertisements placed with Brokkies (Afrikaans newsletter), SANZ (a South African club and network called 'South Africans living in New Zealand'), the Afrikaans club of New Zealand, and through word of mouth. The total sample included 17 (33%) men and 34 (67%) women, who were aged between 23 and 73 years, with an average age of 45. The relationship status of the sample included 88% of participants in married or de facto relationships. Many participants had children, with only 10% of the sample indicating they did not have children. The dominant first language was Afrikaans (69%), followed by English (31%). The most common current occupation of participants included education professionals (18%), health professionals (12%), and business, human resource management or marketing professionals (10%). The number of participants with postgraduate level education was 47 %, while 29% held university qualifications, and 24% secondary school level education.

Entry into New Zealand was gained through the skilled migrant or points system for 57% of the sample and 26% gained entry through visa application. The duration of residence in New Zealand for participants in this study ranged from about 1-11 years. The average length of residence in New Zealand was 5 years. The most common provinces participants were born in included Gauteng (41%), Western Cape (22%), and Kwa-Zulu Natal (12%). Gauteng (51%), Kwa-Zulu Natal (20%), and Western Cape (10%) were the most common South African provinces that participants had moved to New Zealand from when migrating to New Zealand. Participants were also asked to rate their overall health: 37% reported good health and 61% very good health.

Approach to the study data

Following the completion of interviews and quality of life surveys by participants, the interview data was coded to represent various responses to interview questions. The interview data included responses regarding specific experiences of migration such as reasons for leaving South Africa, attractions to New Zealand, employment and social support experiences in New Zealand, coping strategies and sources of stress. Using a statistical analysis programme, I then explored patterns of migration experiences over time; starting in the pre-migration phase when participants were preparing to leave South Africa, then in the early and mid phases of migration when arriving and settling into life in New Zealand, and finally in the current phase when participants were interviewed.

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Results

The result of this analysis showed several subgroups of participants with contrasting experiences across three different themes: children, employment and social support. From the analysis it was possible to write descriptive profiles which illustrated the different experiences of subgroups of participants regarding the three themes. These profiles included detailed accounts of migration experiences over time and will be described briefly below.

Child-focused theme

Within the child-focused theme, there was one main subgroup of participants. This group reported leaving South Africa due to concerns about the future for their children. Particular concerns reported by this group were levels of violence, crime, standard of education, and employment opportunities for children. Participants in this group were mainly attracted to New Zealand because of the perception that it would provide a safer environment with more opportunities for their children. Other issues related to this theme included the impact of separation from family members and the effect migration has on both the migrating family and extended family members left in South Africa.

Social support theme

Within the social support theme, a number of different subgroups were evident. The main distinguishing feature of subgroups within this theme was the types of social support participants encountered during different phases of migration. In particular, there were differences between those who participated in South African communities in New Zealand such as clubs and Afrikaans churches, and those who did not. There were also important differences between some Afrikaans and English-speaking South African participants, and this theme highlighted the importance of language, traditions, and identity for some South African immigrants.

Work theme

A number of different employment experiences were also evident in this study. During interviews, participants were asked to describe their experiences of work colleagues, the work environment, their role and position, and whether their work matched their qualifications and experience, at different phases of migration. Some groups of participants were employed prior to migration and some groups experienced satisfactory employment throughout the different phases of migration. Other groups experienced partial or unsatisfactory employment in the early phase which often improved the longer participants lived in New Zealand. However, some participants continued to experience unsatisfactory employment. A small group also experienced periods of unemployment at various stages of migration, although most typically in the early phase. The results of this study also illustrated some of the unique challenges of unemployment for some older adult and female participants. Financial concerns were also an important issue related to the employment theme.

Quality of life

Overall, the quality of life of South African immigrants in this study was high. Despite the different experiences of participants across the migration trajectory, many subgroups of participants had similar levels of quality of life. The most notable group who reported slightly lower overall quality of life was a group of Afrikaans-speaking participants who had unsatisfactory employment experiences in New Zealand and had family members still living in South Africa which was a source of stress for them.

Thank you

This study is the product of your generosity and willingness. It could not have happened without you. I would like to convey my sincere gratitude for your participation and the warm welcome I received when we met for the interview. I believe this study will make a valuable contribution to migration research and ultimately it is hoped to benefit future South African immigrants. In the discussion of results within my thesis document, I would like to include deidentified extracts from our interview to support the findings of my study. I have enclosed a copy of the transcript from your interview and I would be most grateful if you could let me know if you are willing to have deidentified extracts from your interview used in the thesis by completing the consent form attached and returning it in the self-addressed envelope. If you have any questions about this, please do not hesitate to contact me. This study will be submitted for examination as part of the requirement for completion of my qualification. Following this, it is hoped that this research will be disseminated through academic journal articles and at various seminars relating to migration.

Once again, I would like to thank you for your participation. It was a great pleasure to meet with you and hear about your sometimes challenging yet very courageous decision to emigrate. I wish you the very best for your future here in New Zealand. If you would like any further information, please do not hesitate to contact myself (karaduxfield@hotmail.com) or my supervisor Dr. Joanne Taylor (J.E.Taylor@massey.ac.nz).

Kind Regards,



Kara-Lise Duxfield
Doctorate in Clinical Psychology Research Student

Appendix H: Pre-Migration Phase Figures: Proximity Matrix & Dendrogram

Table 20.

Binary Squared Euclidean Distance Proximity Matrix for Pre-Migration Phase Data

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	1	3	4	5	7	8	9	10	11
1	0	15	15	15	17	17	21	15	15
3	15	0	16	18	20	22	20	18	18
4	15	16	0	12	12	20	20	10	16
5	15	18	12	0	8	16	16	8	18
7	17	20	12	8	0	16	14	10	18
8	17	22	20	16	16	0	14	16	14
9	21	20	20	16	14	14	0	16	20
10	15	18	10	8	10	16	16	0	16
11	15	18	16	18	18	14	20	16	0
12	13	16	18	14	12	18	16	18	16
13	15	16	18	16	12	14	16	16	16
14	14	15	19	15	17	11	19	11	13
15	19	22	20	18	14	12	10	18	16
16	18	21	15	11	11	15	17	9	13
17	14	19	17	17	15	9	13	15	19
18	16	11	15	11	13	13	17	13	17
19	9	14	14	10	14	12	18	14	14
21	16	17	13	13	11	17	17	13	19
22	16	19	13	15	11	17	15	13	17
24	18	17	13	9	11	15	19	13	17
25	21	16	16	12	10	14	18	16	20
26	13	16	18	16	16	14	16	12	16
27	15	12	20	18	16	12	12	16	22
28	16	15	17	15	15	13	13	13	21
29	10	17	15	15	15	11	17	15	13
30	18	19	19	13	13	15	15	15	15
31	14	17	19	13	13	7	13	13	17
32	11	12	16	16	16	12	14	16	16
33	13	16	16	14	12	12	16	10	18
34	11	14	18	12	12	12	18	10	16
35	18	23	19	17	11	11	17	15	15
36	17	14	10	8	12	18	16	8	16
37	15	18	10	6	10	16	16	6	18

38	11	14	14	14	16	14	20	16	20
39	13	12	14	16	16	12	16	16	18
40	18	19	17	13	11	13	17	13	23
41	14	21	13	15	11	17	15	13	17
42	18	17	13	11	13	17	17	13	15
43	12	15	17	17	15	15	17	15	11
44	15	18	18	16	10	10	14	16	18
45	15	18	18	22	16	12	12	18	14
46	15	14	16	8	12	16	14	14	20
47	15	22	14	10	6	12	16	10	20
48	14	13	13	15	17	17	15	15	17
49	21	18	16	14	8	12	12	16	18
50	16	19	17	13	11	13	19	11	21

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	21
1	13	15	14	19	18	14	16	9	16
3	16	16	15	22	21	19	11	14	17
4	18	18	19	20	15	17	15	14	13
5	14	16	15	18	11	17	11	10	13
7	12	12	17	14	11	15	13	14	11
8	18	14	11	12	15	9	13	12	17
9	16	16	19	10	17	13	17	18	17
10	18	16	11	18	9	15	13	14	13
11	16	16	13	16	13	19	17	14	19
12	0	14	15	18	13	15	9	14	11
13	14	0	13	16	17	15	17	14	17
14	15	13	0	15	18	12	10	13	16
15	18	16	15	0	21	7	15	18	17
16	13	17	18	21	0	20	14	15	10
17	15	15	12	7	20	0	12	13	16
18	9	17	10	15	14	12	0	9	6
19	14	14	13	18	15	13	9	0	13
21	11	17	16	17	10	16	6	13	0
22	17	13	14	13	18	14	16	19	10
24	11	15	14	17	10	16	6	13	6
25	10	14	15	16	15	15	9	18	11
26	12	12	13	16	15	11	15	18	17
27	16	14	13	12	21	11	11	12	15
28	19	15	16	13	16	12	12	11	16
29	13	15	14	15	18	10	10	5	14

30	13	11	16	15	14	18	12	11	12
31	13	13	12	13	16	10	8	9	12
32	14	18	15	12	19	11	11	10	15
33	16	14	11	12	17	11	11	12	15
34	16	14	11	14	15	13	11	10	15
35	17	15	14	11	10	12	14	15	12
36	14	18	17	18	7	19	9	14	7
37	12	16	15	16	9	13	9	12	9
38	18	14	17	20	17	15	15	8	15
39	16	12	15	12	21	9	9	8	13
40	11	17	16	17	12	14	8	13	6
41	13	13	14	13	12	14	16	17	14
42	9	17	16	17	10	16	8	13	10
43	13	13	14	15	14	16	16	13	18
44	10	10	13	16	13	17	11	14	11
45	16	14	15	10	17	11	17	16	17
46	14	14	15	14	13	13	9	12	9
47	16	14	15	16	11	15	13	16	11
48	13	19	16	17	16	16	12	15	16
49	14	12	15	14	13	17	11	16	9
50	13	13	16	17	10	16	12	15	10

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	22	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
1	16	18	21	13	15	16	10	18	14
3	19	17	16	16	12	15	17	19	17
4	13	13	16	18	20	17	15	19	19
5	15	9	12	16	18	15	15	13	13
7	11	11	10	16	16	15	15	13	13
8	17	15	14	14	12	13	11	15	7
9	15	19	18	16	12	13	17	15	13
10	13	13	16	12	16	13	15	15	13
11	17	17	20	16	22	21	13	15	17
12	17	11	10	12	16	19	13	13	13
13	13	15	14	12	14	15	15	11	13
14	14	14	15	13	13	16	14	16	12
15	13	17	16	16	12	13	15	15	13
16	18	10	15	15	21	16	18	14	16
17	14	16	15	11	11	12	10	18	10
18	16	6	9	15	11	12	10	12	8
19	19	13	18	18	12	11	5	11	9
21	10	6	11	17	15	16	14	12	12

22	0	14	13	17	19	22	18	16	16
24	14	0	7	15	17	16	12	14	12
25	13	7	0	16	16	19	15	17	13
26	17	15	16	0	16	15	15	17	11
27	19	17	16	16	0	7	11	13	7
28	22	16	19	15	7	0	12	14	10
29	18	12	15	15	11	12	0	12	6
30	16	14	17	17	13	14	12	0	8
31	16	12	13	11	7	10	6	8	0
32	19	17	16	14	6	11	9	15	9
33	17	15	18	14	8	9	13	13	11
34	17	15	18	14	10	11	13	13	11
35	18	12	15	17	13	10	14	14	12
36	13	7	12	16	18	17	17	13	15
37	13	9	12	12	16	15	13	11	11
38	15	15	18	18	14	13	11	13	11
39	17	15	16	16	6	7	7	11	7
40	16	8	9	15	13	14	12	12	8
41	14	14	17	17	17	16	20	16	18
42	18	4	11	13	19	16	12	14	14
43	18	16	19	11	19	16	14	16	16
44	15	13	12	12	12	13	15	13	9
45	15	17	20	14	12	13	13	17	11
46	13	7	14	12	16	13	15	15	13
47	13	9	12	12	16	13	15	17	11
48	20	14	17	15	9	12	14	16	14
49	11	9	12	16	14	17	17	13	11
50	14	10	11	11	15	14	16	12	10

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
1	11	13	11	18	17	15	11	13	18
3	12	16	14	23	14	18	14	12	19
4	16	16	18	19	10	10	14	14	17
5	16	14	12	17	8	6	14	16	13
7	16	12	12	11	12	10	16	16	11
8	12	12	12	11	18	16	14	12	13
9	14	16	18	17	16	16	20	16	17
10	16	10	10	15	8	6	16	16	13
11	16	18	16	15	16	18	20	18	23
12	14	16	16	17	14	12	18	16	11
13	18	14	14	15	18	16	14	12	17

14	15	11	11	14	17	15	17	15	16
15	12	12	14	11	18	16	20	12	17
16	19	17	15	10	7	9	17	21	12
17	11	11	13	12	19	13	15	9	14
18	11	11	11	14	9	9	15	9	8
19	10	12	10	15	14	12	8	8	13
21	15	15	15	12	7	9	15	13	6
22	19	17	17	18	13	13	15	17	16
24	17	15	15	12	7	9	15	15	8
25	16	18	18	15	12	12	18	16	9
26	14	14	14	17	16	12	18	16	15
27	6	8	10	13	18	16	14	6	13
28	11	9	11	10	17	15	13	7	14
29	9	13	13	14	17	13	11	7	12
30	15	13	13	14	13	11	13	11	12
31	9	11	11	12	15	11	11	7	8
32	0	10	10	15	14	14	14	8	15
33	10	0	2	13	14	14	16	10	13
34	10	2	0	15	12	14	16	12	13
35	15	13	15	0	17	15	15	13	12
36	14	14	12	17	0	6	16	16	11
37	14	14	14	15	6	0	14	12	11
38	14	16	16	15	16	14	0	10	13
39	8	10	12	13	16	12	10	0	13
40	15	13	13	12	11	11	13	13	0
41	17	11	13	10	13	13	17	17	16
42	17	13	13	16	7	11	19	17	10
43	15	13	11	16	13	15	15	15	16
44	14	14	14	13	16	14	16	14	11
45	14	12	14	11	18	20	14	12	15
46	14	14	12	15	8	10	14	14	13
47	18	12	12	11	14	12	16	18	11
48	11	11	13	18	13	13	19	13	20
49	18	14	14	13	12	14	18	16	11
50	17	11	11	12	11	9	11	15	6

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
1	14	18	12	15	15	15	15	14
3	21	17	15	18	18	14	22	13
4	13	13	17	18	18	16	14	13
5	15	11	17	16	22	8	10	15

7	11	13	15	10	16	12	6	17
8	17	17	15	10	12	16	12	17
9	15	17	17	14	12	14	16	15
10	13	13	15	16	18	14	10	15
11	17	15	11	18	14	20	20	17
12	13	9	13	10	16	14	16	13
13	13	17	13	10	14	14	14	19
14	14	16	14	13	15	15	15	16
15	13	17	15	16	10	14	16	17
16	12	10	14	13	17	13	11	16
17	14	16	16	17	11	13	15	16
18	16	8	16	11	17	9	13	12
19	17	13	13	14	16	12	16	15
21	14	10	18	11	17	9	11	16
22	14	18	18	15	15	13	13	20
24	14	4	16	13	17	7	9	14
25	17	11	19	12	20	14	12	17
26	17	13	11	12	14	12	12	15
27	17	19	19	12	12	16	16	9
28	16	16	16	13	13	13	13	12
29	20	12	14	15	13	15	15	14
30	16	14	16	13	17	15	17	16
31	18	14	16	9	11	13	11	14
32	17	17	15	14	14	14	18	11
33	11	13	13	14	12	14	12	11
34	13	13	11	14	14	12	12	13
35	10	16	16	13	11	15	11	18
36	13	7	13	16	18	8	14	13
37	13	11	15	14	20	10	12	13
38	17	19	15	16	14	14	16	19
39	17	17	15	14	12	14	18	13
40	16	10	16	11	15	13	11	20
41	0	14	12	13	13	15	13	16
42	14	0	12	15	15	9	13	12
43	12	12	0	13	11	13	17	18
44	13	15	13	0	14	14	8	15
45	13	15	11	14	0	16	16	15
46	15	9	13	14	16	0	10	15
47	13	13	17	8	16	10	0	15
48	16	12	18	15	15	15	15	0
49	13	11	15	6	12	10	8	15
50	12	12	12	9	15	13	9	18

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance	
	49	50
1	21	16
3	18	19
4	16	17
5	14	13
7	8	11
8	12	13
9	12	19
10	16	11
11	18	21
12	14	13
13	12	13
14	15	16
15	14	17
16	13	10
17	17	16
18	11	12
19	16	15
21	9	10
22	11	14
24	9	10
25	12	11
26	16	11
27	14	15
28	17	14
29	17	16
30	13	12
31	11	10
32	18	17
33	14	11
34	14	11
35	13	12
36	12	11
37	14	9
38	18	11
39	16	15
40	11	6
41	13	12
42	11	12

43	15	12
44	6	9
45	12	15
46	10	13
47	8	9
48	15	18
49	0	11
50	11	0

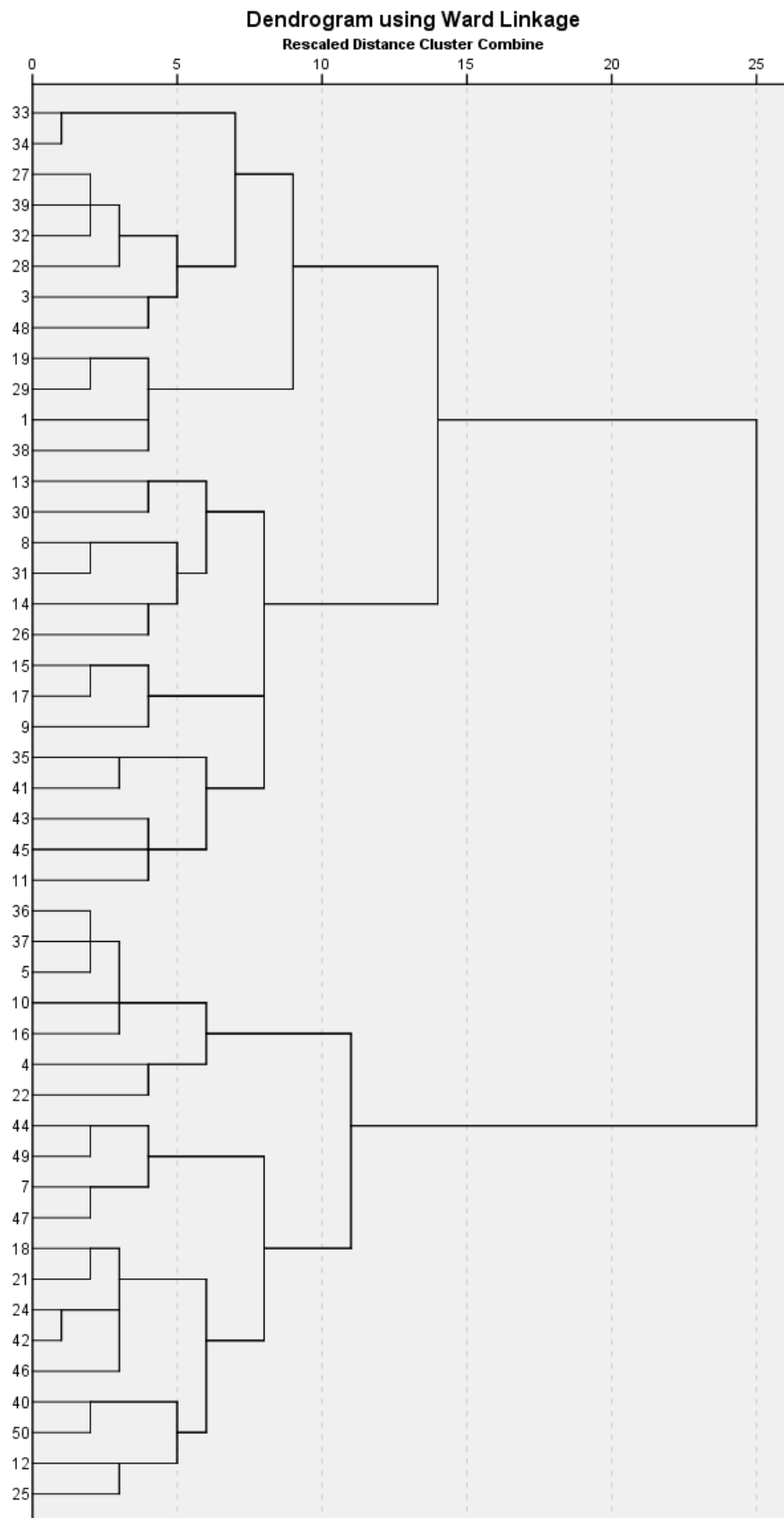


Figure 4. Dendrogram illustrating clustering of pre-migration phase data.

Appendix I: Early Migration Phase (including employment variables) Figures: Proximity Matrix & Dendrogram

Table 21.

Binary Squared Euclidean Distance Proximity Matrix for Early Migration Phase Data (including employment variables)

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	10
1	0	7	13	12	7	8	10	8
2	7	0	8	9	8	9	9	9
4	13	8	0	7	10	13	11	11
5	12	9	7	0	7	10	6	10
7	7	8	10	7	0	9	7	11
8	8	9	13	10	9	0	6	6
9	10	9	11	6	7	6	0	10
10	8	9	11	10	11	6	10	0
11	7	8	8	7	6	7	7	9
13	11	10	14	11	10	7	9	7
15	6	7	13	14	11	8	10	8
16	13	10	12	9	14	9	9	11
18	11	12	8	9	8	11	9	11
19	6	11	13	10	11	8	10	6
21	8	9	11	10	9	4	6	8
25	11	10	10	7	8	5	5	7
26	15	12	10	15	14	9	15	11
28	12	9	15	12	7	10	10	8
29	9	10	10	7	8	9	7	7
30	8	9	9	10	9	8	10	4
32	11	12	14	11	12	9	9	9
33	10	11	13	10	7	8	4	12
35	13	8	12	9	10	7	7	11
36	12	11	11	8	11	6	8	6
37	12	11	11	8	11	8	10	10
38	7	8	12	9	6	5	5	7
39	13	10	10	7	10	9	9	11
41	8	11	15	16	13	8	10	10
42	10	7	9	10	11	10	14	6
43	7	8	10	11	10	7	9	5
44	13	8	10	9	12	7	5	11

45	13	12	12	9	10	9	11	7
46	12	11	9	10	11	12	6	8
47	16	11	7	10	11	10	6	14
48	14	13	9	10	15	12	10	14
50	8	13	9	14	11	10	10	8

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	11	13	15	16	18	19	21	25
1	7	11	6	13	11	6	8	11
2	8	10	7	10	12	11	9	10
4	8	14	13	12	8	13	11	10
5	7	11	14	9	9	10	10	7
7	6	10	11	14	8	11	9	8
8	7	7	8	9	11	8	4	5
9	7	9	10	9	9	10	6	5
10	9	7	8	11	11	6	8	7
11	0	10	9	12	12	7	7	10
13	10	0	5	8	12	9	7	12
15	9	5	0	13	13	8	6	13
16	12	8	13	0	12	11	11	10
18	12	12	13	12	0	15	9	6
19	7	9	8	11	15	0	8	11
21	7	7	6	11	9	8	0	7
25	10	12	13	10	6	11	7	0
26	10	10	11	10	12	11	9	12
28	13	7	12	9	11	12	12	9
29	10	8	9	12	8	11	7	8
30	7	9	8	13	15	4	10	11
32	8	8	11	8	12	9	11	10
33	11	9	10	9	5	12	6	5
35	10	4	7	8	10	11	5	10
36	9	9	12	7	11	10	10	5
37	11	9	8	11	9	10	6	9
38	8	8	9	10	8	9	5	6
39	10	8	11	8	8	11	5	8
41	9	7	4	13	11	10	6	13
42	9	7	8	7	13	8	10	13
43	8	6	5	10	8	7	5	10
44	12	10	11	4	8	13	7	6
45	14	6	9	12	6	11	7	8

46	11	7	8	11	11	8	8	11
47	9	11	14	7	11	14	10	9
48	11	13	12	11	11	12	8	13
50	7	9	8	13	11	6	8	13

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	26	28	29	30	32	33	35	36
1	15	12	9	8	11	10	13	12
2	12	9	10	9	12	11	8	11
4	10	15	10	9	14	13	12	11
5	15	12	7	10	11	10	9	8
7	14	7	8	9	12	7	10	11
8	9	10	9	8	9	8	7	6
9	15	10	7	10	9	4	7	8
10	11	8	7	4	9	12	11	6
11	10	13	10	7	8	11	10	9
13	10	7	8	9	8	9	4	9
15	11	12	9	8	11	10	7	12
16	10	9	12	13	8	9	8	7
18	12	11	8	15	12	5	10	11
19	11	12	11	4	9	12	11	10
21	9	12	7	10	11	6	5	10
25	12	9	8	11	10	5	10	5
26	0	11	16	11	10	13	8	9
28	11	0	11	10	9	8	9	8
29	16	11	0	9	12	9	10	11
30	11	10	9	0	13	14	13	10
32	10	9	12	13	0	11	8	5
33	13	8	9	14	11	0	7	10
35	8	9	10	13	8	7	0	9
36	9	8	11	10	5	10	9	0
37	9	12	9	12	9	10	5	8
38	12	7	6	9	8	7	8	7
39	8	11	10	13	14	7	6	11
41	9	12	11	12	9	8	7	12
42	7	8	11	6	11	14	9	8
43	8	11	8	7	10	9	6	9
44	10	9	10	13	10	5	6	7
45	10	9	6	11	12	9	6	11
46	13	10	7	6	13	8	9	12
47	9	10	11	12	9	8	9	8
48	9	16	9	12	15	12	11	14

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	37	38	39	41	42	43	44	45
1	12	7	13	8	10	7	13	13
2	11	8	10	11	7	8	8	12
4	11	12	10	15	9	10	10	12
5	8	9	7	16	10	11	9	9
7	11	6	10	13	11	10	12	10
8	8	5	9	8	10	7	7	9
9	10	5	9	10	14	9	5	11
10	10	7	11	10	6	5	11	7
11	11	8	10	9	9	8	12	14
13	9	8	8	7	7	6	10	6
15	8	9	11	4	8	5	11	9
16	11	10	8	13	7	10	4	12
18	9	8	8	11	13	8	8	6
19	10	9	11	10	8	7	13	11
21	6	5	5	6	10	5	7	7
25	9	6	8	13	13	10	6	8
26	9	12	8	9	7	8	10	10
28	12	7	11	12	8	11	9	9
29	9	6	10	11	11	8	10	6
30	12	9	13	12	6	7	13	11
32	9	8	14	9	11	10	10	12
33	10	7	7	8	14	9	5	9
35	5	8	6	7	9	6	6	6
36	8	7	11	12	8	9	7	11
37	0	7	9	10	8	7	7	5
38	7	0	10	11	9	6	6	8
39	9	10	0	11	9	8	8	6
41	10	11	11	0	12	7	11	11
42	8	9	9	12	0	5	9	9
43	7	6	8	7	5	0	8	6
44	7	6	8	11	9	8	0	10
45	5	8	6	11	9	6	10	0
46	12	9	9	10	10	7	9	9
47	12	9	11	12	12	13	5	15
48	10	11	7	10	12	11	9	11
50	12	9	13	8	10	5	13	11

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance			
	46	47	48	50
1	12	16	14	8
2	11	11	13	13
4	9	7	9	9
5	10	10	10	14
7	11	11	15	11
8	12	10	12	10
9	6	6	10	10
10	8	14	14	8
11	11	9	11	7
13	7	11	13	9
15	8	14	12	8
16	11	7	11	13
18	11	11	11	11
19	8	14	12	6
21	8	10	8	8
25	11	9	13	13
26	13	9	9	9
28	10	10	16	14
29	7	11	9	9
30	6	12	12	6
32	13	9	15	9
33	8	8	12	12
35	9	9	11	11
36	12	8	14	12
37	12	12	10	12
38	9	9	11	9
39	9	11	7	13
41	10	12	10	8
42	10	12	12	10
43	7	13	11	5
44	9	5	9	13
45	9	15	11	11
46	0	8	8	6
47	8	0	8	10
48	8	8	0	10
50	6	10	10	0

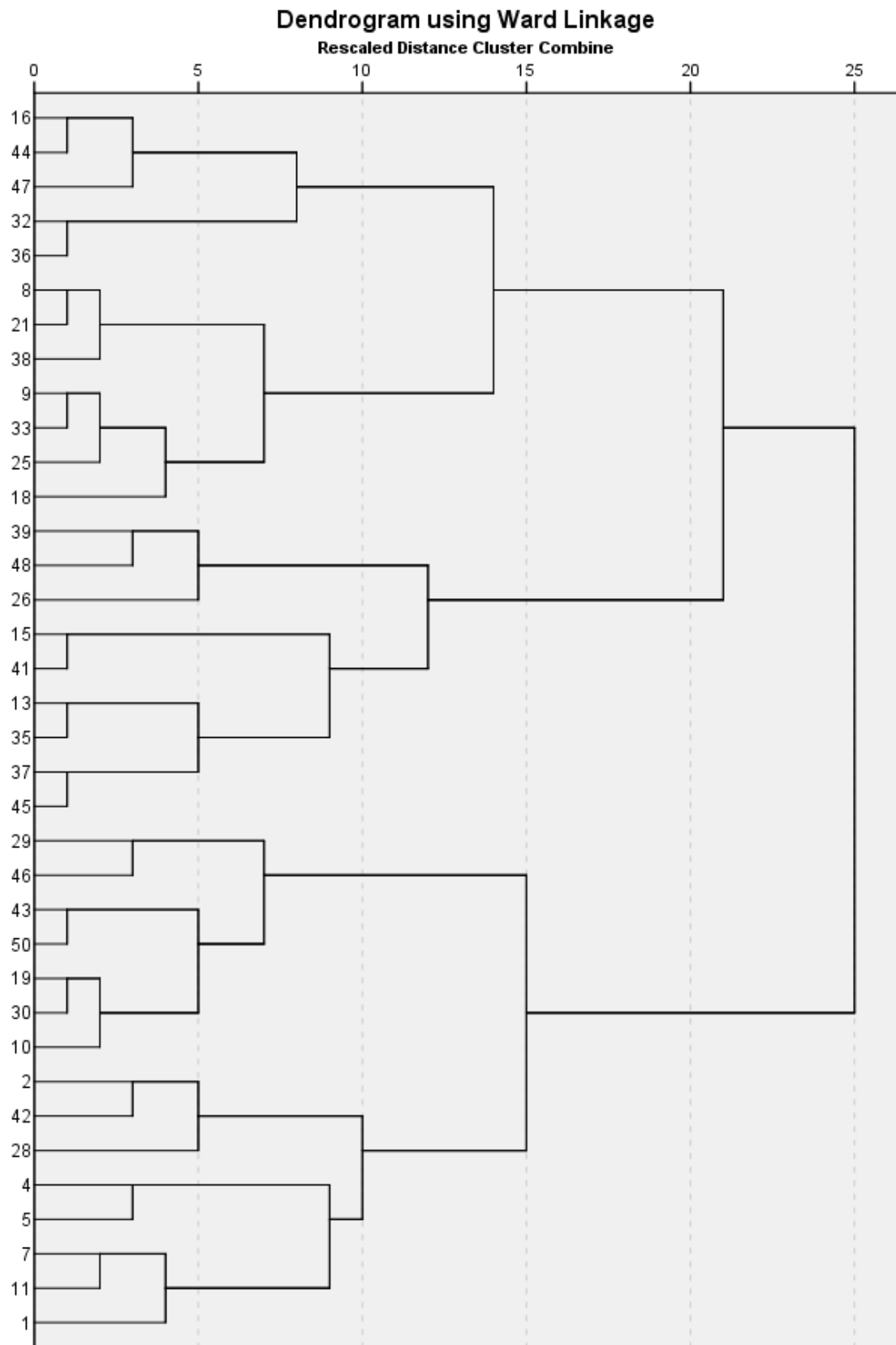


Figure 5. Dendrogram illustrating clustering of early migration phase data (including employment variables).

Appendix J: Early Migration Phase (excluding employment variables) Figures: Proximity Matrix & Dendrogram

Table 22.

Binary Squared Euclidean Distance Proximity Matrix for Early Migration Phase Data (excluding employment variables)

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	0	7	7	11	10	9	6	8	8	7
2	7	0	10	6	7	10	7	9	7	8
3	7	10	0	12	9	4	9	7	7	6
4	11	6	12	0	7	10	9	11	11	8
5	10	7	9	7	0	7	6	8	6	7
6	9	10	4	10	7	0	11	5	7	4
7	6	7	9	9	6	11	0	8	6	9
8	8	9	7	11	8	5	8	0	4	5
9	8	7	7	11	6	7	6	4	0	7
10	7	8	6	8	7	4	9	5	7	0
11	6	7	9	7	6	9	6	6	6	7
12	11	6	8	8	5	6	7	7	5	8
13	10	9	5	11	8	7	8	6	6	7
14	10	7	7	7	6	7	4	8	8	7
15	5	6	6	10	11	8	9	7	7	8
16	12	9	7	11	8	7	12	8	8	9
17	13	10	12	8	5	10	7	7	7	10
18	10	11	9	7	8	9	6	10	8	9
19	5	10	8	10	7	8	9	7	7	6
20	13	6	8	8	5	8	9	9	7	10
21	8	9	7	9	8	7	8	4	4	7
22	13	10	8	10	9	10	7	9	5	12
24	10	11	3	13	8	3	12	8	6	7
25	10	9	9	9	6	5	6	4	4	5
26	14	11	11	7	12	11	12	8	12	11
27	13	12	8	8	7	6	13	7	11	8
28	11	8	8	12	9	10	5	9	7	8
29	8	9	3	9	6	3	8	8	6	5
30	6	7	7	7	8	7	8	6	8	3
31	8	9	11	11	8	11	6	6	6	11
32	10	11	9	11	8	9	10	8	6	9

33	9	10	8	12	9	8	5	7	3	10
35	12	7	9	9	6	9	8	6	4	11
36	10	9	7	9	6	5	8	4	6	5
37	11	10	8	8	5	8	9	7	7	10
38	7	8	4	10	7	8	5	5	3	6
39	12	9	9	9	6	9	8	8	8	9
40	6	11	5	11	8	5	8	4	4	7
41	7	10	8	12	13	8	11	7	7	10
42	9	6	6	6	7	8	9	9	11	6
43	6	7	5	7	8	7	8	6	6	5
44	12	7	7	9	8	7	10	6	4	9
45	12	11	7	9	6	7	8	8	8	7
46	9	8	6	8	9	8	9	9	5	6
47	14	9	9	7	10	9	10	8	6	11
48	12	11	7	9	10	9	14	10	10	11
49	9	10	6	12	7	6	7	5	5	6
50	6	11	7	7	12	9	10	8	8	7

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance									
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	6	11	10	10	5	12	13	10	5	13
2	7	6	9	7	6	9	10	11	10	6
3	9	8	5	7	6	7	12	9	8	8
4	7	8	11	7	10	11	8	7	10	8
5	6	5	8	6	11	8	5	8	7	5
6	9	6	7	7	8	7	10	9	8	8
7	6	7	8	4	9	12	7	6	9	9
8	6	7	6	8	7	8	7	10	7	9
9	6	5	6	8	7	8	7	8	7	7
10	7	8	7	7	8	9	10	9	6	10
11	0	7	8	8	7	10	7	10	5	9
12	7	0	5	3	8	5	10	11	8	2
13	8	5	0	6	5	6	9	10	9	7
14	8	3	6	0	9	8	9	8	9	5
15	7	8	5	9	0	11	12	11	8	10
16	10	5	6	8	11	0	11	12	9	3
17	7	10	9	9	12	11	0	5	12	10
18	10	11	10	8	11	12	5	0	13	11
19	5	8	9	9	8	9	12	13	0	10
20	9	2	7	5	10	3	10	11	10	0
21	6	7	6	8	5	10	7	8	7	9

22	7	6	7	7	10	7	6	7	12	6
24	10	7	6	10	7	6	11	10	9	7
25	8	7	10	6	11	10	5	6	9	9
26	8	11	10	10	11	8	7	10	11	9
27	9	8	9	9	10	7	8	9	10	6
28	11	6	7	5	12	7	10	9	12	6
29	10	7	6	6	7	10	9	6	9	9
30	6	7	8	6	7	10	13	12	3	9
31	6	7	6	10	7	10	9	12	7	9
32	6	9	8	12	11	6	7	10	9	9
33	9	6	7	7	8	9	8	5	10	8
35	8	5	4	8	7	6	5	8	11	5
36	6	7	8	8	11	6	7	10	9	7
37	9	8	9	9	8	9	6	7	10	6
38	7	8	7	7	8	9	8	7	8	8
39	8	7	6	6	9	8	5	8	9	7
40	6	7	6	8	7	6	9	8	5	9
41	7	10	7	13	4	11	10	9	10	12
42	7	6	7	5	8	5	12	11	8	4
43	6	9	6	8	5	8	9	6	7	9
44	10	5	8	8	9	4	9	8	11	3
45	12	9	6	6	9	10	5	4	11	9
46	9	6	5	7	6	9	12	9	6	8
47	8	5	8	8	11	6	9	10	11	5
48	10	11	10	12	9	10	9	10	9	9
49	9	6	9	7	12	7	10	9	8	6
50	6	11	8	10	7	10	11	8	5	13

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance									
	21	22	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
1	8	13	10	10	14	13	11	8	6	8
2	9	10	11	9	11	12	8	9	7	9
3	7	8	3	9	11	8	8	3	7	11
4	9	10	13	9	7	8	12	9	7	11
5	8	9	8	6	12	7	9	6	8	8
6	7	10	3	5	11	6	10	3	7	11
7	8	7	12	6	12	13	5	8	8	6
8	4	9	8	4	8	7	9	8	6	6
9	4	5	6	4	12	11	7	6	8	6
10	7	12	7	5	11	8	8	5	3	11
11	6	7	10	8	8	9	11	10	6	6
12	7	6	7	7	11	8	6	7	7	7

13	6	7	6	10	10	9	7	6	8	6
14	8	7	10	6	10	9	5	6	6	10
15	5	10	7	11	11	10	12	7	7	7
16	10	7	6	10	8	7	7	10	10	10
17	7	6	11	5	7	8	10	9	13	9
18	8	7	10	6	10	9	9	6	12	12
19	7	12	9	9	11	10	12	9	3	7
20	9	6	7	9	9	6	6	9	9	9
21	0	7	8	6	8	9	11	6	8	8
22	7	0	7	7	7	10	6	9	13	9
24	8	7	0	8	12	7	9	4	10	10
25	6	7	8	0	10	9	7	6	8	10
26	8	7	12	10	0	7	11	14	10	10
27	9	10	7	9	7	0	12	9	9	11
28	11	6	9	7	11	12	0	9	9	9
29	6	9	4	6	14	9	9	0	8	12
30	8	13	10	8	10	9	9	8	0	8
31	8	9	10	10	10	11	9	12	8	0
32	10	5	6	8	10	9	9	10	12	8
33	5	4	7	5	11	12	6	7	11	7
35	4	5	8	8	8	9	9	8	12	6
36	8	7	6	4	8	7	7	8	8	8
37	5	8	7	7	9	4	12	7	11	9
38	5	6	7	5	11	10	6	5	7	9
39	4	7	10	8	6	9	9	8	10	10
40	4	7	6	6	10	9	11	6	8	8
41	5	8	7	11	9	10	12	9	11	7
42	9	10	9	11	7	6	8	9	5	11
43	4	9	8	8	8	9	11	6	6	10
44	6	5	6	6	8	7	7	8	10	10
45	6	9	8	6	10	7	9	4	10	12
46	5	8	7	9	11	12	8	5	5	9
47	8	3	8	8	6	9	7	10	10	8
48	6	9	8	12	6	7	13	8	10	12
49	7	8	7	5	11	8	4	7	7	9
50	6	9	10	10	8	11	13	8	6	10

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance									
	32	33	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
1	10	9	12	10	11	7	12	6	7	9
2	11	10	7	9	10	8	9	11	10	6
3	9	8	9	7	8	4	9	5	8	6

4	11	12	9	9	8	10	9	11	12	6
5	8	9	6	6	5	7	6	8	13	7
6	9	8	9	5	8	8	9	5	8	8
7	10	5	8	8	9	5	8	8	11	9
8	8	7	6	4	7	5	8	4	7	9
9	6	3	4	6	7	3	8	4	7	11
10	9	10	11	5	10	6	9	7	10	6
11	6	9	8	6	9	7	8	6	7	7
12	9	6	5	7	8	8	7	7	10	6
13	8	7	4	8	9	7	6	6	7	7
14	12	7	8	8	9	7	6	8	13	5
15	11	8	7	11	8	8	9	7	4	8
16	6	9	6	6	9	9	8	6	11	5
17	7	8	5	7	6	8	5	9	10	12
18	10	5	8	10	7	7	8	8	9	11
19	9	10	11	9	10	8	9	5	10	8
20	9	8	5	7	6	8	7	9	12	4
21	10	5	4	8	5	5	4	4	5	9
22	5	4	5	7	8	6	7	7	8	10
24	6	7	8	6	7	7	10	6	7	9
25	8	5	8	4	7	5	8	6	11	11
26	10	11	8	8	9	11	6	10	9	7
27	9	12	9	7	4	10	9	9	10	6
28	9	6	9	7	12	6	9	11	12	8
29	10	7	8	8	7	5	8	6	9	9
30	12	11	12	8	11	7	10	8	11	5
31	8	7	6	8	9	9	10	8	7	11
32	0	9	8	4	9	7	12	6	9	11
33	9	0	5	9	8	6	7	5	6	12
35	8	5	0	8	5	7	4	6	7	9
36	4	9	8	0	7	5	10	6	11	7
37	9	8	5	7	0	6	7	7	10	8
38	7	6	7	5	6	0	9	5	10	8
39	12	7	4	10	7	9	0	8	9	7
40	6	5	6	6	7	5	8	0	7	9
41	9	6	7	11	10	10	9	7	0	12
42	11	12	9	7	8	8	7	9	12	0
43	10	7	6	8	7	5	6	4	7	5
44	8	5	4	6	5	5	8	6	9	7
45	12	7	6	10	5	7	4	8	11	9
46	11	6	7	11	10	6	7	7	8	8
47	6	7	6	6	9	7	10	8	9	9

48	12	11	8	12	7	9	6	10	7	9
49	9	6	9	5	8	4	9	7	10	8
50	8	9	10	10	11	7	10	4	7	9

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50
1	6	12	12	9	14	12	9	6
2	7	7	11	8	9	11	10	11
3	5	7	7	6	9	7	6	7
4	7	9	9	8	7	9	12	7
5	8	8	6	9	10	10	7	12
6	7	7	7	8	9	9	6	9
7	8	10	8	9	10	14	7	10
8	6	6	8	9	8	10	5	8
9	6	4	8	5	6	10	5	8
10	5	9	7	6	11	11	6	7
11	6	10	12	9	8	10	9	6
12	9	5	9	6	5	11	6	11
13	6	8	6	5	8	10	9	8
14	8	8	6	7	8	12	7	10
15	5	9	9	6	11	9	12	7
16	8	4	10	9	6	10	7	10
17	9	9	5	12	9	9	10	11
18	6	8	4	9	10	10	9	8
19	7	11	11	6	11	9	8	5
20	9	3	9	8	5	9	6	13
21	4	6	6	5	8	6	7	6
22	9	5	9	8	3	9	8	9
24	8	6	8	7	8	8	7	10
25	8	6	6	9	8	12	5	10
26	8	8	10	11	6	6	11	8
27	9	7	7	12	9	7	8	11
28	11	7	9	8	7	13	4	13
29	6	8	4	5	10	8	7	8
30	6	10	10	5	10	10	7	6
31	10	10	12	9	8	12	9	10
32	10	8	12	11	6	12	9	8
33	7	5	7	6	7	11	6	9
35	6	4	6	7	6	8	9	10
36	8	6	10	11	6	12	5	10
37	7	5	5	10	9	7	8	11
38	5	5	7	6	7	9	4	7

39	6	8	4	7	10	6	9	10
40	4	6	8	7	8	10	7	4
41	7	9	11	8	9	7	10	7
42	5	7	9	8	9	9	8	9
43	0	6	6	5	10	8	9	4
44	6	0	8	7	4	8	5	10
45	6	8	0	7	12	8	9	10
46	5	7	7	0	7	7	8	5
47	10	4	12	7	0	8	7	8
48	8	8	8	7	8	0	9	8
49	9	5	9	8	7	9	0	11
50	4	10	10	5	8	8	11	0

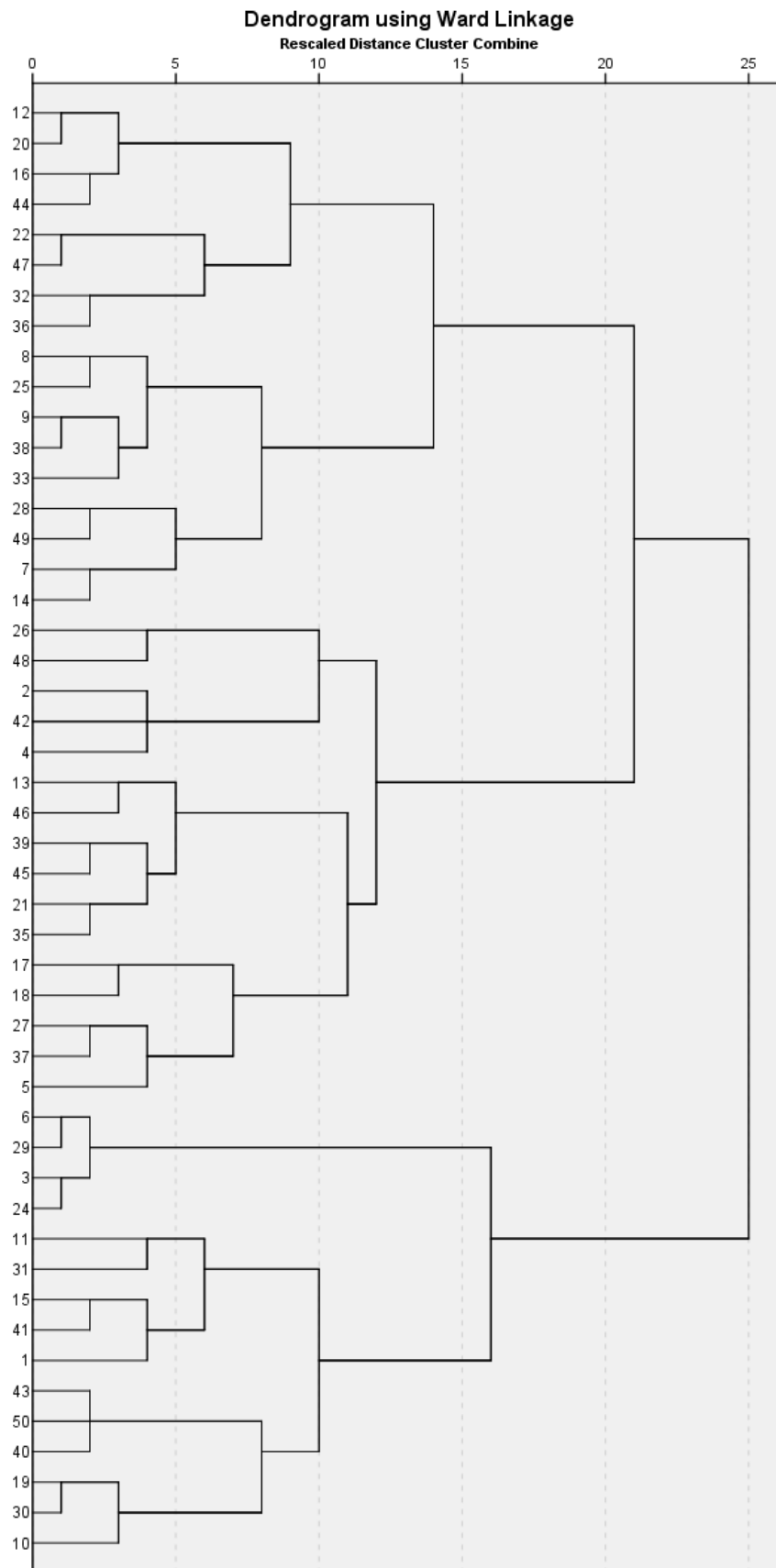


Figure 6. Dendrogram illustrating clustering of early migration phase data (excluding employment variables).

Appendix K: Current Migration Phase (including employment variables) Figures: Proximity Matrix & Dendrogram

Table 23.

Binary Squared Euclidean Distance Proximity Matrix for Current Migration Phase Data (including employment variables)

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
1	0	8	7	14	11	9	7	10
2	8	0	7	10	9	9	9	10
3	7	7	0	11	8	8	6	7
4	14	10	11	0	11	13	11	14
5	11	9	8	11	0	8	8	5
7	9	9	8	13	8	0	8	7
8	7	9	6	11	8	8	0	5
9	10	10	7	14	5	7	5	0
10	7	9	6	9	8	6	6	9
11	10	6	7	10	9	5	9	6
12	7	7	8	11	8	8	6	9
13	9	5	6	7	10	8	6	11
15	6	6	5	10	13	11	5	10
16	8	6	7	10	11	11	5	10
18	11	11	8	7	10	10	8	11
19	6	12	7	12	7	9	5	8
22	8	10	7	12	13	7	7	8
24	8	8	5	12	9	7	9	10
25	9	11	8	11	8	6	4	7
26	10	10	11	10	9	11	7	10
27	13	11	10	7	10	8	8	11
29	10	12	5	10	11	7	5	6
32	11	13	8	7	8	8	8	9
34	7	7	4	11	12	8	6	9
35	5	11	6	13	10	8	4	7
36	10	12	7	10	11	9	5	10
37	11	11	6	9	10	8	4	9
41	5	9	8	11	14	12	6	11
42	8	8	5	8	9	9	5	8
43	8	8	5	8	9	9	5	8
44	8	10	9	10	9	11	7	10

45	11	9	10	9	12	10	12	15
47	14	14	11	12	11	11	11	10
48	9	9	8	5	8	12	6	11
49	4	10	7	10	9	9	5	8

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	10	11	12	13	15	16	18	19
1	7	10	7	9	6	8	11	6
2	9	6	7	5	6	6	11	12
3	6	7	8	6	5	7	8	7
4	9	10	11	7	10	10	7	12
5	8	9	8	10	13	11	10	7
7	6	5	8	8	11	11	10	9
8	6	9	6	6	5	5	8	5
9	9	6	9	11	10	10	11	8
10	0	7	8	8	7	11	4	7
11	7	0	9	9	10	12	9	10
12	8	9	0	4	9	5	10	7
13	8	9	4	0	5	3	8	9
15	7	10	9	5	0	4	7	10
16	11	12	5	3	4	0	9	10
18	4	9	10	8	7	9	0	11
19	7	10	7	9	10	10	11	0
22	9	8	7	5	6	6	9	8
24	5	8	9	9	6	10	7	10
25	4	9	6	8	9	7	6	7
26	11	10	7	7	10	8	11	6
27	8	9	8	6	11	7	6	11
29	5	8	9	7	6	8	5	8
32	4	9	10	10	11	13	6	9
34	8	9	6	4	3	3	8	9
35	8	11	6	6	5	5	8	7
36	5	12	11	7	6	8	5	8
37	4	11	10	6	5	7	4	9
41	10	11	10	8	3	5	8	11
42	5	8	7	5	4	6	3	8
43	5	8	7	5	4	6	3	8
44	7	12	7	7	6	6	5	10
45	8	11	8	6	9	9	8	11
47	9	8	13	15	12	16	9	10
48	8	9	8	6	7	7	6	7
49	5	8	7	9	8	10	9	4

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	22	24	25	26	27	29	32	34
1	8	8	9	10	13	10	11	7
2	10	8	11	10	11	12	13	7
3	7	5	8	11	10	5	8	4
4	12	12	11	10	7	10	7	11
5	13	9	8	9	10	11	8	12
7	7	7	6	11	8	7	8	8
8	7	9	4	7	8	5	8	6
9	8	10	7	10	11	6	9	9
10	9	5	4	11	8	5	4	8
11	8	8	9	10	9	8	9	9
12	7	9	6	7	8	9	10	6
13	5	9	8	7	6	7	10	4
15	6	6	9	10	11	6	11	3
16	6	10	7	8	7	8	13	3
18	9	7	6	11	6	5	6	8
19	8	10	7	6	11	8	9	9
22	0	10	7	10	9	4	11	3
24	10	0	9	14	11	8	9	7
25	7	9	0	11	6	5	6	6
26	10	14	11	0	7	10	11	11
27	9	11	6	7	0	7	8	10
29	4	8	5	10	7	0	7	5
32	11	9	6	11	8	7	0	10
34	3	7	6	11	10	5	10	0
35	5	9	6	9	10	5	10	4
36	6	8	5	12	7	4	7	7
37	7	7	4	11	6	3	6	6
41	9	9	10	9	10	9	12	6
42	6	6	7	10	9	4	9	5
43	6	6	7	10	9	4	9	5
44	8	8	7	10	9	8	9	7
45	9	9	10	11	10	11	10	8
47	12	10	11	10	13	10	9	13
48	11	9	10	5	6	9	10	10
49	8	8	7	10	11	8	7	9

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	35	36	37	41	42	43	44	45
1	5	10	11	5	8	8	8	11
2	11	12	11	9	8	8	10	9
3	6	7	6	8	5	5	9	10
4	13	10	9	11	8	8	10	9
5	10	11	10	14	9	9	9	12
7	8	9	8	12	9	9	11	10
8	4	5	4	6	5	5	7	12
9	7	10	9	11	8	8	10	15
10	8	5	4	10	5	5	7	8
11	11	12	11	11	8	8	12	11
12	6	11	10	10	7	7	7	8
13	6	7	6	8	5	5	7	6
15	5	6	5	3	4	4	6	9
16	5	8	7	5	6	6	6	9
18	8	5	4	8	3	3	5	8
19	7	8	9	11	8	8	10	11
22	5	6	7	9	6	6	8	9
24	9	8	7	9	6	6	8	9
25	6	5	4	10	7	7	7	10
26	9	12	11	9	10	10	10	11
27	10	7	6	10	9	9	9	10
29	5	4	3	9	4	4	8	11
32	10	7	6	12	9	9	9	10
34	4	7	6	6	5	5	7	8
35	0	7	6	4	5	5	5	10
36	7	0	1	9	6	6	8	11
37	6	1	0	8	5	5	7	10
41	4	9	8	0	7	7	7	12
42	5	6	5	7	0	0	4	7
43	5	6	5	7	0	0	4	7
44	5	8	7	7	4	4	0	5
45	10	11	10	12	7	7	5	0
47	13	12	11	13	10	10	10	11
48	8	9	8	6	5	5	7	10
49	7	8	9	9	6	6	6	9

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance		
	47	48	49
1	14	9	4
2	14	9	10
3	11	8	7
4	12	5	10
5	11	8	9
7	11	12	9
8	11	6	5
9	10	11	8
10	9	8	5
11	8	9	8
12	13	8	7
13	15	6	9
15	12	7	8
16	16	7	10
18	9	6	9
19	10	7	4
22	12	11	8
24	10	9	8
25	11	10	7
26	10	5	10
27	13	6	11
29	10	9	8
32	9	10	7
34	13	10	9
35	13	8	7
36	12	9	8
37	11	8	9
41	13	6	9
42	10	5	6
43	10	5	6
44	10	7	6
45	11	10	9
47	0	11	10
48	11	0	7
49	10	7	0

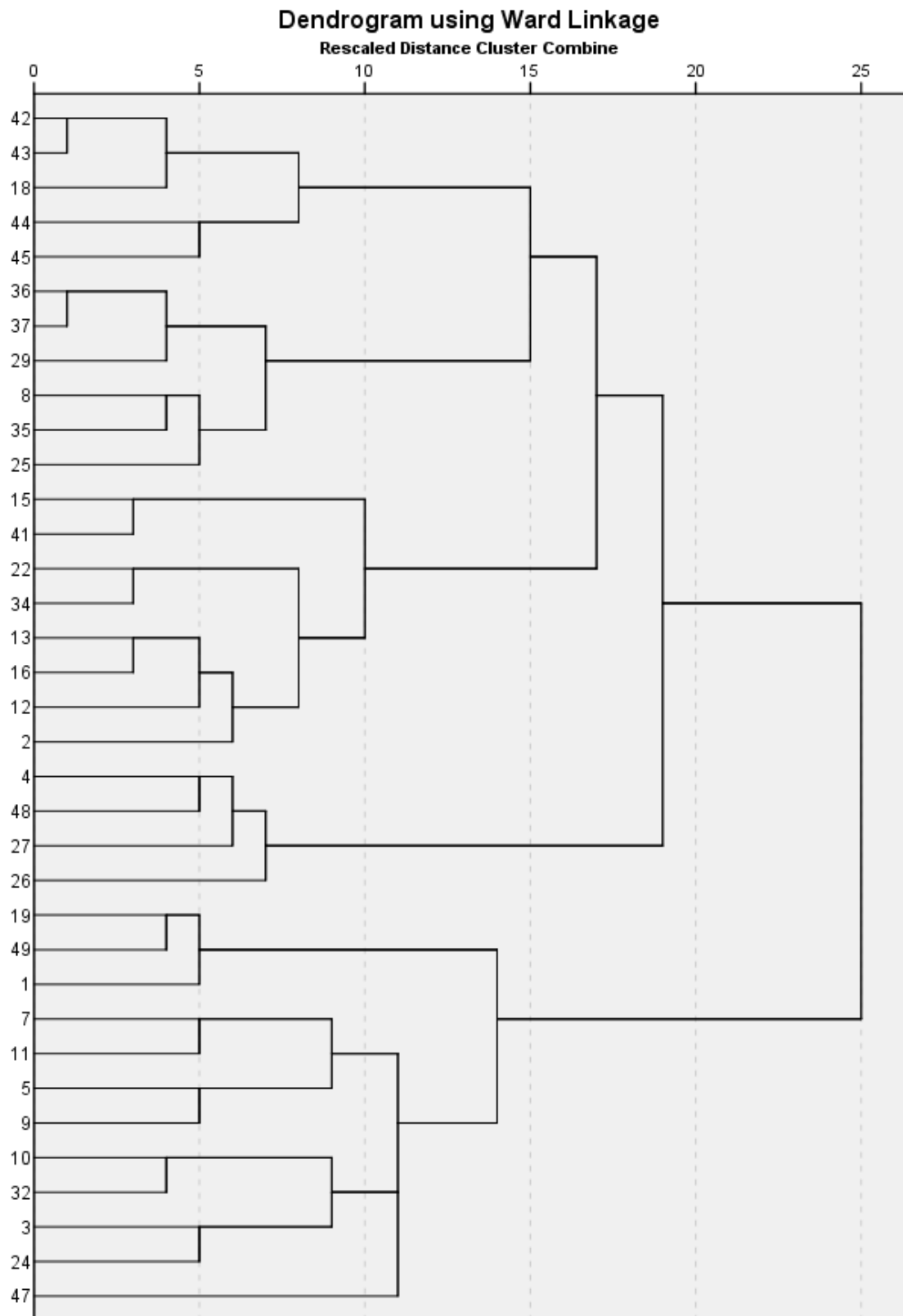


Figure 7. Dendrogram illustrating clustering of current migration phase data (including employment variables).

Appendix L: Current Migration Phase (excluding employment variables) Figures: Proximity Matrix & Dendrogram

Table 24.

Binary Squared Euclidean Distance Proximity Matrix for Current Migration Phase Data (excluding employment variables)

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	0	6	6	14	9	8	7	7	7
2	6	0	6	8	9	10	7	7	9
3	6	6	0	10	7	4	5	5	5
4	14	8	10	0	9	12	11	11	11
5	9	9	7	9	0	5	6	6	4
6	8	10	4	12	5	0	7	7	7
7	7	7	5	11	6	7	0	6	6
8	7	7	5	11	6	7	6	0	2
9	7	9	5	11	4	7	6	2	0
10	7	7	5	9	6	7	4	6	6
11	7	5	5	7	8	9	4	6	6
12	7	5	7	11	6	9	6	6	6
13	9	3	5	7	8	9	6	6	8
14	9	7	3	7	8	7	4	6	6
15	6	4	4	10	11	8	9	5	7
16	8	4	6	10	9	8	9	5	7
17	13	9	11	9	6	11	8	6	6
18	11	9	7	7	8	9	8	8	8
19	6	10	6	12	5	4	7	5	5
20	9	9	5	9	4	5	8	6	6
21	11	9	7	9	8	7	8	6	6
22	7	7	5	11	10	9	6	6	6
24	7	7	3	11	8	5	6	8	8
25	9	9	7	11	6	7	4	4	4
26	9	7	9	9	6	7	10	6	8
27	12	8	8	6	7	8	7	7	9
28	8	8	2	10	7	6	5	3	3
29	9	9	3	9	8	7	6	4	4
30	7	7	3	11	8	7	6	4	4
31	9	7	7	11	10	9	8	6	8
32	11	11	7	7	6	9	6	8	6
33	6	8	8	12	9	10	5	5	5

34	7	5	3	11	10	7	6	6	6
35	5	9	5	13	8	7	6	4	4
36	10	10	6	10	9	8	7	5	7
37	11	9	5	9	8	7	6	4	6
41	5	7	7	11	12	9	10	6	8
42	8	6	4	8	7	8	7	5	5
43	8	6	4	8	7	8	7	5	5
44	8	8	8	10	7	8	9	7	7
45	11	7	9	9	10	9	8	12	12
47	12	12	10	10	9	8	9	9	9
48	9	7	7	5	6	7	10	6	8
49	4	8	6	10	7	8	7	5	5
50	12	12	10	10	11	10	9	11	9

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	7	7	7	9	9	6	8	13	11
2	7	5	5	3	7	4	4	9	9
3	5	5	7	5	3	4	6	11	7
4	9	7	11	7	7	10	10	9	7
5	6	8	6	8	8	11	9	6	8
6	7	9	9	9	7	8	8	11	9
7	4	4	6	6	4	9	9	8	8
8	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	6	8
9	6	6	6	8	6	7	7	6	8
10	0	4	8	8	6	7	11	8	4
11	4	0	6	6	4	7	9	10	6
12	8	6	0	4	6	9	5	8	10
13	8	6	4	0	4	5	3	8	8
14	6	4	6	4	0	7	7	10	8
15	7	7	9	5	7	0	4	11	7
16	11	9	5	3	7	4	0	7	9
17	8	10	8	8	10	11	7	0	8
18	4	6	10	8	8	7	9	8	0
19	7	7	7	9	7	10	10	11	11
20	8	8	4	6	6	9	7	10	8
21	6	8	12	8	8	5	9	8	6
22	8	6	6	4	4	5	5	10	8
24	4	6	8	8	6	5	9	12	6
25	4	6	6	8	6	9	7	4	6
26	10	8	6	6	10	9	7	10	10
27	7	7	7	5	7	10	6	5	5

28	5	5	7	5	3	4	6	9	5
29	4	6	8	6	4	5	7	8	4
30	6	6	6	4	4	3	5	10	6
31	10	10	8	4	8	5	5	10	8
32	4	6	10	10	6	11	13	8	6
33	9	7	5	7	5	8	6	9	11
34	8	6	6	4	4	3	3	10	8
35	8	8	6	6	6	5	5	10	8
36	5	9	11	7	7	6	8	7	5
37	4	8	10	6	6	5	7	6	4
41	10	8	10	8	10	3	5	12	8
42	5	5	7	5	5	4	6	9	3
43	5	5	7	5	5	4	6	9	3
44	7	9	7	7	7	6	6	9	5
45	8	8	8	6	6	9	9	10	8
47	7	7	11	13	9	10	14	13	7
48	8	6	8	6	8	7	7	10	6
49	5	5	7	9	5	8	10	11	9
50	13	9	9	9	9	10	10	13	11

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	19	20	21	22	24	25	26	27	28
1	6	9	11	7	7	9	9	12	8
2	10	9	9	7	7	9	7	8	8
3	6	5	7	5	3	7	9	8	2
4	12	9	9	11	11	11	9	6	10
5	5	4	8	10	8	6	6	7	7
6	4	5	7	9	5	7	7	8	6
7	7	8	8	6	6	4	10	7	5
8	5	6	6	6	8	4	6	7	3
9	5	6	6	6	8	4	8	9	3
10	7	8	6	8	4	4	10	7	5
11	7	8	8	6	6	6	8	7	5
12	7	4	12	6	8	6	6	7	7
13	9	6	8	4	8	8	6	5	5
14	7	6	8	4	6	6	10	7	3
15	10	9	5	5	5	9	9	10	4
16	10	7	9	5	9	7	7	6	6
17	11	10	8	10	12	4	10	5	9
18	11	8	6	8	6	6	10	5	5
19	0	5	9	7	9	7	5	10	6
20	5	0	10	8	6	8	6	7	5

21	9	10	0	8	6	8	10	9	5
22	7	8	8	0	8	6	10	9	3
24	9	6	6	8	0	8	12	9	5
25	7	8	8	6	8	0	10	5	5
26	5	6	10	10	12	10	0	7	9
27	10	7	9	9	9	5	7	0	8
28	6	5	5	3	5	5	9	8	0
29	7	6	6	4	6	4	10	7	1
30	7	6	6	2	6	6	8	9	1
31	9	8	6	6	10	10	6	9	5
32	9	10	8	10	8	6	10	7	7
33	8	9	11	5	11	5	9	10	6
34	9	8	8	2	6	6	10	9	3
35	7	6	8	4	8	6	8	9	3
36	8	9	5	5	7	5	11	6	4
37	9	8	4	6	6	4	10	5	3
41	11	10	8	8	8	10	8	9	7
42	8	5	5	5	5	7	9	8	2
43	8	5	5	5	5	7	9	8	2
44	10	7	7	7	7	7	9	8	6
45	11	10	8	8	8	10	10	9	9
47	8	9	7	11	7	9	9	12	8
48	7	4	8	10	8	10	4	5	7
49	4	7	9	7	7	7	9	10	6
50	10	9	9	7	11	11	9	12	8

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
1	9	7	9	11	6	7	5	10	11
2	9	7	7	11	8	5	9	10	9
3	3	3	7	7	8	3	5	6	5
4	9	11	11	7	12	11	13	10	9
5	8	8	10	6	9	10	8	9	8
6	7	7	9	9	10	7	7	8	7
7	6	6	8	6	5	6	6	7	6
8	4	4	6	8	5	6	4	5	4
9	4	4	8	6	5	6	4	7	6
10	4	6	10	4	9	8	8	5	4
11	6	6	10	6	7	6	8	9	8
12	8	6	8	10	5	6	6	11	10
13	6	4	4	10	7	4	6	7	6
14	4	4	8	6	5	4	6	7	6

15	5	3	5	11	8	3	5	6	5
16	7	5	5	13	6	3	5	8	7
17	8	10	10	8	9	10	10	7	6
18	4	6	8	6	11	8	8	5	4
19	7	7	9	9	8	9	7	8	9
20	6	6	8	10	9	8	6	9	8
21	6	6	6	8	11	8	8	5	4
22	4	2	6	10	5	2	4	5	6
24	6	6	10	8	11	6	8	7	6
25	4	6	10	6	5	6	6	5	4
26	10	8	6	10	9	10	8	11	10
27	7	9	9	7	10	9	9	6	5
28	1	1	5	7	6	3	3	4	3
29	0	2	6	6	7	4	4	3	2
30	2	0	4	8	5	2	2	5	4
31	6	4	0	12	7	6	4	7	6
32	6	8	12	0	9	10	10	7	6
33	7	5	7	9	0	5	3	10	9
34	4	2	6	10	5	0	4	7	6
35	4	2	4	10	3	4	0	7	6
36	3	5	7	7	10	7	7	0	1
37	2	4	6	6	9	6	6	1	0
41	8	6	6	12	7	6	4	9	8
42	3	3	5	9	8	5	5	6	5
43	3	3	5	9	8	5	5	6	5
44	7	5	7	9	6	7	5	8	7
45	10	8	8	10	9	8	10	11	10
47	9	9	11	7	10	11	11	10	9
48	8	8	8	10	11	10	8	9	8
49	7	7	11	7	6	9	7	8	9
50	9	7	7	11	8	7	7	12	11

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	41	42	43	44	45	47	48	49	50
1	5	8	8	8	11	12	9	4	12
2	7	6	6	8	7	12	7	8	12
3	7	4	4	8	9	10	7	6	10
4	11	8	8	10	9	10	5	10	10
5	12	7	7	7	10	9	6	7	11
6	9	8	8	8	9	8	7	8	10
7	10	7	7	9	8	9	10	7	9
8	6	5	5	7	12	9	6	5	11

9	8	5	5	7	12	9	8	5	9
10	10	5	5	7	8	7	8	5	13
11	8	5	5	9	8	7	6	5	9
12	10	7	7	7	8	11	8	7	9
13	8	5	5	7	6	13	6	9	9
14	10	5	5	7	6	9	8	5	9
15	3	4	4	6	9	10	7	8	10
16	5	6	6	6	9	14	7	10	10
17	12	9	9	9	10	13	10	11	13
18	8	3	3	5	8	7	6	9	11
19	11	8	8	10	11	8	7	4	10
20	10	5	5	7	10	9	4	7	9
21	8	5	5	7	8	7	8	9	9
22	8	5	5	7	8	11	10	7	7
24	8	5	5	7	8	7	8	7	11
25	10	7	7	7	10	9	10	7	11
26	8	9	9	9	10	9	4	9	9
27	9	8	8	8	9	12	5	10	12
28	7	2	2	6	9	8	7	6	8
29	8	3	3	7	10	9	8	7	9
30	6	3	3	5	8	9	8	7	7
31	6	5	5	7	8	11	8	11	7
32	12	9	9	9	10	7	10	7	11
33	7	8	8	6	9	10	11	6	8
34	6	5	5	7	8	11	10	9	7
35	4	5	5	5	10	11	8	7	7
36	9	6	6	8	11	10	9	8	12
37	8	5	5	7	10	9	8	9	11
41	0	7	7	7	12	11	6	9	9
42	7	0	0	4	7	8	5	6	10
43	7	0	0	4	7	8	5	6	10
44	7	4	4	0	5	8	7	6	12
45	12	7	7	5	0	9	10	9	11
47	11	8	8	8	9	0	9	8	8
48	6	5	5	7	10	9	0	7	11
49	9	6	6	6	9	8	7	0	14
50	9	10	10	12	11	8	11	14	0

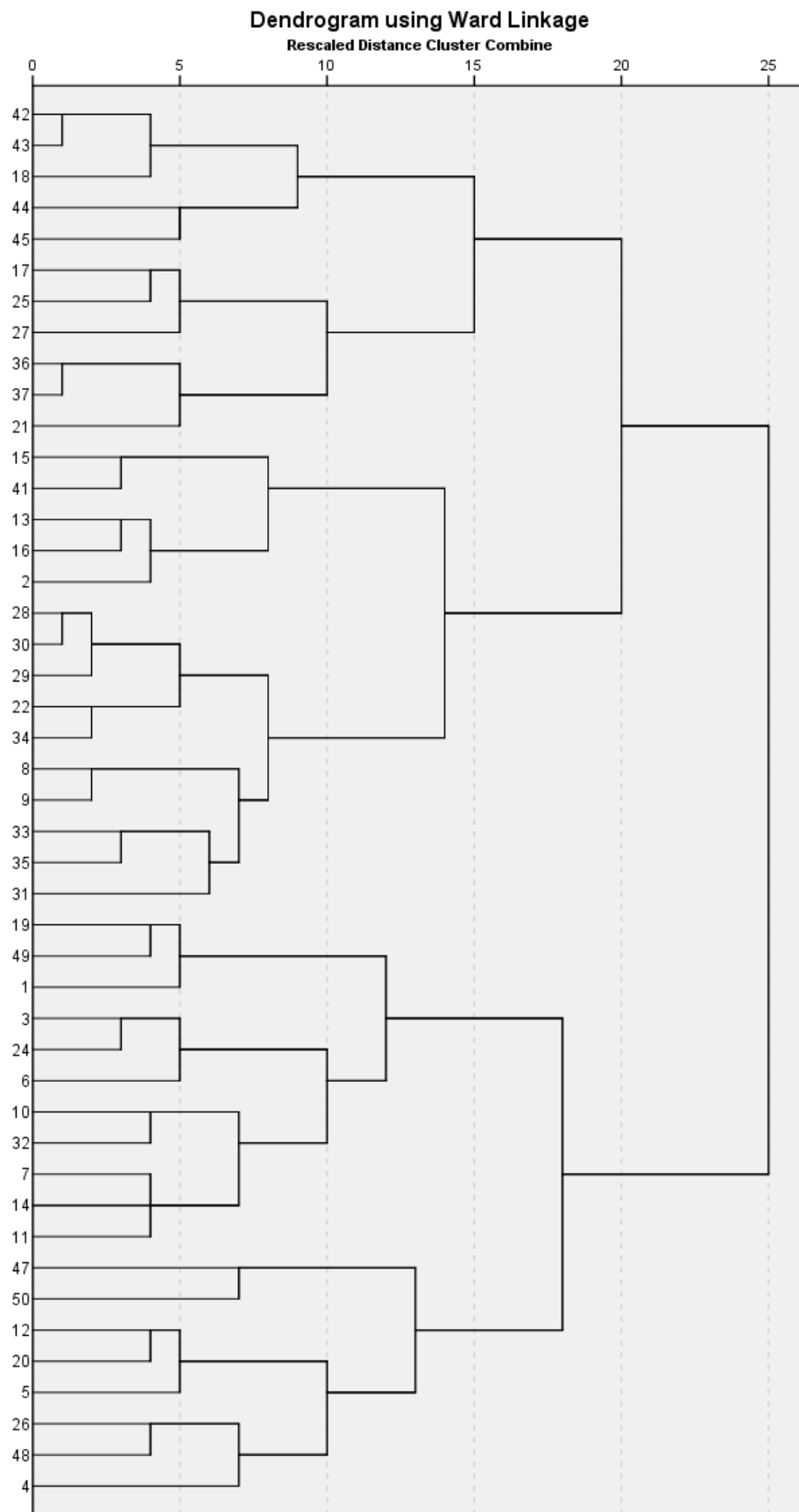


Figure 8. Dendrogram illustrating clustering of current migration phase data (excluding employment variables).

Appendix M: Current Migration Phase (variables measured once) Figures: Proximity Matrix & Dendrogram

Table 25.

Binary Squared Euclidean Distance Proximity Matrix for Current Migration Phase Data (variables measured once)

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	1	2	3	5	6	8	9	10
1	0	10	8	9	9	10	11	5
2	10	0	6	11	11	6	11	9
3	8	6	0	13	13	6	13	13
5	9	11	13	0	6	11	10	8
6	9	11	13	6	0	9	10	8
8	10	6	6	11	9	0	11	11
9	11	11	13	10	10	11	0	10
10	5	9	13	8	8	11	10	0
12	7	11	11	10	12	11	14	8
13	8	8	8	13	11	10	13	11
15	11	7	9	18	14	9	12	14
16	10	6	8	9	9	6	9	7
17	16	10	10	17	15	10	11	17
18	11	7	7	10	12	9	6	10
19	9	11	13	10	6	9	12	10
20	15	13	17	14	12	15	12	10
24	13	15	17	12	10	15	14	10
25	11	5	7	12	14	7	10	12
27	13	11	15	10	10	9	12	10
28	10	10	12	9	11	10	11	7
29	12	12	14	11	9	10	11	11
31	15	13	15	10	10	13	12	14
32	11	9	7	14	10	7	10	12
33	16	10	14	13	11	8	9	13
34	14	12	10	15	13	8	11	13
35	16	8	10	11	11	10	13	13
36	12	10	8	13	11	6	9	11
37	8	10	8	13	11	8	11	9
38	10	12	16	7	9	12	11	5
39	8	4	10	11	11	8	9	5
40	10	8	10	11	9	8	7	9
41	10	10	8	13	11	6	13	11

42	12	8	8	11	15	8	11	11
43	8	12	8	13	13	10	11	11
44	13	13	15	12	12	11	10	12
45	14	14	14	13	9	12	17	13
46	10	10	10	9	11	8	17	11
47	12	12	16	11	11	14	17	11
48	10	8	10	9	7	8	9	9
50	9	7	11	10	10	9	8	8

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	12	13	15	16	17	18	19	20
1	7	8	11	10	16	11	9	15
2	11	8	7	6	10	7	11	13
3	11	8	9	8	10	7	13	17
5	10	13	18	9	17	10	10	14
6	12	11	14	9	15	12	6	12
8	11	10	9	6	10	9	9	15
9	14	13	12	9	11	6	12	12
10	8	11	14	7	17	10	10	10
12	0	7	12	9	17	12	14	10
13	7	0	7	8	10	9	11	9
15	12	7	0	11	5	12	12	12
16	9	8	11	0	12	7	13	11
17	17	10	5	12	0	11	15	11
18	12	9	12	7	11	0	12	12
19	14	11	12	13	15	12	0	12
20	10	9	12	11	11	12	12	0
24	10	11	14	13	11	14	14	6
25	12	7	8	9	9	6	12	12
27	14	13	8	9	9	12	10	12
28	9	8	13	8	10	9	13	7
29	9	6	9	10	10	11	11	7
31	14	11	12	11	9	14	16	12
32	16	13	10	9	7	8	12	14
33	13	10	7	6	6	9	13	9
34	11	8	7	6	8	9	15	9
35	11	10	9	8	10	9	15	11
36	11	8	9	4	10	7	13	11
37	9	6	11	6	12	7	13	11
38	13	14	17	10	16	13	9	11
39	9	8	9	4	12	7	11	9
40	13	8	9	8	8	7	11	9

41	11	6	9	8	8	9	11	11
42	9	8	9	8	10	7	15	11
43	9	6	9	10	8	11	15	11
44	8	11	10	9	13	16	14	8
45	13	12	11	14	10	19	13	9
46	9	8	11	10	12	13	13	13
47	9	12	15	14	16	17	11	13
48	9	10	11	4	14	9	9	9
50	10	7	8	7	9	8	12	10

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	24	25	27	28	29	31	32	33
1	13	11	13	10	12	15	11	16
2	15	5	11	10	12	13	9	10
3	17	7	15	12	14	15	7	14
5	12	12	10	9	11	10	14	13
6	10	14	10	11	9	10	10	11
8	15	7	9	10	10	13	7	8
9	14	10	12	11	11	12	10	9
10	10	12	10	7	11	14	12	13
12	10	12	14	9	9	14	16	13
13	11	7	13	8	6	11	13	10
15	14	8	8	13	9	12	10	7
16	13	9	9	8	10	11	9	6
17	11	9	9	10	10	9	7	6
18	14	6	12	9	11	14	8	9
19	14	12	10	13	11	16	12	13
20	6	12	12	7	7	12	14	9
24	0	12	12	7	9	6	12	11
25	12	0	12	9	11	10	10	11
27	12	12	0	9	9	8	10	5
28	7	9	9	0	8	9	9	10
29	9	11	9	8	0	9	13	6
31	6	10	8	9	9	0	12	9
32	12	10	10	9	13	12	0	9
33	11	11	5	10	6	9	9	0
34	11	9	7	10	6	9	9	4
35	13	9	7	10	10	9	9	8
36	13	7	9	10	8	11	7	6
37	9	7	13	8	10	11	7	10
38	11	13	9	6	14	11	13	14
39	13	7	9	6	10	13	9	8

40	9	5	9	6	10	9	7	10
41	9	9	9	6	6	9	9	8
42	11	3	9	6	10	9	11	10
43	9	9	13	8	8	9	13	12
44	10	12	10	11	7	8	16	9
45	7	13	11	10	8	7	11	12
46	9	9	9	10	6	7	13	10
47	11	15	13	14	14	11	17	14
48	13	11	9	10	10	13	9	8
50	8	6	8	5	11	8	10	9

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
1	14	16	12	8	10	8	10	10
2	12	8	10	10	12	4	8	10
3	10	10	8	8	16	10	10	8
5	15	11	13	13	7	11	11	13
6	13	11	11	11	9	11	9	11
8	8	10	6	8	12	8	8	6
9	11	13	9	11	11	9	7	13
10	13	13	11	9	5	5	9	11
12	11	11	11	9	13	9	13	11
13	8	10	8	6	14	8	8	6
15	7	9	9	11	17	9	9	9
16	6	8	4	6	10	4	8	8
17	8	10	10	12	16	12	8	8
18	9	9	7	7	13	7	7	9
19	15	15	13	13	9	11	11	11
20	9	11	11	11	11	9	9	11
24	11	13	13	9	11	13	9	9
25	9	9	7	7	13	7	5	9
27	7	7	9	13	9	9	9	9
28	10	10	10	8	6	6	6	6
29	6	10	8	10	14	10	10	6
31	9	9	11	11	11	13	9	9
32	9	9	7	7	13	9	7	9
33	4	8	6	10	14	8	10	8
34	0	6	2	6	16	10	8	6
35	6	0	6	10	14	10	8	12
36	2	6	0	4	14	8	6	8
37	6	10	4	0	12	8	6	6
38	16	14	14	12	0	8	10	12

39	10	10	8	8	8	0	8	10
40	8	8	6	6	10	8	0	8
41	6	12	8	6	12	10	8	0
42	6	6	6	8	12	8	6	8
43	8	14	10	8	14	12	8	4
44	7	11	9	13	13	11	11	11
45	10	10	12	12	12	14	12	10
46	8	10	10	10	14	12	12	6
47	18	14	18	16	10	12	18	16
48	8	8	6	10	12	6	8	12
50	9	9	9	7	9	7	3	7

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	50
1	12	8	13	14	10	12	10	9
2	8	12	13	14	10	12	8	7
3	8	8	15	14	10	16	10	11
5	11	13	12	13	9	11	9	10
6	15	13	12	9	11	11	7	10
8	8	10	11	12	8	14	8	9
9	11	11	10	17	17	17	9	8
10	11	11	12	13	11	11	9	8
12	9	9	8	13	9	9	9	10
13	8	6	11	12	8	12	10	7
15	9	9	10	11	11	15	11	8
16	8	10	9	14	10	14	4	7
17	10	8	13	10	12	16	14	9
18	7	11	16	19	13	17	9	8
19	15	15	14	13	13	11	9	12
20	11	11	8	9	13	13	9	10
24	11	9	10	7	9	11	13	8
25	3	9	12	13	9	15	11	6
27	9	13	10	11	9	13	9	8
28	6	8	11	10	10	14	10	5
29	10	8	7	8	6	14	10	11
31	9	9	8	7	7	11	13	8
32	11	13	16	11	13	17	9	10
33	10	12	9	12	10	14	8	9
34	6	8	7	10	8	18	8	9
35	6	14	11	10	10	14	8	9
36	6	10	9	12	10	18	6	9
37	8	8	13	12	10	16	10	7

38	12	14	13	12	14	10	12	9
39	8	12	11	14	12	12	6	7
40	6	8	11	12	12	18	8	3
41	8	4	11	10	6	16	12	7
42	0	8	9	12	8	16	10	5
43	8	0	9	10	8	16	14	7
44	9	9	0	9	9	13	7	10
45	12	10	9	0	8	12	14	13
46	8	8	9	8	0	10	12	11
47	16	16	13	12	10	0	14	15
48	10	14	7	14	12	14	0	9
50	5	7	10	13	11	15	9	0

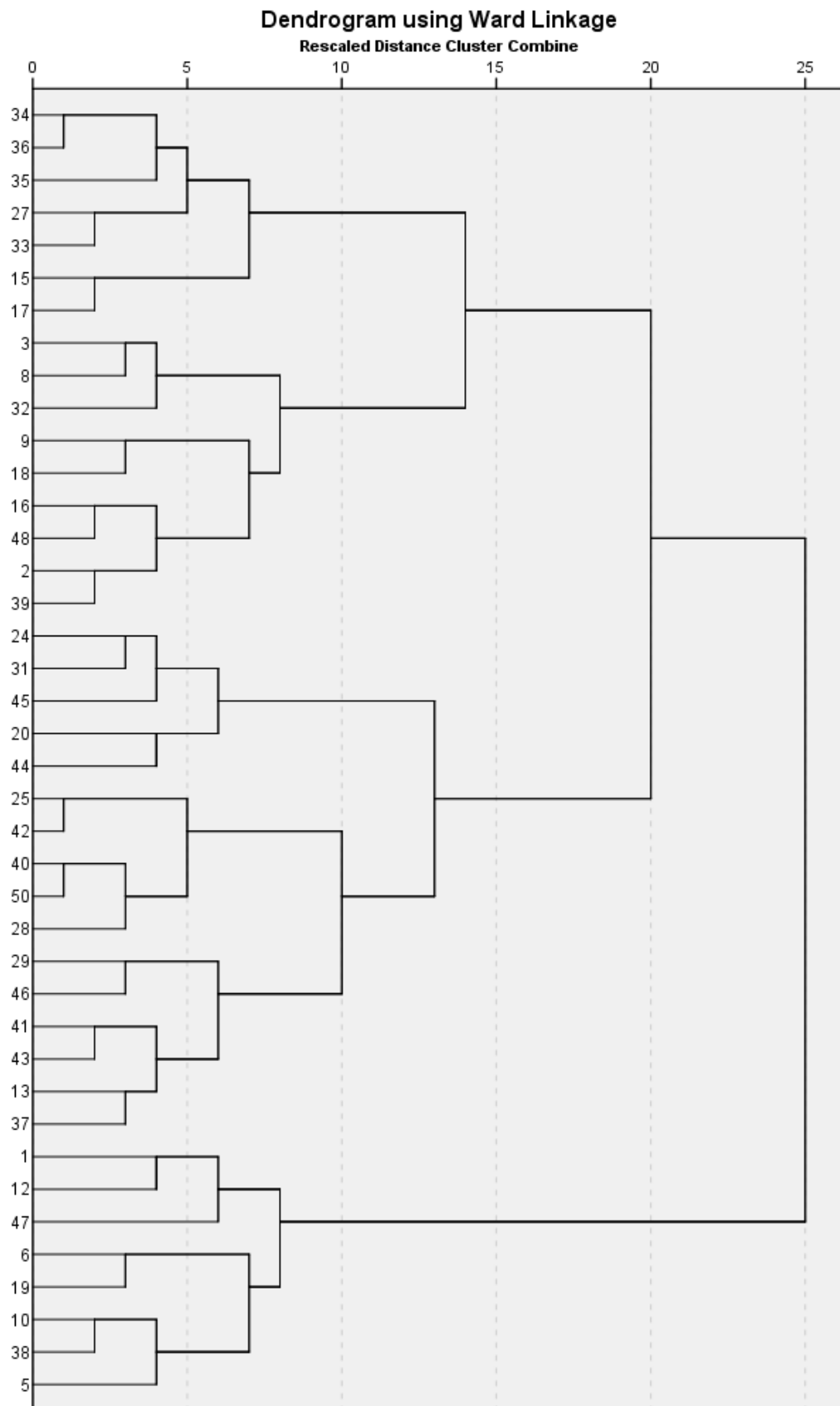


Figure 9. Dendrogram illustrating clustering of current migration phase data (variables only measured once).

Appendix N: Trajectory Variables (including employment variables) Figures: Proximity Matrix & Dendrogram

Table 26.

Binary Squared Euclidean Distance Proximity Matrix for Trajectory Variables (including employment variables)

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	10
1	0	6	15	10	7	6	7	8
2	6	0	9	8	7	8	7	8
4	15	9	0	9	10	13	10	11
5	10	8	9	0	7	6	3	8
7	7	7	10	7	0	5	6	7
8	6	8	13	6	5	0	5	6
9	7	7	10	3	6	5	0	9
10	8	8	11	8	7	6	9	0
11	8	6	7	6	5	6	5	8
13	10	8	11	10	7	6	11	4
15	6	6	13	12	9	6	9	6
16	9	5	10	7	8	7	6	11
18	11	7	6	7	8	7	8	7
19	8	12	15	8	9	6	9	6
24	7	7	10	5	6	3	4	5
25	12	12	11	10	11	8	9	12
28	9	9	8	7	4	5	6	5
31	8	10	13	10	9	6	7	6
34	6	8	13	8	7	4	5	6
35	10	10	11	8	9	6	7	6
36	10	12	13	10	9	4	9	6
37	6	8	13	8	7	4	5	8
39	5	9	14	13	10	7	10	9
40	9	7	10	9	8	7	10	5
41	8	6	9	8	7	6	9	4
42	9	7	10	7	10	7	6	11
43	11	9	14	9	10	9	10	7
44	10	8	7	6	9	10	5	8
45	11	11	8	9	10	9	6	13
46	13	11	8	7	12	9	10	11

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	11	13	15	16	18	19	24	25
1	8	10	6	9	11	8	7	12
2	6	8	6	5	7	12	7	12
4	7	11	13	10	6	15	10	11
5	6	10	12	7	7	8	5	10
7	5	7	9	8	8	9	6	11
8	6	6	6	7	7	6	3	8
9	5	11	9	6	8	9	4	9
10	8	4	6	11	7	6	5	12
11	0	8	10	7	7	10	5	10
13	8	0	4	9	9	8	9	10
15	10	4	0	9	9	10	9	8
16	7	9	9	0	6	9	6	7
18	7	9	9	6	0	11	4	9
19	10	8	10	9	11	0	7	8
24	5	9	9	6	4	7	0	11
25	10	10	8	7	9	8	11	0
28	7	7	7	8	4	9	4	9
31	8	10	8	7	7	6	5	6
34	8	6	4	5	7	6	5	6
35	8	8	8	5	5	6	3	8
36	10	6	6	7	7	6	5	6
37	8	8	6	3	7	6	5	6
39	9	7	3	10	10	11	10	7
40	9	5	5	6	6	7	8	7
41	8	4	4	7	5	8	7	8
42	9	11	9	2	6	9	6	7
43	13	7	7	6	8	7	10	7
44	8	8	8	9	9	10	9	10
45	7	13	11	6	8	9	8	5
46	7	9	11	8	8	9	10	5

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance							
	28	31	34	35	36	37	39	40
1	9	8	6	10	10	6	5	9
2	9	10	8	10	12	8	9	7
4	8	13	13	11	13	13	14	10
5	7	10	8	8	10	8	13	9
7	4	9	7	9	9	7	10	8
8	5	6	4	6	4	4	7	7

9	6	7	5	7	9	5	10	10
10	5	6	6	6	6	8	9	5
11	7	8	8	8	10	8	9	9
13	7	10	6	8	6	8	7	5
15	7	8	4	8	6	6	3	5
16	8	7	5	5	7	3	10	6
18	4	7	7	5	7	7	10	6
19	9	6	6	6	6	6	11	7
24	4	5	5	3	5	5	10	8
25	9	6	6	8	6	6	7	7
28	0	7	5	5	5	5	10	6
31	7	0	4	4	4	4	7	7
34	5	4	0	4	4	2	5	5
35	5	4	4	0	2	4	9	5
36	5	4	4	2	0	4	7	5
37	5	4	2	4	4	0	7	5
39	10	7	5	9	7	7	0	8
40	6	7	5	5	5	5	8	0
41	5	8	4	6	6	6	7	1
42	8	7	5	5	7	3	10	6
43	8	7	5	7	7	5	10	4
44	7	12	8	10	12	8	11	9
45	8	7	7	7	9	5	10	10
46	10	11	11	9	9	9	10	8

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance					
	41	42	43	44	45	46
1	8	9	11	10	11	13
2	6	7	9	8	11	11
4	9	10	14	7	8	8
5	8	7	9	6	9	7
7	7	10	10	9	10	12
8	6	7	9	10	9	9
9	9	6	10	5	6	10
10	4	11	7	8	13	11
11	8	9	13	8	7	7
13	4	11	7	8	13	9
15	4	9	7	8	11	11
16	7	2	6	9	6	8
18	5	6	8	9	8	8
19	8	9	7	10	9	9
24	7	6	10	9	8	10

25	8	7	7	10	5	5
28	5	8	8	7	8	10
31	8	7	7	12	7	11
34	4	5	5	8	7	11
35	6	5	7	10	7	9
36	6	7	7	12	9	9
37	6	3	5	8	5	9
39	7	10	10	11	10	10
40	1	6	4	9	10	8
41	0	7	5	8	11	9
42	7	0	6	9	4	8
43	5	6	0	9	10	10
44	8	9	9	0	7	7
45	11	4	10	7	0	6
46	9	8	10	7	6	0

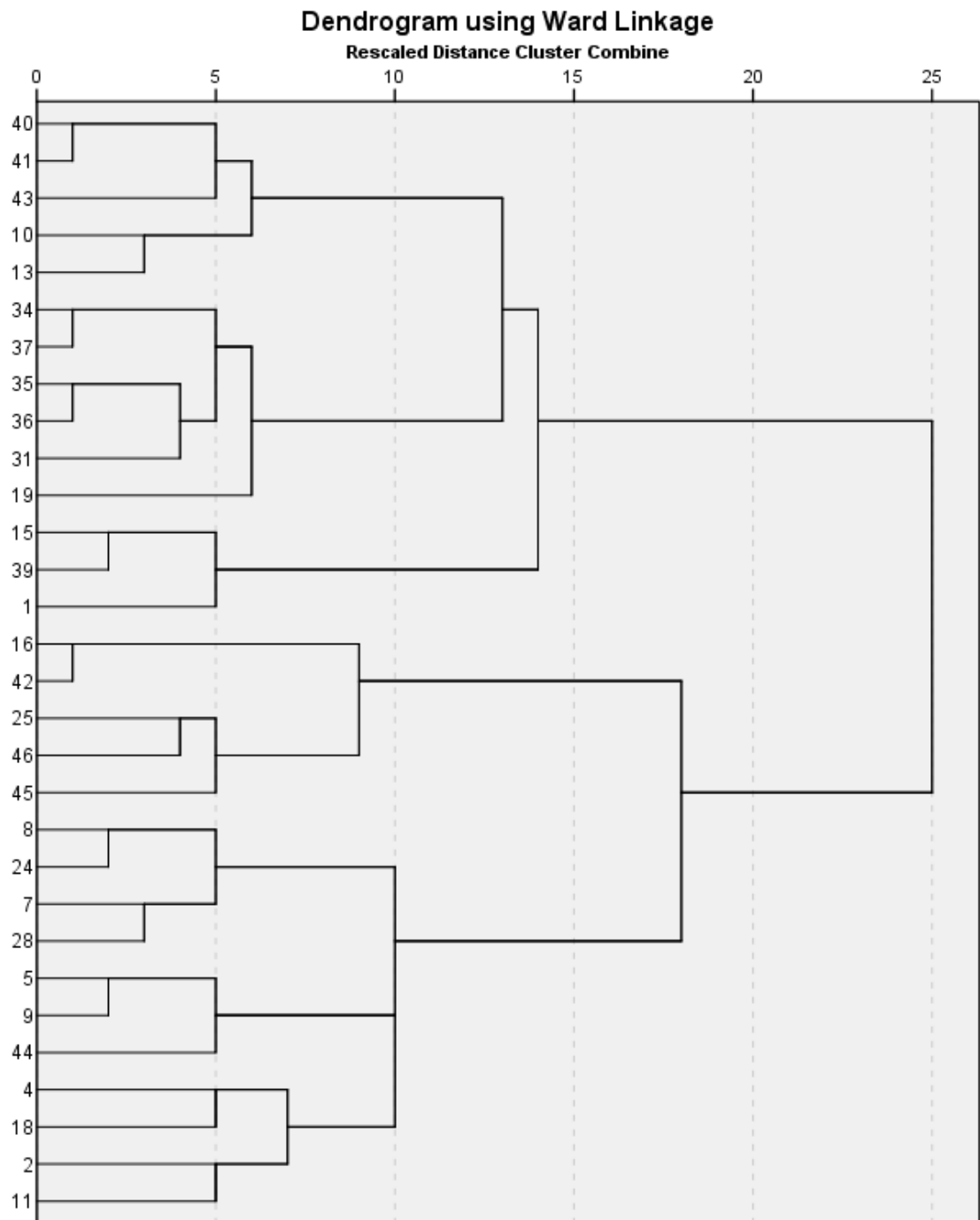


Figure 10. Dendrogram illustrating clustering of trajectory variables (including employment variables).

Appendix O: Trajectory Variables (excluding employment variables) Proximity Matrix & Dendrogram

Table 27.

Binary Squared Euclidean Distance Proximity Matrix for Trajectory Variables (excluding employment variables)

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	0	5	8	13	8	7	6	6	5
2	5	0	7	8	7	8	5	7	6
3	8	7	0	11	6	1	6	6	7
4	13	8	11	0	9	12	9	11	10
5	8	7	6	9	0	5	6	4	3
6	7	8	1	12	5	0	7	5	6
7	6	5	6	9	6	7	0	4	5
8	6	7	6	11	4	5	4	0	3
9	5	6	7	10	3	6	5	3	0
10	7	6	5	8	5	6	5	5	6
11	6	5	8	7	6	7	4	4	5
12	7	6	5	10	5	4	5	5	4
13	9	6	5	8	7	6	5	5	8
14	10	7	4	7	6	5	4	6	7
15	5	4	5	10	9	6	7	5	6
16	8	5	6	9	6	5	6	6	5
17	11	8	11	8	5	10	7	5	6
18	10	7	6	5	6	7	6	6	7
19	7	10	5	12	5	4	7	5	6
20	8	7	4	11	4	3	8	6	5
21	8	9	6	9	6	5	8	4	5
22	7	6	5	10	7	4	5	5	4
23	6	7	2	13	6	1	8	6	5
24	6	7	6	9	4	5	4	2	3
25	10	9	8	9	8	7	10	6	7
26	12	11	6	9	6	5	10	6	9
27	7	6	3	10	7	4	5	5	4
28	8	7	4	7	6	5	4	4	5
29	6	5	4	9	6	5	4	4	3
30	6	9	6	13	8	5	6	4	5
31	7	8	7	10	7	6	7	5	4
32	4	7	6	11	6	5	4	4	3

34	5	6	5	10	5	4	5	3	2
35	8	9	4	9	6	3	6	4	5
36	9	10	5	10	7	4	7	3	6
37	6	7	4	11	6	3	6	4	3
38	4	7	6	11	6	5	6	4	3
39	4	7	8	11	10	7	8	6	7
40	8	5	4	7	6	5	6	6	7
41	7	4	5	6	5	6	5	5	6
42	8	7	6	9	6	5	8	6	5
43	10	7	4	11	6	5	8	8	7
44	8	7	6	7	6	7	8	8	5
45	9	10	7	8	9	6	9	7	6
46	11	10	7	8	7	6	11	7	10
47	8	9	4	11	4	3	6	4	5
48	9	8	5	8	9	6	7	7	6

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	7	6	7	9	10	5	8	11	10
2	6	5	6	6	7	4	5	8	7
3	5	8	5	5	4	5	6	11	6
4	8	7	10	8	7	10	9	8	5
5	5	6	5	7	6	9	6	5	6
6	6	7	4	6	5	6	5	10	7
7	5	4	5	5	4	7	6	7	6
8	5	4	5	5	6	5	6	5	6
9	6	5	4	8	7	6	5	6	7
10	0	5	6	4	5	6	9	8	5
11	5	0	5	5	6	7	6	7	6
12	6	5	0	4	3	6	3	8	7
13	4	5	4	0	3	4	7	8	7
14	5	6	3	3	0	7	6	9	6
15	6	7	6	4	7	0	7	10	7
16	9	6	3	7	6	7	0	7	6
17	8	7	8	8	9	10	7	0	7
18	5	6	7	7	6	7	6	7	0
19	6	7	6	8	7	10	7	10	9
20	7	8	3	7	6	7	2	9	6
21	7	6	7	5	8	5	6	7	8
22	8	5	2	6	5	6	1	8	7
23	7	8	3	7	6	5	4	11	8
24	3	4	5	7	6	7	6	5	4

25	11	8	7	9	10	7	4	9	6
26	7	8	7	7	8	9	6	7	4
27	6	7	4	6	5	4	3	10	5
28	3	6	5	5	4	5	6	7	2
29	5	6	3	5	4	3	4	9	4
30	9	8	5	7	8	5	4	9	8
31	6	5	6	10	9	8	5	8	5
32	7	6	3	7	6	5	4	9	6
34	6	5	2	6	5	4	3	8	5
35	5	6	5	7	6	7	4	7	4
36	6	7	6	6	7	6	5	6	5
37	7	6	3	7	6	5	2	9	6
38	7	6	3	7	6	5	4	9	6
39	9	6	7	7	10	3	8	11	8
40	5	6	7	5	6	5	4	9	4
41	4	5	6	4	5	4	5	8	3
42	9	8	5	9	6	7	2	9	6
43	7	10	5	7	6	7	4	9	6
44	5	8	5	5	6	5	8	11	8
45	10	7	6	10	7	8	5	12	7
46	8	7	8	6	9	8	7	10	7
47	5	6	5	7	4	9	6	9	8
48	8	7	6	8	7	6	5	12	5

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1	7	8	8	7	6	6	10	12	7
2	10	7	9	6	7	7	9	11	6
3	5	4	6	5	2	6	8	6	3
4	12	11	9	10	13	9	9	9	10
5	5	4	6	7	6	4	8	6	7
6	4	3	5	4	1	5	7	5	4
7	7	8	8	5	8	4	10	10	5
8	5	6	4	5	6	2	6	6	5
9	6	5	5	4	5	3	7	9	4
10	6	7	7	8	7	3	11	7	6
11	7	8	6	5	8	4	8	8	7
12	6	3	7	2	3	5	7	7	4
13	8	7	5	6	7	7	9	7	6
14	7	6	8	5	6	6	10	8	5
15	10	7	5	6	5	7	7	9	4
16	7	2	6	1	4	6	4	6	3

17	10	9	7	8	11	5	9	7	10
18	9	6	8	7	8	4	6	4	5
19	0	5	7	6	5	5	7	7	6
20	5	0	6	3	2	6	4	4	3
21	7	6	0	5	6	6	6	6	5
22	6	3	5	0	3	5	5	7	2
23	5	2	6	3	0	6	6	6	3
24	5	6	6	5	6	0	8	6	5
25	7	4	6	5	6	8	0	4	5
26	7	4	6	7	6	6	4	0	7
27	6	3	5	2	3	5	5	7	0
28	7	6	6	5	6	2	8	6	3
29	7	4	6	3	4	4	6	8	1
30	7	4	4	3	4	6	4	6	3
31	6	5	7	4	5	3	5	5	4
32	7	4	6	3	4	4	6	8	3
34	6	3	5	2	3	3	5	7	2
35	5	4	4	3	4	2	6	4	3
36	6	5	3	4	5	3	5	3	4
37	5	2	4	1	2	4	4	6	1
38	5	4	6	3	4	4	6	8	3
39	11	8	6	7	6	8	6	8	7
40	7	4	4	5	6	6	6	6	3
41	8	5	5	6	7	5	7	7	4
42	7	2	6	3	4	6	4	6	3
43	7	2	8	5	4	8	6	6	3
44	7	6	6	7	6	8	8	10	5
45	6	5	7	4	5	7	3	7	4
46	6	5	5	8	7	9	3	3	8
47	3	4	6	5	4	4	8	6	5
48	6	5	7	4	5	7	3	7	2

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	28	29	30	31	32	34	35	36	37
1	8	6	6	7	4	5	8	9	6
2	7	5	9	8	7	6	9	10	7
3	4	4	6	7	6	5	4	5	4
4	7	9	13	10	11	10	9	10	11
5	6	6	8	7	6	5	6	7	6
6	5	5	5	6	5	4	3	4	3
7	4	4	6	7	4	5	6	7	6
8	4	4	4	5	4	3	4	3	4

9	5	3	5	4	3	2	5	6	3
10	3	5	9	6	7	6	5	6	7
11	6	6	8	5	6	5	6	7	6
12	5	3	5	6	3	2	5	6	3
13	5	5	7	10	7	6	7	6	7
14	4	4	8	9	6	5	6	7	6
15	5	3	5	8	5	4	7	6	5
16	6	4	4	5	4	3	4	5	2
17	7	9	9	8	9	8	7	6	9
18	2	4	8	5	6	5	4	5	6
19	7	7	7	6	7	6	5	6	5
20	6	4	4	5	4	3	4	5	2
21	6	6	4	7	6	5	4	3	4
22	5	3	3	4	3	2	3	4	1
23	6	4	4	5	4	3	4	5	2
24	2	4	6	3	4	3	2	3	4
25	8	6	4	5	6	5	6	5	4
26	6	8	6	5	8	7	4	3	6
27	3	1	3	4	3	2	3	4	1
28	0	2	6	5	4	3	2	3	4
29	2	0	4	5	2	1	4	5	2
30	6	4	0	5	2	3	4	3	2
31	5	5	5	0	5	4	3	4	3
32	4	2	2	5	0	1	4	5	2
34	3	1	3	4	1	0	3	4	1
35	2	4	4	3	4	3	0	1	2
36	3	5	3	4	5	4	1	0	3
37	4	2	2	3	2	1	2	3	0
38	4	2	4	5	2	1	4	5	2
39	8	6	4	7	4	5	8	7	6
40	4	4	6	7	6	5	4	5	4
41	3	3	7	8	5	4	5	6	5
42	6	4	4	5	4	3	4	5	2
43	6	4	6	7	6	5	6	7	4
44	6	4	8	9	6	5	8	9	6
45	7	5	5	4	5	4	5	6	3
46	9	9	7	8	9	8	7	6	7
47	6	6	6	5	6	5	4	5	4
48	5	3	5	4	5	4	5	6	3

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance								
	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
1	4	4	8	7	8	10	8	9	11
2	7	7	5	4	7	7	7	10	10
3	6	8	4	5	6	4	6	7	7
4	11	11	7	6	9	11	7	8	8
5	6	10	6	5	6	6	6	9	7
6	5	7	5	6	5	5	7	6	6
7	6	8	6	5	8	8	8	9	11
8	4	6	6	5	6	8	8	7	7
9	3	7	7	6	5	7	5	6	10
10	7	9	5	4	9	7	5	10	8
11	6	6	6	5	8	10	8	7	7
12	3	7	7	6	5	5	5	6	8
13	7	7	5	4	9	7	5	10	6
14	6	10	6	5	6	6	6	7	9
15	5	3	5	4	7	7	5	8	8
16	4	8	4	5	2	4	8	5	7
17	9	11	9	8	9	9	11	12	10
18	6	8	4	3	6	6	8	7	7
19	5	11	7	8	7	7	7	6	6
20	4	8	4	5	2	2	6	5	5
21	6	6	4	5	6	8	6	7	5
22	3	7	5	6	3	5	7	4	8
23	4	6	6	7	4	4	6	5	7
24	4	8	6	5	6	8	8	7	9
25	6	6	6	7	4	6	8	3	3
26	8	8	6	7	6	6	10	7	3
27	3	7	3	4	3	3	5	4	8
28	4	8	4	3	6	6	6	7	9
29	2	6	4	3	4	4	4	5	9
30	4	4	6	7	4	6	8	5	7
31	5	7	7	8	5	7	9	4	8
32	2	4	6	5	4	6	6	5	9
34	1	5	5	4	3	5	5	4	8
35	4	8	4	5	4	6	8	5	7
36	5	7	5	6	5	7	9	6	6
37	2	6	4	5	2	4	6	3	7
38	0	6	6	5	4	6	6	5	9
39	6	0	8	7	8	10	8	7	7
40	6	8	0	1	4	4	6	7	5
41	5	7	1	0	5	5	5	8	6

42	4	8	4	5	0	4	8	3	7
43	6	10	4	5	4	0	6	7	7
44	6	8	6	5	8	6	0	7	7
45	5	7	7	8	3	7	7	0	6
46	9	7	5	6	7	7	7	6	0
47	6	10	6	7	4	6	8	5	7
48	5	7	5	6	5	5	5	2	6

Case	Binary Squared Euclidean Distance	
	47	48
1	8	9
2	9	8
3	4	5
4	11	8
5	4	9
6	3	6
7	6	7
8	4	7
9	5	6
10	5	8
11	6	7
12	5	6
13	7	8
14	4	7
15	9	6
16	6	5
17	9	12
18	8	5
19	3	6
20	4	5
21	6	7
22	5	4
23	4	5
24	4	7
25	8	3
26	6	7
27	5	2
28	6	5
29	6	3
30	6	5
31	5	4

32	6	5
34	5	4
35	4	5
36	5	6
37	4	3
38	6	5
39	10	7
40	6	5
41	7	6
42	4	5
43	6	5
44	8	5
45	5	2
46	7	6
47	0	7
48	7	0

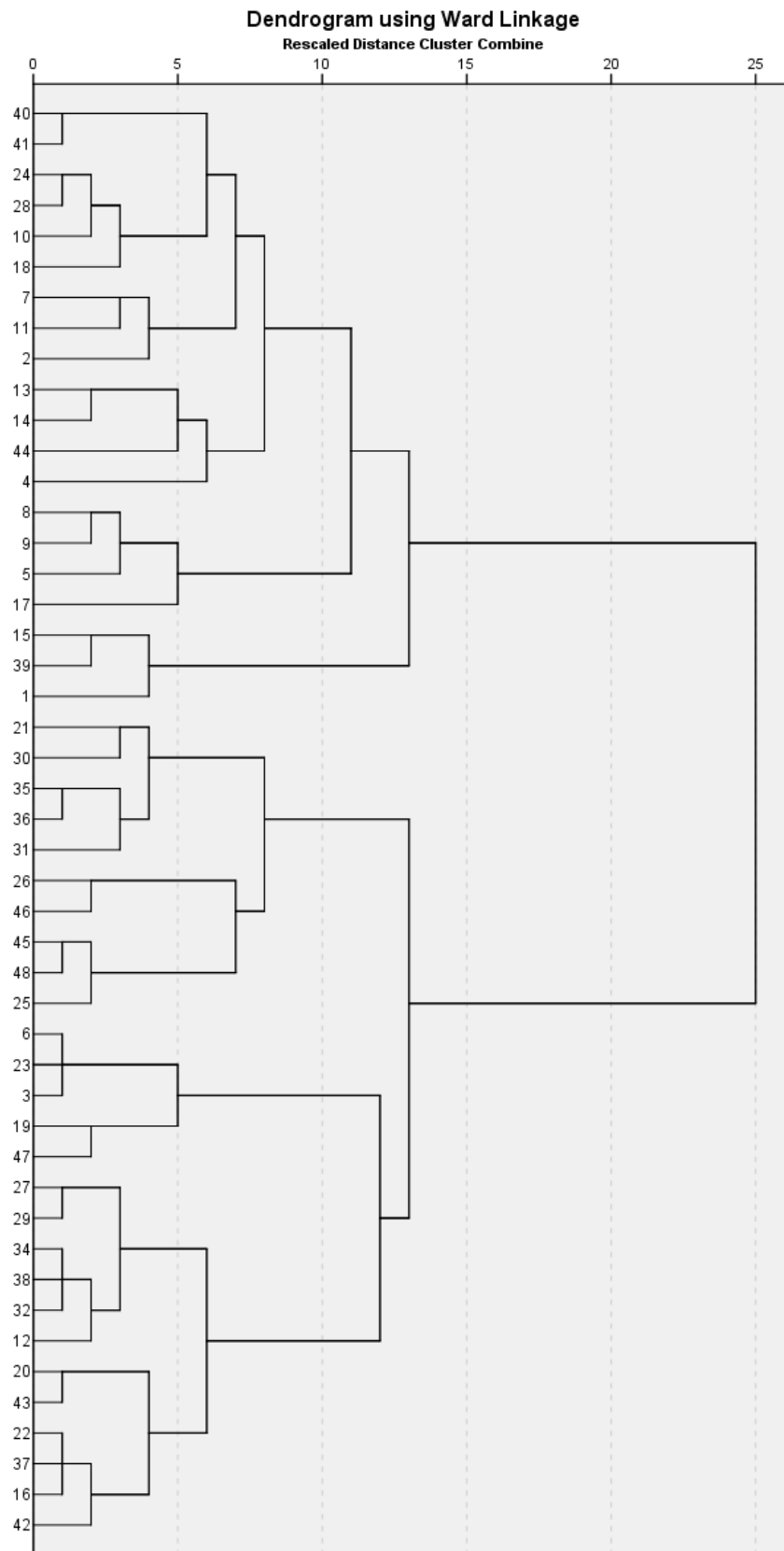


Figure 11. Dendrogram illustrating clustering of trajectory variables (excluding employment variables).