"Maybe because we are too Chilean": Stories of Migration From Hispanic Women Living in New Zealand.

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Abstract

Worldwide, immigrants are significantly more likely to develop health and mental health issues compared to host and home populations. Very little is known about this phenomenon from a qualitative perspective, especially among diverse ethnic minority immigrant cultures within a New Zealand context. This study examines the experiences of Hispanic immigrant women living in New Zealand, specifically looking at identity and meaning making. Seven interviews were conducted, transcribed, and analyzed using narrative analysis.

Findings revealed participants drew from the "ethnic identity" and "role identity" narratives to construct identities. Through identities, participants connected with others, providing a sense of belonging. In moving and adapting to New Zealand, identities were compromised, lost, or re-adjusted. If identities were not adjusted to meet a new demand, participants did not connect or obtain a sense of belonging towards others and/or New Zealand.

In meaning making, participants constructed New Zealand as facilitating and validating, enabling access to resources through trust, and validation as individuals within a sense of security. Participants initially felt lonely in New Zealand, needing connections with others beyond their partners. The concept and expectations of friendships needed reconstruction, where Kiwi friends are constructed as temporary, have more personal boundaries and are less accessible and physical towards one another. Participants also found understanding the Kiwi accent a challenge if previously exposed to other English accents.

Some participants constructed experiencing depression as part of the migration process, where "keeping busy" became a helpful coping mechanism. Participants also validated their experiences through comparisons with others they perceived as

"normal". This was helpful in normalizing challenges, and providing an expectation for personal future outcomes. Lastly, participants constructed Migration as a cognitive process, empowering the migrant as responsible for their migration outcome through the process of choice making.

This research revealed specifically what and how cultural differences impact Hispanic women who have migrated to New Zealand, and the complexity of migration as an internal cognitive process with expected negative outcomes such as depression. Being a novel area of research, this study illustrates the potential knowledge that can be gained from future research into immigrant populations using qualitative methods.

For my mother, who forced university upon me, against my stubbornness

and better judgment.

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Ethical approval for this study was gained from the Massey University Ethics Committee: HEC: Southern A Application 14/64.

Preface

I remember the first year we migrated to New Zealand; it was March of 1996, I was seven, and it was the first time I was seeing my dad again in over a year. My parents plan for migration involved my dad migrating first in order to find a job and a home to sustain his family (mum, my two brothers and me). My dad had become a farmer, an occupation he flourished in. My mum became a house wife. Over the next year my brothers and I changed, we integrated rapidly. We soon talked English to each other, and grew used to being barefoot at school. My mother, did all the things a mother does, making sure we were clean, fed, warm and happy; but being isolated on a farm and unable to speak English, my mother had become quieter, more withdrawn. To me, my mother had also changed. I guess it didn't help that during that year, my mother had an unplanned pregnancy (my little sister), and her own mother passed away, and my mother was unable to go back for the funeral.

Sometime during our second year, two Jehovah witnesses came to our door. My mother tried the "no English" excuse, but they walked right in, turned on the kettle, sat at our table and using their English bible and my mum's Spanish bible, they started to teach my mother English. Slowly over the year, my mother started to participate in school activities and even got a job as a baby sitter. Slowly, my mother started to smile and laugh more; slowly, I was getting my mother back. Eighteen years later, my parents own their own farm and my mother is part of the administration team; to me, my mother has set the bar high. Looking back now, I often wonder what would have happened if those two Jehovah witnesses had never knocked on our door.

When it came time for me to choose a thesis topic, I couldn't ignore how I was influenced by my mother's inspiring journey to migrate, adapt and re-build a life in New Zealand. I wanted to give a voice to the challenging, personalized often unheard

process of migration and acculturation. I wanted to learn what obstacles and resources influence this experience, so that through this knowledge, others wouldn't have to go through the same difficulties my mother went through in her first year. Being a Hispanic immigrant woman myself, I also felt this research would have the chance of being understood on a cultural and personal level too.

Introduction

"A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step."

-Lao-tzu

Migration is a physical, emotional, psychological and even spiritual journey that can start with a million different steps. Migration is often defined as the movement of people from one place to another; very little about this definition shares what a complex and challenging process migration can be (Sher & Vilens, 2010). An estimated one billion of the world's population consists of immigrants (World Health Organisation, 2010), yet not much is known about the personal, first hand constructions of undergoing such an experience.

Migration is expected to produce beneficial economic outcomes for growing countries such as New Zealand (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2009). This expectation drives research to focus on how to maintain immigrant's health and productivity, by identifying general factors influencing migrant health and mental health outcomes (Sher & Vilens, 2010). As New Zealand is home to over one million immigrants (Akbari & Macdonals, 2014), identifying factors impacting immigrant wellbeing within a New Zealand context is of great value.

An ethnic minority migrant group that is under-represented in New Zealand migrant health research are the Latin Americans (Perumal, 2010). Latin Americans are defined as individuals who migrate from any of the twenty six countries south of the United States (Hart & Young, 2014). Increasing numbers of Latin Americans are choosing to migrate to New Zealand every year, meaning research investigating what factors impact this particular ethnic group in adapting to New Zealand is required (Perez, 2012).

The aim of the current study is to give voice to the experiences of migration from a personalized and often unheard perspective, through the stories told by immigrants. A small sample of seven Hispanic immigrant women has been used to achieve its aim. Tsai et al. (2004) point out that migrants are more likely to feel trust and share their experiences if the researcher has a similar cultural background or life experience. As the researcher for this project is a Hispanic immigrant woman, the composition of the participant group maximizes cultural compatibility.

The researcher chose narrative analysis as the qualitative approach to analyze the data. Based in narrative theory, narrative analysis is a foundation that validates narratives/stories as unique constructions of reality, revealing the underlying social influences that shape the individual's experience (Murray & Sools, 2015). Using narrative analysis, a deeper understanding of the stories shared by the research participants is gained, allowing for greater comprehension, recognition, and valuing of the migration process from a Hispanic woman's personal perspective.

This research is divided into seven chapters:

1. Chapter one provides an overview of the literature on immigrant health/psychological health research, the impact of the immigrant population in New Zealand, Latin American immigrant health research, and the Latin American population in New Zealand, in order to position this study within the literature.

2. Chapter two introduces narrative theory and narrative psychology as underlying the current research, and the aims of the study are presented.

3. Chapter three outlines the methodology of this study, specifically the theoretical approach, method, ethical considerations and narrative analysis as applied by this study.

4. Chapter four initiates the first phase of analysis by presenting each of the seven stories as interpreted by the researcher.

5. Chapter five explores the identities created by participants.

6. Chapter six explores the meaning participants assigned to their experiences.

7. Lastly, chapter seven discusses the research findings in relation to the research aims, research limitations are presented and recommendations for future research in migration experiences are offered.

For ease of comprehension, the reader should note the following terms are used interchangeably: homeland, home country and heritage country; Latin Americans, Hispanics, South Americans and Latinas and Latinos; New Zealanders and Kiwis; New Zealand culture and Kiwi culture; Immigrant and migrant. Also, stories are often told in past, present and future tenses; these are often used incorrectly by individuals who speak English as a second language. The researcher has not changed the incorrect use of tenses in the quotes to maintain the integrity of the stories. The researcher does assume what the correct tense would have been, and applies the correct tense use during the analysis of the quote.

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Chapter one

Immigrant research: Benefits of storytelling for

New Zealand

"Travelling- it leaves you speechless, then turns you into a storyteller"

- Ibn Battuta

Whether it's the need for an adventure, business or a family reunion, over 2.9 million visitors crossed the New Zealand border in the last year (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). The majority chose to return home, ending their Kiwi adventures; but more than 50 thousand chose to continue their stories by staying in New Zealand (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2014). The choice to migrate is driven by the personal circumstance of the individual, resulting in a migration experience with personal gains, losses, challenges, and difficulties. The majority of immigrant research ignores the individual experience in favor of large quantitative studies. Such studies are useful in providing a broad picture of the impact of migration, but are unable to provide a picture of how migration personally impacts the migrant and why.

This chapter will explore major findings in psychological immigrant health research worldwide, and factors theorized to produce these outcomes. The process of acculturation as a strategy of adaption for immigrants is presented, along with the variability and limitations of its conceptualization and applicability to immigrant research. The growing use of qualitative methods in immigrant research to overcome conceptual limitations is highlighted, in addition to the benefits in obtaining specific and applicable data on what impacts acculturation in ethnic minority immigrant groups.

New Zealand's immigrant population will be explored, in regards to the impact on the economy and future outcomes. Major findings in Latin American immigrant research, a field dominated by American studies will be presented. Lastly, the Latin Americans population in New Zealand will be highlighted, and the potential gains of using a qualitative approach to study this ethnic minority group are presented.

Immigrant psychological health research

The literature on the impact of migration on the immigrant primarily focuses on health and mental health outcomes (Sher & Vilens, 2010; Stillman, Gibson, McKenzie, & Rohorua, 2015). Worldwide, immigrants are found to be significantly more vulnerable to developing depression, anxiety, and substance abuse, among other psychological disorders, compared to the host and home population (Chun, Organista & Marin, 2003; Lacey et al., 2015; Sher & Vilens, 2010; Thomas & Gideon, 2013), with female immigrants at significantly higher risk of developing depression or anxiety disorders (Sher & Vilens 2010). Overall happiness levels are also lower amongst immigrants, compared to the home populations (Bartram, 2011; Knight & Gunatilaka, 2010, Stillman et al., 2015).

The World Health Organization (2010) believes migration itself is not a health risk, but does recognize immigrants as more vulnerable to developing ill health due to the conditions surrounding their migration process. Factors such as health care policies and reasons for migration are specifically highlighted, while other risk factors such as discrimination, stigma, poverty, social exclusion, cultural and language differences, family separation, administration hurdles, legal status and socio-cultural norms are also mentioned. This illustrates a focus on issues in policy and resources to enhance immigrant health. Recently, researchers have changed focus to the adaptation process

known as acculturation, and influences during this process, as the underlying cause of health decline in immigrants (Sher & Vilens, 2010; Udahemuka & Pernice, 2010).

Acculturation in immigrant research

Acculturation refers to the process of adapting to, or adopting new behaviour, beliefs or values in direct exposure to a new cultural change (Chun et al., 2003). Understood as a psychological phenomenon, acculturation is the result of negotiating *cultural maintenance* (maintaining cultural characteristics and identity), and *contact and participation* (becoming involved with other cultural groups or remaining within cultural circle) (Berry, 1997). The compromise between cultural maintenance and contact and participation has been theorized as a multidimensional concept, undertaken through the strategies of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (Berry, 2003).

An immigrant will have to negotiate their new country, and how they do this positions them within one of these four acculturation strategies (Berry, 2003). Figure 1 illustrates how an individual can position themselves horizontally to represent how much they still participate in their heritage culture that is then analyzed in relation to how they position themselves vertically, to represent how much they chose to participate in the new culture.

Assimilation occurs when the host culture is completely exchanged for the heritage culture, where cultural maintenance is minimized, and contact and participation are maximized. In contrast, separation is when the host culture is avoided in favor of the heritage culture, where cultural maintenance is maximized, and contact and participation are limited to own cultural circles. Integration involves using both heritage and host cultures simultaneously, balancing cultural maintenance, and contact and

New culture
participation

Assimilation   Integration

Heritage culture   Heritage culture
separation   participation

Marginalisation   Separation

New culture
separation
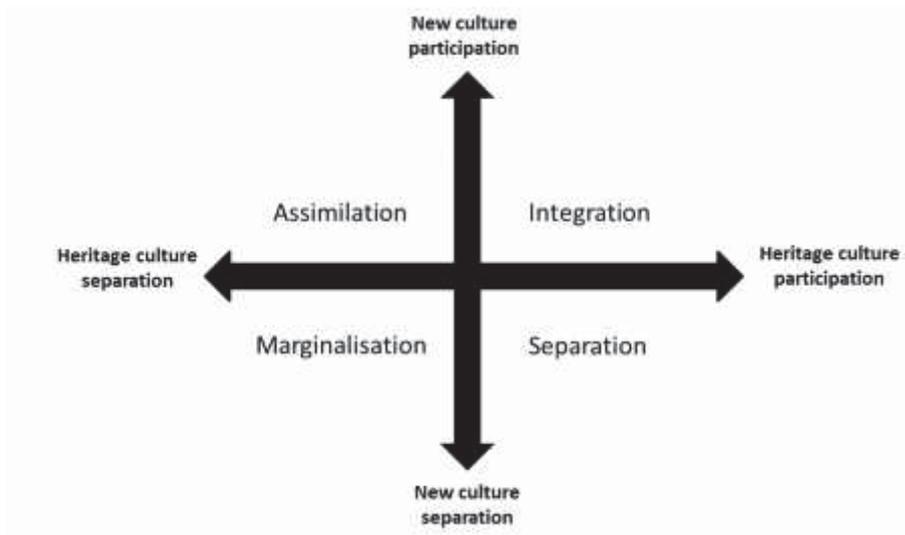
Figure 1. The strategies of acculturation in relation to heritage and new culture participation and separation, as conceptualised by Berry (2003).

Participation between own and host cultural groups. Lastly, marginalisation is the use of neither culture, where cultural maintenance or contact and participation are minimal, in favor of an own personalized cultural circle (Berry, 2003). Udahemuka and Pernice (2010) highlight that acculturation is the most researched and theorized concept within recent studies on migration and immigrants; illustrating the focus to increase health in immigrants as expanded from social structures (policy and resources), to the individual immigrant and their adaptation process within the new country (Berry, 1998). A catalyst to acculturation is acculturative stress, the response to changes or events that challenge the immigrant's cultural foundation on how to live, and forces them to invest in an acculturation strategy (Berry, 2006).

Sam and Berry (2010) researched the literature and found correlations between acculturation, acculturative stress, and wellbeing. Evidence suggests individuals who integrate have better health outcomes, compared to the other acculturation strategies; marginalisation being the least conducive to wellbeing. Researchers believe availability

of resources and competency may cause this effect (Lawton & Gerdes, 2014; Sam & Berry, 2010), where an integrated individual is competent within two cultures and is able to access the resources and support from both. In contrast, a marginalised individual has little competency and support from either culture, limiting their availability to resources. In addition, assimilation has been correlated with harmful long term outcomes in American immigrants (Lawton & Gerdes, 2014).

Further studies have investigated additional factors that impact *how* an individual choses to acculturate. Udahemuka and Pernice (2010) found African immigrants in New Zealand were more likely to integrate if they chose to come to New Zealand, compared to those who were forced to migrate (i.e., refugees). Lawton and Gerdes (2014) found that other family member's levels of acculturation played a role in how Latino youth chose to acculturate in America. Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Solheim (2009) found high levels of discrimination led to separation, while less discrimination led to assimilation or integration. Such studies highlight the need to take a holistic approach when studying acculturation, in order to recognise confounding variables that can impact the chosen path of acculturation.

In addition, researchers argue that although the concept of acculturation is useful, the diversity in its measurement means the link between acculturation and health outcomes is not consistent in the literature (Cabassa, 2003; Lawton & Gerdes, 2014; Lopez-Class, Castro, & Ramirez, 2011). For example, researchers may use complex acculturation scales, such as the Bidimensional Acculturation Scale for Hispanics (Marin & Gamba, 1996), or simply "time spent in country" to measure acculturation (Lopez-Class et al., 2011). Also, in contrast to its conceptualisation, acculturation is primarily measured as a unidimensional process where the cultural gains in one culture result in decline in another (Berry, 1997; Marin & Gamba, 1996), ignoring the complex,

multidimensional, dynamic nature of acculturation (Lopez-Class et al., 2011).

The utility of acculturation becomes further misguided by the heavy reliance on proxy measures to capture its impact (Cabassa, 2003). Proxy measures refer to questions such as age, time spent in country, language use, and generational status among others, that provide measurable, comparable data, but are indirect indicators of the complexity of acculturation, unable to pin point what proxy factor is having an impact or how this impact works. Also, the context in which these proxy factors are taking effect is completely ignored, thus such studies provide an incomplete representation of how acculturation impacts the migration experience (Cabassa, 2003: Salanta & Lauderdaleb, 2003; Zane & Mak, 2003).

Qualitative methods in immigrant research

By applying qualitative methods to studying experiences of migration, researchers have been able to overcome issues associated with measuring acculturation, and applying its dynamic nature to their findings, while producing valuable insight into the personalised impact of migration. For example, using grounded theory, Naylor, Hocking and Giddings (2012) discovered immigrant Indian women in New Zealand navigated cultural spaces, using Indian or New Zealand methods, or even a mixture, "the best of both worlds" in order to position themselves and their occupation comfortably in a New Zealand environment. Maydell-Stevens, Masgoret and Ward (2007) also used grounded theory and found Russian speaking immigrants in New Zealand chose to acculturate through either integration or separation, and that this decision was strongly affected by migration motivation, social support, cultural identity, and proportion of perceived gains and losses.

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Qualitative methods are becoming more common among immigrant research, facilitating the ability to also study small ethnic groups while providing practical data that is applicable in policies and public resources. The benefits of these methods enable future immigrants to integrate more effectively and decrease negative health effects associated with migration. Considering there are over 231 million people around the world that live in a different country than their place of birth (The World Health Organization, 2010), continuing qualitative research within immigrant research is a worthwhile cause.

Immigration in New Zealand

New Zealand currently accepts the highest rate of immigrants per capita, per year, ahead of the United States, Canada or Australia (Akbari & Macdonald, 2014). Surprisingly, this has not increased the overall population at the natural expected rate, due to the significant number of New Zealanders who chose to leave New Zealand to live overseas (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014). According to the 2013 census, one quarter of New Zealand's population is born outside of New Zealand. Expressed as a percentage of the total population, New Zealand has one of the largest overseas-born populations in the world; double that of the USA, ahead of Canada and only slightly behind that of Australia (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). In addition, more immigrants are trying to stay long term, as illustrated by the 44,000 immigrants who were approved resident visas in 2013/14; up 13 per cent from 2012/13 (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2014).

Consequently, New Zealand is reliant on immigrants for economic growth (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2009). Without a sufficient number of immigrants to counter the number of leaving New Zealanders, the population of New

Zealand would likely decrease, resulting in a decrease in New Zealand exports and a decline within the New Zealand economy (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2009). However, if migration has a negative impact on immigrants' health and mental health, the adverse impact will be an increased demand on New Zealand's public health system (The World Health Organization, 2010).

Immigrant research in New Zealand appears to be a growing field, already expanding into qualitative methods, and providing information on how to support immigrants adapt to the specific New Zealand context and culture; potentially very useful for the New Zealand economy, future immigrants and subsequent generations of New Zealanders. However, the application to study diverse ethnic minority immigrant cultures such as Hispanics is scarce in comparison to other countries (Dürr, 2011; Perez, 2012).

The Latin American immigrant research

American studies dominate Latin American immigrant research literature (Sher & Vilens, 2010); this is a consequence of the 54 million Hispanics living in America, its largest ethnic minority, making up 17 percent of the total population, with 35.6 percent recognized as non-American born (United States Census Bureau, 2014). In addition, 64 percent of the American Hispanic population is Mexican (United States Census Bureau, 2014), resulting in the majority of the research samples containing individuals of Mexican heritage (Sher & Vilens, 2010).

Findings identify Latin Americans as generally healthier than their homeland counterparts; however, this effect diminishes the more acculturated (i.e., assimilated/integrated) Latin Americans become to the host country (Helm, 2014). This has led researchers to suggest cultural retention (i.e., integrated/separation) works as a

safety barrier in maintaining Latin Americans' health, and diverting them away from negative lifestyle choices facilitated in the new cultural environment. However, other studies have identified less acculturation towards the host country (separation/marginalization) as having negative long-term health effects as well (Sher & Vilens, 2010). The findings indicate that an integrated cultural strategy results in the best health outcomes; however, in-depth research to identity how and why this phenomenon occurs in Hispanics is only recently gaining more interest.

In regards to mental health, Latin Americans are identified as high-risk for developing depression, anxiety and substance abuse disorders, with depression twice as likely among females compared to males (Helm, 2014; Sher & Vilens, 2010). Higher rates of substance abuse disorders and mental illnesses are seen in American born and long-term Latin American residents, compared to newly migrated counterparts. Latin American youth are also more likely to experiment with alcohol and binge drinking, and consider or commit suicide compared to their white or African American youth counterparts (Helm, 2014). This indicates vulnerability towards mental health issues in female Hispanic immigrants, long term Hispanic immigrants and Hispanic youth.

Latin Americans appear to have better health and mental health outcomes compared to white Americans, but this trend does not extend to American-born Latinos who are significantly more vulnerable to negative health and mental health outcomes compared to their white counterparts (Sher & Vilens, 2010). Latin Americans are also at a significantly higher risk of developing diabetes and cardiovascular disease compared to white American counterparts (Helm, 2014). Genetic factors combined with the exposure of higher levels of stress from migrating (i.e., acculturative stress) have been hypothesized to account for these disparities.

Quantitative methods to Hispanic immigrant research has been useful in providing the above findings, but very little is known why and how these health disparities occur; the application of qualitative methods to research are aiming to bridge this gap in knowledge. For example, Viruell-Fuentes (2007) used qualitative interviews to focused on the structural and contextual factors, that impact why second generation Hispanic immigrants are most vulnerable to developing negative mental health and health outcomes.

Viruell-Fuentes (2007) found second generation Mexicans felt experiences of "othering", where they felt they were treated negatively by others because of their ethnic Mexican traits. Compared to first generation immigrants, second generation immigrants are more at risk of being othered, as generally they are more involved in the community (i.e., school). Being othered was associated with feelings of anxiety, sadness, fear and impotence, leading second generation Mexican immigrants to often actively reject their cultural traits in hopes of achieving a sense of acceptance in their environment. Viruell-Fuentes research highlighted the need to implement strategies that can help Hispanic immigrants overcome the negative impacts of "othering", and achieved a deeper understand of the factors that cause this health disparity.

Lastly, although American Latin American research has provided and insight into the impact of migration on this population, Sher and Vilens (2010) have highlighted some issues to consider with general findings. Firstly, the majority of the data comes from large quantitative studies, using a range of measures for acculturation and health; consequently, across studies results are inconsistent with have questionable validity. Secondly, the majority of samples consist of one ethnic group (Mexicans), within a limited age range (20-64 years of age), this becomes generalized to all other Latin American immigrants. Therefore, obtaining research from other countries, and

other Latin American ethnic groups, using qualitative methods can help provide a wider representation of Hispanic immigrants in the literature.

For research in New Zealand, the American findings provide interesting starting points but little to allow a deep understanding of how Latino immigrants will impact and/or be affected by migrating to a New Zealand context.

The Latin American population in New Zealand and current research

The Latin American population in New Zealand consists of 0.3 % of the overall population, with just over 13,000 individuals recognized as Latin Americans in the 2013 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). Although small, the Latin American population has doubled in size between 2006 and 2013, with further population growths expected to continue (Statistics New Zealand, 2013b). According to the census (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a), the median age for Latinos in New Zealand is 30 years of age, and the median income is $26,100 per year. The most common place for Latinos to migrate to is Auckland (44.2%), and most Latinos have a formal qualification (92.4%) (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a).

Currently, the New Zealand Hispanic population is generally young, well-educated but underpaid, with the median receiving less than the average New Zealand income of $31,200 per year (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). The mix of higher qualification and low income could be the result of New Zealand's constant changes in immigrant policy that is skilled migrant oriented (Perez, 2012). Unfortunately, many professional Hispanics such as lawyers, psychologists, and social workers are finding their degrees are not recognized. This requires further education and experience in New Zealand in order to work in their professions (Immigration New Zealand, 2012). This forces them to find alternative occupations.

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In regards to health research on Hispanic immigrants, New Zealand has very little compared to America (Perez, 2012). This is mainly attributed to the significantly lower number of Hispanic immigrants in New Zealand compared to America (Dürr, 2011; Perez, 2012). In the New Zealand large-scale quantitative immigrant research pool, Latin Americans often represent such a small percentage of the sample, they are combined with other ethnic groups in research findings. Such an example is seen in nationwide health statistics, where Latin Americans are grouped with Middle Eastern and African ethnicities in an acronym known as "MELAA" (Mortensen, 2011; Perumal, 2010); primarily because together, these three ethnic groups make up one percent of the New Zealand population.

Consequently, very diverse ethnicities are not statistically represented to meet their specific health needs. Perumal (2010) recognized this gap in the research, and produced the first report in New Zealand to represent the health trends of MELAA populations residing in Auckland. Perumal (2010) found that Hispanics have a comparatively higher rate for standardized mortality (mainly from chronic diseases) compared to other groups, along with the lowest rate for potentially avoidable mortality. In regards to specific healthcare needs for Hispanics in New Zealand, the study found that areas in family planning, sex education, cervical screening, asthma education and diabetes monitoring required more support.

Compared to American findings, Perumal's (2010) results indicate diabetes as an important area to focus on within Hispanic health research, with American Hispanics also significant impacted. However, Perumal's research did not find the same impact on cardiovascular health compared to American Hispanics, instead highlighting other areas (i.e., family planning, sex education etc.) as requiring specific support within a New Zealand context, a significant difference, able to provide the correct support for New

Zealand Hispanics that would not have been recognized without Puremal's New Zealand based research.

Encouragingly, qualitative research in immigrants is becoming more popular in New Zealand, recently including Hispanic populations, providing further fruitful findings. Over eight months Dürr (2011) used semi-structured interviews, participant observations and narrative accounts (ethnographic methods) on Latin Americans living in Auckland, to give voice to the Latin American ideas about belonging to a New Zealand society. Dürr found that sense of belonging was created through comparisons between home country and New Zealand [often emotionally based], while not impacting on their self-identified Latin American identities. This sense of belonging became a reminder that they were immigrants, but no longer belonged to their home country.

Perez (2012) applied narrative analysis to investigate Latin Americans experiences of the health system in New Zealand. Through the stories his participants shared, Perez found health care perception was heavily influenced by the participant's previous health care experiences, with trust being a powerful influence. He also noticed significant difference in the use of public versus private health care experiences. Perez concluded that future policies need to consider country of original experiences in order to improve their approach in reaching minority populations that may be at risk.

Both these qualitative studies have provided a rich, personalized picture of what it is like to be a Latin American immigrant in New Zealand, in regards to constructing a sense of belonging, and the perception of health care in New Zealand through the analysis of personal stories among other methods. The current study will add to this budding area of research by applying narrative analysis to investigate the experiences of migration in Hispanic immigrant women, through the stories they create and share with

the researcher. In the next chapter, the theoretical foundation of narrative analysis within narrative theory and narrative psychology will be outlined.

Chapter two

Narrative theory and narrative psychology

"People think that stories are shaped by people. In fact it's the other way around…"

-Terry Pratchett

This chapter will introduce narrative theory and expand on the functions of narratives as understood within this theory. Narrative psychology as a way to study narratives and its application to the current research will be highlighted. Lastly, the aim of this research will be presented in conjunction with research objectives to achieve this aim. Like much of the literature in this area, this study will use the terms "narratives" and "stories" interchangeably, to describe a written or verbal personal account of connected events.

Narrative theory

Narrative theory positions narratives as the platform in which knowledge about the world is obtained and created (Burr, 2003). From birth, a person learns about the world through narratives; they create, exchange and live through narratives, and even when they die they are remembered through narratives (Murray & Sools, 2015). Narratives through narrative theory are used and created by individuals to fulfill many functions throughout life (Murray, 1997). The current research will recognize and analyze three such functions:

1. Narratives as a way to create meaning from experiences;

2. Narratives as a way to structure life events; and

3. Narratives as a way to create identities.

Humans are narrative creating beings, constantly creating narratives as part of everyday life, making sense of their experience of the world, and assigning it meaning through narratives (Bruner, 1987; Sarbin 1986). Across cultures humans talk, write, and think in storied form (Mortimer, 2002). From an early age, a child as young as two to three is capable of talking and thinking in a storied way (Ames, 1966; Polkinghorne, 1988). Stories are the way to share the human experience of being in the world (Smith & Eatough, 2007). These experiences reflect the individual's feelings and ideas about the world, and in turn reveal how the individual understands their experience and assigns it meaning (Bruner, 1990; Somers, 1994; Stephens & Breheny, 2013).

In addition, narratives are the way in which the experience of the world is given order and structure (James, 1983; as cited in Murray & Sools, 2015). The world is made up of narratives where events are not constructed as fixed, but as occurring over time (Gergen & Gergen, 1986; Ricour, 1991). Random life events are constructed within a sequence in order to produce meaning and achieve an end point (Gergen & Gergen, 1984). Ricoeur (1991) argues people organize events through the application of "emplotment", where they choose events that they connect within a specific sequence, in order to create plots that give meaning; plots that constantly adjust the past to suit the needs of the present (Bartlett, 1932; as cited in Murray & Sools, 2015).

Finally, narratives are the platform for identity creation (Murray, 1997; Murray & Sools, 2015; Stephens, 2011). McAdams (1993) wrote: "If you want to know me, then you must know my story, for my story defines who I am…" (pp. 11). McAdams defines stories as not only designed to share an idea or experience, but as the avenue for identity creation and meaning. McAdams believes individuals are "tellers of tales" (pp. 11); constantly creating "personal myths" (pp. 12) about who they are. Through these

myths they do not find themselves, but create themselves to themselves, and for others to see (McAdams, 1985).

Narrative psychology

Narrative psychology is the study of how humans make sense of their world through stories (Murray & Sools, 2015). It incorporates narrative theory by recognizing narratives as having functions, such as making meaning of experiences, structuring life events, and a platform to create identities. Narrative psychology also focuses beyond narrative functions to investigate the social context and social structures that influence the creation of the narrative.

Narrative psychology accepts humans live in a narrative world, where stories guide the interpretation of reality, and enable humans to make sense of their own and others actions, events, and experiences (Lyons & Coyle, 2007; Murray & Sools, 2015). Narratives are created within a moment in time, between people, about a topic, to serve a function. They are created within a *specific* social context, and further still within a broader social context, that is influenced by cultural norms and rules for behaviors that guide human purpose (Bruner, 1990; Somers, 1994). These are the social structures and the public narratives within a specific culture that govern the underlying structure of the narrative (Gergen & Gergen, 1986; Stephens & Breheny, 2013).

Narrative psychology is a growing and credible approach to studying the embodied experience of events from the individual's perspective (Murray & Sools, 2015; Stephens, 2011). Qualitative researchers realized that when people are asked to describe a disruptive experience, they will turn to stories (Crossley, 2000; Stephens, 2011). Researchers soon discovered how the nature and structure of the story are just as

important as the content of the story, in understanding the phenomenon of study (Stephens & Breheny, 2013).

Narrative research has demonstrated vast and rich knowledge can be extracted from stories of experiences. For example, Breheny and Stephens' (2011) research illustrated how relationships within families are not simple and straightforward in nature, but are complex, at times contradictory, and shaped by wider social and moral structures. Crossley and Crossley (2001) illustrated how over a 40 year period, the voices of psychiatric patients have changed due to social/political and historical influences. Hall, Stevens, and Meleis (1992) highlighted the complexity of integrating multiple roles, by seeing how women in clerical occupations, organized their personal and professional lives into a meaningful whole.

The current study will expand current research on immigrants, by exploring the experience of migration from the perspectives of Hispanic women who have migrated to New Zealand. The use of narrative theory and narrative psychology to study experiences of migration will allow the stories participants share to be understood as creations, that bring meaning and structure to their experiences, and provides them an identity within that experience. These experiences will be understood as influenced by the time/place/people/questions (social contexts) present during their creation. On a deeper level, attention will also be given to the social structures and public narratives, such as the cultural values, beliefs, and laws that govern the fundamental structure of these experiences.

Research aims

This study will aim to identify the meaning given to migration by Hispanic immigrant women and the social influences shaping their experiences, in order to

understand what it is like being an immigrant Hispanic woman living in New Zealand. Through this knowledge, it is hoped factors impeding or facilitating living in New Zealand as an immigrant can be identified, to support future Hispanic immigrant women.

This study will achieve this aim by obtaining the following research objectives:

1. To identify within the participants stories of migration:

    -what meaning is given to migration/life in New Zealand;

    -what events/plots are shared to create their experiences and how;

    -what identities are constructed after migrating to New Zealand;

    -what social structures are used to create their experiences and how; and

    -what political/historical/cultural influences and public narratives underline

      these experiences and how.

2. To identify key factors that impede or facilitate life in New Zealand as an immigrant Hispanic woman.

Chapter three

Methodology

"The greatest things you will achieve in life will not be successful because you followed

a template. They will be successful because you created your own"

-Kat Smythe (the lesson learned from conducting this thesis)

This chapter will outline narrative psychology and its applications within this study as a theoretical approach. An outline of the research design and recruitment process will be presented, as well as the use of narrative analysis as applied to the current research. Lastly, the role of the researcher will be explored in regards to the research process and outcomes.

Theoretical approach

This study will use a narrative psychology theoretical approach grounded by phenomenology (the study of the subjective lived in experiences of the individual) (Smith & Eatough, 2007) and a social constructionism epistemology (the theory that knowledge is socially constructed) (Burr, 2003). The collaboration of phenomenology and social constructionism work together to extract the subjective experiences from narratives, as well as how narratives are created within a wider social context.

By applying phenomenology, the subjective experience created through stories can be extracted (Crossley, 2007; Smith & Eatough, 2007). Phenomenology applied to narrative theory assumes there is a "self" within individuals that can be studied through a "chain of connection" between the "self" and language (Smith & Eatough, 2007, p. 36). What a person feels and thinks is reflected and can be studied through what they say, do, and write (Smith & Eatough, 2007). Through phenomenology, accounts of

migration are filled with subjective personal perceptions (i.e., feelings, beliefs, judgments, etc.), influenced by social structures, and used to fulfil a narrative function. These personal perceptions influence what meaning is given to experiences; meaning that is shaped through social influences within a specific moment in time.

In addition, social constructionism theorizes knowledge about the world as constructed between people using language within a social context. Stories become knowledge created between participants and researcher (Burr, 2003; Coyle, 2007). As Figure 1 illustrates, social constructionism recognizes various levels of social influence within knowledge construction: the direct social context, social structures, and the wider social context. These levels influence the nature, and what and how migration experiences are created (Burr, 2003).

For example, social context such as interview location can influence the nature of the interview, as participants who were interviewed in their homes may have spoken more freely compared to those interviewed at work. Social structures such as gender roles, laws, and cultural customs impact what construction is created through the beliefs, values, and ideas participants use to build their experiences of interacting with a male New Zealander. On a wider social context, political or historical factors such as being a refugee or having migrated twenty years ago, influence how participants talk about their experiences.

Through social constructionism, the very verbalization of the stories becomes the platform where experiences are created, shared and validated, both to the narrator, as well as to others (Burr, 2003; Coyle, 2007). Unlike quantitative empirical studies, that view knowledge as static and valid through hypothesis testing (Lipton, 2015), the current qualitative research that uses social constructionism and phenomenology, does not privilege one form of knowledge over another (Burr, 2003; Coyle, 2007). The

experiences and meaning attributed to these stories told by immigrant Hispanic women about their migration to New Zealand become a product of the participant and researcher, and recognized as valid creations within a specific moment in time, shaped by specific social influences.
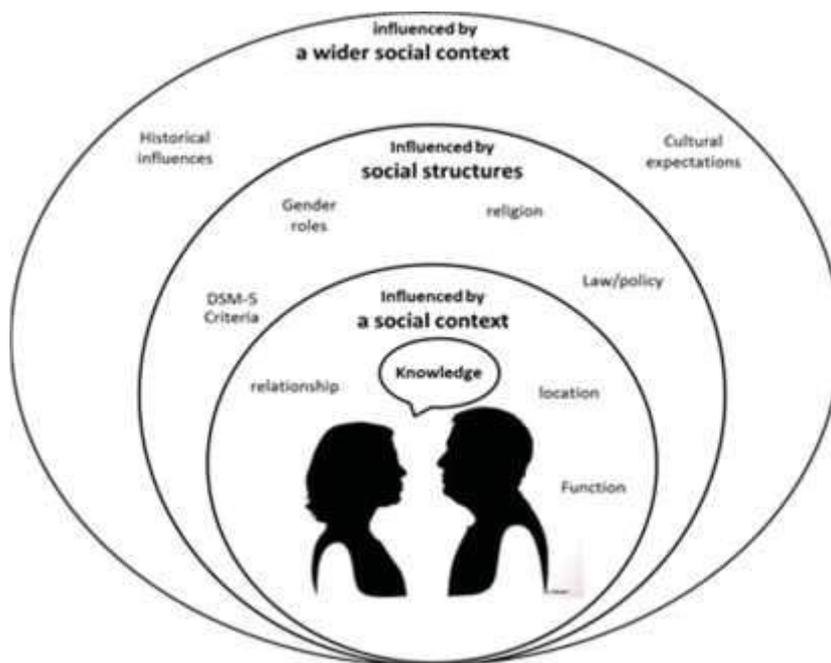
Figure 2. Smythe, K. (2015). *The different levels that influence knowledge construction as presented by social constructionism.* Wellington, New Zealand: Massey University.

Method

A small qualitative study was designed to interview Hispanic immigrant women who live in Wellington, New Zealand. Narrative psychology is a qualitative approach to research (Murray & Sools, 2015). When applied to a homogeneous selection such as Hispanic immigrant women living in Wellington, a selection size of seven interviews, as obtained by the current study, is sufficient to develop meaningful themes and useful interpretations (Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006).

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Recruitment

Participants were recruited through a Wellington based, non-profit community group, called Mujeres in Aotearoa (MIA). MIA meets once a month and consists of a large group of Hispanic women from a variety of ages, Latino nationalities, and time spent in New Zealand. MIA's goal is to create an avenue to support members, and share Latin American culture with the greater Wellington community, by organizing community events throughout the year (e.g., a children's holiday program in Spanish; annual Latin American festival).

The researcher has been a member of MIA over the last year and was able to organize a small meeting with the leaders of MIA to promote this study as useful to the aims of MIA. The leaders agreed to support this study by allowing MIA to be named within this study, and providing time over the next two monthly meetings to present the study to MIA members in order to recruit participants.

The information presented by the researcher during the meetings consisted of the background and aims of the study, participant expectation, interview procedure, and how the information obtained through interviews would be used and stored. At the end of the presentation, members were invited to participate and ask questions. Information sheets (see Appendix A) containing information about participant criteria, what was expected from participation, participant rights and how the information provided was going to be used and stored, were handed out amongst the group. All interested participants contacted the researcher directly after the meetings, and agreed to fill out a contact details form (see Appendix B). Interview time and place were arranged separately, at a later date with the participants, through phone contact initiated by the researcher.

Participants

Participants were seven Hispanic women who had migrated to New Zealand, ranging in age from 29-60+ years. All were members of MIA who lived in the Wellington region. They chose the pseudonyms of Wela, Senni, Ana, Mary, Lulu, Andy, and Sia. Table 1 provides a brief overview of participant demographics.

Table 1

Participant demographic information

Variable	Number of Participants	Variable	Number of Participants
Age		Interview language	
29-40 years	4	English	4
40-50 years	1	Spanish	2
60+ years	2		
Occupation		Nationality	
Professional	4	Chilean	4
Retired	2	Argentinean	2
Self-employed	1	Mexican	1
Time living in NZ		Reason for migration	
< than a year	1	Partner lives in NZ	3
1-2 years	1	Extended holiday	2
2-8 years	4	Chain Migration	1
10+	1	Refugee	1
Marital status		Children (total + in NZ)	
Single	1	None	3
Married	5	Pregnant	1
Willowed	1	1	3

-Participant sample impacting direction of study

In order to obtain a homogenous sample, criteria for participation were outlined in the information sheet (Appendix A), requiring participants to:

-be able to communicate their story in English

-have migrated to New Zealand before 2011

-be born in South America

-have only migrated to New Zealand (no previous migrations)

-had not arrived as a refugee

-had previously self-diagnosed as having had depression.

The sample however, did not adhere to these criteria. During the selection process the researcher was approached by two elderly participants (Wela and Senni). Following cultural protocols to respect elders, the researcher felt obliged to listen to Wela's and Senni's stories, even though these stories were shared in Spanish. The researcher did not hesitate to extend the criteria to include Spanish interviews, on the condition that the information sheet (Appendix A) and consent form (Appendix C), that were both in English, were fully understood by these participants.

Furthermore, two participants who had spent less than a year in New Zealand were also included (Wela and Ana). As explained, the researcher felt obliged to listen to Wela's story. Ana was included because she is from Mexico. As most of the Hispanic immigrant research is based on Mexicans, the researcher felt it would have been a lost opportunity to not include a Mexican-New Zealand comparison. Consequently, including Ana also extending the criteria of only South American participants to include a Central American participant.

The researcher excluded participants who had migrated to other countries and refugees as the literature does recognize these factors to have a specific impact on migration health outcomes, and acculturation outcomes (Sher & Vilens, 2010). However, Andy had migrated to Venezuela before migrating to New Zealand, and Senni

was a refugee. It was through the interviews that these two participants revealed they did not fit these criteria.

Lastly, the researcher had recognized depression as a significant negative health outcome in Hispanic immigrant women, and had originally intended to focus the current research around the construction of depression; this explains the original title being different on the appendices, and the last criterion requiring a self-diagnosis of depression. The researcher did not want to impose a biomedical depression model on the participants, so no medical proof of undergoing depression was required. Because the researcher also did not want to impose her own constructions of depression, she intentionally did not use the word "depression" in the interview or in the questions, unless the participants used it first to describe their experience. The result was a sample of only three participants constructing depression in some form within their interviews. However, the research obtained seven stories of migration experiences. This outcome widened the focus of the study to the experiences of immigrant Hispanic women in New Zealand. This aligns with the social constructionist-phenomenological approach of the study, as the researcher did not want to impose restrictions on the data, but felt the study should be guided by what these stories were constructing.

Procedure for data collection

Interview time and location was chosen by participants (participant home: 4, participant work: 2, Café: 1). Before each interview, participants were asked if they had read and understood the information sheet (Appendix A) this outlined their rights. They also completed a consent form (see Appendix C), and were given the opportunity to ask any further questions. Interviews ranged from 50-90 minutes in duration, and were recorded using a digital voice recorder.

A semi-structured, one-on-one interview method was used. Open-ended questions were applied to direct the interview and encourage participants to tell their stories (see Appendix D). Questions were based around aspects of New Zealand as a country/culture in regards to what participants found easy/difficult, same/different to their home country/culture. Participants were asked their nationalities to confirm their suitability for the study, as well as their circumstances/reasons for moving to New Zealand. Why they thought women immigrants were at higher risk for developing depression, and if they believed being a woman (or gender) specifically played a role in how they experienced their adaptation to New Zealand, was also questioned.

Interviews were transcribed by the researcher in the language used by participants (Spanish or English or both) into an electronic format (Microsoft word). Participants had the option to review their transcripts and make changes; five participants chose to do. Completed transcripts were sent to participants either in person or through email. Time taken for participants to return transcripts varied from one hour, to over a month.

From the transcripts, a story for each participant was formed (chapter four). Participants were given the opportunity to read and make any adjustments to their personal story. Only one participant chose to make minor adjustments to their personal story. The transcripts were analyzed using narrative analysis. A presentation of the research findings was given during a MIA meeting to obtain feedback from a wider network of Hispanic women; most participants also attended this meeting. MIA's feedback and participant feedback was incorporated as part of the discussion section. All seven participants chose to remain in the study after this phase.

Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for this study was gained from the Massey University Ethics Committee: HEC: Southern A Application 14/64. The current research focusses on immigrant women who are identified in the literature as being at most risk for developing mental health issues, due to factors associated with migration. Because this study focusses on the experiences of migration as told through personal stories, the researcher was aware participants may experience distress. To minimize the risk of harm, participants were asked to nominate a support person in their consent forms (see Appendix C) who could be contacted by them or the researcher to provide them with support. If participants or the researcher required professional support, a clinical psychologist was acquired who knew of the study and nominated themselves as a viable option to contact.

Rapport building was a priority for the researcher, in order to ensure participants felt safe and comfortable in order to tell their personal stories. Being members of MIA meant the researcher and participants already knew each other within a trusted and positive setting. Rapport building was further facilitated by allocating time before and after interviews to talk freely in order to learn more about each other outside of MIA. As most of the interviews occurred in participants' homes, it was important for the safety of participants and researcher to feel comfortable and safe around each other.

To maintain anonymity, participants were asked to provide a pseudonym to use in the transcripts. Personal information in the transcripts that could be used to identify the participants was removed by the researcher.

Narrative analysis

Merely accepting narratives as fundamental in organizing life events does not guide the extraction of subjective experiences or underlying social structures within the

narrative (Stephens, 2011). Grounded in narrative psychology, narrative analysis can provide such guidance, and is considered not a method, but a theoretical approach to interpreting stories (Stephens, 2011).

Through narrative analysis, stories are dissected for their structure and positioning (Murray & Sools, 2015). A thematic analysis is used to understand common themes between stories. However, the primary objective is to abstract the social and cultural influences within the story, as well as the creation and positioning of the storied self (Stephens, 2011). For this reason, narrative analysis becomes a multi-level approach, looking at the self, the social self, and the wider social influences. Consequently, narrative analysis can be undertaken in a variety of ways (Murray & Sools 2015; Stephens & Breheny 2013). The current research used a narrative analysis approach based on Breheny and Stephens (2011) research that was further adapted to suit the aim and research objectives of the current study.

Breheny and Stephens (2011) adapted an analysis model introduced by Murray (2000) into a three part model to suit their study into the dynamics of family relationships. Murray`s original analysis model consisted of four functioning levels: *the personal level* (the story a person creates about their own experience); *the interpersonal level* (the co-creation that occurs between the creator and the audience); *the positional level* (the broader social context/ moral functions/subject positioning and power relations); and *the ideological level* (broader social systems, cultural beliefs and representations). Breheny and Stephens (2011) combined the last two levels into one that they labelled: *the public narratives* (the cultural values/beliefs/rules that govern social meaning making and the creation of social identities through positioning and power relations), and applied a comparative analysis *between* stories.

Like Breheny's and Stephens' (2011) model, three levels of functioning will be recognized during the analysis; the *personal story*, the *social context/social structures*, and the *wider social context/public narrative*. Figure 3 illustrates how these three social levels are structured in relation to each other, and specifically what components within each level will be identified and analyzed.
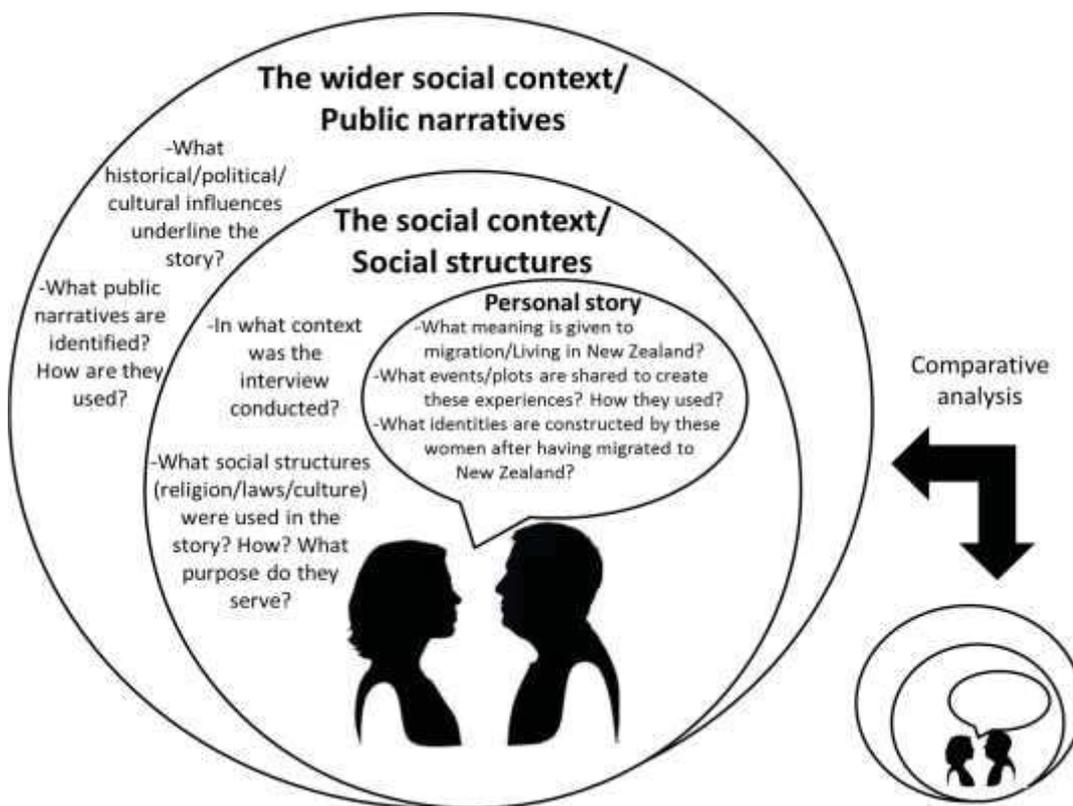
Figure 3. Smythe, K. (2015). *The different levels of narrative analysis as used in this study*. Wellington, New Zealand: Massey University.

Like Breheny and Stephens' (2011) study, within the first level of functioning (personal story) the emplotments (short stories within the interviews) will be analyzed for their content, meaning and identity creation; within this level a personal story for each participant will be provided. Unlike Breheny and Stephens` study, the second level

of functioning does not focus specifically on the creation of the narrative with the researcher (interpersonal level), but will instead identify more specifically the social context, such as the social influences and social structures, that influence the creation of the narrative within that particular moment in time. The third level of analysis (wider social context/ public narratives) will explore what political/cultural/social influences and public narratives have been used to create the story and the positioning and power relations the participants use.

It is assumed all three levels of functioning work together concurrently and not separately; for example, meaning making at the personal level requires understanding of the social structures and public narratives being used to create such meaning. The current research will conduct a comparative analysis across all stories by analyzing how the levels work together as a whole to create the emplotments, instead of targeting each level separately or each story separately.

Role of the researcher

Narrative psychology encourages a reflexive nature to research, by recognizing that the interpretations of narratives are also influenced by the *interpreter's* historical and cultural influences (Gadamer; as cited in Inwood, 2005). As the researcher, I will be part of the construction of the research; the catalyst for the data-collection, analysis and interpretation of the stories. This is a role that is often overlooked or downplayed within qualitative studies (Lyons, 2015; Lyons & Coyles, 2007). It is important for me to be reflexive and self-aware as to how I influence the nature of the research and research outcomes through my values, positioning, and personal experience.

I brought multiple roles to the current research such as: Master's student, member of MIA, Hispanic immigrant woman, a New Zealand citizen, and friend to

participants. All these roles are shaped by historical, social, and cultural influences presented within my life that will be highlighted.

I am a 26 year old female born in Chile, who migrated to New Zealand with my family at eight years of age. Being young, I had no choice in migrating to New Zealand; my parents chose to migrate in order to provide their three children with a brighter future. Nineteen years later, I feel competently integrated into New Zealand culture and have accepted New Zealand as my primary home by choosing to become a New Zealand citizen. I am fluent in Spanish (verbally and written) as it is my first language, and I have maintained connections with Chilean culture, such as food preparation, music, family expectations and values, as well as traveled back to Chile twice to visit family over the last five years.

I believe that as a child, acculturation was an easy process for me, but I understand the difficulty of adapting to another culture as an older adult, after watching my parents journey in learning to live in New Zealand. My mother's journey is especially influential in my life, as she overcame depression she developed in New Zealand in order to adapt and provide for her family, thereby, becoming the inspiration behind the concept of this research. It was not until I developed depression myself after moving to a new city, and having my parents and younger sister migrate back to Chile due to a better long term investment opportunity, that I understood first-hand what it was like to experience isolation and lack of support within a new environment.

Having undergone such an experience, I believe it has enabled me to acknowledge my participant's experiences of migration and acculturation as unique, with personalized challenges, rewards, and outcomes for each individual. I'm also aware that such experiences have a specific meaning for me, that can influence the direction the interviews take or the nature of the analysis. For example, I see obtaining

visas as a frustrating venture, and so I may assume that participants found obtaining visas as difficult as I did. I may, therefore, ask questions that would create a confirmation of an experience like my own. However, being aware of such a potential bias, I made sure to listen and ask open-ended and unbiased questions that would allow participants the opportunity to create their own experiences.

In regards to data analysis, it is understood that within qualitative analysis such as narrative analysis, the conclusions extracted from the data by one researcher may not be the same conclusions reached by another researcher using the same data. I am aware that the conclusions reached within the current research are influenced and bound by my personal experiences and biases, and must, therefore, be acknowledged and treated as such during the discussion portion of the research.

Chapter four

Personal stories

"Stories matter."

- Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie

This chapter will provide a summary of each participant story. The current research recognizes the importance of the stories as a unique and meaningful creation, that as a whole conveys a larger picture of migration experiences. Each story has been assigned with a quote used by the participants; this presents an important idea or summarizes the overall feel of the story. Within the first paragraph of each story, the social context in which the story was created is presented. The stories are provided in no particular order.

Sia's Story
"..and it's maybe because we are, too Chilean"

Sia is a 30 year old, Chilean woman who has been in New Zealand for six years. In her second year in New Zealand, Sia met her Italian husband Angelo while working at an Italian restaurant. Now, five years later, they are married and own and work in their own restaurant. In between working in and owning a restaurant, Sia has also worked as a pre-school teacher and has become a primary member of MIA. I had met Sia on previous occasions and so we had already developed a good rapport together prior to the interview, that took place in Sia's restaurant.

Sia came to New Zealand with her university boyfriend on a working holiday visa. During their first year in New Zealand, they worked primarily casual jobs. Their relationship ended while Sia was working as a chef/kitchen hand. Sia stayed in New

Zealand and was able to extend her visa through her work, however after a year she was denied further visas, including a student visa. By this point, Sia had just met Angelo, and within three months of dating they moved in together. Angelo supported Sia, as she could not legally work and required sponsorship to stay in New Zealand. Sia sees this period of time as the hardest time she has spent in New Zealand, as the uncertainty of not knowing the future, along with not being able to work, and moving in with someone she just met, are against her personal and cultural values.

Thankfully, through Angelo, Sia not only obtained a new visa but also permanent residency. Consequently, Sia's decision to stay in New Zealand is primarily based on meeting and falling in love with Angelo. Before Angelo, Sia managed to survive in New Zealand without learning to speak English, by working in a Spanish speaking environment and surrounding herself with Hispanic friends. Angelo challenged Sia to acculturate to New Zealand by telling her "you are too Chilean…you want to make you…. a spot, like your Chilean spot." Sia, although personally offended, challenged herself to learn English, where she was able to work as a pre-school teacher and further still by being the front of house in their restaurant venture.

Sia understands what "being too Chilean" meant for her; the inability to expand beyond her cultural resources and be open enough to explore new ones. Sia highlights it as the reason why she believes others may struggle to adapt and create a life in New Zealand (above quote). For Sia, life in New Zealand is easy due to the non-competitive nature of New Zealanders, work-life balance, and the ease of finding work and accommodation. What Sia finds the hardest while living in New Zealand is being her true sarcastic, strong and joking self in English, as well as living with the a lack of deep belonging to New Zealand, that she compares to the ingrained attachment to her own stronger culture.

Mary`s story

"I'm so grateful, that I did, that we did, that we…..build again, our nest and net."

Mary is a 30 year old Chilean woman who has been in New Zealand for eight years. Mary works in a professional capacity, in a well-recognized institution helping students with disabilities. Mary's partner is Pedro who is also Chilean, and together they have one daughter, Julieta who is four years old and born in New Zealand. I had met Mary on previous occasions and so we already developed a good rapport together prior to the interview, that took place at Mary's work during her lunch break.

Mary and Pedro originally came to New Zealand on a working holiday visa for one year overseas experience. However, they both fell in love with New Zealand, so instead of going back to Chile, they worked hard over the next two years and invested in building a life here. Right from the beginning, Mary and Pedro were able to obtain work visas. Within three months, they both had jobs in Auckland and lived in a flat with Korean students; a lifestyle they achieved using very little English. After buying a car, they learnt the driving rules for New Zealand in order to travel and work around the North Island. After getting advice from a friend, they decided to drive down and settle in Wellington.

In Wellington, the plan became to stay in New Zealand, starting with the process of obtaining residency as skilled migrants. Mary started out volunteering before getting employed part-time as a teacher aide and nanny. Soon after, she obtained a full time job as a special education adviser for Ministry of Education. Over the years she was able to gain references and network, building her professional career (her "net") from scratch, as her previous professional experience as a Psychologist was not fully recognized in New Zealand. Eventually, Mary found work in mental health, this allowed her to gain permanent residency, before she moved into student services in the tertiary education

sector. Mary describes her working life in New Zealand as frustrating and difficult at times, but ultimately became a new door she never considered was a possibility. She is now grateful for having gone through the experience to where she is now.

For Mary, migrating to another country had been done by various family members before; modeling the need to be flexible and open to new cultures and experiences when travelling/migrating. Mary feels she has full support from her family and partner, and is confident that Julieta will grow up knowing all of her extended family around the globe. For Mary, New Zealand is a great laid back country, and she feels lucky her and Pedro were able to stay, rebuild and start a family in New Zealand (above quote). The hardest part for Mary was the stress of acquiring visas/residency, this required a significant amount of time, energy and money with no guaranteed outcome; and, the challenge of learning a new language, culture and re-building her "nest" and own identity in a completely new context.

Lulu's story
"It makes sense" but "it's a tradeoff, it will never be perfect"

Lulu is a 34 year old, Argentinean born woman, who also holds Italian cultural values through her Italian grandparents. Lulu is a fulltime working professional who has evolved her career throughout the eight years she has been in New Zealand; concurrently, Lulu is also a constant part-time tertiary student, always wanting to learn more. Lulu and her kiwi husband Steve, own the Wellington central apartment the interview was conducted in. I had met Lulu on previous occasions, so we had already developed a good rapport together prior to the interview. Lulu was on study leave from work at the time, and had just come back from a short trip to visit her mother in Argentina.

Lulu originally came to New Zealand on an adventure after her studies, to visit her friend who was traveling around New Zealand. During her trip, Lulu met Steve, who she continued to have an online relationship with after she went back to Argentina. Within a year, Steve convinced Lulu to come back to New Zealand for a year to see what living in New Zealand was like. Lulu arrived on a working holiday visa with a return ticket, but soon decided to stay and applied for a partnership visa with Steve, that allowed her to obtain permanent residency, before ultimately becoming a New Zealand citizen.

Lulu describes herself as a very passionate person who naturally likes to help people. Lulu has only lived in Wellington while in New Zealand, and likes the work/family time balance and calmness of living in New Zealand. However, she misses the constant music, and the ease of making friends in Argentina, as well as her family. For Lulu, life in New Zealand has become a process of logical steps (getting visas, marrying, buying a house) that make sense, all designed to build her future with Steve and achieve the successful life she wants to live. However, Lulu feels that each step she has and will take, is another step that takes her further away from the life/family/cultural values she still holds back in Argentina.

Lulu describes her life as an incomplete puzzle, with large pieces such as her mum, brother and friends left behind in Argentina, while pieces of herself are somewhere between New Zealand and Argentina. She calls this the trade off in re-building her life in New Zealand; a tradeoff that Lulu's mum initially supported her to take. Lulu has managed to make work by keeping herself busy through studying/projects, self-awareness and alterations to expectations around important events such as Christmas, birthdays, and holidays. Overall, Lulu is grateful for having gone on her adventure and the life she has built with Steve.

Ana's story

"Here my role is not very clear. I still haven't found it."

Ana is a 29 year old Mexican woman, who worked as a professional in a very structured formal organization. Ana is married to Jose, who works in hospitality. Together they came to New Zealand just under a year ago, and now rent a small apartment in the Wellington central. I had briefly met Ana once before at a MIA meeting, where I presented my research and she was a guest speaker. Ana felt she could relate with the aims of my research and therefore, wanted to help by sharing her story. The interview was conducted at a local bar/restaurant after working hours.

Ana and Jose came to New Zealand as a honeymoon/vacation trip, where they intended to buy a car and travel/work around New Zealand for a year, before going back to Mexico. Unfortunately, early in their trip their car failed to work and they become unable to travel further than Wellington. Ana was given an opportunity to fill a short vacancy at her current work that extended to a fulltime long term capacity very suddenly. Ana was sponsored through this job and obtained a working visa for three years. Jose was unable to obtain work due to his visa restrictions at the time, making Ana the sole provider. To minimize costs, Ana and Jose started flatting with others, a lifestyle they were not expecting and were not culturally used to.

Ana's story contains strong political influences, as back in Mexico she worked actively with others in large organizations to improve welfare issues within a corrupt government system. Ana describes her life in Mexico as busy, involved, productive and supportive, even if at times dangerous. Within this like-minded environment, Ana built a recognizable identity for herself and met Jose, and together they decided they preferred a more peaceful life together; thus, the reason for exploring New Zealand as

an option. Ana genuinely believed she would go back to Mexico, however, Jose loves New Zealand and wants to build a future here instead.

For Ana, her experience of New Zealand is not the holiday she expected. In her story, Ana found herself living in a house and working in a permanent job where she couldn't be her true self. Further still, Ana couldn't relate with the kiwi adaptation of Mexican culture, as she deeply feels her culture is more than the commercialized "reggaeton box" others would associate her with. Being the sole income earner, with a husband who wants to stay in New Zealand, combined with hearing from family that Ana should stay away from unsafe Mexico, meant Ana felt trapped to stay in New Zealand. Even the cold, dark winter, and unreliable public transport sabotaged Ana's efforts to adapt to Wellington. Ana says she turned into an ungrateful, shallow version of herself who she tried to hide in front of others. Even when given support she refused it, however, it was not until she discussed going back to Mexico as a realistic possibility with Jose that Ana felt less trapped, and decided to change who she was turning into.

With the freedom to go back and the support from Jose and others, Ana now feels more in control of her positioning here in New Zealand. Ana feels that she needed to be ready to receive help from others, and until she was ready, she was not going to accept it when given. After going through one winter, she is confident she can withstand another, especially now that she and Jose have their own space to be themselves. Ana constructs her journey in New Zealand as a personal challenge, where she must look internally and become more self-aware and self-giving; a contrast to the years of giving so much of herself to others and greater causes. As Ana mentions in her quote, her role in New Zealand is not clear yet, however, now she feels in a better position to find out what it could be.

Wela's story

"Yo creo que es eso, la persona que a vivio sola, no le es difficil vivir. Siempre que tienen…..la facultad para poder sobre vivir."

"I think that's it, the person who has lived alone, it is not hard for them to live, they always have the.....faculty to survive."

Wela is a 65+ year old, retired, Chilean woman who has visited New Zealand twice before in order to see her daughter and granddaughter who live here. Currently, Wela has been in New Zealand for five months. Wela was a young widow who was left to run a farm and raise her baby daughter, Karen, on her own. Through this experience Wela has become a self-sufficient woman, capable of accomplishing any task she sets her mind to. I had already met Wela through previous MIA meetings/events. Wela chose to have the interview in a café based in Wellington central, and chose to share her story in Spanish.

Wela's current trip is a research trip, in which she is deciding whether to permanently move to New Zealand. She feels that if she knew English she would stay without a doubt, but because she doesn't she is unsure. Wela has family and friends back in Chile, but her "closest family are here." She is grateful to see "my daughter is happy and has a great partner. I respect him." Wela was welcomed into his home like another family member, and sees her granddaughter can come and go from the house like it's her own home too.

The first thing about New Zealand that caught Wela's attention was how orderly and clean and clear things are. She mentions the airport as an example, where she simply had to "follow the green line. It's idiot proof" to get from one clean orderly airport to another. After getting hit with a cane by a blind man who Wela was helping after he had fallen, she learnt from her granddaughter that the elderly and children are offended when touched by strangers. However, she is amazed by the respect for the

elderly, and is still surprised by the number of people who offer their seat on the bus/train, or the grand apologies she receives when someone accidentally bumps into her.

Wela is able to read and write English through studying it at school, even winning awards. Her mum was Irish, so English came naturally to her. However, her mum passed away when she was very young, so she finds it harder to speak it. Wela can understand most accents, but finds the Kiwi accent hard to understand; Wela has learnt to say "slowly please, slowly" as she feels Kiwis eat parts of their words and talk fast, much like Chileans. When she needs something, she studies the night before by translating her requests into her notebook, that she uses as a guide the next day. Her granddaughter joked how Wela must appear a little dumb when she speaks slowly with the book to guide her. "It's the only way to go forward" for Wela.

What works in Wela's favour is "my dad was a cop so we moved around a lot. So I have no problem adapting." Being a young widow, Wela feels completely self-sufficient, and being a teacher helped her learn how to learn. When Wela was living on the farm, Karen chose to study in Santiago, and after Karen finished studying she pushed Wela to move there too. Wela eventually did and had to learn a whole new way of living. So for Wela, moving here is the same, except she doesn't speak the language. So when she is lost she has been told to say "Can you help me?" By doing this, Wela has found that Kiwis are very forgiving and helpful towards immigrants.

To "maintain sanity" Wela listens to music on a tiny radio using headphones. "When I'm feeling down, I listen to music...music from around the world like Frank Sinatra..all the slow songs" are beautiful to her, and listening to the music grounds her. Wela took craft workshops in Chile, so she does crafts in her spare time, as it entertains her and is like "therapy". She loves making things: "Everyday it's something different

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because I'm never just doing one thing. I'm always inventing things you don't regularly see...I don't feel bored."

Wela's biggest challenge is speaking the language in order to relate and connect with others her own age: "What I have noticed is that there are a lot of grey heads at church, I'm catholic. And even at a jazz festival recently, lots of grey heads. Unfortunately, I can't communicate with them, that's what I want, to communicate.... because in Chile on the bus I would talk to anyone.... Here I can't do it, I get frustrated. I hear conversations, they laugh and I wonder what they are saying, it would be nice to know."

In Wela`s story, she uses a lot of her previous experiences as strengths in overcoming new challenges in her life. As she mentions in her quote above, Wela feels that having had to survive on her own so far, has made her capable of overcoming any challenges she faces today.

Andy's Story

"That's, another thing I learned in New Zealand that, you have to look for help. It will be there somewhere but you have to…..make the first move."

Andy is a 39 year old Argentinean woman who has been in New Zealand for seven years. Andy lives in a rented apartment with her partner Tom, who is English. Andy and Tom found out they are expecting their child only a few weeks ago, so now they are looking to buy their first home soon. Both are working professionals, but Andy has been studying over the last three years and has just finished her last exam. I had met Andy on previous occasions, so we already developed a good rapport together prior to the interview, that took place at Andy's home.

Andy lived in Venezuela for four years prior to moving to New Zealand, so she understood the nature and difficulties of adapting to a new country. In Venezuela, Andy became depressed as she felt homesick, but wanted a change from Argentina. Andy managed to push herself to "snap out of it" by becoming more self-aware and trying spiritual techniques like meditation. In her second year in Venezuela Andy met Tom, who already had lived four years in Venezuela, and came from New Zealand. After two years together, Tom decided to go back to New Zealand, and convinced Andy to follow him by telling Andy she would be able to fulfill her goal of studying at university there.

In Venezuela, Andy researched her options in New Zealand as she "likes to know the road." To feel secure, she obtained translations and knowledge of all the paperwork needed to get a job and apply for university. In New Zealand, Andy found obtaining things like opening a bank account and generally living easy compared to Venezuela, but she had a culture shock when she couldn't understand the kiwi accent.

The "adaptation period" for Andy was different to Venezuela, as in New Zealand she had no friends, and both the culture and language were different. When she made a friend, they would soon decide to move/live somewhere else, making friends a support that was hard to keep. She also felt discriminated against because of her dark skin, especially as she couldn't understand what others said. She would stay home watching Māori TV, "trying to understand". Andy soon started to "recognize symptoms" and wouldn't "allow myself to be like that", so she pushed herself to get out of bed, go for walks, prepare a CV, and utilize the resources available to her in New Zealand, until she eventually got a job as a pre-school teacher; a job she did back in Venezuela.

For Andy, getting a job meant she was "part of the working society" and having an IRD number gave her a sense of belonging. At work, Andy found the children in

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New Zealand did not want physical contact, and made fun of her accent. She felt more connected to Māori children who were more friendly and warm. Andy decided it was time to obtain a new job and enroll in university.

Andy suddenly found her life in New Zealand was doable, achievable, and after going to a pōwhiri where she felt truly welcomed, she realized she could make New Zealand her home. During her second year at university, Andy developed depression again. She accessed counseling through university. She realized she was home sick; a normal feeling for anyone in her position. Andy felt helpless and frustrated being away when her family got ill, or when her sisters were having babies she couldn't meet. Andy was trapped; needing to finish her studies before being able to leave the country. The counselor helped Andy overcome obstacles "I created in my head", and she learned how her mood can change like a "bell-curve", so Andy learned she could talk to friends for support.

For Andy, New Zealand is "a country based on trust", but also a "cold place" where music is not played often and people stay to themselves by using headphones or texting. Andy feels in her culture you need to be touched, kissed, hugged and to laugh with each other, things done within MIA. However, Andy believes kiwis "can be nice and warm and laugh when you get to know them." Andy also misses the small town feeling where everybody knows each other, and "booking" a catch up with a friend is not required, you just drop by.

Now that she has finished studying, Andy is looking forward to seeing her family, already making plans around visiting them after the baby is born. Andy feels she has grown up in New Zealand and is optimistic about her future, especially with a baby on the way and being able to obtain better work opportunities using her degree. In

Andy's story, she constantly went out and accessed help and resources in order to make New Zealand her home; advice she passes on to others in her quote above.

Senni's story

"Y llegue como estaba mi casa, porque vi mi mama en la cara de la abuela"
"and I arrived like in my home, because I saw my mother in the face of the grandmother"

Senni was a 65+ year old, retired, Chilean woman who has been in New Zealand for over 30 years. Senni has one daughter, Bella, who was born in Argentina but grew up in New Zealand. Senni lives in her own flat that is conveniently placed below Bella's house. Bella is married, has an almost three year old son, and is expecting another in four months. Senni is a very involved grandmother as well as a hospitable and spiritual woman, who has been a prominent, long time member of MIA. I was invited to Senni's home for lunch in order to conduct the interview. Senni chose to share her story in Spanish.

Senni came to New Zealand with her baby as a refugee in the late 1970's, during Pinochet's regime. Senni was part of a group of individuals seeking safety in Argentina. While staying at a hotel, the group were brutally abused and interrogated for information. After the interrogation, Senni remembers crying, holding her baby and asking God "Why so much cruelty, I don't understand." It was then she describes seeing a projection in her room, she couldn't believe it and even tested her eyes to check if it was real. Senni saw Jesus who she hugged. He told her "Here the agony ends", as he showed her a beautiful place full of colorful flowers. She applied for refuge in five countries; New Zealand was the first to reply. She accepted, even though she had no idea where it was.

The moment Senni arrived in Christchurch, she felt she was home (above quote). She saw her mother's face in the face of her adopted mum, who she called mum and abuela as she became Bella's grandmother. Senni recalls the house she arrived to as the house in her vision, and found multiple similarities between her own family and her adopted family in New Zealand. Senni also has an internal feeling of knowing people and things before she encounters them, although she doesn't know how. A feeling that helped her save a friend's house from a fire, gives her an urge to contact certain people when she knows they need help, and allows her to make instant friends with strangers.

When asked if her religion helped her adapt to New Zealand, Senni said "No, God. Because I'm friends with all the churches…..any religion there is, they believe because there is only one God…..they worship him in different ways, but they believe in him." So for her, it is her faith more than her religion that guided her life as an open generous person. She also attributes to always being helpful as a child due to her parents, specifically her father who was a generous farmer. She recalls having a beautiful childhood, full of laughter and happiness, with her siblings and parents who became her best friends. Senni felt that ended with Pinochet's regime. She recalls feeling free and happy again the day she arrived in New Zealand.

Senni feels that Christchurch is similar to the south of Chile where she is from, so it was easy to adapt to. She also feels secure in New Zealand, where she "Miss the people but don't miss Chile, nothing." And the only time she felt sad was when she heard the misfortunes of friends due to the regime. However, Senni lives a life without anger and bitterness; feeling it, then letting it go. For this reason she says people feel calm in her home, where she has an open door policy "In my house everybody enters."

Senni tried living in Chile in 1994 after the regime ended, but found her family was not the same. She said "Silent, silent, silent, everything was eaten in silence.

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Nobody talked, because they couldn't talk", referring to the fear of being overheard and imprisoned during the regime. She said overtime they learned to joke and laugh together again, but it was still not the same. So she came back to New Zealand.

After the Christchurch earthquakes, Senni moved to Wellington where her and her daughter bought the house they live in now. She felt blessed, as the earthquake red-zoned her street, but her house was the only house left standing, so she was able to sell it. Like in Christchurch, in Wellington Senni has become a well-known community member by partaking in events, going to church and helping where she can. In Chile, she used to be a seamstress; a hobby she now continues in her home. Senni also listens to Chilean radio stations on her computer; she even calls them to request songs from time to time.

For Senni, adapting to New Zealand is a choice. For her it was natural, "easy", but she believes "it's all in your mind", "don't be embarrassed" to try, if it doesn't work one way then "try another", and don't "expect things to be the same, because here, that doesn't work."

Chapter five

Identity

"I am - the two most powerful words in the world, for whatever we put after them

becomes our reality"

-Susan Howson

In constructing their stories, participants also constructed themselves by the way they positioned themselves, and through the social structures they accessed to complement the perception of themselves they wanted to share with me. The participant's self-constructions, their identities as I perceived them, have been provided in Chapter Four, presenting the first stage of identity analysis. I was also interested in the identities that were created within the participant's plots, as well as the common identities that were created by multiple participants.

In my interpretation of their identity construction, I noticed participants drew from the "ethnic identity" narrative to construct their personal identities. This narrative functioned to provide participants with a sense of belonging. Participants also illustrated how the "ethnic identity" narratives were malleable, able to suit different contextual demands. Lastly, participants constructed identities through the "role identity" narrative they assigned themselves, that also provided them with a sense of belonging. This chapter explores how participants constructed their ethnic and role identities, and how these identities were given meaning in the context of being Latina immigrant women in New Zealand.

I am my ethnic identity

This study uses the term ethnic identity as conceptualized by Taifel (1981) and further by Phinney (1992): an aspect of a person's self-concept, beyond ethnicity (affiliation with a group based on parental ethnic heritage), that comes from their knowledge of membership in a social group (or groups), combined with the emotional significance and value attached to that membership. Ethnic identity requires self-identification, participation in matching cultural practices, and a sense of belonging and development towards that group. This identity is conceptualized as malleable and not static (Phinney, 1992).

At the beginning of the interviews I asked participants to self-identify their own ethnicity by thinking about the group they felt most affiliated with, and therefore self-categorized as. Participants indicated one of three different ethnic identities: Argentinean, Chilean, Mexican; one also associated with Italy as well as Kiwi (Lulu). Within their stories, I noticed participants drew from the "ethnic identity" narrative by not only constructing themselves as their ethnic identity, but also how that ethnic identity served the purpose of connecting them to others to provide a sense of belonging, and the ability to be malleable in adapting to suit contextual demands.

-Providing a sense of belonging

Social relationships are vital for finding meaning in life (Lambert et al., 2010; Stillman et al., 2009). However, participation in social relationships is not enough, as a person also requires acceptance through a sense of belonging within these relationships in order to also attach meaning to their lives (Lambert, et al., 2013). The participants constructed experiences where attaching themselves to their ethnic identity provided them with this sense of belonging, allowing them to make sense of their position as migrants in New Zealand.

Mary constructs herself as "still very Chilean" within a New Zealand context. She positions herself as maintaining a sense of belonging to others through participation in Chilean practices:

> I'm still very Chilean, you know what I mean, like we are sort of, I mean even though I'm living in this country, at home I feel like....my Chilean little, micro community somehow, you know. (Mary)

Mary assigns meaning to her construction as a Chilean in New Zealand by drawing from the "home" public narrative; a home is a place a person can make their own, they should feel comfortable to be themselves, and where family usually resides. By using the "home" narrative in conjunction with the "Chilean" narrative, Mary has connected the behaviours attached to being Chilean such as language use and social expectations as a part of her home, meaning she has positioned being Chilean as a social venture, conducted with her family "micro community", connecting her with others, and providing a sense belonging through her participation as a Chilean within a space that is hers.

Sia also practiced being Chilean in New Zealand, however, Sia didn't expand her ethnic identity to include New Zealand connections. Here, Sia tells a story of the moment she realized she needed to expand beyond her Chilean ethnic identity. Sia uses an "argument" with her husband as a setting for her story. This setting allows Sia to present two contrasting perspectives that impacted her "process of growing up":

> So he know another Sia, totally different than now…he was in the process of growing up….I remember the first argument we got… he told me, my problem was I'm too Chilean. (laugh)…and I say, you crazy, I'm Chilean OK (laugh) I'm Chilean how you tell that, I never thinking that you're too Italian.....what are you talking about? He said, yes because you still have this feeling I didn't understand in this moment like…part of Chile. I don't know what he was thinking, but I remember this and say ah he doesn't understand me….and leave him alone at home, and then I'm back after I don't know, too many hours….so after a while…we start to talking about everything: ah how can you do this? It's like my identity being Chilean is part of me, they never go away because it's the way I be. The way I was born blah blah blah, and then he told me like no but, you just still

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to speaking just Spanish, all your friends, close friends speak in Spanish, you talk with me in Spanish, and we actually live in a country the language is English….I have the feeling you no want to be part of the place. You want to make you a spot, like your Chilean spot. (Sia)

Sia constructs herself as a victim in this argument, where her Chileaness (her unchangeable way of being Chilean) was positioned as a "problem" by her husband. However, this construction is revealed to be untrue when Sia develops the argument by providing her husband's perspective: he positioned Sia as being in a "Chilean spot", static, not moving from her cultural language use and Chilean connections; a position he felt prevented her from connecting and creating a sense of belonging to New Zealand. Sia used the argument as a pivotal point in her growth to extend her ethnic identity to create New Zealand connections that result in a new identity, "another Sia" to be constructed. This new Sia is the grown up Sia that created the story.

In Ana's story, attempting to connect within a current ethnic identity was also constructed as difficult. Ana draws on her ethnic identity as a Latin American to construct a sense of belonging with Latin Americans. However, in New Zealand her attempts to participate with other Latin Americans does not provide the same sense of belonging she is used to, making her feel lost and ungrounded:

> …feeling like losing your ground a little bit, like losing who you are, and I feel that sometimes...for example when I first got here it was really hard for me to relate with Latin Americans because although I felt like it's always easier to relate to Latin Americans, but I felt like there was this really big cliché going on, so for example the image people have about Latin Americans but it's not true...our cultures are super different among them. It's like an Argentinean is not the same as a Paraguayan and a Brazilian is not the same as a Mexican person you know. So I felt like I got put in the same box… you know like, you have to dance and you have to laugh and you drink tequila...I say well my culture is so much bigger than that. You know like, it's so big, even like inside my country there are so many differences, so many languages, so many things that I cannot be put into a reggaeton box, you know, it's because I hate reggaeton, just terrible…so I think that's one part that's been hard on me as well, like being with people who have been here for a really long time. (Ana)

By identifying as a Latin American, Ana positions herself as able to connect and relate with other Latin Americans through the behaviors and expectations they would share through having similar or related ethnic identities. Ana constructs ethnic identity as reliant on the perception of others. She illustrates this when she applies the "cliché" narrative to construct Latin American ethnic identity in New Zealand as fake, with over generalized expectations of what behaviors she should have by being a Latin American "you have to dance and you have to laugh and you drink tequila". Ana resists this social construction by creating her own, where her ethnic identity is constructed as unique, supported by applying differences across ethnic identities: "Argentinean is not the same as a Paraguayan and a Brazilian is not the same as a Mexican person you know". Ana then draws from the "box" narrative, where the box confines things into a group, to illustrate how cultures as unique as she has constructed them to be, cannot be confined into a "reggaeton box". In this construction, Ana assigns listening and enjoying reggaeton music (another expected Latin American behavior), as the label of the contents of the box; as well as another feature of being a Latin American she resists "I hate reggaeton, just terrible". Without partaking in New Zealand Latin American behaviors, Ana is unable to connect with the New Zealand Latin Americans that do, leaving her feeling unconnected with no sense of belonging to this group.

Wela illustrates how participation alone does not provide a sense of belonging and meaning, Wela requires communication with others in that group to achieve this:

> Creo que para mí no ha sido frustrante venir acá. Si lo único que me frustra es la comunicación (reír). Nada más que eso…compartir lo que yo pienso. Porque muchas veces me hacen preguntas y claro en español yo todo diciendo, pero no puedo dar a conocer mi pensamiento. Por ejemplo en el instituto me pasa eso, porque te presentan un retrato de alguien, por ejemplo ayer, un retrato de una actriz famosa. Yo no tengo idea quien es po, yo no la conozco. Me hacían preguntas "I don't know, I don't know". Y la mayoría de las alumnas, es gente joven….y me hacen preguntas que yo nunca he hecho, porque mi edad, no es la que ellos están viviendo. Entonces no sé cómo responder a eso. Entonces me quedo callada porque

no tengo yo como expresar. Pero la mayoría de las amistadas que llegan a la casa son otras latinas, entonces ahí puedo conversar. (Wela)

I think for me it hasn't been too frustrating coming here. Yes the only thing that frustrates me is the communication (laugh). Nothing more than that...to share what I am thinking. Because many times they ask me questions and yes in Spanish I say everything, but I can't let them know my thoughts. For example, in the [English] institute that happens to me, because they present you with a portrait of someone, for example yesterday, a portrait of a famous actress. I have no idea who she is, I don't know her. They ask me questions "I don't know, I don't know. And the majority of the students, are young people...and they ask me questions I have never done, because of my age, it's not the one they are living. And so I don't know how to respond to that. And so I stay quiet, because I don't have how to express. But the majority of friends who arrive at the house are other Latinos, and so there I can converse. (Wela)

Wela constructs the inability to connect with others as due to "communication", where communication is constructed as the ability for Wela to share her thoughts with others. Wela presents this as a problem external to herself, where she is able to understand the questions, and she can communicate her answers in Spanish, but she is still unable to communicate with others. Wela uses her English class as a setting in her story, a place where shared knowledge and connections through the attainment of language are expected. Wela draws from the "age" narrative, where Wela lives in one age of expectations and knowledge, while her class of "young people" live in another. Through the age narrative, in her class Wela is constructed as an outsider, unable to connect with her class as they do not share the same knowledge. Consequently, Wela choses to "stay quiet", unable to communicate within this setting. Wela provides us with an alternative setting "the house"; this setting provides Wela with others of shared ethnic identity "other Latinos", who Wela can communicate with. Consequently, Wela has positioned ethnic identity compatibility, as facilitating communication and connection with others, who can then become her "friends".

By drawing from their ethnic identities participants were able to show that in New Zealand, they still hold a sense of belonging to their home country through maintenance in participation of their ethnic selves (Mary). Loyalty towards ethnic identities, or

difficulty extending beyond their ethnic identity prevented participants from initiating connections towards others in New Zealand (Ana and Sia). Lastly, participation in New Zealand groups was not enough to create "ethnic identity" like connections to New Zealand, the participants required a sense of acceptance and belonging from the New Zealand group too (Wela). These stories show that participants wanted to connect to New Zealand, something they felt would be beneficial for them and make life easier by providing them with a sense of belonging to others in New Zealand. These constructions illustrate a tendency towards an integration acculturation strategy, but factors identified above (loyalty, difficulty breaking from previous ties and acceptance) can prevent Hispanic women from achieving an integrated outcome without support to overcome these factors.

- Malleable to suit different contexts

Phinney (1992) conceptualized identities as malleable and not static; participants supported this conceptualization by constructing their ethnic identities as contextually based, adaptable to suit current contexts and cultural demands. Two participants (Lulu and Sia) illustrated this trait specifically within their stories.

Lulu illustrates how her ethnic identity is malleable, adapted to suit the contextual factors that are impacting her at a specific moment and time:

> When I go back home, Argentina, I feel Kiwi. I've been here seven-eight years so I feel like I'm becoming a Kiwi more and more every day. But I still feel very, um Italian, Latino American, yeah when I'm here in New Zealand so, I don't know. At the moment I will say I feel New Zealander, but yeah, not one hundred percent Kiwi…. *(So you would say you're um flexible?)* Oh yeah, it depends on the context and people that I am surrounded with, the language I am speaking at the moment and just how I am feeling, yeah on the day. (Lulu)

Lulu draws from her ethnic identities to illustrate how her cultural self adapts to suit different contexts. Lulu uses different countries as settings in her story, positioning her as feeling a particular ethnic identity in relation to the setting she is in. In this way,

Lulu constructs her ethnic identities as parts of her, that are carried from country to country, accessible to be applied in relation to the cultural demands she feels she requires at the time: "depends on the context and people that I am surrounded with, the language I am speaking". For Lulu, these cultural identities can also be nurtured to grow over time: "I feel like I'm becoming a Kiwi more and more everyday".

Sia constructed her ethnic identities, and how they affected her personality as contextually based, here she illustrates how she expanded on this limitation in order to suit the demands of living in New Zealand as a restaurant owner:

> My personality is totally different when he meet me here and when we travel together to Chile...because in Chile I'm he thinks I'm more extroverted, I'm more strong, I'm always-I know exactly what to say, I know the joke, I'm quite sarcastic.…but in English it's really hard to, find this part of my personality, what I'm really like, but yes now I feel more confident sometime to do some joke, or be sarcastic…because it's different. It's different culture as well. So just I started doing it with the people I feel confident or I know they know me…but in Chile, doesn't matter, I be the same with everyone…also in my work and I start to change as well, and say, more singing and thinking. Before I'm totally more quiet - just listen and so, I think, after six years live here, I have the feeling my I don't know, my personality can be quite the same, in both language.…but not totally but I don't care if they no understand me, or if they ask me to take what I'm saying you know it's part of the live here, it's part of my, second language.…but before was like…everything is I feel is hard, is hard to express, it's hard to make friends, it's hard to write, or talk with someone, who didn't know much, and now I have a restaurant so I have to talk with everyone. (Sia)

Sia dissociates personality from self by owning it -"my personality"- and positions personality as socially constructed, dependent on others' perception of it. This is illustrated by using her husband as a witness to the construction of her two contrasting personalities: Chilean "strong" verbal, extroverted Sia, and New Zealand "quiet- just listen" introverted Sia. Sia drew from the personality narrative (extroverted/introverted narratives) and connected it to her two settings (Chile/New Zealand), constructing identity further as contextually based.

Sia advances to the current time "after six years" introducing her restaurant as a new setting; where Sia is able to be her extrovert self in New Zealand. Sia constructs

achieving this connection with others by expanding her use of language through owning it "it's part of my, second language…now I have a restaurant so I have to talk with everyone". Underlying Sia was able to own English by allowing herself to make mistakes using it. This is illustrated when we explore how Sia used Spanish, and how this is applied to her use of English. Sia used Spanish to connect with others by "joke, I'm quite sarcastic". Joking or being sarcastic with others could be interpreted wrongly, resulting in negative connections with others, a risk Sia was confident enough to take in Spanish, and a confidence she had to build and attach to English too. Sia constructs this confidence as a developing aspect of herself around "people I feel confident or I know they know me", as misinterpretation poses a smaller risk around people we know. Overtime, Sia has built this confidence to apply to anyone: "I don't care if they no understand me, or if they ask me to take what I'm saying you know it's part of the live here, it's part of my, second language". Consequently, Sia adapted her language use and inherently her identity constructed through it, to suit the demands of owning and running a restaurant in New Zealand.

Both Lulu and Sia demonstrate how their ethnic identities are adaptable to suit contextual factors and demands in order to connect with others, illustrating the use of an integrated acculturation strategy. Ethnic identity and adapting ethnic identity to suit contexts are not unique in facilitating a sense of belonging. Belonging can also be achieved through role construction as illustrated below.

I am my role

In some stories, the participants constructed their identities based on a role they had in relation to others, that provided them with a purpose and a sense of belonging. In moving to New Zealand, certain roles were hard to continue, this can lead to conflict in self-identity. A way of adapting to New Zealand would often involve the adoption of a new role, creating a new sense of belonging.

For example, Ana's is strongly influenced by the violent political situation within her country, something she has built her life and identity around. Ana believed her holiday in New Zealand to escape the violence of her country would be temporary; she would always go back. Here she talks about the impact on her identity in New Zealand, after acknowledging she is staying in New Zealand longer than expected:

> The fact that I'm nothing or very few things are left of what I did over there, you know like, my life has changed dramatically…..I think for example for me, a part that has been really hard to be away from, is all the things that are going on in my country at the moment, and that I was always so involved…I was always doing things because I used to, I worked for an NGO…but I used to volunteer for a lot of other things. But it was something that you just don't volunteer and go, you know, it's something that is part of your life. So for me I think it's, been like the hardest thing to see all of my friends who are still doing things there and they just like, I don't know Facebooking and you see all the things they are doing, and I'm so far away I can't really do anything. And maybe I can, but it's like, I don't know how to. So it's like you're in a safe place, and you appreciate that but you're just, away from there. (Ana)

Ana constructs her identity as the roles that gave her recognition and meaning: an NGO and volunteer. These roles "become part of your life", meaning she adopted these roles to become a personal part of her, and not just her occupations. These roles gave Ana recognition and a sense of involvement with others through the action of doing them. Consequently, being unable to do them in New Zealand, Ana feels she has become "nothing"; not involved with others the same way, and physically doing nothing but her New Zealand occupation (Ana reveals in her interview that she works in New

Zealand). Ana further supports her identity as constructed by her role, when she attempts to assign herself a new role while in New Zealand:

> …I haven't really gotten involved in anything that I really feel you know, because at first I wasn't going to stay, so at first it was like something so temporary, that I didn't really feel like I needed to get involved in anything. And now what's happening is that I'm starting to feel, after of course coming out of (taps on table) bottom...that I have to start doing things…but I'm still getting to the point where I feel this country a little bit of my own, and I haven't gotten there…So I'm still, my mind is still in Mexico, and I still wanna do things over there...so in the end I think my role here….I am doing is looking at myself, because for so many years I've been looking out for everyone. That one thing that I do, I think it's my challenge here in New Zealand is to look at myself, like to take care of myself...for example this health issues have come up being here, even my teeth have had a lot of problems, things like that I say Oh, I have to take care of those things, you know, or even start going to the gym. I'm doing these things but I'm still, here my role is not very clear yet. I still haven't found it. (Ana)

Ana constructs adopting roles as an investment, where long term it allows a person to feel part of the country, but short term is not worth making. Because Ana was expecting to be in New Zealand short term, she did not make this investment. Ana positions herself as being at a personal low point in her life "bottom", by staying longer in New Zealand without a purpose. Ana accepts she can't mentally remove herself from the people and political consequences in her country "my mind is still in Mexico", but if she could mentally dissociate from Mexico, she would be able to create a sense of belonging to New Zealand. Belonging to New Zealand is not something Ana is ready to do, as she chooses a separated/marginalised acculturation strategy, constructing her new role as one of self-nurturing, where she can't connect and make ties with others in New Zealand, and a contrast to the selfless, personally involved role she had in Mexico.

Lulu is torn between roles of family values of caring for ageing parents, and being a wife to her Kiwi husband; Lulu feels responsible for her ageing mother who still lives in Argentina, but wants to live as an independent married woman in New Zealand.

Here, I have just asked Lulu if it would be easier for her to live in New Zealand if her mum was living here too:

> It wouldn't be a solution one hundred percent, because it's, you know, my mum is a big thing…it's just, but it's not just my mum, I mean my brother would still be in Argentina, and...I still have some of my friends and my God-son is still in Argentina, so it's like, pieces of my life, that they are still back there, and mum is the biggest piece of the puzzle, but it's not the whole puzzle.. and now I feel like sometimes I… like when I said before…I'm a different person here so it feels like, it is still me but not exactly the same Lulu, so the other Lulu is still somewhere (laugh) you know between Argentina and New Zealand, so…even if my mum comes here it wouldn't be, the picture wouldn't be completely, something…will still be missing, and I think that that's the way it is. That something always is, going to be yeah, out…Yeah I think it's just a trade off in terms of, it will never be perfect, and or the picture will never be fully completed, here or there, there will always be, something that um is missing. (Lulu)

Lulu constructs who she is in relation to others, such as her mum, her brother, friends and God-son. Lulu draws from the "puzzle" narrative to illustrate how these individuals function as parts of her life, people are "pieces of my life" in the self-puzzle, positioning these individuals and the role Lulu is to them (a daughter, a sister, a friend, a God-mother), as vulnerable to being lost, but necessary to complete the whole picture that is Lulu. Lulu illustrates this vulnerability to lose parts of herself and the corresponding role she attaches to these parts, when she constructs losing Lulu in the transition of creating her life in New Zealand. Lulu also draws on "the incomplete person" public narrative, that endorses the person who is complete as healthy. In contrast, the "incomplete person" is dysfunctional, lacking in some element. By losing "Lulu", Lulu constructs herself as incomplete. Consequently, Lulu choses an assimilation acculturation strategy by creating a new Lulu in New Zealand, one that can function without the other pieces/people/roles in her life. Lulu constructs this new Lulu with new pieces and roles as the "trade off" that allows her to rebuild her life in New Zealand at the expense of herself, "the puzzle", never being fully completed.

In Mary's story, her professional identity is a prominent part of who she is; it is a role that allowed her to obtain permanent residency, and empowered her with the ability to stay and survive in New Zealand. Here, Mary is telling me her experience of learning she was not able to be a psychologist in New Zealand:

> I was also disappointed, the fact that…when I tried to get my registration, to become a psychologist here, none of my work experience was recognized. It didn't count. So that was very frustrating, it was like shit….But again you know….that's the way that it is. It's something that you can't really change…ok looking for alternatives, looking for other choices, you know, changing your career somehow…at the same time. I have been working since I arrived here sort of in education, special-ed, you know, in that area mental health you know disability. All that sort of, it's a huge area here… never had any experience back at home in that area…I didn't think about it, before I came here…somehow, I landed into special education and that sort of new area for me. And look at me now, like working for disability….something that probably I wouldn't do it…I mean it doesn't exist in Chile…And I feel lucky, I feel grateful and I feel like gosh it's a privilege really…some doors were closed, and I guess frustrated, at that time, and sad. But other doors were opened, at the same time. (Mary)

Mary draws from the "door" narrative to construct her positioning. A door represents a gateway between two spaces. When an individual is faced with an open door, this position can be empowering for them, as they can chose to stay or go through the door, by choosing to commit to what is on the other side of the door. If the door is closed, the door can become a barrier preventing entry; this positions someone as powerless. Mary believed her previous role as a psychologist in Chile would transfer in New Zealand. When this did not happen, it became a closed door, positioning her as powerless with no role and no professional identity. Mary empowered herself by looking for the other doors, deciding to go through the door that leads her to work in disability services, giving her a new role and new professional identity. Mary constructs the disability services role as not an option in her country, and one that makes her feel "grateful" and "privileged", feelings not associated with an outcome we expect to happen. This enables Mary to construct her current position in disability services as a better role and identity for her, compared to her previous role as a psychologist. In

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Mary's experience of role changing, she illustrates how migrants can be presented and limited by unexpected barriers to the previous roles they had, but they can also empower themselves through integration, by looking for other options of obtaining new roles and new identities within the specific New Zealand context.

Andy illustrates what it meant for her to obtain a role as a working person in New Zealand:

> I was very happy, because I thought oh yes, it's like now I'm part of the society, the working society or something. And I remember when I (Laugh) I applied for the IRD number, I was so happy when I got the number in the post (laugh)…. it's that sense of belonging to something like I was kind of ah not lost, but I didn't have anything to be attached to, or some identity in this country no….when I had the IRD number, ok, that's me. (Andy)

Andy has assigned herself a sense of belonging to New Zealand through being "part of the…working society" meaning, before she obtained a job she felt outside of "the society". Andy constructs belonging as not just physically being in the country for a period of time (because she had been in New Zealand for three months before obtaining a job), but by integrating through obtaining a role in relation to others in that country, such as having a job. Andy further constructs her sense of belonging by connecting it to her identity, where without that connection to others she had no identity, positioning identity as socially created. Andy enforces this construction when she empowers a series of numbers on a page socially constructed as her IRD number, as the connection between her and "society". This unique series of numbers becomes her new identity, recognized by others as a requirement of being part of the working force in New Zealand.

Senni's identity is clearly and specifically constructed as not attached to Chile, due to the friendships and the role she has created here in New Zealand:

No tengo la menor gana de ir a Chile, y eso es mí seguridad que tengo, porque tengo muchos amigos de todas nacionalidades. Y converso con una persona, y como si conocido por años empezamos…porque toda la gente le gusta conversar con migo. Y así todas mes cuentan sus problemas, sus cosas, entonces yo siempre le dio solución a sus problemas. Y toda la gente que llegaba a mi casa, en Christchurch dice "hay tanta paz…hay tanta tranquilidad aquí". Llegan con pena, esto dicen "se me paso todo…no sé qué te había a contar, tenía tanta pena que se olvidó". (Senni)

I don't have the littlest desire to go to Chile, and that's my security that I have, because I have many friends of all nationalities. And I talk to a (new) person, as if known for years we start…because everyone likes to converse with me. And so they all tell me their problems, their things, and so I always give them a solution to their problems. And everybody who arrived at my house, in Christchurch say "there's so much peace…so much tranquillity here". They arrive with so much sadness, this they say "everything has gone…I don't know what I was going to tell you, I had so much sadness that I forgot". (Senni)

Senni constructs being able to own security by not needing to go back to Chile; implying security is something attainable by those who don't feel the need to go back to their heritage country. Senni constructs this security as being attained through the friendships and roles she has created for herself in New Zealand, such as: able to connect and make instant friends, helpful by providing solutions to others problems, and "peace" provider for anyone that walks into her house. For Senni, it is her role in New Zealand that gives her a sense of belonging and connection to others, not her Chilean ethnic identity, illustrating an assimilation acculturation strategy in effect. She feels secure in staying in New Zealand able to connect with new people, and go beyond connecting with others to also be a service to others.

For Wela, it is her personal role as an independent person that needs to be re-established in New Zealand:

Por el momento me estoy adaptando de poco. Hay cosas que toda vida me faltan, como vivir independientemente, no estar dependiendo de nadie, eso es lo que tengo que ampollarme más toda vida, fortalecer mas mi vida en eso aspecto. Bueno yo toda mi vida me he valido por mí misma, porque yo quede viuda muy joven. Entonces no tengo el apoyo de una persona a mi lado. Siempre me acostumbre hacer yo mis cosas…..sin ayuda. Por eso, no ha sido tan difícil a mi quedarme acá. Porque bueno necesito la compañía de las amistades y todo, pero no es tan

frustrante porque yo, toda mi vida vivir sola. Entonces no me ha sido tan difícil. (Wela)

At the moment I'm adapting little by little. There are still things that I'm missing, like living independently, not being dependent on anybody, that is what I have to support myself with still, strengthen more my life in that aspect. Well, all my life I have validated myself by myself, because I became a widow quite young. So I don't have the support of someone by my side. I always got used to me doing my things….without help. That's why it hasn't been too difficult for me to stay here. Because-well I need the company of friends and everything, but it's not too frustrating because I, all my life have been solo. And so it hasn't been too difficult. (Wela)

Wela draws from the "Young widow" narrative to construct her role as an independent person. Having been a young widow positions Wela as having lost the support of a spouse as no fault of her own; consequently living a successful life without that support, positions her as an empowered, independent individual, and not a victim of loss. Wela constructs her role as an independent person as affected by moving to New Zealand, but a role she has the power to obtain and "strengthen" over time. For Wela, this role is not affected by others as she has "validated myself by myself" meaning it is not constructed in relation to others, but in absence of others support. Wela empowers her role further by constructing it as an advantage over other roles that require the support from others, and lose that support as a result of moving to New Zealand. Whereas Wela's role as an independent person only requires friendship, meaning it is not as "frustrating" or as "difficult" being "solo" when that was her previous position before she came to New Zealand.

These stories illustrate how migration can impact the role a person is used to having, roles that give them an identity, purpose, meaning, and a sense of belonging. The participants illustrated how their roles and the identities attached to these roles were re-constructed, lost, found, created and even able to be re-established within a New Zealand context. These stories illustrate the dynamic process an identity through role

creation goes through, and the use of different acculturation strategies required to adapt as a Hispanic immigrant women living in New Zealand.

Summary

The participants illustrated how their identities were created in relation to their ethnic identities, contextual factors, and the roles they fulfilled. Through their identities, participants obtained connections with others, providing a sense of belonging. In the process of moving and adapting to New Zealand, these identities were often compromised, lost, or required adjustment, becoming challenges the participants had to overcome by in order to integrate or assimilate to New Zealand culture. Consequently, if these challenges were not overcome to suit a New Zealand demand, the participants positioned themselves separated or marginalized, as not connecting or having a sense of belonging towards New Zealand or others living in New Zealand.

Chapter six

Meaning making

"Meaning is something we experience more than we attain. It's like finding a nice, easy

current in a river that carries you through life"

-Donald Miller

As individual as the person who created them, each story contained its own struggles and gains; it was tempting to present each story individually as a case study, however the aim of this study was to explore the experiences of Hispanic women as a group, by looking at common constructions across narratives. This chapter will explore the common constructions I extracted across the stories, starting with the positive and negative aspects of living in New Zealand, the psychological impact on participants, and participant thoughts on why they believe others struggle to adapt to New Zealand.

The positive aspects of living in New Zealand

I wanted to know what aspects of living in New Zealand the participants constructed as impacting them in a positive way, in order to gain an understanding of what was enjoyable and achievable while living in New Zealand. Participants constructed New Zealand as a facilitating and validating country, where participants were able to access resources easily in a country based on trust, and were validated as individuals within a sense of security.

-Facilitating

New Zealand was constructed as a facilitating country, where participants constructed themselves in a better positioning compared to the one they had in their

heritage country. New Zealand enabled them to achieve easy access to resources such as information and employment, as well as transactions with banks and universities. Below, Senni provides an example of New Zealand's "easy" less sacrificial process of achieving things:

> fácil, fácil, fácil todo fácil. Como si siempre lo eh hecho, entonces aquí era más-aquí la tenían mejor. No con tanto sacrificio. (Senni)

> Easy, easy, easy, everything easy. Like I had always done it, and so here it was more-here I had it better. Without much sacrifice. (Senni)

Senni attaches living in New Zealand with an ease that comes from familiarity over time "Like I had always done it". Senni draws from the "sacrifice" narrative to construct giving up things in order to obtain others as a normal part of life, as she draws from this narrative to construct her experience of life in Chile as well as New Zealand. For Senni life in New Zealand is "better" because the amount of expected sacrifice is less.

Sia uses her ability to access a variety of physical resources (bank accounts, information centres, public restrooms, etc.) to construct her perception of New Zealand as "one easy country to live" in:

> I think everything is so easy in New Zealand, open an account bank, is so easy… you want to, I don't know, have information about the place you be now, and you just have some, look where's the information, place to ask, it's there. You run on the road and you feel like you need to go to toilet, then after a while you found a toilet, a public toilet, a clean toilet (laugh)…so yeah everything, found a job is easy keep your job is easy…so yeah, I think you New Zealand is one easy country to live. (Sia)

Without meaning, Sia has revealed that she is used to a difficult, un-informative, un-accessible, dirty, unemployable environment back in Chile. Illustrating the beneficial position Sia has obtained by moving to New Zealand.

Both Andy and Lulu constructed New Zealand in contrast to Argentina by drawing from the "bureaucratic" and "trust" narratives. For them New Zealand is an "easy", facilitating country based on trust, while their heritage country is "bureaucratic" meaning not facilitating and untrustworthy. Andy starts her construction by telling me how she wanted to study somewhere overseas:

> …and it didn't really matter New Zealand or whatever country, but I think New Zealand was perfect, because it was easy it's not, so bureaucratic, as Latin America… Opening a bank account, was so easy, I couldn't believe it, using the eftpos, for everything. No money, you don't need to carry notes….For example when I entered to university, I didn't translate my high school certificate, because it was very expensive. And I went to uni to an adviser, and she told me, oh no, you won't need that, they won't ask for that. But when I went, they did ask for that, when I registered. So then I said, ok this person told me this blah blah blah, and they believed what I said, they I mean, talked to the other person, and they called me so then I had to do a translation, a verbal translation of it (laugh)...that was very cool I thought, I like this country. It was based on the trust. (Andy)

Andy, like Sia, presents us with an example of a physical resource (accessibility to use money) and positions it as easily accessible in New Zealand in contrast to "bureaucratic" Argentina, thereby constructing a reality where bureaucracy makes it difficult to access resources such as the ability to use money. Andy builds on this construction by providing us with the context in which she achieved enrollment to university. For Andy, her enrollment was facilitated through the trusting transactions that can be achieved between people within the New Zealand environment that are "based on trust". Within this emplotment, Andy positioned herself as able to use and access money with ease, and is verbally trusted by others; a position that could not be achieved within her "bureaucratic" heritage country.

Like Andy, Lulu also constructs New Zealand in contrast to Argentina by also integrating the "corrupted" narrative in relation to bureaucracy and Argentina:

> We trust the system a lot more in New Zealand, than in Argentina. Corruption big difference, and the perception of corruption as well, yeah. I know that things work here in New Zealand. In general when someone says they are going to do something they will do it. And in general if you go to any institution or agency and you ask for help you will get help. But in Argentina it doesn't work like that. It's

so bureaucratic, and yeah everything is a drama and a problem, so you are in fighting mode all the time, and in New Zealand you can just relax and trust that things are going to work out. (Lulu)

For Lulu, the ability to gain help and achieve things is constructed as possible within a "system" of interaction between people that "works". Lulu constructs a working system as one where people are helpful and reliable towards each other, that facilitates a feeling of trust and accessibility in New Zealand: "we trust the system a lot more in New Zealand …when someone says they are going to do something they will do it…. and you ask for help you will get help". In contrast, Argentina is constructed as having a system that doesn't work because of "corruption" and being "bureaucratic", meaning people present each other with obstacles "drama and a problem" preventing the access and achievement of things. Lulu positions herself as a constant fighter in Argentina, working against a non-working system. In contrast, in New Zealand Lulu becomes a compliant, relaxed, and trusting individual within a working system.

Overall, participants constructed New Zealand as a facilitating place to live, as they didn't have to sacrifice as much, and were able to access help, resources and achieve transactions with others more easily compared to their heritage country. Participants constructed the New Zealand system and people as trusting, enabling participants to construct themselves as trusted and facilitating individuals as well. Within these emplotments, participants also constructed themselves as choosing to embrace this new facilitating and trusting environment.

With these findings, it may be worth while exploring those who choose not to embrace such an environment. For example, Ana who constructed her role identity (chapter five), in relation to her role as a NGO, fighting against a corrupted system. Consequently, in New Zealand she became "nothing" without this role, and positions

herself as helpless, unable to help those back home. I noticed Lulu also constructed herself as "fighting" the system in order to achieve things; however, for Lulu the "fighting" was not her role but something she had to do; perhaps this difference enabled Lulu to embrace a relaxed positioning in New Zealand, in contrast to Ana. Therefore, there may be a link between the individuals who construct themselves in relation to the corruption and "fighting" that is seen in their heritage country, and the inability to re-construct themselves within an "easy" and facilitating New Zealand.

-Validating

New Zealand was also constructed as a place where participants felt they were validated as individuals and not judged for their status, appearance or replace-ability. This was due to the lack of judgement and competition, as well as the security found within New Zealand. For example, Mary and Senni construct themselves as validated in New Zealand through being able to access others who would not be accessible to them in their heritage country due to their status:

> I found it that, people here are very accessible and open and in that sense I think it's easier meeting, I mean here really you can meet anyone…regardless the position, the role, status….Kiwis are very low back…and that is sort of surprising to me, was like its oh I'm glad, you know, I'm really glad that, people here, you know easy going, their…easy to access them in some way. (Mary)

For Mary, being able to meet new people is easier in New Zealand because they are "very accessible and open", meaning they do not shield themselves against others, vulnerable to having to interact with anyone from any "position…role, status". She constructs this as being due to the "low back…easy going" nature of Kiwis, where in regards to interacting with others, there is little expectation around how and who partakes in those interactions. This positions Mary in an equal advantage of accessing any one "in some way", regardless of her personal status.

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Senni draws from the "home" narrative to construct how her home was an extension of herself:

> Como yo te digo, en mi casa me entraban todos, todas las gentes. Ricas, millonarios, y nadie me decía "oh yo no puedo ir a tu casa porque tu ser pobre", llegaban contento, ponían la tetera a tomarse un tecito, todos para buscar las galletas, me decían "quieres té o café?" En mi casa, "Andaba visitando gente, paso para tomarme un cafecito porque tengo frio" oh cualquier cosa.
> Like I say, in my house everyone enters, all the people. Rich, millionaires, and nobody tells me "oh I can't go to your house because you are poor", they arrived content, they would put on the kettle to have a tea, everyone looks for the biscuits, they say "do you want tea or coffee?" In my house, "I was visiting people, I pass to have a coffee because I am cold" or for any reason. (senni)

Senni's home represents her as a person, where as a hospitable person, her home is open for anyone. Therefore, Senni constructs receiving validation by others in New Zealand when they enter her home and make it their own, as her status as a "poor" person does not matter in New Zealand.

Sia constructs Chile as a "competitive" country; as she felt she had to constantly validate herself through the false image she provided to meet the standards of others:

> Chile is one country really competitive, so everything is really competitive. The way you talk, the way you dress, the kind of job you got, the car you got, everything is so competitive…and also it's really easy to, maybe you're not like that, but it's easy keep doing these kind of stuff. And here I never feel like that. It's like really free whatever I want to do. No one thinking about me, good or bad because…my shoes is not clean, or my phone is crap...or my car is terrible (laugh) so I think this help me to open my mind as well. And to discover things, and really appreciate them in life….more than what the people can thinking about you. I think in Chile everything is visual. All the people want to have everything. And it's really everything have to be about money as well. Maybe you not have no money, but you have to pretend have money. And isn't this the problem for the country….and here it doesn't matter. Maybe you have money, so you pretend no have money (laugh). (Sia)

Sia constructs "competition" as "visual" where a person competes and is judged through the "good" image they present to others: "The way you talk, the way you dress, the kind of job you got, the car you got". In contrast, Sia's position in New Zealand is where she does not need to validate herself through the image she provides to others: "No one thinking about me, good or bad because…my shoes is not clean, or my phone

is crap...or my car is terrible". Sia constructs her new validating position in New Zealand as allowing her to look beyond the visual aspect of things in order to appreciate them for what they truly are: "open my mind as well. And to discover things, and really appreciate them in life".

Lulu uses the demanding Argentinean working environment to illustrate how the work life balance in New Zealand provides a feeling of security:

> Work life balance is much better in New Zealand, and I was surprise with, I'm still are when there is still work to do but it's five to five and people just leave the office, it's like no big deal. And in Argentina it was always, thought that I needed to finish work and you don't go home until the boss, or the manager goes home. And, if you are asked to do something you have to do... it doesn't matter if it's in your job description or not....yeah work I think is, very important. Perhaps now it's changed but... when I was working in Argentina it was, and unemployment was always a big problem so you always knew, and you were told that, if you didn't like it you could just go and, ten people will walk through the door and ask for the same job, so you would just treasure your job. (Lulu)

Lulu positions herself as replaceable in the Argentinean work force: "you were told that, if you didn't like it you could just go", meaning she had no security in her position. Consequently, Lulu's work position needed to be "treasured", kept safe, by extending herself and sacrificing her personal time. Lulu contrasts this position to the one she has in New Zealand, where she is able to leave work early, and create a work/life balance with the security of knowing her position is safe and validated.

Participants constructed their experience of New Zealand as one in which they felt more equal with others, validated as individuals and secure in their positions, where their status, appearances, and replace-ability did not impact their ability to connect and interact with others. Participants embraced this new way of validating themselves by positioning themselves as not-judgemental, non-competitive to match this new environment, where Mary made herself accessible to others, Senni is hospitable to anyone, Sia was able to appreciate things in a different way, and Lulu was able to build a life outside of work.

Much like the construction of New Zealand as a facilitating country being difficult for those who construct themselves as part of a non-facilitating system, New Zealand as a validating country might be a difficult place for individuals who validate themselves through their status, appearance, or work ethic. Perhaps this is another area to explore as a possible factor impacting individuals who have difficulty adjusting to New Zealand or choose to migrate back to their heritage country.

The negative aspects of living in New Zealand

I wanted to know what aspects of living in New Zealand the participants constructed as impacting them in a negative way, in order to understand what was difficult and not achievable while living in New Zealand. Participants constructed New Zealand as initially an unexpectedly, lonely place to live, where the concept of friendship had to be reconstructed, and difficulties in understanding Kiwis verbally was a challenge that needed to be overcome.

-Loneliness

Participants constructed loneliness as an initial, difficult aspect of moving to New Zealand. Loneliness was constructed as an unexpected realization that apart from their partners, all connections with family and friends had been lost. Here Mary, Ana and Andy look retrospectively to construct their experience of initial loneliness as they adapt to New Zealand:

> That I think is tough….as I say we came without knowing anyone, I remember that I felt so lonely, at the beginning. I feel like gosh I only have Pedro…..you know, and I felt like ahh! That sort of panic sort off (laugh) feeling. (Mary)

For Mary, loneliness is constructed as an unexpected realization that induces a sense of anxiety: "like gosh…that sort of panic". This anxiety is a product of realizing that her partner Pedro was the only support Mary had as a consequence of moving to

New Zealand. Mary felt she had lost the physical support she had from others beyond her partner, and constructs needing the support of more than one person. Similarly, Ana also requires support beyond her partner:

> There was like a point where I felt like really alone, and my poor partner (laugh), give all the support....I consider us a good couple, but I've never been the type of person who's always with him, or all the time. I've always had like my own spaces with my family and my friends, and at one point there was only him...so it was like ah!...he was like my everything here, and for me it's not good. I mean it's great to have someone like that but, no but I don't like that, he cannot be my everything in my life...it was the point that I didn't really want to do anything, and then I found myself in this like moment that I was like really everything was very sensitive and anything would just bring me there [taps finger on table]. (Ana)

Ana works hard to construct needing support from others as due to the "type" of person she is, and not due to lack of support from her partner. Ana begins by constructing herself in relation to her relationship: "I consider us a good couple, but I've never been the type of person who's always with him…I've always had…my own spaces…for me it's not good…he cannot be my everything"; meaning connecting with others beyond her partner is who Ana is and needs to be. In New Zealand, without connections to others beyond her partner Ana dissociates from herself, by losing herself; she illustrates this when she constructs finding herself -"found myself"- becoming a new "very sensitive" Ana. This "found" Ana develops depression: "anything would bring me there", a construction Ana supports within her interview. Ana positions her partner as a victim for having to be with this new Ana, and therefore, not the cause of this new Ana: "my poor partner…give all the support".

For Andy, loneliness was justified as being part of the "adaptation period":

> So I didn't know anyone really, only Tom. and I also had the experience when I moved from Argentina to Venezuela, that well was kind of different because I knew some people then, but I didn't have any friends really, and it's that thing that you have to start again, when you move even if you change neighborhood, no you have to start again. But moving countries, it was hard, because the culture was different, the language was different…so I'm in that adaptation period, it was hard. And sometimes…I stay there all day, watching TV, and I was watching Māori TV (laugh), trying to understand (English). And I would go for short walks, around the

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blocks, or to meet with my partner for coffee, and he was kind of worried about me. Because I was kind of depressed no, in a way. Because I left my friends, I didn't have any family here, and he was coping with his new job, and having me here as well, yeah, so not very easy. And also I was looking for jobs and that was hard too, but after three months I think I found a job. (Andy)

Andy constructs herself as an experienced migrant, able to apply her knowledge from her previous migration to Venezuela. This previous experience enables Andy to construct only having Tom for support as justified by being part of the "adaptation period". Andy constructs a physical move as positioning a person as needing to "start again" by rebuilding their social connections within a new environment, this is the "adaptation period". Andy constructs physically moving to a different country as catalysing a "hard" adaptation period, requiring the person to overcome cultural and language barriers in order to rebuild their connections. During her New Zealand adaptation period, Andy positions herself as socially isolated: "I stay there all day, watching TV, and I was watching Māori TV… I left my friends, I didn't have any family here, and he was coping with his new job". Consequently, she constructs no social connections and loneliness as: "kind of depressed", positioning her as undergoing a period of depression as part of her "adaptation period". Andy constructs herself as successfully overcoming the cultural and language barriers, and consequently the "adaptation period" by obtaining a job that enables her to connect with others beyond Tom.

Within these plots, participants constructed loneliness as an initially unexpected part of moving/adapting to New Zealand, indicating that although participants knew they would be physically away from friends and family, they did not expect to feel loneliness as a result of physically losing these connections. These stories also illustrate how Latinas require physical connections to more than one person in order to overcome the feeling of loneliness, highlighting the significant positive psychological impact a job

or friendship that enables further connections to others can have for a Latina living in New Zealand.

For these participants, loneliness leads to the construction of anxiety and depression, outcomes that support the current literature on Hispanic immigrant women as vulnerable to developing these specific negative psychological outcomes (Sher & Vilens, 2010). However, one participant (Ana) also illustrated how dissociation of self can occur, where Ana was aware of the negative impact loneliness was having on the "type" of person she constructed herself to be, not just her psychological health, indicating how loneliness can impact who a person is and not just their psychological state.

Furthermore, the literature highlights loneliness, depression and anxiety as a negative side effects impacting New Zealand immigrants (Ho, Au, Bedford, & Cooper, 2002; Longhurst, Johnston & Ho, 2009); participants expanded on this construction by providing a deeper meaning of how loneliness functioned for them. Loneliness was constructed as an *initial period* after migrating to New Zealand; indicating participants accepted their positioning as temporarily depressed and anxious individuals as a result of moving to New Zealand. In a sense, they normalised their symptoms of loneliness as part of the migration process, with the awareness of needing to rebuild their connections to others in order to regain their previous positions as non-depressed/anxious individuals, a contrast to the biomedical model that identifies depression and anxiety as strictly dysfunctional psychological outcomes of migration (Sher & Viens, 2010), and studies that identify loneliness as having a long term effect on other migrants (Ho et al., 2002).

-The reconstruction of "friendship"

Participants constructed making friends as a difficult experience in New Zealand, primarily due to discrepancies in the assumptions and expectations around the construction of friendship in their heritage country compared to New Zealand. Participants constructed the need for competency and compatibility to obtain friendships, as well as having to accept a new construction of what "friendship" meant, in order to create and maintain friendships in New Zealand.

Here Lulu makes sense of her difficulties in connecting with others as due to cultural incompatibility and self-competence:

> I thought that meeting people and making friends was going to be easier, and that wasn't the case. So I'm still kind-of walking between cultures, and trying to figure out how to, um make friends or, um build up a network, a social network. Yeah, I'm still trying to understand how it works and yeah what am I doing wrong? In the sense that, quite often people say in New Zealand ah "you should come home sometime" but you know the invitation actually never comes. (Lulu)

Lulu draws from the "culture" narrative to construct the ability to make friends as governed by cultural protocols, where her Argentinean cultural protocols facilitate friendship making, and New Zealand cultural protocols for friendship making are different. Using this construction allows Lulu to position herself physically "between cultures", whereby she needs to learn and become competent in the New Zealand cultural protocol for making friends, in order to connect with others: "trying to figure out how to, um make friends…. how it works and yeah what am I doing wrong?... the invitation actually never comes."

Similarly, Wela positions herself as unable to connect with others as due to language, culture and age incompatibility:

> Afortunadamente tú me entiendes lo que estoy diciendo pero hay muchas personas que no me entienden. A pesar de que MIA, hay muchas personas latinas pero no es de mi.....edades. Entonces lo que yo hablo, algo mejor para ellas no es

importante….entonces, eh tendría yo buscar un circulo, donde yo pudiera sentirme de igual igual… para sentirme mejor. (Wela)

Fortunately you understand what I am saying, but there are heaps of people that don't understand me. Even though MIA, there are heaps of Latinas but they aren't from my...ages. And so what I say, something better for them is more important...and so, I would have to find a circle, where I could feel like same same...to feel better. (Wela)

Wela uses the setting of MIA to illustrate how language and cultural compatibility is not enough, she requires age compatibility with others as well: "Even though MIA, there are heaps of Latinas but they aren't from my...ages". Wela draws from the "age" narrative to position herself as different in some way and therefore not equal: "what I say, something better for them is more important". This positioning requires Wela to build her own "circle" of language, culture, and age compatible friends in order to gain understanding, connectedness, and equality "same same...to feel better."

In regards to compatibility, Lulu drawing from the "culture" narrative to construct her need to become more competent in another cultural protocol is not a novel concept, as research does recognise cultural differences as impacting the migration process (World Health Organisation, 2010). Wela however, has presented a new factor to consider: age compatibility. Wela is the only migrant to draw from the "age" narrative to construct her experience of making friends in New Zealand; perhaps this is because she is also the only older migrant in the sample. As the Hispanic migrant population in New Zealand has a mean age of 30 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a), with a migrant policy aimed at young skilled migrants (Perez, 2012), older migrants like Wela could be overlooked in migrant research in New Zealand. This suggests the need to consider how older migrants might be affected by different factors not previously recognised, such as age compatibility, when rebuilding their lives in New Zealand.

For Andy and Sia, the difficulty in making friendships comes from their need to reconstruct their expectations around friendships. They both experienced making friends, and then having these friends eventually decide to move to another city or country. For Sia and Andy, friendships are constructed as long term investments, while friendships in New Zealand are constructed as "temporarily":

> It was hard to make friends at the beginning, or to meet people no…I have a couple of friends but one of them she moved…back to England…where she was from. So I was feeling kind of sad about that too because it's like, ok I moved country, I made a friend, and she's gone (laugh) then also I had some other friends from MIA group too, and they moved to Australia. And it's like ah ok, so it's how it's gonna be, in this country. (Andy)

> I think in New Zealand is hard found friends. And not these friends you meet, and its nice person, these friends you feeling and gonna be for all your life…because in New Zealand all the people change all the time, they travel its one time, then they go, the kiwis as well, they move of the city, they move up the country, they go to Australia, they got to England. It's like this feeling, like New Zealand have this feeling they all want to move from here….or all it's like, temporarily here. (Sia)

Both Sia and Andy construct making friendships as "hard", indicating they made a personal investment in order to achieve them. They also construct friends as being life-long, with the expectation they will be physically accessible over a long period of time. This construction of friends is challenged in New Zealand, as Sia and Andy discovered their friends were constantly moving away, resulting in a loss of the friendship investment Andy and Sia were hoping to achieve long term. Sia and Andy make sense of this experience by constructing a new type of friend in New Zealand, one that is temporary. Andy and Sia accept a new position of having to risk engaging in temporary friendships in New Zealand, instead of the long term, accessible friendships they had in their heritage country.

Sia and Andy's need to reconstruct their expectations of friendships may be a product of their personal cultural values, combined with the unique New Zealand environment of large scale importation and exportation of people (Akbari & Macdonald,

2014). New Zealand accepts the highest rate of migrants per capita, but also has a significant number of kiwis that choose to live overseas (Akbari & Macdonald, 2014). Perhaps Sia and Andy's emplotments illustrate the micro level impact to the long term connections between people in New Zealand, from a macro level effect that facilitates migration as well as emigration to and from New Zealand.

Apart from having to construct friendships as temporary, participants also had to reconstruct particular characteristics they expected within friendships. For participants, friendships in their heritage countries did not have personal boundaries; they were a community construction, they were proactively offered and provided physical support, constructions that were challenged by the limited, non-proactive, non-physical New Zealand friendships participants experienced.

For Lulu, Latino friendships are instant, where personal boundaries are not present due to the expectation of sharing the personal and physical self with others:

> People are very polite, very friendly but to some point. Yeah it's not like the Latino culture where you immediately make friends, and people invite you to their houses and kind of share their lives a lot. (Lulu)

In this emplotment, Kiwis are constructed as having a boundary-"to some point"- to the personal aspect of themselves they choose to share with others. Lulu constructs this sharing of self as being done through being "polite" and "kind". In comparison, Latinos are constructed as not having a boundary to sharing themselves with others, resulting in interactions that expand towards friendships, and the sharing of personal spaces and information.

Andy and Lulu construct friendships that lack personal boundaries further by sharing experiences of friendships that are constantly accessible and lacking in time

restrictions:

> One of the things that I felt also that it's lacking…When you grew up in a town, so you know everybody in the town, so you have friends, and then you just go to their houses, and maybe they are not there but their parents are there…so we just go and drink mate with their parents or whatever no, their friends parents, and then you just go to another friend, and like that. But here it's kind of, yeah now that I have friends, but you always have to book let's say…are you gonna be there or something? (Andy)

> ...And I heard other people saying this, and I think it's kind of true. That um, when Kiwis invite you it's like they say ok come to my house or lets meet at this time, but they also say well, to this time, so there is a timeframe, it's not like in Latino culture, you meet with someone, and it doesn't matter, there is no plan, it doesn't you can spend hours and hours with that person. You don't have to leave because they have something else to do or you have something else to do. And you can just ring the bell and say "hey, I'm just passing by", or call someone and say "hey I'm in your neighbourhood can I go and see you", and that's not something that Kiwis do. (Lulu)

Andy constructs her heritage country setting as a place where everyone is connected to one another, and where friendships are not a direct one-to-one interaction, but are a community interaction. For both Andy and Lulu, friendships are also constantly accessible and not time bound; meaning in their heritage country the maintenance of personal space and personal time is not as important as being accessible and free to spend time with others. This is in contrast to the Kiwi culture of respecting personal boundaries by checking-"Book[ing]"- if a friend is free and being restricted to a specific "timeframe".

Another aspect of friendships that Andy felt was different was that friendships in New Zealand are not proactively offered, but they are present and useful once accessed:

> It's not like, they're gonna come and ask you oh how do you feel? Do you need any help? Or something, or that's another thing I learned in New Zealand that, you have to look for help. It will be there somewhere but you have to make the first move…I found it very cold… and quiet…everybody was so busy. (Andy)

For Andy, needing to "make the first move" is a lesson she "learned", meaning she originally expected help and support to reach her first; an expectation in her home country that did not work in New Zealand. Andy positions the need to be pro-active as

justified by her perception of detachment between people in New Zealand, where they are 'cold…quiet with one another, and "busy", meaning less accessible towards others. For Ana, friends in Mexico are constructed as physically supportive, and easily accessible through work, aspects of friendship that she found different in New Zealand:

> Over there in the environment that I moved, it was so supportive... I just missed the kisses and the hugs and the holding you know because, everybody will hold you...we would very supportive of each other, so I knew that if I had a problem I would just go to work, and it was like I knew that there were people there, you know, whoever, I know talk to you or hug you, and here it was like yeah I have my partner but I don't have anybody else. Or even the way I don't know I have friends but they weren't going to hold me, you know it's like those things that you're used to, it was something like, over here you don't have them. So I felt like I lacked that... and something that did happen to me as well was at work…because they are really nice people, but they aren't your friends... it's completely different, so it didn't become a place where I felt supported at all. (Ana)

Ana constructs support from friendships as physical: "kisses and the hugs and the holding", as well as accessible within a specific physical context: "if I had a problem I would just go to work". In New Zealand, this construction does not function as Ana's friends do not provide her with the physical support she is used to: "I have friends but they weren't going to hold me", and her work environment does not cater for physically supportive friendships: "they are really nice people, but they aren't your friends... it's completely different". Ana accepts her positioning of an unsupported person as a consequence of the non-physical friendships and work environments that New Zealand caters for.

Participants made sense of the connections they could achieve with others – friendships- by comparing their perceptions of New Zealand friendships with the expectations they have of friendships in their heritage country. By doing this, participants found that friendships in New Zealand had boundaries, limiting their interactions with others through limits to self-sharing, accessibility, time spent together, and physical contact. Participants also found that friendships were a one-to-one

interaction not a community interaction, and they needed to be proactively accessed by the individual. In creating and maintaining friendships in New Zealand, participants learned they had to be the ones to initiate the interaction with others, they had to accept less physical support from friendships, and respect others personal time by making bookings.

These experiences illustrate how as a Latina women living in New Zealand, making friends and maintaining friendships can be a difficult and complex venture, requiring competence, compatibility, and a re-construction of what friendships are within the specific New Zealand context. Participants believed they needed to be competent in Kiwi culture in order to achieve friendships. If they were older, they also required age compatibility with others in order to feel "equal" within friendships. Expectations around friends and friendships needed to be changed, where New Zealand friends are temporary, have more personal boundaries, are less accessible, and are less physical towards one another. Participants required altering their personal behaviours by becoming more pro-active in creating and accessing friendships, and needed to respect others personal boundaries in order to maintain these friendships.

These findings show how for Latina women, having Latina friends in New Zealand could prove beneficial in providing them with the type of friendship they are used to having, and how not expanding beyond their cultural compatible connections, may not be due to just language and cultural barriers, but may be due to the expectations they have around what a friendship should be. Therefore, providing support to help Latinas adapt their perception and expectations around friendships with Kiwis may be a beneficial area to expand on in helping Latinas connect with others in New Zealand, in order to establish a life and a sense of belonging to New Zealand.

-Communicating with Kiwis

     Participants who had been exposed to English before migrating to New Zealand found trying to understand the Kiwi accent an unexpected, difficult, experience. Participants who learned English as a result of living in New Zealand are not mentioned here as they did not construct this as a challenge:

> It was a little bit sad because…I had a cultural shock really, I was used to speak English with people from the states or the UK, but I didn't really understand the differences in their accent, or with people, from other countries, I know Germany whatever France that they spoke English so it was kind of easy to understand. And when I came here I didn't understand a word people were saying (laugh). (Andy)

> Before I came here, I have to say that I spent a few months in Austen Texas, but I lived with my brother, so we speak Spanish… I had experience of having being sort of in an English country before, but you know American English is completely different to New Zealand Kiwi English…. very different so I couldn't understand much. However, somehow I could still work as a waitress (Laugh). (Mary)

> When I speak with someone from Canada or the states, it's so much easier… and that's just because I'm used to influence...I was always exposed to movies, music, TV programs. But yeah, Kiwi English is really....yeah phrases or accents, I just get lost sometimes yeah. And it also depends on the day, and if I'm tired or not.... yeah language has been really hard. (Lulu)

> Entonces me fácil a veces leer, pero no así al escucharme es muy difícil, sobre todo los Kiwi's, no les entiendo nada. Yo a veces le digo "slowly please. Slowly" (Reir)…..es que hablan con la boca muy cerrada, y otra cosa quien me han dicho es que se comen muchos sílabos. (Wela)
> So it's easy sometimes to read, but no like that to listen it's very hard, above all the Kiwis, I don't understand anything. I sometimes tell them "slowly please, slowly" (laugh)...it's that they speak with their mouth very closed, and another thing that they have told me is that they eat many syllables. (Wela)

Andy, Mary, Lulu, and Wela constructed their experiences similarly; they all drew from the "culture" narrative to construct accents and phrases associated with English use, as affected by a person's culture. Each participant (except for Wela) also looked retrospectively to provide us with previous experiences of communicating with English speakers of various cultures. They contrast this to New Zealand culture, where they experience being unable to communicate with Kiwis the same way they have proven

they were able to with individuals from other cultures. However, how they construct this in relation to themselves becomes an individualised construction.

For Andy, being unable to understand Kiwis is constructed as a "cultural shock", unexpected and caused by cultural differences. For Mary, not being able to communicate is accepted, where it didn't impact her ability to work in New Zealand "However, somehow I could still work". For Lulu, the inability to communicate is positioned within her, where influences impact her ability to understand Kiwis "depends on the day, and if I'm tired or not.... yeah language has been really hard". Lastly for Wela, the inability to understand Kiwis is external to her, where she positions the accent and physical method of speaking as the cause of the miscommunication: "with their mouth very closed, and another thing that they have told me is that they eat many syllables".

These participants identified the inability to understand/communicate with Kiwis is a phenomenon that is common among individuals who have been exposed to other English speakers from different cultures (Effendi; as cited by Robinson, 2010). Effendi recognized the need to support migrants in understanding the specific Kiwi accent by developing a "Kiwi English pronunciation course" in 2010 that was supported by the Auckland Regional Migrant Services (Robinson, 2010). However, for unknown reasons Effindi's course was not offered beyond 2010. It is important to highlight that being retrospective constructions (except Wela's), these emplotments represent the development of eventually being able to communicate in an efficient and functional manner, and even Wela constructs being able to overcome this difficulty by changing the physical way that Kiwis speak: "slowly please, slowly" . Therefore, it would be

beneficial to normalise this initial difficulty in communication specifically with Kiwis, as part of the experience of adapting to New Zealand.

Psychological impact

I wanted to explore the psychological impact of migrating to New Zealand. Overall participants felt gratitude for being able to live in New Zealand, a feeling they mentioned but did not elaborate on further compared to their constructions of experiences of depression. In this section I present the most prominent constructions of psychological impact that were: depression, keeping busy and normalisation of experiences.

-Experiences of depression

The literature shows Latin American immigrants are significantly more vulnerable to developing anxiety and depression compared to those from the host country, with higher statistics of depression among Latin American female immigrants (Helm, 2014; Sher & Vilens, 201). Three participants in this study (Lulu, Andy, and Ana) specifically mentioned experiencing depression. Here I explore how they made sense of undergoing this experience.

Lulu attempts to make sense of her depression by emploting it into her experience of migration:

> ......and that's perhaps something about New Zealand, like you know that the Latinos are extreme, like rollercoaster, up and down, up and down...and in New Zealand kind off it's, everything is a bit flat...and I don't like that, I don't like feeling flat. I actually like feeling very excited, very happy about something. Or very sad about something. But in New Zealand I feel like more stable. I don't

know, it's just, it's just flat. And I don't like it, perhaps that's why I like being busy,
so I don't feel like....that I'm flat. (Lulu)

Lulu's depression is constructed as a product of the cultural emotional differences Lulu is negotiating in constructing her life in New Zealand: The Latino "rollercoaster" construction of emotions and the New Zealand "flat" construction of emotions. Within this construction, Lulu positions her "very excited, very happy…very sad" rollercoaster emotions as part of her Latino self. Lulu's Latino self is unable to exist within the "stable" New Zealand environment, resulting in an unwanted "flat" Lulu: "I don't feel like....that I'm flat". To counter being her "flat" self, Lulu dissociates by keeping her mind busy on other things: "that's why I like being busy, so I don't feel like....that I'm flat". Lulu continues making sense of her depression by constructing it into a "negative cycle", initiating the need for self-care:

> well I guess it's part of like...a negative cycle...and you just like at the moment I'm more aware of things and things that I try to do, I try to do exercise, I try to eat more vegetables and fruit and, yeah, so it's go for a walk, enjoy the sun, if I feel that I'm down, I take some vitamins, yeah, and every little thing helps but if there are a few things missing then it gets harder and harder every time to get out and do things. It also depends on our own history, and family history, if we are used to, if we have examples of other people, or we can see other people fighting and not giving up...yeah and also, It's ok, you know like, if sometime I feel like, ahh I feel a bit down or it's ok that I miss home. (Lulu)

Lulu constructs herself as capable of controlling her emotions by maintaining a level of self-care; positioning Lulu as able and responsible for controlling her mood. Moods however, are also constructed as influenced by previous self-experiences and other people's examples, as well as normalized as home sickness.

Andy constructs a very demanding, conflicting time in her life as the setting of her depression:

> So I didn't get depressed until, the second year of university, and I was like not this year, last year, because my sister had a baby and I haven't been back to my country now, it's almost five years I've been here…So I felt like oh I should have gone

there, and be with them, no....but I didn't need to be there, it's just that I wanted…and I was here studying, and I was the second year and you're in the middle really, like you already started but you are not, close to the end….so I was like oh no, and I wasn't doing very well in one of the subjects, so I was doubting myself, so I was really depressed. (Andy)

Andy draws from the "need versus want" narrative, where "needs" are seen as important and vital, and "wants" are desires that are not necessarily vital. Andy constructs her studies as a need, while seeing her family as a want, positioning Andy as a responsible person for choosing the "need" to stay in New Zealand, over her "want" to see her family. However, Andy presents a further development in her positioning as a student, where she also felt self-doubt constructed as depression. By constructing herself as depressed Andy empowers herself by seeking help for her depression:

I went to the counseling services at university...I got one person who was a Kiwi person and, didn't help very much, she was kind of like, there listening, how do you say like, cold rock or kind of like, just sitting there. It didn't matter if she was there or not. (Laugh)…and then there was another woman from Singapore. Which is a migrant person and she was very helpful, and she totally understood, she put herself in my shoes, when she was talking, and I saw her twice I think, and she was great, because she really told me what you want to do this or that? And how are you going to do it? Can you do it? And she said it's normal that you feel like that, because you're home sick…so the way she explained was really good…. and she really gave me hope …But it's kind of like a loop, it would be like a bell curve (laugh)….you can feel you're going like that oh it would be a bell curve (laugh) going the other way…. going down and then you come back up, yeah...but also yes. I talk to people I talk to other friends as well. That was good to have friends, then, because, I could talk to them. Even though it could be boring for them (Laugh) (Andy)

Help for Andy is facilitated through the connections she makes with others. In her emplotment, Andy constructs a connection through migration as facilitating in her obtaining help, where her Kiwi counselor couldn't help, but her migrant counselor could. The counselor is able to normalize Andy's depression as homesickness; thereby, positioning Andy's depression as not an internal problem, but an external effect on her due to migration. Through this construction, Andy is given "hope' and is able to visualize her depression as a "bell curve", with gradual alternating periods of declines

and inclines. This is a cycle that is now normal to Andy, and one she manages through maintaining further helpful connections with her friends.

Ana makes sense of her depression by constructing it as a phase:

> I think it's practically that, but I think I have like a phase and then it comes up and down again, but I think I did have like a phase that it was like really like pretty bad that was like during the winter, And it was like down down, down, down, you know like, and everything was bad and I looked at myself and I was like ah you look so bad and everything's fat and it's like ah, and I miss my family and I miss everyone and I don't want to be here, and I don't like this country. And although I appreciated things, I didn't feel it. You know so it was like no, no, no. And I didn't feel supported I felt completely alone...I mean I have my partner but aside from that, I had people, but I didn't really see it, you know. (Ana)

By constructing depression as a "phase", Ana's depression becomes a temporary impact on her, and not part of her. During a "down" period of this phase, Ana experiences depression as the feeling of "everything is bad", where Ana looks inward, being critical of her self-image (impacting her self-esteem), and is blind to the support and good aspects about her life. This blindness positions Ana as not ungrateful for what she has, but unable to see it and therefore, use it and appreciate it. Similarly to Andy and Lulu, Ana doesn't explicitly say she felt home sickness, but she does construct it as part of her depression too: "and I miss my family and I miss everyone and I don't want to be here".

Across these stories, participants constructed depression as temporary and external to themselves. Being external to themselves, they were able to visualise their depression, giving it a particular shape that represented the alternating (up/down) temporary impact it had on them. The impact of depression was constructed as making them blind, unable to appreciate their surroundings. It impacted their self-esteem, ability to do things, and initiated self-doubt. Participants constructed having an awareness of the impact depression was having on them, and empowered themselves to prevent or

counter this impact by self-caring, keeping busy, connecting with others, and normalizing their symptoms as homesickness.

The normalization of depression as homesickness worked to justify depression as an appropriate psychological impact within the context of being an immigrant. Much like the construction of an "anxious new parent", perhaps the construction of "depressed homesick immigrant" is a normal position to be in considering the separation and adjustments new migrants have to overcome to rebuild their life in another country. Participants construct learning to overcome/manage their depression, providing a sense of expectancy to its impact. In a sense, they have constructed depression as a process they had to go through within the much larger process of adapting to their new life in New Zealand. Much like the findings on loneliness, this study's findings on depression are in contrast to the biomedical model that constructs depression as a dysfunctional psychological outcome of migration (Sher & Vilens, 2010).

-Keeping busy

A common theme within the stories was the need to "keep busy". I was not surprised when I realized the same participants who identified with depression, also constructed the need to be busy (in addition to Wela). This is because the need to be busy was often constructed as a remedy for the feelings of depression or homesickness. In this section, I explore what meaning the participants assigned to keeping busy.

Above in "experiences of depression", Lulu constructs keeping busy as helping her not feel flat; in the plot below she presents what keeping busy means in more detail:

> I just keep busy....when I start notice, when I start noticing that ah I'm feeling down. I just find another project....something else to do...MIA is a project... so I just liked the idea of going there and finding something to do, ok here's the

festival, ok here's the dance group, ok whatever...Talking with other women from other ethnic groups, has been really good, yeah and this is something that a work colleague told me many years ago and I didn't understand, when she told me this.... she has been living in New Zealand for many years twenty, thirty I don't know. And she was always telling me... that she was cleaning the house in the weekend, even when the house was already clean. And she told me because I need to be busy, if I'm not busy then I start feeling homesick. And I, at that time I thought that's just weird. Why would you clean a house that is already clean? And after a while I understood what she meant, and it was happening the same with me. I need to keep myself busy. (Lulu)

Lulu has constructed an existence where by not fulfilling a purpose of some sort, she starts to feel down. Lulu is able to separate herself from her feelings by being able to recognize when she is starting to feel down, and as a result takes action to dissociate from emotion by "finding something to do". Lulu uses the example of her work colleague to position this existence as a phenomenon, one she had to understand by going through it herself, and invites others to judge her need to keep busy just as she had her colleagues, but to also understand that it is a reaction to counter the feeling of homesickness. The action of "keeping busy" is constructed as an empowering coping mechanism: "I need to keep myself busy". Without the application of "keeping busy", a person is constructed as feeling down and homesick; associated as undesirable, unproductive, compared to cleaning and project participation that are desirable and productive alternatives.

Wela constructs "keeping busy" to "entertain me" as preventing her from feeling lonely:

Los primeros días si me sentía sola…entonces bueno dije yo, tengo que empezar hacer algo para entretenerme. Y ahí empecé a sacar todas mi puntas y mis cosas, y me entretengo, he hecho varias cosas. No sé, yo me dicen "porque no las vendes" "porque yo no soy comerciante." Yo lo hago para entretenerme, ese es mi vida actual….lo que me sirve como terapia, más los hago como terapia de como comercial…"pero tú tienes que vender" "donde, cómo y cuándo?" no tengo idea (reír) pero ahí están las cosas. (Wela)

The first days I felt alone…so ok I said, I have to start doing something to entertain me. And there I started to get out all my tips and my things, and I entertain myself. I have made various things. I don't know, I they tell me "why don't you sell them" "because I'm no dealer" I do it for entertaining me, that is my life currently…what works for me as therapy, I do it more like therapy then like commercial…"but you

have to sell" "where, how and when?" I have no idea (laughs) but there are the things. (Wela)

For Wela, loneliness is constructed as separate from creating things, where she is unable to feel lonely if she creates. This construction empowers her to overcome her feeling of loneliness by creating. Wela associates creating with therapy, where it is a task achieved to obtain the psychological support she is lacking, more than the commercial gains others suggest she could make from it.

For Ana, having to attend work and meet standards of attendance, appearance, and productivity became her way of keeping busy:

> I think in the end work played a role too because it doesn't really let you get so down, because you have to wake up every day, you have to take your shower, you kinda have to take care of yourself, and once there you have to think about work...so you cannot really be, you know. So in the end, people at work were important because of that, because it provided me with another space not to be down, you know. I had to do it so it was like...you have no option, and you kinda do, but I wasn't gonna, I mean, what I was going through was not so deep or so clinically deep that I wasn't gonna go to work. (Ana)

Ana constructs an external obligation (work) as the physical force that keeps her busy and forces her into a mentally demanding environment where she could not be depressed. Ana constructs not meeting these standards by staying home as a deeper more clinical version of depression, a position she rejects by going to work.

Andy constructs having a purpose or a clear direction as preventing her from feeling lost and depressed:

> I like to yeah to feel like I have a place to go, or something to do or…I have the direction, I'm in a clear direction, I like to set goals and things like that. So ok I'm going that way, otherwise I feel like lost sometimes. And that's what happens when I get depressed...so when I was, how you say, detecting I was kind to going to depression, or something like that. I have to…tell myself, ok go out to career services and go out to this place and see if you would like to work there, no…New Zealand post whatever, Wellington city council whatever you know, anywhere, that I could see ad, something advertise. So then I had to push myself and really tell myself, you have to get out of bed, or you have to go and at least go and do something. (Andy)

Andy is able to tell when she is starting to feel depressed, giving her the advantage to take action and stop the development of depression. Andy constructs her mind as separate to her body, where she is able to direct and verbally push her body out of bed, in order to apply for any job to give herself purpose.

Within these plots, participants constructed being busy through participation in projects, cleaning, creating things, and maintaining or applying for work. These are all socially acceptable activities that are associated with desirable productive outcomes. In contrast, not keeping busy was constructed as resulting in feeling down, lonely, clinically depressed, and lost; outcomes that are socially constructed as undesirable and unproductive. Often the self was constructed as separate from emotion and body; the self was able to observe negative emotions, and responded by prompting the body to partake in activities where the negative emotions were unable to take place.

For participants, keeping busy functioned to empower them to take control over their body, a successful coping strategy recognised as also used by groups who have undergone significant levels of psychological stress due to loss or change, such as refugees (Pottie, Brown, & Dunn, 2005), widows (Lynch, Moore, Moss-Morris & Kendrick, 2015), and trauma survivors (Frazier & Burnett, 1994). Therefore, the use of "keeping busy" by the women in this study could be an indicator of the extent of psychological stress, change, and/or loss Hispanic immigrant women may go through in adapting and re-creating a life in New Zealand. By recognising the migration process as a commonly stressful event, requiring the need for coping mechanisms such as keeping busy, future Hispanic immigrant women may take comfort in knowing their personal stressful experience is common, and that their need to keep busy is also a common

beneficial coping mechanism used by others in a similar situation, and not a symptom of a dysfunctional self.

-Normalizing the journey

Participants attempted to normalise their experience of migration, by comparing their experiences against others they perceived as "normal". This was helpful in normalising current challenges, and providing an expectation for personal future outcomes.

Ana talks about making sense of her migration experience as facilitated by talking with others:

> But it was funny because it was more people that I didn't really know, like people that I kinda knew like at the moment. Like they would say things, even you know, the day that you went to MIA, (laugh)...that kinda made me realise it was kinda normal...I would go like "hmm" you know like "they're going through the same thing" or, yeah so I started talking to those people who were kind of going through the same thing, cos what kind of happened at one point is that I just see everybody look so happy and they would say "I love living here, I wanna stay forever" and I was like the only one say like "why" you know (Laugh). Yeah so hearing people that weren't like that they played an important role too. (Ana)

For Ana, others provided reassurance that her feelings of not wanting to stay in New Zealand were "normal". Ana was unable to construct her position of not being happy in New Zealand, because people she talked to illustrated a contrasting view of New Zealand, compared to the one she felt but hadn't constructed yet. It was not until she was exposed to an alternative construction, such as my presentation wanting to voice these alternative constructions, that Ana was able to validate her experience and contemplate giving it a voice by sharing it with me through this study.

Lulu's experience is constructed as a journey, shaped by the comparison she makes with other's experiences:

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> Having friends or people that I know that been through the same journey. When I first came to New Zealand I meet, an Argentinean lady, and she's been living in New Zealand for thirty years, and it's been great, being able to talk with her, and to learn from her experiences as well. And then....I meet other girls…through MIA and they have been here ten years, five years, two years, so it was really useful to see all these wonderful ladies and in different stages of the journey....yeah and I kind of thought, oh ok so when I'm going to be here for two years I might be feeling like her, and when I'm going to be here for five years I might be having these issues like, this um lady or, yeah and just, having like a mirror, you know, or like clues, ok this is what I might expect in this journey...this might be the challenges, the issues, the joys, yeah so-that was really useful just yeah, be able to visualize, that journey, and in other's people's lives. (Lulu)

Lulu's journey is constructed as having "different phases" she will go through; phases that are dependent and change with the amount of time she spends in New Zealand. Lulu "mirrors" her own experience against others, and normalises what appears to be the same, and neglects to mention what she does with what appears to be different. Because Lulu constructs her journey as dependent on time in New Zealand, it allows her to predict what her journey should look like, based on the journey of others who have been in New Zealand longer. This is something Lulu finds "useful", but positions Lulu's story as fated to be a certain way, instead of being constructed and justified as its own construction, able to extend beyond the experiences of others.

Mary used the experiences of her more travelled family members to model her own experience on:

> Coming from a very close and strong family, with people who have migrated before I did. Having that also as model to look at, you know, well I was like sort of oh gosh oh this is getting really hard, this is crazy you know, I'm not sure I'm going to manage…there has been people in my family, who have done it, before I did. And probably they're more complex, or challenging-different you know time and with sort of other challenges (Mary)

Mary's family provides a model for what is do-able; their experiences illustrate the ability to overcome the same and even more complex obstacles presented to Mary. This construction provides Mary with a confidence that her own experience is bound to be successful, as those close to her have modeled a successful outcome already.

Through the constructions provided by others, these participants shaped their personal construction of what a "normal" and expected outcome for themselves should be. Undergoing this normalization process of extracting external constructions in order to normalize their own experiences, enabled participants to validate the feelings and challenges they were facing, by constructing them as part of the migration process, and not a dysfunction of themselves.

Lack of normalization can position individuals in a conflicting position (like Ana), where she was unable to make sense of her own experience until she was exposed to a construction that recognized her feelings and challenges. This recognition enabled her to position her own experience as valid and "normal". This illustrates the usefulness of normalization for immigrants in enabling them to position their experiences within an external perspective that provides a sense of stability, guidance, and security (like Mary and Lulu). Therefore, for these participants the exposure and interactions with other Latina migrants has proven useful in helping normalize their experiences. This is an outcome that may not be the same for Latinas who are isolated, such as those living in urban areas.

Why others struggle to adapt

In an interesting twist, I wanted to see participants believed others struggled to adapt to New Zealand. I felt this would be a good way to understand the barriers they had to overcome, and the personal qualities they had to build or obtain to create a life as Hispanic women living in New Zealand.

Andy starts by constructing migrating as a gamble; a "decision" made by the migrant without knowing the type of outcome:

When you move countries…..It's a big-big decision to leave you know really, and to go to the end. And you never know what you're gonna find. If you're going to feel at home. Or you're going to feel like you regret that decision you've made. And so that will be kind of like a success or a failure, if we can call it like that, no….some people might feel like they are failing, that this not the place for them to live. (Andy)

The two possible outcomes of migration as constructed by Andy, are the feelings she connected to the "success/failure" narrative, where a "successful" migrant would "feel at home", while the "failed" migrant would feel "regret" resisting New Zealand as "the place for them to live". Andy continues by constructing the factors that result in these two migration outcomes:

So maybe some people or other women come here and that people might be lucky enough to have family with money, and so they might have money, and so they don't know what to do and I mean they're kind of lost, and depressed, ok this not what I want so change go somewhere else. Other people might, just used everything they got to come here, and then here it's not that easy. Because sometimes it's yeah, it depends of luck really, which kind of job you get or depends on your ambitions sometimes I think. Like if you want to….I know ah kitchen hand or something no….you could be, or if you want to move on, you just move on. (Andy)

Andy draws from the "luck" narrative, constructing the outcome of migration as a chance event, where the migrant is in a powerless position to control the initial outcome of their fate. Andy continues by positioning migrants as capable of physically moving away from their migration outcome if they choose to do so, but this is affected by the means in which they arrived in New Zealand (with family help/on their own with everything they had), and their personal "ambitions". Within this construction, Andy has constructed struggling migrants as victims to the lack of "luck" they were given, but also empowered to move away from the outcome if they choose to do so.

For Sia, it's being "too Chilean" -narrowed within one way of being- that prevents a migrant from adapting to New Zealand:

I think it's maybe because we are, too Chilean (laugh)…. so if we really too Chilean, it's hard to adapt to any place, you know. Because we have to open our

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mind, and look at what is around. But when you're just thinking about, oh poor oh me, I no talk English, no one really care about me and everything. I think is gonna be the problem. When we just thinking about us...about our culture, about the empanada is best food ever in the world. And we never go to one Chinese place and try different food, or… Mexican or something…so thinking this is the problem with the people close to try things. Or close to try to talk with the people too…So also when they thinking, one way is the best way to do, and not really look before what is the other opportunities…. because always, it's maybe this is the best way for you…. but always are different ways. (Sia)

Sia constructs struggling migrants as narrowed in their cognitive ability to expand beyond their cultural norms: "When we just thinking...about our culture". This construction positions struggling migrants as victims of their own thoughts: "But when you're just thinking about, oh poor oh me, I no talk English". Sia constructs the mind as able to be closed and open; where a closed mind is set in doing things in a particular way, while an open mind is able to try new things. Sia connects this construction with her "too Chilean" construction by presenting the solution for struggling immigrants as the action of opening their minds, empowering them with the choice to try new things and/or look for new opportunities.

Mary constructs the act of migrating as catalyzing a process of comparison within the migrants' mind:

..probably because, especially at the beginning we, the only sort of reference that we have when we come to a new country, is our own country….so you refer ah unconsciously, back home…sort of exercise of everything looking at through that lens, and sometimes it doesn't match. And it can be quite…energy consuming somehow (laugh) like it to try to match those things all the time.…think it's much easier when you come like from back it-more sort of an openness attitude, and look for things that this new place offer to you rather than you know, trying to find the things here that, take you back at home. (Mary)

Mary positions migrants as "unconsciously"-without choice- partaking in the "exercise" of comparing what they experience between their heritage country and the "new place". Mary constructs this comparison as governed by a "lens", a cognitive device that participants use to perceive new experiences through the perception of previous experiences. For Mary it is not the use of the "lens" that prevents migrants

from adapting, but the limitation of only looking through the lens in the attempts to "match" perceptions. In this construction, Mary positions the lens as providing a limiting perception, where migrants need to explore beyond the "lens" -beyond their previous experiences- to create new perceptions/experiences of the new place.

Wela doesn't position herself as a struggling immigrant, therefore she provides us with the observations she has made of others who she perceives as having struggled:

> Que no se adaptan, a ver, la mayoría de las personas que yo conozco, se han venido con familiares, yo me vine sola. Entonces a lo mejor ellas no se han adaptaron porque son familiar. A lo mejor a las personas que han llegado acá, no han logrado satisfacer sus necesidades como ellos pensaban. Yo creo que eso les frustra.

> They don't adapt, let's see, the majority of people that I know, they have come with family, I came alone. And maybe they haven't adapted because they are a family. Maybe the people who have arrived here, they haven't been able to satisfy their needs like they thought. I think that frustrates them. (Wela)

Wela starts by positioning struggling immigrants as having the power to adapt to New Zealand but choosing not to do so "they don't adapt". As a solo migrant, Wela perceives those unlike herself, who have heritage country family with them, as unable to adapt as a group, but able to adapt as individuals: "maybe they haven't adapted because they are a family". Wela also constructs struggling migrants as those who have a specific perception of what they will obtain from migration. When this specific perception is not met they become frustrated, meaning they do not expand beyond their perception -"thought"- to adapt in an alternative way to meet their needs within the specific New Zealand environment.

Lulu constructs struggling migrants as not connecting to New Zealand, where she positions them as needing to socially connect to New Zealand, and not just physically be in New Zealand:

> First thing that comes to my mind is that some people don't get the right balance between meeting people from New Zealand and meeting people from their own

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country.....sometimes I feel like having friends from Latino America is really useful but not always (laugh)...and I feel like sometimes, yeah having the right balance between ok speaking enough English and also speaking enough Spanish, so it works and I see some women that they still live in-in a bubble in the sense that they are not here in New Zealand. They are not speaking English, they are not part of the society, they don't know what's happening in the news, in New Zealand in the country, so it's like they..it is like if they are not here....yeah, and I guess that would be... a bit sad, because it means that you never connect with the country and the culture....flexibility is key and oh knowing that it's a trade-off, it will never be perfect. Perhaps people feel that, has this expectation that it will be wonderful and it will be just right and it's never just right...So having realistic expectations I would say and knowing that it won't be perfect, and there will always be a piece that is missing. And um perseverance too, and I guess that's part of, people's personality...and how much-how many times can you keep trying....and courage, as well. That's something that I learned. (Lulu)

Lulu dissociates the physical self from the social self, where she constructs migrants as needing to socially, verbally, and culturally connect with people and events within the New Zealand environment. Lulu constructs this as a choice, empowering the migrant to choose to make Kiwi friends and participate in New Zealand activities. Alternatively, she constructs those who don't choose to partake as not in connection with the New Zealand culture by placing them inside a "bubble", isolated within their own cultural self, despite being physically present. Besides connecting, Lulu also constructs the need for migrants to accept their New Zealand experience as its own experience that comes at a cost to other experiences: "a trade-off", with its own challenges and rewards. This "trade-off" requires the migrant to obtain psychological tools such as "flexibility" and "realistic expectations", to accept this experience of adaptation without feeling disappointed. Lastly, participation requires courage, where Lulu constructs hesitation and fear as a normal part of migration, requiring the participant to obtain courage as another psychological tool that will help them adapt to New Zealand.

For Ana, the struggle of adapting to New Zealand is constructed as going through depression:

I think first for them to know that it can be a phase. Because I think it's really important to acknowledge that. Because sometimes you just feel like you're desperate you know, and you just wanna throw everything away like. For me in my case it was going back…and I think that's a really important thing to do, and just, like, kinda stand there, without pushing people. But just, you know like, letting them know that you can be there for them, and if they need anything there's someone there. (Ana)

Ana constructs negative emotions as a "phase", making them temporary, regardless of what a person does. If emotions are validated by being "acknowledged" as being a "phase", a person can accept their situation, empowering themselves to choose to partake in the temporary effects of the "phase". If a person does not acknowledge the "phase" construction, they are positioned as resisting; consequently they will feel desperation, willing to give up "everything".

Ana also addresses what others can do to support a person going through this "phase". She encourages people to position themselves as passive witnesses in order to support migrants: "kinda stand there, without pushing people". In Ana's view, this empowers them as fulfilling a supportive role simply through the confirmation that they are willing to take that role on.

I think people need to talk, but I think the most important thing is to stop your thoughts sometimes. Like allow yourself to be sad, and to missed…because I think that's important…give yourself your time to do whatever you need to do… but at one point just stop, like you have to be aware of what you're thinking and just think if it was like you telling me that what I would? What I would tell you? And then just start, you know like…changing your thoughts a little bit...for me it's that…yeah I think that's what I'd tell them. Just to know that it's a phase and that it's gonna be ok and that. (Ana)

Ana then moves to constructing thoughts from depression as working on their own accord, until they are controlled by the individual. She encourages immigrants to have them, but to also embody these thoughts as constructed by someone else, allowing the immigrant the ability to reject these thoughts as judgement from others, instead of

accepting them as self-judgement. Ana constructs this personification of thoughts as an awareness/rule that helped her overcome the phase of depression.

Senni uses the "fairy tale" public narrative to position struggling immigrants as not taking responsibility for their own fate:

> Sueñan mucho de ser princesas, y toda vida creen en la dama madrina que le puede dar magia, entonces con la magia pueden hacer todo sin moverse. Pero no, ahora, estamos viviendo en otra época, entonces tienen que trabajar, tienen que hacer sus cosas. (Senni)

> They dream a lot of being princesses, and all their lives they believe in the fairy godmother that can give them magic, and so with the magic they can everything without moving. But no, now, we are living in another time, and so they have to work, they have to do their own things. (Senni)

By constructing struggling immigrants as dreaming "princesses", Senni has positioned them as not living in the real world. Senni connects "fairy godmothers" and "magic" as providing princesses with an unrealistic lifestyle of obtaining "everything" without "moving"; by not having to physically work for outcomes. Senni constructs the real world as a current place where fairytales don't exist, and where a person must work -"do their own thing"- in order to achieve things in life. In this construction, Senni constructs struggling immigrants as having difficulties because they don't work to achieve what is needed to build a life in New Zealand, not because they are unwilling, but because they are unrealistically waiting for others to do it for them.

Within these emplotments, participants made sense of why others struggle by constructing what "migration" is, as well as how "migration" impacts the individual. Migration was constructed as a gamble with an uncertain outcome, and a trade-off eliminating some experiences in exchange for others. Migration impacted the individual by catalyzing a process of comparison between cultures, leading to phases of depression, and providing an immigrant with new opportunities and experiences. In a sense, migration was constructed as a psychological phenomenon, where the impact of

migration occurs within the mind of the migrant, impacting how the migrant thinks (risk taking, comparisons making, emotional phases), and initiating a process of choice making (between new or old experiences).

As a psychological phenomenon, participants empowered the individual as having agency in how they participate in the cognitive process of "migration". Individuals participate through the choices they make, where a "successful" migrate, chooses to expand beyond their cultural norms and cognitive expectations, as well as acquire cognitive tools in order to accept and connect to others in their new environment. As a consequence, those who choose not to migrate cognitively are constructed as close-minded, unable to extend beyond their cultural norms, expectations, and previous experiences, resulting in being unconnected to others and the environment.

Lastly, participants also encouraged migrants to accept that the negative cognitive outcomes of choices are temporary, and that migration is a cognitive process that must be done as an individual, where others are supporters to this process but are unable to do it for them. These findings suggest that having the physical resources and support to facilitate acculturation, may not be enough to achieve acculturation. The migrant themselves must be psychologically ready to undergo this process.

Summary

This chapter explored how participants made sense of their migration experiences through the meaning they assigned to their constructions. The positive aspects of living in New Zealand were constructed as facilitation and validation. Living in New Zealand facilitated access to help, resources, and achieving transactions with others more easily, compared to heritage country. Participants also felt equal to others

through validation as individuals, where their status, appearances and replace-ability did not impact their ability to connect and interact with others.

The negative aspects of living in New Zealand were initial loneliness, the reconstruction of friendships, and the inability to understand the Kiwi accent. Loneliness was experienced as temporary, unexpected, and overcome with connections to others in New Zealand. In making friendships, competency in Kiwi culture was required, and if the participant was older, age compatibility was needed. New Zealand friendships were constructed as temporary, with more personal boundaries, less accessibility, and less physical support. Participants required altering behaviours and expectations to achieve and maintain friendships by becoming pro-active and respecting personal boundaries. The inability to understand/communicate with Kiwis was a common phenomenon, particularly if previously exposed to other English speakers.

The psychological impacts of living in New Zealand were the development of depression, needing to "keep busy", and normalization of personal experiences. Depression was constructed as temporary and external to the self, and impacted ability to function, appreciate, lowered self-esteem, and created self-doubt. Participants had awareness of the impact of depression, and empowered themselves to counter this impact. Normalization of depression as homesickness positioned depression as an appropriate psychological outcome for migrants and part of the migration process. Depression was managed by "keeping busy"; constructed as a coping mechanism and not a symptom of a dysfunctional self. Participants normalized personal experiences by drawing from the experiences of others. This enabled them to validate feelings and challenges as normal and part of the migration process. In addition, normalization provided a sense of stability, guidance, and security.

Lastly, in answering "why others struggle to adapt", migration was constructed as a psychological phenomenon, initiating a process of choice making. Choices included expanding beyond personal cultural norms and cognitive expectations, as well as acquiring cognitive tools to accept and connect to others in their new environment. Those who chose not to participate in the choice making process were constructed as close-minded, unable to extend beyond their cultural norms, expectations and previous experiences, with no connections to others and the environment. Migrants are empowered as independently controlling their migration experience through choice making, and were encouraged to accept the negative cognitive outcomes of choices as temporary.

These experiences illustrate how for Hispanic immigrant women, migration to New Zealand is a complex and stressful process, but with beneficial outcomes. Participants had to choose to psychologically open themselves and learn new ways of thinking and living in order to adapt to the New Zealand environment. Participants had to overcome stressful consequences of migration (loss, loneliness, depression), that forced them to initiate ways of living and thinking (keeping busy, normalization). Participants had to overcome personal and communication barriers, as well as learn new ways of connecting with others. Ultimately, participants constructed the negative impacts of migration as part of the process of adapting to a new country, and how the outcome of living in a place that is facilitating and validating makes undergoing this process beneficial for them.

Chapter Seven

Discussion and summary

"When you move countries….It's a big-big decision to leave, you know really, and to go to the end."
-Andy

This research investigated the immigration stories of Hispanic women who had moved to and were currently living in New Zealand. The findings provide a foundation for developing culturally-appropriate support programs aimed at Hispanic women who migrate to this country. This chapter provides the research findings in relation to immigrant research literature and practical applications. An overview of the findings in regards to the use of acculturation strategies and factors impacting migration are highlighted. MIA's contribution to the research will also be presented as well as research limitations and future directions. Lastly, a summary of the chapter will be provided in relation to the contribution this research has made on current migrant research literature.

Research findings, practical applications and immigrant research literature

As highlighted in Chapter one, most of the research literature on immigrants focuses on health and mental health outcomes for migrants, primarily studied through the use of acculturation strategies (Sher & Vilens, 2010; Stillman et al., 2015; Udahemuka & Pernice, 2010). This study adds to the knowledge base in this area by providing a deeper understanding of the migration experience from a subjective perspective, illustrating *how* the mental health outcomes function for the migrant during their personal experience of migration. Although this study did not measure acculturation, evidence of acculturation strategies taking effect can be identified through

participant's constructions of ethnic and role identities, and meaning making of their experiences.

Identity

The participants drew from the "ethnic identity" and "role identity" narratives to construct their identities. Drawing from these two narratives allowed participants to connect with others, and provide a sense of belonging to others who were part of their "ethnic identity" group, or were influenced by the "role identity" participants attached to themselves. These findings illustrate how Hispanic immigrant women may experience a challenge to their identities after moving to New Zealand; consequently, they have to undergo a process of new identity creation (a "Kiwi" self) in order to connect with others, adapt and integrate to New Zealand.

-Ethnic identity

Participants constructed having an ethnic identity such as: "I am Chilean", that provided them with a sense of belonging, self-identification, participation, emotional attachments, and values by being part of a group. Participants were able to transfer and participate in their ethnic identities after migration, due to the multicultural environment provided by New Zealand. Within their experiences participants wanted to participate and connect with Kiwis, but found barriers such as language differences, loyalty, non-acceptance from others, difficulty breaking from previous ties and making friendships, as preventing them from achieving participation and connections with Kiwis. Overcoming these barriers enabled participants to incorporate a new ethnic identity: a "Kiwi ethnic identity". Their "Kiwi ethnic identity" provided a sense of belonging, acceptance, identification, values and emotional attachments to others in New Zealand,

and New Zealand itself; illustrating an integrated acculturation strategy in affect (Berry, 2003; Taifel, 1981).

-Malleable ethnic identity

Participants who achieved an integrated acculturation strategy, constructed ethnic identities that were malleable, to suit contextual demands. Participants constructed always having their multiple ethnic identities with them; these identities could be extracted for use to meet particular contextual demands. Demands for extracting a particular identity at a particular time were other people and environments; where wanting to connect with others initiated the extraction of a particular identity, or being in a particular environment (i.e., home, heritage country etc.) required the participant to act in a way that corresponded to a particular identity.

-Role identity

Positioning the self within a particular "role identity" provided participants with a sense of belonging to a group that gave them a purpose, and their life meaning. Role identities were diverse in nature, from: daughter, professional, peace giver, to independent person. Role identities in their heritage country were not always transferable to New Zealand, posing a challenge for participants who illustrated the use of multiple acculturation strategies to meet the demands of changing, losing roles, or obtaining new roles. The attainment of a new role often resulted in an assimilated acculturation strategy in order to fulfil a New Zealand specific role (i.e., Lulu becoming a Kiwi wife, Mary working in disability services or Senni being a service to others). The ability to transfer roles between cultures allowed participants to integrate and connect with others in New Zealand (i.e., Andy joining the "working society"). While the inability to transfer roles or create new roles that connected them with others resulted in

a separated/marginalised acculturation strategy (i.e., Ana adopting a self-nurturing role in contrast to the selfless role she had in Mexico).

Meaning making

Participants attached meaning to their experiences of rebuilding a life in New Zealand by constructing the positive and negative aspects of living in New Zealand, the psychological impact of migrating, and why they believe others struggle to adapt.

-Positive aspects of living in New Zealand

Pparticipants constructed New Zealand as a facilitating place to live, where they didn't have to sacrifice as much, were able to access help, resources and achieve transactions with others more easily compared to their heritage country. The New Zealand system and people were constructed as trusting, enabling participants to position themselves as trusted and facilitating individuals as well. Participants also felt more equal with others in New Zealand by being validated as individuals and feeling secure in their positions; as their status, appearances, and replace-ability did not impact their ability to connect and interact with others. Participants embraced this new way of validating themselves by positioning themselves as not-judgemental and non-competitive, integrating to match this new environment.

These findings illustrate how participants integrated by embracing the facilitating and validating New Zealand environment, becoming trusting, facilitating, non-judgemental, and non-competitive individuals. Therefore, these findings suggest individuals who create their identity around a non-trusting/facilitating system, or who validate themselves based on appearances, status and competition may have difficulty integrating to New Zealand, becoming separated or marginalised; thus revealing another

previously unexplored factor impacting the migration process of Hispanic immigrant women living in New Zealand.

-Negative aspects of living in New Zealand

Participants experienced an initial unexpected feeling of loneliness. This loneliness was a product of losing connections with others apart from their partners, and was overcome when they achieved connections with others in New Zealand. The findings in this study suggest loneliness is a normal response for Latinas to have when migrating due to losing connections, and requiring the support of more than one person in order to overcome loneliness.

In making friendships, competency in Kiwi culture was required, and if the participant was older, age compatibility was also needed. New Zealand friendships were constructed as temporary, with more personal boundaries, less accessibility, and less physical support. To achieve and maintain friendships, participants needed to assimilate/integrate by altering behaviours and expectations, becoming pro-active and respecting personal boundaries. Findings suggest age compatibility as a factor that needs to be considered in older migrant's ability to create connections with others in New Zealand, as well as understanding that Latina's expectations around what can be obtained from friendships, is a possible factor preventing them from creating friendships with non-Latinos in New Zealand. Furthermore, the phenomenon of "temporary friends" could illustrate the impact of New Zealand immigration/emigration policies that facilitate the importation and exportation of people, and therefore, impact long term connections and accessibility between people living in New Zealand.

Lastly, the inability to initially understand/communicate with Kiwis because of their unique accent is a phenomenon that was identified by participants, and is also

common among individuals who have been exposed to other English speakers from different cultures (Effendi; as cited by Robinson, 2010). As participants constructed eventually being able to understand Kiwis, it would be beneficial to normalise this initial difficulty in communication, as a temporary part of the experience of adapting to New Zealand.

-Psychological impact

The current study supports and expands on previous research that identifies depression as common among migrants. Previous research recognises migrants as being more vulnerable to developing depression, anxiety, substance abuse, and other psychological disorders compared to host populations (Sher & Vilens, 2010). Hispanic women are specifically more vulnerable to developing anxiety and depression as well as substance abuse disorders (Helm, 2014; Sher & Vilens, 2010). Three out of seven participants specifically constructed experiencing depression. However, no strong evidence among the participants was found to support previous findings on anxiety and substance abuse disorders among this population.

The participants expended on previous findings on depression to construct not only experiencing depression, but also how this depression functioned within their experiences. Depression was constructed as temporary and external to the self, impacted their ability to function and appreciate, and initiated feelings of low self-esteem and self-doubt. Participants were aware of the impact of depression, and empowered themselves to counter this impact. They also normalized depression as homesickness, thereby, an appropriate psychological outcome for migrants and part of the migration process. These findings suggest that depression is an appropriate and accepted process participants had to go through in adapting to their new life in New Zealand. Therefore, experiencing depression as a migrant should be normalised as part of the support

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provided to migrants. By normalising depression, the migrant themselves are empowered to overcome its impact as part of their adaptation process, instead of viewing it as a dysfunctional psychological outcome developed as a product of a dysfunctional self (Sher & Vilens, 2010).

Depression was managed by the "keeping busy" coping mechanism that empowered participants to take control over their body. "Keeping busy" is a successful coping strategy also used by groups who have undergone significant levels of psychological stress due to loss or change (i.e., refugees and trauma survivors) (Frazier & Burnett, 1994; Pottie, et al., 2005). These findings suggest a significant level of psychological stress, change, and/or loss can be experienced by Hispanic immigrant women after migrating to New Zealand. Support provided to migrants would benefit from further acknowledging migration itself as a stressful event (regardless of why/how the individual is undertaking migration), and how by normalising migration as a significantly stressful process, future immigrant Hispanic women may feel comfort by learning their personal stressful experience, and need to "keep busy" is common amongst migrants, and not a symptom of a dysfunctional self.

Participants drew from the examples provided by others to normalize their personal experiences, enabling them to validate their feelings and challenges as "normal" and part of the migration process. Normalization provided a sense of stability, guidance, and security, and was possible through the exposure to other Latinas living in New Zealand. These findings indicate how social influences are valuable in helping Latinas understand and validate their personal experiences, and how social isolation not only prevents connections with others, but also hinders a migrant's ability to feel "normal"; a phenomenon worth exploring in isolated populations of migrants, such as those living in rural areas.

-Why others struggle to adapt

In constructing why others struggled, participants constructed migration as a psychological phenomenon; a gamble with an uncertain outcome, a trade-off eliminating some experiences in exchange for others, a catalyst to a process of comparison between cultures, leading to phases of depression, and providing new opportunities and experiences. Participants empowered the individual as having agency to control the outcome of their migration process through the choices they make, where a "successful" migrant chooses to expand beyond their cultural norms and cognitive expectations, as well as acquires cognitive tools in order to accept and connect to others in their new environment. Alternatively, a "failed" migrant chooses to be close-minded, unable to extend beyond their cultural norms, expectations, and previous experiences, resulting in being unconnected to others and the environment.

Applied to acculturation, participants suggest migrants have agency to choose and change the acculturation strategy they partake in, thereby, making the migrant themselves liable for their own personal migration outcomes. These findings suggest that access to physical resources and support are not the only factors to consider in helping migrants adapt to New Zealand, as the migrant themselves must be psychologically ready to undergo this process too.

Overview of acculturation strategy findings

Like the literature on acculturation (Lawton & Gerdes, 2014; Sam & Berry, 2010), these findings also support the belief that integration produces the most beneficial outcomes for participants, while marginalization/separation produced the least beneficial outcomes. Participants who integrated were able to obtain malleable ethnic identities, role identities that gave them purpose, benefit from a

validating/facilitating environment, and obtain connections with others. Participants that marginalised/separated were unable to create connections with others or obtain a sense of purpose as part of living in New Zealand.

In contrast to previous research (Lawton & Gerdes, 2014), this study showed that assimilation was not particularly harmful, but beneficial and necessary for participants in certain contexts. Through assimilation, participants were able to obtain new role identities not accessible to them in their heritage country, and accept psychological effects such as depression and the need to "keep busy" as part of living in New Zealand. Furthermore, unlike previous research this study assigns the responsibility of migration outcomes on the migrant themselves, indicating that external initiatives aimed at helping migrants adapt to New Zealand, would benefit by empowering and encouraging migrants to make choices that lead to integration/assimilation, instead of simply providing the resources to do so.

Overview of factors that impacted migration

Previously identified factors that impact the migration process were also recognised in the current research, as well as factors that specifically impact Hispanic immigrant women living in New Zealand. The World Health Organization (2010) positions factors around migration such as: health care policies, reasons for migrating, discrimination, stigma, poverty, social exclusion, cultural and language differences, family separation, administration hurdles, legal status and social-cultural norms, as impacting migrant health outcomes.

The current research identified the factors of social exclusion, cultural and language differences, family separation and social-cultural norms as impacting the participant's experiences. *Social exclusion* impacted participant's ability to create a

sense of belonging when they were unable to participate as part of a group. *Family separation* resulted in initial feelings of loneliness and in loss of "role identity". *Cultural and language differences* were constructed as barriers that needed to be overcome to obtain friendships. Lastly, *social-cultural norms* impacted the need to reconstruct expectations and behaviours within friendships to make and maintain them.

Additional factors identified in this study that specifically impacted Hispanic immigrant women living in New Zealand were: *support from more than one person* in order to overcome loneliness; the *Kiwi accent* as specifically difficult to understand/communicate with; older migrants require *age compatibility* within friendships to feel equal; *obtaining coping mechanisms* such as "keeping busy" to overcome homesickness; *exposure to other migrants* to normalise personal experiences; *migration/emigration policies* that result in temporary friendships; and lastly, a factor that is also recognised by Perez (2012) is *trust*, as facilitates the ability to access and achieve person to person transactions.

Interesting, participants identified the factors of discrimination, stigma and administration hurdles as impacting them in their heritage country but specifically not impacting them in New Zealand due to the facilitating and validating environment provided by New Zealand. Participants also didn't construct the factors of health care policies, reasons for migrating, poverty, and legal status as having an impact on them while living in New Zealand.

MIA's contribution

As part of the research design, findings were presented to MIA members (some who were also participants) during a MIA monthly meeting. By presenting to MIA, the current research integrated the voices of Hispanic immigrant women as much as

possible into the outcomes of the research. MIA's feedback helped to guide the direction of the research, and better represent the experiences of migration from this particular population in New Zealand.

Overall, MIA members accepted the findings from this research as outcomes they could relate with. More importantly however, MIA members also noticed some findings were portrayed within a negative focus; where a more accurate perception for them was to position the undesirable aspects of migration within a positive focus. For example, having to change identities or expectations was not seen as sacrificing elements of themselves, but as a trade-off that allowed them to grow in different ways.

MIA's feedback initiated another cycle of analysis that revealed further findings that had also been overlooked within a negative focus. Re-analysis found that depression is an accepted, normalized part of migration instead of the original understanding of depression as an undesirable outcome of migration. Similarly, "keeping busy" is a successful coping strategy and not a symptom of a dysfunctional self.

The re-analysis illustrated the powerful influence the researcher has on the outcomes of the research findings. It is hoped that by obtaining and applying MIA's feedback, the outcomes from this research have become a more accurate representation of the experiences of Hispanic immigrant women living in New Zealand.

Limitations

A variety of factors should be considered in regards to the conclusions drawn from these stories. These factors are: the participants' use of two languages, participant time spent in New Zealand, participant historical factors, and sample ethnicity variation and locality. The study conducted interviews in both Spanish and English; consequently

as the project is presented in English, some of the semantics underlying the Spanish responses may have been lost when translated into English.

Participants varied greatly in their time spent in New Zealand (less than a year to over 30 years). Because of this variation, some participants had not reached milestones associated with building a life in New Zealand (i.e., obtained New Zealand friends, permanent residency etc.), while others had completed these milestones years ago when migration/education recognition policies, and New Zealand culture was different. This variation meant the experiences extracted in this study varied in aspects affected by time spent in New Zealand, and cultural variations over time. Consequently, particular themes that could have been significant within a particular time spent living in New Zealand or migrating within a particular decade, may have been lost during the analysis.

This study had one participant who had migrated to another country first (Andy) and one refugee (Senni). The literature identifies refugees and/or multiple migration as impacting factors on the process of acculturation (Sher & Vilens, 2010; Udahemuka & Pernice, 2010). Both Andy and Senni constructed unique processes of acculturation compared to the rest of the sample. Andy drew from the knowledge and experiences she had gained from her previous migration, applying it to her current story of migration in New Zealand. Senni constructed a very straightforward short process of adapting to New Zealand facilitated by her faith, and experiences of living under a dictatorship. Their two immigration processes have different implications, so the themes identified may be more heterogeneous than what may be expected if the participants had been a more homogenous sample of either refugees or second-time migrants.

The sample consisted of individuals from three nationalities: Argentina, Chile and Mexico. Being a small sample of seven women, three nationalities is not a homogenous sample able to be generalized to a particular ethnic group of Latinas.

Between these three ethnicities, there are cultural values and historical factors underlying each participant's story, affecting their experiences in different ways. For example, Andy and Lulu constructed being accustomed to corruption as part of being Argentineans. Senni was negatively affected by Chile's era of dictatorship, while Ana constructed fighting Mexico's political corruption as part of who she is.

Furthermore, the sample only consisted of Hispanic immigrant women who live in the Wellington region. Hispanic immigrant women from rural areas or from highly populated Hispanic areas such as Auckland were not represented in this study, affecting the generalizability of this study to these Latina groups. For example, would rural women who are more likely to be isolated have the ability to compare themselves with other Hispanic women in order to normalize their experiences? Or would a Hispanic woman in Auckland need to find a balance between Kiwi friends and Hispanic friends if she has a wide circle of Hispanic friends?

A limitation to using a narrative analysis research approach is the underlying influence the researcher has over the construction of the interpretation of the results. The researcher holds control over what is/is not included within the analysis and what meaning is produced from the accounts, deciding what does/does not hold narrative significance. Therefore, an important issue may be overlooked if it is not deemed important by the researcher. To minimize the impact of the influence I could have had over the interpretation, I created a research design with no hypothesis, so that the stories could provide their own narrative of significance as much as possible. After attempting to use templates of analysis from other studies, I discovered the best way to extract the experiences from the accounts was to construct my own based on the foundations of previous work of Breheny and Stephens (2011) in particular, thereby, not forcing the accounts into a specific interpretation.

I was tempted originally to do a case study analysis on each story, but found the strong themes across stories provided the structure to illustrate the experiences of Hispanic women migrating in New Zealand. Consequently, certain experiences which were only significant within a particular story were not included as part of the findings in this study. Also, participants whose overall experience was quite different to the rest of the group did not get mentioned as much as others. For instance Senni, who was the only refugee and who also didn't construct any period of adjustment to New Zealand compared to the other participants, does not feature strongly in the analysis.

Future research

Narrative analysis was fruitful in providing a picture of the experiences of Hispanic immigrant women living New Zealand who are in their late twenties/early thirties or retired. Future research could apply narrative analysis to study the experiences of younger immigrant Hispanic women (teenagers) or from the 40-60 age range, as well as male Hispanic immigrants, as these groups are likely to be affected by different social structures and influences compared to the groups used in this study. This would enable a broader understanding of Hispanic immigrant experiences in New Zealand.

Future research may also benefit from exploring the experiences of second generation Hispanics using narrative analysis. Considering the literature illustrates this generation to be the most vulnerable to health and mental health issues in American studies, a New Zealand qualitative comparison could provide valuable information on if and why these negative health impacts occur in New Zealand too.

Lastly, future research could explore the application of other qualitative approaches, such as ethnography, to explore the experiences of ethnic minority groups

from a different, personal, subjective perspective. Similarly, the application of other methods could be expanded to include mixed methods qualitative-quantitative approaches; for example exploring the experiences of migration in relation to an objective quantitative measure of depression/anxiety. Such methods could prove beneficial in bridging the quantitative/qualitative gap of knowledge in the literature, while providing a unique New Zealand context perspective.

Summary and research contribution

By exploring identity creation and meaning making through stories of migration experiences, the current study was able to gain a deeper understanding of the specific impact of migration on Hispanic immigrant women living in New Zealand. Findings revealed that for participants, their identities went through a complex process of being transferred, lost, adjusted or expanded in order to adapt to New Zealand. In making sense of their migration experiences, participants compared their heritage country to New Zealand, and revealed being in a beneficial position by migrating to New Zealand. However, rebuilding a new life in New Zealand required participants to adapt their personal/cultural/social expectations and behaviors in order to connect with others in New Zealand, and accept psychological outcomes such as depression as part of the migration process. Participants also constructed migration as an individual psychological phenomenon, thereby empowering migrants as responsible for their own migration outcomes in choosing to adapt to New Zealand, or choosing not to.

The current research revealed the complexity of undergoing the migration process, and the need for culturally-appropriate support systems that incorporate an understanding of migration as a difficult and challenging process that can impact a migrant's identity, values, behaviors, psychological outcomes and cognitive processes.

As a novel area of research, this study further supports the potential knowledge that can be gained from using qualitative methods in migrant research in New Zealand.

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Appendix A: Information Sheet
(Massey letterhead)

Adopting depression: Understanding the construction of depression in South American Hispanic women who have migrated to New Zealand.

Hola! My name is Katherinne Smythe and I am currently a full time student at Massey University, completing my Masters in Science majoring in Psychology. As part of my research requirements I am conducting a research project under the supervision of Dr Natasha Tassell-Matamua. My project aims to understand and give a voice to the depression experienced after undergoing a cultural adjustment, for the purpose of recommending a foundation of support for Hispanic women migrating to New Zealand. I am interested in hearing women's stories about experiencing depression upon moving to New Zealand, how they have made sense of their experience, and what helped them overcome or manage their depression.

Who can participate?
I require participants to be over the age of 21, born in South America and to have migrated to New Zealand before 2011. If you have self-identified as having had depression to describe your experience after migrating, and are now past treatment or feel you currently are not experiencing depression, then your experience can be given a voice. No GP or professional diagnosis is required, but a support person must be named who can provide you with support in case your participation impacts you in any way.

Participants will also need to feel comfortable telling their stories in English, but some Spanish terms can be incorporated. Because of the in-depth nature of the project, I am aiming to interview between six to eight Hispanic women. I understand that this is a sensitive subject; therefore, I will make it as respectful, comfortable and safe as possible. Support will be made available to you during and after the interview if you feel the interview has impacted you in anyway. I look forward to valuing and getting to know you, and hope this will be an engaging experience for you as it will be for me. In recognition for your time and energy, a $30 Farmers voucher will be given to you for your participation.

What would be required of me if I decide to take part?
In order to get your story, I will conduct an audio recorded interview with you. Prior to the interview taking place you will be asked to sign a consent form giving your permission. The interview will take roughly 1 1/2 hours to complete and be conducted at a time and place suitable for you - this could include your home or wherever you feel comfortable. You may ask questions or request clarification about the project at any time. During the interview you can refuse to answer particular questions, and ask for the recording to be turned off if you are uncomfortable at any stage. Participation can be withdrawn up to four weeks after the interview has taken place. You have the option to view your transcript to make any alterations you feel are required. Transcripts will be provided to you within two weeks of the interview taking place, and you will have two weeks to review/edit or withdraw your transcript before I start my analysis. If the interview impacts you in anyway, you can contact me for support. I`ll help you obtain the support you require through your nominated support person, and/or can organize

access to a professionally trained support person.

How will the information I provide be used?
I will personally transcribe the interviews, and will ask you to provide me with a fake name which I can use to represent you in the transcripts. I will be the only person who knows your actual identity. The transcripts will be viewed and analyzed only by myself, my supervisor, and a support lecturer who specializes in this area of research. The audio recordings will be deleted upon completion of the analysis. The transcripts, consent forms and contact information will be held at Massey University by my supervisor for a period of five years at which time they will be destroyed, as per research protocol.

On the consent form, you can choose whether you would like a summary of the study's findings to be sent directly to you.

If you know of anybody else who may be interested in partaking in this study, please feel free to pass on my contact details, so I can then provide them with an information sheet. Be assured that by contacting me you are not automatically agreeing to participate. I am more than happy to answer questions you may have or speak with anybody who simply has an interest in this project.

Muchas gracias,

Dr Natasha Tassell-Matamua   **Katherinne Smythe**

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                                                     katherinne.smythe@gmail.com

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 14/64. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Brian Finch, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, telephone 06 350 5799 x 84459, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix B: Contact Details
(Massey letterhead)

Adopting depression: Understanding the construction of depression in Hispanic women who have migrated to New Zealand.

(Contact details will be held for a period of five years)

Please fill out your contact details if you wish to participate in this study:
(Please note this is not a consent form).

Name:

Phone:

Best contact time: Morning   Afternoon   Evening   Any   (circle one)

I would like for my interview to take place:
-Date:

-Location:

-Time:

 Adopting depression: A discourse analysis on the construction of depression in Hispanic women who have undergone acculturation.

(This consent form will be held for a period of five years)

I would like to participate in the proposed study by being interviewed about my experience with depression after migrating to New Zealand.

I consent to participate in the conditions outlined in the information sheet provided. I have read the information sheet, have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study and have these answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that I can refuse to answer any questions or participation at anytime throughout the interview, or up to one week after my interview has taken place.

The person I nominate who can support me if I required is:

Their contact number is:

Full name of participant:

Signature:

Date:

I would like the opportunity to read/edit my transcript before it is analyzed: Yes   No
(circle one)

I would like to be provided with a summary of the research findings: Yes   No
(circle one)

If you have requested a summary of the research findings please provide an address **or** email so this can be sent to you:

Appendix D: Interview Questions

Interview questions:

-what ethnicity do you identify with?

-Tell me about your experience of moving to New Zealand

-How did it feel moving to New Zealand?

-When and how did you decide to stay in New Zealand?

-What was your reason for migrating?

-What support would say you had/have during your experience of being in New Zealand?

-What support do you wish you had?

-What did you find easy about New Zealand?

-What were some of the challenges of moving to New Zealand?

-Do you go back to your home country often?

-What would you say has been the toughest moments for you as an immigrant in New Zealand?

-What has been the most rewarding aspect about moving to New Zealand?

-Do you feel being a women or Hispanic has contributed to your experience differently/specifically?

-Why do you believe other immigrants find it hard to adjust to New Zealand?

-What role did others have in your experience of migrating to New Zealand?