STORIES OF YOUNG MIGRANTS' CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATIONAL TRANSITIONS

By

Sally Louise Robertson

A thesis
submitted to Victoria University of Wellington
in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Education

Victoria University of Wellington

2012

Abstract

New Zealand society can benefit socially, culturally and economically when migrants feel as if they belong and are included. Given that Aotearoa/New Zealand is becoming increasingly multicultural, it is important that the education system meets the needs of migrants and makes them feel that they are included. Previous research has shown that this is not always the case – that migrants do not always feel that they belong at school in New Zealand.

Much of the literature that has investigated migrants' educational transition experiences has conceptualised "belonging" and "identity" as fixed states. This research took a different approach and used a narrative inquiry method underpinned by social constructionism.

The purpose of this research was to contribute to our understandings of migrants' transitions into the New Zealand education system. The study had three aims. The first was to investigate the stories young migrants told about their transition to secondary school in New Zealand; the second was to look at how belonging and inclusion were narrated by the participants; the third was to examine how the education system could better develop a culture of inclusion.

Seven young migrants who moved to New Zealand when they were secondary school age took part in this research. The participants were from countries in South East Asia, East Asia and the Pacific Islands. Their stories were gathered through narrative interviews.

The interviews were initially analysed individually and were presented as summaries. Next, analysis across the interviews was conducted, with a particular focus on looking at how the stories were performed. Based on my interaction with the stories, I described three of the stories as "opening up" stories and four as "closing down" stories. Those who told "opening up" stories had many connections to people and opportunities to tell their stories. They positioned themselves as belonging at school. Those who told "closing down" stories appeared to have had fewer opportunities to share their stories with others compared to those who told "opening up" stories. These individuals positioned themselves as socially isolated. The way the participants' stories were performed in the interviews was also related to the previous storytelling opportunities the participants had access to.

Some of the stories participants told about their lives in their home countries became unavailable to tell in the New Zealand context and, as a result, these stories had to change when they migrated. This study suggests that, in order to tell new stories, migrants need opportunities to interact with other New Zealanders to create and practise new storylines. Furthermore, New Zealanders also need to be able to tell new stories about themselves and find ways to connect with migrants in order to promote a culture of belonging.

A relational view of identity and belonging is presented, in which these are conceptualised as negotiated processes that can occur through stories. It is suggested that it would be beneficial if spaces within the education system were created in order to allow new possible storylines to emerge which support a culture of belonging.

Acknowledgements

Over the last two years there have been many people who have helped me in different ways to complete my thesis. My two supervisors have been amazing to work with during this time. Thank you so much Sue Cornforth and Jane Gilbert for your wise guidance, for challenging me to think in new ways, for your insightful feedback and for your encouragement. Your support enabled me to learn so much from completing this thesis.

My research would not have been possible without the participants who kindly told me their stories. I am very grateful to the seven participants who generously gave up their time and allowed me to listen to them talk about their experiences. Their generosity – not just with me, but their desire to help others – has been inspiring.

I would also like to thank those who helped me to find participants willing to take part in my research. In particular, I appreciate the support of the New Zealand Federation of Multicultural Councils (NZFMC), the Multicultural Council of Wellington, the Hutt Multicultural Council, the organisers of NZFMC's Youth Forum and a number of people working with ethnic communities from the Wellington City Council. There were many people within these organisations who helped me to network; for example, through inviting me to attend their meetings and passing on information to their contacts.

I would like to express my gratitude to my workplace, the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER), for supporting me to carry out this research. I would also like to thank the members of the Post-Structural and Ethical Frameworks Thesis Group for the stimulating discussions.

Last, but not least, thank you to my friends and family. In particular, thanks to my partner Craig Drayton and to my family for their encouragement and support.

Table of Contents

Appendices

1. Introduction

> The narratives of the world are numberless ... narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative ... narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself. (Barthes, 1977, p. 79)

The need for this research

Recently I read a newspaper article titled "The changing face of NZ's population" (Robinson, 2012) which described how the ethnic make-up of New Zealand's population is changing. For example, by 2021 in Auckland, just over half of the population (53 percent) will be European, 27 percent Asian, 17 percent Pacific Island and 12 percent Māori. New Zealand is a multicultural nation with around one in four of those living in New Zealand having been born overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

The ethnic make-up of New Zealand has varied over time, and it continues to change. New Zealand has experienced many different waves of migrants over the years, largely as a result of changes in immigration policies.

What struck me when reading the article (Robinson, 2012), were the anti-migrant comments made by many members of the public; in particular, assertions that we need to cap the number of migrants, that migrants need to assimilate and that we need to choose migrants more carefully. I strongly believe that we need to acknowledge the benefits migrants bring to New Zealand. While there can be challenges with multiculturalism, there are many benefits to all of us individually and to New Zealand society. In this thesis I will show how it is in everyone's interest to ensure that migrants feel that they belong, and that helping migrants to feel included is everyone's responsibility.

It is important that young migrants feel they belong in the school context (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2006). While schools are supposed to meet the needs of New Zealanders from all ethnic backgrounds, there is evidence that migrants do not always feel included in them. As New Zealand continues to become more multicultural, the education system's ability to meet migrants' needs will become increasingly important.

Most research that has looked at migrants' educational transitions and their belonging and inclusion has been underpinned by a traditional psychological view of identity as singular and fixed, such as research based on Berry's model of acculturation (1970, 1974, 1980, as cited in Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). While these studies have contributed much to our knowledge about migrants' experiences, they are not the only lens through which to look at the educational experiences of migrants. In this research I investigated an alternative view – one where people have multiple, contested and negotiated identities.

This research used a narrative inquiry approach to look at the stories young migrants told about their educational transitions, including how they narrated their experiences of belonging and inclusion. I also looked at how all New Zealanders can play a role in migrants' belonging and how a culture of belonging can be supported by the education system.

The main aim of this research was to contribute to our understandings of migrants' transitions into the New Zealand education system. A narrative inquiry approach allowed for an in-depth look at the migrants' stories and the complexities within their stories. Social constructionism underpinned this research: I acknowledged the socially constructed nature of the stories and my own influence on the stories and how they were interpreted. Using a narrative inquiry approach allowed the participants flexibility in choosing the stories they told me.

I also used a narrative inquiry approach because of the emotional impact stories can have. The audience, including the researcher, can be drawn into and affected by stories in a way that does not always occur, or is not acknowledged, when using other research methods – something I experienced while doing this research. One of the first articles I read that used this approach presented the stories of people who had experienced spinal cord injuries (Smith & Sparkes, 2005) and I was struck by the emotional impact of this article. One of my aims was to engage the audience through using stories and to explore the impact of storytelling.

Outline of thesis chapters

Chapters 2 and 3 review the relevant literature. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on migrants and education in New Zealand and Chapter 3 looks at the literature on stories, social constructionism and narrative inquiry. Chapter 3 also provides a rationale for studying migrants' transitions and belonging in an alternative way – using narrative inquiry and underpinned by a social constructionist approach. Chapter 4 outlines the research questions and the methods used in this study. The ethical considerations and my personal justification for carrying out this research are also discussed. Chapter 5 provides an overview of the seven

stories told by the migrants in this research and Chapter 6 presents my analysis of the stories. In the analysis I look at some of the similarities and differences between the stories, discuss the past storytelling experiences of the participants and look at the performance of the stories they told me as part of this research. Chapter 7 discusses the stories in the light of my research questions. I look at what the migrants' stories and this research can tell us about the concept of "belonging" and about how the education system can better develop a culture of inclusion. Chapter 8 summarises the research, discusses its limitations, suggests areas for future research and ends with concluding reflections.

2. Migrants and education in New Zealand

Multiculturalism and migration are important to New Zealand. In much of the literature on migration and settlement in New Zealand, the value of multiculturalism is implied, rather than explicitly discussed. This chapter looks at the economic, social and cultural reasons for valuing migrants. It shows why it is crucial that migrants feel that they belong and are included in New Zealand. The chapter also outlines the role schools have in fostering these feelings of belonging and inclusion and in valuing multiculturalism. I argue that schools in New Zealand are not currently meeting the needs of migrants.

Migrants in New Zealand: An asset to value

There is a long history of immigration in New Zealand. The nation as we know it today was first built on the partnership between tangata whenua and the Crown (representing British settlers) as established through the Treaty of Waitangi. The past 150 years or so have seen a series of "waves" of new and different immigrant populations. Over time, as a result of changing immigration policies and the internationalisation of labour markets and education, a variety of migrant populations have arrived in New Zealand.

In the 21st century, New Zealand is becoming increasingly multicultural, and a large proportion of our population growth is through immigration. The 2006 Census showed that almost 23 percent of those living in New Zealand were born overseas, an increase since 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). In particular, the proportion migrating from Asia has increased. In 2001, 23.7 percent of people in New Zealand who were born overseas were from Asia, and in 2006 this number had grown to 28.6 percent.

New Zealand's changing social landscape brings both new challenges and new opportunities. Many of the challenges are well canvassed in the media and discussed in the literature. Some of the challenges that can come with increased diversity include tension between different groups when some groups are economically or socially disadvantaged (Ministry of Social Development, 2008) or when migrants are seen as competing for limited resources such as jobs (Gendall, Spoonley, & Trlin, 2007; Ward, 2001). There can also be challenges associated with communication and in developing a mutual understanding of different values and beliefs. In the classroom, teachers are faced with the challenge of teaching students with

diverse linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds (Ho, Holmes, & Cooper, 2004) which can require the teacher to have a deep understanding of their own and others' values and assumptions.

While there can be challenges, it is essential that we also recognise the value of migrants. New Zealanders can benefit from multiculturalism individually, at a community level and as a country, for a number of reasons.

Migrants are important to New Zealand's economy. Migrants had a positive net impact of over $3 billion during the 2005–6 financial year from taxation revenue alone (Slack, Wu, & Nana, 2007). Migrants also contribute to the economy by investing and through the consumption of goods and services.

Education in New Zealand is reliant on the contribution of fee-paying students, with "export education" being one of our highest income-generating industries (Butcher, 2009). Between 1998 and 2007, over 80 percent of the student approvals for migrants were for fee-paying students (Shorland, 2009). In 2004, fee-paying students contributed around $2.2 billion to New Zealand's economy, with around 15 percent of this amount coming from secondary students (Infometrics, National Research Bureau, & Skinnerstrategic, 2008). Fee-paying students often continue contributing to New Zealand's economy, with around 20 percent going on to become New Zealand residents (Immigration New Zealand, 2011).

The economic impact of multiculturalism can be wide-reaching. For example, it can have benefits for New Zealand's trade opportunities (Hodgson & Poot, 2010; Singham, 2006). With countries such as China and India becoming increasingly important players in the trade environment, New Zealand will be reliant on people who have the intercultural and language skills to communicate with these new economic superpowers (Singham, 2006). Migrants will be a source of these skills and could also help other New Zealanders to develop expertise in these areas. Migration is also associated with increased tourism to New Zealand, as friends or family visit migrants (Law, Genç, & Bryant, 2009).

There are also many non-economic benefits of multiculturalism. Diversity brings with it "a sense of vibrancy and vitality within our communities" (Singham, 2006, p. 37). Our environment is greatly influenced by multiculturalism; for example, on an everyday level, we can experience different types of food, take part in multicultural celebrations and festivals, appreciate different art forms and interact with a variety of people. Cultural diversity can help us learn about our own and others' beliefs, opening us up to new ideas and experiences.

Cultural diversity has value in areas such as language, communication, creativity and education. For example, it has benefits for social and technological innovation, with different approaches and worldviews contributing to new knowledge (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2009).

Migrants are an important source of skilled and unskilled labour. According to the Department of Labour (2007), there are widespread skilled and unskilled labour shortages in New Zealand. Greater ethnic diversity within workplaces is also often associated with more creative (Stahl, Maznevski, Voigt, & Jonsen, 2010) and productive workplaces (Herring, 2009), particularly if the right structures and policies are in place to manage this (Cunningham, 2009). Employers and tertiary institutions are placing increasing value on their workers and students having international experience (Crossman & Clarke, 2010). People need to be able to learn skills in order to develop cultural intelligence to communicate and work in diverse environments. One way to obtain this international experience is by having meaningful interactions with people from other countries who live in New Zealand.

The importance of migrants' belonging and inclusion

The global demand for skilled labour is growing and people are becoming increasingly mobile. If New Zealand is to be able to compete with other countries for migrants, it needs to ensure good settlement outcomes (Department of Labour, 2004). However, it is important that migrants are not seen simply as economic commodities. Singham (2006) points out that, by valuing multiculturalism, New Zealand can "position itself as an innovative, peaceful nation and a good global citizen" (p. 37). If New Zealand positions itself in this way, it has the potential to attract more migrants and reap the benefits from being a multicultural nation.

The settlement of young people is particularly important, as this has an impact on the settlement of other family members (Watts, White, & Trlin, 2002). For many migrants, their decision to come to New Zealand is based on providing better opportunities for their children, including the educational benefits (Statistics New Zealand, 2007, 2008). Therefore, a family's decision to continue living in New Zealand may well be influenced by the settlement outcomes of the children (Watts et al., 2002).

An important aspect of positive settlement is ensuring that migrants feel that they belong and are included in New Zealand. Much research has documented the negative impact on migrants when they feel excluded and discriminated against. For example, research has shown that factors such as perceived rejection and negative public attitudes are associated

with stress, adjustment problems and mental health issues for migrants (e.g., Abbott, Wong, Williams, Au, & Young, 1999, 2000; Pak, Dion, & Dion, 1991). Other research points to the benefits migrants experience when they integrate in New Zealand (e.g., Ward, 2008).

The role of schools

So where do schools fit into the picture? What role can and should schools play in encouraging diversity and helping migrants feel included both at school and in the wider community? Asking these questions requires considering what the purposes of schools are, and whose interests they should serve.

As Gilbert (2005) has argued, given that the public education system is funded by taxpayers, one of the goals should be that education benefits the community as a whole. One way the education system can achieve societal-wide benefits is by fostering citizens who will contribute to, and participate in, New Zealand society.

With the world becoming increasingly complex and interlinked, schools need to prepare students to be able to effectively function in, and make sense of, the changing and unpredictable society we live in. It is no longer enough to provide an inflexible system that transmits the same knowledge to each student in order to prepare them for the workforce (Gilbert, 2005). Instead, schools need to find ways to meet the needs of diverse students. These needs go beyond the traditional academic demands, and include skills such as helping students to know how to make connections with other students and helping them see value in both diversity and unity. Schools are an important institution for fostering social cohesion and should provide a sense of belonging for children of all ethnicities (Bishop, O'Sullivan, & Berryman, 2010).

Schools can be seen as social systems that convey and reproduce their values through their school culture, policies and the curriculum (Banks, 1997). The attitudes and policies of New Zealand and of the school will impact on the extent to which migrants feel they are able to or are encouraged to express their own cultural identity (Alton-Lee, 2003). If schools value diversity and equity, it is more likely that migrants will feel able to express their cultural identities (Alton-Lee, 2003). School leaders and teachers can choose how much they value and support students in learning how to express their identities (Nakhid, 2003).

Schools can be an avenue for addressing social issues (Donn & Schick, 1995). Donn and Schick argue that because cultural diversity and racism have wide-reaching impacts on

students' experiences of school, these are important areas that schools should address. Schools can help address these areas by teaching students about society, providing them with meaningful interactions with a range of people and encouraging them to understand different people's perspectives and experiences (Gilbert, 2005). With increasing diversity, the goal of educating students such that they are able to participate in a pluralistic society becomes increasingly important (Banks, 2006). Global citizenship education is a way in which schools can encourage these skills and experiences.

In the last few decades, recognition of the interconnectedness of the peoples of the world, through shared economies and shared global commons, has led to an upsurge of interest in education for global citizenship (Mutch, 2005). There have been two major directions taken in addressing global citizenship in education: the first is by developing intercultural competencies, and the second is education for global-mindedness (Newton, Milligan, Yates, & Meyer, 2010).

Global citizenship education is important in developing students' skills in being able to learn to work with a variety of people with diverse backgrounds and worldviews (Bolstad et al., 2012). Developing global-mindedness is also important. Global-mindedness can be defined as "the capacity and inclination to place our self and the people, objects and situations with which we come into contact within the broader matrix of our contemporary world" (Mansilla & Gardner, 2007, p. 58). Global citizenship education can encourage diversity in ideas and encourages people to take responsibility for global issues that require diverse and global solutions (Banks, 2008). Therefore, global citizenship education in New Zealand can help prepare all students to contribute to and participate in our increasingly interconnected society.

With the increase in immigration and globalisation, there is a need to recognise diversity, including in the education system. For this to occur, new ways of thinking about citizenship are necessary. Banks (2008) argues that views of citizenship need to move away from "liberal assimilationist conceptions" (p. 130) of citizenship, whereby migrants need to give up their home cultures in order to participate as citizens in their new countries. Instead, viewing citizenship as global can recognise that people are part of a global community with diverse and multiple identities.

Education for global citizenship focuses on providing students with "the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that will enable them to function in a global society" (Banks, 2008, p. 132). This is in contrast to education that prepares students to operate primarily within their

nation state, or encourages students to primarily identify at a national level (Banks et al., 2005). Students can learn to identify as global citizens and as connected to other citizens. Thus, global citizenship education can help to create feelings of belonging and connectedness among diverse cultures. For example, global citizenship education can help New Zealand students to see migrants as belonging to their community, while simultaneously valuing the diversity migrants bring.

Recognising and encouraging both unity and diversity are important at a societal level. Banks et al. (2005) discuss the oppression that can result in societies when there is a focus solely on unity. Conversely, if there is an emphasis on diversity alone, this can lead to the fracturing of communities. Therefore, society can benefit from helping migrants feel that they are united and connected with New Zealanders, while encouraging and celebrating difference.

There is evidence, however, that the education system does not always value diversity. For example, Humpage (2001) argues that institutional racism occurs in New Zealand's education policies, saying:

> Even when differences are taken into account, customized treatment is expected to fit within an ethnocentric "one size fits all" mentality ... rather than taking differences seriously. (p. 34)

Humpage (2001) points to the need to provide educators and schools with more support to make changes. Banks (2006) agrees that, in order for multicultural education to take place, institutional changes need to occur. These include changes to the curriculum, the social structure of the school, and the behaviours and attitudes of teachers.

Gilbert (2005) also argues that New Zealand's education system is based on the "one size fits all" model. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1971, 1973, 1974) notion of "cultural capital", Gilbert points out that:

> Schools assume, but do not necessarily teach, the cultural capital of one particular social group, and in so doing, they necessarily disadvantage children that do not come from that social group. (p. 61)

One way in which disengagement from school can happen is when there is a marked difference between people's home and school cultures. If the student has different expectations and values from those assumed by the teacher, it will be difficult for the student to succeed in the education system (Barnard, 2009; Hamilton, Anderson, Frater-Mathieson, Loewen, & Moore, 2000; Ho et al., 2004). Ultimately, those who feel they do not belong at school may end up dropping out. Currently some minority students have limited choices

available to them about what they want their identities to be; they are instead forced to conform to the mainstream identity or resist this majority view (Nakhid, 2003).

There have been some attempts to recognise the roles schools can play in helping all students feel that they belong and can participate in the education system and in their communities. For example, *The New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) acknowledges participating, contributing and belonging as important goals for students. Schools need to find a way to put these high-level goals into practice. As discussed in the next section, there is evidence that migrants do not always feel included in New Zealand's education system.

To date, much of the focus in schools and in the literature has been on raising academic achievement amongst certain ethnic groups, particularly for Māori and Pasifika students. Migrants (such as Asian migrants) who typically perform well at school receive significantly less attention. However, should we assume that Asian students, for example, feel a sense of belonging because they may perform well academically? And what do we know about the experience of other migrants beyond their academic performances?

The next section looks at previous research that has investigated whether young migrants feel that they belong or are excluded at school in New Zealand. It takes a critical look at some of the methodologies used as well as the assumptions that are made about migrants, teachers, schools and the education system.

Migrants' experiences of school in New Zealand

While New Zealand often prides itself on being a welcoming nation, this is not always the personal experience of migrants. For example, many migrants continue to encounter discrimination and stereotyping in New Zealand (Butcher, Spoonley, & Trlin, 2006; Ho et al., 2004; Ward, 2008; Watts et al., 2002). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2006) found that, while in most countries there were no differences between immigrant and non-immigrant students in terms of the extent to which they felt they belonged to school, in New Zealand this was not the case. This study found that first-generation migrants in New Zealand have less of a sense of belonging than non-immigrant students. The study did not analyse different ethnic groups separately.

Some research has focused on the attitudes New Zealanders have towards migrants. In general, New Zealanders say they support multiculturalism, but attitudes towards different cultural groups are not always equal. For example, Ward and Masgoret (2008) asked people

to what extent they agreed with statements about migrants and multiculturalism as well as about the contact they had had with migrants. The study found that there was general agreement among participants that multiculturalism was good for New Zealand and there were mostly positive attitudes towards migrants. However, views about migrants varied with the ethnic backgrounds of the migrants, with more positive attitudes being towards those from Anglo-Celtic backgrounds.

Ward and Masgoret's (2008) study was limited to gathering survey responses and findings were not expanded upon with any qualitative data. However, the results showed the value of interacting with people from different cultures and the authors suggested that schools are one area where more positive attitudes could be fostered. The recommendations included changes to the curriculum and pedagogies as well as intercultural training programmes. These suggestions were broad in nature and came from a psychological paradigm focusing on concepts such as intercultural contact and learning styles.

Butcher et al. (2006) interviewed migrants and refugees about their experiences of discrimination and exclusion in New Zealand. They found that many participants were concerned about the lack of knowledge New Zealanders have about migrants' and refugees' countries of origin. The participants who were interviewed in this research also felt that the media portrayed their country of origin negatively. Butcher et al. point to the need for greater understanding by New Zealanders and a suggestion from participants was that this understanding could be promoted through schools.

Much of the literature that looks at the immigration experiences of migrant youth coming to New Zealand comes from the traditional psychological literature, whereby migrants' experiences are grouped into broad categories, such as those discussed by Berry (1970, 1974, 1980, as cited in Berry et al., 2002). In this model, integration, separation, assimilation and marginalisation are strategies that refer to what extent a migrant identifies with their ethnic group compared to the identity of the mainstream culture. Often this research looks at the factors that influence the strategies migrants' use, the impacts of these strategies on wellbeing and how migrants choose to identify themselves. Examples of studies in New Zealand that come from this psychological perspective are discussed below.

Ward's (2008) study of immigrant youth in New Zealand was part of a large-scale study called the International Comparative Study of Ethno-cultural Youth (ICSEY) (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006) which looked at the acculturation strategies of immigrant

youth in 13 settler societies. Although not solely measured at school, the results of Ward's study showed that all migrant groups felt they had been discriminated against based on their ethnic or cultural background. Overall, 42 percent of migrant youth stated that they had been insulted or teased based on their ethnic background.

A study commissioned by the Ministry of Education on the experiences of international students found that 24 percent of international students reported that they did not interact with New Zealanders socially and 35 percent had no New Zealand friends (Deloitte, 2008). Having contact with New Zealanders was associated with better academic, social and psychological outcomes. Fifty-nine percent of those surveyed said they felt included in their class and only 42 percent felt that others in their class were given opportunities to learn about their culture. While this study investigated the views of migrants themselves, as this was a survey, it is not possible to know how the participants experienced or made sense of these experiences, or how they interpreted the survey questions. The cause of these problems is assumed to lie in the curriculum and the report states that educators should be doing more to make the curriculum more international. However, it is not clear how or why the curriculum is at fault.

Some studies have focused on particular migrant groups. For example, Mason (1997) found that South African migrants in secondary schools in New Zealand felt more negative about school than non-migrant children. As Mason described, "This was particularly evident in their feeling more tense, more ignored, more sad, more awful, and more rejected in school in New Zealand" (p. 113). This study used quantitative scales to measure anxiety and self-esteem and it viewed the transition process as a series of stages that migrants go through.

Ho et al.'s (2004) literature review on strategies for managing cultural diversity in the classroom focused on different learning styles and intercultural communication of different migrants (often using the broad categories of Asian, Pasifika and Western students and teachers). Ho et al. provide suggestions for how to manage classroom diversity including intercultural training so that students, teachers and schools become more familiar with different cultures.

Some research has included suggestions for how teachers can better meet the needs of ethnic minority students. Much of this research tends to be fairly broad, along the lines of suggesting that teachers need to know more about the backgrounds of their students. In the Ministry of Education's (2010) information to schools about how to help refugee students, it

stresses the importance of knowing the learner from mainly an educational perspective rather than from a personal perspective. The information provided on meeting the social and emotional needs of students relates predominantly to dealing with stress. Another example is the research by Hill and Hawk (2000) which looks at effective classroom practice in multicultural secondary schools. They identify the need to pronounce students' names properly, to empathise with and respect students and to understand the worlds the students live in.

There is also much literature that frames ethnic minority students as "at risk" and blames the students and their families when the young person's identity is not seen as fitting the expectations of the school system (Higgins, Vaughan, Phillips, & Dalziel, 2008). Currently, much of the discussion around cultural diversity is around preventing problems associated with ethnic diversity rather than focusing on the benefits of cultural diversity (Singham, 2006). When talking about migrants and refugees in the New Zealand school system, the migrants and refugees are often framed as having problems or inadequacies; for example, their English language "deficiencies". Singham argues for the need for the dialogue around diversity to be changed so that the emphasis is on the positive impact of diversity. Focusing on the positive impacts of multiculturalism can provide New Zealanders with a constructive way of looking at diversity as a resource.

Other research does focus on hearing the voices of migrants. For example, the Department of Labour (2009) conducted interviews with migrants as part of the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (LisNZ). These interviews were quantitative in nature and the analysis focused on migrants' experiences in New Zealand. The research also investigated factors that contributed to migrants experiencing positive social and economic outcomes, such as having social networks and support.

Most of the studies outlined above have a psychologically oriented "unitary" view of identity – that is, one that conceptualises migrants as having one single and homogeneous identity. Studies informed by a traditional psychological paradigm tend to make generalisations about groups of migrants – for example, discussing dichotomies such as individualism and collectivism – and emphasise different learning styles (e.g., Levinsohn, 2007; Li, 2003; Selvarajah, 2006). Often, the research primarily uses quantitative data and the aim is to describe high-level trends and the factors that contribute to these trends. While these studies

have contributed much to our knowledge about migrants' experiences, they are not the only, or necessarily the best, lens through which to look at the educational experiences of migrants.

Conceptualising school and migrants' experiences differently

An alternative perspective to the one described above is seeing people as having multiple, relational, dynamic and contested identities (Banks, 2006; Higgins et al., 2008). It is this view of identity that I explore in this research. Identities can be thought of as processes rather than as a static outcome (Banks, 2006). In this more fluid view, identities can be seen as drawing on the past in a process of thinking about who we want to be in the future and how this shapes our present identities (Ang, 2000). Thus, people have multiple ways of being and these ways of being change depending on the past, present and future contexts. In other words, people's identities are socially constructed.

While it is helpful to have an understanding of the overall picture for groups of migrants (as provided in the research described above), this can be complemented by gaining more in-depth information about migrants' particular experiences. One way to look at the complexities involved in migrants' educational transition is through studying their stories. Narrative inquiry provides a lens through which the experiences of migrants can be studied. Rather than starting with overarching theories and looking to make generalisations about migrants, using a narrative inquiry approach can focus on what is unique about each story and situation.

Using a narrative inquiry approach can also acknowledge the socially constructed nature of stories, which I discuss further in Chapter 3. People construct their experiences and identities via stories. These stories are located and must fit with the result that the storylines available to people are not limitless but are constrained by the context (Riessman, 2008).

We all participate in, and are formed by, a number of different stories – consecutively and concurrently. This is how we "make sense" of ourselves and ourselves in relation to others. Schools are one (among many) of the different social contexts within which we construct ourselves and are constructed (Gilbert, 2005). As I argue later in this thesis, schools can be a context for opening up possibilities for people, or they can be a context for closing them down.

3. Stories, social constructionism and narrative inquiry

In this chapter I look at the literature on stories and how they function. I then outline the theoretical framework that underpins my research which is social constructionism. Next, I discuss social constructionist approaches to narrative inquiry and how I used this approach to study migrants' stories. Finally, I summarise my reasons for using a narrative inquiry approach for this research and describe how this can add to our knowledge of migrants' educational transitions in New Zealand.

The term "narratives" describes both the focus of the study and the method being used (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Connelly and Clandinin suggest referring to the phenomenon being studied as "story" and the inquiry as "narrative". I use this distinction in my thesis for clarity.

The role of stories

Stories are important in all cultures (Bruner, 1986; Gilbert, 2005) although the types of stories and how they are told varies widely. From a young age, we are told stories and think in storied ways (Bruner, 1991). As we grow older we continue to organise our experiences narratively, and we interact with the world through stories (Holloway & Jefferson, 2000). Stories also help us to move forward – they have trajectories that show us possible ways of being in the future (Taylor, 2007).

We construct and represent ourselves, our experiences and others through language organised into stories (Riessman, 2008). Stories thus provide a window into how a person makes sense of themselves, their experiences and others. However, stories are not the static products of one individual's cognition, they are dynamic evolving constructs built in the contexts of relationships with others (Chase, 2005; Riessman, 2008). Meanings are negotiated – ideas and forms of organisation are tried out and modified in response to feedback.

Stories are the means by which we understand ourselves, our experiences and others in a social context. In order to make sense of themselves and be understood by others in changing or more complex sociocultural contexts, people's stories may also become more complex

and/or change. People may also change the "performance" of their stories, tailoring them for specific situations, audiences and purposes (Riessman, 2008).

Stories and identities

People's identities are also constructed through stories and individuals communicate their identities to others by performing their stories (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006; Riessman, 2008). Having our identities recognised, acknowledged and affirmed relies on being able to adequately communicate stories to an audience. As Riessman (2003) states, "To put it simply, one can't be a 'self' by oneself, identities must be accomplished in 'shows' that persuade" (p. 7). Therefore, having one's identities recognised relies on an acknowledgement and affirmation of one's stories (Gergen, 2005).

As stories are communicated in new ways depending on historical, political and present contexts, the narrator's identities can be seen as changing and multiple. As Clandinin, Murphy, Huber and Orr (2010) describe, "Lives are composed, recomposed, told, retold and lived out in storied ways on storied landscapes" (p. 82). When people migrate, the social, cultural and physical contexts in which their stories are told change. Therefore, the stories that migrants have previously told about their identities may need to be re-packaged, or told in different ways in response to these changing contexts. Migrants' identities can be constructed and performed in new ways; in other words, they can be "re-storied". When migrants communicate their stories to people in New Zealand, the reactions of the listeners can impact on the stories migrants choose to tell about their identities in the future (Soderberg, 2003).

Social constructionism

The view of identity that I have described – as socially constructed and performed via stories in complex and changing contexts – is informed by social constructionism. This differs from the traditional psychologically oriented view of identity described in the previous chapter, whereby identity is conceptualised as unitary, coherent, homogeneous and "given". As I argue later in this thesis, I think a social constructionist view offers possibilities for thinking about migrants' transitions in new ways. In this section I provide an outline of social constructionism, describe how it informs my use of the narrative inquiry method and describe why I decided to use this approach.

The narrative inquiry method is not necessarily informed by social constructionism. It can be underpinned by realist, postmodern or constructionist theoretical frameworks (Riessman, 2008). These perspectives differ in how they position the relationship between stories and "the truth" (Gergen, 1994). For example, from a realist approach, the truthfulness of people's stories can be assessed against an objective reality or "truth" (Smith & Sparkes, 2006). In contrast, social constructionism holds that events, experiences and stories do not have an inherent or essential truth to be "discovered", rather, meanings are socially constructed (Burck, 2005).

Social constructionist approaches attempt to take into account the complexity of the real world. The scientific method aims to be as objective as possible, gathering and analysing empirical data in order to prove some fact or theory. Social constructionist theorists, on the other hand, consider that it is not possible to control for different variables in a highly complex world and carry out objective research. In research underpinned by social constructionism, people are viewed as a part of the social and cultural environment (Maynes, Pierce, & Laslett, 2008) and, therefore, individuals are studied within the wider social context. The resources, contexts and structures that have an impact on people's stories can be acknowledged.

Social constructionist theorists view researchers as active participants in research as opposed to passive observers (Burck, 2005). For example, researchers affect which data are collected, and how they are analysed and reported. Therefore, rather than trying to minimise or control for the impact of researchers, social constructionist research acknowledges the researcher's influence.

From a social constructionist perspective, identities are socially constructed; that is, there is no one essential identity that can be discovered and described (Crossley, 2007), rather, identities are constructed and performed in stories in particular contexts. Studying stories, therefore, is a way in which to look at people's complex identities and sense-making systems (Atkinson & Coffey, 2002; Huber, Murphy, & Clandinin, 2003).

In some social constructionist research, the singular term "identity" is not used, as it is seen as being associated with the traditional psychological view of identity. Instead, there has been a shift to talking about "positions" that are available to individuals to "take up" or "draw on" in performing particular identities (Davies & Harré, 1990). People can take up multiple positions, or ways of being, at one time and these positions are not fixed but changeable.

These positions are negotiated in relationships and one way this can occur is through the sharing of stories (Kraus, 2006). The various positions that people negotiate and take up influence how individuals are viewed by others as well as how individuals view the world (Davies & Harré, 1990). As Davies and Harré describe:

> There can be interactive positioning in which what one person says positions another. And there can be reflexive positioning in which one positions oneself (p. 48).

Using the term "positions" makes it clear that identities are being thought of as multiple and not unitary, constructed and not given, shifting and not fixed, fragmented and not coherent, and always in process and not a finished product.

Narrative inquiry

Narrative inquiry is a method for studying stories, including the contexts in which they are produced. The definition that I will use of narrative inquiry comes from Connelly and Clandinin (2006):

> Story, in the current idiom, is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful. Viewed this way, narrative is the phenomenon studied in inquiry. Narrative inquiry, the study of experience as story, then, is first and foremost a way of thinking about experience. Narrative inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular narrative view of experience as phenomena under study. (p. 477)

This definition acknowledges the crucial role of storytelling in how a person makes meaning of the world and takes into account the socially constructed nature of stories. Connelly and Clandinin's (2006) definition describes how stories, as representations of experience, can be studied using the method of narrative inquiry. In other words, narrative inquiry involves the study of the phenomenon of stories.

Narrative inquiry is an emerging and diverse field (Clandinin, Pushor, & Orr, 2007) with a range of theoretical frameworks and methodologies (Squire, 2005). However, when conducting narrative inquiry research there are some core features of stories to consider; in particular, attending to the dimensions of temporality, sociality and place (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). Connelly and Clandinin distinguish narrative inquiry from other qualitative research by suggesting that in narrative inquiry all three dimensions are a focus, as opposed to some other types of qualitative research that consider just one or two dimensions. Temporality refers to seeing people, places and events as a process and as constantly

changing. For example, a person's history, present and future are important in narrative inquiry. Sociality involves looking at personal feelings (such as a person's feelings and dispositions) as well as the wider social environment (including the surrounding social factors and the relationship between the narrator and researcher). Place takes into account that everything occurs in a particular physical location and considers the impact of place on events. In narrative inquiry informed by social constructionism, considering the dimensions of temporality, space and place are important because they affect how stories are constructed.

By considering these three dimensions, stories can be studied holistically and in context. Studying stories as a whole is a key feature of narrative inquiry (Chase, 2003). For example, considering the overall sequence is important – it is acknowledged that stories have a beginning, middle and end and that this ordering is crucial to the meaning of the story (Mankowski & Rappaporr, 2000). By taking a holistic approach and by considering the contexts in which stories are produced, the stories can be studied in all their complexity.

While narrative inquiry research looks at stories as a whole, the details of stories can also be a focus of narrative inquiry (Riessman, 2008). Focusing on the details of individual stories recognises the uniqueness and complexity of each story. By looking at the particularities of stories, it is also possible to learn more about the general (Riessman, 1993). For example, analysing the particularities of stories from more than one participant can reveal how themes are represented in similar and diverse ways (Riessman, 1993).

Analysis approaches

There are many possible narrative inquiry approaches. Riessman (2008) has summarised some of the different approaches under four categories: thematic, structural, performance and visual analysis. While these four types of analysis have different focuses and draw attention to different aspects of stories, there is also some overlap between them. It is also possible to use more than one of these approaches to analyse stories. The three approaches that are relevant to analysing the interviews in this study were thematic, structural and performance analyses, and these are described below. Visual analysis is not discussed as my research used spoken language rather than visual representations.

Thematic analysis involves focusing on the content of the story and the researcher uses themes to discuss what is said by the narrator. There is less emphasis on how a story is told, the structure, the role of the audience or the context in which the story was told (Riessman,

2008). While there are benefits of using thematic analysis, on its own, thematic analysis can have limitations. Complexities within the stories are often not fully explored: the stories are often represented in a way that makes the stories easily understandable, as the emphasis is on what is said rather than dealing with the ambiguities of language (Riessman, 2008). Therefore, it is useful to use other types of analysis to complement thematic analysis.

Structural analysis involves studying how stories are organised and what the word choices or structure achieves (Riessman, 2008). In contrast to thematic analysis, where the focus is on looking at the narrator's experience, structural analysis looks at the story itself and how it is put together. As is the case with the other analysis approaches, there is a range of approaches. Structural analysis can involve focusing on aspects such as the genre of the story, the structure of the overall storyline, turning points, prosodic features and metaphors and figurative language. Some methods involve focusing on breaking the story into small units of analysis (e.g., Gee, 2000; Labov & Waletzky, 1967, as cited in Riessman & Speedy, 2007). Structural analysis can be well suited to research where there are a small number of stories as it can involve detailed analysis (Riessman, 2008).

Performance analysis involves aspects of both content and structural analysis, although the focus is on how stories are socially produced and performed (Riessman, 2008). This approach frames stories as performances that take place in a particular time, audience and purpose. Analysing stories from a performance perspective acknowledges the socially constructed nature of stories and identities. Performance analysis also recognises that the different audiences (the researcher and the readers) will interact with the stories.

In this research, a combination of these three types of analysis, with a focus on performance analysis, was used to study the stories told by migrants about their transitions. These different lenses can complement each other, providing a richness that goes beyond simply looking at what stories are told, giving insights into how and why they are performed. More information on how these different types of analysis are used is provided in Chapter 4.

Representation

After analysing the stories, the next step is presenting the analysis. In narrative inquiry research there are many ways that the stories and the analysis can be represented and, therefore, decisions need to be made about how this occurs.

One of the decisions to be made is to what extent the narrator's story and the researcher's analysis are emphasised. There can often be tension between how to represent the voices of the participants as well as the voice of the researcher. One option that takes into account both of these voices is to represent the researcher's "interactive voice" (Chase, 2005, p. 666). Chase distinguishes between the researcher using their authoritative, supportive or interactive voice in narrative inquiry. The authoritative voice privileges the voice of the researcher, the supportive voice places the focus on the narrator's story and the interactive voice focuses on the interaction between the stories of the researcher and the narrator. Using the researcher's interactive voice takes into account the socially constructed nature of stories. When stories are told in the research context, these are collaborative stories that have been produced in the interaction between the narrators and researcher (Bottrell, Banning, Harbour, & Krahnke, 2007; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Representing both voices acknowledges that it is not possible to objectively present one voice or the other.

One way to include both the narrator's and the researcher's voice, is for excerpts from the stories to be interspersed between the researcher's analysis and relevant theories. Longer segments of stories can also be included as this can allow readers to see alternative interpretations (Riessman, 2008). Encouraging and providing opportunities for alternative readings acknowledges that there is no "right" way to interpret and represent stories and recognises that the representation is an act of storytelling in itself (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006).

Previously, I discussed how both the uniqueness of the stories as well as the similarities between them can be studied in narrative inquiry. Both the similarities and differences can be highlighted in the representation of the analysis. One way to do this is to identify categories that can be seen across all interviews, and to draw out excerpts from the stories that relate to these themes (Chase, 2003). Writing about these categories can then involve looking at both the similarities and variations between the different stories. In order to prevent the fragmenting of the narrator's stories, summaries of the individual stories can also be included (Savin-Baden & Niekerk, 2007).

Conducting valid narrative inquiry research

Researchers who have different epistemological beliefs have different perspectives on what constitutes valid research (Polkinghorne, 2007). Measures of validity based on realist assumptions that assess the 'truthfulness' of research are inappropriate for narrative inquiry and other measures are necessary (Bruner, 2005). Validity in narrative inquiry research can instead be defined as validation, in other words, how researchers provide evidence for the trustworthiness of their interpretations and representations (Riessman, 1993). It is important that narrative inquiry researchers make arguments for the validity of the research, so that the readers can make judgements about the extent to which it is valid, or believable (Polkinghorne, 2007).

Narrative inquiry researchers need to take steps to provide the narrators with opportunities to convey their stories. For example, if researchers are open to hearing a variety of stories, build rapport with the narrators and ask open and probing questions, they are more likely to minimise the threats to the validity of stories (Polkinghorne, 2007). These threats to validity can include narrators telling stories which they think are socially desirable and only sharing what is initially apparent, rather than providing deeper reflection (Polkinghorne, 2007).

Ensuring the trustworthiness of the interpretations and representations of the stories is also important (Riessman, 2008). Any interpretations that are made need to be justified and explained (Riessman, 2008). There are different ways to indicate the trustworthiness, for example, one way is to provide support for the analysis by including story excerpts. It can also be helpful to provide some of the context in which the story was told rather than use quotes in isolation. Where possible, I will provide excerpts or examples from the stories to illustrate my interpretations.

In doing this kind of research, the researcher needs to be reflective, questioning their assumptions about the research process, the interpretation and representation (Riessman, 2008). When the researcher's decisions and assumptions are made transparent, it can help readers to see the researcher's perspective and understand why they chose to interpret and represent the stories in a certain way. My intention is to be as transparent as possible about my underpinning assumptions and rationale in this research.

It is also important that the narrative inquiry research is relevant. That is, whether the topic makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the area (Wells, 2011). Riessman (2008) describes this as the pragmatic use of the work (for example, does it inform the work

of others?) and the political and ethical use (for example, does it contribute to social change?). Narrative inquiry research should encourage the reader to be able to see stories within the wider social context (Riessman, 2008). As I discuss below, my aim is that this research will provide a different perspective from psychologically-based research on the educational transitions of migrants.

Using narrative inquiry to study migrants' stories

In the research described in this thesis I used a social constructionist informed narrative inquiry method to look at migrants' stories. Here I summarise why this method was used and how it helped to fill the gaps in previous research.

In this research, I wanted to provide the participants with respectful space to share their stories of their transitions into the New Zealand education system. I aimed to have as few constraints as possible on what was said and how the stories were told, in order to value the voices of the participants and to be open to hearing the complexity of their stories. I wanted the participants to feel able to share their stories without having the interview controlled by me as the researcher. In order to provide this space, I invited migrants to share their stories with me, rather than asking specific questions as is often the case in interviews and surveys. More information is provided on why and how the interviews were conducted in this way in Chapter 4.

Migrants' stories can provide rich descriptions of their educational transitions, as they choose to narrate them. Studying these stories can provide an insight into migrants' meaning making. Narrative inquiry is well suited to studying the stories participants tell about their educational transitions as this method can investigate how people make meaning of past events. The stories also provided a window into how the participants made meaning of their new situation in New Zealand, as well as possibilities for how this situation could be improved.

In the analysis, I was able to focus on the detail of the stories the participants shared, as well as look at the stories holistically, providing a rich and full picture of migrants' meaning making. This research can contribute to different understandings of migrants' experiences than previous research which has used more quantitative and positivist approaches and methods. Often, quantitative research and research underpinned by positivism focuses solely on making comparisons across participants and this can hide the uniqueness of the participants' experiences.

Using narrative inquiry enabled me to go beyond simply looking at what the participants said about their transitions, to looking at the structure and performance of their stories, and the contexts in which their stories were told. I was able to consider the many influences on what the participants chose to talk about (or to omit), including my own influence on the stories. Seeing how migrants positioned themselves in their stories enabled me to see identities as multiple, contested and negotiated, in contrast to much of the psychological literature on migrants' transitions. As Munoz (1995) explains, "To study identity means to explore the story of identity ... the narrative of identity, ... the way we tell ourselves and others who we are, where we came from, and where we are going" (p. 46). In other words, by studying identities as processes that are produced through stories, it can be acknowledged that migrants, teachers, students and schools have particular storied histories and futures.

I also chose to use narrative inquiry for this research because of the emotional impact migrants' stories can have on an audience. When people relate to a story, it can speak to them and can convey messages that are hard to hear or that statistics hide (Bleakley, 2005). When research is emotionally engaging it is also more likely to have an impact beyond the study itself. The representations of the migrants' stories have the potential to emotionally engage teachers as well as other migrants and their communities. For example, the audience may be able to relate to or empathise with a story, or see that alternative storylines are available (Chase, 2005), as stories can help us to think of alternative options for who we could be (Gilbert, 2005).

In summary, narrative inquiry underpinned by social constructionism was a useful method to use for this research. It provided a way to analyse and represent the stories that were told by the participants as I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 4.

4. Methods

This chapter describes the methods employed in this research. I outline the research questions that were the focus of this research, the methods used, some of the ethical considerations and my personal rationale for conducting this study.

Research questions

The research questions are designed to investigate the stories of the narrators themselves, as well as to contribute to our wider understandings of educational transition and belonging. The overarching research question for this study was:

- What stories do young migrants tell regarding their transition into the New Zealand secondary education system?

I also had two sub-questions which were:

- How do young migrants narrate their experiences of belonging and inclusion?
- How can the New Zealand education system better develop a culture of inclusion?

Participants

The stories were gathered from individual interviews from seven first-generation migrants. Small samples are common in narrative inquiry research as the focus is on gathering in-depth data (Chase, 2005; Creswell, 2007).

All of the participants had attended a New Zealand secondary school when they first arrived in New Zealand. They were all aged between 16 and 25 years at the time of the interview. Some participants were still at secondary school, some were at university and some were in the workforce.

As the purpose of my research was to collect a range of different perspectives rather than to try to make broad generalisations about cultural groups, I did not try to recruit migrants from a particular cultural group. Instead, I interviewed migrants from a range of cultural backgrounds (with a limit of two from the same country in order to get a range of cultural

perspectives). Five of the participants were from countries in South East Asia[1], one was from an East Asian country and one had migrated from a Pacific Island. Originally, I limited the participants to voluntary migrants, excluding refugees because they are more likely to have had disrupted educational experiences. However, I later interviewed one person who was a refugee, but had not had a disrupted education.

Recruitment

Participants were recruited through local migrant community groups in the Wellington region. I decided to go through community groups as opposed to schools for the following reasons:

- I anticipated that schools would be more likely to select students who have "successfully" adapted and have good English language proficiency. Community groups would probably be more likely to suggest people with a story that they think is worth other people hearing.
- Schools would only have students between 16–18 years old. I thought that also talking to those who have finished secondary school would provide a greater range of perspectives.
- Schools are asked to participate in many research projects and have many demands on their time. I did not want to contribute to this overload.
- This research is relevant to the migrant community groups. Therefore, it would be useful to be able to work with the groups directly, to explain what the research will involve and the benefits so that they can feel involved in the process.

When recruiting participants, I believed that it was important to recognise that all people have stories to tell (Gergen, 1994). I wanted to interview participants who felt comfortable sharing their story with me, rather than select specific groups, such as those who were perceived as being successful in their transition to secondary school in New Zealand.

I used the following methods to recruit my participants:

- The ethnic advisor from the Wellington City Council emailed the details of the study to representatives of various ethnic communities in the Wellington area.
- NZFMC put me in touch with a number of their contacts.

[1] These five participants were from three different countries in South East Asia.

- I attended meetings involving members from the Multicultural Council of Wellington and the Hutt Multicultural Council. These members emailed details of my study to their contacts and/or put me in touch with their contacts.
- I attended part of NZFMC's Youth Forum. I interviewed some young people who attended this Forum.

Recruiting participants was more difficult than I had initially anticipated. There were a number of possible reasons for this. Firstly, there were a number of criteria that the young people needed to meet for them to be included in the research (current age, time of migration, and they needed to have uninterrupted educational experiences).

Secondly, I initially primarily used email in order to recruit participants and this is a less direct recruitment approach. I purposefully did this as I wanted people to volunteer who were particularly interested in being involved and would, therefore, make an effort to contact me. While this method worked for some participants, I realised that some people would feel more comfortable meeting me before deciding whether to participate. Because of this, I later used some more direct methods such as attending the Youth Forum and introducing my project there.

Thirdly, it may be that this research method is unfamiliar to many participants. Being prepared to tell a personal story to a stranger from a different culture could feel challenging to some people. In my communication I endeavoured to make the interview process as clear and non-threatening as possible. Participants were told they could choose what they told me and I shared some of my own stories with them (see Appendix A). Through using this mix of recruitment techniques I was able to find a range of participants to interview.

Interview process

One purpose of giving out some information on my background and the research was to help the potential participants know what general issues might be relevant to talk about in order to help them make an informed decision about whether they wanted to be involved. I also provided this information to assist in building rapport. Chase (2005) highlights the need for establishing a relationship whereby the researcher is a listener and the participant is a narrator. I tried to make it clear that the "interviewing" process was different from many other types of interviews. Participants were informed that the focus was on hearing their personal experience, and that they would be able to talk freely as the narrator of their story.

The participants were given an information sheet (see Appendix B) and consent form (see Appendix C) and all had an opportunity to ask questions prior to the interview.

The interviews took place at a location agreed upon by the researcher and participant. Some took place at my workplace, some at a location chosen by the participants and some at other meeting rooms (such as the rooms used by the Youth Forum and the Multicultural Councils). The researcher and participant usually shared some food while talking about the research prior to starting the interviews. This was provided as thanks for the participants' time and to create a relaxed atmosphere.

Participants were interviewed once, and the interviews took between half an hour and just over an hour. All of the interviews were conducted in English. I did not want to use a translator as I felt that this would make it more challenging to emotionally engage with the participants' stories and to develop trusting relationships. All of the participants gave their permission for the interviews to be audio-taped. I subsequently transcribed all of the interviews. This was important for me to do because it allowed me to become familiar with the data, and because transcribing involves interpretation (Josselson, 2006).

The participants were provided with space to tell their stories, rather than having to answer a set of predetermined questions. I started each interview by saying "Can you tell me about what it was like and how you felt moving from your school in [name of home country] to your secondary school in New Zealand?" I allowed the participants to tell their stories while asking questions along the way. Predominantly open-ended questions were used. I had a number of open-ended prompts available to use when necessary, such as "Can you explain that more?" and "What does that mean to you?" This allowed the participants a certain amount of flexibility to choose what they talked about in their own way. By avoiding the use of pre-planned questions, I could be open to hearing the complexities of the stories. The interview questions could explore what the participants and I were both interested in talking and hearing about, rather than limiting the interview to a rigid structure decided in advance.

I was also open to hearing a range of stories and provided opportunities for these stories to be told. Certain types of stories and ways of telling them are often privileged by society over others (Riessman, 2008). While I as the listener influenced the way the stories were told, I tried not to control how participants could share their stories.

I did not take notes during the interview in order to be able to fully attend to the story. I paid attention to the content of what the narrators were saying as well as the way they were telling their story, such as their tone and pace and non-verbal cues. When people talk about something they care about in a story, they often change the way they talk and this is useful to listen to (Mankowski & Rappaporr, 2000). During the interview, I was also aware of the times the narrator and/or I felt emotionally engaged in the story as this was a useful indicator of when to be more probing. This included when I felt particularly drawn in to a story, when I was left wanting to know more or when I felt empathy or sympathy.

During the interview I was aware of the need to balance keeping the participants on topic with being careful not to steer the interview too much and providing them space to tell their story. It was also important to be open to hearing their story and not to pass judgement on what they said. Therefore, where possible I used minimal prompts rather than agreeing or disagreeing with what was said.

In order to elicit personal stories it was also important not to ask too many abstract questions or questions that asked participants to make generalised statements (Holloway & Jefferson, 2000). I made it clear that I wanted to hear the views of the participants themselves. In conducting narrative inquiry research it is important to become involved and take a real interest in the participants (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Valuing the migrants' voices also has the potential to empower the participants themselves (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Polkinghorne, 2007). Giving the participants an opportunity to tell their story may have given them a chance to reposition themselves as actors with credible lives and allowed them to make sense of their own experience. It afforded them an opportunity to reflect on, and make sense of, their past, current situation and future. There was potential for the participants to see their experience in a new light.

At the end of the interview I asked all participants why they decided to take part in the study. In response to this question the participants also tended to talk briefly about how they found the experience.

The participants were all emailed a copy of their transcript and were asked whether they would like to check them for factual accuracy. They were informed that they could ask for any part to be removed that they did not feel comfortable including after they had had time to reflect on their interviews. Most participants were happy with their transcript as it was and some gave feedback on minor changes. No participants wanted any details removed from

their transcript but as a result of the feedback from the participants I corrected a few minor errors.

Analysis and representation of the stories

There were three parts to my analysis of the stories: a representation of the seven individual stories as I heard them; an analysis across three stories I categorised as "opening up" stories; and an analysis across four stories I have classified as "closing down" stories. My analysis and representation of the stories was influenced by a number of factors. These factors included my interaction with the research questions, my responses to the data and my orientation in social constructionism. I began with the view that analysis and representation is an active process in which the researcher makes decisions about how to construct themes, rather than seeing themes as emerging from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this section I describe the process I used to analyse the stories, and the rationale behind my analysis and representation decisions.

Summarising the seven individual stories

Space limitations meant I have not presented the stories in their entirety. Chapter 5 contains summaries of the seven individual stories. The content of each of the stories is presented in the order in which it was told. The purpose of providing an overview of all of the stories was to give a feel for what was portrayed in each of the stories. However, I made choices about what was described in these summaries. The content I described tended to be that which seemed to be important to the narrator, as indicated by their tone, their emotional engagement, the length of time they talked about a topic or the detail in which it was described. The stories were given equal weight in the analysis, although, as some stories were much longer than others, there is some variation in the length of the summaries.

Analysis across the seven stories

First I looked at similarities and differences across all the stories. I used performance analysis (Riessman, 2008), as was described in Chapter 3, to examine all of the stories. This involved paying attention to the complex dialogic context in which the stories were told, rather than focusing on the detail of what was said; for example, the influence of the listener, the setting and the social context in which the story is performed.

Performance analysis is consistent with social constructionism which underpinned my study in that it enabled me to consider the socially constructed nature of the stories. My focus was

on how the participants positioned themselves and others, not on trying to uncover some hidden meaning or "truth". This allowed me to see the participants as having a multiplicity of different positions, rather than one essential identity. It also allowed me to consider how context was important to their stories, and how listeners might be drawn in to reinforce or witness the storylines.

The audience is an important aspect of the context in which stories are told, as it is in the interaction between the listener and narrator that stories are produced. The wider audience as well as the researcher affect what stories are told, as well as how they are interpreted. The researcher themself can be seen as a central research tool, or a lens, through which analysis occurs. In my analysis I looked at how the participants' stories interacted with mine, using what Chase (2005) calls the researcher's interactive voice; that is, I looked at what storylines and positions the narrators drew on, and how I interacted with these stories and positions. I also acknowledged that my view was just one of many possible interpretations of the stories.

When I considered the way in which I interacted with these stories overall, two categories of stories became apparent to me. I found that my own storylines were more able to connect with three stories and I found that my storylines "bumped up against" (Huber et al., 2003, p. 345) four of the stories. Huber et al. use the phrase "bumping up" to describe the diverse stories students told about their lives that were not easily able to connect with other students' or researchers' stories due to the unfamiliar storylines. This concept captured the disconnect I experienced between my familiar storylines and some of the narrators' storylines. I describe the group of stories in which I was more easily able to connect with as "opening up" stories and the group of stories in which my storyline "bumped up" against theirs as "closing down" stories. These terms are further explained in Chapter 6.

While I focused on the performance aspect of the stories, I also looked at aspects of the content and structure of what the narrators said. The content, structure and performance of stories all affect how they are heard and interpreted, and I wanted to be able to acknowledge the contributions of all three of these interlinked aspects to examine the full richness of the stories from different angles.

Representing the "opening up" and "closing down" stories

When considering how to represent the "opening up" and "closing down" stories and my analysis of these, I initially considered the possibility of writing composite stories (i.e.,

combining some of the stories). This method of representation is used by some narrative researchers (e.g., Hänninen & Koski-Jännes, 1999; Wertz, Nosek, McNiesh, & Marlow, 2011). When thinking about writing composite stories this raised the question of how I would select excerpts to make up the composite stories, and how breaking up the stories in this way would allow the complexity within the stories to be acknowledged. Eventually I decided against representing the stories in a composite way in order to preserve their similarities and differences.

I used two themes to discuss the "opening up" and "closing down" stories. These themes were previous storytelling experiences, and performance of the current story. I used quotes and descriptions of the performances in my representation. "Opening up" and "closing down" stories are not treated as opposites here and I wanted to acknowledge both the similarities and differences within the "opening up" and "closing down" stories and the complexities within the stories.

It is only ever possible to present subjective and partial representations of the stories. I wrote from a first person perspective in order to make it clear that I was interpreting the stories from my perspective and I described how the narrators' stories interacted with my storylines. Where possible I have included data to support my analysis and to invite readers to make their own interpretations.

Ethical considerations

As narrative inquiry involves balancing a number of relationships, it is particularly important to address the ethical issues in this type of research (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). Connelly and Clandinin write about how important it is to think deeply about ethical issues throughout the narrative inquiry process. I gained ethical approval for this research from the Faculty of Education's Ethics Committee at Victoria University of Wellington. It was not just at the start of this research that ethical issues were addressed; ethical issues were considered throughout this research.

Ethical relationships between the researcher and the participant and between the participant and the wider audience are essential. At the beginning of narrative inquiry research, the main relationship to consider is that between the narrator and the researcher, as the participants need to feel comfortable in sharing their story during the interview. After the participants have shared their stories, the researcher analyses the stories, and the analysis and representation of the stories is presented to an audience. The relationship becomes one of the

reader's relationship with the written text (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). The researcher needs to ensure that the way in which the participants are represented in the text is ethical. Some of the ethical considerations during these two phases are discussed below.

Gathering the stories

In my information letter I made it clear that participation in this research was voluntary and that participants could withdraw from the study up until their interview was analysed (see Appendix B). They were told what would be involved and were provided with opportunities to ask questions about the research.

I was aware that the participants may have chosen to disclose stories that were emotionally challenging for both themselves and for me. I was prepared to pass on any relevant referral sources (such as referrals to counselling services) that were needed, although this proved not to be necessary. Often at the conclusion of the interview I asked the participants how they felt sharing their story. All of the participants were positive about the experience and there was no sign that any participants were feeling upset.

As discussed earlier, the participants all had the opportunity to check their transcripts and to ask for changes to be made.

Analysing and reporting the stories

Initially, I discussed with participants whether they wished to have their identity protected or whether they would prefer that I use their actual name in my thesis. I told the participants that I would discuss this with them immediately after I had conducted the interview to allow them to make a decision after they had chosen what to share with me. Six out of seven of the participants said that they would prefer their real name to be used in the report. However, during the course of deciding how to analyse and represent the stories, I realised that this was a more complex ethical issue than I had initially anticipated, and there were a number of tensions. As mentioned above, I decided to include brief summaries and analyses of the individual stories as well as provide my analysis of the "opening up" and "closing down" stories. These were my interactions with the participants' stories; therefore, I was taking on the role as narrator. As I thought about my relationship with, and responsibilities towards, the participants, the stories and the wider audience, I decided that it would be better to use pseudonyms as opposed to the narrators' real names.

There were a number of reasons for this decision. Firstly, the stories represented were my interpretations; therefore, I did not want the participants to feel uncomfortable about their names being attached to these new stories which represented my interaction with their stories. I made it clear that the interpretation was based on my interaction with the stories rather than about trying to uncover the participants' own meaning making (Josselson, 2007). Secondly, I wanted to acknowledge that stories can change over time. While the participants may have initially felt comfortable using their real names, I wondered how they would feel about this in the future, when they had new stories to tell.

I gained ethical approval to make this change from the Victoria University Faculty of Education's Ethics Committee. I re-contacted the participants (see Appendix D for the email sent) to explain the change and my rationale. None of the participants objected to this decision. Participants are therefore referred to as Narrator A, Narrator B and so on.

The participants were informed that while I was using pseudonyms, there was a possibility they could still be identified. This is because there was a tension between protecting the participants' identities and preserving the richness of the stories. Because of the temporal nature of stories, the particularities of the stories and the contexts are important. As a compromise, I did not include names of schools, people or the particular countries the participants were from, and only included summaries of the stories. Also, a summary document which reports the results in a general sense will be sent to NZFMC and the Wellington and Hutt Multicultural Councils (see Appendix E).

Finally, it was also important to consider the different audiences that the research was being written for. The target audience includes the narrators, other migrants, teachers and other New Zealanders involved in the education system. It was important that the analysis spoke to and allowed these different audiences to connect with the data.

Personal justification for the study

While I am not a migrant myself, I have developed an interest in the issues faced by migrants. There are a number of reasons I am passionate about doing this research. I have a strong belief that our education system should be just, and that it should better meet the needs of people from different cultures. I think that everyone would benefit from a more flexible and inclusive education system. Through my work at NZCER I have seen some migrants struggling at school, and disengaging. I have also seen the pattern of Asian migrants performing well academically and wondered how they feel about their place within the

education system. As a result of this, I have become interested in learning more about migrants' educational transitions and their feelings of belonging in school.

I am also interested in further developing my skills in conducting cross-cultural research so that I can contribute to research in this area at my work. While NZCER has conducted some work in this area, I believe it can be further expanded. I became interested in investigating issues facing migrants through my Honours project in the School of Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington (Robertson, 2007). This research involved interviewing migrants about their acculturation strategies and the different cultural labels they used to describe themselves. I carried out this research for the New Zealand Federation of Ethnic Councils (NZFEC)[2] and I found it satisfying to conduct research that could benefit migrants themselves.

I have also volunteered at Youthline as a phone counsellor for the past seven years. This has given me an opportunity to talk to a range of callers including migrants. Being a phone counsellor has given me the chance to hear a wide range of stories and to reflect on my own experiences. It has also enabled me to recognise the importance of listening to people's stories. I have realised that giving people space to tell their stories, and acknowledging these, can often be beneficial. My hope is that my research will empower those I talk to by allowing their stories to be heard and respected.

[2] NZFEC is now called NZFMC.

5. Overview of the seven stories

The migrants' stories

In total I collected seven stories which varied in length. Four of the interviews lasted for around 30 minutes and three took approximately 1 hour. While the interviews centred on the participants' educational experiences, they all included more general information about their migration to New Zealand.

The summaries of the seven stories included below are intended to provide a sense of the content of the stories as a whole. In the title of each story I have included a short quote from each narrator. While these quotes signal an important part of each narrator's story, they are not intended to fully represent the content.

The three stories I categorise as "opening up" stories are presented first, followed by the four stories I have described as "closing down" stories. Discussion of how I have used these categories and my analysis across the stories is presented in Chapter 6.

Narrator A's story: "I can only get as much as I put in"

At the beginning of her story, Narrator A talked about the challenges she experienced in her transition; for example, she talked about being nervous about catching the bus for the first time. Narrator A then spoke about how she was able to get to know people, and the variety of activity groups she joined; for example, the choir and various cultural groups. Narrator A also discussed her positive relationships with teachers from her school. She provided some background about why she moved to New Zealand and made some distinctions between life in her home country and New Zealand; for example, she became friends with people from different cultures and there were more subject options in New Zealand. She then talked about her future career and living plans. She spoke about the roles different people played in her coping with life in New Zealand, in particular her family and teachers. Narrator A ended by reflecting on her experience and talking about how she felt positive about her move to New Zealand.

Narrator B's story: "It's a leap of faith"

Narrator B started by providing some background about why he came to New Zealand and about the different schools he had attended in his home country. He talked about how he was accepted as soon as he arrived in New Zealand and how he became very involved in school life and took on various responsibilities. Throughout the story he challenged a number of stereotypes; for example, the distinctions between Asian and Western cultures. Narrator B reflected on how he had grown as a person by moving to New Zealand; for example, he believes he became more independent. He spoke about making the most of his opportunities; for example, continuing to practise English, and about his long-term goals. Some of the challenges of moving here were discussed, and some of the differences and similarities between New Zealand and his home country were pointed out by Narrator B. He talked about how much he enjoyed living in New Zealand. Narrator B compared his success with other migrants who had struggled more with the migration process. He ended by discussing how important relationship building was to him in New Zealand, and said: "I think in real life the more connections you have the better you do."

Narrator C's story: "It opened all the possibilities"

Narrator C started by talking about his experience at school when he first came to New Zealand – he got put into a year below his age level so that he could catch up on the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). After the initial adjustment to this, he found this helped him to settle in. Next Narrator C spoke about some of the differences between school in New Zealand compared to his home country; for example, taking fewer subjects and trying to understand English. He talked about being accepted by a group of New Zealand European boys at his school and how this helped him. Next, he discussed his pathway from someone who was new and shy to becoming deputy head boy. The story focused on an environmental forum that Narrator C attended that he felt had far-reaching impacts – it allowed him to get to know others, realise what he was passionate about and led to his attendance at many future forums. Narrator C talked about the many goals he has in his life, including his passion for helping people and looking after the environment. Later he outlined why he came to New Zealand and reflected on how his life has changed as a result. He offered some suggestions about why he felt his educational transition experience was positive, while some other migrants have experienced more difficult situations.

Narrator D's story: "I was an outsider"

In the story Narrator D first talked about her initial experience going to school in New Zealand – how she was the only Asian student in her year at the time. She spoke about some of the difficulties she experienced – her feelings of isolation and experience with racism. She also talked about her few support people – a helpful teacher at the school – and how she eventually made some friends. Narrator D discussed the content of what she studied at school and made comparisons between school in her home country and New Zealand. For example, she talked about how, in her home country, social groups were very much based on race and about the large class sizes. She generally spoke positively about the academic aspects of school in New Zealand; for example, saying her school encouraged individual thinking rather than emphasising memorisation, as was the case in her home country. However, the social aspects of school were not described in such positive ways as she often returned to talking about feeling like an outsider and being isolated. She talked with a sense of resignation about how you could not expect too much from school or people in New Zealand. Towards the end of the story Narrator D discussed why she moved to New Zealand and, in contrast to some of the rest of her story, said she was thankful that she lives here.

Narrator E's story: "It's a big change"

Narrator E started by talking about his reasons for his family moving to New Zealand. He said that his transition was very difficult at first, particularly when he was unable to attend school for the first 6 months he was in New Zealand. He felt very lonely and isolated during this time. However, his experience in New Zealand improved over time as he got to know people. Narrator E talked about the challenges with learning a new language and talked about some of the differences between school in his home country and New Zealand. For example, he felt more academic pressure studying in his home country and he discussed how there were also conflicts between different religions. Towards the end of the story, Narrator E went into more detail about the challenges of the move, particularly around being isolated prior to attending school. He spoke briefly about the people he eventually got support from at school and how his situation had improved.

Narrator F's story: "It's like being in a movie"

Narrator F began by talking about his embarrassment around being older than other people in his year at school. He then spoke about the academic side to school in New Zealand and how this had been a positive change. Narrator F made many comparisons between his home

country and New Zealand (both about the education system and more generally) saying, in New Zealand it is done this way, in his home country it is done in that way. He talked about many of the challenges with communicating in English. Narrator F made many comparisons between himself and others; for example, he compared himself to other migrants, to his brother and to his classmates. He described his experience making friends in New Zealand – he had been able to get to know some people, but this had been challenging. The story returned to focusing on some of the social challenges and feelings of being different. Narrator F discussed what he saw as the three biggest challenges about his migration: the language barrier, the different climate in New Zealand and the social changes. He discussed the many losses he had experienced – losing friends, popularity, language and academic success. He then talked about his goals for the future and about why he came to New Zealand. At the end of the story he reflected on his experience overall and he described feeling like he was "in a movie" and that his situation felt "unreal". There was a surprise turn at the end of his story with Narrator F talking about the opportunities available to him and how moving to New Zealand was the best change that has happened to him.

Narrator G's story: "I find it so hard"

In Narrator G's story distinctions were drawn between school in New Zealand and in her home country. For example, she talked about how there was less homework in New Zealand, that the teaching style was less formal than in her home country and that you could ask teachers for help in New Zealand. Narrator G said that she was getting used to these changes and overall she was complimentary about school in New Zealand. The narrator talked about finding things challenging, particularly because of the language barrier. She discussed how it was difficult to get to know people and some of the barriers to making friends, such as being in English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes and that she did not play sports. Towards the end of her story Narrator G talked about her transition from secondary school to university saying that she felt her secondary school could have better prepared her academically.

6. Analysis across the stories

When looking across the stories, I could identify some similarities in terms of the performance of the stories and how I interacted with the storylines. In this chapter I discuss the three stories that I have described as "opening up" stories and then the four stories I have classified as "closing down" stories. I outline what I mean by "opening up" and "closing down" stories and explain why I think I responded to the stories differently. Examples from the stories are included to illustrate my analysis. While I have grouped the stories because they show similarities, there are also differences within each group. Where possible, I have outlined both the similarities and differences.

The analysis is based on my reading of the stories: others would interpret these stories differently. My reading is influenced by many factors, including the stories I have been exposed to throughout my life, and by my position as a young Pākehā[3] woman who was raised and educated in New Zealand. Due to the stories that I have been surrounded by and by the various ways I position myself, I have come to value storylines whereby the storyteller positions themselves as having agency, and stories that are performed confidently with a logical flow. I also value stories that are progressive in the sense meant by Gergen and Gergen (1986) who define them as stories that show a progression towards a positive goal. Writing from a Western perspective, Gergen (1994) argues that societies tend to strongly value progressive stories while regressive stories (a regression towards a negative result) tend to invoke feelings of sympathy.

"Opening up" stories

I have described the stories told by Narrators A, B and C as "opening up" stories. These three narrators positioned themselves as socially connected: having many connections to people and opportunities to tell their stories, and framing other people as welcoming. Having many opportunities to share their stories seemed to influence how these stories were performed. These stories evoked a sense of optimism, and it was easier for me to connect into these storylines compared to the "closing down" stories.

[3] Pākehā is the Māori word that describes New Zealanders of European descent.

More storytelling opportunities

Narrators A, B and C all had a central storyline where they positioned themselves as being involved in the school (and wider) community and as having many friends. They discussed the different groups that they interacted with including their peers, teachers and various school and community groups. This appears to have given them opportunities to mix with a range of people and, therefore, many opportunities to share their stories with others.

In common with those who told "closing down" stories, Narrators A, B and C portrayed themselves as socially isolated at some point during their transition. However, these were described as past occurrences and, unlike the narrators with "closing down" stories, these three narrators' stories focused on social connectedness. For example, Narrator A's story contained storylines of inclusion: she positioned herself as socially and culturally included at school. Narrator A positioned herself as having many friends from different cultures and as being interested in finding out about these different cultures, saying:

> Yeah I ended up hanging out with different groups. And I got to experience a lot more of different cultures. And learn about my friends' cultures because I had a lot of friends [from my culture], Asian friends and Samoan friends and you know it was just cool to just like they'd bring some of their food that you know like their traditional foods and then we'd go to events and stuff that are, like Diwali and that sort of thing like I never would've been able to go to stuff like that if I didn't have the friends that I did when I came here.

This suggested to me that Narrator A had many opportunities to share her story with her peers. Storylines of inclusion were repeated many times throughout Narrator A's story and it appeared to me that this was a story she knew well.

Narrator B positioned himself as someone who belonged and was accepted by different groups of people in New Zealand. Narrator B framed this as an exception to what normally happens for migrants, saying:

> I was buddies with them and I played rugby with the Māori boys and the Polynesian boys and the Pacific boys. And they kind of looked at me as a special one out of the group [of migrants] so I didn't really get treated differently.

I saw Narrator B as someone who had access to many positions that are valued in New Zealand – that of popular, confident and successful student and of role-model, helper and rugby player.

Narrator C positioned himself as highly networked and his story pivoted around this storyline. For example, he described the chain of events that helped him get to know many different groups of people. These opportunities were presented as having a cumulative impact. He stated:

> And it was mainly because of that forum and that opened me up to all the networks out there, not just within the school but within the other communities, the other schools as well. And that also gave me the confidence to relate, to relate and to talk to as many people as possible. From then on I decided to, I was so inspired from that forum that I wanted to do something within our school and that's where I just sort of put my hand up to as many groups as I can; one of them was the environmental group within our schools and then I joined a couple of sports groups as well. And that gave me an opportunity to not just relate and talk to people within my class but also to everyone within the school as well. And it was a real good opportunity as well. And within [the school] there seemed to be someone who knows someone so if I knew someone then I'd basically be linked and be introduced to those other people and that sort of grew into that and that's how I got involved and that's how I became deputy head boy as well. So that was good.

I felt myself drawn into Narrator C's story – wanting to understand how he had come to have access to these powerful storylines around community involvement, networking and inclusion. I found his story captivating, and his story evoked a sense of optimism. As I saw Narrator C positioned as socially connected I sensed that he also had had many opportunities to share his story with others.

Narrators A, B and C framed themselves as competent in speaking English and/or any talk of communication problems was absent from their storylines. The narrators often recognised this as being important in their ability to connect with people. This was sometimes seen as a skill they developed over time. For example, Narrator B positioned other migrants as struggling with English, in contrast to himself, saying:

> Yeah the migrant students, my fellow migrant students. They just wouldn't get to know some of the mainstream. I use the word mainstream too much, what the normal Kiwi kids or the normal Kiwi students would do. It's not that they're not interested, I think the single biggest barrier would be the language. If you didn't speak much language, much English you had no chance. And maybe the first time you can just smile and use some hand gestures, some body language but as time drags on that wears you out on both parts on both parties. So if you don't communicate then it's very hard to be one of them if you like. So in my instance I could crack their inner circle so kind of just natural flow for me.

All three narrators generally positioned New Zealanders as accepting and welcoming and as listeners of their stories. For example, Narrator A positioned people as being on her side and

portrayed teachers, deans, peers and family as positive and supportive people. Narrator A also positioned her teachers as people she was able to share her story with, saying:

> They [my teachers] were just, I don't know, I think they were just really nice. They were teachers but they were also sort of quite personal like they would, I don't know, they would just really relate to us.

Story performance

Narrators A, B and C appeared to have had more experience telling their stories than those who told "closing down" stories and this was reflected in their confident presentations. They were engaging "performances", told with enthusiasm.

All three narrators launched into their stories with little or no prompting from me. Throughout the interview they responded to questions quickly and there were few or no long pauses. They had much more flow to them than the "closing down" stories, with fewer prompts needed. Where prompts were used I was easily able to ask questions as I was able to connect with their storylines.

To communicate stories and emotions effectively and easily people need a good vocabulary. The narrators were confident in communicating in English and had a well-developed vocabulary they could use to express themselves. For example, Narrator B's story was laced with colloquial terms and phrases from New Zealand as well as metaphors from both New Zealand and his home country. Phrases that were used included: "when in Rome you do what Romans do", "with great power comes great responsibility", "on my own feet" and "if you speak to ghosts you speak ghost language". The descriptive language gave the feeling of vibrancy and richness to the story.

Narrator A performed her story in an enthusiastic and expressive way with a fast pace but no sense of rush or chaos. This performance invited me in to share in her enthusiasm. She used informal and conversational language; for example, she frequently referred to things as "cool". This gave me a sense that she was comfortable and relaxed about sharing her story with me and helped me to feel able to connect with her storyline.

Narrator A's story was told with an immediacy which was sometimes generated through playing the role of particular people and recalling what they said or felt. This allowed me to be part of the reliving of events as Narrator A spoke.

Narrator A's storyline was one of growth as it moved in an upwards trajectory towards a happy and recognisable ending. This gave me the feeling that Narrator A would be able to

succeed and achieve in New Zealand. Stories where there is a clear and positive trajectory are often valued by societies (Gergen, 1994). The story does not necessarily invite further questions as there is a feeling that Narrator A will be fine and does not need inquiring about; in other words, the storyline did not evoke feelings of concern. Narrator A's ability to access positive storylines suggests that she was able to position herself as strong and resilient.

Narrator A's story was told fairly sequentially – beginning with the first day of school. This gave clarity to the story, making it easy to follow. The story was conveyed in a pragmatic way and it was not embellished with figurative language or performed in a dramatic way. This storytelling performance meant that the story was easy to follow and gave me clues about how the story should be interpreted. I was engaged in the story and also felt a sense that I knew the direction of the story, there were no unexpected turning points. At the same time, I did not sense that her storyline was formulaic or that she was withholding information.

Narrator B began his interview by clarifying the genre, asking how he should present his story, saying: "Is this going to be quite formal or just everyday or conversational?" The conversation flowed easily, with Narrator B seeming extremely confident in his presentation style. His confidence and storytelling ability was conveyed in a number of ways; for example, through his metaphorical and descriptive language, the detail included in his story, his use of humour and his confidence in talking for long segments. I felt easily able to connect with Narrator B's story and felt engaged in the charismatic performance. Narrator B invited me to ask questions at a few points in the interview, saying: "You can ask me questions, otherwise I'm just babbling along" and "Any other questions?"

I saw Narrator B's story as progressive with positive storylines being accessed. For example, references were made to things such as growing up, things getting easier, becoming more independent and finding direction. The story was told in a sequential way, making it easy to follow and engage with.

Narrator C was also very charismatic in the performance of his story. He used descriptive language and appeared relaxed and confident in his storytelling. He was enthusiastic in his presentation style and took time to explain details of his story to me. I felt engaged and drawn in to his story. His interview, as well as Narrator B's interview, were two of the three longest interviews. Both narrators were confident talking with minimal prompts and appeared experienced in performing their stories.

Narrator C's story started by providing some background information and covered his initial experience of school in New Zealand before moving on to the more recent experiences. This helped me to engage with the story as it was told in an easy to follow way.

Overall, Narrator C's story could be described as progressive and transformational. The story pivoted around one event – an environmental forum. The forum was positioned as a pivotal and transformative event that had many wide-reaching implications such as improving Narrator C's confidence, connecting him to others and changing his career path. This provided a sense of excitement and build up to the story. I felt engaged and wanted to know more. It ended with a positive conclusion of contribution and left me feeling inspired.

"Closing down" stories

I now turn to my analysis of the four stories I have called "closing down" stories. Narrators D, E, F and G appeared to have had fewer opportunities to share their stories with others compared to those who told "opening up" stories. Having fewer story sharing experiences in the past appeared to affect the performance of their stories. I have described the storylines and positions performed by Narrators D, E, F and G and how these "bumped up" against storylines that were more familiar to me. "Closing down" stories tended to position me as a "sympathetic listener". The position of sympathiser can be viewed as a privileged position to that of the sympathised (Shuman, 2006). I noticed that I was less able to connect with these participants' storylines on an "equal" level.

Fewer storytelling opportunities

The feeling of being cut off from others and, therefore, unable to share their stories, was clearly conveyed by Narrators D, E, F and G. One theme that ran though all four of these stories was one of social isolation. The narrators positioned themselves as lonely or as having felt socially isolated at some time during their transition. This storyline was often repeated and was described in detail, which suggested to me that this was still a significant part of the narrator's storyline, even if it was referred to as a past experience.

For example, Narrator F positioned himself as someone who continued to struggle to get to know people and feel connected to people in New Zealand. He frequently contrasted his storyline in his home country of being popular to his new storyline in New Zealand of one where he is the new person who struggles to make friends, for example, saying:

> Also like, like in [my home country] I was popular since I've been studying in the same high school all my life, so everybody knows me [and] I know mostly everyone despite our large numbers. Here at [name of school] I'm the new guy, I'm new so I had to like, it's not, I don't think I could say I'm at the bottom, if there was such a thing as a social ladder, I was at the very bottom since I'm an immigrant, I'm new to the school, I've only been here for a year and I speak funny, so that's, I think that's how I'm ... so I have to get used to it ... I just find it sometimes quite frustrating how I can't how I can't open up more since I can't speak like most other people, like it's normal I've grown up with the language so much I can just normally go to someone and say hey how's it going in [my native language], but here in English when I say hey how's it going I feel it's different ... I can't make friends like that much. I only make friends when for now I think the only reason how I made friends was how they talked to me first or how they introduced me to someone else.

Narrator F often positioned himself as a victim whereby he had a lack of control over events. His storylines of loss, isolation and struggle invited me to ask questions out of concern and in order to try to make sense of, and understand, his story.

Narrator D positioned herself as someone who was on her own and isolated at school. One of the first things Narrator D mentioned in the story was that she was the only Asian student at her school, saying: "I was definitely, you know, the foreign girl." Narrator D positioned herself as having a lack of power to change her situation of feeling like an outsider. One of the storylines that was drawn on was one of resignation; that is, the idea that things were the way they had to be and it was not worth expecting too much from people or school. For example, Narrator D said:

> I think it's ingrained in humans really the whole them versus us, the in-group, the out-group. Particularly in teenagers you know everyone feels like they want to belong. So I think it's quite normal I think.

Narrators E and G were more hesitant in their sharing about their stories about social isolation, perhaps indicating that they were more uncomfortable positioning themselves as vulnerable, or perhaps that this was a storyline they wanted to resist but were unsure how to story their experiences in alternative ways. For example, when I first asked about Narrator E's experience of being unable to go to school for the first 6 months when he arrived, he responded:

> Oh my God I felt horrible. Staying at home. Like seriously ... Yeah it was like oh my God I can't say it. I don't want to talk about it ... Just stay at home, wake up, stay at home, doing nothing else. It was too hard. Because of this work permit thing.

Narrator E later went on to talk about his experience, despite me saying it was fine if he did not want to discuss it. This suggested that, while this was a difficult story to tell, it was something he wanted an opportunity to share. He returned to this storyline a number of times despite performing it in a hesitant way. I felt drawn in to try to understand and it evoked feelings of sympathy in me.

Storylines of intense loss and isolation are not very familiar to me. I have been more exposed to stories where New Zealanders are positioned as welcoming rather than as excluding and isolating people. The storylines of loss and isolation evoked questions of concern as a result of this familiar storyline being challenged. I was drawn in to try to understand this counter-story.

Narrator G positioned herself as fearful, isolated and having a loss of control over things in her life. The story mainly drew on situations illustrating struggle, including struggling with connecting with people. Storylines of exclusion and fear were drawn on in the story, such as in the context of being scared to talk to people and to join in with social activities. For example, Narrator G said:

> And then we just come first to New Zealand so we a bit scared to talk to other people as well that's why.

Narrator G's storyline challenged a story I am familiar with, whereby people are often expected to position themselves as taking control over situations. This narrator did not have any control over coming to New Zealand. Therefore, this loss of control in life may have positioned her as being passive and as not having agency. It was difficult for me to ask further questions as I struggled to connect with the narrator's storyline of social isolation and lack of control.

Some of the narrators positioned themselves as people who were not competent and not confident speaking English. Some also made a connection between their lack of language skills and making connections with other New Zealanders. For example, Narrator E stated:

> Oh I felt very depressed and stuff. You know. And then I was really nervous to talk to people. Yeah.

While Narrator F felt more confident speaking English, he still saw having to speak English as a barrier to connecting with people at times, saying:

> I'm still kind of getting used to it. Since normally I would just like walk up to someone, talk to them and know full well that they know what I'm speaking, understand me. Here, I have to be careful since there are times at school when I accidentally speak [in my native language] to them.

Seeing oneself as struggling with English may have made it harder for these participants to position themselves as connected to other New Zealanders and to feel they were able to tell their story.

Narrator D and Narrator F tended to position other people in New Zealand as being uninterested in their story or as making assumptions about their stories. Those who were positioned as taking an interest in their backgrounds were presented as the exception to the rule rather than the norm. These narrators appeared to have had fewer opportunities to be able to have their story listened to. For example, Narrator D positioned people as generally uninterested in her story, saying:

> very few of them were [interested in my background]. And the ones that were curious and were super friendly were ones who had lived outside of New Zealand themselves who had probably travelled lots. But yeah they were a small minority. I think most people were shy. I don't really think it's prejudice against me, I think it's more the unknown, fear of the unknown and being shy and things like that yeah.

Narrator F talked about those who were interested in his home country as being uncommon, saying:

> it's kind of interesting to find people who are actually interested in my culture since [my home country] isn't really a popular country, we're not really that rich, we're not like Japan or China so it's very interesting and those friends, those friends, they're really good, really good people. Yeah.

Narrator F also described his peers as not asking about his background and likewise not asking about other people's cultures. He stated:

> People, people don't normally actually ask [about my background]. Like in my calculus class there's a group of people, there was me, a German exchange student and a girl from Samoa. And we rarely talk about, we don't usually talk about our like our past. We just assume that you're here in calculus, you're here to study calculus. That's basically how we went ... But in general not a lot of people ask about my past since I'm assuming that they're thinking you're here you study. It's like if you're in Year 13 physics you must assume that you know physics, you know enough physics to go to Year 13 so not a lot of opportunities to open up the past.

Despite these stories being told in a fairly matter of fact way, the storylines of isolation and exclusion evoked a sense of sadness in me. For me, it is important to have access to storylines where people are positioned as interested and as wanting to hear others' stories.

Some of the narrators positioned people as making assumptions about their stories and positions, as opposed to positioning people as listeners to their stories. For example, Narrator D positioned one of her peers as judgemental in making an assumption about her being a refugee, stating:

> I think it was slightly harder for me because, yeah, I did come from a different country. Yeah, another incident I remember was once someone called me a refugee and I got really upset because it was like well I'm not you know. And, yeah, I don't remember what happened after that, I think I just got upset and I just said that I'm not a refugee and left it at that. Yeah.

The storyline of refugee seems to have negative connotations, perhaps because there are often assumptions about the storylines of loss, trauma and lack of control associated with being a refugee.

Narrator F positioned people as sceptical about his story. He talked about changing his story after a while to fit with other people's expectations of his position. This theme was repeated a number of times throughout Narrator F's story. For example, Narrator F stated:

> At first I was doing my best to let them know about my age [19 years]. Now I'm just pretending I'm 18 or 17 so they won't find it embarrassing.

I value storylines where everyone has a voice and where diversity is positioned as important. Having stories unheard or being unrecognisable or challenged by others were less familiar storylines to me and contrasted with those I was more comfortable listening to and engaging with.

Story performance

Most (but not all) of these stories were also performed in less confident ways compared to the "opening up" stories. This gave me the sense that parts of the stories were harder to tell and that they were less rehearsed stories. It appeared that having fewer opportunities to share stories and have these heard is related to how stories are performed. Generally, I found it more difficult to interact with the participants' stories during the interviews compared to the participants who chose more familiar "opening up" stories. Additionally, Narrators D, E and

G's interviews were briefer than most of the other interviews, with Narrator F's interview being the exception.

In Narrator D's interview, her story was told in a fairly reserved and guarded way and it did not flow as freely as some of the interviews. She spoke in short bursts with long silences so the interview tended to go back and forth between my questions and her answers. I was (reluctantly) drawn into the role of questioner while she was drawn into the role of object of study. There may be a number of contextual factors that meant this story appeared to be performed in a less enthusiastic way than some of the other stories. For example, the interview occurred at the end of a long conference day for Narrator D and the particular interview environment was not ideal with quite a few distractions. There was a sense that Narrator D wanted to exclude some more difficult parts of her story. This gave me the impression that Narrator D's story was not easy to tell and may not have been a well-rehearsed story for her. My position as researcher is likely to have contributed to the performance. Researchers asking questions are commonly positioned in a role of power. Although I did not want this to be in a traditional interview format with traditional roles, we may have inadvertently fallen back into this style of interview.

Narrator E's story was very brief in some places and had a feeling of abruptness. Again, I had to use many prompts throughout the interview and I sometimes found it difficult to know what direction to take the interview in (in contrast to the "opening up" stories which flowed more naturally without me consciously having to think about what we should discuss next). Narrator E appeared hesitant in telling his story at times and there were sometimes long silences. For example, he did not often offer much detail in his responses, giving the story a stop/start feel as the interview went from an open question (from me) to a brief story (by Narrator E). This could convey that some parts of the story were difficult to tell and/or it might have been difficult for Narrator E to feel comfortable about drawing on stories that showed vulnerability.

Narrator G's story was a difficult story structure to follow and could be described as chaotic. The story was not presented in a linear way – it jumped around from episode to episode. There was often a large amount of detail provided about events or situations, and there was sometimes repetition of these details. At times it appeared that the narrator struggled to tell her story, struggling for words and cohesion. Narrator G spoke very quickly and appeared to want to position herself as invisible and seemed to want to hide. The storyline was hard for

me to follow and, therefore, to some extent Narrator G was successful in being evasive. This was also reflected in the performance of her story. The confusion conveyed in the story may make it hard for people to be drawn into and understand this story, as it was for me.

While Narrator F's story was very different in structure from Narrator G's, Narrator F's story also had a feeling of confusion. It was not told in a linear way but instead jumped from one point in time to another, and one situation to another, giving a feeling of confusion and chaos to the overall story. For example, the story did not start by providing much background information but immediately described the emotions around particular events. However, the performance of Narrator F's story suggested that he wanted a chance to connect and to tell his story rather than to hide. I wanted to make sense of Narrator F's story and felt drawn in to try to understand it.

Narrator F, in contrast to Narrators D, E and G, appeared to be very confident in his storytelling. He talked unprompted for long sections and the story was performed in an enthusiastic and engaging way. The story was filled with internal dialogue and was often told from the first-person perspective which made the events feel more real and alive. There was also much detail provided around certain events in the story adding to this sense of actually experiencing the events. This more dramatic presentation helped to engage and draw me into the story and eased my understanding of the storyline. However, unlike the "opening up" stories, I often felt drawn in to ask questions out of my feelings of sympathy and because I wanted to provide Narrator F with an opportunity to have his story listened to.

Narrator F's story ended with a sudden turning point where the story became one of hope and opportunities, which was in contrast to the rest of Narrator F's storyline. For example, Narrator F talked about how he could leave his mistakes behind, how he could begin a new chapter in his life in New Zealand, how perhaps it would be better at university, and some of the benefits of school in New Zealand such as the choices available and lack of routine, and discovering that people can break out of their stereotypes. The surprise and abrupt turn at the end of the story is in contrast to the typical Western story which involves some sort of resolution before coming to a positive ending.

The break away from typical expected storylines that have a natural build up and where there is a cause–effect structure can be described as a violation of canonicity whereby a storyline goes against the social norms or expectations (Bruner, 1996). For example, there may be no

link between the past and the present and there is no justification for why there is social incongruence.

The violation of canonicity in Narrator F's story resulted in me feeling disconnected from his story as a result of confusion from the lack of closure. I tried to ask questions in order to make sense of the chaos. However, it also provided a sense of relief that Narrator F also had access to this positive storyline and that there was a thread of hope and positivity to Narrator F's story.

Summary

Listening to the narrators' stories provided information about some of the different types of stories the migrants told about their educational transitions. While the stories told by the narrators were centred on their move to secondary school in New Zealand, they were not limited to this context. The migrants' transitions occurred within the wider context of moving to New Zealand, and often the migration experience as a whole was storied during the interview.

Analysing the stories involved considering how they were performed and how my own stories influenced my listening and interpretation. When I looked across all of the stories I found that those told by Narrators A, B and C were similar in the overall impact they had on me: I felt a sense of optimism and was able to easily connect with their stories. Their stories centred on storylines of inclusion and they were progressive. The narrators performed their stories confidently with few pauses and they were told with enthusiasm.

Narrators D, E, F and G told stories that evoked a sense of sadness in me and I found myself adopting the role of sympathetic listener. Storylines I was more familiar with or more comfortable hearing sometimes "bumped up" against these narrators' storylines, such as storylines of social isolation. I was sometimes left with a sense of confusion and felt that there was an incompleteness to their stories. The narrators generally performed their stories less confidently than those who told "opening up" stories. There were often longer pauses during the storytelling and the stories were not always told in a linear way: the stories often jumped around in a way that I found difficult to predict and make sense of.

The next chapter further discusses the relationship between opportunities to practise storytelling, and the way the stories were performed. I also look across both the "opening up" and "closing down" stories and suggest that there are some similarities.

7. Discussion

Although the seven migrants told very different stories, there were also commonalities. In this chapter I look at how the participants' stories changed as a result of their experience of migration and discuss some of the implications of this for our school system.

"Stories to live by" prior to migration

As previously discussed, this study is premised on the view that telling stories is an essential part of our lives. If we accept this, then we have to assume that all of the participants in this study had "stories to live by" (Clandinin, Downey, & Huber, 2009, p. 141) before they migrated to New Zealand. By "stories to live by" I mean stories that people "tell of who they are, and are becoming" (Clandinin et al., 2009, p. 142). These can include numerous plotlines and ways of being (Clandinin et al., 2009). "Stories to live by" are shaped over time reflecting different situations and experiences, and they provide a trajectory that shows the way forward for the narrator.

Stories are enabled and constrained by contexts so that stories that were workable in certain contexts may later become untellable or unrecognisable in other contexts (Shuman, 2006). Stories and positions are influenced by factors such as the place in which they occur, the narrator's experiences and the larger social and cultural stories (Chase, 2005). These factors change with the migration process and, therefore, can influence the "stories to live by" that are available to narrate. This seems to have been the case in the stories told by the participants.

Once the migrants arrived in New Zealand, some of their previous storylines seem to have become unworkable. That is, some of their "stories to live by" were no longer able to be told or were no longer productive in the New Zealand context. For example, Narrator E's storyline of being recognised became unavailable when he moved to New Zealand. He stated:

> Yeah moving up from your country to here it's a big change. It was a challenge for me, for my family you know ... We were like well recognised in our country and then we came here with nothing. So it's still hard. My Mum will be crying every day like that.

Narrator F talked about how in his home country he positioned himself as "popular" and "sociable". However, in New Zealand he felt he no longer had access to this storyline, saying:

> It's just I see a lot of other people saying no way in the background of my head, it's like you're not popular, stop kidding yourself. But I know a lot of people, I'm average height in [my home country], I'm very sociable, I can just randomly see someone at the street, a totally random person in the street, and talk to them like 'How's it going?' It's like, 'Yeah I actually have to hurry up', it's like 'OK sorry I better keep going'. I can do that. Here in New Zealand the barrier was I can't be as open as I was. Like they might think there's a creepy Asian guy talking to people randomly. I don't even know that guy and he's talking to me. I'm afraid of what they'll think.

Migrants are likely to need to learn how to story themselves differently in the New Zealand context, as was the case for the participants in this study. The next section discusses the participants' changing stories and suggests how this process of developing new "stories to live by" occurs for migrants.

Developing new "stories to live by"

The changes in the participants' "stories to live by" were evident in the interviews. Although the interviews explored the participants' stories at one point in time (at the time of their interview), the participants contrasted how they positioned themselves in their home countries, before they migrated, to how they positioned themselves now. For example, Narrator F talked about how moving to New Zealand gave him a chance to start afresh, implying that he can choose to tell new stories about his life. He explained this by saying:

> ... since I came here to New Zealand I don't know anyone, nobody knows me, I don't have any qualifications or anything, I'm basically new. Totally new in every way. Earlier I was saying that the being new was bad, but being new has its good ways such that all of the mistakes I've made in the past are rendered pointless or all of the decisions I've made in the past, like how my friend told me. That's why he's my best friend. He told me the prologue of your life is finally over, you get to finally start chapter one.

Narrator C discussed how moving to New Zealand had changed his stories regarding his contribution to the community. He stated:

> But also back in [my home country] when you know there are some families who do have high expectations of you that really want you to achieve so they were saying that being a doctor was the only way to go to be able to do that. And that was sort of the mindset that I had, that in order for me to be able to prove myself and to be able to help the community then I need to be a doctor. But upon getting, upon coming here and basically being, I mean I saw being the whole New Zealand education system, that's when I realised that I can also help the community not only by being a doctor but I can also take part in the community and taking part and being active as well, yeah. So that was good.

It is not just the content of stories that may need to change in different contexts, but also the way in which stories are structured and performed. In different contexts, different ways of structuring and performing stories can be enabled or constrained. While there were few instances of the participants contrasting the way in which they told their stories in their home countries to New Zealand, it is likely that this occurred. Narrator B talked about needing to convey his stories in different ways to different people in New Zealand, saying:

> I tend to talk to people according to their social identity. By that I mean if I'm talking to Europeans like yourself maybe I'm a bit relaxed but if I'm talking to my clients I speak their language, I would be really formal, I'd be sitting properly and talk to them properly. Whereas if I'm talking to Māori I'll be in their style as well. I'll be like 'Bro what's up man what are you doing?' So it's, I think there's an old saying in [my] culture saying 'if you speak to people you speak people language, if you speak to ghosts you speak ghost language'. So, yeah, I think that struck me at a really young age. So you talk to people according to their liking, push their buttons right.

Given that some of the participants' storylines had changed, this leads to the question of how does this occur? How can migrants learn to tell new "stories to live by", and how can stories be told in different ways?

"Re-storying" oneself is no simple process and requires having different story-sharing opportunities in order to practise negotiating meanings and to become aware of other storytelling possibilities. Sharing stories is a relational activity – meanings are created relationally with interactions between individuals, groups and societies (Riessman, 2008). People's stories can change in response to social interactions as people come to understand their lives and develop new meanings in relation to others. Migrants need opportunities to listen to the workable stories that New Zealanders tell, and they need chances to practise re-storying their own lives and to live out these new stories.

However, the onus does not just fall on migrants to share their stories and re-story themselves. The audience's responses to hearing migrants' stories are important: how an audience interacts with different stories will influence what stories migrants choose to share at any particular time. The audience's responses can change the stories migrants tell about themselves, and others, as well as how these stories are structured and performed. New Zealanders need to listen to migrants' stories, value the importance of hearing diverse stories, share their own stories and be open to and have the skills to re-story themselves.

We can "learn to hear others' stories, imagine other possibilities, re-storying our own and our relational stories" (Huber et al., 2003, p. 344). New Zealanders' "stories to live by" can shift

over time by "bumping up" against migrants' storylines or through resonating with their stories. New positions and storylines can be seen or existing plotlines can be seen in new ways (Huber, Huber, & Clandinin, 2004).

Through telling and listening to stories we can learn about ourselves, others, other possibilities and the world. To participate in and contribute to an increasingly pluralistic society, skills are needed to deal with changes, different meanings need to be created and people need to interact with people and knowledge systems in new ways (Bolstad et al., 2012). Discovering and negotiating new possible meanings through re-storying is important for all New Zealanders to contribute as global citizens.

All of the participants in this research had previously had opportunities to re-story themselves through relating with other New Zealanders. However, the extent and nature of these interaction opportunities varied. Those who told "opening up" stories had previously had many opportunities to share their stories with New Zealanders compared to those who told "closing down" stories. The following were characteristics of the interactions of those who told "opening up" stories:

- They positioned themselves as connected to the school community (and often the wider community).
- They discussed interacting with people from different cultural groups.
- They had ongoing interactions with a range of different people.
- They positioned a range of people as taking an interest in their stories rather than just one or two people.

Those who told "closing down" stories, on the other hand, were generally characterised by the following:

- They positioned themselves as finding it difficult to connect to the school (and wider) community.
- They discussed interacting with a few people rather than as having a large network of people to interact with.
- They positioned others as being uninterested in their stories.

The way the participants' stories were performed in the interview seemed to be related to the storytelling opportunities the participants had access to. Those who told "opening up" stories performed their stories in confident, enthusiastic and engaging ways, and the stories were progressive. Those who told "closing down" stories generally performed their stories in less confident ways compared to the "opening up" stories and their storylines were often more chaotic and hard to follow. Additionally, those who had previously had many opportunities to connect with others through telling stories positioned themselves as socially connected, whereas those who told "closing down" stories positioned themselves as socially isolated.

This suggests that within and outside the education system, migrants need to be given a range of storytelling opportunities. Having a wide variety of people to engage with over time is important in giving migrants a chance to find ways for their stories to connect with others' stories. Having many connections with others provides migrants with more opportunities to develop their storylines, to see many different positions for themselves and to create new understandings of their experiences. Connecting with other people also enables migrants to hear the different storylines that New Zealanders tell. This can give migrants opportunities to understand different positions and storylines and the contexts in which the stories are told. These opportunities are likely to be important for everyone within the education system. New Zealand students and teachers can also benefit from having opportunities to share their stories and to make connections with people, including with migrants.

The new stories that the participants told are not fixed – their "stories to live by" will continue to change over time. Developing new workable "stories to live by" is not about reaching an end point but is part of a continuing process of re-storying ourselves. Therefore, as the participants continue to share their stories and change contexts, their storylines will continue to change.

An example of a story-sharing opportunity for the participants was in the interview itself, as part of this study. Some of the narrators acknowledged how telling stories can be a way to make sense of their experiences. For example, when I asked Narrator B about his narrative interview experience, he talked about how sharing his story helped him to think through his storylines, saying:

> ... you're doing me a favour because being here answering the questions I'm learning as well, I'm challenging myself as well. I had to at least speak up those words. I had to organise my brain a little bit. So you did me a favour too.

Narrator C also talked about how he enjoyed the experience of reflecting on his past. Sharing his story seemed to be a way for him to make sense of and order his experiences into a coherent story. He said:

> And it was a good opportunity and it's good to be able to look back again to my college years and to my whole experience. Like looking back into it, it just felt like it's been ages but it's only been like 5 years but it just feels like I've been through a lot of experiences, a lot of different stuff, a lot of forums to attend to, but, yeah, that's good to have that experience again so, yeah, thank you so much.

Narrator D said that she enjoyed being able to share her story, and hoped that the research and her story would be helpful to other migrants. She stated:

> ... it's quite nice to share my story. And hopefully help you with your research as well. And help new immigrants because it is hard, especially the first 2 years are really tough.

All the narrators said that they enjoyed the experience of being able to reflect on their transition during the research interview.

I also enjoyed the opportunity to interact with the participants and to hear their stories. In terms of my own interactions with the participants' stories, the "opening up" stories evoked a sense of optimism and it was easier for me to relate to these storylines compared to those who told "closing down" stories. "Closing down" stories tended to position me as a sympathetic listener and I was also less able to connect with the participants' storylines. These were my first interactions with these unfamiliar stories. However, given the opportunity to engage further with these participants, it may have been possible for both of us to find ways where our stories could connect rather than "bump up" against one another. This research was also a one-sided interview where the participants were sharing their story while I was listening. There would be more opportunities to find ways to relate through our stories, and for re-storying to occur, in a social situation. This is not to say that it will always be possible to connect with others' "stories to live by". For example, empathy can be seen as "either reframing experiences to find common ground or accepting the possibility that some experiences cannot be shared" (Shuman, 2006, p. 152).

Next, I look at what storying and re-storying mean for the concept of belonging. In Chapter 2, I argued that we should think about identity as a process and I discussed how stories are a way of expressing our changing identities. In the next section I extend this idea to belonging, discussing the value in seeing belonging as a process.

What does this mean for belonging?

I have discussed how storytelling is a relational activity that can connect us with others and the world around us. As people's identities are constructed in stories and these stories can change, people's connections with others can also change. Thus, people's sense of connectedness or belonging is not static. This socially constructed view of belonging is in contrast to the way belonging is often conceptualised in the traditional psychological literature. Here, belonging is often thought of as an end-point – a goal to work towards. For example, in the psychological literature, integration is often described as the preferred state of belonging for migrants. Integration is defined as when migrants adopt some of the host country's culture while keeping some of their own (Berry et al., 2006). This view implies that there is one right way to experience belonging, and that it is either achieved or it is not. In the traditional psychological literature, dualisms are emphasised; for example, using terms such as "ethnic" or "national identity", and "in-group" or "out-group". This perspective also suggests that it is the responsibility of migrants to "achieve" belonging and that it is "done" by an individual rather than taking place in relational spaces.

On the other hand, some authors are now arguing that belonging can be thought of as a negotiated and interpersonal process rather than a fixed state. The process of belonging can take place between individuals, groups and at a societal level. For example, people can connect or disconnect with stories that are told within and about the education system. In Gilbert and Calvert's (2011) research they conceptualise "connectedness" as a process or a type of energy, saying:

> Connectedness is energising in the way it creates new pathways and builds capacity ... instead of seeing connectedness as something constructed in separate domains in a linear, directional, step-by-step way, we think it is more helpful to think of it as a series of networks that, as they build on, scaffold and energise the development of others, increase in complexity." (p. 102)

Gilbert and Calvert (2011) think of connectedness as being built in "networks". They argue that it is beneficial if these networks grow in complexity and scale. In my research being reported here, there was evidence that, when the participants' stories were acknowledged and when meanings were negotiated through storying opportunities in meaningful interactions with others, their networks of belonging grew.

Gilbert and Calvert (2011) argue that it is the role of families, schools and the wider community to provide the conditions within which networks of connectedness can develop. Applying this to my research, it is not just up to migrants to negotiate their belonging within

the education system. As discussed in Chapter 2, we are living in an increasingly globalised world, and it is in society's interest that the education system creates a culture of belonging for all students. The education system is an important place in which space should be created for networks of belonging to form and expand.

In order to foster belonging, there needs to be space created within the education system for diverse stories to be told and acknowledged. Currently, some stories that are told within the education system are valued over others. Instead of being seen as problematic, diverse stories and stories that live in tension with one another can be viewed as places of possibility where new meanings can be negotiated. If there is space for new stories and meanings to emerge, and for new ways of belonging to be negotiated, the education system can foster networks of belonging for all students, including migrants.

Providing opportunities for meaningful story sharing to take place does not always happen within schools. Sharing stories at school is currently seen as important for younger children. This research suggests that these opportunities are also important for older students and that spaces for new stories to emerge need to be created.

Thinking about belonging as a relational and ongoing process is beneficial for a number of reasons. It allows for multiple ways of belonging to be valued, for belonging to be seen as changeable and energising and for belonging to be seen as relational rather than the responsibility of individuals. In the next chapter I look at how this storied view of belonging can be further investigated.

8. Conclusion

This research set out to explore the stories that young migrants told about their educational transitions, including how they narrated belonging and inclusion. It also looked at the implications for all New Zealanders in helping migrants to feel included in the education system. To conclude, I provide a summary of the research findings in relation to the research questions. This piece of research has the potential to contribute to our understanding of migrants' transitions into secondary school in New Zealand. However, like any research, this study has some limitations and these are discussed. There is also potential to build on the ideas that have begun to be investigated, and some suggestions for future research are provided. I end with my personal reflection on the research process.

Summary of findings

In this research, I have endeavoured to illustrate the diversity of stories told by the seven narrators about their educational transitions, as well as present some of the similarities between the stories in terms of their content, structure and how they were performed. In particular, I categorised three of the stories as "opening up" stories and four as "closing down" stories, based on how my own story interacted with those of the narrators. I also found that as a result of the migrants' transitions, their "stories to live by" changed when they came to New Zealand.

I also looked at how belonging and inclusion were narrated by the migrants. Those who told "opening up" stories positioned themselves as belonging and included in the school and wider community. Those who told "closing down" stories positioned themselves as socially isolated. Having an opportunity to share their stories and have these acknowledged and listened to appeared to be important in helping migrants to tell "opening up" stories. I suggest that identity formation and belonging can be thought of in a relational way, where they are negotiated processes. Thinking about how people story their ever-changing identities through taking up different co-negotiated positions in available storylines has implications for all New Zealanders. There is a need for the education system to provide all students (including migrants), as well as teachers, with opportunities to tell diverse stories and for spaces for new meanings and connections to be formed.

Limitations

The study has some limitations that need to be acknowledged. This research involved a small number of participants and the sample was non-representative. I asked for volunteers to take part and obtained contacts from community groups. Therefore, the participants who volunteered were more likely to have been involved in their communities and were those who were confident sharing their stories in a research context. For pragmatic reasons, the sample was small: I interviewed seven migrants from five different countries, and the participants were limited to those who could speak English. However, narrative inquiry research often does involve a small number of participants (Chase, 2005; Creswell, 2007). Using narrative inquiry allows for stories to be studied in depth. Rather than being able to generalise the results to wider populations, the stories can provide insights into possible storylines and positions. Tentative conclusions that invite further research can be drawn about educational transitions, the importance of storytelling opportunities and how to conceptualise belonging.

It is important to note that the labels "opening up" and "closing down" stories are over-simplified terms. These labels were chosen initially to provide a way of organising my "sense" of the stories. They later proved to be a useful "heuristic" for categorising my analysis. Rather than being two distinct categories there are overlaps between the stories in the "opening up" and "closing down" story categories. The migrants' stories and my interpretation provide a snapshot of the interaction between their and my stories at a particular point in time. Everyone has multiple stories they are able to tell and the term "closing down" stories does not imply these migrants are unable to tell "opening up" stories.

This research was limited to focusing on the stories migrants told to me – a Pākehā researcher. It was not possible for me to understand the different storytelling conventions from other cultures. For example, Wang and Brockmeier (2002) discuss how the way in which stories are told is a cultural product. Different cultures have different storytelling practices including what and how stories are told (Chase, 2005). However, this research focused on the interaction between my stories and the stories of the participants, and I was not attempting to represent the migrants' worldviews for them.

In this research I have argued that stories are constantly changing. The thesis is a story in itself and a story told at a specific point in time in a particular context. It is not intended to, nor can it, provide definitive answers. It is a starting point, a story that will continue to develop and change over time. Narrative inquiry is an emerging field and this research

investigates some of the possibilities within this area. Further research could extend these ideas.

Suggested further research

Future research could explore how New Zealanders' "stories to live by" change as they interact with migrants over a period of time. This could involve looking at what enables or constrains New Zealanders to change their stories and to find ways for their stories to connect. For example, in order for migrants and New Zealanders to find ways to connect, spaces need to be made for dialogue to take place and re-storying has to be valued. If New Zealanders are to effectively participate in a multicultural and globalised world, they need to be able to work with people from many different cultures. Research in this area could lead to further insights about the process of identity and belonging.

One space where these interactions between migrants and New Zealanders could take place is within the education system. Schools can provide spaces and cultures for trying out new stories, and for many different stories to be told and lived out (Whelan, Huber, Rose, Davies, & Clandinin, 2001). Developing new "stories to live by" is not necessarily an easy task and support will need to be put in place to allow new stories to emerge. The role of schools can be extended to providing space and support to scaffold students' social selves. Sharing stories supports learning through building relationships with people and becoming aware of different "stories to live by". Andrews (2007) suggests the need for narrative imagination in order to be open to seeing other story possibilities. Andrews explains that, "Without this imagination, we are forever restricted to the world as we know it, which is a very limited place to be" (p. 510). How this narrative imagination can be encouraged within schools could be an area for investigation.

Schools themselves are made up of a collection of stories, and these stories change over time (Gilbert, 2005). Migrants' stories can either connect or live in tension with these different school stories. By making space for new stories to be told within the education system this could provide more opportunities for migrants' stories to connect with stories of school, rather than "bump up" against them, thus contributing to their process of belonging. Future research could investigate how spaces where diverse stories are shared have already been created within schools.

An example of such a space has been investigated by Huber et al. (2003). In their research, they created spaces at school for young children to share their stories with other children and

with themselves (as teachers). These spaces were called "peace candle gatherings" (Huber et al., 2003, p. 344) and they particularly used these when tensions arose at school. In these spaces, opportunities were provided for children to share their stories and have them heard, and to listen to others' stories. Huber et al. acknowledge that tensions between different stories exist within the school landscape and they argue that these tensions do not need to be smoothed over but explored. Huber et al. came to see tensions in storied and relational ways, as the stories told alongside one another in the peace candle gatherings shaped one another and sometimes led to the formation of new stories.

It is important that further research in this area does not lead to producing checklists for application in schools. Narrative inquiry emphasises the importance of context and that there is no one single "truth". Forming a prescribed checklist would lead to the simplifying or distorting of these complex ideas.

Future research could also look at how migrants' stories are influenced by "master stories" (the dominant stories) that are currently told about education in New Zealand. This could involve considering what enables alternative stories to be told that might enrich the educational experiences of students in New Zealand. Stories can be a way to challenge dominant storylines. For example, if migrants tell stories that contrast with the dominant stories of the education system, what allows them to do this, what is the result and what sort of future does this allow them to envisage? This may provide an insight into the available positions for migrants and the influence of different stories within the school landscape. This research would involve considering what stories we have told and now tell about the New Zealand education system as well as other possible counter-stories. The stories migrants tell can change as school stories change and vice versa. As Clandinin and Connelly (1998) observe, "Changes in the story of school ripple through the school and influence the whole web of stories. Others, such as parents, also influence, and are influenced by, the shifting story of school" (p. 161).

Further studies could also investigate how belonging at school can be described, identified and researched. Currently, there are surveys and other instruments that measure belonging in terms of feelings experienced by an individual. Seeing belonging as relational provides an alternative view that cannot be measured in the same way. Narrative inquiry provides a useful method for further research regarding these concepts that move beyond the rhetoric of identity and belonging. Analysing stories could provide information about the positions

available to young people in different contexts and in different relationships, and the conditions in which networks of belonging are fostered.

Final reflection

In writing this thesis, some of my own stories have changed. In particular, I have changed my own understanding of belonging and of the role of stories. I started to question my starting assumptions (rooted in psychology) about individual personality traits, identity, values and dispositions. I began to think in new ways in terms of storylines and positions. Initially, I felt constrained by the language I could use to describe these new understandings; however, over time I came to appreciate this new conceptual framework.

Research from a range of theoretical perspectives has made valuable contributions to our understanding of migrants' educational transitions and about belonging. Carrying out this research enabled me to see the contribution that narrative inquiry methods underpinned by social constructionism could offer. I came to realise the power of stories and saw that they could help move away from stereotypes, blame and generalisations.

The developing nature of narrative inquiry makes it an exciting area to be working in. In this research, I particularly valued being able to acknowledge my own position and being able to engage with thinking about relationships, ethics, how stories interact with one another and stories of educational transitions. On reflection, I often took the role of stories for granted. In carrying out this research I have come to recognise the importance of storytelling in learning about ourselves, others and the social and political contexts in which the stories are told. Delgado (1989) eloquently points out the profound benefits of reaching out to listen and share stories, saying:

> Listening to stories makes the adjustment to further stories easier; one acquires the ability to see the world through others' eyes. It can lead the way to new environments ... If we would deepen and humanize ourselves, we must seek out storytellers different from ourselves and afford them the audience they deserve. The benefit will be reciprocal. (pp. 2439–2440)

Through storying and re-storying our lives there is the potential for powerful connections to be formed that can benefit us individually and as a society.

References

Abbott, M. W., Wong, S., Williams, M., Au, M., & Young, W. (1999). Chinese migrants' mental health and adjustment to life in New Zealand. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 33*(1), 13–21.

Abbott, M. W., Wong, S., Williams, M., Au, M., & Young, W. (2000). Recent Chinese migrants' health, adjustment to life in New Zealand and primary health care utilization. *Journal of Disability and Rehabilitation, 22*(1/2), 43–56.

Alton-Lee, A. (2003). Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling: Best evidence synthesis. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Andrews, M. (2007). Exploring cross-cultural boundaries. In D. J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry* (pp. 489–511). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ang, I. (2000). Identity blues. In P. Gilroy, L. Grossberg, & A. McRobbie (Eds.), *Without guarantees: In honour of Stuart Hall* (pp. 1–29). New York: Verso.

Atkinson, P., & Coffey, A. (2002). Revisiting the relationship between participant observation and interviewing. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research* (pp. 801–814). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Atkinson, P., & Delamont, S. (2006). Rescuing narrative from qualitative research. *Narrative Inquiry, 16*(1), 164–172.

Banks, J. A. (1997). Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Banks, J. A. (2006). Cultural diversity and education: Foundations, curriculum, and teaching (5th ed.). Seattle: Pearson Education.

Banks, J. A. (2008). Diversity, group identity, and citizenship education in a global age. *Educational Researcher, 37*(3), 129–139.

Banks, J. A., McGee Banks, C. A., Cortés, C. E., Hahn, C. L., Merryfield, M. M., Moodley, K. A., et al. (2005). *Democracy and diversity: Principles and concepts for educating citizens in a global age*. Seattle: Center for Multicultural Education, University of Washington.

Barnard, R. (2009). Submerged in the mainstream? A case study of an immigrant learner in a New Zealand primary classroom. *Language and Education, 23*(3), 233–248.

Barthes, R. (1977). *Image, music, text* (S. Heath, Trans.). London: Fontana.

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (Eds.). (2006). Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity and adaptation across national contexts. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M. H., & Dasen, P. R. (2002). *Cross-cultural psychology: Research and applications* (Vol. 2). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bishop, R., O'Sullivan, D., & Berryman, M. (2010). *Scaling up education reform: Addressing the politics of disparity*. Wellington: NZCER Press.

Bleakley, A. (2005). Stories as data, data as stories: Making sense of narrative inquiry in clinical education. *Medical Education, 39*, 534–540.

Bolstad, R., Gilbert, J., with McDowall, S., Bull, A., Boyd, S., & Hipkins, R. (2012). Supporting future-oriented learning and teaching: A New Zealand perspective: Report prepared for the Ministry of Education: Unpublished draft. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Bottrell, C. A., Banning, J. H., Harbour, C. P., & Krahnke, K. (2007). The role of heuristic knowledge in Vietnamese American students' success at a Midwestern community college. *College Student Affairs Journal, 27*(1), 116–135.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77–101.

Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry, 18*(1), 1–21.

Bruner, J. (1996). *The culture of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Burck, C. (2005). Comparing qualitative research methodologies for systemic research: The use of grounded theory, discourse analysis and narrative analysis. *Journal of Family Therapy, 27*(3), 237–262.

Butcher, A. (2009). Friends, foreign and domestic: (Re)converging New Zealand's export education and foreign policies. *Policy Quarterly, 5*(4), 64–70.

Butcher, A., Spoonley, P., & Trlin, A. (2006). Being accepted: The experience of discrimination and social exclusion of immigrants and refugees in New Zealand. Palmerston North: Massey University.

Chase, S. E. (2003). Learning to listen: Narrative principles in a qualitative research methods course. In R. Josselson, A. Lieblich, & D. P. McAdams (Eds.), *Up close and personal: The teaching and learning of narrative research* (pp. 79–100). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Chase, S. E. (2005). Narrative inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 651–679). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (1998). Stories to live by: Narrative understandings of school reform. *Curriculum Inquiry, 28*(2), 149–164.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Clandinin, D. J., Downey, C. A., & Huber, J. (2009). Attending to changing landscapes: Shaping the interwoven identities of teachers and teacher educators. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education, 37*(2), 141–154.

Clandinin, D. J., Murphy, M. S., Huber, J., & Orr, A. M. (2010). Negotiating narrative inquiries: Living in a tension-filled midst. *The Journal of Educational Research, 103*(2), 81–90.

Clandinin, D. J., Pushor, D., & Orr, A. M. (2007). Navigating sites for narrative inquiry. *Journal of Teacher Education, 58*(1), 21–35.

Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational Researcher, 19*(5), 2–14.

Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (2006). Narrative inquiry. In J. L. Green, G. Camilli, & P. Elmore (Eds.), *Handbook of complementary methods in education research* (3rd ed., pp. 477–487). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crossley, M. (2007). Narrative analysis. In E. Lyons & A. Coyle (Eds.), *Analysing qualitative data in psychology* (pp. 131–144). London: Sage.

Crossman, J. E., & Clarke, M. (2010). International experience and graduate employability: Stakeholder perceptions on the connection. *Higher Education, 59*, 599–613.

Cunningham, G. B. (2009). The moderating effect of diversity strategy on the relationship between racial diversity and organizational performance. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 39*, 1445–1460.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 20*(1), 43–63.

Delgado, R. (1989). Storytelling for oppositionists and others: A plea for narrative. *Michigan Law Review, 87*, 2411–2441.

Deloitte. (2008). The experiences of international students in New Zealand: Report on the results of the National Survey 2007. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Department of Labour. (2004). Migrants' experiences of New Zealand: Pilot survey report. Wellington: Author.

Department of Labour. (2007). Survey of employers who have recently advertised (SERA) 2007: Skills shortages: Occupations in shortage in New Zealand. Wellington: Author.

Department of Labour. (2009). New faces, new futures: New Zealand: Findings from the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (LisNZ) – Wave one. Wellington: Author.

Donn, M., & Schick, R. (1995). Promoting positive race relations in New Zealand schools: Me mahi tahi tātou. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Gee, J. P. (2000). *Discourse analysis: Theory and method*. New York: Routledge.

Gendall, P., Spoonley, P., & Trlin, A. (2007). *The attitudes of New Zealanders to immigrants and immigration: 2003 and 2006 compared*. Palmerston North: Massey University.

Gergen, K. (1994). *Realities and relationships: Soundings in social construction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gergen, K. (2005). Narrative, moral identity, and historical consciousness: A social constructionist account. In J. Straub (Ed.), *Narration, identity, and historical consciousness* (pp. 99–120). New York: Berghan Books.

Gergen, K., & Gergen, M. (1986). Narrative form and the construction of psychological science. In T. R. Sarbin (Ed.), *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct* (pp. 22–44). New York: Praeger.

Gilbert, J. (2005). Catching the knowledge wave?: The knowledge society and the future of education. Wellington: NZCER Press.

Gilbert, J., & Calvert, S. (2011). Connectedness: What is it? *Psychology Aotearoa*, *3*(2), 99–103.

Hamilton, R. J., Anderson, A., Frater-Mathieson, K., Loewen, S., & Moore, D. W. (2000). *Literature review: Interventions for refugee children in New Zealand schools: Models, methods, and best practice*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Hänninen, V., & Koski-Jännes, A. (1999). Narratives of recovery from addictive behaviours. *Addiction, 94*, 1837–1848.

Herring, C. (2009). Does diversity pay?: Race, gender, and the business case for diversity. *American Sociological Review, 74*(2), 208–224.

Higgins, J., Vaughan, K., Phillips, H., & Dalziel, P. (2008). *Education employment linkages: International literature review: EEL research report No. 2*. Christchurch: Lincoln University.

Hill, J., & Hawk, K. (2000). Making a difference in the classroom: Effective teaching practice in low decile, multicultural schools. Auckland: Massey University.

Ho, E., Holmes, P., & Cooper, J. (2004). Review and evaluation of international literature on managing cultural diversity in the classroom. Hamilton: University of Waikato.

Hodgson, R., & Poot, J. (2010). New Zealand research on the economic impacts of immigration 2005–2010: Synthesis and research agenda. Wellington: Department of Labour.

Holloway, W., & Jefferson, T. (2000). Doing qualitative research differently: Free association, narrative and the interview method. London: Sage.

Huber, J., Murphy, M. S., & Clandinin, D. J. (2003). Creating communities of cultural imagination: Negotiating a curriculum of diversity. *Curriculum Inquiry, 33*(4), 343–362.

Huber, M., Huber, J., & Clandinin, D. J. (2004). Moments of tension: Resistance as expressions of narrative coherence in stories to live by. *Reflective Practice, 5*(2), 181–198.

Humpage, L. (2001). Systemic racism: Refugee, resettlement, and education policy in New Zealand. *Refuge, 19*(6), 33–44.

Immigration New Zealand. (2011). *Export education*. Retrieved from http://www.immigration.govt.nz/migrant/general/generalinformation/media/studentfact.htm

Infometrics, National Research Bureau, & Skinnerstrategic. (2008). *The economic impact of export education*. Wellington: Education New Zealand and Ministry of Education.

Josselson, R. (2006). Narrative research and the challenge of accumulating knowledge. *Narrative Inquiry, 16*(1), 3–10.

Josselson, R. (2007). The ethical attitude in narrative research: Principles and practicalities. In D. J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 537–566). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Law, D., Genç, M., & Bryant, J. (2009). *Trade, diaspora and migration to New Zealand*. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of Economic Research.

Levinsohn, K. R. (2007). Cultural differences and learning styles of Chinese and European trades students. *Institute for Learning Styles Journal, 1*, 12–22.

Li, M. (2003, November–December). *Culture and classroom communication: A case study of Asian students in New Zealand language schools*. Paper presented at the New Zealand Association for Research in Education, Australian Association for Research in Education conference, Auckland.

Mankowski, E. S., & Rappaporr, J. (2000). Narrative concepts and analysis in spiritually-based communities. *Journal of Community Psychology, 28,* 479–493.

Mansilla, V., & Gardner, H. (2007). From teaching globalization to nurturing global consciousness. In M. Suárez-Orozco (Ed.), *Learning in the global era: International perspectives on globalization and education* (pp. 47–66). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Mason, L. (1997). The impact of immigration on the anxiety, self-esteem and attitudes towards school and friends of South African immigrant children. Unpublished master's thesis, Massey University, Auckland.

Maynes, M. J., Pierce, J. L., & Laslett, B. (2008). *Telling stories: The use of personal narratives in the social sciences and history*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Ministry of Education. (2007). *The New Zealand Curriculum*. Wellington: Learning Media.

Ministry of Education. (2010). *The refugee handbook for schools*. Retrieved from http://www.minedu.govt.nz/NZEducation/EducationPolicies/Schools/EnglishForSpeakersOfOtherLanguages/MaterialsResources/ESOLRefugeeHandbook.aspx

Ministry of Social Development. (2008). Diverse communities: Exploring the migrant and refugee experience in New Zealand. Wellington: Author.

Munoz, V. (1995). *"Where something catches": Work, love, and identity in your youth*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Mutch, C. (2005). Developing global citizens: The rhetoric and the reality in the New Zealand curriculum. In C. White & R. Openshaw (Eds.), *Democracy at the crossroads. International perspectives on critical global citizenship education* (pp. 187–210). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Nakhid, C. (2003). "Intercultural" perceptions, academic achievement, and the identifying process of Pacific Islands students in New Zealand schools. *The Journal of Negro Education, 72*(3), 297–317.

Newton, J., Milligan, A., Yates, E., & Meyer, L. (2010). Global-mindedness and intercultural competence: Two responses to the challenge of educating for a linguistically and culturally diverse world. In V. Green & S. Cherrington (Eds.), *Delving into diversity: An international exploration of issues of diversity in education* (pp. 287–299). New York: Nova Science.

Pak, A. W., Dion, K. L., & Dion, K. K. (1991). Social psychological correlates of experienced discrimination: Test of the double jeopardy hypothesis. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 15*(2), 243–254.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (2007). Validity issues in narrative research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 13*, 471–486.

Riessman, C. (1993). *Narrative analysis* (Vol. 30). California: Sage.

Riessman, C. (2003). Performing identities in illness narrative: Masculinity and multiple sclerosis. *Qualitative Research, 3*(1), 5–33.

Riessman, C. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. California: Sage.

Riessman, C., & Speedy, J. (2007). Narrative inquiry in the psychotherapy professions: A critical review. In D. J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 426–456). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Robertson, S. (2007). *'When do I become a Kiwi?': A qualitative account of new migrants experiences in New Zealand.* Unpublished master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington.

Robinson, V. (2012, January 31). The changing face of NZ's population. *Fairfax NZ News*, Retrieved from http://www.stuff.co.nz/auckland/local-news/national-news/6338139/The-changing-face-of-NZs-population

Savin-Baden, M., & Niekerk, L. V. (2007). Narrative inquiry: Theory and practice. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education, 31*, 459–472.

Selvarajah, C. (2006). Cross-cultural study of Asian and European student perception: The need to understand the changing educational environment in New Zealand. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal, 13*(2), 142–155.

Shorland, P. (2009). Migrant and refugee youth in New Zealand: Statistical profile, 1996 to 2007. Wellington: Department of Labour.

Shuman, A. (2006). Entitlement and empathy in personal narrative. *Narrative Inquiry, 16*(1), 148–155.

Singham, M. (2006). Multiculturalism in New Zealand: The need for a new paradigm. *Aotearoa Ethnic Network Journal, 1*(1), 33–37.

Slack, A., Wu, J., & Nana, G. (2007). *Fiscal impacts of immigration 2005/06*. Wellington: Department of Labour.

Smith, B., & Sparkes, A. C. (2005). Men, sport, spinal cord injury, and narratives of hope. *Social Science and Medicine, 61*, 1095–1105.

Smith, B., & Sparkes, A. C. (2006). Narrative inquiry in psychology: Exploring the tensions within. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(3), 169–192.

Soderberg, A. M. (2003). Sensegiving and sensemaking in an integration process: A narrative approach to the study of an international acquisition. In B. Czarniawska & P. Gagliardi (Eds.), *Narratives we organize by* (pp. 3–36). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Squire, C. (2005). Reading narratives. *Group Analysis, 38*(1), 91–107.

Stahl, G. K., Maznevski, M. L., Voigt, A., & Jonsen, K. (2010). Unraveling the effects of cultural diversity in teams: A meta-analysis of research on multicultural work groups. *Journal of International Business Studies, 41*, 690–709.

Statistics New Zealand. (2006). *Quickstats about culture and identity: 2006 census*. Wellington: Author.

Statistics New Zealand. (2007). Moving to New Zealand: Reasons and patterns of settlement. Wellington: Author.

Statistics New Zealand. (2008). Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (LisNZ) – Wave 1. Wellington: Author.

Taylor, S. (2007). Narrative as construction and discursive resource. In M. Bamberg (Ed.), *Narrative: State of the art* (pp. 113–122). Amsterdam/Philadephia: John Benjamins.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2006). Where immigrant students succeed: A comparative review of performance and engagement in PISA 2003. Paris: Author.

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2009). *Investing in cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue*. Paris: Author.

Wang, Q., & Brockmeier, J. (2002). Autobiographical remembering as cultural practice: Understanding the interplay between memory, self and culture. *Culture and Psychology, 8*(1), 45–64.

Ward, C. (2001). The impact of international students on domestic students and host institutions: A literature review. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Ward, C. (2008). The experiences of migrant youth: A generational analysis. Wellington: Department of Labour.

Ward, C., & Masgoret, A. M. (2008). Attitudes toward immigrants, immigration, and multiculturalism in New Zealand: A social psychological analysis. *International Migration Review, 42*(1), 227–248.

Watts, N., White, C., & Trlin, A. (2002). *Young migrant settlement experiences and issues in New Zealand: Two perspectives*. Palmerston North: Massey University.

Wertz, M. S., Nosek, M., McNiesh, S., & Marlow, E. (2011). The composite first person narrative: Texture, structure, and meaning in writing phenomenological descriptions. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being*, *6*(2), 1–10.

Whelan, K., Huber, J., Rose, C., Davies, A., & Clandinin, D. J. (2001). Telling and retelling our stories on the professional knowledge landscape. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice, 7*(2), 143–156.

Appendix A: Email asking for participants

Hi,

My name is Sally Robertson and I am a Master's student at the Faculty of Education at Victoria University. I am interested in talking to young migrants about their experiences moving from school in their home country to a New Zealand school.

I am hoping that this research will help people (such as teachers) to better understand migrants' experiences. I hope that it will also be useful to the people involved in the research and their ethnic communities.

I would like to talk to people who:

- are between 16-25 years old
- moved to New Zealand while they were still in secondary/high school
- are able to speak basic English

Being involved in this project would involve an interview that would take no longer than an hour and a half. I am able to interview up to two people from each ethnic community group. The interviews will be an opportunity for migrants to tell their own personal stories.

If you are interested in being involved or know someone else who may be, please contact me and I can provide you with more information.

I would really like to hear from you.

Thanks so much,

Sally Robertson

Here is a little bit more information about me...

I am 25 years old and was born in New Zealand. A few years ago I did a project for the New Zealand Federation of Ethnic Councils. I really enjoyed this and want to learn more about people's experiences moving to New Zealand. If you want to know more about my interests and why I'm doing this research I am very happy to talk to you about this.

A bit more information about the interviews...

Normally interviews involve lots of questions that you answer. This research is a bit different. If you choose to participate you will be the storyteller of your own personal experience. I will listen to your story and may ask a few questions but you get to choose what you want to talk about. You are also welcome to bring a support person to the interview if you want to.

Appendix B: Information letter for participants

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Information Sheet

Sally Robertson
Master's Student
Sally.Robertson@nzcer.org.nz

04 802 1390

Dr. Sue Cornforth
Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Education
Victoria University
Sue.Cornforth@vuw.ac.nz
04 463 5177

Dr. Jane Gilbert
Chief Researcher
New Zealand Council for Educational Research
Jane.Gilbert@nzcer.org.nz

What is the purpose of this research?
The purpose of this research is to look at what stories young New Zealand migrants tell about their move to the New Zealand education system. This research will help people such as teachers to better understand migrants' transition experiences.

Who is conducting the research?
Sally Robertson is a Master's student. Dr. Sue Cornforth and Dr. Jane Gilbert are supervising this project. This research has been approved by the University ethics committee.

What is involved if you agree to participate?
- If you agree to participate in this study you will be interviewed individually. You will be asked to talk about what it was like and how you felt moving from your school in your home country to your secondary school in New Zealand. You will have an opportunity to tell your story and questions may be asked to clarify things.
- With your permission, the interview will be audio-taped and will be transcribed later on.
- The interview will take no more than 90 minutes. You are free to withdraw at any point up until the interview is analysed, and the data pertaining to you will not be included in the transcriptions.

Privacy and Confidentiality
- I will discuss with you whether you wish to have your identity protected (as much as possible). In this case pseudonyms will be used and the results will be reported to the ethnic communities in a general sense. However, it may be possible that you are recognisable to some people.
- Only my supervisors and I will have direct access to data collected.
- Extracts from your story may appear in reports or journals.
- We will keep your consent forms and data for five years after publication.
- You will have an opportunity to check your transcript for accuracy and ask for changes to be made.

What happens to the information that you provide?
Together with other data, the results of this research will be a part of my Master's research project. Overall results of this research may also be published elsewhere, for example in journals or be presented at conferences or meetings.

Feedback
Results of this study will be available by approximately March 2012. You can indicate your email address or postal address, if you want us to notify you regarding the availability of the results or the presentation materials.

If you have any further questions regarding this study please contact any one of us above.
Thank you for your participation.

Yours sincerely,
Sally Robertson, Dr. Sue Cornforth and Dr. Jane Gilbert

Appendix C: Consent form

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Statement of consent

Please tick the boxes on the right for each of the following statements:	**Yes**	**No**
I have read the information about this research and any questions I wanted to ask have been answered to my satisfaction.		
I agree to participate in this research.		
I give my consent to participate in this interview that will be audio-taped and later on transcribed.		
I understand that I can withdraw from this study before the information is analysed and any information or data I have given will not be included in the research.		
I understand that I have the opportunity to say after I have told my story whether I want information relating to me to be confidential.		
I understand that I will have the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of my interview.		

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I would like an opportunity to review my transcript YES / NO
(If yes, please indicate your phone number, email address or postal address below)

I would like a copy of the summary of the results of this study. YES / NO
(If yes, please indicate email address or postal address below)

Phone number: _____

Email Address: _____

Postal Address: _____

_____

_____

Appendix D: Email to participants about pseudonyms

Dear [name],

A while ago I talked to you about your experience moving to secondary school in New Zealand. Since then I have been busy working on my Master's thesis. Thanks again for talking to me – it was so interesting and helpful for me to hear your stories.

At the time of the interview I asked you whether you would like me to use your real name in my thesis or whether you would like me to use a made up name (a pseudonym) to keep your identity more confidential. You said that you would prefer me to use your real name.

Recently I have been thinking about this and have decided that I think it would be better to use a pseudonym for everyone who took part. That is, instead of your real name, a fictional name will appear in my thesis. I wanted to email you to let you know why this is. This is a bit complicated to explain so feel free to ask me any questions you have!

Rather than try to tell your story for you, my research is about the combination of your story and mine. I wouldn't want you to feel that your name was attached to this new combined story that I had written.

Also, the story you told me was at a particular time in your life. We all tell different stories about our lives at different times and to different people. Who knows in ten or twenty years time whether you would still want your name written in my thesis.

So hopefully my decision makes sense to you, and like I said, please do talk to me about this if you want to.

I am still writing up my thesis and I will also write a summary report. Once I have done this which will be in the first half of next year, I will provide you with a copy of the report and a link to my thesis. I am hoping this research will help people to better understand migrants' transition experiences.

I hope things are going well for you since I last spoke to you.

Thanks so much,

Sally Robertson

Appendix E: Summary of results

Research on Young Migrants who moved to Secondary School in New Zealand

Introduction

My name is Sally Robertson and I am a Master's student in the Faculty of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. This summary includes information on a research project I undertook recently. I am emailing you this summary of my research as you were in some way involved in helping me find participants for this research/you participated in my research *(delete one)* and I thought you may be interested in hearing about some of my findings.

What was the purpose of this research?

New Zealand is a multicultural country with around one in four New Zealanders born overseas. I believe that it is important that migrants feel they belong and are included, and that schools can play a role in this. However, migrants do not always feel that they belong at school. I wanted to contribute to our understandings of migrants' transitions into secondary schools in New Zealand.

There were three aims of this study. They were to look at:

1. What stories young New Zealand migrants told about their move to the New Zealand secondary education system.
2. What stories the young migrants told about how they felt they belonged in New Zealand.
3. How the education system could better help students (including migrants) to feel included.

What was involved in this research?

I interviewed seven young migrants between the ages of 16 and 25 who volunteered to take part. All of the participants moved to New Zealand when they were secondary school age. The migrants were from countries in South East Asia, East Asia and the Pacific Islands.

The interviews were different from many other research interviews. Instead of asking the young people lots of questions I had already prepared, I asked them to tell me their stories

about their move to school in New Zealand. The young people could choose what they told me and I asked just a few questions along the way.

Once I had listened to the stories and transcribed them, I looked at what stories the young people told as well as how they performed their stories. This type of research is called narrative inquiry.

What were some of the findings?

The seven narrators told diverse stories. I looked at some of the similarities and differences between them.

I found that all of the young migrants had stories they could tell about their lives before they moved to New Zealand. Once they moved, some of these stories no longer worked in the New Zealand context. For example, one of the young people talked about needing to tell their stories in different ways to different people in New Zealand, saying:

> I tend to talk to people according to their social identity. By that I mean if I'm talking to Europeans like yourself maybe I'm a bit relaxed but if I'm talking to my clients I speak their language, I would be really formal, I'd be sitting properly and talk to them properly. Whereas if I'm talking to Māori I'll be in their style as well. I'll be like 'Bro what's up man what are you doing?' So it's, I think there's an old saying in [my] culture saying 'if you speak to people you speak people language, if you speak to ghosts you speak ghost language'. So, yeah, I think that struck me at a really young age. So you talk to people according to their liking, push their buttons right.

The young people needed opportunities to try out telling new stories in New Zealand. It is important that New Zealanders give migrants an opportunity to share their stories and to listen to these. It is not just up to migrants to learn to tell new stories about themselves. New Zealanders also need to be able to be open to telling and listening to new stories so that they can connect with a wide range of people.

Having more opportunities to share stories with a wide range of people seems to be beneficial. Some of the young people had few opportunities to have their stories heard and they were less confident sharing their story and talked about feeling socially isolated. For example, sometimes the young people talked about how other people were not interested in hearing about their backgrounds. One young person said:

> People, people don't normally actually ask [about my background]. Like in my calculus class there's a group of people, there was me, a German exchange student and a girl from Samoa. And we rarely talk about, we don't usually talk about our like our past.

Those who had more opportunities to interact with a variety of people over time tended to tell stories about being connected and belonging to school and the community and were confident in how they told their stories to me. One young person talked about enjoying the opportunity to share his story during this research project, saying:

> ... you're doing me a favour because being here answering the questions I'm learning as well, I'm challenging myself as well. I had to at least speak up those words. I had to organise my brain a little bit. So you did me a favour too.

Belonging does not have to be described as something migrants do or do not feel. Instead, belonging can be seen as something that is constantly changing and being worked on through making connections with people's stories. Thinking about belonging in this way means that everybody can take responsibility for migrants' belonging and people can feel empowered to keep developing belonging.

How can I find out more?

Please feel free to email me if you have any questions. My thesis will also be completed shortly and will be available from Victoria University of Wellington.

Thanks again for your support in carrying out this research. I really appreciated the help so many people gave me.

OR (delete one)

Thanks again for participating in this research and for being prepared to share your story with me. I really appreciate you giving up your time to talk to me.

Kind regards,

Sally Robertson