Running head: VOLUNTARY MIGRATION

A FRAMEWORK OF VOLUNTARY MIGRATION:

UNDERSTANDING MODERN BRITISH MIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

Aidan Tabor

A thesis

submitted to Victoria University of Wellington

in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Masters of Science

in Cross-Cultural Psychology

2010

Abstract

Although migration has been studied extensively by a variety of social science disciplines, rarely has research been conducted into the experiences of self-selected, voluntary migrants before they depart their country of origin. Two studies were conducted to address this gap in the literature. Study 1 examined qualitative expressions of primarily British migrants who participated in three online forums for migrants to New Zealand over a one-month timeframe. The primary function of the migration forums was to provide informational support, and this was considered very valuable to predeparture migrants. Study 2 was a quantitative anonymous survey of British pre-departure migrants (N=95) that examined psychological variables such as stress and wellbeing with a focus on the role of social support. Migrants passed through a process characterized by stages, with most contemplating migration for more than two years before committing to it. Reasons given for migration included macro and micro factors, such as crowding, quality of life/lifestyle, children, government control of citizen's lives, and environment. Family members accompanying the migrant were rated most highly for emotional and instrumental support, and increased family support predicted better wellbeing and lower stress. Drivers of the migration decision, who were more enthusiastic about the move than their partner, felt more stress and trailing spouses had lower wellbeing. Support from extended family members dropped significantly after migrants informed them of their decision to leave. Migrants who were parents perceived less support from extended family members than did those without children. Implications for further research include the need to address the predeparture period as important in the acculturation process.

Keywords: immigration, social support, online communities, New Zealand

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Introduction

Much of the immigration research has focused on the flow of migrants from low-income countries to high-income Western nations (Dumont & Lemaitre, 2004; Massey & Espinosa, 1997; Segal, 2002), but attention has recently been drawn to the movement of citizens between high-income countries (Tan, 2008). In this age of globalization, countries compete for highly skilled migrants to meet skills shortages and make up for population decreases caused by low birth-rates (Boddington & Didham, 2008). In the year 2000, 20 million highly educated migrants aged 25 or over were living in the OECD countries alone (United Nations, 2006). The "brain drain" is lamented particularly in economic circles (Carr, Inkson, & Thorn, 2005), as countries both loose and gain such migrants. A case in point is the 207,000 permanent departures of British citizens in 2006, the majority of whom went to another high-income country, with 32% settling in Australia or New Zealand (Office for National Statistics, 2007). This trend toward emigration that has sparked heated political and popular debate within the United Kingdom (Johnston, 2008).

These British migrants to New Zealand are continuing a pattern that began more than 150 years ago. From the earliest days of assisted passage with the New Zealand Company to the "10-pound Poms" (a slang term used to describe British migrants who only had to pay £10 for their passage) of the post-World War II era, British migrants have continued to dominate migration to New Zealand, forever changing a place the Māori called Aotearoa (Hearn, 2007). British migrants were the largest group accepted for entry to New Zealand under the skilled migrant path for every year from 1998 to 2007 (Merwood, 2007; Shorland, 2006). Work by Ward and Masgoret (2008) found that New Zealanders consider them a desirable group of immigrants.

Although the British make up large numbers of migrants to New Zealand, psychological literature has focused more on migrants who travel greater cultural distances (Sang & Ward, 2006). Dashefsky, DeAmicis, Lazerwitz and Tabory (1992) noted that "the major weakness of the migration literature is the failure to really explain why individuals move" (p. 7). This is particularly true for self-selected migrants who elect to move independently, without a company sponsor, hereafter referred to as voluntary migrants. Some literature has focused on psychological factors influencing migration intention, such as personality (Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Frieze et al., 2004), though the bulk of published research is on what happens after the person arrives in their destination (for a thorough review see Sam & Berry, 2006). As described by Ward, Bocher and Furnham (2001), acculturation research has developed a sophisticated understanding of the affective, cognitive, and behavioural demands placed on a migrant once they have arrived in the host culture. Yet what happens psychologically between desire to migrate and the acculturation period? Certainly there is a gap in the research, and here, I examine on an individual scale what sociologists and economists have termed *the migration cycle*.

Framework for a psychology of the migration cycle

Katseli, Lucas, and Xenogiani (2006) propose a five-stage framework of the migration cycle. Those stages are: exit stage, adjustment stage, consolidation stage, networking stage, and repatriation stage. These stages focus primarily on how large flows of emigrants shape the country of origin through remittances and human capital. Conversely, the psychological process of an individual before, during and after migration may differ from the macro stages that economies pass through. To develop a psychological framework, I draw on an existing model of change because migration is a major behaviour change, requiring conscious choice to break out of the routine.

Developed by DiClemente and Prochaska (1982), the 4-stage change model of

precontemplation, contemplation, action and maintenance has been widely

implemented in health and organizational settings (Harris & Cole, 2007) though its

origins lie in smoking cessation therapies. For the present study, I have adapted the

original 4-stage change model and applied it to the migration experience. I propose

the following psychological framework of voluntary migration as depicted in Figure 1.

The factors within each stage and the psychological literature that can contribute to an

understanding of each step in the process of migration are discussed below.
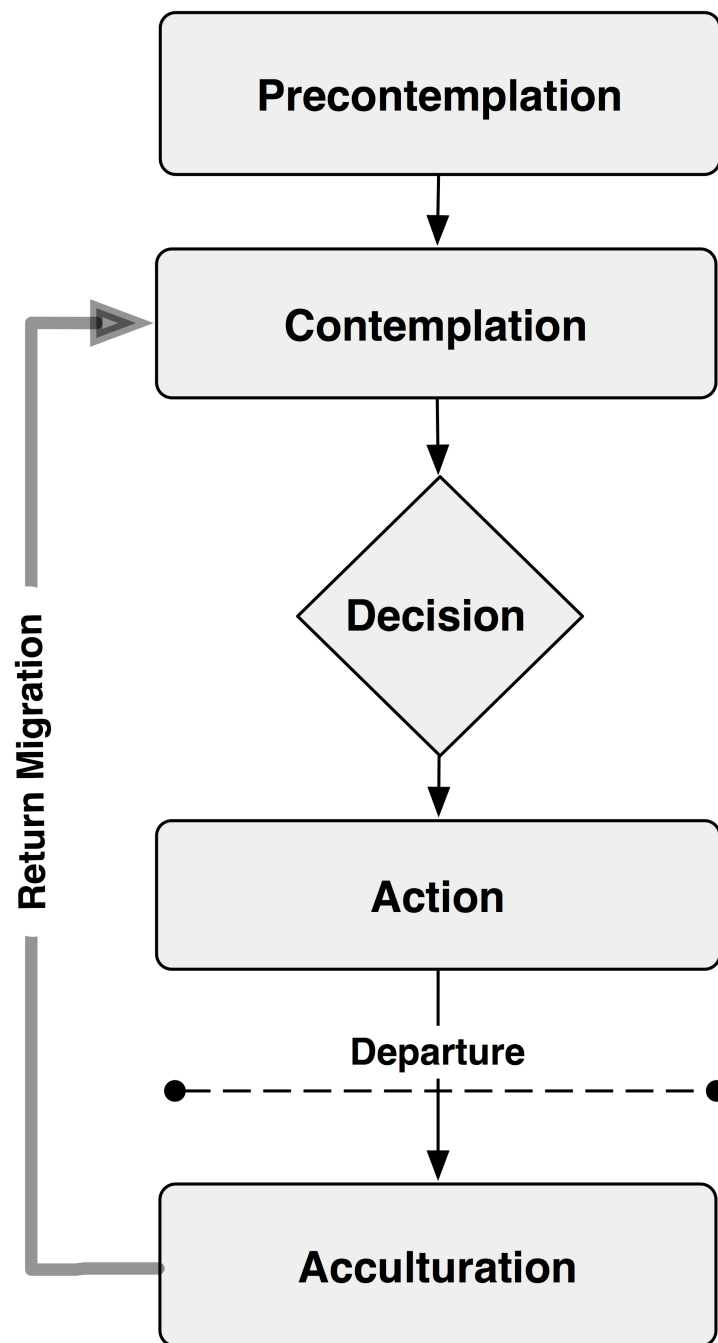
Figure 1. *Proposed psychological framework of voluntary migration*

Stage 1: Precontemplation

The hallmark of the precontemplation period is that the individual has not given any serious consideration to moving abroad. In a society, only a small fraction

will make the decision to leave, but people who are more likely to migrate do have some factors in common.

Personality Factors. Certain psychological variables have been linked to a "migrant personality" (Boneva & Frieze, 2001). High achievers who value work over family connections are the profile of people who are most likely to have migration intentions (Frieze et al., 2004). Boneva and Frieze's (2001) finding that higher income participants are more likely to migrate is viewed in the context that they are the most likely to be upwardly mobile, the most likely to find high paying jobs abroad, and to have the resources to independently move (Borjas, 1987). Related research found that those with higher incomes were more likely to be considering leaving the country, though educational attainment, which may be linked to achievement motivation, did not effect migration intention (Uebelmesser, 2005). Sensation seeking has also been linked to desire to migrate among Asian Indians considering Canada as a new home (Winchie & Carment, 1988), and novelty seeking related genes have been found in populations with a high proportion of long-term migrations (Ebstein et al., 1996). Research into the personality differences between emigrants and stayers, as well as immigrants to the islands off the Italian coast, reported that openness to change is a common trait linked to migration behaviour (Camperio Ciani, Capiluppi, Veronese, & Sartori, 2007). Together these personality traits suggest a pattern that may make some people more likely to leave their country of origin than others.

Attachment theory, in turn, points to the idea that migrants may be less securely attached (van Ecke, 2005) and this lowered sense of connection to family was demonstrated empirically with university students migration intentions (Frieze et al., 2004). Place attachment is considered the inverse of the migrant personality, where someone is strongly attached to their home area (Low & Altman, 1992).

Lessened attachment may be reflected in the high internal mobility that is a factor for potential emigration. For example, Zodgekar (1990) found that 42% of potential migrants had moved within Britain in their adulthood before applying for a visa to move to New Zealand, and 40% already had work experience overseas.

Social Networks. Boyd (1989) reviewed research on social networks and found them to be an important part of understanding both initial migration and return migration. Van Dalen and Henkens' (2007) work with European predeparture migrants found that as the number of friends or family who had previously emigrated increased, the likelihood of migration intention increased. This finding is consistent with emergent research that is based on an understanding of social capital. Massey and colleagues have examined how family networks abroad can increase the opportunity for employment in the destination country (Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa, & Spittel, 2001). In another study, social networks, such as family members abroad, were strong predictors of emigration intention among Phillipinos (De Jong et al., 1983). This is partially due to the immigration policies favouring family reunification, and thus, the only people who were legally able immigrate to the United States were those with family members who could sponsor them.

Social Identity. Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social identity theory can be utilized to gain insight into why British migrants would select New Zealand as a destination. Formed around the concept of identity as a separation between in-groups and out-groups, social identity is a dynamic construct that has been found to influence both who leaves and where they go (destination selection). Li and colleagues interviewed professionals in Hong Kong before the handover from Britain to China of the New Territories (Li, Jowett, Findlay, & Skeldon, 1995), and found that there was a complex interplay of factors influencing migration intention, one primary factor

being cultural identity. What is cultural identity to the British? Cohen (1995) traced a

narrative of British identity with semi-permeable boundaries between Celtic culture,

dominions (such as Australia and New Zealand), Anglophone colonies and cautious

European unionhood. If the British identity is constructed to include New Zealand

within its boundaries, a potential emigrant could be more likely to select it as a

destination over non-British countries such as the US or Portugal. Wallwork and

Dixon (2004) analyzed the discourse from media reports to construct a British identity

rooted in a sense of place, namely the rolling green British countryside. This pastoral

connection to identity is reinforced when images of a New Zealand filled with idyllic

sheep pastures and 'lifestyle blocks' are readily available via print and film media.

The commonalities of social identities are reinforced through language, religious, and

sporting ties. The safety of a legal system based on English law and Westminster-style

political institutions further create perceptions of "home" in an idyllic far away land.

Even to those who have never visited the country, New Zealand could be seen as *not*

foreign to the potential British migrant.

Stage 2: Contemplation

The contemplation period is defined by active examination of the possibilities

of moving out of the country of origin. Individuals weigh pros and cons as they gather

information about their options, examines their microeconomic situation, compares

macro sociopolitical climates, and imagines possible selves in the destination country.

Possible selves. One area of research that clarifies the contemplation period in

the premigration experience comes from the literature into research on the self.

Markus and Nurius (1986) conceptualized possible selves as the cognitive

embodiment of hopes, goals and fears that influence choice behaviour. If an

individual believes that they can emigrate and can imagine their life in New Zealand,

they will make choices congruent with that outlook if it is a desired one. Burgelt, Morgan and Pernice (2008) studied German migrants to New Zealand and found that "participants who dreamt about migrating had a less difficult establishment phase" upon arrival in New Zealand (p. 292). It follows that the migrants not only formed what may be termed a possible self, but the more defined the possible self was the better outcomes they had after relocating.

Information gathering. The information needed to make a decision comes from both social sources (e.g., family overseas, friends who had traveled) and non-person sources (e.g., books, television, Internet) (Hiller & McCaig, 2007). In a study of Japanese spouses who accompanied their partners to the United States, Simeon and Fujiu (2000) found that increased knowledge about the new location reduced anxiety around the foreign assignment. Moreover, use of predeparture information gathering techniques predicted information gathering upon arrival, which was associated with better adjustment to the new culture.

If a potential migrant has never visited New Zealand, their schema for New Zealand will be derived from both images (including film and advertising) and personal accounts. A poster advertisement that recently ran in the London underground featured a young couple mountain biking on South Island. The caption read, "Tomorrow you could be commuting like this" (Tourism New Zealand, 2008, p. 15). Advertising by the Tourism NZ has focused on the uncrowded nature of New Zealand. Zodgekar (1990) found that predeparture British migrants had very high expectations for life in New Zealand and, "such glossy perceptions of New Zealand by prospective emigrants must have had some influence on migrants' decisions to emigrate (if not consciously than unconsciously)" (p. 433).

Microeconomic factors. Neoclassical models of migration position a person's ability to maximize their earning potential as the primary factor in the migration decision (Becker, 1964; Cassarino, 2004; Massey & Espinosa, 1997; Rumbaut, 1994), however this is inconstant with in the situation of British migration to New Zealand as wages are lower in the destination. These theories have less relevance to migration between high-income countries, as demonstrated by the potential European emigrants in van Dalen and Henkens's (2007) study who expected to be less financially secure postmigration, including a drop in income. This is probably an accurate evaluation of the microeconomic situation of these migrants, based on other research (Sam & Berry, 2006). Of the emigrants from the UK in 2006, only 26% had a specific job to go to in their destination country and 21% were seeking work abroad (Office for National Statistics, 2007). Therefore leaving home for a particular job opportunity cannot be assumed to be the most common factor. Though opportunities for employment make some professionals more able to move, microeconomic factors are only one part of a larger decision making process.

Macro issues. Upswings in immigration information requests from the United States to New Zealand following September 11, 2001 and the 2004 re-election of George W. Bush indicate that macro sociopolitical events can contribute to emigration even in relatively stable and prosperous Western nations (Markels, 2004). A longitudinal survey conducted by Statistics New Zealand asked non-refugee migrants what reasons they had for moving to New Zealand 6 months after they arrived. Among the factors that migrants selected were clean green environment (39.6%), relaxed pace of life (44.1%), and better future for their children (39%) (Statistics New Zealand, 2008b). British migrants in particular do not list career (microeconomic factor) as a primary reason for the move (Eccleston, 2006). Zodgekar's (1990) study

revealed a similar finding: the majority of migrants had jobs lined up in New Zealand but still expected to find better conditions for their children, better standard of living, less class distinction and less racial disharmony. The macro picture in the UK has changed in recent years, with increases in crime and a change in the ethnic make up of the country due to the influx of migrants from former colonies and the Eastern Europe (Wallwork & Dixon, 2004). Participants in Zodgekar's (1990) study listed economic frustrations (lack of opportunity) along with social environment (e.g., crime, crowding, racial unrest) as the factors that led in part to their decision. Much of the research has focused on the microeconomic benefit of moving to improve one's career, but the macro socio-political view of the country of origin may be an even more critical factor, particularly where migrants do not expect to earn more money in their destination country (van Dalen & Henkens, 2007).

Stage 3: Action

If the potential migrant makes a decision to move abroad, they continue to the next stage, *action*. Making a decision is a step in itself, but the real psychological ramifications will be felt when action on that decision begins, such as applying for residence, purchasing an airplane ticket or informing extended family members. These increased demands can be expected to lead to higher stress levels, demanding a coping response.

Stress and coping. A stress and coping framework is often used to examine the acculturation experience of migrants upon arrival in their new country (Ward et al., 2001) and this framework is an important addition to understanding the psychology of the predeparture experience when there are high logistical, financial and emotional demands placed on the departing migrants. Stress researchers Lazarus and Folkman (1984) identified a challenge type of stress appraisal that they characterized as

"eagerness, excitement and exhilaration" (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984, p. 33). For self-selected voluntary migrants, this challenge type of stress could be the way that demands are appraised. Very little research has specifically examined predeparture stress, though Jasinskaja-Lahti (2009) reported on the first findings of a longitudinal study of Russian migrants to Finland. She found that predictors of pre-acculturative stress were low levels of perceived social support during the preparation for emigration and low knowledge about the destination country among other factors. Social support is a critical coping mechanism that migrants can utilize during the predeparture period and will be discussed next.

　　Social support. Social support is defined as "verbal and nonverbal communication between recipients and providers that reduces uncertainty about the situation, the self, the other or the relationship and functions to enhance a perception of control of one's life experience" (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987, p. 19). Cohen and Willis (1985) found social support to be helpful as a buffer against stress, but also as a generally nurturing facet of the human existence. In a study of British households, lack of social support was correlated with a variety of neurotic symptoms including depression and panic symptoms (Brugha et al., 2003). Chen, Mallinckrodt and Mobley (2002) found that even organizations such as international student offices can buffer the stressful effects of racism on acculturating students.

　　Social support is not monolithic, but instead can be sought, utilized and perceived in different ways. In the psychological literature there is little agreement on what dimensions of social support exist. Cohen and Willis (1985) identified four main types of social support: esteem, instrumental, belongingness, and informational. Wortman (1984) included venting as another type in her analysis. Informational, tangible, esteem, emotional and social network support were used by Cutrona and

Suhr (1992). Sherbourne and Stewart (1991) reported four types of support: emotional-informational (emotional support and advice), tangible (financial or material assistance), affectionate (loving and caring) and positive social interaction (availability of someone to recreate with). The emotional-informational factor is overlapping in their study, possibly because the same people provide both types of support in many situations. But this factor structure would possibly not be the same in a situation where informational support was coming from a different person or people. For the sake of clarity, emotional and informational support can be treated as separate types of social support. Based on these studies, the dimensions of perceived social support used in the present study include: emotional, instrumental, informational, belongingness, esteem, and venting.

   Traditional sources of social support. For individuals who make the decision to migrate, there are implications for their immediate families, extended families and friends. The support, or lack thereof, from these sources during the transitional period is critical. Social support may be offered by close or weak ties (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987), with immediate family members often being the primary close tie relationship. The family units who are migrating could be expected to provide their own dynamic form of social support in the face of the uncertainties of major changes in their lives. Perceptions of high levels of available support are considered to be reserves which can be drawn from in times of crisis through reduced uncertainty and enhanced feelings of control over the situation (Eggert, 1987). Family cohesion, expressiveness, and conflict all come into play in family support, which has been linked to better outcomes even in the face of stressful events (Holahan & Moos, 1986; Kroenke, Kubzansky, Schernhammer, Holmes, & Kawachi, 2006).

The family and friends who are not accompanying the migrant may react positively or negatively to the news of a permanent departure. For people who are temporarily moving overseas, traditional networks are highly emotionally supportive (Ong & Ward, 2005). This could be because of the expected continuity of the relationship upon return, so that both parties work to maintain the relationship.

Online Social Support. During the migration period, a non-traditional venue of social support is available to migrants in the form of online communities. This form of computer mediated social support traces its origins to some of the first uses of the Internet, namely Usenet groups. Norris (2004) studied the bonding role of online communities, noting that they bridge societal gaps such as socio-economic status, allowing people to find each other through a widely dispersed population. Though many people are considering leaving the UK, it would be hard to find others on your own street with which to experience the process, thus the success of online communities.

Several studies have examined the role of online social support. Leung and Lee (2005) found that Internet use for sociability, fun seeking or information acquisition were all related to increased social support, though the relationships were viewed as somewhat weaker and less sustaining than face-to-face interaction. At the same time, Hlebec et al. (2006) found that the social networks of Internet users were slightly larger than non-Internet users. Perhaps the most interesting view into how people gain support online has been through the many medical studies that have shown how patient populations have benefited by participation in supportive online communities (Beaudoin & Tao, 2007; Coulson, 2005; Coulson, Buchanan, & Aubeeluck, 2007; van Uden-Kraan et al., 2008). Similarly, caregivers and older adults

have also found support online (Colvin, Chenoweth, Bold, & Harding, 2004; Wright, 2000).

Certainly, there is a social support role in Internet forums, although few studies have examined their role in migration. One exception is Ye's (2006) investigation of the social support networks of Chinese students in the US, comparing online ethnic forums and bulletin boards with traditional interpersonal social networks in the US and long-distance contacts from the home country. She found that support from either online forums or interpersonal networks were negatively related to social difficulties and mood disturbances were found less often in people who perceived support from either long-distance networks in their home country or interpersonal networks in the US. The more active the participation in the online group, the more likely they were to report receiving support online (Ye, 2006). In a related study, Wright (2000) found that older adults who were most involved with an online community had the lowest perceived stress levels, which is highly consistent with previous research findings of better outcomes for people with higher levels of perceived support (Brugha et al., 2003).

Stage 4: Acculturation

Continuing in the framework, after going through the action stage and departing their country of origin the migrant enters the acculturation stage. The topic of acculturation has been studied more than any other part of the migration experience (Sam & Berry, 2006). The two main areas that migrants deal with at this stage are psychological adjustment and sociocultural adaptation. In the new cultural context, they face choices about how they will adjust in a society that is different from their own. Berry's model of acculturation identifies 4 distinct acculturation strategies:

integration, segregation, assimilation and marginalization, depending on how the

migrant relates to their culture of origin versus the culture of settlement (Berry, 1980).

  Return migration. A uni-directional view of migration as permanent has

dominated research in both anthropology and psychology, with the exception of

international students and the expatriate business people posted abroad by their

company. In general, immigration is studied more than return migration (Schmitz,

2003), however return migration is a subject often examined by demographers and

economists due to its impacts on societies at large (Cassarino, 2004). For this reason,

my framework includes a pathway for return migration (see Figure 1). The pace of

emigration may be seen as increasing in the modern era, as historically migrants who

crossed oceans could not have returned in a day's journey. But this concept is not new,

even in the pre-jet era of the first half of the 20th century, as much as a quarter of the

Old World migrants to the United States returned to Europe (Gmeich, 1980). Migrants

acculturate and settle, however some will leave who intended to stay permanently and

some people who planned to stay temporarily will end up making the new country

their permanent home. The line between sojourner and permanent migrant is not as

clear-cut as researchers would like, namely because individuals can and will change

their mind about their future (Grisi & Chirkov, 2009).

  The emigration of immigrants can involve a return to the country of origin, or

onward migration to yet another country. Onward migration has been of primary

concern in New Zealand, with the drain of skilled migrants to Australia (Ritchie,

2008). In the year 2007, 38,336 people left permanently for Australia, 29% of those

were onward migrants (Statistics New Zealand, 2008a). Reasons for their departure

are politically debated, but the limited research that has been conducted has found that

similar factors are at play in the precontemplation and contemplation of the return that

were important in the initial decision to emigrate. Those factors include: family

members (social networks) needing assistance, employment problems in the country

of settlement, sociopolitical issues of intolerance for religion or racial discrimination,

even climate can play a role (Constant & Massey, 2003; Gmeich, 1980). Dashefsky et

al. (1992) included a small sample of return migrants in their qualitative study,

finding what they termed *cross-pressures* to remain versus return. They found family

reunification (social networks) and problems of family members adjusting

(psychosocial adjustment) to be the primary factors identified by their participants. In

summary, complex social, psychological and economic factors seem to influence the

decision to leave or stay (Constant & Massey, 2003).

The most neglected aspect of migration research is the special case of the

reemigration (Gmeich, 1980). This type of migrant comes to a new country, returns to

their country of origin, and then comes back to the new country again in a round of

circular migration. Though this makes up a minority of cases, the individuals who

make these decisions spend great amounts of emotional resources, time and money on

their quest to be in the "right" place.

The framework presented here addresses the factors influencing migration

intension as well as the psychological process that migrants experience before, during

and after migration. Because the concepts presented within the framework were

derived out of the literature, there was a need to conduct research into how individuals

construct the experience of migration. These concepts were examined further with

two exploratory studies. The first study was qualitative in nature, and broadly

examined how the proposed framework compared to postings on Internet forums for

migrants to New Zealand, with the goal of revising the framework to incorporate or

eliminate concepts based on these findings. A quantitative study was then conducted

that focused specifically on the contemplation and action stages of the framework,

because these are less frequently studied aspects of the migration experience.

Study 1

The goal of Study 1 was to examine the proposed framework

qualitatively, based on the expressions of individuals who were going through the

process. The main research question was: what psychological steps do individuals go

through before, during and after migration?

Method

Following approval by the Human Ethics Committee, a thematic analysis was

undertaken to qualitatively explore the posts to online forums made by migrants

before, during or after migration to New Zealand. This study was explicitly realistic

and deductive in nature, because the theoretical framework was developed out of the

literature rather than emerging from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Tuckett, 2005).

Informing the development of the study as a whole was four years of participant

observation of an online migration forum and my own lived experience as a migrant

to New Zealand, as outlined by Jorgensen's (1989) methodology.

Sample. Several online communities exist for British migrating to New

Zealand, and three English-language forums were selected for inclusion in the study

primarily due to their size of membership: UK2NZ (http://www.uk2nz.co.uk/forum),

ENZ (www.emigratenz.org/forum) and the BritExpat New Zealand forum

(http://britishexpats.com/forum). UK2NZ forum has registered 3,000 members over

the more than 4 years that it has been in use, and the ENZ board has 7,000 members

registered since it was created in 2004. BritExpat has over 75,000 registered members

with country specific forums for a wide variety of destinations. Many of the forum

members are British, and are either still in the UK or already in New Zealand. The

majority of posters who listed a location for their country of origin were from the UK, but for many posters no location was given. Because the framework was not designed to apply solely to British migrants to New Zealand, any posts made to the forums that related to the migration experience were included in the analysis, regardless of the country of origin.

Procedure. The qualitative corpus consisted of publicly viewable posts to the three forums over a 30-day cross-sectional timeframe in October/November 2008. Any thread that had a final posting in the date range was analyzed, thus some posts were included in the analysis that were older than the specified date range. In order to reduce any effect I might have on the data, I did not post to any of the forums during the timeframe that data was collected, and no posts of mine were present in the dataset. This method of data collection could be considered unobtrusive.

Data Analysis. Following data collection, the semantic level of meaning was developed into interpretable patterns using the coding techniques detailed by Braun and Clarke (2006). This process begins with read and re-reading the data, making initial codes across the entire dataset, creating potential themes and thematic maps, reviewing themes, defining themes and generating a final report with extracts. From the corpus, I refined the dataset to include posts on topics related to migration, but excluded off-topic posts such as political debate, jokes and recipes. For this analysis, data items were considered individual posts and data extracts were meaningfully coded portions of data items of a word or more in length. Items were open coded initially, followed by closed coding. Multiple codes on a single data extract were deemed appropriate for the exploratory nature of the study. NVivo 8 was used to track and report the codes, though each coded extract was selected manually from the corpus. Each forum had differing amounts of activity, relating to the total membership

of the boards, over the period from which data was collected. UK2NZ accounted for

4% of the total coded extracts, BritExpat for 25%, and ENZ for 71%.

Ethical issues with online data collection from publicly available sources

include the size of the forum, privacy measures, sense of being watched (Eyesenbach

& Till, 2001). Previous research indicated that larger forums are places that people do

not expect their communication to be private and the forums selected for this study

were partly chosen because of their large membership. To protect the privacy of the

posters to the forums, quotations in this manuscript are not listed with names of

sources, dates or even forum names. There is a general sense of being watched when

posting information on a forum, as was acknowledged by forum members. There are

specific issues for patients suffering disease that were raised in the Eyensenbach &

Till article, such as when a person has a disorder that is stigmatized, however the

posters to these forums are primarily discussing migration-related topics, not health.

Results

The entire dataset was read and re-read for statements or questions that would be

meaningful for a person's migration experience. The initial round of open coding

yielded 1,898 data extracts in 40 codes. Initial codes were derived from the

framework and the coding scheme was extended through the open coding process.

Codes were then combined to make 5 initial themes. Themes were reviewed

for internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity as well as relationship to the

research question. One preliminary theme, *belonging*, was discarded for lack of

relevance to the research question. Finally, 1,799 data extracts were identified for

inclusion in the completed analysis resulting in 4 themes: Precontemplation,

Contemplation, Action and Acculturation. Figure 2 shows a mental map of the

themes.
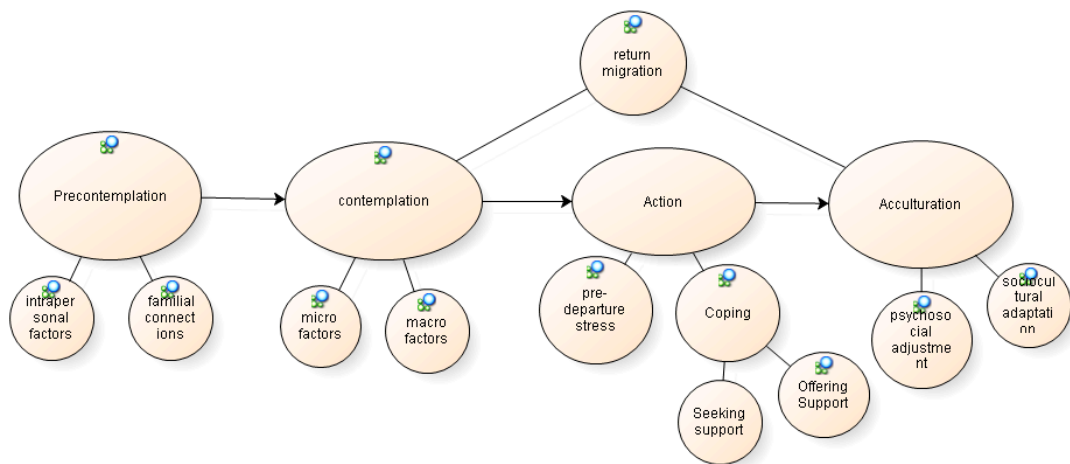
Figure 2. *Mental Map of Themes and Subthemes*

In the quoted sections of text below, brackets indicate clarifications of

abbreviations and unusual terms. I have not used [*sic*] because the standard of

grammar and spelling online is well below that of more formal writing and to use this

as frequently as necessary would distract the reader; all errors are in the original posts.

Names are not included with the quotations to maintain privacy for the forum users.

The terms migrants, posters, and forum members are used interchangeably. The

themes are described in the order that migrants progress through them, not by order of

prevalence, to make a more coherent story of the migration experience, as related by

the posts on the forums. Table 1 lists the themes and their prevalence in the dataset.

Table 1. *Prevalence of themes and subthemes*

Theme	Subtheme	References	%Total
Precontemplation	Intrapersonal Factors	51	7
	Familial Connections	84	
Contemplation	--	43	11
	Micro Issues	94	
	Macro Issues	67	
Action	--	27	70
	Predeparture Stress	114	
	Coping: Seeking support	266	
	Coping: Offering support	845	
Acculturation	Psychological Adjustment	68	12
	Sociocultural Adaptation	86	
	Return Migration	58	

Precontemplation. The factors that predate the migration decision but that are relevant to the migration process include codes relating to personality, children and adventure that were refined into the subthemes *intrapersonal factors* and *familial*

connections. The prevalence of data extracts relating to the precontemplation phase was 7% of the total coded.

  Intrapersonal Factors*.* Migrants acknowledge that personality characteristics are an important intrapersonal factor in the success of migration. Discussion in the forums reflected the amount of fortitude and perseverance needed to successfully make it through the migration process. A migrant posted, "You have to remain positive and determined and obsessed with getting there!" Novelty seeking is another personality trait, as is the ability to appraise the migration experience as an adventure. A poster to the forum said, "It is all a little adventure and you wouldn't want to spend all your life in the same street, WOULD YOU?" There was also recognition that there were special characteristics that differentiated migrants, "I believe it comes down to whether you are the kind of people who embrace change and have the desire to try different things and challenge yourselves." A high tolerance for risk and uncertainty was evident among the migrants. To leave the security of home with few assurances of success in a country far away takes a fair amount of acceptance of risk. A common situation was when migrants left home with "no job offer, no relatives, and we have never been to NZ." One passionate poster said, "We are all totally mad. We are all totally brave. We are all totally different from those that would never ever consider such a move, be it to NZ or to another UK county."

  In partnered couples, there can be equal desire to move abroad, or the encouragement may come from one partner more than the other. The person who encourages the move was referred to as the "driver". Having the characteristics of a driver can be considered a personality trait. One migrant admitted, "I was pretty much the driver behind this move." Another had a signature line that read, "trying to persuade the OH [partner] that emigrating is a good plan for us." The consequences

can be hard for couples that are unequal in the desire to move. Often there is resentment of the trailing spouse and guilt for the driver. The same poster said, "I am the driving force behind all our NZ plans, although we are not there yet, I do worry OH could resent me if he is not happy there."

Familial connections. Although there is little discussion on the forums of extended family, immediate family are an important factor in the migration experience. Migrants frequently cite children as a motivation for leaving their country of origin. The arrival of children often predates the desire to move abroad, thus it is included among the precontemplation factors. A parent described the move as an unselfish act to benefit their children:

> My kids are 10 and 6 and whats really sad is that they dont play
> out. not because of us but their friends' parents think the uk is
> unsafe so they have no one to play out with…im so worried
> about robbing our kids of their childhood if we were to stay.

The risks of migration seem to be greater for parents than for migrants who are single or married without children. One parent said, "We also have two small kids and we don't want to put ourselves in the rather tenuous situation of looking for work with a less than sure path to residency [being allowed to stay in NZ permanently]." A quick return migration would be more costly both financially and emotionally where children are involved. A child's relationship with extended family members (e.g., grandparents) was frequently mentioned as a reason not to make the move, but it was weighed against other benefits. Children are also a cause of concern during the predeparture period, such as how to inform them that change is coming. A concerned parent said, "We have held off telling them before we actually get the ok because we didn't want to freak them out and then find out we weren't going. i suppose we are protecting them from unnecessary worry and stress."

Contemplation. Factors that are weighed by potential migrants during the decision-making process include both micro factors (relating specifically to their lives) and macro factors (beyond them and their family) that influenced the decision. These macro and micro factors apply both to the initial migration decision and come into play again if a migrant is considering return or onward migration that will be discussed later. The prevalence of data extracts relating to contemplation issues was 11% of the total coded.

Macro factors. Macro factors in the initial migration decision included issues such as crime, space, environment, government control of citizen's lives, and (ironically) immigration issues were weighed heavily as reasons to leave the UK. One migrant posted their reasons as, "expensive fuel, expensive housing, expensive food, expensive places to go, over crowded roads, shit service EVERYWHERE, chav [hooligan] culture the routine/norm, grime and dirt all over." Crime was also an important macro factor, as one person posted, "Last 12 months alone do you have any idea how many people have been knifed on buses in London???????? Crime and immigration are totally out of control in the UK." Another perspective came from a poster already in New Zealand:

> We no longer live in a deprived inner city area, we no longer
> spend hours weekly in traffic, then ages looking for somewhere
> to try to park near home with the week's shop…There are no
> more crowds. There is little if any day to day stress of living that
> WAS our lives back in the UK.

There were some clear pull factors in New Zealand's favor, including security, environment and space. One person already in New Zealand posted that they had, "picked NZ because of population and future survival for a country, more opportunities, kids staying kids longer, friendlier people, affordable housing, more space, freedom."

Micro factors. Relating to the individual and their family specifically, and whether there is an expectation that conditions will be better for an individual rather than on a societal level, there were a variety of micro factors. Of these, the most important was a positive expectation of lifestyle in New Zealand. This was demonstrated in two dimensions. First, the potential migrants discussed their "dream" of moving to New Zealand and what that entailed. One person posted, "I cannot see our future in the UK so we may just end up taking the rough with the smooth to get the very all important lifestyle we crave." Migrants who had already made the move reflected on their own lifestyle in New Zealand. This reinforces the "dreams" of those who are in earlier stages in the process.

> So why did I come here? "Lifestyle" I guess. But for me that
> means the time (and the means) to do the stuff I want to do, and
> to have fun. To explore this beautiful country, get out into nature
> and experience it all on my doorstep.

Employment opportunities and the chances of finding work in New Zealand are a factor that is weighed by the potential migrant. As one said, "I was recruited from the UK by my present employer in NZ, who now pays me a good salary for a job I enjoy."

Action. After migrants have made the decision to move to New Zealand, they begin acting on that decision. The overall prevalence for the action theme was 70%, however this included both posts from people who were in the process of migrating (in the action stage as conceptualized in the framework) and also posts that offered guidance and information from those who had already migrated. Posts were primarily related to stress and coping, but also adventure and excitement on finally getting acting on the goal. A total of 6% of the coded extracts were about the stress/excitement of the predeparture period. Sixty-one percent of the total coded extracts related to coping, with a heavy weight on seeking and giving informational

support. Excitement and fear mingle in the moments after the migrant takes the first steps toward making their dream a reality (e.g., "Now I'm crapping myself - looks like me and the family are actually going to do this move"). The response of the other forum members to these declarations of progress was universally positive. One forum had a tradition of posting dancing bananas as a celebratory icon.

Predeparture stress. Stress is seen as part of the ups and downs that come with the decision to migrate. Often the migration process is referred to as "a real roller-coaster ride with all its ups and downs and bitter-sweet emotions." Challenges for migrants included: leaving jobs, deciding which part of New Zealand to settle in, selling houses, rehoming or shipping pets (at a high price), finding a moving company, packing, planning for flights, planning for arrival accommodations. A migrant nearing departure posted:

> Once you pass from limboland you enter panicland! Since
> booking the flight everything has suddenly gone into overdrive
> for us and my head is spinning at the moment. I am sure time is
> going faster than usual! Aren't there a lot of decisions to make?
> Which shippers, which insurance, what to pack, even where to
> go in our case!

Dealing with the immigration process itself was a multi-step, financially draining experience with medical tests, evidence from past employers, police checks, fees, long forms, and waiting/uncertainty at each step of the process. The costs associated with migration place additional strain on the resources of migrants. A migrant said, "It's amazing all the bills and expenses that are cropping up as we near moving day." Waiting and uncertainty is another cause of stress, as migrants proceed through the application stages of residency, "Our ITA [Invitation to Apply for Residency] is being assessed, and it's driving me mad, it seems to be taking FOREVER!"

Physical symptoms such as sleeplessness are reported. One poster felt "… like

I was on amphetamines for a month. It was exhausting. Plus, tummy ache all the time. Sleeplessness. Ugh, it was horrible. It lifted the minute the plane took off." Another commented, "Our shippers are in next week, 11 more sleeps till we fly and sometimes I feel…suddenly and physically sick. I cannot wait to get on that plane!" A poster was aware what was causing her symptoms, "My only explanation is that I'm stressed or have a mild anxiety about the move."

       Coping. In dealing with predeparture stress, several ways of coping were apparent on the forums. Active coping, such as "making lists and lists and more lists" are commonly discussed. Use of comforting foods or alcohol was acknowledged and encouraged. One migrant said, "I probably need to go for a run or drink some wine to relax myself." Another commented, "Right now a cup of tea and some chocolate will be soothing."

       Seeking informational social support in and of itself can be seen as a coping mechanism because uncertainty is a major cause of stress. What is most striking is the relationship between requests for information and information being offered. There were a total of 845 extracts where informational support was given, thus for every request there was an average of more than three replies containing informational support. In this context it is easy to see why people would continue to ask questions, because they get answers. To distil the entire function of a migration forum down to a single idea, it would be the requesting and giving of informational social support. Requests for information related to everything from job-related queries, the application process, and mundane details of moving a household to another country. A typical question was, "Are medicals etc cheaper in NZ? Is the process quicker once in NZ?" Suggestions based on personal experience were frequently requested. As one person asked, "Can anyone recommend any decent employment agencys in NZ or

offer any advice?" The response to these informational questions can be characterised as realistic, more than simply telling the questioner what they want to hear. There was often a reticence to give actual advice on the visa application process, but a great deal of information is simply based on the personal experiences of migrants. One person replied to a request with information about his own move, "We used Britannia in the UK, shipping 12 boxes - this cost us just over 500 inclusive of insurance. We then flew with 6 cases."

Acculturation. Upon arrival, posters acknowledged the difficulties of settling in to a new place and re-establishing routines. One forum had a tradition of migrants posting regular updates on their settlement process, ranging from one-week since arrival, one-month, six-months and up to one-year.

Psychosocial adjustment. Homesickness is the term used most often to identify what one migrant called "the rough times that one can experience during the migration process." One person commented, "I am desperately homesick and miss family and friends hugely - much more than I thought." A long-time poster to the forum offered, "It will and does take at least 2 years to feel really at home and accepted, you still get the odd wobble from time to time." Although several migrants expressed difficulties, there was also encouragement through the examples of those who were "happy, relaxed, and fitting into [their] new life."

Sociocultural adaptation. Acculturating individuals often discussed the challenge of re-establishing routines like food and shopping differences,

> I had to completely relearn everything. It was like waking up
> with amnesia and not remembering where the best place was to
> buy my toilet rolls. And you can never underestimate how long
> it will take to get that particular "comfort zone" back. We're not
> just talking a couple of months here.

Some expressed difficulty developing friendships with locals, "I wish I had

known that trying to make Kiwi friends was going to be extremely difficult. I thought

they would just accept us and welcome any friendships. How wrong can you be."

Financial hardships were also mentioned by migrants, "we have been here nearly a

year and would absolutely do it all over again. But financially we are much worse

off."

Return Migration. Each of the sampled forums had members who were in the

process or had already returned to the UK. Reasons cited for their leaving New

Zealand focused on micro factors. Particularly important were issues related to

migrants ability to earn a living. As one commented, "The pay is no where near as

good as the uk. Sorry to be negative but just telling the truth. We are going home as

soon as we sell our flat." Another return migrant said, "I struggled to find work,

hubby HGV driver had no problem, so we returned to the UK in 2007."

The quality of the living conditions is another issue that return migrants cite.

Though there were complaints about housing conditions, rentals particularly, driving

skills of New Zealanders, child abuse, and weather, these complaints seemed to

irritate the migrants who had already made up their mind to leave, but did not rank as

an actual cause of their departure. One critiqued the "balsa wood houses which

provide no sound insulation at all and, well, it would be quieter on the Heathrow

flight path."

Though not frequently discussed, reemigration (the return of migrants who

have already lived in New Zealand) was present. Migrants who were leaving often

mentioned "not closing the door on returning to NZ" in case they wanted to come

back later. At least one person was actively planning a return:

> Wife and I moved to NZ in June 2008. We panicked and after 6
> weeks came back 'home'. Even on the plane we knew we were
> doing the wrong thing… My wife and I are booked to return to
> NZ [permanently] in January.

Discussion

The main research question for the current study was to identify the psychological steps individuals go through before during and after migration. Taken as a whole, the qualitative data described above provides some answers and also illuminates the migration experience of these independent skilled migrants. There is a clear path that these migrants proceed through, often marked with celebration of each successful accomplishment along the way. The cheers and even dancing bananas given out to forum members, as they graduate from just considering leaving the UK to applying for residence, are indicators that migrants experience a process with logistical and emotional challenges to be overcome that is rewarded by fellow community members. This pattern is largely in agreement with the framework developed out of the literature (Figure 1) particularly in the major themes of Precontemplation, Contemplation, Action and Acculturation. Based on the qualitative data, the original framework was revised, as seen in Figure 3.

As initially proposed in the framework, migrants pass from a precontemplation stage, to a time of actively considering an international move, here called contemplation. They weigh the pros and cons, often asking questions on the forum about specific knowledge that they might not have access to otherwise. At the end of this stage, there is a decision to be made, and if the person decides to migrate they proceed to the action stage. Stress, frequently with some physical manifestations such as sleeplessness, and coping are characteristics of the time when the load of logistical and emotional demands are high. Coping appears to be primarily in the form of activity such as planning and seeking informational social support. In the final acculturation stage, the migrant psychologically adapts and socioculturally adjusts to their new home, though as expected the short cultural distance made this transition

easier. Return migration is also discussed on the forums, as some migrants are in the process of leaving New Zealand. Interestingly, they often mention that they are keeping the door open for a possible return later. These main themes are briefly discussed in line with the relevant literature.
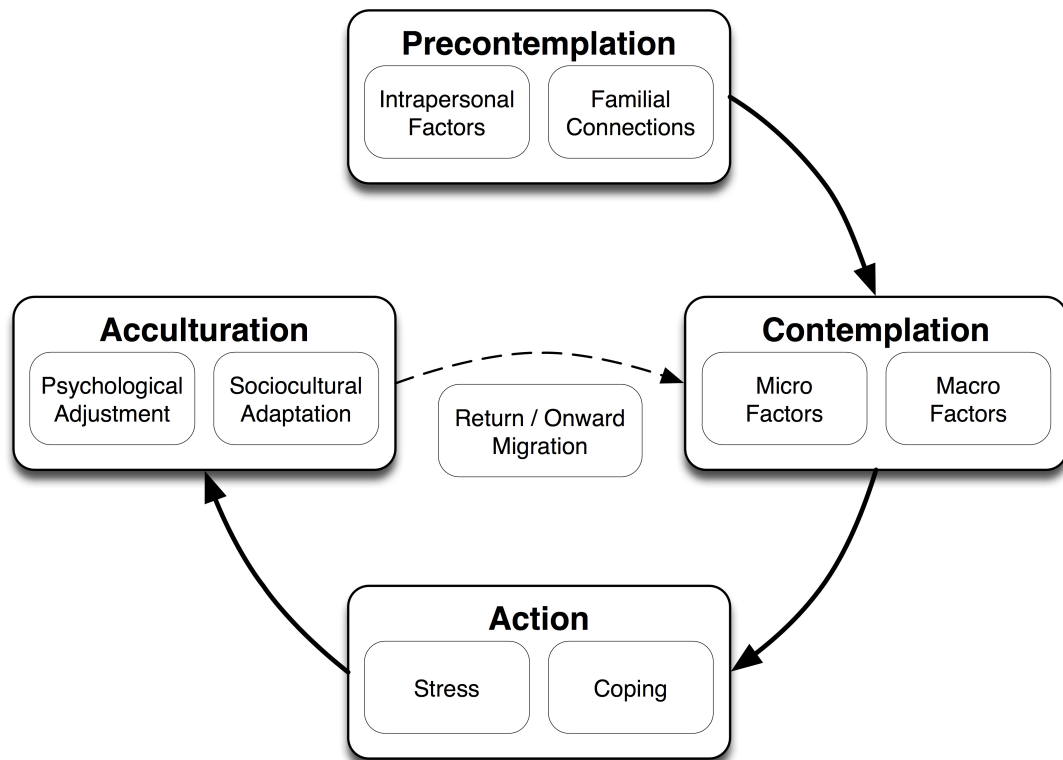
Figure 3. *Revised psychological framework of voluntary migration*

Precontemplation. Certain personality factors that are evident on the forums are consistent with previous research, specifically Boneva and Frieze (2001). They found that people who value work over family are more likely to have migration intentions and discussions on the forums focused more on job prospects than on the extended family left behind. Novelty seeking was an acknowledged trait among posters, and this raises questions as to the long-term contentment of these migrants upon arrival in their destination. Because psychologists consider personality traits of

adults to be static (McCrae & Costa, 1994), it can be assumed that novelty seeking

may lead to continued desire to perhaps internally migrate or onward migrate to

another country.

Tartakovsky and Schwartz (2001) identified 3 factors as being primary

motivators for emigration: preservation, self-development and materialism based on

studies with Jewish potential migrants from Russia. For the migrants to New Zealand

in this study, the trend was less on materialism, and more on improving quality of life

for themselves and their children. Additionally, Burgelt, Morgan and Pernice (2008)

found that migrants had an easier time transitioning into New Zealand if their desire

to migrate was based on personal development. This allowed them to interpret

difficult times as challenges or adventures rather than threats. Interestingly, the

personality traits of relating to risk tolerance and perseverance have not been explored

in the literature, though they were openly acknowledged as being needed for success

in migration by forum posters. With the exception of Dashefsky (1992), adventure is

rarely examined by researchers as a drive for migration. However the posters to the

Internet forums frequently framed their migration experience in those terms. One

poster said, "It is going to be an amazing adventure, chance of a lifetime. Tauranga,

here we come!"

The concept of a driver of migration intention within the family has been

studied by demographers often with its relationship to gender (De Jong, 2000). It is

acknowledged that when a family moves, it may not be because both partners equally

desired it. In the present study, some couples had a driver who was more enthusiastic

about the move than their partner. This unbalanced situation seemed to cause stress

for both partners.

Boyd (1989) asserted that "the decision to migrate is influenced by the

existence and participation in social networks, which connect people across space" (p. 645). Though she was speaking broadly about familial relationships as well as friendships between countries, this idea also holds for the social support provided by the Internet forums. Having a place to ask questions and receive answers from contacts that had already migrated did seem to assist prospective migrants in coping with the logistical challenges of the predeparture period. Just as previous research indicated that social support could be provided by family members or more distant contacts (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987), the forum members clearly provide a support network for each other. The asking and receiving of informational social support is the primary function of the migration forums. Similar others, in this case, countrymen who have already made the journey to New Zealand, provide a base of knowledge, comfort and friendship during a highly stressful situation. As one forum member said, "I have to say that if I thought I was infected with the moving to NZ bug before, I really have a serious case now from being here in this forum."

In this study, the presence of children was highlighted by the posters as being a drive for migration, which was consistent with previous New Zealand findings (Statistics New Zealand, 2008b; Zodgekar, 1990) but contrasting with German findings (Uebelmesser, 2005). Migrants wrote about finding a better place for their children to grow up, with "kids staying kids longer" being a major reason to migrate. For the British parents in this study, there was a central importance placed on the nuclear family and providing a good childhood was seen as more important than financial gain or emotional cost of leaving extended family, particularly grandparents, behind. The importance of children in the migration decision reflects similar motives of Chinese parents who immigrate to Canada to provide better academic opportunities for their children (Ley & Kobayashi, 2005). Orellana, Thorne, Chee and Lam (2001)

argued against the concept that children weigh down otherwise mobile adults, instead focusing on them as actors within a mobile family unit. The findings from Study 1 are further support for this idea.

Social networks abroad were included in the original framework, but they were not a particularly important part of the forums. In contrast to Van Dalen and Henkens' (2007) study, the UK migrants rarely mentioned contacts abroad. A minority of forum members are the partners of returning New Zealanders, who probably have a base of family and friends in New Zealand to offer some types of guidance where needed. There may be a tendency of migrants who have close contacts in the destination country to be less active on the forum (or not seek out forums for support at all) because they may have another reliable source to answer their enquiries. On the other hand, the forums have many migrants who are already abroad, and thus does function as a resource for at least informational social support from abroad. This may be helpful in explaining why the social networks abroad in Van Dalen and Henkens' study influenced potential migrants, by offering both encouragement and informational social support.

Contemplation. Posters on the forums discussed issues that were relevant across society (e.g., crime, environment, government control of citizen's lives, and immigration) and personally relevant (e.g., lifestyle, employment opportunities) as being important in the decision making process. Among micro issues mentioned by van Dalen and Henkens' (2007) predeparture migrants, there was a belief that they would be worse off financially, and that expectation was somewhat similar on the forums. Many migrants to New Zealand expected to earn less, generally, but many also hoped to live mortgage-free, which would have made for an improved overall financial situation. As one poster said, "we have a fabulous lifestyle, which we would

not swap for all the money earnable in the UK." Similarly, in a study conducted by

the BBC found that more than half of the 14,000 respondents were considering

moving abroad, giving their main reasons as lifestyle, family, and money/jobs (BBC,

2004).

  Action. Forum members discussed high logistical and emotional demands

during the predeparture period. Uncertain outcomes and financial concerns

exacerbated the stress. Some posters wrote of being symptomatic due to the stress,

with sleeplessness being most common. Stress seemed to peek in the days

immediately proceeding the departure, and posters related being "awake all hours,

looking through things all hours, never ending lists, brain working overtime."

Insomnia is commonly linked to life stress (Healey, 1981; Vahtera et al., 2007) and

indicates that stress is a serious issue for some predeparture migrants.

  By prevalence, coping was the most common theme in the dataset, with a

heavy emphasis on both the seeking and offering of informational social support.

Information seeking was included originally as a facet of the contemplation stage,

however it became clear during the analysis that information seeking is primarily a

mechanism of coping for the migrants on the forums, therefore it was moved

thematically under coping in the action stage. The main function of the Internet

forums was clearly to offer a venue for informational social support, which is similar

to other findings of online communities (Coulson, 2005; Coulson et al., 2007). On the

forums there was an acknowledgement that knowing more helped lessen the

uncertainty which made it easier to cope with the stress of the move. These findings

were in agreement with research on predeparture expatriate spouses (Simeon & Fujiu,

2000).

  The accuracy of the information provided was not independently assessed

by this study, however postings were noted where community members corrected each other with updated information. One example was that a request was made on how to obtain an IRD number before arrival in New Zealand. A response detailed the procedure, however several following posts corrected that information, stating the procedures had changed and that migrants had to arrive in New Zealand before applying for an IRD number. This type of self-policing by the community is likely to provide a reasonable assurance that the information is accurate for groups that have a large and active membership. Other online communities have also been found to have few errors and similar self-correcting mechanisms (Esquivel, Meric-Bernstam, & Bernstam, 2006).

Acculturation. As expected in a situation of short cultural distance (Redmond, 2000), there was relatively little discussion about difficulties acculturating. Very few reported having difficulties, but one poster wrote "it is missing the family and friends that no one can prepare you for, but it does get easier." Certainly there are many differences between the UK and New Zealand, however one migrant claimed it was easier than the adjustment required when "moving from Scotland to Cornwall." There was also mention of the more relaxed attitudes and dress of New Zealanders, as well as different foods and products encountered.

Perhaps the most interesting finding relating to acculturation was the lack of sociocultural adaptation to different cultures within New Zealand. Notably absent from the forum discussions was the exposure to Māori or Pacific cultures that the British migrants may have had little experience with before arriving in New Zealand. It is unclear whether this is caused by a desire to be politically correct or that British migrants to New Zealand do not feel the need to accommodate themselves because their own cultural heritage is so similar to dominant Paheka culture. The only mention

of Māori culture was from a predeparture nurse who was concerned about dealing

with patients of a culture that she had not interacted with previously. Aside from that,

Māori culture appears to go unnoticed, both for both predeparture migrants and

acculturating migrants. This has the likelihood to continue a cycle that has been going

on since British people first arrived in Aotearoa (Cram & Nairn, 1993). New migrant

attitudes toward Māori have not been examined systematically, but this would be an

appropriate topic for further research.

      Return Migration. In this dataset, return migration seemed to be driven by

primarily micro factors though migrants complain about many other facets of life

including housing, driving skills of locals, and cost of living in New Zealand.

Employment opportunities and family issues seem to be the main causes of return

migration for the posters on the forums. These findings are very much in agreement

with previous research (Constant & Massey, 2003) including Ley and Kobayashi's

(2005) view of transnational families. At least one family was in the process of

returning to New Zealand after a period back in the UK. This reemigration may be an

extreme example of transnationalism between these countries.

      Missing themes. Although possible selves as a concept was in the original

framework based on the literature, there was scant evidence of it on the forums.

People spoke of their dreams, but often in general terms. It is possible that they have

formed clear possible selves but that they are private and not generally shared. Further

study through alternative methods (such as interviews or focused surveys) would be

beneficial in exploring the roles of possible selves in the migration process. Social

identity was also included in the original framework, however it is only evident in

subtle ways on the forums, such as the migrant's choice of New Zealand as a

destination. The semantic level of analysis selected for this study may not have been

appropriate to gain an understanding of this more latent concept.

Limitations and further research. This study was primarily an exploration of the framework and the steps that people take in the process of migration. Methodologically it was limited by the public venue from which the data was collected. There may be marked differences between people who have access to and feel comfortable posting on an online forum and those who do not. Many more people are reading the forums than are posting on them, so using the posts as an indication of the total migration experience may be missing some of the full picture.

Qualitative research tends to be very subjective in nature, thus opening the issue of researcher bias. Ideally qualitative data should be analyzed by more than one researcher and the levels of agreement calculated and reported. I was the only rater of the data in the present study and that inherently limits the constructions of meaning to my impressions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Due to the large quantity of data and time constraints, I was unable to recode the entire dataset after an extended interval to test my own reliability. Also, I am not British, and there may have been subtle ways in which I misinterpreted written expressions by posters from other cultures. Despite these limitations, the proposed framework was generally confirmed by the data. Further research into the steps that migrants take before, during and after migration could be conducted longitudinally to capture the process as individuals pass through each stage.

Study 2

To further explore the how predeparture migrants experience the contemplation and action stage, a quantitative study was undertaken. Based on findings from Study 1, this study aimed to measure predeparture stress and the coping mechanisms employed by migrants with an emphasis on social support. Following the

work of Cohen and Willis (1985) Lazarus and Folkman (1984) it was hypothesized that:

H$_1$ *Wellbeing will decrease as stress increases.*

H$_2$ *Social support will partially moderate the effect of stress on wellbeing.*

Previous research has shown Internet forums to function as social support networks, particularly for medical patients (e.g. Beaudoin & Tao, 2007), and results from Study 1 support this role within migration forums. Following research by Adelman (1988) and Hiller and McCaig (2007), it was postulated that:

H$_3$ *Migrants will perceive social support to be lower for family and friends not accompanying them than for social support from the Internet forum.*

H$_4$ *Lower levels of perceived stress will be found in migrants with the highest use of the Internet forum, compared to migrants who use it less or do not use it at all*

Method

Procedure. Because migrants from the UK to New Zealand were the main focus of the research, a questionnaire was developed and placed online following ethical approval. After forum moderator permission was granted, posts were made to multiple English-language online forums for migrants to New Zealand, asking participants to visit a website to complete the anonymous survey. Using the snowball technique, participants were requested to ask their partners to also complete the survey. It could be expected that partners of forum users may or may not use the migrant forums themselves. The only requirement for participation was that the person was in the United Kingdom and either considering moving overseas or in the process of moving overseas. All answers were anonymous self-reports, as no data on IP address (hence location) was collected. Participants were not compensated for their voluntary participation and were informed that they could withdraw their

participation at any time. Participants were informed that general findings would be posted on the Internet forums from which they were recruited, but that more detailed results could be requested from the researcher. Debriefing consisted of a final page of the survey that described social support and migration; no deception was used in the study. See Appendix A for complete participant information sheet.

Participants. Of the 120 people who began the survey, 95 completed enough of the survey to be included in the analysis (79% completion rate). Participants age ranged from 19 to 67, with a mean age of 38.80 (SD = 9.7). Gender was fairly well balanced with 54 females (56.8%) and 39 males (41.1%); two did not report gender. The highest level of educational attainment for this sample included 10.9% with secondary school, 23.9% technical school, 43.5% bachelor's degrees, and 17.4% postgraduate degrees. Seventy-five percent of respondents had an annual pre-tax household income of between 30 and 60 thousand pounds per year.

In this sample, 85.3% (*n*=81) had a partner and 26.3% (*n*=25) reported that they were the "more enthusiastic about the move" of the couple. However, 56.8% (*n*=54) said that the desire to migrate was equal between them, and 7.4% (*n*=7) said their partner was more enthusiastic about the move. The majority of participants had children (57.9%). See Appendix B for general and demographic questions utilized.

Measures. Where possible, published scales have been used in their entirety, however to keep the time to complete the survey reasonable for participants, some measures were shortened. Other measures were adapted to make them more relevant to the research questions. The scales utilized are described below.

Depression. The 5 items with the highest loading from the original Centre for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) study (Radloff, 1977) were utilized to measure depression (e.g., "*I feel sad*"). Responses are given on a 5-point Likert

scale ranging from "*rarely or none to the time*" to "*most or all of the time.*" Higher

scores indicate a more depressed state.

Stress. Cohen, Kamarck and Mermelstein's (1983) 10-item Perceived Stress

Scale was used to measure the amount of stress the migrants perceived. Items

included *"In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high*

that you could not overcome them?" Responses were measured on a 5-point Likert

scale ranged from *never* (0) to *very often* (4). High total scores indicate high levels of

perceived stress.

Styles of coping. An adapted version of the Brief COPE was used to measure

coping style, which was developed by Carver (1997) as a shorter version of the 60-

item COPE scale he originally developed (Carver, Scheier, & Weintraub, 1989). The

Brief COPE contains 14 subscales, such as planning, religion and humour, with 2

questions each. Responses are indicated on a 4-point scale ranging from *I haven't*

been doing this at all (1) to *I've been doing this a lot* (5). Carver (1997) examined the

reliabilities for each subscale, and found them all to be above .50, most were

above .60. Because there are only 2 questions in each scale, this seems minimally

acceptable. As this scale was originally developed for breast cancer patients,

adaptations were required such as the item "*I've been looking for some good in what*

is happening" modified to "*I've been focusing on the benefits of this move.*" Use of

comforting food was added, in line with the Ways of Coping Checklist (Vitaliano,

Russo, Carr, Maiuro, & Becker, 1985). See Appendix C for the complete measure.

The author of the brief COPE recommends against utilizing the scale to find a

total amount of coping, instead suggesting factor analysis as a method to determine

patterns of coping for a given sample. An exploratory factor analysis was therefore

undertaken with the 28 items in the Brief COPE. Using principle axis factoring with

oblique rotation, a total of 10 factors with eigenvalues greater than one emerged,

explaining a total of 73.08% of the variance. The KMO was adequate, though low,

at .62 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant (p<.001). Initially, a parallel

analysis was utilized to examine how many factors would be expected by chance, and

this indicated that only five of the factors in this analysis had higher eigenvalues than

would be expected by chance. An examination of the scree plot revealed an angle of

inflection at three factors, however two factors corresponding to adaptive and

maladaptive strategies would be expected theoretically. Consequently, a two-factor

solution explaining a combined 29.54% of the variance, was compared to a three-

factor solution, explaining 38.25% of the variance. In both of these solutions, the first

factor remained the same, relating to active coping strategies such as social support

and planning. In the two-factor solution the boundaries were clear between adaptive

and maladaptive strategies, but several items had problematic cross-loadings and one

item failed to load on either factor. Therefore the 3-factor solution was selected, with

the coping styles named *active coping*, *behavioural disengagement* and *mental

disengagement*.

    Wellbeing. The wellbeing measure was developed by the World Health

Organisation and is titled the WHO-Five Well-being Index (WHO-5). The 5 items

include " *I have felt cheerful and in good spirits*" as well as " *I woke up feeling fresh

and restored*" (WHO Regional Office for Europe, 1998). Responses were measured

on a 6-point Likert scale from 5 (all of the time) to 0 (at no time). High scores on the

scale indicate better wellbeing.

    Social support. Available published scales do not directly compare social

support from multiple sources, thus 30 items in 5 subscales were developed to obtain

participants perceived social support from family who are migrating with them,

extended family not migrating (both in the past and after informing them of the migration intension), the online forum and contacts in New Zealand. Each of the five potential sources of social support was assessed for each type of support offered (belongingness, venting, esteem, informational, instrumental, emotional). Examples include "*gives comfort and encouragement to me*" and "*listens to my frustrations.*" Some items from the Inventory of Socially Supportive Behaviors (Barrera & Ainlay, 1983) were adapted for use in this study, as were items used by Ye (2006) in her study of online support. Responses were measured on a 5-point Likert scale from *frequently* (5) to *never* (1). A high score on each subscale indicates a high amount of social support from that source. See Appendix D for complete measure. The 30 items were factor analysed with oblique rotation and 5 factors (eigenvalues > 1) were extracted explaining a combined 86.69% of the variance. See Table 2 for psychometric properties of the scales.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics and Psychometric Properties of Scales

Scale	N items	M	SD	α
Stress	10	15.49	6.39	.85
Wellbeing	5	18.47	5.56	.91
Depression	5	6.91	2.29	.80
Social Support				
Accompanying Family	6	25.03	5.07	.97
Past Extended Family	6	19.01	6.68	.97
Extended Family	6	18.29	7.03	.97
Internet Forums	6	24.71	5.24	.93
Contacts in New Zealand	6	23.23	6.41	.98
Coping	27	--	--	.80

Results

Migration statistics. Overall, respondents were pleased with their decision to migrate; 72.8% reported being happy with their move so far. Relating to the move itself, 63.2% had been considering moving out of the UK for more than 2 years. Participants planned to leave the UK in the near future, with 22.1% planning to leave within three months or less, 22.1% between three and six months, 20% planning to leave more than one year later, and 15.8% said they would leave as soon as they were able. The majority did not consider themselves sojourners, with 77.9% (n=74) indicating that they consider the move permanent, and 20% were unsure if the move would turn out to be permanent or not. Most were in the action stage of the framework (83.2%) having taken a definite step toward migration, and16.8% were in the contemplation stage. Twenty-five percent (n=20) of respondents reported being

more enthusiastic about the move than their partner, eight females and 12 males. Six

females and one male (7.4%) were trailing spouses. Fifty-two percent of participants

(n= 52, including 31 females and 21 males) considered themselves to be equal in their

desire to move with their partner. Fourteen participants reported having no partner.

The destination of choice was New Zealand, with 67% having made a

commitment to move through either purchasing airline tickets or applying for visas.

Canada (13.6%) and Australia (12.5%) were other countries being considered. A

minority (24.2%) had family members in New Zealand. There were 59.6% who had

visited and 9.6% who had lived in New Zealand previously.

Use of migration forums. Only four participants stated that they never visit

migration forums. Of those who do use migration forums (n=91), 22% said they

visited more than once a day, 39.5% visited daily, 27.4% visit every few days, 7%

weekly, and 9.5% occasionally. When asked how frequently they post to the forums

in the past 7 days, 27.4% had not posted at all, 41.1% had posted less than five times,

17.9% had posted five to ten times, and 8.5% posted more than 10 times.

Psychological variables. Overall, levels of depression and stress were low(see

Table 2). For this sample, the mean for depression was 6.92 (out of a possible range

of 5 – 25), and this varied significantly from the midpoint of the scale (t(94) = -34.47,

p <.001). The mean for stress was 15.49 (out of a possible range of 0 – 40), indicating

that stress was significantly lower than the midpoint of the scale (t(94)= -6.86, p

<.001). The mean for wellbeing was 18.47 (out of a possible range of 5 – 30), which

was not significantly different than the midpoint of the scale (t(94)=1.71, p = n.s.).

See Table 3 for correlational data relating the psychological variables to style of

coping and social support.

Table 3

Intercorrelations Between Subscales for Psychological Outcomes, Style of Coping and Social Support

Subscale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Stress	-	.59**	-.63**	-.42**	-.13	-.17	.16	.04	.43**	.08
2. Depression		-	-.47**	-.41**	-.03	.01	.06	.11	.45**	.06
3. Wellbeing			-	.43**	.17	.28**	-.11	-.05	-.37**	.06
4. Family Support				-	.21*	.24*	.09	.12	-.26*	.25
5. Past Extended					-	.81**	.31**	-.29**	-.02	.19*
6. Extended Family Support						-	.24*	-.09	-.17	.23*
7. Internet Support							-	-.15	.19	.20*
8. Mental Disengagement								-	.07	-.02
9. Behavioral Disengagement									-	.01
10. Active Coping										-

**Sig .01 level (1-tailed) * Sig .05 level (1-tailed)

Hypothesis testing. The first hypothesis was supported as overall wellbeing decreased as stress increased ($r(93)$= -.63, p <.001). A hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to test the second hypothesis, assessing the role social support on the effect of stress on wellbeing. Examination of collinearity statistics indicated no presence of multicollinearity (<1). Durbin-Watson's statistic was an acceptable 2.06, indicating that autocorrelation was not problematic for this sample. Control variables were entered at the first step, including gender (β = -.08, t = -.73, p = n.s.) and age (β = .15, t = 1.39, p = n.s.) but were not significant predictors (ΔR^2 = .03, $F(2,87)$ = 1.17, p = n.s.). Stress, style of coping and perceived social support were added at step 2 and stress emerged as the only significant predictor accounting for 42% of the variance in wellbeing (ΔR^2 = .42, $F(7,80)$ = 7.06, p < .001). Interactions between stress, style of coping and social support were entered at step 3, but none were significant (ΔR^2 = .03, $F(6, 74)$ = 4.47, p = n.s.). Further analysis was conducted by eliminating non-significant variables, however no other variable was found to be significant when stress was entered into the model. Thus the second hypothesis was not supported; social support did not buffer the effects of stress on wellbeing for this sample. See Table 4 for more information on this analysis.

Table 4

Hierarchical Regression Model: Wellbeing

	1	2	3
1. Demographics			
Gender	.64	.07	.43
Age	.08	.02	-.03
2. Stress and Coping			
Stress		-.45**	-.50**
Active Coping		-.62	-.75
Behavioural Disengagement		-3.09	-3.86
Mental Disengagement		1.28	1.69
Family Support		.01	-.03
Extended Family Support		.13	.11
Online Support		-.10	-.06
3. Interactions			
Stress X Active Coping			.02
Stress X Behavioural Disengagement			.24
Stress X Mental Disengagement			.09
Stress X Family Support			.02
Stress X Extended Family Support			.02
Stress X Online Support			-.12
R^2	.02	.50**	.52*
R^2 Change	.02	.48**	.02

* Sig .05 level (2-tailed) ** Sig .01 level (2-tailed)

In a separate analysis, coping styles were regressed on the psychological outcome measures. Only behavioral disengagement emerged as a significant predictor of wellbeing ($\beta = .37$, $t = -3.74$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2 = .14$, $F(3,81) = 4.88$, $p < .01$), depression ($\beta = .45$, $t = 4.87$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2 = .20$, $F(1,93) = 23.67$, $p < .001$) and stress ($\beta = .43$, $t = 4.53$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2 = .18$, $F(3,93) = 20.56$, $p < .001$). Mental disengagement and active coping did not relate significantly to any outcome variables.

The third hypothesis was supported, with migrants perceiving social support from extended family to be significantly lower than for the Internet forum ($t (59)=-6.97$, $p < .001$). The fourth hypothesis stated that migrants with the highest use of the Internet forum will report lower levels of perceived stress (compared to migrants who use it less or do not use it at all) and was not supported ($F(1,93)=.61$, $p = $ n.s.). Internet usage and posting activity did not have a relationship to depression ($F(1, 93) = .13$, $p = $ n.s.) or wellbeing ($F(1, 93) = .36$, $p = $ n.s.). A one-way ANOVA was conducted to investigate if high versus low Internet forum usage related to the amount of perceived support from the forums. Migrants who visited forums more often perceived more support from it ($F(1,66)=22.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .27$), however more frequent posting was not related to perceived online support ($t (66)= -1.17$, $p = $ n.s.).

Social support. Further post-hoc analysis was conducted to further explore how social support was perceived retrospectively. There was a significant drop in social support perceived from extended family members following the migrants informing them of the planned departure (t (78) = 2.99, $p < .01$). Past support by extended family predicted current support strongly, $\beta = .81$, $t(77) =11.97$, $p < .01$. Past social support explained 65% of the variance in present extended family support, $R^2 = .65$, $F(1, 77) = 143.23$, $p < .01$. As would be expected, after informing extended

family of the migration decision, immediate family support was significantly higher than extended family support, $t(56)=6.68$, p <.001.

Support from family members accompanying the migrant significantly predicted wellbeing $\beta = .35$, $t(63) =3.81$, $p < .001$, explaining 13% of variance in wellbeing scores, $R^2 = .13$, $F(1, 46) = 6.44$, $p < .05$. Stress outcomes were also predicted by support from immediate family $\beta = -.46$, $t(63) =-3.45$, $p < .01$, explaining 21% of variance, $R^2 = .21$, $F(1, 46) = 11.91$, $p < .01$. Greater support from contacts in New Zealand was weakly correlated to lowered depression ($r = -.24$, $p <.05$) but no other outcome variables.

Another one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine whether the driver of the move felt more or less social support from family members. This analysis resulted in a significant difference ($F(1,55)=23.65$, $p <.001$, $\eta^2 = .30$); people who felt that they were more enthusiastic than their partner about the move reported less social support from the family members accompanying them than did people who felt their partner or spouse was equally enthusiastic about the move. Additional post-hoc analysis of mean group differences found levels of perceived stress were significantly higher for the drivers of the move ($F(1,77) = 4.38$, $p <.05$, $\eta^2 = .05$). Very few participants in this study ($n = 7$) were in a partnered relationship but felt less enthusiastic about the move than their partner (therefore a trailing spouse). However, there was a significant differences between trailing spouses and equally partnered individuals in wellbeing ($t(59) = -2.54$, $p <.05$). There were no significant differences in depression among drivers, trailing spouses, non-partnered and equally partnered ($F(3,91) = 2.14$, p =n.s.). Additionally, parents felt significantly less support than non-parents from extended family ($F(1,76) = 4.91$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .06$).

Further post-hoc analysis revealed two gender differences in social support. Women felt more social support from extended family members in the past than men did, $t(91) = 2.44$, p <.05, though there was no difference after informing extended family of the planned departure ($t(74) = 1.75$, p = n.s.). Women also felt more support from the Internet forums than men did ($t(64) = 2.49$, p <.05).

Open questions. Of the open-ended survey questions, the first, *what are your main reasons for leaving the UK*, was content analyzed and resulted in 12 reasons: crowding (28.9%), quality of life (24.4%), children (18.9%), lifestyle (17.8%), dissatisfaction with government (14.4%), environment (13.3%), family in New Zealand (13.3%), weather (12.2%), desire for adventure/change (11.1%), cost of living (11.1%), crime (8.9%), and inability to afford homeownership (8.9%).

The second open-ended question, *what has been the most <u>difficult</u> part of the process of leaving*, was also content analyzed with four issues identified most frequently: extended family (34.4%), logistical/application demands (21%), waiting/uncertainty (13%), and leaving friends (12%). Other less frequently identified issues included worries about children, houses, pets, and finding a job. The third open-ended question, *what has been the most <u>positive</u> part of the process of leaving*, was content analyzed with the five most frequently cited being: novelty (24%), adventure (15%), support of family (13%), children (9%), and escape (8%).

Discussion

Given that few studies have examined migrants before they depart their country of origin (Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2009; Tartakovsky, 2009; Yijala & Jasinskaja-Lahti, in press), this study was exploratory in nature. By utilizing the framework presented above (Figure 3), this research concentrated on the action stage of migration, with 83.2% of the participants having taken steps to migrate such as

applying for a visa, buying a ticket or applying for a job. It was hypothesized that wellbeing would decrease as stress increased, and this was supported, but the expected buffering effect was not found for perceived social support to partially moderate the stress-wellbeing relationship. As expected, migrants perceived social support from extended family to be significantly lower than for the Internet forum, however increased visits to the forums did not reduce stress. The specific findings for wellbeing and social support are discussed in more detail below.

Wellbeing. Overall, migrants were pleased with their decision to migrate, 72.8% reported being happy or very happy with their move so far. Moreover, these migrants had extremely low levels of depression and moderate mean levels of wellbeing and stress. If skilled migration is viewed as an active and demanding process initiated by these individuals, it is unlikely to be something a clinically depressed person would either want to do or be able to do. Style of coping appeared to play a limited role in psychological outcomes; with only behavioral disengagement significantly predicting lowered wellbeing, as well as higher stress and depression. Surprisingly active coping, including seeking social support, was unrelated to psychological outcomes.

Social Support. Of primary importance in the findings from this study is the functioning of social support systems for the migrants. Families who are migrating together formed a central support system for each other, with migrants rating them highest among their sources of support. In findings similar to Jasinskaja-Lahti (2009), increased support from immediate family predicted lower stress and better wellbeing, whereas lack of extended family support was only weakly linked to lower wellbeing. As with other stressful periods, these close-tie relationships were the most important during the process of migration. Like previous acculturation research (Aroian, Spitzer,

& Bell, 1996; Castillo, Conoley, & Brossart, 2004), having a supportive immediate

family had a strong influence on stress, accounting for 21% of the variability. One

participant stated that the process was "bringing us closer as a family." Within the

immediate family, having a partner who was equally excited about the move was

important to the migrants. People who consider themselves the driver of the move felt

both significantly more stress and less support from family accompanying them in the

migration process.

Because social support is multifaceted, it can be expected that different

sources can provide different types of support. I thus examined the individual items

within the social support scales to learn what participants felt were the strengths and

weaknesses of each source. Family who are accompanying the migrant were rated

most highly for belongingness (*helps me feel less alone*) and second highest for

emotional support (*gives comfort and encouragement to me*) and lowest for

informational support. The online forum was rated most highly for informational

social support (*gives useful information*), second highest for instrumental support

(*offers assistance when I need it*) and least highly for venting (*listens to my*

frustrations). When contrasted, these sources of support seem to provide

complimentary functions. The migrants' personal and emotional needs were met by

family members, while the informational needs were addressed on the online forum.

Extended family were rated lowest for venting but were highest in emotional support

and instrumental support. Venting to extended family members about an impending

departure from them would probably not be a socially adept way to interact, but

further study could provide more detailed answers into how migrants relate to those

they are leaving behind.

Previous research indicated that social networks abroad play an important role

in making people more likely to immigrate (Palloni et al., 2001; van Dalen &

Henkens, 2007) and in the current study 45% of participants had contacts and 24%

had family members in New Zealand. Support from these contacts was linked to

lower levels of depression, as might be expected where family reunification was

involved. Family in New Zealand was listed by 13.3% of respondents as a reason to

move to New Zealand, though these migrants listed it along with several other reasons

in their response. Having family in New Zealand certainly may make them more

likely to move, but it is not the only factor that is influencing them to migrate.

Internet Support. Although the migrants perceive support to be high from the

Internet forum, nearly as high as family accompanying them, it is not a substantial

influence on their wellbeing. Higher utilization of the Internet forums did not

correspond to lowered stress levels as had been expected based on previous research

(Wright, 2000). This hypothesis was not well tested with this data because only a few

participants did not use Internet forums. What was clear was that, as in the first study,

Internet forums provided users with copious amounts of informational social support.

Chou (2009) found that lack of pre-migration planning was strongly related to

depression during acculturation. The usage of the Internet forum for gaining

informational support in the pre-migration period could be an important aid for the

migrants in their predepature planning that could be expected to positively impact

their later acculturation.

Limitations. Although internal reliability was adequate, the social support

questions asked participants to rate their extended family as a whole (*since telling my*

family who are staying in the United Kingdom that I am leaving, they have been...). It

can be reasonably expected that within families there would be diverse reactions to

the news that a migrant was leaving, and by asking participants to rate their families

as a whole may yield somewhat inconsistent responses depending on how a person

interprets the statement. This study also had a small sample size, which limited the

analysis in several ways. Only a few participants did not use online migrant forums,

thus any examination of the effects of the forum could not be undertaken. The

distribution of participants in the predeparture timeline may have also limited the

results due to the low number of participants who were within a month of departure.

There was a bias toward skilled migrants, and this limits the applicability of these

findings to other migrant groups. The cross-sectional nature of this study is

problematic, particularly where regressions were conducted. It is not possible to know

the direction of the relationship on factors like stress and wellbeing where cross-

sectional data is utilized.

Notwithstanding these limitations, Study 2 contributes to a better

understanding of the action phase of the framework including stress and coping. This

quantitative study points to the critical role of familial connections as sources of

social support during the action phase and beyond, as well as the important

contribution that Internet forums can provide their users as a means of primarily

informational social support.

General Discussion

What is missing from the social science disciplines is an acknowledgement of

migration as an ongoing process for the individual (Grisi & Chirkov, 2009).

Researchers sometimes view migration as a categorical variable; participants are

either migrants or non-migrants. But to the person experiencing this major life change,

it is a progression of decisions, demands, continuing adaptation, and ongoing choices

(such as whether to stay or go back) that lasts for years both before and after they

arrive in the destination country. Cross-cultural psychologists view acculturation as a process (Sam & Berry, 2006); however there has been little recognition of the broader context of acculturation in the life of the immigrant. Essentially, migrants' lives do not begin when their plane lands. To place migration in a larger context, the following discussion will focus on key findings from these two studies, with attention given to where they meet and diverge, as well as the implications from this research. By looking at how people currently going through a migration discuss their feelings and experiences, there is a great deal to be learned of the process of voluntary migration.

A psychological framework of voluntary migration

As discussed above, rarely do researchers look at migration as a process that begins before departure from the country of origin, however both Study 1 and 2 lend support to the idea that migrants are passing through stages with unique challenges. The revised framework (Figure 3) should be used in future studies as a reference for understanding the process of voluntary migration. I next discuss how the specific stages of the framework integrate with previous work in the field of migration.

Precontemplation. The proposed framework began with factors that existed prior to the consideration of migration.

Intrapersonal Factors. Previous research has found the desire for adventure to be a powerful motivator for voluntary migration (Dashefsky et al., 1992). Though psychologists might prefer the term novelty-seeking, the desire for a change of scenery and to explore a new place is certainly a drive for these voluntary migrants. What may set them apart from others with a similar desire are the skills, financial resources and education to make such a considerable move. For those who have never lived in New Zealand before, and for those who have never visited, it is certainly a

leap of faith but as one poster on a forum said, "if one wants to emigrate it is not necessarily a TRAUMA - for us it was an ADVENTURE." Indications of the personalities of these migrants were apparent in their identification of novelty, adventure and escape as the most positive parts of the experience so far.

When surveyed, 30% of migrants to the Gold Coast of Australia were contemplating onward or return migration (Stimson & Minnery, 1998). Shorland (2006) found that migrants were more than twice as likely as New Zealand natives to leave permanently, however some of these migrants may not have intended to stay permanently. As understanding of the permeable boundary between sojourner and migrant becomes more sophisticated hopefully a clearer picture will emerge (Ley & Kobayashi, 2005). Upon arrival, the excitement of a new location fades with time and familiarity. As one member of a forum said, "the boredom sets in" and some migrants start to feel what is colloquially termed *itchy feet*. It may be a natural reaction to finding that the highly idealized destination can not live up to expectations (Zodgekar, 1990). Another forum member posted, "the old wanderlust is kicking in."

Whybrow (2005) suggested that migrants are naturally selected for risk-taking and novelty-seeking, and migrants on the forums were well aware that those were traits that made them unique from those who would not attempt such a radical move. DNA research has linked the personality traits novelty-seeking and risk taking to certain variants of dompamine receptor genes (Ebstein, Nemanov, Klotz, Gritsenko, & Belmaker, 1997; Ebstein et al., 1996) that Chen, Burton, Greenberger & Dmitieva (1999) have linked to historically migrant populations. The researchers suggested these novelty-seeking genes have historically been adaptive to human migrant populations. This interpretation may be seen as reductionism, however evolutionary systems can also be seen as dynamic and open to change (Banathy, 2000). When

examined in a historical and evolutionary context, voluntary migration is the modern continuation of a pattern of human dispersion.

The onward migration of immigrants is a political issue both in New Zealand and Australia (Sanderson, 2009), however if the basis of migrant desire to explore is truly biological, policies that entice migrants to remain may be somewhat futile. The points-based system currently in use for skilled migrant visa applications is weighed to give more points to younger applicants, which may also be counterproductive if the policy aim is to encourage migrants to settle long term, as research on internal migration found that age was a strong predictor of increased mobility (Gould & Penley, 1985). In the current study, departing migrants were clear that it was micro reasons, such as family pressures, not macro reasons that were causing them to leave. This research suggests a shift of the dominant question from "what are we doing wrong that makes these people leave?" to "how can we best engage with these migrants while they are here?"

Familial Connections. Users of the Internet forums used the term driver to indicate a person who was more enthusiastic than their partner about the move. A driver on a forum said, "he had gone along to make me happy." The drivers clearly felt the need to migrate, but also acknowledged the risks for their relationship. In Study 2 it was apparent that this resulted both in the driver feeling less social support from accompanying family members as well as higher levels of stress. European researchers found that even moves within the UK made partners more likely to separate (Boyle, Cooke, Gayle, & Mulder, 2009). One poster on a forum worried, "not so sure if our relationship can take all of this." When one spouse is the instigator of the move, there are significant costs, particularly to harmony within the partnership. On the forums, there were several accounts of relationships that had

broken down during the migration process resulting in one partner returning to the UK. Of those that stuck together through a return migration, one posted, "if we do decide to give it another chance then we will plan & decide together much more rather than me tugging him along."

Researchers do not appear to use the term or concept of a driver, instead identifying an expatriate (though this term could equally apply to anyone who lives outside their country of origin) and trailing spouse, or tied migrant (Hardill, 1998; Kim & Slocum Jr, 2008). Researchers have examined the phenomenon of female trailing spouses who follows an expatriate into a foreign assignment (Yeoh & Khoo, 1998) and the negative impact this has on their careers (Boyle, Cooke, Halfacree, & Smith, 2001). This type of migration is declining as companies restructure (Perry, 2008), yet voluntary migration may be a very different case, because the move is initiated not by the company, but by the individual (or equally among the partners).

Gender differences in migration intention have been a topic of interest for some time among researchers (Gubhaju & De Jong, 2009; Halfacree & Boyle, 1999). In Burgelt, Morgan and Pernice's (2008) New Zealand study, the male partners had most often been the driver of the initial migration. In situations where the female partner was simply accompanying to allow their partner to fulfill a dream, the couples were more likely to later return to Germany. In the present research, drivers expressed both fear of failure and guilt at causing disruption to family life, conversely they believed strongly that their families would have a better life abroad. In New Zealand, slightly more men than women are the primary applicants in skilled residency permits (Merwood, 2007), though the decision on who should be the primary applicant among the couple is likely to reflect a pragmatic decision on how best to configure the application so it will be approved.

What was different about the current study was the non-gendered nature of the driver position. Traditionally women suffer from following their spouse abroad across a range of measures (Boyle, Cooke, Halfacree, & Smith, 2003), but in the present study women were nearly as likely to be pushing the migration as men. Much of the previous research was conducted with expatriates on assignment, who are more likely to be men moving with career as the main goal of the move (Hardill, 1998). Yet, the voluntary migrants on the forums openly acknowledged that they were facing a pay cut and fewer employment options. This reinforces that categorizing voluntary migrants as a unique group is important to understand their motives and experiences.

Raghuram (2004) noted that women are not passive in the migration decision, and that their motivations frequently go beyond employment and into quality of life factors, both for themselves and their children. In fact, putting children's needs above career progression is a common facet of transnational families (Hardill, 2004), which is consistent with the findings of the current study. From the perspective of a trailing spouse on a forum, "if I had been here on my own I would have returned "home" to the UK LONG ago… my children and what I believe is best for them is much more important to me than my low points."

Children were important in the decision to migrate in both studies. Two aspects were most prominent: New Zealand as a place where kids can have a better childhood and New Zealand as a place where a child's future is more secure. Bushin (2008) argued that children are a factor in migration decision making from both the parental perspective of children's best interest and as a voice in the decision making. The role of children in the process of the family migration was clear both in as a reason given for leaving the UK (18.9%) and as a positive aspect of the process so far. A participant stated, "sharing the excitement with our children" was the most positive

part of the pre-migration process. However the amount of support that parents

perceive from their extended family was significantly lower than that felt by non-

parents. Thus although parents may have more motivation to move, they also have

less support from their extended family during the transition. The importance of

children in the decision to move seems to counter the low family centrality expected

of migrants (Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Frieze et al., 2004), as these migrants seem to be

placing their children above their career and earnings potential. The way that family is

defined, even in individualistic cultures, may be a key factor in understanding how

people conceptualize their relationship to their children (Kagitcibasi, 1996). Further

study on the importance of family to migrants of different age groups would be

appropriate as the mean age in the present study was substantially older than the

university students who the original migrant personality studies surveyed.

      Contemplation. Though it may often be assumed that money is the root cause

of all migration (Becker, 1964). Instead, I would suggest that seeking a better life is

the root of migration. Different people can conceptualize a better life in vastly

different ways. Previous work indicated that high achievement orientation was a

common migrant personality trait (Frieze et al., 2004). In contrast, the findings from

the present studies show that quality of life and lifestyle as important drives for

migrants from high income countries, as similar research has found (Stone & Stubbs,

2007). Several participants (both in the forums and in the open-ended questions of the

quantitative study) made a point of noting that money and career achievement were

not driving factors for them. Migrants are not selecting New Zealand because they

expect high salaries, though cost of living and inability to afford homeownership were

reasons stated for leaving the UK. They instead focused on outdoor pursuits, open

spaces and weather among New Zealand's attractions. As one migrant posted to a

forum, "quality of life is very high here but more about freedom and space than about

money and luxury."

What is often characterized as "clean green" New Zealand is perceived by the

migrants not primarily as unpolluted wilderness, but just uncrowded land with a

climate that makes getting outside more pleasant than the famous drizzly English

weather. Even in the cities of New Zealand, where section sizes get quite small, the

neighborhoods look green and spacious compared to streets filled with terraced

houses common in the UK urban environment. Crowding was the most commonly

listed reason for migration in the quantitative study, which is similar to other

European findings (van Dalen & Henkens, 2007). Researchers have made a

distinction between *perception of crowding* (an experiential state) and *density* (a given

population in limited space) suggesting that social learning conditions individuals to a

normative density (Severy, 1979). The reaction to crowding by someone who grew up

in a high density city such as Hong Kong contrasts sharply to someone who

developed their social norms in the rolling hillsides and farm lands of the Yorkshire

Dales. Animals react to crowding by migrating away (Johnson & Gaines, 1990), and

theories vary as to whether their motivations are altruistic or individualistic. There is

no question that human migration is done for individualistic reasons, however that

does not mean that there may not be an underlying evolutionary disposition for some

of the best resourced, highly skilled members of a society who would be likely to

succeed to disperse away from the society of origin. The Polynesian cultures sent

strong, skilled young couples to settle the far flung islands of Aotearoa (Whyte,

Marshall, & Chambers, 2005). This decision resulted in a dispersion of humanity that

allowed for more sustainable use of resources (Rockman & Steele, 2003). No society

would want all the highly resourced, skilled people to want to leave at one time, but it

could be in their best interest to have some leave, to seek more areas to settle.

Most migrants had been considering moving out of the UK for more than 2 years and this is a marked contrast to Wolpert's (1966) influential theory that suggested migrants frequently make stressed, poorly-researched quick decisions. While it is true that 78% migrants to New Zealand arrive within 6 months of approval of their application (Shorland, 2006), the government only allows them a year to take up residence. It is unclear whether giving people more time to settle their affairs in their country of origin after visa approval would be beneficial to the migrants.

Action. One area that seemed to conflict between the current studies was the area of stress. A prevalent theme in the qualitative data was predeparture stress; somatic symptoms were even discussed by posters on the forums. However results from Study 2 seem to contradict this, as levels of stress were significantly below the midpoint of the scale. One explanation could be that the highly-stressed posters to the forums may have been much closer to departure than the participants in Study 2, where all but one migrant had more than one month before departure. It may be that the last month before departure is when the stress load increases exponentially, as was indicated by some posts in the forums. One predeparture migrant said: "I'm excited about the move and have been experiencing some stress about the move up till now, but this feels a lot more intense now that we are getting closer."

An alternative explanation could be the venting function that the forum encourages. Adelman (1988) pointed out that in spoken social support interactions the listener often tries to problem-solve or give advice during the initial phase of the spoken distress. This interrupts the venting function and does not allow for the emotional release of the venter. The online interaction is different in that the post is completed by the venter and then put on the forum. Other members read the post and

can elect to offer problem-solving or other support. Researchers have found that

people also experience an *online disinhibition effect*, due to the anonymity and

invisibility of online interaction, which allows them to express themselves much more

openly than they do in person (Suler, 2004).

Another related possibility may be a case of *whinging*, as a common feature in

English social interactions (Fox, 2005). As one poster on a forum said, "I'll stop

whinging now (bloody Pom! ☺). I just needed to vent." Complaints are a normal part

of verbal exchange in English culture and this extends both to acquaintances and

intimate relationships. Fox mentions moving house as a particularly satisfying topic to

whinge about. This public (Internet forum read by anyone) versus private (anonymous

survey) behaviour and expression may be different based on the norms of the situation,

as researchers have found that Internet forums have norms of behaviour (Sassenberg,

2002).

Though the process is frequently described as frustrating and stressful

frequently in the online forums, the participants in the quantitative study were not

depressed (M=6.91 with a possible range of 5-25 on the depression scale). On the

forums there were moments of celebration and joy whenever a step was successfully

made (submission of the application, completion of the interview, buying tickets) but

I suspect that the lack of depression reported by participants in the survey was less

related to specific events and more to the general positive feeling engendered when

taking a long desired action. In most cases, these people have been considering

moving abroad for more than two years, and they are now making satisfying progress

toward that goal. In contrast, the mean for wellbeing was not significantly different

from the midpoint of the scale, indicated that their satisfaction with their lives was not

nearly as positive as their mood. This would be expected because many of them

expressed a desire for a better quality of life and lifestyle.

  Social Support. Both studies pointed to the important role that immediate family members provide in the migration process. This had an influence on both stress and wellbeing. Previous research has characterized immediate family support as a reserve to be drawn from in stressful situations (Holahan & Moos, 1986; Valentiner, Holahan, & Moos, 1994). For most couples, the experience may be one that brings them closer, 68% of the partnered participants said that they were equal in their desire to move abroad. Further study on how partnered couples support each other through the migration process would add greatly to our understanding of this critical facet of social support.

  Unexpectedly, the current study found a gender difference in that women perceived more support from extended family members in the past than did men, however there was no gender difference in the support rating following informing family of the decision to migrate. This may indicate that women feel the loss of family support more than men do. Gubhaju and De Jong (2009) found that influence on the migration decision from family and friends was significantly gender related, with women being more influenced than men in their decision to stay versus leave because of social pressures.

  The most negative part of the experience of migration was the relationship with the extended family for many of the participants. One participant said, "not happened yet, but I am dreading the moment my kids who are very enthusiastic will have to say good bye to their grandparents." Unlike previous work with sojourners (Ong & Ward, 2005), there was a significant drop in social support perceived from extended family members following the migrants informing them of their plans to migrate. Migrants perceived social support to be lower for extended family than

support from the Internet forum that they utilized. Extended family support was

weakly correlated to wellbeing, thus indicating that its presence has a beneficial

influence on migrants, and its loss has an impact. In a study of relocation within

Canada, Hiller and McCraig (2007) found that "Their family in the place of origin had

made them feel that they had betrayed or abandoned them by moving…Relocation

had its painful aspects and created many persisting dilemmas which were often

reconciled by promising eventually to return" (p. 465). In a large study using

retrospective matching methodology, families with migrants abroad were significantly

less happy than intact families, despite receiving remittances (Borraz, Pozo, & Rossi,

2008).

The unique geographic issues involved in British migration to New Zealand

poses obstacles for the remaining family in their desire to maintain a relationship with

the departing family. The expense and length of the journey to New Zealand may be

prohibitive for many people, particularly elderly parents who are being separated from

children and grandchildren. The time difference (12 hours) makes phone calls more

difficult to schedule. For many families, visits back to the UK may be few and far

between due to the high cost of airfare. To compare these factors with the situation if

a family was to move to Spain or France, where regular visits would be easily

accomplished, one can see the barriers that families face in selecting New Zealand as

a destination. British extended families could reasonably be expected to be less than

enthusiastic about the move.

Although participants rated the Internet forums highly as a source of support

and posted regularly about how thankful they were that such a resource was available

to them, this type of support was not related to wellbeing, depression or stress, as was

support from immediate and extended family members. Though forums may be

helpful for providing information, they are not as emotionally available as members of a family, which has a much larger impact on wellbeing. A recent British study linked Internet addiction, including heavy use of online communities, with increased depression (Morrison & Gore, 2010). In the present study, most participants visited online migration forums daily or more than once a day, however there was no relationship between Internet usage and depression, and overall depression levels were extremely low for this sample. The type of forum and reasons for usage may be key factors in the psychological outcomes of people who are heavy forum users (Leung & Lee, 2005).

The ENZ forum that was sampled in Study 1 regularly has 100 people viewing at a time, with the majority being non-registered. Non-registered users may not post questions, but can read most parts of the site (including the area where the request for participants for Study 2 was posted). The question of whether these non-member users are benefiting from the online community arises from the fact that only some types of social support would be available to them. They could receive informational support, and perhaps some belongingness, as many like-others are present on the forum. Introductory posts by new members often include the mention of months spent viewing the forum (usually termed *lurking*) prior to the first post. In similar to findings to Ye (2006), the Internet forum was perceived as offering more support by those who visited it most frequently (daily or more than once a day), but posting activity did not significantly influence the perception of support in the present study. Thus frequent reading of posts and visits to a forum were sufficient to gain a benefit from online participation; a migrant need not post to feel supported by the community.

Limitations

Specific limitations of each study have already been covered in the relevant sections, however overall limitations to this research need to be addressed. The present studies are drawn from the same population of participants: primarily British voluntary skilled migrants to New Zealand who use Internet forums (or are partners of users of Internet forums). It should be noted that this gives a very richly detailed account of the experiences of British skilled migrants who frequent Internet forums but severely limits the ability to extend these results to other migrants. Though Internet usage is growing, not all people are equally comfortable online and forum users may have a very different profile (e.g. educationally, economically) than non-users (Wallace, 1999).

Both studies were cross-sectional, and data was collected a few months after the start of an unprecedented economic crisis for the United Kingdom and many other countries. It is possible that this influenced migration intention or other behavioural characteristics, as 40% of Study 2 participants reported that the economic slowdown had affected their plans. When asked, *in what way*, 58% indicated that the economic turndown had delayed their plans to move. Others reported that it had brought forward their plans, or solidified their desire to move.

Just as Dashefsky's (1992) work pointed to different reasons for migration being linked to the destination as well as the person themselves, such as religion being the key factor in US-Israeli migration, the present study's findings on what causes migration and return migration are inextricably bound to the participants and their life situation. Migrants who select New Zealand as a destination may systematically differ from even UK migrants who select France as a destination in characteristics such as support from extended family, desire for better environment, less crowding, etc.

Implications

Of major interest in this research is the development of the framework of voluntary migration, as other models do not address migration as a process that begins before departure. Both studies included participants in the predeparture period and this is rare in migration research. Support is lent to the idea that voluntary migrants are a distinct group and differentiating them from other types of skilled migrants is important for understanding certain under-explored characteristics (such as drivers and desire for adventure as a drive of migration).

Practical implications of these studies include the strong role that social support plays in the experiences of the migrant before they leave their country of origin. A supportive immediate family, particularly a partner who is equally enthusiastic about the move, is ideal. Extended family support is also important for predeparture migrants, as unsupportive extended family members add to the burden on the migrant. Technology can ease some of the strain, but extended family members' sudden drop in support when the migrant informs them of the decision to move has a cost to the relationship. Internet forums can provide quantities of informational support, but this does not replace the emotional and instrumental support that families provide. Potential migrants could gain useful information and insight into the migration experience from reading Internet forums. Posting comments and questions is not a necessary part of the support, just reading them regularly appears to be enough.

Political implications of this study include the need to reevaluate The Immigration Advisers Licensing Act 2007, because it requires anyone who is systematically giving immigration advice from within New Zealand to be licensed, with very few exceptions such as lawyers and members of Parliament. The law was

designed to regulate an industry that provides services on behalf of potential migrants.

Persons may be exempt from the law if they give advice on an informal or family

basis, as long as it is not systematic. Ultimately, it is not clear whether forum users

inside New Zealand are legally entitled to regularly assist people seeking

informational advice on the forums. Ideally the government should specifically allow

exceptions for online communities, to prevent potential members being scared to

contribute. There has been some discussion on forums about this law and people have

expressed concern over whether they should continue posting.

Further Research. Research implications of these studies are the further

support for the concept of migration as a process that individuals begin years before

the actual arrival in their destination, with a roller-coaster of emotional highs and

lows. Researchers should accept that the lines between sojourner and migrant are

unstable as individuals decisions shift away from original intensions.

Further studies should investigate personality traits such as perseverance and

novelty seeking in voluntary migration. Research that addresses acculturation in the

context of the individual's lifespan is important, particularly for adult migrants who

have a wealth of experiences before migration. Ideally, longitudinal studies could be

conducted that followed migrants through their predeparture preparations and into

their adaptation to their destination. Studying families (both the migrants and

extended family) as a unit during the migration process would be particularly

beneficial to understand how social support functions from multiple perspectives.

Internet forums have proved to be a source for unobtrusive observation of shared

migration experiences. However an ethnographic study of older Chinese participants

in online forums (Xie, 2008) found that most emotional support was provided off the

main forums, in private messaging functions. Each forum is different and researchers

need be cautious in drawing conclusions based solely on the publicly available portions of forums.

Other potential online sources of expression are blogs of people going through the migration process, with caution that public information may vary from private feelings. Further study utilizing narrative analysis, life stories, focus groups, or ethnographic interviewing would be ideal means to understand in depth the perspectives of people in the process of migration.

Conclusion. As self-selected movement of skilled individuals across international boundaries grows (Katseli et al., 2006), the need to understand this type of migrant increases. Surprisingly few psychological studies have examined migration as a holistic process, beginning before a person even considers moving abroad. However the current research suggests that migrants themselves openly acknowledge that they are completing steps that move them toward their goal of successful migration. The aim of the present study was to examine how the framework developed out of the literature compared to the experiences related on Internet forums for migrants and to incorporate changes. The framework was appropriately simplified and further explored quantitatively based on these findings in Study 1. Key factors from Study 2 were the emotional and instrumental support migrants receive from their immediate and extended families, and an online community relied upon for informational support. Predeparture migrants were not depressed, and not as stressed as expected based on the postings to the Internet forums. Most were enthusiastic about their move, framing it as an adventure and a positive change in their lives. Couples who were unequal in their desire to migrate experienced more stress (drivers) or lowered wellbeing (trailing spouses). The findings from the present studies indicate a

support for the idea that migration is a process that begins well before the migrant

leaves their country of origin and continues indefinitely thereafter.

Appendix A

Participant Information Sheet

Purpose of this research:
The aim of the project is to investigate the stress, coping and social support of British migrants before they depart the United Kingdom.
Who is conducting the research?
I am a master's degree student in Cross-Cultural Psychology conducting research for my thesis under the supervision of Dr. Milfont. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington ethics committee.
What is involved if you agree to participate?
If you agree to participate in this study you will be directed to an online survey questionnaire. The survey asks about your steps toward migration, your emotional state, your values and the supportive people in your life. The whole study will not take more than 30 minutes for you to complete. Your participation is VOLUNTARY. If you choose not to take part in the research, this will NOT be held against you in any manner. If you begin the survey but decide not to finish it, you may withdraw from the research without having to give a reason.
Privacy and Confidentiality
All responses are ANONYMOUS. DO NOT type in your name on the survey. The information you provide will be collated with the information from other participants and you will not be identifiable in any way.
What happens to the information that you provide?
The answers you provide may be used for one or more of the following purposes:
The overall findings may form part of a PhD, Honours or Masters thesis that will be submitted for assessment. The overall findings may be submitted for publication in a scientific journal, or presented at scientific conferences. I will keep your answers for at least five years after publication. In accordance with the requirements of some scientific journals and organisations, the anonymous data may be shared with other competent researchers. Your anonymous data may be used in other, related studies. A copy of the data will remain in my custody.
If you would like a report of the findings of the study, you can email
aidan_tabor@vuw.ac.nz

Appendix B

General and Demographic Questions

1. How long have you been considering moving out of the United Kingdom?
2. What are your main reasons for choosing to leave?
3. Do you consider this move permanent?
4. When are you planning to leave the United Kingdom?
5. Have you taken a definite step toward migration, such as putting your house up for sale, applying for a visa or applying for jobs overseas?
6. Do you have a spouse/partner?
7. Who is more enthusiastic about this move?
8. Do you have children?
9. How often do you visit online immigration forums (such as ENZ, British Expats or UK2NZ)?
10. Approximately how many times have you posted a questions or comment in the past 7 days?
11. Have you lived in New Zealand previously?
12. Do you have any family members living in New Zealand?
13. What countries are you considering moving to?
14. What is your gender?
15. What is your age?
16. What is the highest qualification you have completed?
17. What is your current occupation?
18. If you don't mind telling us, what is your annual household income in pounds before tax?

Appendix C

Modified Brief COPE

These items deal with ways you've been coping with the stress in your life since you decided to migrate to New Zealand. Each item says something about a particular way of coping. I want to know to what extent you've been doing what the item says such as how much or how frequently. Don't answer on the basis of whether it seems to be working or not—just whether or not you're doing it. Use these response choices. Try to rate each item separately in your mind from the others. Make your answers as true FOR YOU as you can.

1 = I haven't been doing this at all
2 = I've been doing this a little bit
3 = I've been doing this a medium amount
4 = I've been doing this a lot

1. I've been turning to work or other activities to take my mind off things.
2. I've been concentrating my efforts on doing something about the situation.
3. I've been saying to myself "this isn't real".
4. I've been using comforting foods, alcohol or other drugs to make myself feel better.

5. I've been getting emotional support from others.
6. I've been giving up trying to deal with it.
7. I've been taking action to try to make the situation better.
8. I've been refusing to believe that it's happening.
9. I've been expressing my feelings to others.
10. I've been getting help and advice from other people.
11. I've been using food, alcohol or other drugs to help me get through it.
12. I've been trying to see it in a positive light.
13. I've been criticizing myself for deciding to do this.
14. I've been trying to come up with a strategy about what to do.
15. I've been getting comfort and understanding from someone.
16. I've been giving up the attempt to cope.
17. I've been focusing on the benefits of this move.
18. I've been making jokes about it.
19. I've been doing something to think about it less, such as going to movies, watching TV, reading, daydreaming, sleeping, or shopping.
20. I've accepted the reality of the fact that we are going.
21. I've been talking about what I'm going through.
22. I've been trying to find comfort in my religion or spiritual beliefs.
23. I've been trying to get advice or help from other people about what to do.
24. I've realized that this is really happening.
25. I've been thinking hard about what steps to take.
26. I've been blaming myself for doing this to my family.
27. I've been praying or meditating.
28. I've been making fun of the situation.
Adapted from (Carver, 1997)

Appendix D

Social Support from Multiple Sources Scale

On the following scale, rate (*your family who are accompanying you to New Zealand , your extended family in the past, your extended family since informing them of your decision to migrate, your contacts in New Zealand, the Internet forum that you visit*) on how much you feel that they…

5_ Frequently
4 _Often
3_Occasionally
2_Rarely
1_Never
0_ Not Applicable

1. Give comfort and encouragement to me

2. Give useful advice

3. Listen to my frustrations

4. Help me feel less alone

5. Help me feel OK about myself

6. Offer assistance when I need it

References

Adelman, M. B. (1988). Cross-cultural adjustment : A theoretical perspective on social support. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 12*(3), 183-204.

Albrecht, T., & Adelman, M. B. (1987). *Communicating social support*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Aroian, K., Spitzer, A., & Bell, M. (1996). Family stress and support among former Soviet immigrants. *Western Journal of Nursing Research, 18*, 655-674.

Banathy, B. H. (2000). *Guided evolution of society: A systems view*. New York: Plenum.

Barrera, M., & Ainlay, S. (1983). The structure of social support: A conceptual and empirical analysis. *Journal of Community Psychology, 11*, 133-143.

BBC. (2004). BBC users get itchy feet, *BBC News*: British Broadcasting Corporation.

Beaudoin, C., & Tao, C. (2007). Benefiting from social capital in online support groups: An empirical study of cancer patients. *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 10*(4), 587-590.

Becker, G. (1964). *Human Capital*. New York: NBER.

Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: theory, model, and some new findings* (pp. 9-25). Boulder, CO: West view.

Boddington, B., & Didham, R. (2008). Busy making other plans: Increases in childlessness in New Zealand. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.

Boneva, B. S., & Frieze, I. H. (2001). Toward a concept of a migrant personality. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(3), 477-491.

Borjas, G. (1987). Self-selection and the earnings of immigrants. *The American Economic Review, 77*, 531-533.

Borraz, F., Pozo, S., & Rossi, M. (2008). And what about the family back home? International migration and happiness: Universidad de la Republica deCON Working Paper No 03/08.

Boyd, M. (1989). Family and personal networks in international migration: Recent developments and new agendas. *International Migration Review, 23*(3), 638-670.

Boyle, P., Cooke, T., Gayle, V., & Mulder, C. (2009). The effect of family migration on union dissolution in Britain. In H. Stalford, S. Currie & S. Velluti (Eds.), *Gender and Migration in 21st Century Europe*. London: Ashgate.

Boyle, P., Cooke, T., Halfacree, K., & Smith, D. (2001). A cross-national comparison of the impact of family migration on women's employment status. *Demography, 38*(2), 201-213.

Boyle, P., Cooke, T., Halfacree, K., & Smith, D. (2003). The effect of long-distance family migration and motherhood on partnered women's labour-market activity rates in Great Britain and the USA. *Environment and Planning A, 35*(12), 2097-2114.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology, 3*, 77-101.

Brugha, T. S., Morgan, Z., Bebbington, P., Jenkins, R., Lewis, G., Farrell, M., et al. (2003). Social support networks and type of neurotic symptom among adults in British households. *Psychological Medicine, 33*(2), 307-318.

Burgelt, P., Morgan, M., & Pernice, R. (2008). Staying or Returning: Pre-migration influences on the migration process of German migrants to New Zealand. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 18*, 282-298.

Bushin, N. (2008). Researching family migration decision-making: a children-in-families approach. *Population, Space and Place, 15*(5), 429-443.

Camperio Ciani, A. S., Capiluppi, C., Veronese, A., & Sartori, G. (2007). The adaptive value of personailty differences revealed by small island population dynamics. *European Journal of Personality, 21*(1), 3-22.

Carr, S. C., Inkson, K., & Thorn, K. (2005). From global careers to talent flow: Reinterpreting `brain drain'. *Journal of World Business, 40*(4), 386-398.

Carver, C. S. (1997). You want to measure coping but your protocol's too long: Consider the Brief COPE. *International Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 4*, 92-100.

Carver, C. S., Scheier, M. F., & Weintraub, J. K. (1989). Assessing coping strategies: A theoretically based approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 56*(2), 267-283.

Cassarino, J.-P. (2004). Theorising return migration: the conceptual approach to return migrants revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies, 6*(2), 253-279.

Castillo, L. G., Conoley, C. W., & Brossart, D. F. (2004). Acculturation, white marginalization, and family support as predictors of perceived distress in Mexican American female college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*(2), 151-157.

Chen, C., Burton, M., Greenberger, E., & Dmitieva, J. (1999). Population migration and variation of Dopamine D-4 receptor (DRD4) allele frequencies around the globe. *Evolution and Human Behavior, 20*(5), 309-324.

Chen, H.-J., Mallinckrodt, B., & Mobley, M. (2002). Attachment patterns of East Asian international students and sources of perceived social support as moderators of the impact of U.S. racism and cultural distress. *Asian Journal Of Counselling, 9*, 27-48.

Chou, K.-L. (2009). Pre-migration planning and depression among new migrants to Hong Kong: The moderating role of social support. *Journal of Affective Disorders, 114*(1), 85-93.

Cohen, R. (1995). Fuzzy frontiers of identity: The British case. *Social Identities, 1*(1), 35-62.

Cohen, S., Kamarch, T., & Mermelstein, R. (1983). A global measure of perceived stress. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 24*, 385-396.

Cohen, S., & Willis, T. (1985). Stress, social support and the buffering hypothesis. *Psychological Bulletin, 98*(2), 310-357.

Colvin, J., Chenoweth, L., Bold, M., & Harding, C. (2004). Caregivers of older adults: Advantages and disadvantages of internet-based social support. *Family Relations, 53*(1), 49.

Constant, A., & Massey, D. (2003). Self-selection, earnings, and out-migration: A longitudinal study of immigrants to Germany. *Journal of Population Economics, 16*(4), 631- 634.

Coulson, N. (2005). Receiving social support online: An analysis of a computer-mediated support group for individuals living with Irritable Bowel Syndrome. *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 8*(6), 580-584.

Coulson, N., Buchanan, H., & Aubeeluck, A. (2007). Social support in cyberspace: A content analysis of communication within a Huntington's disease online support group. *Patient Education and Counseling, 68*(2), 173-178.

Cram, F., & Nairn, R. (1993). Special issue on the Treaty of Waitangi and/or bicultural issues facing psychology in the teaching, research, and practice of psychology in Aotearoa. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 76*(March), 8-46.

Cutrona, C. E., & Suhr, J. A. (1992). Controllability of stressful events and satisfaction with spouse support behaviors. *Communication Research. Special Issue: Approaches to the study of communication, social support and helping relationships, 19*(2), 154-174.

Dashefsky, A., DeAmicis, J., Laserwitz, B., & Tabory, E. (1992). *Americans abroad: A comparative study of emigrants from the United States*. New York: Plenum Press.

De Jong, G. (2000). Expectations, gender, and norms in migration decision-making. *Population Studies, 54*(3), 307-319.

De Jong, G., Abad, R., Arnold, F., Carino, B., Fawcett, J., & Gardner, R. (1983). International and internal migration decision making: A value-expectancy based analytical framework of intentions to move from a rural Phillippine province. *International Migration Review, 17*, 470-484.

DiClemente, C., & Prochaska, J. (1982). Self-change and therapy change of smoking behavior: A comparison of processes of change in cessation and maintenance. *Addictive Behaviors, 7*, 133-142.

Dumont, J.-C., & Lemaitre, G. (2004). Counting immigrants and expatriates in OECD countries: A new perspective (Vol. Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers): OECD.

Ebstein, R. P., Nemanov, L., Klotz, I., Gritsenko, I., & Belmaker, R. H. (1997). Additional evidence for an association between the dopamine D4 receptor (D4DR) exon III repeat polymorphism and the human personality trait of novelty seeking. *Molecular Psychiatry, 2*, 472-477.

Ebstein, R. P., Novick, O., Umansky, R., Priel, B., Osher, Y., Blaine, D., et al. (1996). Dopamine D4 receptor (D4DR) exon III polymorphism associated with the human personality trait of novelty seeking. *Nature Genetics, 12*, 78-80.

Eccleston, R. (2006, February 4). Australia bound: Why Brits are relocating here in numbers not seen since the days of the ten-pound Pom: The British are coming. *The Weekend Australian Magazine*.

Eggert, L. (1987). Support in family ties: Stress, coping and adaptation. In T. Albrecht & M. B. Adelman (Eds.), *Communicating social support* (pp. 80 -104). Newbury Park: Sage.

Esquivel, A., Meric-Bernstam, F., & Bernstam, E. V. (2006). Accuracy and self correction of information received from an internet breast cancer list: content analysis. *BMJ, 332*, 939-942.

Eyesenbach, G., & Till, J. (2001). Ethical issues in qualitative research on internet communities. *British medical journal, 323*, 1103-1105.

Fox, K. (2005). *Watching the English: The hidden rules of English behaviour*: Hodder.

Frieze, I., Boneva, B., Sarlija, N., Horvat, J., Ferligoj, A., Kogovsek, T., et al. (2004). Psychological differences in stayers and leavers: Emigration desires in Central and Eastern European university students. *European Psychologist, 9*(1), 15-23.

Gmeich, G. (1980). Return migration. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 9*(1), 135-159.

Gould, S., & Penley, L. (1985). A study of the correlates of the willingness to relocate. *Academy of Management Journal, 28*(2), 472-478.

Grisi, D., & Chirkov, V. (2009). *Critical reflections on the studies of cultural transition during sojourns and suggestions for future research*. Paper presented at the Sixth Biennial Conference of the International Academy for Intercultural Research.

Gubhaju, B., & De Jong, G. F. (2009). Individual versus household migration decision rules: Gender and marital status differences in intentions to migrate in South Africa. *International Migration, 47*(1), 31-61.

Halfacree, K., & Boyle, P. (1999). Introduction: Gender and migration in developed countries. In P. Boyle & K. Halfacree (Eds.), *Migration and Gender in the Developed World* (pp. 1-29). London: Routledge.

Hardill, I. (1998). Gender perspectives on British expatriate work. *Geoforum, 29*(3), 257-268.

Hardill, I. (2004). Transnational living and moving experiences: intensified mobility and dual-career households. *Population, Space and Place, 10*(5), 375-389.

Harris, S., & Cole, M. (2007). A stages of change perspective on managers' motivation to learn in a leadership development context. *Journal of Organizational Change Management, 20*, 774-793.

Healey, S. E. (1981). Onset of insomnia: Role of life-stress events. *Psychosomatic Medicine, 43*(5), 439-451.

Hearn, T. (2007, 21 September 2007). English. *Te Ara- The Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, from http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/English/en

Hiller, H. H., & McCaig, K. S. (2007). Reassessing the role of partnered women in migration decision-making and migration outcomes. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 24*(3), 457-472.

Hlebec, V., Manfreda, K. L., & Vehovar, V. (2006). The social support networks of internet users. *New Media Society, 8*(1), 9-32.

Holahan, C. J., & Moos, R. H. (1986). Personality, coping, and family resources in stress resistance: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51*(2), 389-395.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2009). *Factors predicting pre-acculturative stress among potential ethnic migrants from Russia to Finland*. Paper presented at the 6th Biennial Conference of the International Academy for Intercultural Research.

Johnson, M., & Gaines, M. (1990). Evolution of dispersal: Theoretical models and empirical tests using birds and mammals. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics, 21*, 449-480.

Johnston, P. (2008). Emigration soars as Britons desert the UK. *The Telegraph*, from http://www.telegraph.co.uk

Jorgensen, D. (1989). *Participant observation: A methodology for human studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kagitcibasi, C. (1996). *Family and socialization across cultures: A view from the other side*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Katseli, L. T., Lucas, R. E. B., & Xenogiani, T. (2006). Effects of migration on sending countries: What do we know. Paris: OECD.

Kim, K., & Slocum Jr, J. W. (2008). Individual differences and expatriate assignment effectiveness: The case of U.S.-based Korean expatriates. *Journal of World Business, 43*(1), 109-126.

Kroenke, C., Kubzansky, L., Schernhammer, E., Holmes, M., & Kawachi, I. (2006). Social networks, social support, and survival after breast cancer diagnosis. *Journal of Clinical Oncology, 24*(7), 1105-1111.

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal and coping*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Leung, L., & Lee, P. (2005). Multiple determinants of life quality: the roles of internet activities, use of new media, social support and leisure activities. *Telematics and Informatics, 22*, 161-180.

Ley, D., & Kobayashi, A. (2005). Back to Hong Kong: Return migration or transnational sojourn? *Global Networks, 5*(2), 111-127.

Li, F., Jowett, A., Findlay, A., & Skeldon, R. (1995). Discourse on migration and ethnic identity: interviews with professionals in Hong Kong. *Transactions: Institute of British Geographers, 20*, 342-356.

Low, S. M., & Altman, I. (1992). Place attachment: a conceptual inquiry. In S. M. Low & I. Altman (Eds.), *Place Attachment: Human Behavior and Environment* (pp. 1-12). New York: Plenum.

Markels, A. (2004, November 21). After election day, a vote to leave. *New York Times*, from http://www.nytimes.com

Markus, H. R., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist, 41*, 954-969.

Massey, D., & Espinosa, K. (1997). What's driving Mexico-U.S. Migration? A theoretical and policy analysis. *American Journal of Sociology, 102*(939-999).

McCrae, R., & Costa, P. T. (1994). The stability of personality: Observations and evaluations. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 3*(6), 173-175.

Merwood, P. (2007). Migration Trends 2006/07. Wellington, New Zealand: Department of Labour.

Miles, M., & Huberman, A. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Morrison, C., & Gore, H. (2010). The relationship between excessive internet use and depression: A questionnaire-based study of 1,319 young people and adults. *Psychopathology, 43*(2), 121-126.

Norris, P. (2004). The bridging and bonding role of online communities. In P. Howard & S. Jones (Eds.), *Society online: The internet in context*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Office for National Statistics. (2007). News Release. London.

Ong, A., & Ward, C. (2005). The construction and validation of a social support measure for sojourners: The Index of Sojourner Social Support (ISSS) Scale. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 36*, 637-661.

Orellana, M., Thorne, B., Chee, A., & Lam, W. (2001). Transnational childhoods: The participation of children in the processes of family migration. *Social Problems, 48*(4), 572- 591.

Palloni, A., Massey, D., Ceballos, M., Espinosa, K., & Spittel, M. (2001). Social capital and international migration: A test using information on family networks. *The American Journal of Sociology, 106*(5), 1262-1298.

Perry, M. (2008). Moved by the company- International migrants and transnational organisations. *New Zealand Geographer, 59*(2), 54 - 63.

Raghuram, P. (2004). Gendering skilled migratory streams: Implications for conceptualizations of migration *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 30*(2), 303 - 322.

Redmond, M. V. (2000). Cultural distance as a mediating factor between stress and intercultural communication competence. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 24*(1), 151-159.

Ritchie, K. (2008). NZ becoming 'transit lounge' for immigrants to Australia. from http://www.abc.net.au

Rockman, M., & Steele, J. (Eds.). (2003). *Colonization of unfamiliar landscapes: The archaeology of adaptation*. New York: Routledge.

Rumbaut, R. (1994). Origins and destinies: Immigration to the United States since World War II. *Sociological Forum, 9*(4), 583-621.

Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2006). *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sanderson, L. (2009). International mobility of new migrants to Australia. *International Migration Review, 43*(2), 292-331.

Sang, D., & Ward, C. (2006). Acculturation in Australia and New Zealand. In D. L. Sam & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sassenberg, K. (2002). Common bond and common identity groups on the Internet: Attachment and normative behavior in on-topic and off-topiv chats. *Group Dynamics:Theory, Research, and Practice, 6*(1), 27-37.

Schmitz, P. (2003). Psychosocial factors of immigration and emigration: An introduction. In L. Adler & U. Gielen (Eds.), *Migration: Immigration and emigration in international perspective*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Segal, U. (2002). *A framework for immigration: Asians in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Severy, L. (1979). Residential migration and crowding. *Journal of Population, 2*(4), 358-369.

Sherbourne, C. D., & Stewart, A. L. (1991). The MOS social support survey. *Social Science & Medicine, 32*(6), 705-714.

Shorland, P. (2006). People on the move: A study of migrant movement patterns to and from New Zealand. Wellington, New Zealand: Department of Labour.

Simeon, R., & Fujiu, K. (2000). Cross-cultural adjustment strategies of Japanese spouses in Silicon Valley. *Employee Relations, 22*(6).

Statistics New Zealand. (2008a). Demographic trends: 2007. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand.

Statistics New Zealand. (2008b). Longitudinal immigration survey: New Zealand (LisNZ) – wave 1. Wellington, New Zealand.

Stimson, R., & Minnery, J. (1998). Why people move to the 'Sun-belt': A case study of long-distance migration to the Gold Coast, Australia. *Urban Studies, 35*(2), 193-214.

Stone, I., & Stubbs, C. (2007). Enterprising expatriates: Lifestyle migration and entrepreneurship in rural southern Europe. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development, 19*(5), 433-450.

Suler, J. R. (2004). The online disinhibition effect. *CyberPsychology & Behavior, 7*, 321-326.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1986). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Tan, L. (2008). Record numbers leaving for Australia. *The New Zealand Herald*, from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/

Tartakovsky, E. (2009). Cultural identities of adolescent immigrants: A three-year longitudinal study including the pre-migration period. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 38*(3), 654-671.

Tartakovsky, E., & Schwartz, S. H. (2001). Motivation for emigration, values, wellbeing, and identification among young Russian Jews. *International Journal of Psychology, 36*(2), 88-99.

Tourism New Zealand. (2008). Tourism New Zealand Profile. Wellington: Tourism New Zealand Manaakitanga Aotearoa.

Tuckett, A. (2005). Applying thematic analysis theory to practice: A researcher's experience. *Contemporary Nurse, 19*, 75-87.

Uebelmesser, S. (2005). *To go or not to go: Emigration from Germany*. Munich: CESifo Group.

United Nations. (2006). International migration and development factsheet. New York: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division

Vahtera, J., Kivimaki, M., Hublin, C., Korkeila, K., Suominen, S., Paunio, T., et al. (2007). Liability to anxiety and severe life events as predictors of new-onset sleep disturbances. *Sleep, 30*(11), 1537-1546.

Valentiner, D. P., Holahan, C. J., & Moos, R. H. (1994). Social support, appraisals of event controllability, and coping: An integrative model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 66*(6), 1094-1102.

van Dalen, H. P., & Henkens, K. (2007). Longing for the Ggood life: Understanding emigration from a high-income country. *Population and Development Review, 33*(1), 37-66.

van Ecke, Y. (2005). Immigration from an attachment perspective. *Social Behavior and Personality, 33*(5), 467-476.

van Uden-Kraan, C. F., Drossaert, C. H. C., Taal, E., Lebrun, C. E. I., Drossaers-Bakker, K. W., Smit, W. M., et al. (2008). Coping with somatic illnesses in online support groups: Do the feared disadvantages actually occur. *Computers in Human Behavior, 24*(2), 309-324.

Vitaliano, P., Russo, J., Carr, J., Maiuro, R., & Becker, J. (1985). The Ways of Coping Checklist: Revision and psychometric properties. *Multivariate Behavioral Research, 20*, 3-26.

Wallace, P. (1999). *The psychology of the internet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wallwork, J., & Dixon, J. (2004). Foxes, green fields and Britishness: On the rhetorical construction of place and national identity. *The British Journal of Social Psychology, 43*(1), 21-39.

Ward, C., Bochner, S., & Furnham, A. (2001). *The psychology of culture shock* (2 ed.). New York: Routledge.

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- 249.

WHO Regional Office for Europe. (1998). Wellbeing measures in primary health care/ The Depcare Project (Report on a WHO Meeting, Stockholm, Sweden). Copenhagen: WHO.

Whybrow, P. (2005). *American Mania: When More Is Not Enough*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Whyte, A., Marshall, S., & Chambers, G. (2005). Human evolution in Polynesia. *Human Biology, 77*(2), 157-177.

Winchie, D. B., & Carment, D. W. (1988). Intention to migrate: A psychological analysis. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 18*(9), 717-736.

Wolpert, J. (1966). Migration as an adjustment to environmental stress. *Journal of Social Issues, 22*(4), 92-102.

Wortman, C. (1984). Social Support and the cancer patient: Conceptual and methodological issues. *Cancer, 53*, 2339-2360.

Wright, K. (2000). Computer-mediated social support, older adults, and coping. *Journal of Communication, 50*(3), 100-118.

Xie, B. (2008). Multimodal computer-mediated communication and social support among older Chinese Internet users. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 13*, 728-750.

Ye, J. (2006). Traditional and online support networks in the cross-cultural adaptation of Chinese international students in the United States. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 11*, 863-876.

Yeoh, B., & Khoo, L.-M. (1998). Home, work and community: Skilled international migration and expatriate women in Singapore. *International Migration, 36*(2), 159-186.

Yijala, A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (in press). Pre-migration acculturation attitudes among potential ethnic migrants from Russia to Finland. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*.

Zodgekar, A. (1990). British emigrants to New Zealand: Their motives and expectations. *International Migration, 28*(417-441).