INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING:
THE PECULIAR CASE OF NEW ZEALAND

BY

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Abstract

New Zealand is a peculiar case because it has both high immigration (roughly 23% born abroad) and high emigration (24% of highly skilled New Zealanders live overseas). Within this context, the purpose of this research is to a) examine why some people self-select to migrate internationally and others do not, b) explore how people make a decision to leave their country of origin, c) investigate how they select a destination, and d) consider how insights learned can contribute to Naturalistic Decision Making (NDM) theory of how decisions are made in the real world. In the first study, three of the largest immigrant source countries were selected for inclusion: United Kingdom/Ireland (with higher wages than New Zealand), South Africa (similar wages), and India (lower wages). Data were gathered through semi-structured interviews with 20 pre-departure and 26 post-arrival migrants to New Zealand. A thematic analysis was conducted separately for each country's data, resulting in a total of 1564 coded extracts in 43 themes and subthemes. The findings support the view that the migration decision process contains three decisions: whether to go, where to go and when to go. Regarding the question of whether to go, Indian and British participants had very similar reasons for leaving their country of origin: lifestyle and work/life balance, opportunities for work and children, and environment. South Africans were overwhelmingly concerned with quality of life, particularly safety. New Zealand was selected as a destination of choice due to quality of life, climate, accessibility of nature, cultural similarity, career opportunities, visa process transparency and the perception that migrants were wanted. On the question of when to go, unlike much of the decision-making in the research literature, this decision process was a negotiation between partners that occurred over a long period of time, quite often years. The second study explored individual differences, such as personality characteristics, in the international mobility intentions of New Zealanders. In a sample of 205 adults born and currently living in New Zealand, 38.5% were planning to move abroad. Using logistical regression techniques, it was found that higher persistence, openness to experience, extraversion, and promotion focus all increased the chances that a participant was planning departure. Higher agreeableness and conscientiousness lowered the odds of a move. Gender moderated the relationship between sensation

seeking and intention to migrate, with women's decision being influenced to a greater extent than men's by sensation seeking. Also, gender moderated the relationship between emotional stability and intention to migrate, as men who were lower in emotional stability were more likely to leave. The implications from this research include the following NDM-based assumptions: migration decision-making is a process driven by individual differences, occurs over time, has multiple decision-makers, exists within a social (family) context, has real consequences for the parties involved, is bound by cultural norms, takes place in a dynamically-changing environment (including immigration policy changes, life-stage, family health and resources changes), and is the expression of goals that may change during the process.

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Forward

In mid-2010, I presented my master's research on British immigration to the Settlement Division at Immigration New Zealand. They were very interested in hearing about the process that migrants went through before, during and after migration. Though I am sure I was asked many questions about the methodology and findings, I vividly remember one question from that session. A Settlement officer asked me, "Why New Zealand? Why not Australia?" Since record numbers of New Zealanders were choosing to leave for Australia, it seemed like an obvious question. I had no answer for him at the time. But the question stuck in my head, and though it is tardy, this thesis is the answer.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

International migration decision-making as a process

Why did you come here? This is often first question that a migrant[1] to New Zealand is asked at any party they attend. It seems as if the answer would be simple, straightforward and hopefully interesting. But the real story of how people choose to move internationally is longer and more complex than a cocktail party conversation can usually bear. White and Jackson (1995) encouraged researchers to move away from the study of migration as an event, which tends to neglect process. In fact, previous studies have indicated that the process of migration begins well before departure (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Yijälä, 2011; Tabor & Milfont, 2011; Tartakovsky, 2012; Yijälä & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2010). The Migration Change Model shown in Figure 1 is a stage model that attempts to describe the process of voluntary, or self-selected, migration (Tabor & Milfont, 2011). The model begins in a pre-departure stage when it is theorised that both intrapersonal characteristics, such as personality, as well as familial connections are important influences on the migration decision. The model suggests that migrants move into a stage of actively contemplating departure, at which time macro factors (e.g., perceptions of crime) and micro factors (e.g., specific job opportunities) are critical components that migrants consider. The model proposes that as a migrant begins to work through the many logistical and emotional demands of the move, they are already forced to cope with the stress of the situation. However, most research on migration focuses on the later acculturation stage that occurs after the migrant arrives in their destination (Sam & Berry, 2006; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Previous work has failed to describe how migrants move between these stages, and the process involved.

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[1] Throughout this thesis the term 'migrant' is used to refer to anyone who has moved, or is in the process of moving internationally with the intention, more or less, to remain for the long term in the destination country. The term immigrant is often used in international literature, but as this thesis is actually the study of emigration, the process of leaving, rather than immigration, the process of arriving and settling, the term immigrant is not quite accurate. Most of the participants in the studies presented here are pre-departure, which means they are not technically immigrants yet. The government of New Zealand prefers the term 'migrant' (Department of Labour, 2009a, 2009b) and I have adopted this terminology.

Precontemplation
Intrapersonal Factors | Familial Connections

Acculturation
Psychological Adjustment | Sociocultural Adaptation

Return / Onward Migration

Contemplation
Micro Factors | Macro Factors

Action
Stress | Coping
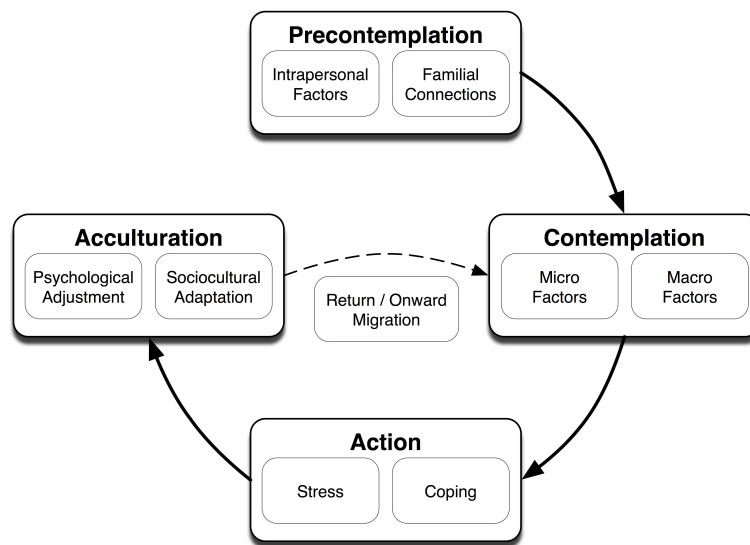
Figure 1. Migration Change Model, from Tabor & Milfont, 2011

Thus this thesis explores why some people move from pre-contemplation into actively making a migration decision; essentially *why some people self-select migration and others do not*. But even for those who decide they want to move to another country, there is a lack of clarity around how people move from wanting to move internationally to actually doing so. After conducting a nationally-representative 5-year longitudinal study of Dutch nationals with intentions to move internationally, van Dalen and Henkens (2012a) observed "moving from intentions to behaviour is largely unexplained" (p.11). Previous studies have highlighted that the pre-departure period can be long and tedious (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Yijälä, 2011; Tabor & Milfont, 2011). How does anyone make it through?

Since about 2.9% of the world's population lives outside of their country of birth (J. P. Martin, 2008), amounting to about 185 million people, clearly the phenomenon of international migration is massive despite the many obstacles. The majority of research into international migration decision-making studies people coming from poor countries to rich countries. For example Philippines-USA migration, Nuie-New Zealand migration and West African-Netherlands migration (Connell, 2008; De Jong, Root, Gardner, Fawcett, & Abad, 1986; Hamer, 2008). Studies of people leaving first world countries are much more rare (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Dashefsky, DeAmicis, Laserwitz, & Tabory, 1992; Stone & Stubbs, 2007; Tabor & Milfont, 2011; van Dalen & Henkens, 2007). Therefore there is good cause to further explore the migration decisions of people living in first world countries, such as New Zealand.

Most OECD countries have less than 10% of their highly skilled citizens living abroad, but New Zealand is ranked first (along with Ireland) at 24.2% (Dumont & Lemaitre, 2004). This means that a very large proportion of skilled New Zealanders now live in other countries. This situation makes the country fairly unique in that it has both extremely high emigration and immigration (Bedford & Poot, 2010). For a country of just over 4 million people, having as many as a million citizens living abroad is a startling statistic (Statistics New Zealand, 2012a). To understand how this came about, Castles and Miller (2003) argued that migration must be placed in the fabric of historical, colonial, political and cultural ties between the nations involved. Therefore there are two contextual perspectives that are essential to address: the sending country and the receiving country. To begin, New Zealand is a settler country, and understanding the historical patterns sheds a great deal of light on the situation of today's migrants. Therefore I will next present an overview of the context of migration both to and from New Zealand, and continue with relevant theory as well as research on international migration decision-making. Later chapters will also address issues related to the sending countries.

Immigration to New Zealand

The history of Aotearoa/New Zealand is entwined with the story of migration. From the first waka (sea going canoe) to arrive on the sandy shore, to the Englishman stepping onto the dock from the *H.M.S. Acheron*, to the Air China jet touching down at Auckland International Airport, this is a place of new beginnings. The migrants coming to New Zealand today are following in the footsteps of Polynesian explorers, who first came to *Aotearoa* (New Zealand) in *waka* (canoes). The indigenous people of New Zealand, the Māori, trace their ancestry, or *whakapapa*, back to these original canoes. There has been some debate about the exact timeframe of this early settlement, but the 13th century is a commonly used date (J. Wilson, 2009). Māori settled both in the North and South Island, and had a developed civilization and culture when the first European explorer, Captain Cook, arrived in 1769. New Zealand quickly became a distant outpost of the British empire. With the 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the British government felt secure in sending wave after wave of settlers to populate New Zealand for the Crown.

In more modern times, though never specifically named a "white New Zealand" policy, the 20th century began with unlimited access for anyone wanting to leave the British Isles for New Zealand, and strict visa requirements for all other nationalities. When British migrant numbers fell short and skills shortages needed to be met, Scandinavian and Northern

Europeans were considered for entry (Beaglehole, 2011). In 1975, a gradual shift in policy began to examine skills and qualifications as criteria important to migration, rather than nationality (Ongley & Pearson, 1995). This shift in policy focus to attract skilled migrants has resulted in a major influx of migrants who are not specifically included in The Treaty of Waitangi. The Immigration Act of 1987 opened New Zealand's doors to migrants from any country, creating options for skilled migrants, family reunification and a small humanitarian stream. In 1991, New Zealand moved to the points-based system common in other developed nations, and new sources of migrants became increasingly common, particularly China and India, but also Malaysia and South Africa (Department of Labour, 2011; Shorland, 2006).

The recent changes in migration policy have profoundly affected the makeup of New Zealand society. The current population of New Zealand is just over 4 million, with about 23% of the population born overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Since 1981, the New Zealand-born population only grew by 15%, though the foreign-born population doubled (Hodgson & Poot, 2010). In 1996, migrants from the UK and Ireland made up 38% of migrants, and Asian-born migrants made up 19%. By the 2006 census, British migrants had dropped to 29% and Asian migrants had increased to 29%. These dramatic shifts in population make up have far reaching impacts within the society. Consequently, it is important to explore why so many migrants are coming to this distant corner of the globe.

Emigration from New Zealand

Skills shortages have been a problem for much of New Zealand's history (Beaglehole, 2011), and this is compounded by many New Zealanders leaving the country. Lately, this topic has become increasing relevant. As shown in Figure 2, permanent and long-term departures from New Zealand have been extremely variable over the past 30 years (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). This has included several prolonged periods of negative net migration (more people leaving than arriving), the most recent of which occurred in 2011/12 (Labour & Immigration Research Centre, 2013a). Though in absolute numbers, the issue does not appear to be substantially more problematic than it was in the 1980s, the recent sharp increase has renewed concern ("NZ exodus a record," 2013). Compared to large countries, such as the USA or Canada, the scale of the New Zealand is much smaller, and therefore the sudden loss of workers, friends and relatives is keenly felt (Ongley & Pearson, 1995).

Permanent and long-term departures of NZ citizens
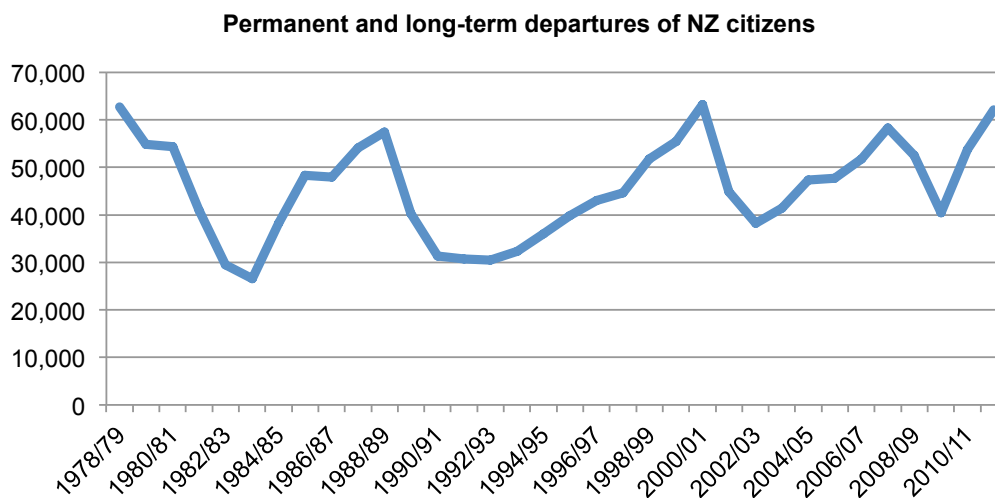
Figure 2. Permanent and long-term departures of New Zealand citizens

Previous research has connected this high outward mobility with several cultural factors, primarily the acceptance of an OE (overseas experience) as a rite of passage for young New Zealanders (Haverig & Roberts, 2011; J. Wilson, 2006; J. Wilson, Fisher, & Moore, 2009). This usually involves a period of working abroad, very often in the UK or Australia (see below) where visa policies have made the process relatively simple. However, the intention to undertake an OE is as much about exploration of the world and personal development as it is about financial gain and career development (Inkson & Meyers, 2003; J. Wilson et al., 2009). It may have long-term positive effects for the country as a whole, as skills developed abroad are brought home for a net "brain gain" if citizens return to New Zealand after their OE.

Another facilitating factor in the outflow of New Zealanders was the Trans-Tasman Travel Arrangement of 1973, which gave New Zealand citizens the right to live and work in Australia indefinitely (P. M. Smith, 2012). This flexibility has followed a consistent pattern of New Zealanders going to Australia in far greater numbers than the counter-flow migration of Australians moving here (Carmichael, 1993). As of 2006, 16.1% of prime working age New Zealanders (aged 25-54) were actually working in Australia (Haig, 2010). Over the past few years, the issue of Trans-Tasman migration has become more critically important. In the year to August, 2012, a total of 53,900 New Zealanders left for Australia, which represents about 150 people leaving per day (Statistics New Zealand, 2012b). That means that in a single year, New Zealand lost about as many people as those living in the city of New Plymouth, the 11th largest city in the country (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). These panic

inducing statistics have increased the political rhetoric that blames government policy for these shifts ("Key takes aim at targets," 2012; "Kiwis off to Aussie," 2012; "NZ exodus a record," 2013). The displacement of Christchurch residents following the series of earthquakes in that region have also been connected to increasing international departures (Labour & Immigration Research Centre, 2011). Considering the sudden increased emigration and demand for skilled building trades in the region, this has resulted in ever increasing pressures for finding workers (often immigrants) to replace these losses.

Given this context of New Zealand as a high emigration and immigration nation, it is critical that scholarship be devoted to understanding the driving mechanisms behind this mass movement of people. Yet very little migration decision-making research has been done in New Zealand, and there has been reliance on international theories to shed light on the causes.

Theoretical perspectives on migration decision-making

"Decision-making may be defined in very general terms as a process or set of processes that results in the selection of one item from a number of possible alternatives" (Fox, Cooper, & Glasspool, 2013, p. 1). Using this definition, it can be recognised that migration decision-making is, by nature, not finite, but is actually a series of decisions (De Jong, 1999; Sly & Wrigley, 1986). Wanting to move to New Zealand, deciding to move to New Zealand and even telling people that one is moving to New Zealand are not going to actually get one here. Migration decision-making is a process of many small steps of both decisions and actions that must be move through in order to accomplish the end goal. Selecting a destination is one of the many steps, but as will be made clear through this thesis, the process of migration decision-making is one of the more complex life decisions that a person can make.

The first scholar to study migration was a German-born cartographer who worked for the British War Office in the late nineteenth century, by the name of Ravenstein (Boyle, Halfacree, & Robinson, 1998). Through systematic examination of the UK census rolls for 1871 and 1881, he identified ten "laws" of migration that remain the foundation for today's research. His final law stated that the major causes of migration are economic. Today, "social scientists do not study migration from a shared paradigm but from a variety of competing theoretical viewpoints that are fragmented across disciplines" (Wihtol de Wenden, 2011, p. 1567). Certainly there are a great deal of theories of international migration decision-making, primarily developed in the field of economics. Although no single theory of international

migration exists (Massey et al., 1993), there is a pattern of agreement among the many economic theories in the field. The six main assumptions built into the theories are: international moves are cost-free, risk-free, migrants are homogeneous, have perfect information, have complete autonomy of decision-making and behave perfectly rationally (Fischer, Martin, & Staubhaar, 1997).

Rational theories of decision-making are prescriptive, focussing on what choice a person *should* make in a situation (Caine, 1999; Oaksford & Chater, 2007). These theories are explicitly individualist, assuming that migration is something that individuals have complete control over. For example, one extremely influential idea was the expected utility theory, which was for many years the most dominant theoretical basis for decision-making research (Von Neumann & Morgenstern, 1944). According to this theory, all outcomes are known and decisions are focused on maximising total wealth. This theory centres on wage differentials, expected net return, and utility maximisation in explaining international migration, all resting on a strong rational choice basis (Todaro, 1969). The argument here is that people behave rationally, and they move from areas of high numbers of workers and low wages to areas of labour scarcity and high wages. Later dual labour market theory added consideration of the demands of receiving countries for migrant workers (Piore, 1979). More recently, human capital theories were developed that consider the migration decision to be a cost-benefit calculation carried out by an individual based on total lifetime earnings, comparing the present location vs. the potential destination (Katz & Stark, 1986; Sjastaad, 1962). This assumption of financial causes is still very much in evidence in the academic literature. Kennan & Walker (2009) published a paper titled 'Effect of expected income on individual migration decisions' that has been cited 241 times in just 4 years.

If these theories are applied to the case of immigration to New Zealand, they tend to be less than satisfying, because the UK has long been the top source country for skilled migrants and wages there are higher (Department of Labour, 2009b, 2010). Each of the assumptions of economic theories listed above have been categorically disproven in a variety of New Zealand and international studies, because migration is expensive, risky, migrants are a diverse group, humans can only process limited information, behave with less than perfect rationality and have only limited autonomy in their decision (Adams, 2004; Baláž & Williams, 2011; Bürgelt, Morgan, & Pernice, 2008; Department of Labour, 2009b; Gibson & McKenzie, 2011; Tabor & Milfont, 2011). Still, the underlying assumption of money and work as the underlying cause of migration is so pervasive that even when numbers do not support this belief, interpretations must be created to force the data into an economic

explanation. For example, in March 2013 the unemployment rate in New Zealand remained higher than that of Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013; Labour & Immigration Research Centre, 2013b). As these two countries allow unrestricted movement and right to work of their citizens, theories of international migration suggest that large numbers of New Zealand citizens would continue to move to Australia where the labour market is more favourable. However, the most recent numbers show that the net loss of migrants to Australia was 2,400, the lowest number since January 2011 (Bascand, 2013). This unexpected sharp decline was interpreted as evidence that labour market conditions in New Zealand were improving faster than the labour market data has indicated (Weir, 2013), because non-financial explanations for international migration are disregarded.

Behavioural approaches to decision-making

Rather than rely on economic theories of migration decision-making, given New Zealand's migration landscape, it is more suited to take a behavioural approach. The behavioural approach, as developed by Wolpert (1965, 1966), focuses on the mechanisms behind the act of migration. Wolpert was interested in how psychological processes influence the migration process. He developed the concept of place utility, as a way to represent how people's perceptions of place were influenced by their own satisfaction (or lack their of) with the place. Wolpert believed that migration decisions were often far from rational (or optimal) to an outside observer.

Even the rational economic theories have been revised, particularly by the concept of "bounded rationality" (Simon, 1955). Herbert Simon, a political scientist and pioneer of artificial intelligence, described how humans dealt with their own limitations when making decisions. Therefore his idea of bounded rationality relaxes the rational assumptions, instead of requiring consideration of an unlimited number of potential choices, it instead aims to predict the processes that people use for generating potential choices. Rather than assuming unlimited computational power, it acknowledges that human brains are limited in their capabilities. He also used the term *satisficing*, to mean choosing the first option that satisfies a criteria rather than analysing for the optimal choice. Wolpert recognised that migrants' knowledge of destinations was limited, though interestingly the process used to select among destinations has rarely been studied since his time.

In sharp contrast to the rational economic theories, behavioural and descriptive theories of decision-making allow for human frailties and are interested in how these limits impact on decisions (Gigerenzer, 2001; Kahneman, 2003; Kahneman & Tversky, 1984;

Tversky & Kahneman, 1974, 1992). The real world presents the potential migrant with a myriad of changing options: stay, go, move to one country or another. It was in reaction to these types of situations that dynamic decision-making theory was developed, and it conceptualises decision-making as a series of focussed decisions to achieve a goal (Edwards, 1962).

Naturalistic decision-making (NDM) theory was developed out of dynamic decision-making research (Klein, 2008; Zsambok & Klein, 1997) and is better suited to the shifting context that migration decisions occur within. As shown in Table 1, the differences between traditional decision-making research and NDM are numerous. But perhaps NDM's strongest benefit is its ecological validity; essentially it was designed as a way to help understand how real-world decisions are made (Zsambok & Klein, 1997). NDM research began by interviewing experts about how they made decisions in the field, and there is still a focus on qualitative research with expert or experienced decision-makers as participants (Greitzer, Podmore, Robinson, & Ey, 2010). But as knowledge about the areas of study expanded, researchers have also branched into experimental, survey and microworld (computer simulation) methods (G. A. Klein, 1998; Lipshitz, Klein, Orasanu, & Salas, 2001).

Table 1. Comparison of NDM and Traditional Decision-Making research from Zsambok (1997)

Naturalistic Decision-Making	Traditional Decision-Making Research
Uncertain, dynamic environments	Static, simulated situations
Shifting, ill-defined or competing goals	Clear and stable goals
Action/feedback loops	One-shot decisions
Time stress	Ample time for tasks
High stakes	No true consequences for decision makers
Multiple players	Individual decision-making
Organizational goals and norms	Decision-making in a vacuum

NDM has been applied almost exclusively in emergency and military contexts (Ash & Smallman, 2010; Carroll, Hatakenaka, & Rudolph, 2006; Chauvin & Lardjane, 2008; Greitzer et al., 2010; Salmon, Stanton, Jenkins, Walker, & Rafferty, 2010), rarely outside of the USA (H. A. Klein, 2002), and relatively few studies have applied NDM to medical, organisational and sporting contexts (Armenis & Neal, 2008; Gore, Banks, Millward, & Kyriakidou, 2006; Macquet & Fleurance, 2007). Nevertheless, in all of these real world settings, decision-making occurs in contexts very different from that which can be studied in

a lab, primarily because the consequences of decisions outside of the lab are much more serious. One example of the inconsequential decisions typically studied is a paper, cited more than 400 times according to Scopus, that researched the choices university students made about brands of strawberry jam (T. D. Wilson & Schooler, 1991).

Central to NDM is the understanding that, in the real world, decisions themselves shift the options that are available to the decision-maker, creating an action-feedback loop. In any decision-making process, early decisions limit later options. For example, Chauvin and Lardjane (2008) studied the motion of vessels at sea and verbal protocols of watch officers on board Dover Strait ferries, finding that though maritime rules prescribe the behaviour of ships, circumstances require constant reading of any situation and occasional deviations from protocol in order to avoid collisions. The decision makers in this case react to cues in the situation, and react quickly, sometimes changing tactics depending on what the other vessel in the situation does. They read the current circumstances, including possible options and risks, using what is termed *situational awareness* (Lichacz, 2009; Pauley, O'Hare, & Wiggins, 2008). NDM thus highlights the evident fact that in real life decision-makers have to cope with the results of their earlier actions, and that there is no way to go back in time and start the decision-making process again (as would be possible in a lab). An example of this type of research was a qualitative study of 36 patients with chronic heart failure (Reigel, Vaughan Dickson, & Topaz, 2013). The authors of this study used an NDM approach to explore how patients used situation awareness to identify symptoms and possible self- or professional responses. This included semi-structured interviews that began with the question, "Tell me about your heart failure?" (p. 93) and followed with thematic analysis. The results indicated that patients used situation awareness when the identified symptoms, and mental simulations to predict what would occur and used this to aid in their decision of whether to use self-care treatment, call for medical treatment, or not to act at all.

As a result of this central characteristic of NDM, the theory has a focus on process, meaning that it is concerned not with predicting outcomes but in describing the process that proficient decision-makers use, including what information they seek and how they make sense of it (Lipshitz et al., 2001). The work of Klein and colleagues with fire-fighters is a classic application (G. A. Klein, Calderwood, & Macgregor, 1989). In interviews with 30 fire-fighters with an average of 23 years experience, the researchers collected information about 156 critical incidents. Rather than considering all possible options, as predicted by normative theories, the fire commanders had nearly always followed the first course of action they identified. Why? Because their experience had given them a feasible course of action as

the most immediately accessible response, and because time is essential in fires there was not an option to pontificate about other choices. In describing decisions in real world contexts, NDM includes the use of intuition, rather than prescribing what a decision-maker ought to do (Hsu, 2006).

Two additional key elements of NDM are the recognition that decisions occur in a social context, including multiple actors who are making independent and dependent decisions, and that these decisions have real consequences for those involved. Decisions occur within settings that have their own rules and norms, such as organisational settings (Gore et al., 2006). NDM is rooted in this awareness of multiple decision-makers in a given situation. However, it is usually approached as organisational teams. The more in sync each member is with the group, the better the performance of the team: including shared mental models, better communication, and better planning (Volpe, 1996). In a study of 27 safety investigation teams in three nuclear power plants, the problem of teams with differing levels of organisational power has been shown to hamper the implementation of recommendations (Carroll et al., 2006). However the focus of the research has primarily been on teams that are temporary, rather than groups that have deep emotional connections, as families migrating together do. Nevertheless, in all of these situations, the consequences of the decisions are real, and at times even life threatening. Orasanu (2005) discussed how NASA is applying NDM to training and preparation of astronauts for long space missions, including the importance of crews working together to solve problems in stressful environments.

The application of NDM to migration decision-making is novel, but clearly has benefits both for the field of migration research and for NDM. For example, the time pressures that a fire chief faces are very different from the time pressures that potential migrants might face. Thus, this thesis will seek to explore how relevant NDM is to longer-term events such as migration decision-making, potentially expanding the real world decisions that NDM can address.

Key factors in migration decision-making

After providing a definition of decision-making and electing NDM as the best theoretical model to study migration decision-making, it is important to describe key variables related to decision-making. In particular, five key factors are most relevant to understanding migration decision-making: risk/uncertainty, personality, social influences, reasons (e.g., push and pull factors) and destination selection.

Risk and uncertainty. Decision-making in a dynamic environment means that there are events outside of the control of the actors that have influence on how decisions are made and resulting outcomes; therefore, decisions occur in conditions of uncertainty. Allan Williams and Vladimir Baláž (2012) recently reviewed the role of risk and uncertainty in migration, teasing apart these two concepts. Uncertainty in migration stems from imperfect knowledge of the possible destination, as well as inability to predict future changes in the country of origin. Even when knowledge of the destination is extensive, uncertainty remains as to how the migrant (and their family) will adapt to the new location. In the New Zealand context, for example, there is an increasing trend of migration policies to favour those who are already living in the country on temporary (work or student) visas in the application process for permanent residency (Bedford & Ho, 2007). This has a flow on impact of making the process of migration even more uncertain; most skilled migrants are moving here without the right to remain indefinitely (Labour & Immigration Research Centre, 2013a). For those who would like to reside in New Zealand permanently, this creates more confusion in the decision-process (e.g., should we sell our house in the UK, or hold it in case we are not granted permanent residency and have to return).

NDM researchers Lipshitz and Strauss (1997) reported that there were five main techniques that people use to cope when making a decision under conditions of uncertainty: (1) reducing uncertainty (actively collecting additional information), (2) assumption-based reasoning (making assumptions based on current information to fill in gaps in knowledge), (3) weighing pros and cons (of at least two alternatives), (4) forestalling (anticipating undesirable contingencies and preparing appropriate responses), and (5) suppressing uncertainty (choosing to ignore it or rationalising). The extent to which migrants use these strategies is unknown but will be explored in this thesis.

In uncertain conditions with less than perfect knowledge, migrants likely make the decision that they perceive has less risk. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5, international research has found that risk tolerance as a personality trait is important in predicting migration behaviour (Baláž & Williams, 2011; Rimi, 2012). One example is Gibson and McKenzie's (2011) study of high performing students in Papua New Guinea, Tonga and New Zealand. These researchers tracked migration behaviour and linked it primarily to two intrapersonal factors: risk preferences and patience, both of which will be discussed at length in the coming chapters. Further research with adult samples conducted in New Zealand also found that people reacted conservatively to what they saw as increased

risks in international migration during a financial crisis (Parsons, Tabor, & Fischer, 2012). However, risk is not always something to be avoided; some migrants embrace risk as something desirable about their move, increasing the adventure (Dohmen et al., 2005). These diverse ways that risk is perceived by potential migrants signals the centrality of individual differences in the decision-making process.

Personality. Within psychology there has been support for the idea that the personalities of migrants differ systematically from non-migrants, led by the work of Boneva and Frieze (Boneva, Frieze, Ferligoj, Pauknerova, & Orgocka, 1997; Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Boneva et al., 1998; I. H. Frieze et al., 2004; Frieze, Hansen, & Boneva, 2006). Finding support for individual differences in migration decision-making, these authors have reported that people who are more assertive, more work-focussed, and less family centred are more likely to want to migrate in European and USA studies with university students. Research has also found extraversion and openness to experience, as well as persistence, to be systematically higher in migrants (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011). The impact of individual differences in the migration decision will be explored throughout this thesis, but particularly in Chapter 5 that addresses in detail the relevant research on personality and migration.

Given this connection between migration decisions and personality, it is somewhat surprising that NDM research rarely focusses on individual differences in the decision-makers. One study did highlight personality-based NDM as an important and needed step forward. Iranian researchers examined how personality differences affected group decision-making in emergency evacuation simulations, finding that the group that was higher in openness and extraversion and lower in neuroticism did indeed leave the dangerous area more quickly than groups who were high in neuroticism and lower in openness (Alavizadeh, Moshiri, & Lucas, 2008). There is therefore some evidence that NDM research is beginning to explore personality within the context of real-life decisions, but there is need for further research in this area. The next section describes how individual characteristics are constrained by the social context of the decision.

Social context in migration. In their study of Asian migrants to New Zealand, Ho and Bedford (2008) emphasised the importance of viewing migration as a multi-generational, multi-national process, as family members often entered and left New Zealand to find work. This is supported by research on migration networks (also termed chain migration) that views social networks in the destination as facilitators for the move (Choldin, 1973; Fawcett, 1989; Massey, Alarcon, Durand, & Gonsalez, 1987). Clearly there is a social fabric within which the migration decision-making process occurs. Most skilled migrants to New Zealand arrive

with some family members, as the average number of people approved per skilled migrant application in New Zealand is 2.3 (Department of Labour, 2010). To understand decision-making in a social context requires looking beyond the psychological research focus on the individual, into the research family as a unit (Chant & Radcliffe, 1992).

Demographers and economists have long considered households as the base unit of migration studies (Graves & Linneman, 1979; Konseiga, 2007; Mincer, 1978; Stark & Taylor, 1989), but relatively little work has been done on *how* these households negotiate the international migration decision, with studies of internal migration being more common (de Haas & Fokkema, 2010; King & Skeldon, 2010; Le, Tissington, & Budhwar, 2010; Rabe, 2011; Tsegai, 2007). The problem is that household theories of migration consider a household to be composed of actors with equal power and agreed aims, though this is quite often not the case, especially in cultures where women have less power than men in the family decision-making (de Haas & Fokkema, 2010; Gubhaju & De Jong, 2009; Hoang, 2011; Stecklov, Carletto, Azzarri, & Davis, 2010). For example, even in the relatively gender-equal UK, a panel study found that 19% of couples disagreed about plans to move within the UK (Coulter, Van Ham, & Feijten, 2012). Interestingly, the same panel study found that 7.6% of the families moved if only the male partner wanted to, whereas 20% of families moved if there was a shared desire. These spousal differences also have potential implications for the long-term success of the move.

Motivation for the move has also been linked to different outcomes upon arrival, with the trailing spouse (who moves because their partner wants to, or because of their partner's employers demand) fairing worse in employment and their dissatisfaction sometimes leading to an early return (Konopaske, Robie, & Ivancevich, 2005; Lauring & Selmer, 2010; Simeon & Fujiu, 2000). Even in the pre-departure period differences in migration desire can lead to different psychological outcomes, with drivers experiencing higher stress and trailing spouses having lower wellbeing than individuals who have a partner who is equally enthusiastic about the move (Tabor & Milfont, 2012).

Research has also shown that partners can have differing goals in the migration process (Gubhaju & De Jong, 2009; Pedraza, 1991) and that consensus building is often done through discussion (De Jong, Warland, & Root, 1998). One study provides an excellent illustration of this. Adams (2004) used semi-structured interviews with 37 individuals in bi-national relationships who were living in the USA, and she reported that decision-making about where to live was an on-going process that involved discussion and negotiation by players with differing levels of power in the relationship. Not only was the couple involved in

the decision, but also others such as extended family, children and friends had influence in the decision-process.

How family is defined is another key question raised by this type of research. Though individualists tend to see family as primarily being the nuclear family (parents and their minor children), collectivists are more inclusive of grandparents, adult siblings, cousins, aunts and uncles in their thinking (Georgas et al., 2001). As described in Adams (2004) research, the role of these extended family members in the migration decision is also important. Similarly, Mulder (2007) argued that family context is critical to migration decisions even in individualist countries. Congruent with this, British pre-departure migrants to New Zealand reported a drop in levels of social support from extended family when they informed the family of the planned move (Tabor & Milfont, 2012). But nowhere is the extended family likely to be as influential as in collectivist cultures, as evidenced by the continuing strong relationships, both financial and social, of migrants from countries such as Vietnam (Thai, 2012). This is also demonstrated in Indian rural-urban internal migration that has been characterised as family decision-making, wherein the head of household (eldest male) makes the decision about which family members are to migrate (Bhattacharyya, 1985).

Even beyond kinship networks, Massey's work shed light on the importance of other social networks beyond family members (Massey, 1999; Massey et al., 1987), and scholars have recognised that having connections in a destination facilitates the transition between country of origin and destination particularly in areas such as employment and housing (Boyd, 1989; Castles & Miller, 2003; MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964). These social networks are composed of both kin and friendship connections and tend to become self-sustaining over time (de Haas, 2010). Recent research has also begun to acknowledge that even within a household, different members may have completely different networks, fulfilling different roles from the purely social to the professional (Pessar, 1999; Ryan, 2009).

Overall, decision-making about migration appears to be influenced by these kinds of social networks, as contacts abroad can provide support to the pre-departure migrant (Adelman, 1988; Gubhaju & De Jong, 2009; Haug, 2008; Ryan, 2008; van Dalen & Henkens, 2007). In a study of North Americans moving to Israel, personal contacts in the destination were a major source of informational social support during the decision-making process (Amit & Riss, 2007). Even interactions with others via online forums can be a major source of informational support and encouragement for the move (Tabor & Milfont, 2013). What is unclear is the extent to which migration networks influence the choice of destination for a

potential migrant, particularly those who are highly skilled and have the choice of multiple destinations.

       Reasons. Most studies of migration decision-making focus on reasons for the move, usually categorising these reasons as push/pull or macro/micro factors (Anas & Wickremasinghe, 2010; Bushin, 2009; De Jong & Gardner, 1981; Haug, 2008; Kontuly, et al., 1995; Schoorl, et al., 2000). Push and pull factors respectively focus on evaluations of certain characteristics in the source and destination countries (e.g., crime). As an example of the importance of pull factors, results of a longitudinal survey showed that the main reasons reported for selecting New Zealand as a destination were: relaxed pace of life/lifestyle (44%), climate or clean green environment (40%), and a better future for children (39%) (Department of Labour, 2009b). But there was also some variability in reasons reported by migration stream. For example, migrants from the UK/Ireland were most likely to give relaxed pace of life and climate/clean green environment as their reasons.

       As mentioned above, social context and in particular contacts in the destination can also function as pull factors. The latest findings from the New Zealand government's Immigration Survey Monitoring Programme, which tracks responses from 8,000 migrants from the skilled, family and work visa stream, reported that the largest group of migrants, just over a third, came to New Zealand to be with family, partner or friends (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2012). This migration stream is a mixed category that could include chain migration, trailing spouses, those with New Zealand partners, as well as family reunification. In effect, it is so broad that it reveals relatively little about what specific motivations are driving current migration. However, it was also reported that 13% of migrants gave relaxed pace of life, and 11% listed environment/landscape as their main reason for coming to New Zealand. Ability to get a good job was also listed by 11% of the migrants. Thus there is a relatively short list of reasons that most migrants give when asked why they selected New Zealand.

       In general, research on push and pull factors tend to focus on the particular while missing the *gestalt*. Another way of exploring reasons would be Fielding (1992)'s conceptualisation of migration as: freedom (from boredom, the familiar, social norms, restrictions), a new beginning (wiping the slate clean), joining in (social life and activities), opting out (getting out of the rat race, leaving stress behind), or going places (taking a step up in the world). In previous research with British migrants to New Zealand, both opting out and a new beginning were strongly evident as a motivation (Tabor & Milfont, 2011).

Regardless of the elected model in understanding migration reasons, having reasons to move is not the same as acting on those reasons. Explaining low mobility has been a challenge for researchers (van Dalen & Henkens, 2012b). Why do some go and others stay? Arango (2000) criticised the major theories of migration for their failure to explain why so many people stay even when conditions, both political and economic, would incentivise a move. He suggested that "more attention than hitherto should be bestowed upon family types, kinship systems, social systems, and social structures in general. Much the same can be said about the cultural dimensions and contexts of migration." (p. 293). This critique is evidence of the need to study each migration stream (e.g., movement from India to New Zealand) as unique. The historic, social and cultural influences of each stream create situations that may either be conducive to facilitating migration, or inhibit it.

Destination selection. Destination selection usually falls within the realm of tourism studies (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999; Crompton, 1992; Crompton & Ankomah, 1993). It is also critically important, yet strangely ignored, in international migration research (Roseman, 1983). Separate from *whether* or not to move, there is the question of *where* to move? As discussed above, unlike decision-making research in a lab where participants are presented with a limited supply of options, part of the migration choice is the elimination of what is potentially a long list of alternative countries. New Zealand sees itself as competing for skilled migrants (Hawthorne, 2011; Ho, 2001), but the extent to which a potential migrant to the country considers multiple countries as destinations before selecting New Zealand is as yet unexplored. Certainly skilled migrants have choices in destinations, as their educational and professional background gives them the access to legally work in a variety of countries.

There are external limitations that are a factor in destination selection, such as visa requirements, health requirements and financial resources. It is important to recognise that even though a destination is open to accepting migrants, they may be highly selective in whom they allow to enter. The USA is perhaps the most restrictive, but Canada, Australia and New Zealand all use selection criteria based on skills, education, and character (Hawthorne, 2011). It is for this reason that the present thesis focuses on skilled migration, rather than family reunification or refugee movement, because skilled migrants have the *most* choices in the migration decision-making process. However even within this group, I recognise that choice does exist only within the boundaries created by policy and personal circumstance.

Statement of the problem

Why do some people move internationally and others do not? What can make a person who is considering migration more likely to actually pack their bags and go? Economic theories suggest the reasons are purely financial (Boyle, 2009), but research from New Zealand has already found ample evidence that non-financial aspects, such as environment, also motivate migrants (Department of Labour, 2009b). Thus there is clearly much more going on than simply a desire for larger salaries, particularly if the UK migrants coming to New Zealand are likely to reduce their earnings through the move (International Labour Organization, 2013). Thus far, research has rarely ventured into the pre-departure period to explore the process of decision-making among migrants. Even more rare are studies that consider destination selection among skilled migrants who have the most choices about where to settle. In sum, the purpose of this research is to a) examine why some people self-select to migrate internationally and others do not, b) explore how people make a decision to leave their country of origin, c) investigate how they select a destination, and d) consider how insights learned can contribute to NDM theory of how decisions are made in the real world. Because these questions are highly relevant to New Zealand, it is within this context that the questions will be explored. Policymakers need to understand how to attract migrants to New Zealand, and why New Zealanders are leaving in such great numbers. Consequently, in this thesis I endeavour to explore a phenomenon that has applications beyond the purely academic.

Epistemology

The main aim of this thesis is to understand how the process of migration decision-making works across several migration streams. The population of interest are individuals who self-select to migrate, either to or from New Zealand. Given that NDM is the theoretical basis of this research, it is therefore necessary to use "experts" who have personally experienced (or are experiencing) the migration decision-making process.

To explore how these people make a decision to migrate, I employ a multi-method design. The rationale for using mixed methods is to embody a pragmatic approach to research that focusses on using the best method to answer the question at hand (Howe, 1988). Ontologically, pragmatists accept that there is a real world that exists outside of the mind (agrees with the positivists on this point), but see it as unlikely that reality can be exactly pinned down with 100% accuracy (closer to critical realism than naïve realism) (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The main benefit of using mixed methods in a research project is that it

allows for methodological triangulation, thereby increasing the validity of the study as a whole (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). For example, Brewer and Hunter (1989) encouraged taking a multi-method approach as a way to "attack a research problem with an arsenal of methods that have non-overlapping weaknesses in addition to their complementary strengths" (p. 17). The methodology of this thesis, as a whole, can be defined as a sequential mixed method project, in that qualitative methods are used in the first steps of the project, and the information gathered informs the quantitative study that follows (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998).

Selecting a few cases

Because migration is inextricably within culture (Halfacree, 2004; Halfacree & Boyle, 1993), researchers need to study migration paths as being unique to their cultural context. To learn more about emigration *from* New Zealand, the answer is simple: study those considering departure. The exploration of immigration *to* New Zealand is not as straightforward since New Zealand attracts migrants from a wide range of cultures (Department of Labour, 2010). A multi-country study is desirable as a way of examining the diversity to experiences of migrants to New Zealand. Sadly it would be impossible, given the space limitations in a thesis, to give a full qualitative examination to all the 123 nations that Immigration New Zealand lists as source countries for those granted permanent residence under the skilled migrant category (Department of Labour, 2010). In fact, 75% of those immigrants came from only six countries. Due to time constraints and space limitations in this thesis, even six countries were out of reach; therefore three countries were deemed the maximum that could be adequately dealt with, while maintaining depth within each cultural group.

Countries were first selected for inclusion based on number of visa approvals, with the top five source countries for skilled/business applications approved in 2009 ranked from highest to lowest: UK, South Africa, Philippines, China, India (Department of Labour, 2010). In addition, economic diversity was considered, an important consideration in economic theories of migration decision-making. Thus UK/Ireland was selected for high wages and South Africa for similar wages to New Zealand, and India as a low wage sending country (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012a, 2012b; International Labour Organization, 2013). The UK and Ireland are combined in all Immigration New Zealand statistics, so these countries were considered as a single group in this study, though they are actually separate nations.

If comparing these groups of migrants directly, and what they face when they arrive in New Zealand, it is notable that the British migrants join a society that is made up of many of their brethren, whereas the South African and Indian migrants join much smaller, but quickly growing communities. As shown in Figure 3, the UK and Irish migrants make up a substantial portion of the population: 6.2% as of the 2006 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).
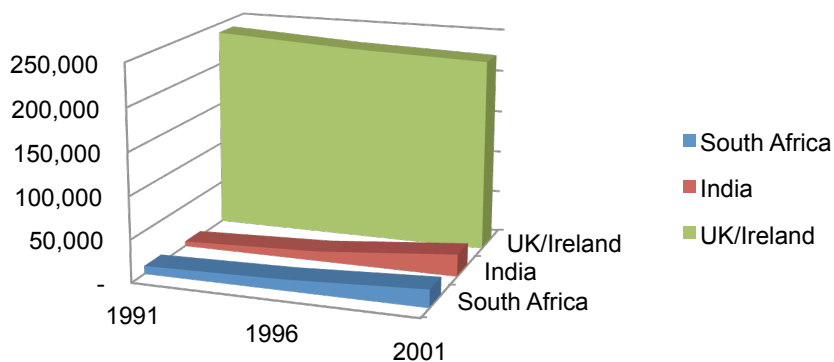
Figure 3. Comparison of British, Indian and South African residents of New Zealand

Overview of the thesis

This thesis began with a detailed examination of relevant theory and literature on the topic of international migration decision-making. The aim of understanding the decision-making of voluntary migrants *to* and *from* New Zealand is next addressed through two studies. In Study 1, pre-departure and post-arrival migrants from the three selected countries are interviewed. The following chapters present the results of this study for each of the countries, starting with South Africa (Chapter 2), then moving to India (Chapter 3) and finishing with the UK (Chapter 4). A brief discussion is included in each of these chapters to highlight the key findings that were unique to each country, and at the end of Chapter 4 there is a short overview of the main findings from Study 1. Chapter 5 reports the results of Study 2, which comprises a quantitative survey comparing New Zealanders who intend on staying in New Zealand with those who intended to migrate, based on their personality characteristics and individual differences such as motivation and regulatory focus. Finally, Chapter 6 presents a general discussion fully exploring the similarities between countries in the

decision-making process and draws connections to the relevant theoretical frameworks and literature discussed in the present chapter.

CHAPTER TWO
Study 1, Part 1
South Africa: Exodus from a new nation

The story of how the South Africans who are leaving today came to be emigrants begins with the story of South Africa itself and particularly its long colonial history. There is not room in this thesis to do justice to the entire socio-political context of southern Africa for the past 300 years or more, since the first Dutch East India Company began settling people to farm in 1652 (Davenport & Saunders, 2000). But the history of South Africa is one of European influence, first from the Netherlands and later Great Britain. In this age of airplane travel, it is easy to forget that the Cape was of critical strategic value in the days of sailing ships, and therefore attractive to the empire builders of that time.

Ethnically, South Africa is a very diverse nation. With the European settlers came slaves, many from Asia, who eventually formed an ethnic group termed "Coloured" (a term also referred to people of mixed race). The Afrikaners are ethnically linked to the Dutch settlers, and the English to their British ancestors. There are also many ethnic groups within the black communities of South Africa, especially because chiefdoms were common into the mid-nineteenth century. For example, the Nguni are comprised of the Zulu, Swazi, Ngoni and Ndeble people (Davenport & Saunders, 2000). Each of these cultural groups has a unique and intertwined history, but because emigration in the post-Apartheid period has been predominantly white (Bornman, 2005), this thesis will focus on their story.

Though it might be assumed that the descendants of the European colonists would naturally cleave together as their cultures are similar, this has not been the case. Within and between these cultural groups there have been tensions, racism and outright war. Examples of conflicts include the Boer Wars (termed *Vryheidsoorlog* or freedom wars in Afrikaans), and the British government's use of concentration camps on Afrikaans civilians, particularly women and children. A salient part of South African history is the tale of the Afrikaner Voortrekkers, who travelled into an unknown interior to claim a land for themselves (Davenport & Saunders, 2000). This colonial taking is central to understanding the ownership that Afrikaners have integrated into their identity. Apartheid, a policy of Afrikaners governments from 1948 to 1994, created, through legislation, a united white European identity where there had previously not been one (Giliomee, 2003). Notably, it also removed identities for the black Africans who lost citizenship and numerous other human rights. It also meant that all of South Africa "belonged" to the Afrikaners.

In what is called the New South Africa, meaning post-Apartheid, Afrikaners are socio-economically behind the white English, tending to live more in the rural areas and having lower incomes. This boundary between white South African groups is both ethnic and linguistic, though there are many bilinguals as proficiency of both languages was required through schooling and professional workplaces. The Afrikaans language is spoken at home by about 13% of the total population of South Africa, and 59% of the white population (Barkhuizen & de Klerk, 2006).

Both of these previously privileged white groups have been hard hit by the policies to "Africanize" institutions that the new government of South Africa has developed, such as the use of affirmative action. This has resulted in a massive decline in the number of white entrants into universities, and a corresponding increase in black Africans enrolling (Davenport & Saunders, 2000). Employers are required to hire from within designated groups (people with disabilities, black women, black men) (South African Department of Labour, 2008), leaving whites and particularly white males faced with employment challenges unthinkable during the Apartheid years.

It is these policies that have been frequently linked to increasing emigration of skilled white individuals, but the scope of emigration from South Africa is muddled by the failure of the South African government to track it in any effective way (Mattes & Richmond, 2000). The South African Institute of Race Relations estimated that about a million white people had left South Africa in the 10 years following the end of Apartheid in 1994 (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010). And there has been a normative shift that corresponded with these changes. At one time, emigrants were called unpatriotic and cowards, even by Nelson Mandela ("Good riddance, Mandela tells them where to go," 25 September 1998). A qualitative study of five South Africans who were seriously contemplating emigration emphasised that "people were reluctant to be interviewed and we interpreted this as being a result of an anti-emigration feeling in South Africa at that time" (D. Gray, Delany, & Durrhelm, 2005, p. 132). Indeed, in the years following the end of Apartheid there was a derogatory colloquial term, PFP (meaning Packing for Perth), but this negative attitude has gradually shifted to one of acceptance as more and more have left (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010). A survey of a representative national sample found that 69% of skilled South Africans had given some thought to permanent emigration, and 38% had given it "a great deal" of thought (Mattes & Richmond, 2000), which illustrate the normative shift.

Though it might seem as if Afrikaners had the most to lose with the end of Apartheid and would therefore be more likely to want to leave, monolingual English speakers were the

most likely to express a desire to leave South Africa in two different studies conducted with university students (Franchi & Swart, 2003; Mattes & Mniki, 2007). Similarly, based on a 2,535 person ethnically representative sample, Bornman (2005) reported that 13.2% of Afrikaans-speaking whites had decided to migrate, and an additional 13.6% were unsure, and a total of 30.8% of English-speaking whites were considering or planning to leave. Thus the importance of the emigration question is critical to many South Africans, as even those who do not plan to leave are likely to have friends and family who either plan to go or already have left.

For Afrikaans speakers, the language issue is not necessarily a reason to stay. A qualitative study of 15 pre-departure Afrikaans-speaking who were planning to migrate to New Zealand found that loss of governmental support for the Afrikaans language (and growing use of English) was actually a push factor for some in the decision to leave (de Klerk & Barkhuizen, 2004). In a later report from the same study, they described a diversity of views from strongly embracing English and shedding connections to South Africa, to deep mourning for the impending loss of those cultural connections (Barkhuizen & de Klerk, 2006).

Overall, migration to New Zealand from South Africa has accelerated in recent years. In the 1871 New Zealand census, there were less than 500 people who listed their birthplace as South Africa, and the number only grew to 1000 by the start of World War I (Walrond, 2009). The 1991 census still recorded less than 6000 South Africans living in New Zealand. As shown in the figure below, the sharp growth began at the end of Apartheid. In 1993, only 958 South Africans were accepted for permanent residency, but the following year the number spiked to 4,224 (Walrond, 2009). Approvals of skilled migrants from South Africa have continued, but numbers have been volatile over the past few years (from 4,588 Skilled Migrant category approvals in 2009/10 to 1,407 in 2011/12) (Labour & Immigration Research Centre, 2013a).
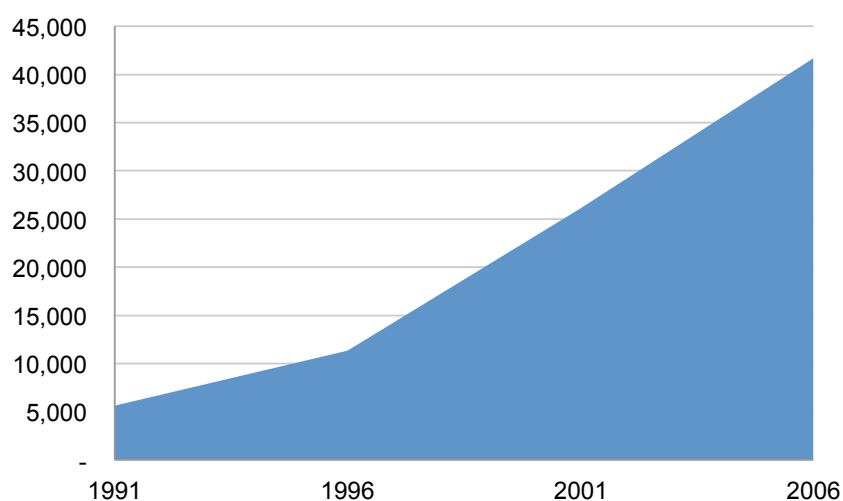
Figure 4. Growth in South African-born residents of New Zealand

Researchers have been interested in the reasons given by South Africans migrants. The LisNZ study found that South African migrants were most likely to give better future for children and safety as their main reasons for their move to New Zealand (Department of Labour, 2009b). Others have also reported rising taxes and cost of living, upkeep of public amenities, and personal/family safety (Dodson, 2002). Crime is indeed a major push factor in South African emigration (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010). When compared with other countries, South Africa still stands out as having one of the worst problems with crime of any country not at war (Underhill & McDermott, 9 September 2011). Levels of overall crime peaked in 2002/3, and gradually fell until 2007/8 when they began rising again (Burger, Gould, & Newham, 2010). In recent years the figures are mixed, with a decline in overall murders, but a rise in the murder of women (South African Police Service, 2011). A particularly salient measure is residential burglary, which increased by 100% between 2003 and 2010 (Burger et al., 2010).

Once the decision to leave has been made, how do South Africans decide on a destination country? A panel study found that there was relatively little support, even informational social support, to prospective South African emigrants with family members already living in New Zealand (Johnston, Trlin, Henderson, & North, 2006); however the South Africans in that study overwhelmingly intended to promote New Zealand as a destination for others in their social network. Several additional studies have examined the experiences of South Africans settled in New Zealand (Bennett, Rigby, & Boshoff, 1997; Meares et al., 2011; Philipp & Ho, 2010); what is still unclear is why these migrants choose

New Zealand as a destination, and how they make the decision to leave South Africa. Unquestionably, there are many in South Africa who have considered leaving. Why then do only some make the decision to leave, and why do any of them choose New Zealand as their destination?

Method

The design of the present study is to include participants from the three selected countries, making it a cross-cultural qualitative study which is relatively rare as cross-cultural research tends to be quantitatively focussed (Greenfield, 2000; Jahoda & Krewer, 1997). This method section begins with a detailed overview of the way the study was conducted for *all countries*. Thus, this methodological overview applies to South African, UK/Ireland and Indian parts of the study. To avoid repetition, only specifics relevant to each country will be included in the method section of their respective chapters.

Qualitative research is particularly suitable when seeking the meaning of an experience from the perspective of those who live it (J. A. Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). The use of open-ended questions is a method utilised by many traditions within qualitative research (Creswell, 1998). Indeed, NDM research typically begins with interviewing expert decision-makers (G. A. Klein, 1998, 2008), and therefore I wanted people who had successfully arrived in New Zealand as well as those who were currently working toward that goal. For this reason, interviews were the desired format for eliciting the stories of participants.

Instrument

The interview schedule was developed from relevant questions in the social science literature. The interview schedule was refined through stakeholder interviews with members of the relevant migrant communities in New Zealand (one interview per country) and through interviews with both the Attraction and Settlement Departments of Immigration New Zealand. In all, 5 background interviews were conducted with stakeholders. The resulting interview schedule included 10 open-ended questions. Slight adjustments were made between the pre-departure interview schedule and the post-arrival interview schedule. For example, questions included: "what did you know about New Zealand before you arrived?" (post-arrival) or "what do you know about New Zealand?" (pre-departure). Other questions included: "tell me the story of how you came to New Zealand" or "tell me how you started

thinking about moving to New Zealand" (pre-departure). Appendix A presents the complete interview schedule. The School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee approved the study under delegated authority of the Human Ethics Committee of the Victoria University of Wellington (Approved 17/06/2011; Reference number: RM018548).

Recruitment

Following ethical approval, 15 participants from each country were sought for interviews. Selection criteria for inclusion in the study were based on citizenship and age. Participants had to be 18 years of age or older at the time of the interview, or when they arrived in New Zealand. This was because people who are younger than 18 are likely not the decision-makers in the family, and the essential questions in the research relate to decision-making. Citizenship was used as a criterion because previous international living has been shown to be a common pattern in migration (van Dalen & Henkens, 2007), therefore, pre-departure migrants were not required to be currently residing in their country of origin. All participants were self-identified "professionals" (as defined by their experience, skills and education), as required by the Skilled Migrant Category visa.

Recruitment sources included online forums for migrants to New Zealand, blogs and through personal contacts. Snowball sampling was employed, though it was most effective in the South African and Indian samples. Due to the diverse nature of New Zealand society, there were also instances of participants from one country assisting me to find participants from another country. Two participants from South Africa were solicited directly because they maintained a blog about their migration experience.

Interviews

All interviews were conducted in English, and occurred between July and October 2011. Interviews were conducted in person, using videoconferencing on Skype, or over the telephone depending on the physical location and preference of the participants. Only two participants were interviewed in person, all others were interviewed via Skype. Other researchers who have employed narrative telephone interviews have found them to be comparable to face-to-face interviews (Holt, 2010; Sturges & Hanrahan, 2004).

Each interview was digitally audio-recorded, and participants were asked to confirm that they agreed with being audio-recorded immediately before the recorder was turned on. Interviews began with my thanking the participant for their help with the study and a brief

introduction about how the study was developed to help build rapport.[2] They were also told that they could end the interview at any time. For the record, no one refused to participate after starting the interview and no one exited an interview before all questions in the schedule were asked. All interviews were later transcribed verbatim, and quotes in this thesis are directly from the transcripts.

Because the interviews were semi-structured, there was variability in the length of each interview, depending on how interested the participant was in discussing topic, and also how many people were in the conversation (some couples chose to be interviewed together). The mean interview length for all countries sampled was 41 minutes ($SD = 18$ min) and the range was 16 minutes to 3 hours. All interviews were recorded and later transcribed. Due to space considerations, the entire corpus cannot be included as an appendix, however the following extract from an interview with a South African couple gives a sense of the flow of the raw data:

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Interviewer: You mentioned "lifestyle," tell me what you mean by lifestyle?
            Because sometimes that is really different to different people.

Sam:        Basically first the ability to know that you can walk out your
            door down to the park you know in the road and don't have to
            worry about your safety too much.

Kate:       Yeah ...we are on guard constantly.

Sam:        Yeah you are pretty much locked up most of the time you know
            you've got the wall around your property, electric fences, it's
            your house and you have things you can do in the house, but you
            can't go out and enjoy the freedom, your freedom, too much.
            It's just that you know just worry for your safety in the park
            ...

Kate:       Yeah it's the family part we are after, we understand from
            looking at the salaries and that because the salaries are more
            evenly spread, you probably would take a drop in earnings, but
            that for us is not as important as having the quality of life
            that we are after.
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At the end of each interview, participants were invited to ask me any questions that they had. Many of the pre-departure migrants had questions about New Zealand, usually

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[2] The introduction mentioned that I migrated to New Zealand three years ago with my husband and sons from the United States, that I studied British migrants to New Zealand for my master's research, and that I was interested in how people came to the decision to move to New Zealand. For Indian migrants, I also mentioned that I had studied in Jaipur, India while I was completing my undergraduate degree.

relating to systems such as education, and these were included in the corpus. Participants also were offered the chance to read and comment on their transcripts. Only three participants were interested in reading the transcripts, and their comments were included in the main corpus of the data. At the end of the study, each participant was sent a copy of the results and asked to comment. Additionally, all participants were compensated for their time with a NZ$25 (or equivalent in USA dollars or pounds) voucher for their choice of food or books.

Privacy was maintained by removing the names of the participants (and any other family members) from the corpus. The participants were assigned pseudonyms appropriate to their ethnic background, based on popular baby names. Other details deemed specific enough to compromise anonymity were also removed from quoted extracts (such as exact date of arrival in New Zealand, exact ages of children, or name of a small company where the participant worked). These steps were essential to protect identities, particularly of the pre-departure participants who had not yet informed their extended family or employers of their planned migration.

Data Analysis

All interviews were first transcribed into a Microsoft Word document. At times the quality of the digital recordings meant that some words were unclear, but this was not extensive. The transcriptions were then imported into Nvivo 9 for analysis. Each country was analysed separately and the data, codes and themes were *not* merged between country samples. The data from each country were examined separately to allow the country's codes and themes to emerge independently of the overall themes of the data. This is important because the purpose of the multi-country study is to see similarities and differences across cultural groups and not to impose one country's system on another.

Thematic analysis was chosen because it sits comfortably within a positivist tradition, but is flexible enough to be used to gain insight into the lived experiences of the migrants. Braun and Clarke (2006) recommend the following steps when thematically analysing a corpus of data:

1. Familiarizing yourself with the data (including transcription, reading and re-reading, generating initial ideas)
2. Generating initial codes (coding interesting features of the data in a systemic fashion)
3. Searching for themes (collating codes into initial themes)
4. Reviewing themes (checking themes for internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity within the dataset)
5. Defining and naming themes (generating clear definitions and names)

6. Producing the report (selection of vivid extracts that assist in telling the story of the data)

In general, these were the basic steps followed in the present study, and within each country's results a detailed account of the codes and themes are reported in the following chapters. Also included in each chapter is a thematic map of the data for each country, as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) as a way to visually represent the interconnections between themes and subthemes. The techniques were familiar because of similar research I have previously conducted (Tabor, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011; Tabor & Milfont, 2013). Beyond the recommendations from Braun and Clarke, additional techniques were used both in the development and verification of the themes. Though the analysis of qualitative research is normally conducted behind closed doors, in what the community under study might view as a mystical process, there is actually good reasons to include more than the single researcher's perspective on the data. Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson and Spiers (2002) argue for including additional perspectives as a constructive (during the process) vs. evaluative (post hoc) approach, as a means to increasing reliability and validity in qualitative research. Therefore, a second coder assisted with both the refinement of the initial themes in the South African part of the study, which was the first to be analysed, and to confirm themes in the India and UK/Irish parts of the study. Apart from this formal second coder, the resulting themes were also discussed with my primary supervisor to clarify and arrive at the final thematic maps. By increasing collaboration and auditing *during* the analysis, the coherence in the interpretation of the data is correspondingly increased (J. A. Smith et al., 2009).

The second coder for all the countries in the study was a Masters student in cross-cultural psychology, who had migrated to New Zealand from Germany. Due to time and cost considerations, the second coder was presented with a single full transcript with highlighted passages that had already been coded; she was also given a description of the themes and subthemes identified. She then closed coded the highlighted text extracts. In the case of disagreements, many of the second coder's suggestions were found to be useful tools for understanding where the themes lacked clear definition, and thus led to changes in the naming of the themes and longer descriptions. Braun & Clark suggest using a second coder as a part of the development of themes as well, but do not advocate reporting on interrater reliability, instead preferring the use of member checks for testing validity (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

Another technique I used in the development and verification of the themes was Miles

and Huberman's (1994) tactic for testing or confirming findings: getting feedback from informants and other community members. This is similar to Tashakkori and Teddlie's (1998) member checks, whereby people from the community under study give feedback on conclusions. They perceive this as the single most important check of credibility that a researcher can utilise. Thus, a final report of findings was prepared corresponding to the respective results sections for each country and sent out to participants from the country as well as other community members who did not participate in the study, but who were gathered from personal networks or from contacts made during the interview process. (All countries had more people offer to be interviewed than space allowed, and thus several of these people were contacted to give community feedback.) All were invited to comment and to disagree. These responses (via email) are included in Appendix B. Overall, the comments confirmed the findings, and where they diverged, usually by adding more material or correcting an error, such as spelling, I have noted this in the appropriate country's part of this thesis.

Yet another methodological challenge in qualitative research is that the researchers themselves are instruments. The researcher's biases, experiences, assumptions, values and cultural background are part of the reflexive experience of conducting qualitative research (Gearing, 2004; Shaw, 2010; Tufford & Newman, 2012). Though I cannot step out of my cultural heritage, I can be honest about it with my participants, and this was addressed by including an introduction at the start of each interview (see Footnote 1). I can also do my best to completely focus on each country while I am doing the analysis and refrain from looking for patterns that are true for one country in another country's data. To accomplish this, I completely analysed each country before moving into the next country's data, and then attempted to begin with a fresh approach on the next dataset. I allowed a week of rest between each country's analysis to assist with this mental separation. I did not examine the completed analysis until I had finished all countries and was beginning to outline the discussion section of the thesis. For the British dataset, I had the specific challenge of my own previous work with British qualitative data on migration (Tabor, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011, 2012; Tabor & Milfont, 2013), and though I heard many stories and statements that were similar to those I had researched in the past, I was asking new questions and therefore found new answers as well.

Finally, the finished analysis includes quotes as they illuminate a theme, description of the themes, as well as the interpretation of the researcher at a more conceptual level, as is so often recommended (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Creswell, 1995, 1998; Miles & Huberman,

1994). In an effort to avoid repetition, the discussions that follow each country's results are extremely brief and focus exclusively on concepts that are not replicated in the other countries data. A thorough overall discussion is presented in Chapter 6, and provides a detailed conceptual level analysis of themes that cross countries, as well as connections to the published research literature. The following section details the particulars of the South Africa part of the study.

South African Participants

A total of 13 interviews were conducted with 15 participants from South Africa. Three couples were included, and two of the couples chose to be interviewed together. Only two of the participants were unpartnered. One interview was conducted in the home of the participant, and all other participants were interviewed via Skype in their home. Two of the Skype calls used video. Due to audio difficulties, one interview was conducted via text chat on Skype. The mean interview length for the South African sample was 45 minutes (SD=22 min).

Sixty percent of the sample was female (n=9) and participant ages ranged from 26 to 61 (M=41.08, SD= 9.43). Mean family size was 3.27 (SD=1.39, range 1-6). Fifty-three percent (n=8) of the sample were still in South Africa, and planned to leave anywhere between 1 month and 1 year from the date of the interview; though one person was determining not only when he would leave, but also if it was the right decision. Of those who had already arrived in New Zealand, all had been in the country less than 6 years (M=3.5 years, SD= 2.8 years). The Skilled Migrant category visa was the most common (80%), though arrival with visitor, work visas, business visas were also represented. Most (66.6%) had a bachelor's degree or higher, and those without university degrees held technical qualifications. Career fields were a diverse group including education, IT, sports, engineering, and hospitality.

Previous international living was relatively rare among this group, with two people having lived in the UK and one person having lived in Tanzania. Ethnically, the sample was predominantly English, though 4 people had Afrikaans as their first language, or the language they spoke in their home. Three (20%) had extended family living in New Zealand.

Geographically, participants were from a range of South African cities and regions, including Johannesburg, Cape Town, and KwaZulu Natal. Those who were in New Zealand were living in the Wellington region or greater Auckland, and some had moved within New Zealand since their arrival. Five (33%) had visited New Zealand prior to migrating.

Results

Thematic Analysis

In the initial round of open coding, 110 codes were identified and 905 extracts were coded. A second round of closed coding resulted in 927 coded extracts. The final dataset included 735 coded extracts, though 27 extracts were removed from this analysis because they were answers to very specific questions on words and images associated with New Zealand. It was decided that those questions would best be analysed using semantic network techniques and thus are not included in this thematic analysis or in this thesis.

A single superordinate theme emerged, that was threaded through nearly every other theme, subtheme and even code: quality of life. This theme, as explained below, encompassed the feelings of fear, crime/safety and overall quality of life that was the pervasive underlying cause of the migration for these South African participants. Though there were other themes that were more prevalent in the dataset (e.g., social factors), prevalence is not the only indication of importance (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As will be made clear through the description that follows, quality of life is at the heart of both of the secondary themes: decision-making and country comparison.

Decision-making had three subthemes: catalyst, promoters/inhibitors, and settlement. Country comparison had four subthemes: perceptions of New Zealand, perceptions of South Africa, other countries considered and cultural similarities. Because the sample included people who were already in New Zealand, there was some discussion of settlement and the return/onward migration decision. These are outside of the scope of this thesis, and therefore will not be reported. Figure 5 visually depicts how the themes and subthemes in the dataset relate in a mental map. Table 2 presents the prevalence of themes and subthemes, with a record of how many coded extracts appear in each independent category.[3]

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[3] This means that some themes have only a handful of coded extracts, but the theme as a whole is a collection of ideas, some of which contain many more coded extracts. For example, only one coded extract in the database was a comment explicitly stating that the person compared possible destinations (thus country comparison theme has one single coded extract at the highest level). But the theme contains several subthemes (for example, perceptions of New Zealand) that together form a larger concept of countries compared.
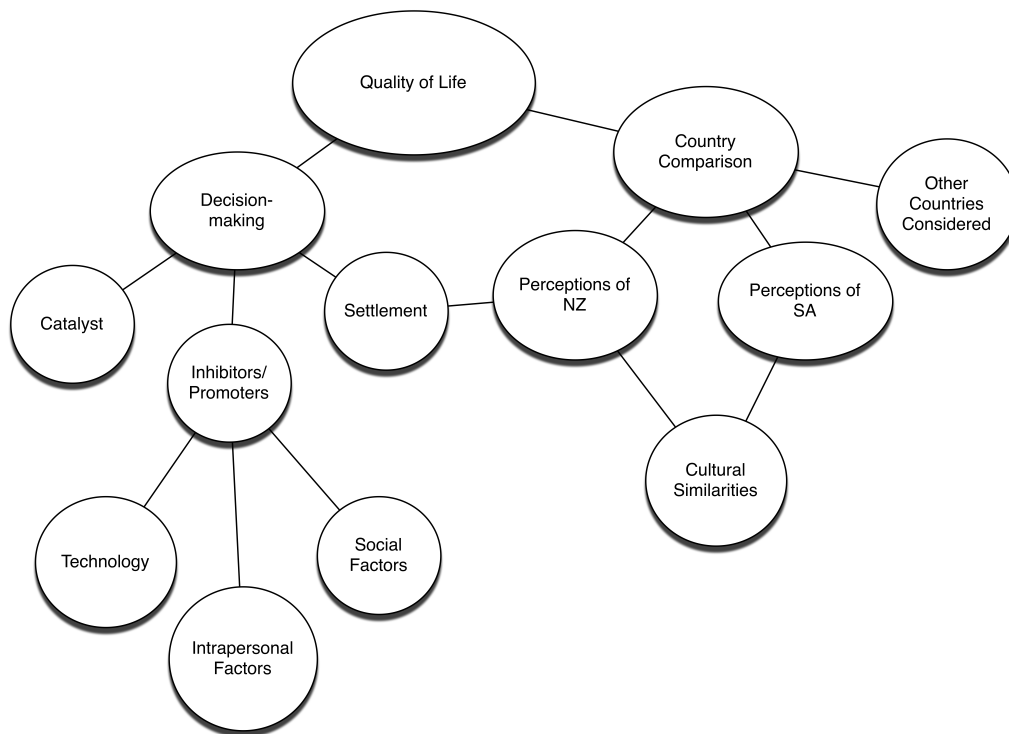
Figure 5. Thematic map for South African data[4]

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[4] Thematic maps are visual representations of the relationships between subthemes and themes, providing a complimentary tool for the researcher to make sense of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Table 2. Themes and subthemes for South Africa

Theme	N (interviews)	N (extracts)	% Dataset
Quality of life	13	69	10.1
Decision-making	12	43	6.2
Catalyst	11	22	3.2
Settlement	13	80	11.7
Inhibitors/promoters	12	38	5.5
Technology	12	24	3.5
Intrapersonal factors	13	61	8.9
Social Factors	13	147	21.5
Country comparison	1	1	.01
Perceptions of South Africa	13	55	8.1
Perceptions of New Zealand	13	87	12.7
Other countries considered	12	41	6
Cultural similarities	8	15	2.1

Quality of Life

"Because the crime is not only theft, it is violence. Quite often it will be more than just your things that are taken," warned Sam, a 36-year-old engineer and father of two. Every South African participant discussed safety, lifestyle, or freedom, with a total of 69 coded extracts (9.7% of total coded extracts). For those who were choosing to leave permanently, quality of life was the essence of why they were leaving, and how they were selecting a destination. "The city itself, the way everything worked, the quality of life there. I kept on saying that all the time there, the quality of life," Reece, a 46-year-old self-employed father, said of his trip to New Zealand. The term quality of life best describes not only how lifestyle is impaired by the fear of crime, but also the extreme safety precautions that participants felt were necessary in South Africa.

Feelings of fear, precautions taken to ensure safety and experiences of violence were all part of the lack of quality of life that the participants experienced in South Africa. When asked what started her migration decision, Kate, a 33-year-old career counsellor said, "I know initially from our side it was fear." Tia, a 38-year-old hospitality professional and mother of four, described "The constant threat to your safety that, to me, was probably one of the biggest motivators, as we just got tired of actually living with the fear. You sort of lived in, subconsciously, lived in fear." Even for Oscar, a 46-year-old married salesman, who does not have children, fear was a part of the decision, "we don't want to live here anymore we don't want to live with the threat of my wife being raped or the threat of being hijacked or the threat of being shot at; the realities are really there… That was really the reason, I just had

this feeling that something would happen, and I would never be able to forgive myself if I didn't give [my wife] the opportunity of getting back to a free country." Grace, a 61-year-old educator of British ethnicity, explained how violence had touched her life, "I could count ten people that I knew who had been murdered…best friend's husband, best friend's brother in law, a very close friend's mother...."

Decision-making

  The theme of decision-making broadly related to the process that the participants went through when leaving South Africa. This theme had a total of 415 coded extracts, representing 58.6% of the total. Subthemes were *catalyst*, which prompts the decision-making process, and *promoters/inhibitors* that influence the process.

  In addition to whether or not to move, and what destination to select, there is the decision of *when* to move. Therefore, timing is a central part of the decision itself. Many of the migrants related stories of considering or suggesting migration many years before their actual move. Andries, a 40-year-old IT professional, is still in the process of making up his mind, "I've actually done quite a lot of research already on New Zealand. So I'm still keen, but I just, I don't know if now, right now would be the best option and look I still think that I do have some time." Drivers who wanted to convince their trailing spouse often had to wait years until their partner was willing to go, as will be described in detail below in the social factors section. Timing can also be influenced by completely external factors, as Sam, who is still in South Africa, explained, "So it was basically 2008 that we decided to try and which was when the global economic doom hit."

  Ultimately, the migration decision may span months or years. Two families related that they had been considering migration for more than 10 years, and long timeframes were typical, but one migrant had made the decision a month prior to our conversation and her ticket for departure was only 4 weeks away. For those who were in a long-term process, there was a shift that started well before they arrived in New Zealand. As Lizanne, a native English-speaker who is married to a native Afrikaans-speaker, said, "we started this whole move to this country about three years prior to coming, they [the children] were already screaming for the All Blacks."

Catalyst

  "I think the final straw was when we were burgled when my son and myself were alone in the house and they were in the house while we were sleeping. That was the final

straw for me," said Tegan, a self-employed businesswoman and wife of Reece. The catalyst theme relates to the events that crystallised the decision from an amorphous desire to leave South Africa into actions to make that dream a reality. It is important, though, to understand that these events or perceptions were entering into an existing situation, in which the participants were either primed to want to leave the country or not. In fact many of the events that were described are fairly mundane or common among South Africans. However, for the participants these events were often seen as the tipping point. Thus it was not the catalyst that *caused* the move. The catalyst interacted with an existing situation to move the participant from a state of considering moving, into acting on their desire. A clear catalyst was present for 13 of the 15 participants, but not for the participant who was still in the process of deciding whether or not to move (and if so, when).

Two of the families considered the event that got them started to be when other members of their extended family started talking about emigrating. In both of those families, it was escalating levels of violence that lead to their family members wanting to leave. Grace's catalyst came when her daughter decided to emigrate, "she [adult daughter] gave us this huge wake up call, and she shouted at us, 'can't you wake up? Come out now, you know ten years ago you used to leave the washing on the line at night and the cars parked outside and look where you are. You have razor wire, you have an electronic gate, you have security guards …' And I thought… oh my God and we had always had this assumption that it was going to get better and I just saw the terrible journey as she described it, every little thing and now we had ourselves barricaded and just you become desensitized you haven't noticed the progression..." In this way, the ripple effects of violent crime in South Africa influence the migration even of those who have not been victims themselves. Living with fear, and the extreme precautions necessary to feel safe, was a major part of the decision for most of the migrants.

For the parents in the study, children often were central to the catalyst. Elisabet, an Afrikaans-speaking business analyst, explained the moment when she realised that she had to leave South Africa as "when I said to my oldest daughter put an panic button around your neck so if something goes wrong ... then I went back I thought to myself, what are you doing to your kids?" For Lizanne, the catalyst was a change in life stage, her child reaching school-age, "he must have been about four and a half and we realised that the schools that we could afford we didn't want to send our children to and for the kids to have a reasonably decent education we would have to find higher paying jobs and both of us were earning really good salaries."

Though Oscar, a 49-year-old who worked for many years in the electronics industry, was primed to leave, he and his wife couldn't see a way to move to their first choice, the USA. "So we phoned a friend of ours in Auckland, he said how was your trip to America? So we said fine, but we still want to leave South Africa and he said why don't you consider New Zealand?" Oscar's case is a good example of how ready an individual must be for a catalyst to have any effect. This suggestion would have had no impact on someone who was satisfied with their life in South Africa; however for Oscar, having a friend suggest New Zealand was enough to spur him into action, which has resulted in his family immigrating.

Promoters/Inhibitors

Because factors could either promote or inhibit a move, depending on the situation of the migrant, I have organised this section by content instead of direction of influence. Promoters/inhibitors included technology, intrapersonal factors (risk/novelty seeking, mobility, career and fatalistic beliefs), and social factors (driver/trailing spouse, relationship impacts, children, extended family and chain migration). Overall the theme had 270 extracts (38% of total).

Technology. The Internet has changed a great deal about how a skilled individual makes the decision to leave their country of origin, as was evident by the fact that 11 of the 15 participants discussed their use of technology. Though no question specifically asked about Internet use, it is possible that the interview being conducted via Skype primed them to consider technology. The primary manner that technology has an influence in the decision process was as a resource for those seeking information on destinations. Nearly all the migrants said that they had used the Immigration New Zealand website as a means to understand the visa process. In addition to official information, the Internet also provides potential migrants with job listings, weather forecasts, and news. One migrant said he was a daily visitor to the New Zealand Herald website long before leaving South Africa. Carmen, a pre-departure migrant, said, "I've used Google maps and I've looked. You know I'm on the Christchurch website pretty often, to see how often they have a shake, and about the rebuilding of Christchurch. I go to street maps on Google to see what does it actually look like?" The Internet helps build visual images and furthers a greater understanding on modern life in New Zealand than what books provide.

The Internet is also used as a means to connect with "like others" (Tabor & Milfont, 2013) who have already migrated, through the use of Internet forums. Oscar said, "SA going to NZ [internet forum] was the best thing we stumbled on. We spent, I will be honest with

you, most of our research was done by SA going to NZ asking questions and answers by that forum. It's an excellent forum; we did a lot of research with it, within the months that proceeded when we made up our mind at the end of June 2008." Technology has indeed made the world a smaller place, and it is through technology that the pre-departure migrant of today is able to reduce uncertainty about their move.

Intrapersonal factors

  Mobility. Only three of the migrants in this study had lived outside of South Africa previously (in the UK for two migrants, and Tanzania for another). Most also had relatively limited mobility within South Africa, staying close to family. Most participants also had very little mobility in their childhood. The majority of the participants had never left South Africa before migrating to New Zealand. Grace explained, "There was only yeah about a 50 kilometre radius that's where my primary life was for about 40 years." Those who had international experiences were more likely than their partners to be the driver of the migration, but the causal link in the mobility-driver relationship seemed more likely to be related to the novelty seeking of the driver than previous international living somehow encouraging migration to New Zealand.

  Career. Employment opportunities or businesses that can be done solely online are vehicles that promote migration; essentially, without a skill the migrants in this study would not have had the option of leaving for New Zealand. Perhaps more interestingly, two of the pre-departure migrants have specifically undertaken further education for its utility value in allowing them to leave South Africa. Carmen realised several years ago, "I need a degree and that so that's also a huge factor with me being able to relocate…."

  Risk tolerance and novelty seeking. Personality factors were other intrapersonal influences on the decision. Oscar's story illustrates how risky migration is, "We came over with three suitcases of clothes, sold up our business, sold up everything we owned and took the risk coming to New Zealand." Despite, or perhaps because of the risk, some people are drawn to migrate. Carmen said she wanted to leave, "because I think life is an adventure and I want to live in different countries across the globe." Kate is another novelty-seeker, "I see myself as an adventurer, I love the challenge, I like to try new things." This is in contrast to her partner, Sam, who is somewhat risk-averse, "I definitely see it as an unknown, and I'm not sure if things are going to work out. You know, I'm only making sure that things are going to be 100% and work out it's fine, but this is a very risky as far as I'm concerned and you don't know what's going to happen when you get there, how things are going to pan

out." Jasmine, a 40-year-old saleswomen whose husband has a job offer in New Zealand, described her perception of the experience, "I do see it as risky, with the world economy as it is, plus job security, but it's a risk we are going to take."

Fatalistic beliefs. Some of the migrants indicated that fate had played a role in their decision. Oscar explained, "I had half a million Rand invested in two motorcycles. Those were the biggest assets I had that could have been a problem for me leaving the country and I said to [my wife] if those assets sell that it was a sign for us to leave and they went like that. To us, that was a sign. We believe it was meant to be." Similarly, Elisabet said, "I think that, you know, I'm not always convinced that we decided, I think that fate had decided it for us."

Social factors

By prevalence, social factors were the single largest subtheme, with 147 coded extracts (21% of total). It was also very broad, relating to differences in migration desire between partners, relationship impacts of the move, children, extended family and chain migration, which included friends who had migrated.

Driver/Trailing spouse. Perhaps the single most complex factor in decision-making is the influence of other people. Of this broad spectrum of relationships, the most critical was the partner. In this study, there were many gradations of desire to migrate that were expressed by the two partners. Some couples were in agreement on the move nearly from the start. Grace and her partner "were absolutely in it together."

But for many of the other couples there was a driver, who had a stronger to desire to migrate than their partner. For example Tyler, an IT professional and husband of Elizabet, explained his situation, "when I finished studying I knew there was some opportunities for me in other countries but I always wanted to come to New Zealand, but my wife never really, she wasn't interested in immigrating…I nagged her and said no, no you must think about it..." Likewise, Kate said, "initially, I was going based on emotions, I was nervous for the kids and all that, their security, and that made me want to push [Sam]." Trailing spouses, who are initially lower in the desire to move, often influenced the timing of the migration. Logan, a 45-year-old engineer, described the timing of his move, "I think it was my idea in the beginning and quite a while back, about 10 years ago, I wanted to leave already and my partner didn't think so. She said that ... she loved South Africa; she had never wanted to leave it so I kind of got it out of my head. And I never mentioned it again, and then crime started escalating and just everything started getting worse in the crime arena and you started to worry about family and I still didn't have it in my mind to come and then my wife said, 'Why

don't we go to one of these... one of these immigration agencies had a talk on' and she said, 'Why don't we do that and see what's required to get into New Zealand?' And well we went to that and a year later, here we are! So even though she was totally against immigration at first, but it was her idea the second time round and of course mine as well." Teagan also described how Reece waited for her to be willing, "He has always been of the opinion that South Africa is not for us. Ten years ago, we were 6 years into our marriage, our youngest was 4 years old, I wasn't ready then."

Most migrants reported that the migration process had brought them closer together. As Grace described, "my husband and I, we've grown incredibly much closer, through the immigration. I think, I think, we are more in love than we have ever been… We came to rely on each other so much more; we came to support each other so much more." Yet Sam mentioned the complexity, "Possibly brought us closer together, we had a nice opportunity to go to New Zealand on holiday together. ... but then again my family being so against it was bad, brought tension to our relationship."

Children. Two dimensions were important in the role of children in the decision: children's present quality of life, and perceptions of children's future. Due to the high crime rate, fear for children's safety had curbed what activities children were allowed. Jasmine would like to have "freedom for the kids to be able to ride their bikes, walk to school, go to the shops on their own." Elisabet's comment encapsulates this dimension perfectly, "I'm allowing them to grow up in fear and that's not fair."

Reece explained that the future was one of the main reasons for his move, "for [young son] being a white male, his future is not very bright if we continue to live here." Due to affirmative action policies, Jasmine noted, "Our kids' chances of getting good jobs in the new South Africa are not very good either." This concern was echoed by other parents, "South Africa, at the time, for white males, it was not a country that you could easily stay in and thrive," Lizanne explained.

In contrast, children can also be a reason not to move, or at least to change the timing of the move. For Elisabet, it was critical to wait until her children were fluent Afrikaans speakers before moving to another country. "It was important for me that my kids share the same language as I, definitely… and our kids have roots inside Africa now, can speak my home language now."

Extended family. The physical location and opinions of other family members about the move also influenced the process. In general, the reactions of those being left behind in South Africa were mixed. Lizanne explained her extended family's reaction:

> I can't say my parents were ecstatic about it, but they were very
> accepting and very it's going to happen then let's just carry on with it.
> They never made us feel… they never talked down the country. They
> never made us feel like we were doubting ourselves or anything like that,
> it was… you're capable, you can do this, off you go, kind of thing.
> Whereas my husband's parents would keep bringing us the 'what about
> this and what about this and…' I mean after going to visit we'd say 'Are
> we doing the right thing?' Well we knew we were doing the right thing,
> but we had this sense of self-doubt, and it was also quite scary because
> my father-in-law had been to New Zealand to visit several times already
> and it was if he is saying that it's not right, then maybe it's not right.

Likewise for Kate and Sam, their two families are divided, "we've got my family supporting us and his saying no." For Andries, extended family was his main reason for not leaving South Africa immediately. "With my parents, they're getting pretty old now so… I'd prefer to be here, I don't know how long they are going to be around. So yeah that for me is probably the major thing holding me back."

Chain migration. Migration with other extended family members was relatively common among the participants in this study, though the closeness of the relationship was variable. Grace's adult daughter and her family arrived in New Zealand 18 months after Grace and her partner did. Kate's sister had already lived in New Zealand, returned to South Africa and was preparing to reemigrate back to New Zealand. Lizanne's brother and sister-in-law moved to New Zealand before them. Other participants had uncles or aunts in New Zealand or Australia.

However, a less traditional type of chain migration was also important for South Africans: old friends. The migration experience of old friends was an important form of guidance about the decision, and in one case formed the catalyst for the move. Many of the migrants had used friends as part of their search process. As Jasmine, a pre-departure migrant explained, "Most of our friends/family over there love it and have got used to the weather, they adore Wellington." Kate and Sam viewed the lifestyle of their old friends who have already made the move, "Yeah it's just the friends we went to visit there in Wellington, they live somewhere in the hills, they got a little forest that they walk through, and they walk through that every day to get to take the kids to school... but then they live in the city, they have all the conveniences of the city." Not only does Reece have friends in New Zealand, "we have very good friends there. Some of my best mates…We grew up together. We used to race carts and do all kinds of crazy things. They immigrated 14 years ago. We've always stayed in touch." Also his partner Tegan has friends on both islands. For her, having a pre-

formed social network creates, "this support structure because you've got all these people you know."

Country Selection

      Country selection had five subthemes: perceptions of South Africa, perceptions of New Zealand, other countries considered and cultural similarities.

      Perceptions of South Africa. A key in all of the migrants' decision to leave and not return was the perception of South Africa itself. Grace explained her perceptions of the changes in South Africa, and its future, "we're both pretty negative about the future of the country. The violence isn't getting any less. There's poverty, there's a huge amount of unemployment, the corruption is shocking. It's just tragic actually, because I mean it was a wonderful country. But it doesn't have whatever that was anymore, yeah, it's lost its essence." She also felt that her place in the country was less than welcome, "It's not easy to be hugely in the minority and feel hated, especially when you've got absolutely bugger all to do with the legacy of Apartheid. You just were born a white person in that country, you had nothing to do with it, but you still live with that feeling." Kate echoed this, "It doesn't seem like its actually changing here, for the better, there isn't any fix. Yeah it's about the corruption and striking, everything comes to a standstill there is a lot of violence and violent crimes… Education standards have dropped tremendously since we were at school." All participants shared this negative evaluation of the government systems, corruption, poverty and direction the country is taking.

      Perceptions of New Zealand. In contrast to the views on South Africa, the perceptions of New Zealand were overwhelmingly positive. Carmen, a pre-departure migrant, explained her perceptions and their origins, "I've spoken to people who've either lived there or who know people who've lived there or who've been to New Zealand and absolutely every single person and every single piece of feedback that I've had is all positive. That makes me think, oh my gosh, it must be awesome."

      The perception of New Zealanders, as a people, was largely positive, with many describing them as friendly. Tegan, who is planning to bring her business to New Zealand, articulated, "They were friendly and open and they were prepared to share information with me without batting an eyelid. I found that very inviting, particularly from an entrepreneurial point of view."

      The environment is another major appeal of New Zealand. On his first visit, Tyler was awed by "the place itself, the beauty of New Zealand, that was the first feeling, like

amazing sight. Because you see photographs and stuff but you don't realise what it is or what it looks like before you get here. It was just amazing." Tegan, who came for a reconnaissance trip before her move, observed, "I loved the scenery, I loved the snow. The rain up north was a bit much, but so what, you know?" For Tyler, the low population was another attraction, "It is a small country … it's a rural country that has everything we always wanted. It's not big cities with lot of people and stuff." As Carmen explained, "I am not moving to New Zealand for money. I mean I have enough, so I'm doing it for a lifestyle. I am doing it for the fact that you can go climb a mountain and go surf and go scuba and you know the lifestyle is what I'm moving to." Similarly, Andries noted the natural environment, "it's close to mountains, you're close to the sea, the outdoors, which for me is important." In sum, both the utility value (as a place to get out and interact with nature) and the scenic value of New Zealand's environment contributed to the decision to move here.

Cultural similarities. Many migrants expressed their desire to find a new country that they would be similar to South Africa. Language was one of the factors that migrants used to select potential countries. Attractions of New Zealand included the fact that people speak English, as Carmen said, "the English is great, in fact there is no language barrier."

 In general there was also a strong perception that New Zealand's culture was similar to South Africa's. As Kate explained, "New Zealand, for us, it's quite similar. It's a closer transition than if we went to go to a different type of culture completely." Logan had a similar perception, "Why I think we chose New Zealand and Australia is because the cultures are so similar and many people say cultures aren't similar but I think the cultures may not be similar if you're Afrikaans but we're not Afrikaans, we're of English decent and I think the English descent is the cultures are pretty much the same."

Rugby has proven that it is more than just a sport, it is a way to change lives, as illustrated by Tyler's comment, "I suppose it started with the rugby of course. You've heard of the rugby. For me, either Australia or New Zealand, because their cultures are the same as South Africa. We love the same things, we do the same stuff and that's why I didn't consider any other country." Three other migrants also said that rugby was part of how they chose New Zealand.

Other countries considered. English speaking countries topped the list of options that migrants reported considering. Australia was most common, but Canada, UK, USA, Denmark and the Netherlands were also possibilities. Language was the primary reason that these countries were selected, in addition to cultural similarities, as reported above.

Perhaps most interesting are migrants reasons for *not* selecting other countries. The perception that a country did not want migrants had a major impact on the desire of migrants to attempt a move. Some of these were expressed in limitations on visas, and the complexity of the process. Sam explained, "New Zealand also seems to be an easier place to immigrate to, than Australia is. Australia seems to be more picky, or how can I say, um, more complicated than the process for NZ." Lizanne also thought her life in Australia would not be as secure as in New Zealand, "Australia is not very accommodating for people who don't have citizenship so you have to wait until you've got your citizenship, you have to rent until you get your citizenship yeah … there were a lot of things that we weren't allowed to do … which means that we'd move there and our whole lives would be in limbo until we met a certain time period." Similarly, the USA was Oscar's top choice, but "there [are] vast delays on getting a work permit in America, and if you are not really specialized in America I believe it is not very easy to get into… I don't think America actually even needs that many specialist people. I think they've got everybody they need there." This sentiment, a country's desire for migrants, is something that New Zealand is most successful in projecting.

Climate, either too hot (Australia) or too cold (Canada) or too wet (UK) were also common reasons to rule out a country. Just being in the Northern Hemisphere made the USA less attractive. "America I just felt was too much of an adaptation, just a slightly different culture, the Northern Hemisphere, having fall when I'm having spring." Though this may sound strange, there is a certain amount of adaptation involved in celebrating holidays in the opposite season.

For most migrants, it was a showdown between Australia and New Zealand in the end. The migrants recognised that these countries appealed for different reasons. Kate thought that New Zealand had more "family orientation" but that if she did not have children and was "more ambitious career-wise" Australia might have been her top choice.

Discussion

For these South African migrants, the entire decision process was focused on quality of life. Again and again throughout the process of decision-making and destination selection, issues related to lifestyle, crime, or safety precautions were discussed. Pre-departure migrants evaluated the safety potential of New Zealand to be significantly better, and this was the major criterion for selecting it as a destination. This focus on safety, either dissatisfaction with living in a state of fear or personal/family experiences of violence, confirms previous

South African emigration research (Bornman, 2005; Department of Labour, 2009b; Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010), but also evident was a distinct sense of loss (Barkhuizen & de Klerk, 2006). The South Africa that once was does not exist anymore, and they search for another homeland where they can belong.

The concept of a catalyst is similar to previous South African findings of a "last straw" in the migration decision (Du Toit, 2003; Visser, 2007). In previous studies this final event that tipped the balance in favour of departure was often a negative or violent experience for a family member or close friend (Visser, 2007), much the same as the narratives of the participants in the present study. It is likely that these last straw, or catalytic, events are an explanation of how someone moves from considering a move to making a decision. A similar idea was expressed by Cropley, Becker, and Luthke (1986) in their study of German migrants to Australia. The extent to which catalysts are important in decision-making in other migration streams (India-New Zealand, UK-New Zealand) will be explored in the following chapters.

Migrants were aware of cultural similarities, for instance language or sport, between South Africa and New Zealand, and this was part of the attraction that New Zealand held. Though previous research had found that cultural similarity was a desirable characteristic from the point of view of host nationals (Ward et al., 2001; Ward & Masgoret, 2008), to my knowledge this is the first time that cultural similarity was identified as a destination selection criterion. South African migrants anticipated that their transition into New Zealand would be easier because of these similarities.

Language was an aspect of cultural similarity that helped the ethnically English migrants choose New Zealand. But even for the Afrikaans-speaking participants, language did play a role in the decision. For one family, the language acquisition of the children had dictated the timing of the move. This influence of language on decision-making is in line with previous studies of South Africans moving to New Zealand (Barkhuizen & de Klerk, 2006; de Klerk & Barkhuizen, 2004).

Though three of the migrants were true novelty seekers, wanting to see and explore the world, as other studies have shown (Tabor & Milfont, 2011; van Dalen & Henkens, 2012b) all other migrants indicated that they would rather not have felt the need to leave. Fear was a very strong component of the decision to leave. It went beyond affect, as it was a pervasive and long-term state. This chronic fear-state motivated them to leave the country and they were willing to face a risky situation (international migration) for the potential reward of reduced stress. Several of the participants mentioned that they had gradually made

more and more accommodations to ensure the safety of them and their families, and that this slow escalation made them tolerate high levels of violence. This means that for South African migrants, risk was perceived to be lowered through the international move, which means that this study confirms migration as a risk reduction strategy (Massey, 1999; Massey et al., 1993; Williams & Baláž, 2012).

This study provides initial support for some of the essential features of NDM theory. Certainly multiple players had a role in the decision (Lipshitz et al., 2001), as partners had to negotiate distinctly different goals. Similarly, as the decision to migrate was initially motived by concerns over physical safety, there were very high stakes that participants perceived (Zsambok & Klein, 1997).

Many further aspects of this South African study will be discussed in Chapter 6, when the commonalities between the countries are explored fully. The next country, India, presents a very different context of migration, even as the diaspora of its citizens is similarly a strong cultural tradition in the modern era.

CHAPTER THREE
Study 1, Part 2
India: A modern diaspora

A complete description of the history of India, a former British colony and a modern country with population pressures, is again far beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the relationship between India and New Zealand is important to understanding the context of migration between these countries. Ian Taylor, a Wellington business executive who was travelling with former-Prime Minister Helen Clark on her trip to India admitted "I'm embarrassed to say this, but I thought I was coming to a third world country" (R. Berry, 2004). The West has categorised India as backward and underdeveloped, though this is largely a myth (Zodgekar, 2010). The real India is a land of contrasts, from the highly educated middle and upper classes, which are developing cutting-edge technology, to the rural villages that are still struggling for clean water. The migrants who come to New Zealand are almost exclusively drawn from the upper and middle classes of India, whose experience is not one of deprivation, but of relative luxury.

India is a country of startling diversity, including more than 200 spoken languages (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, 2001), though one legacy of British rule is the common English tongue. Each Indian state was once a principality, with unique cultures that influence modern religious worship, foods and gender roles (Wolpert, 2005). Males are traditionally expected to care for elderly parents, and extended family living together in one household is also common. Arranged marriage remains a common practice, even in families who have left India, though love matches are also acceptable for some parts of society (G. Williams, 2010). Researchers are moving away from the idea that India is a patriarchal culture based in a *pativratya*[5] ideal (Mines, 1988) into an increased awareness of a more modern society with women having power in family decisions (Uberoi, 1995). Certainly, there are some aspects of both. Across northern India, for example, the Karva Chauth holiday is still celebrated wherein wives fast from sunrise to moonrise for the health and wellbeing of their husbands. The rise of the well-educated Indian middle class has also changed the role of women in Indian society and in the Indian family, but a recent study found that some of the most important decisions, those involving money, are the domain of the men (Singh & Bhandari, 2012).

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[5] *Pativratya* means an unswerving devotion of a wife to her husband.

The Indian Diaspora is one of the largest in the world, with more than 20 million non-resident Indians (Raghuram, Sahoo, Maharaj, & Sangha, 2008). Many have settled in Asia and the Middle East, but Western countries, such as Australia, the United States and the UK have a strong appeal. Indians have been coming to New Zealand for more than 200 years. The first migrants were Indian seamen and soldiers who deserted from British East India Company ships docked in New Zealand (Swarbrick, 2011). A trickle of arrivals followed, both from the upper and lower classes of India, but in 1920 the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act curbed growth by specifically requiring permits for British subjects who were "native inhabitants" of the colonies (Fuchs, Linkenbach, & Malik, 2010). This permit system meant that only the close relatives of New Zealand residents would be allowed entry, forcing a chain migration system. By 1945, less than 2000 people listed India as their birthplace, and the figure grew to 9247 in 1975 (Zodgekar, 2010). As shown in Figure 5, in the 1991 census there were still less than 10,000 residents of New Zealand who listed India as their birthplace (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). But with the introduction that year of the points-based immigration system, the number of Indians who have arrived in New Zealand has grown to 43,341 by the 2006 census. Thus, the number of Indian-born residents of New Zealand more than doubled between 2001 and 2006.[6]
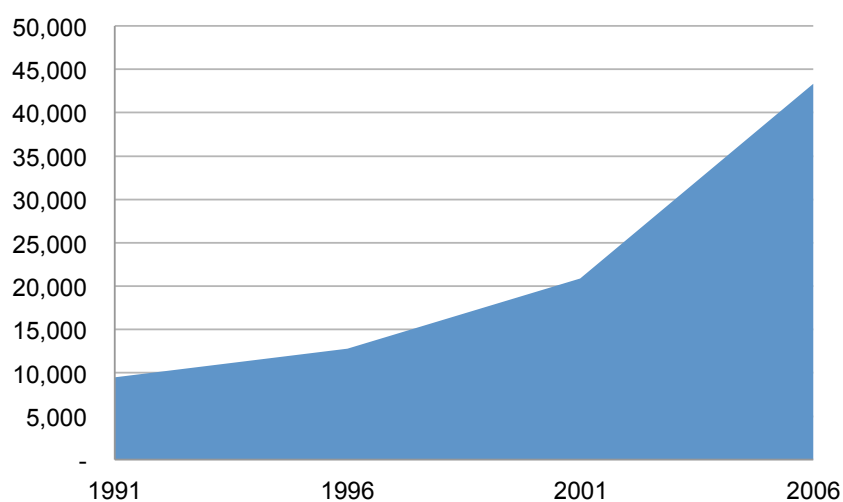
Figure 6. Growth in Indian-born population of New Zealand

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[6] Note that the population of people in New Zealand who identify as belonging to the Indian ethic group are about 31% Fijian-Indian (Zodgekar, 2010), and the figures presented here do not include them. This thesis has a focus on Indian-born migrants, though the larger Indian community in New Zealand is a very diverse product of the Indian Diaspora. Due to space limitations, the study presented here was restricted to the experiences of those coming from India to New Zealand, as Fiji has its own cultural and historical context that could not adequately be addressed.

In 1947, the Statute of Westminster technically gave New Zealand independence at the same moment as India. But the reactions of the two nations could not have been more different. India had embraced Gandhi's *satyagraha* (non-cooperation) with the aim of building an Indian nation. In contrast, New Zealand had no desire to be independent of the Crown, and to this day is still under the nominal control of the Queen's representative, the Governor-General. Relations between India and New Zealand have been cordial, though New Zealand prime minister Robert Muldoon ruffled feathers in New Delhi during his near decade in office (1975-1984), and India's pro-nuclear stance caused controversy against New Zealand's nuclear free policy (Zodgekar, 2010). Economic pragmatism has been the recent trend in relations, with a massive increase in bi-lateral trade. Through it all, much of the contact between the two nations can be said to have occurred on the cricket pitch.

The reasons for Indian migration have been assumed to be financial. The rationale is that India is a third world country, and therefore its elite would desire the higher wages available elsewhere. This presumption has been underlying much research in this field (W. S. Harvey, 2009; Khadria, 2001). As discussed in the introductory chapter, this presumption could be because it was often economists doing the research, but it is part of a behaviourist conceptualisation that has been criticised for its lack of appreciation for the finer nuances of decision-making, such as the multiple conscious and unconscious reasons that drive the desire to move (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993). In a recent qualitative study of Indian migrants to Auckland, lifestyle, educational opportunities for children, clean environment and safety were the top reasons given for the move (Lewin et al., 2011). Thus, it is much more likely that there are multiple reasons behind a move from India to New Zealand, in which money may play a part, but as New Zealand wages are not as high as other Western nations, this clearly is not the only factor influencing the move. Certainly more research is needed to illuminate how these reasons translate into actions that result in migrants actually leaving their homeland.

Method

The methods used are the same as described in Study 1, Part 1. One in-person interview was conducted with a post-arrival Indian migrant before the main study began to gain background information and check the interview schedule. No changes were made to the interview schedule for this group of participants. One interview was conducted in a private

meeting room in the workplace of the participant; all others were conducted via Skype. The mean interview length was 33 minutes (SD=15 minutes), followed by debriefing in which migrants were encouraged to ask questions.

Indian Participants

In total, 13 interviews were conducted with 15 participants. The mean age was 35.87 (*SD*= 9.4, range 27-48). Eight women (53.3%) and seven men participated. The mean family size for the study was 2.27 (*SD*=1.19, range 1-4). Four participants chose to be interviewed with their spouse, and one pre-departure couple and one post-arrival couple chose to be interviewed separately.

At the time of the interview, 33% of the sample was in India, and all of the pre-departure migrants planned to leave as soon as a visa could be secured; the other participants were in all living in New Zealand. The average time migrants were in New Zealand was about 2 years (*SD*= 28 months). The Skilled Migrant category visa was the most common (80%), though arrivals with work to residence, partner and student visas were additionally represented. Career fields were predominantly IT, with science and finance also included. Most (53.5%) had a master's degree or higher; all participants had a minimum of a bachelor's degree.

Participants came from a range of Indian states, including Kerala, Himichal Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh. Those who had arrived in New Zealand lived in Wellington, Hamilton or Auckland. One had lived in Dunedin briefly before moving to the North Island. In this sample, 66.7% had lived abroad previously at some point in their life, including destinations in Asia, Europe, Australia and the USA. Only 2 (13.3%) had visited New Zealand prior to the decision to move here. None had family members living in New Zealand prior to their arrival.

<div align="center">

Results

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Thematic Analysis

The initial open coding identified 46 codes, with a total of 407 coded extracts in the first round of coding. A second round of closed coding resulted in 508 coded extracts. Initially five themes were identified: opportunity, settlement, social aspects of migration, perceptions of NZ, and countries considered. These were checked for internal and external consistency, which lead to a final dataset of 448 coded extracts in three themes: Opportunity,

Social Aspects of Migration, and Destinations. As with the South African part of the study, this sample included people who were in New Zealand, and therefore discussion of the process of settlement, as well as return migration occurred. Again, this theme will not be reported here, given the space restrictions and relevance to the research question. Table 3 reports the number of codes and transcripts for each theme and subtheme, and Figure 6 illustrates the mental map of the themes, subthemes and codes.

Table 3. Prevalence of themes, subthemes and codes for India

Theme	N (interviews)	N (extracts)	% Dataset
Opportunity	12	51	11
Work	13	87	19
Lifestyle	9	37	8
Social Aspects of Migration	12	33	7
Extended Family	11	29	6
Partner Decision-making	8	21	5
Cultural Norms	10	21	5
Destinations	11	49	11
Return or Onward Migration	12	30	7
New Zealand	11	21	5
Environment	11	32	7
Destination in New Zealand	9	11	2
Settlement	10	26	6
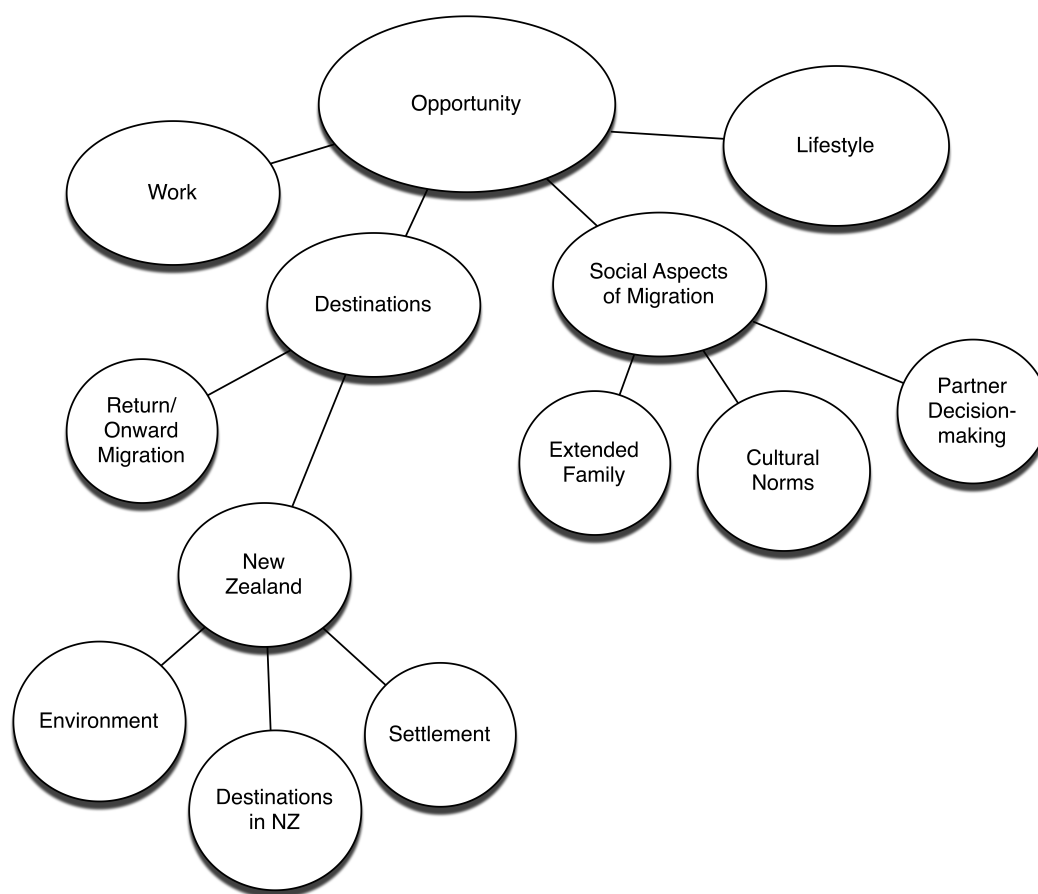
Figure 7. Thematic map of Indian data

Opportunity

The most prominent theme in the dataset was opportunity, which explored both the potential that participants saw outside of India, and the factors that facilitated them leaving. The concept of opportunity is also directly related to evaluations of lifestyle and work. It is part of how potential migrants evaluate destinations, and how they discuss previous international experiences. Partners and extended family often encouraged participants to take the opportunity to leave, and social norms in India further enabled the move. Participants spoke of an expectation that Indians in their career field and with their educational attainments were not only encouraged, but also *expected* to move abroad. Opportunity centred on developing not only a better career than what domestically was available, but also a better life. Farzana, who has a master's degree in IT but is at the moment a stay-at-home

mother, called it the desire for "a smooth life." Taken together, the theme of opportunity comprised 39% of the total coded extracts.

Many of the participants were interested in moving abroad for years, as Eka, a 43-year-old engineer from Maharashtra explained, "the roots go way back at the time when I was a child, when I used to think what it would be like, I used to wonder what it would be like to live in a different country. Although I had no background and no one to guide me in that I still fancied those types of parts [first world countries]. But it never really occurred to me that I could do something like this except when I started travelling I got the opportunity to have a look at different lifestyles, different cultures, different nationalities and... that again that sort of reinforced my motivational desire to try out something different." Likewise, Kumari, a young wife from Himachal Pradesh who will be joining her husband in New Zealand, describes it as a "new experience to go to new country, I visit new places, get this chance of this new country and also the opportunity I'm getting there, so that's why I'm very happy." The idea of living in a new place was deeply appealing to many of the migrants and appeared to stem from internal personality or motivation factors. Opportunities were a general idea that encapsulated this potential that living abroad offered. There were also specific opportunities that related to work and lifestyle that will be described next.

Work. A major component of opportunity is the desire to progress in one's chosen career: in fact work accounted for 19% of all the coded extracts. Jobs, usually for both partners, were an important factor in both the ability to move abroad and in the appeal of moving abroad. The majority of the participants were in the IT or engineering fields. Rishi, a young father from Tamil Nadu said that to develop a career, "the IT professional in India has got to go abroad."

Several participants also criticised the work culture in India. When asked why he left India, Lokajit, a 27-year-old IT professional from Himichal Pradesh, replied "The first thing I'm able to put here is work culture. I was supposedly working in a multinational company and we were supposed to have very high standards of kind of rules, they were not being followed very strictly I would say. Things like bosses nit picking, and those kinds of things. Those were quite prevalent there. So I was finding it actually hampering my growth professionally."

For several of the participants, part of the appeal of working overseas was to gain a higher salary. Durva, clarified her reasons for the move, "I think there are multiple reasons. One would be I could probably earn a lot more outside of India, just think of the exchange rate. I am doing pretty well here, but in comparison to what I could earn elsewhere I think I

would earn a lot more outside of India." For those planning a return someday, like Kumari, increasing income is an important motivation, "income in New Zealand is much higher than that of India, so the money we can earn in 10 or 20 years in New Zealand, we can make a very good house in India when we came back to India, so that is also one reason." Others emphatically denied salary or money was motivating their move. Rishi said, "I'm having a good life in India. We have plenty of money here." Dakshi, an engineer from Tamil Nadu, explained how his priorities had changed over time, "When I moved initially [to the US], yes, money was the main reason and then after gaining so many years of experience… the money you can earn in the States or anywhere abroad, you can almost get the same amount of money these days in India." Even though Durva states that she is leaving India primarily to make more money, she also admits "now that I have started looking into New Zealand more seriously, Australia, even though it probably has more job opportunities for me and it would probably be better for my career, I am not that keen on Australia anymore. I am not really sure why." It is clear that money was one important factor among many that influenced the decision to move, including career development in terms of skills and working conditions. As will be discussed in the next section, the migration decision does not only consider the financial bottom line, but also includes an evaluation of less tangible quality of life factors that are much more difficult to quantify.

      Lifestyle. "Peace of mind is a major thing for me, even more than money," explained Lokajit. Quality of life, pace of life, work-life balance were all important goals mentioned by participants. Jihan, an IT professional from Tamil Nadu, said that "quality of life" was his top reason for leaving. Lifestyle was one of Rishi's main reasons, "my father gave us a good lifestyle when I was growing up and because of that I was wondering if I should give something more to my child. So I was thinking, you know, because of lifestyle. In India, even if you make a lot of money you cannot guarantee a certain lifestyle. So I thought of moving to a Western country, for a better lifestyle, for my kid." For Farzana, pace of life was the key reason to select New Zealand. She and her husband lived in Australia before moving here, "in Sydney it was just like everyone was rushing for everything. Even if you are a housewife you have to be quick, you have to go…it was a really busy life for me… but here it's a very relaxed life… it's a very nice life over here."

      Several participants brought up work-life balance as a goal. Lokajit's friend moved to New Zealand before him, and told him about the difference in work-life balance. "He would just tell us about the work culture, it's only working like 8 or 9 hours a day, and we used to work 10 or 12 hours a day in India." Naadir, an IT professional from Kerala, was of the

opinion that "money it doesn't really compensate for the lack of work-life balance." Desiring a better work-life balance did not mean that the migrants were expecting a free ride. "It doesn't mean that I don't want to work, or work hard, it's that when I'm done and the weekend comes, I just want to explore the various parts of New Zealand," Rishi confirmed. Yasmeen, a 31-year-old mother and IT professional from Andra Pradesh, was looking forward to "8 hours of work and then come home, get kids and take them to visit places."

Social Aspects of Migration

Several social aspects were significant in the migration decision for the Indian participants. Support from extended family members, for example, was essential to the process for many participants. Geeta, a 40-year-old accountant from Maharashtra, explained "we had lots of discussions in that period and I had lots of discussions with my parents and it was a collective decision." For Indian migrants, the migration decision sits within a context of immediate and extended family that is then surrounded by Indian culture. These layers of social expectations, interaction and collaboration are fundamental to understanding how important life decisions are made.

Extended family. For most of the migrants, parents were a very important part of the decision of whether or not to leave India. Durva, who is unmarried, has been encouraged by her parents, "they are really supportive and they are helping me find my way over." Likewise Naadir said "my dad has pretty much gone all around the world so he was egging me on… saying you better go out and see the world."

One commonality among the migrants was that many had a sibling living abroad, including Australia, Singapore and the USA, though none had family in New Zealand. None of the migrants whom I spoke with were part of a migration chain, though they may be the start of one, since several were thinking of having their parents join them. Padmesh, an IT professional from Andhra Pradesh, was also hoping to bring his widowed mother-in-law to New Zealand. When I asked if his wife's brother might also come he replied, "Since we got residency now here, we were just checking a couple of options to sponsor him." In this way a single couple can form the anchor that facilitates the rest of the family migrating.

Partner decision-making. Though many of the migrants were interested in moving overseas for years, it was sometimes the case that either the husband or wife were the "driver" of the move, and they needed to convince their partner that moving was the right thing for the family. Men were more often the driver in this dataset, but there were two wives who were the drivers. Dakshi explained, "[Aadita] had to negotiate a lot and she took almost

like three months for her to convince me to get in, do the process." Rishi was married after he began the immigration process, so his wife knew that marrying him meant going abroad. "I have been planning for about 3 years since in 2008 at that time I was not married. It was only in 2009, that I got married so no I'm not having any problem, you know, to convince my wife to move to settle down in here in a foreign country."

Geeta's story eloquently explains how one partner can convince another, with some assistance from extended family[7]:

> From my perspective we were very well settled in Pune…We were in a position to afford fees of the private school in Pune and as you know we have housemaids … and my parents, my in-laws, all my cousins, everyone was there. So I was a bit upset when he said we are going to immigrate and we are going to New Zealand... I said we are happy here, why do we want to move? So when I was talking to my parents, my father was the one who insisted I encourage my husband … So what my father said look if he wants to do something you do it now when your kids are young. When we are here to do to help you if you need any help... This is the best time to do it, to explore new ideas and if you think you are not settled if you don't like there you can always come back… And because of the promising words I said to my husband okay let's go let's do what you want to do and that's how he started applying for immigration … I said to him if you find a decent job I am ready to stay, I would come with you… He didn't tell me that he is doing this and I *have* to follow him. It was like he put forward that idea and he said that this is what I want to do and I need your help to do this and to be successful in what I am striving to do or what I am trying to do. So I mean he didn't *compel* me to do it, it was he *convinced* me that how it is going to be after we immigrate to New Zealand what are the advantages what are the disadvantages and what is the scenario and that is why he brought me to New Zealand in 2002 just to give me an idea of what he is talking about. Because he had been he was travelling but I never travelled to any other country so he just wanted me to experience that what he is talking about like peace of mind.

This narrative illustrates the collective nature of the migration decision for Indian migrants, because it was the husband who was the driver, but without the support of his father-in-law and the acceptance of his wife, emigration would not have occurred. Again, real world decisions both affect and are affected by close social ties.

Cultural norms. The main cultural norm that has an impact on the decision-making process is the societal acceptance that Indians emigrate. The India Diaspora that has been

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[7] Words in italics represent emphasis in original dialogue.

going on for many years continues today, and it is very much acceptable for highly educated and skilled Indians to leave. Jihan expressed his perception that "In India you complete your education. In the end you either even move to the US for higher education or move to US for a job. That was the trend and it continues also to a great extent now." In fact, having residency in another country was described by Lokajit as a "status symbol" that made it appealing to some Indians.

Several of the males interviewed were the only sons in their family. Due to the Indian cultural norm that gives sons responsibility to care for their parents, this shaped the situation for these migrants. As Lokajit explained, "my dad was supportive but my mother was a bit ... okay I'm her only son and she finally agreed. So now I'm planning in the longer term to bring my parents here with me." Similarly, Padmesh felt that it was his last chance to go abroad before he had to bear the responsibility of providing for his mother, "because I am the only son to my mother, I have to take care of my mother.... after getting this [visa] I thought once she gets retired then only she can come, until then she is in India… So I thought this is the time to actually, by that I mean, do something in my life otherwise I can't do it again and I won't get another chance, so that's why I decided to go abroad and work…" Thus some participants felt they needed to time their move to fit with the cultural expectations of their families, and their long-standing desire to move had to fit within these cultural constraints.

Of the married couples, all were in arranged marriages. This is a common cultural practice in India, but it may make the immigration process more challenging. Because Immigration New Zealand policy is to only accept partners in a "genuine and stable relationship" and usually partnership visas require that people live together for a minimum of 12 months. This is extremely unlikely in a new arranged marriage. There may be some difficulties with the standard cultural practice in India of having parents arrange a marriage for their son who is living abroad. Two of the couples had done just that, but at the time the male partner was living in Australia in one case and in the US in the other case. The only couple that was attempting to do this in New Zealand had been faced with major delays in visa processing.

Cultural expectations around marriage were also a part of Durva's decision to leave. She had studied in the UK for several years, she found India to be very restrictive upon her return, "I think it would affect my parents because… 'well look at your daughter she is 28 she is not married what's wrong with her?' And there is nothing wrong with me, I just don't want to be married." Cultural norms can therefore both facilitate and complicate migration. In the following section, I describe the migrants' destinations.

Destinations

      The theme of destinations represented 38% of all the coded extracts in the dataset. Overall it related to where migrants had been and where they were going. This included past travel or living abroad, perceptions of possible destinations, experiences upon arrival and future plans. For all the migrants there was not a simple answer to this question of how they chose New Zealand, as migrants explained how they evaluated potential locations.

      Many of the migrants had previous international living experiences, including two who grew up outside of India (Europe and Africa). Several others had work experiences abroad, including the US, UK, Australia, China, Sweden, Russia, Denmark, Malaysia, and Japan. These tastes of life outside of India were often the spark that kindled a desire to move more permanently overseas. Geeta described how her husband's travel experiences influenced their migration, "He travelled to Sweden, that was his first travel to a foreign country when he travelled there. Since then he always had this desire to go to some other country other than India and experience the style of living."

      The destinations theme included the countries that potential migrants considered, which were most often the US, Australia and Canada. Other countries considered were the UK, Singapore, Denmark, and Saudi Arabia. The decision to move out of India predated the decision to come to New Zealand in all cases. There has been a perception that New Zealand is not usually the first choice for an Indian migrant, and is only useful as, what Lokajit termed, "a station to their prime destination." For one couple, that was true. Dakshi and Aadita lived in the US, but found it difficult to gain a permanent visa, "If we got a Green Card… we won't have the urge, the thoughts of moving out of the US." But for Farzana and her husband, New Zealand was the top choice, "We first applied for New Zealand, it took around three years so we applied for Australia and let's see if it comes then it's good, if it doesn't come... but we got our first preference, New Zealand." Most Indian migrants are not settling for New Zealand as a destination because they could not get visas in their first choice country (US, Australia, UK). New Zealand is clearly attractive in its own right, and below I explain the main factors that make this a destination of choice to Indian migrants.

      "Initially I was looking for countries that were welcoming migrants," explained Jihan. Naadir selected his destination the same way, "New Zealand seemed more migrant-friendly." The receptivity of the destination is expressed in both the availability of visas, and the reception that migrants receive in the country. "America is not our top choice, there is so much competition. Even though there are plenty of opportunities in America, I don't think

the American government treats immigrants well. They are thinking of aliens who are trying to get the jobs of Americans, I saw that for myself the very first time I went," explained Rishi.

Half of the participants specifically mentioned racism as having an impact on their decision-making. Australia's violence against Indian migrants[8] has clearly made some people stay away. "We thought of going to Australia but …because it was a time that kind of racist incidents were going on. Indians had gotten beaten up and all that stuff was going on in Australia," Dakshi explained. Jihan had the same reason for not choosing Australia, "Indians being attacked in various parts of Australia. So obviously I had concerns about my family being in that." Media coverage of racist incidents in Australia had a strong influence on how potential Indian migrants evaluated Australia as a destination.

"So just because of language constraints we ruled out some places, like Denmark. Mostly it was my wife who had problems in Japan because of language," Jihan revealed of his family's sojourn to Japan. Language was a reason to select or eliminate potential migration destination. "I was considering moving to English speaking countries because I didn't want to learn a new language for moving to a new country. So I was thinking of moving to either Canada, UK, Australia or New Zealand," said Rishi. When Indian migrants are attempting to eliminate destination options, language is a common and relatively straightforward method.

Other people's perceptions of destinations impact migrants, such as Rishi's family and friends concern about his choice. "When I share my idea of immigration to New Zealand, all of my friends they say, are you mad? They know just about UK or Canada or the US. Because all of those places have large Indian communities, and if you go there you will be in that community… even now I am kind of struggling with my parents to allow me to go to New Zealand, because they are saying 'we don't know anyone in New Zealand. We do have a community, but it's more in the UK, it's not in New Zealand to support you'."

New Zealand. Perceptions of New Zealand were formed primarily through two sources: personal contacts/friends and the Internet. Having friends in New Zealand influenced Kumari's husband, "He had his friends in New Zealand. Oh that's why he wanted to come there, they are friends from his childhood. They told him that it's a very nice country, very beautiful place and so many tourists visit there and they play the same sports, so that's why he was really excited to go there."

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[8] During 2009-2010 there were more than 100 reported incidents of attacks against Indians in Australia (The Indian Express, 2010).

Official information sources were also very common. "I had a friend who had suggested to me that New Zealand is another option, so because he had time, he had also called for papers, that application packet, from immigration services in New Delhi and so he passed on that address to me so I got some ideas from that application itself because there were some information brochures there," disclosed Eka. Almost all the participants reported positive experiences with gaining information on migration, particularly using the Immigration New Zealand website. "When I looked at the sites for New Zealand and Australia, I found the site for New Zealand to be more transparent, more easy to follow and to know what is to be done. That gave me the most confidence that New Zealand would be my place," reported Jihan. Other online sources that Indian migrants used in their decision-making included online forums, media outlets, and job sites.

Environment. Environment had a major influence on migration decision-making, with climate being a major selection criterion. Naadir was concerned that some countries were too cold, "To us, the thing is that if it's too cold, since I'm from the tropics, I was not exactly sure how I would cope, because I've only been in a 15 degree kind of place. Then we see people from our country, from my place, they go to the Gulf. I guess because of its proximity and its nice and hot and stuff." Whereas Farzana found Australia too hot, "I came to Australia and I loved that city or country. It was a nice country. And then I heard about New Zealand, we heard about the climatic conditions, it was very good because, we both can't stay in a very hot climate condition." In fact for Farzana, climate was one of the reasons to leave India in the first place, "India doesn't have very moderate climatic conditions. It's, yeah, you've been in India, it's sometimes very cold in winter and then summers it's too hot and then monsoons it rains rains rains so we wanted to come out of that country."

In addition to climate, environmental quality was also vital, as India's problems with pollution, traffic and unclean water were reasons for leaving. "Mostly, the main thing is pollution," explained Dakshi. Kumari's husband has described New Zealand for her, "he loved the place and he told me that pollution is not a problem, very clean roads and not lots of traffic... and a very beautiful place." The access to nature was important to Jihan, "Both of us kind of like nature and stuff, doing things outside... you can be with nature." The physical environment was an additional attractive quality for migrants. Sitara, Padmesh's wife, described New Zealand as "a scenic beautiful country." Sometimes the most simple terms speak the loudest, "You drink water from the tap, it's a big thing for me," said Mukta.

Discussion

The following brief discussion will focus on two main issues that were unique to the Indian sample: economic causes of migration, and collective decision-making. Moving for higher earning potential was certainly discussed by some of the Indian participants, which supports the extant literature (Boyle, 2009; Massey, 1999; Rabe, 2011). However, some strongly denied financial reasons, and even those who listed salary among their reasons had several non-economic selection criteria. This challenges the idea that skilled migration is by its very nature, labour migration. Instead the movement of these highly skilled individuals, many of them with skilled partners, is also about quality of life or lifestyle, and career development; not just salary development, but work-life balance and improved work culture. These skills, developed both through educational achievement and employment history, open doors for potential migrants, but this does not mean that finances are necessarily the primary motivation for the move. In his synthesis, Massey (1999) states that "it is entirely possible for individuals to engage in cost-benefit calculations; for households to minimize risk and overcome barriers to capitol and credit; for both individuals and households to draw on social capital to facilitate international movement; and for socioeconomic context within which migration decisions are made to be determined by structural forces operating at the national and international levels, often influenced by the migration itself" (p. 47). If potential migrants were entirely focused on maximising their income, this synthesis would very likely explain their behaviour, however, it falls short of addressing issues like work-life balance and environment that were also important parts of the decision for the migrants in this study. Indeed, other researchers have also found that Indian migrants to New Zealand were looking for opportunities, lifestyle, environment and future prospects for children (Johnston et al., 2006; Lewin et al., 2011). Again, economic theories that rely on financial cost-benefit calculations are limited, as they account for some parts of the complex evaluations that potential migrants conduct while leaving social, environmental and cultural factors unaccounted for. These non-economic influences were prevalent, even in this migration cohort who would fit the classical explanation of a typical low-income to high-income country move.

Fielding's (1992) concept of migration as going places (taking a step up in the world) was indeed evident in these Indian migrants to New Zealand, particularly in the focus on work/ salary and opportunities to develop professionally as described above. Surprisingly, opting out (what Fielding called getting out of the rat race), was also expressed by several

participants in their dissatisfaction with hectic working conditions in India and a desire for work-life balance. Two participants also stressed freedom (from boredom and social norms). In the case of one couple, the wife saw New Zealand as a place to achieve a slower pace of life (opting out), while her husband saw it as a place to develop his professional skills (going places). This diversity of goals within the household unit is an important distinction (De Jong, 2000; McDevitt & Gadalla, 1986), which could make the decision of a family to migrate a more complex, negotiated process (Adams, 2004; De Jong et al., 1998; Richardson, 2006). The underlying assumptions of how couples choose each other based on similar interests and goals are antithetical to the situation of these couples, as all of them were in arranged marriages. Even in the 'progressive' West, researchers have assumed that women are following their partner (Pedraza, 1991) for the betterment of his career, though this notion has been challenged (Hiller & McCaig, 2007). In Indian families this gender role constraint may be even more binding, and the context of the destination country may influence how much power a woman has in the relationship. For example, Jian (2010) discussed the impact on female agency of US visa policy prohibiting the spouses of work visa holders from working themselves. The women in the present study were not simply accepting of their husband's desire to move abroad. Two of the women considered themselves the drivers of the decision on where to move, and negotiation among couples was often lengthy. These may have been partly a result of selection effects; that is, the highly skilled women in the study had work experience and education that may have made them more equal in their status than they would have been if the husbands were the only educated partner.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the decision-making described by participants in this study was Geeta's account of how her husband and father persuaded her, as she said "he didn't *compel* me to do it, it was he *convinced* me." Unlike work with British migrants, whose extended family were outside of the decision-making process and exerted little influence (Tabor & Milfont, 2012), the Indian migrants explained how their parents' needs and desires were central to the decision. This supports previous research emphasising the importance of those outside the couple in the decision-making process (Adams, 2004; Arango, 2000; Bailey, Blake, & Cooke, 2004; Bhattacharyya, 1985; Gopalkrishnan & Babacan, 2007). Additionally, this supports the NDM concept of multiple players in the decision (Zsambok & Klein, 1997).

For the male migrants who were the only son in the family, the on-going obligation to care for parents influenced the initial migration decision (i.e., leaving now before they need care), and the long-term plans of family reunification in their destination. However, the view

of extended family as only a part of easing the transition into the destination is missing a major component of how collectivist families interact. Family migration needs to be understood as a decision that spans generations (Ho & Bedford, 2008), a facet normally left out of Western research due to its individualist presumptions.

This collective decision-making is situated in a very different cultural context than the internal migration studies done in the West, where so much of the couples' migration decision-making research occurs (Coulter et al., 2012; A. E. Green, 1997; Jürges, 2006; Mckinnish, 2008). Webster's (2000) ethnographic research with Indian couples making purchasing decisions concluded that individual differences such as locus of control and conflict-avoidance were important features of who took the primary role in the decision, and that women were very often the family's decision-maker when it came to purchases. Rather, the present study focused on the negotiated nature of the decision for several of the couples. Though Webster's view of a dominant decision-maker was present for some of the couples, with a very compliant wife accepting her husband's desire to move abroad and joining him enthusiastically, there were also couples where wives were much more participatory in the process, either in the initial decision or in the selecting among alternative destinations. Webster (2000) himself provides support for this perspective when arguing that "a casual glance across Indian culture may lead one to label it as patriarchal, but an in-depth investigation into the culture reveals that many Indian wives exercise considerable purchase decision-making power, even in matters traditionally considered to be the domain of their husbands" (p. 1054). Again, this relates to the NDM concept of decisions being made within a context of norms (Zsambok & Klein, 1997), though NDM researchers normally consider organisational norms (Gonzalez, 2001), this study suggests the importance of cultural norms.

In brief, this study showed that collective decision-making and economic and non-economic causes of migration were unique and important aspects of the migration decision-making of Indians to New Zealand. Long-standing desire to live internationally and seek a new adventure was common in the Indian sample, and will be discussed further in the coming chapters as important characteristics that separate those who self-select migration from those who do not. The next and final country studied is the UK, which in some ways brings the story back to the start of immigration to New Zealand.

CHAPTER FOUR

Study 1, Part 3

United Kingdom and Ireland: From colonisation to migration

It is important to understand that New Zealand, as it exists today, is the culmination of generations of British migrants' desires, plans and actions. To drive through the countryside of rural New Zealand, one sees the pastureland that was cleared by early settlers from dense temperate bush land, as well as grazing cattle and sheep descended from the early imports that have driven the New Zealand economy for 150 years. Gorse, a prickly bush originally brought by British settlers as way to fence paddocks, now is an invasive species that is costly to control (Brockle, 2012). The residential built environment is modelled on British styles, from the early villas built at the turn of the last century, to the mid-century bungalows (first popular with British settlers in India), to the modern brick facing and faux slate roofs of the latest construction. The cars drive on the left, just as in the UK and the names of many of the towns are straight out of the British Isles: Dunedin (the Gaelic name for Edinburgh), New Plymouth, Brighton, and Whitby. The sporting fields are filled with cricket players in summer and rugby players in winter. The Church of England still holds services in towns throughout New Zealand. English is the dominant language, spoken with an accent that, for some, is indistinguishable from the British burr.

The first non-Māori arrivals to New Zealand included whalers and sealers from America, India and Ireland, and missionaries from England hoping to convert the Māori population to Christianity (J. Phillips, 2011). Using nearby Australia as a springboard, British settlers came to New Zealand to grow flax and harvest timber. With the 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between the Māori chiefs and the British crown, the Europeans viewed Britain as gaining sovereignty over New Zealand. With the oversupply of labour in the UK as a result of technological advances in the manufacturing industries, conditions were perfect for New Zealand to draw in thousands of settlers directly from the UK. After the Treaty of Waitangi, most immigrants came with their families; nearly half of the migrants were children accompanying parents (J. Phillips, 2011).

The New Zealand Company was a commercial venture designed to entice both rich investors and poor labourers to the far away shores of New Zealand. The shores were indeed far; the dangerous journey was more than 100 days by ship. Through print media, The New Zealand Company offered free passage, and advertised the merits of New Zealand over other destinations; because even in these early years of immigration, New Zealand competed with

Canada, the United States and particularly Australia for emigrants seeking to leave the UK (Hudson, 2001). Historically, English and Scottish settlers were much more common than Irish, though Irish settlement has been on-going (J. Phillips, 2011).

In the twentieth century, British migrants continued to dominate the arrivals. Part of the reason was legislative; the Immigration Restriction Act of 1899 and its revisions in 1910 and 1920 insured that people of British birth and descent were given nearly unrestricted access to living and working in New Zealand, while other nationalities required visas (Ongley & Pearson, 1995). Even the Immigration Act of 1964 continued the exclusionary policy, and it was not until 1974 when unrestricted entry of British citizens was finally ended. Despite policy changes opening New Zealand to workers based on their skills, rather than country of origin, the UK has continued to be the largest source country for migrants year after year (Department of Labour, 2010; Merwood, 2006). As shown in Figure 8, the number of people living in New Zealand who were born in the UK or Ireland has remained largely unchanged in the 15-year span of the last four census counts. This is partly because of attrition, a cohort study of migrants approved for permanent residency between 1998 and 2004 found that 10.3% of Britons had left New Zealand (Shorland, 2006). However the largest contributor is likely to be age. The 2006 census reported that roughly 38% of British-born residents of New Zealand were over the age of 65 (Statistics New Zealand, 2007).
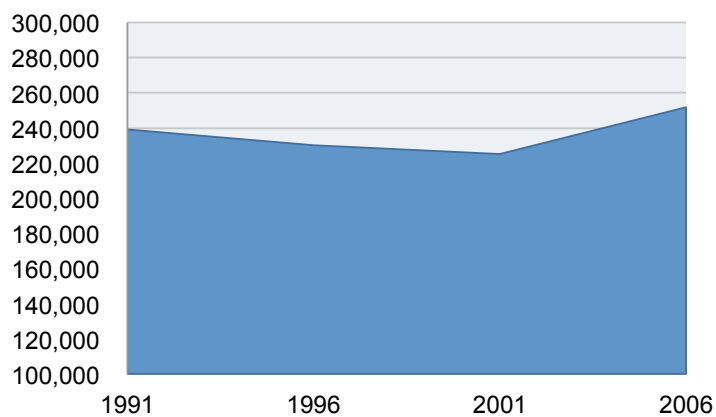

Figure 8. UK and Ireland-born population of New Zealand

Total emigration from the UK fell to a 10-year low in 2010, with only 124,000 British citizens leaving with the intention to remain overseas (Office for National Statistics, 2011). The global economic crisis slowed international migration (T. Green & Winters, 2010), with

many potential migrants choosing the conservative path of remaining in their present job rather than the risky path of looking for work in a new country (Parsons et al., 2012). The latest numbers indicate that emigration from the UK has rebounded sharply, with 352,000 leaving in the year to June 2012 (Office for National Statistics, 2013). An online article in *The Telegraph* about the brain drain of skilled Britons received over two thousand comments, indicating the topic is of interest to the general population (Kirkup, 2013).

Because theories of migration are centred on wage differentials (Boyle, 2009), as discussed in the introductory chapter, it is important to note that New Zealand's wages are lower than those in the UK (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012b; International Labour Organization, 2013). Thus, this migration flow is not well explained by the purely economic theories. Relatively little demographic or psychological research has been conducted into the departure of British citizens. For those leaving permanently, lifestyle and climate appear to be a main reason for the migration (Benson, 2010; Stone & Stubbs, 2007; Tabor & Milfont, 2011). Given that Australia is the most popular destination country for British citizens who are emigrating, followed by Spain, lifestyle considerations are likely emphasised in this heliotropic (moving toward the sunshine) migration (Office for National Statistics, 2011).

Research has also focused on crowding and crime in the UK as push factors for emigration (Tabor, 2010; Zodgekar, 1990). These reasons, along with lifestyle, closely resemble the counterurbanisation trend evident in internal UK migration (Boyle, Halfacree, & Robinson, 1998). This pattern has been on going, particularly since the 1960's, though new research suggests it began as early as 1900 (Burchardt, 2012). Moving out of the big cities with their crowds and dangers in favour of idyllic rural villages by upper and upper-middle classes has been termed rural gentrification, though this overlaps considerably with counterurbanisation (M. Phillips, 2010). It is likely that these same motivations are part of the decision to internationally migrate, placing New Zealand as an extremely rural destination, with almost no large cities.

Another possible push factor stems from the rapidly shifting population of the UK, which is becoming increasingly diverse in terms of ethnicity composition. This is exemplified by an increase of .4 million people who identified their ethnicity as Pakistani or Indian between the 2001 and 2011 census (Office for National Statistics, 2012). There is also some indication that dissatisfaction with recent sharp rises in immigration into the UK may be threatening the sense of what it means to be British (Cohen, 1995; Wallwork & Dixon, 2004). This nostalgic view of Britain as belonging exclusively to the white majority ethnic group has implications for migration, with the colloquial, yet inaccurate, perception of New Zealand as

resembling Britain during the simpler times. This is a false impression, especially given that New Zealand has a higher percentage of migrants than the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2006; Statistics New Zealand, 2007), as well as a unique bi-cultural (Māori-Pākehā) tradition that has never existed in the UK.

Method

As described in Part 1, the UK study continued the interviews and thematic analysis. One interview was conducted with a post-arrival English migrant before the main study began to gain background information and check the interview schedule. No changes were made to the interview schedule for this group of participants. The mean interview length was 45 minutes (SD=18 min), followed by debriefing in which migrants were encouraged to ask questions. All but one of the interviews was conducted via Skype; one in-person interview was conducted in the workplace of the participant in a private room.

British/Irish Participants

In total, fifteen interviews were conducted with British/Irish citizens, eight pre-departure and seven post-arrival. The average age was 38 (SD=7.8, range 29-52). Forty percent of the sample was male, and 80% had a partner. I was able to interview both partners for two different couples (one pre-departure and one post arrival); one couple chose to be interviewed separately and the other preferred to be interviewed together. The average family size was 1.86 (SD=1.5, range 1-6).

All but two of the participants had at least a tertiary degree, and four had post-graduate degrees. Occupations were professional, and included IT, medical professionals, and academics. Most participants were using, or had used, the Skilled Migrant visa (87.5%), with others using family or student visas for initial entry. The inclusion criterion was British or Irish citizenship, and three participants were citizens of other countries as well as the UK (Sweden, Germany and Pakistan). Two participants were partnered with New Zealanders. Only one participant in the study was originally from Ireland, and none were native to Wales or Scotland. Most were from the northern parts of England. For the migrants who had already settled in New Zealand, their locations ranged from Dunedin to Auckland, with Wellington, the Waikato region and Christchurch also represented. The mean time since arrival was about two and half years (31 months, SD=19 months). Pre-departure timelines ranged from 1-month prior departure to no firm departure date set.

Past *internal* mobility was very limited in this sample, with most of the participants moving only short distances within the UK during childhood, or for university or work. However international mobility was high, 75% of the participants had lived outside of the UK/Ireland at some point during their adult life, previous to the present move to New Zealand. Additionally, 81.3% had visited New Zealand prior to their move.

Results

Thematic analysis

In the initial round of open coding, there were 70 codes identified and a total of 546 coded extracts. Some codes were collapsed into five preliminary themes and then the dataset was closed coded. In the final dataset, there were 433 coded extracts and one main theme was identified: decision-making. Within this decision-making theme, three second-level subthemes were identified: micro factors, macro factors, and settlement. As the UK/Irish sample also included migrants already in New Zealand, discussion of settlement and onward/return migration were also brought up. This theme was excluded from the thesis due to space limitations and relevance to the research questions. Table 5 presents the prevalence of themes, subthemes and codes. Figure 9 depicts a mental map of major themes.

Table 4. Prevalence of themes, subthemes and codes for UK/Ireland

Theme	N Interviews	N References	% Dataset
Decision-making	14	54	12.4
Couple Decision-making	10	33	7.6
Micro Factors	8	18	4.2
Adventure/Risk	7	14	3.2
Work	14	35	8
Social Factors	11	19	4.4
Extended Family	12	16	3.7
Connections in NZ	10	14	3.2
Children	8	19	4.4
Macro Factors	0	0	0
Environment	15	54	12.4
Lifestyle	13	41	9.5
Friendliness	14	22	5.1
Cultural Similarity	12	20	4.6
Crime/Terrorism	6	12	2.8
Cost of Living	6	7	1.6
Settlement	15	55	12.7
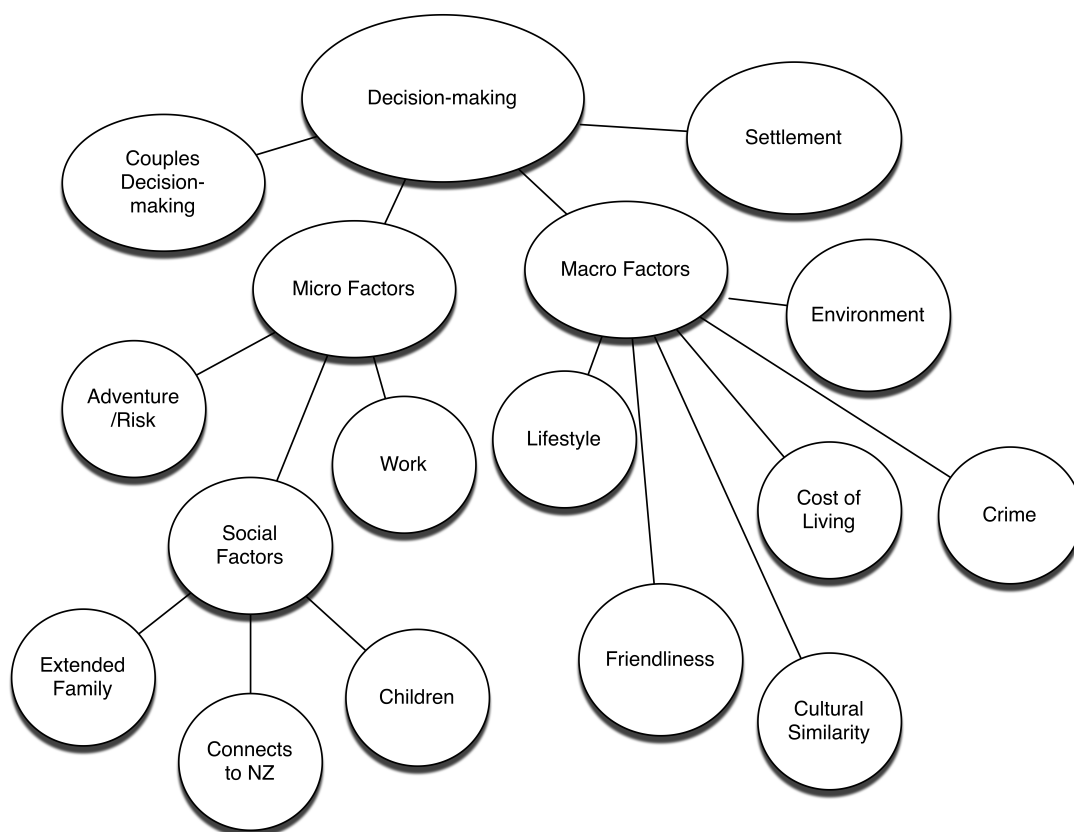
Figure 9. Thematic map of UK/Irish data

Decision-making

     As a theme, decision-making was composed of two parts: a general decision-making theme that addressed issues such as timing, plus couples decision-making that comprised a total of 20% of the coded extracts in the dataset. Overall, this theme addresses how people make the decision to leave their country of origin.

     For some, decision-making was undoubtedly a long-term process. Ben, a 29-year-old teacher, had desired an international move for many years, "it's been my mission since I went to Australia when I was in 16 to move over that side of the world." Three of the participants fell into this long-term decision-making category. Though participants were asked if a particular event lead to their acting on the desire to migrate, most felt that they had just

reached a time in their life when they were ready and able to move. As Leah, a 40-something administrator, described, "So this was the final part of me coming, not to talking about it and actually sort of deciding this is it and you know the children were independent at that point, they even have boyfriends and weren't even at home that much and I also looked at it thinking well, quite often it's the children that fly the nest and the parents are sitting there thinking 'oh the kids have gone' and I just did it the other way round." External factors that influenced timing were health, job, school or visa related.

For two of the participants, international migration was a less firm desire, with a job opportunity instead spurring the migration. As in the case of Evelyn and Harry, a couple in their 50s from the North of England, who started seeking work wherever it could be found after Harry's redundancy. They had applied for residence in Canada many years previously, so the desire to live abroad was not actually new for them. Gwyn, a 40-year-old academic, started looking for jobs in Australia and New Zealand. "We'd lived various places in the UK and we thought that the place we lived in Scotland was just lovely and couldn't get any better, so we felt that we probably we'd go abroad in order to sort of top that experience." Her family timed their move due to her specific job offer and "probably wouldn't have moved if it didn't have a relocation package, or a job, actually, I'm not that brave." The job was a facilitator of what was a desire to move abroad, though development of her career was certainly a major part of the decision to leave the small rural part of Scotland they were living in.

The potential to migrate was viewed by some as an opportunity, with some mentioning specific job opportunities or opportunities for their children's future. But most people spoke more generally about migration itself as opening possibilities. Evelyn's comments were, "we're not going to get the opportunity again, we will sort of look back and think why didn't we try? I think life is too short to have regrets."

Couple Decision-Making. How partners negotiate the decision to migrate was another central focus of the decision-making theme. Within this, couples can be separated into two distinct groups: those who had a partner who was equally willing to migrate, and those who had to convince their partner to go. For the former group, the decision was much simpler. Evelyn was unconditional in her support of going wherever Harry needs to go so that he can work again, "from my point of view anything that helps him to get back there, you know I'm prepared to do." From Harry's perspective, he thinks Evelyn has "always been positive about the whole process." Being on the same page right from the start of the process makes the experience of migration something that Harry and Evelyn are facing with a united

front. Similarly, Lucie, a 33-year-old administrator who is partnered to a New Zealander, always expected to move to New Zealand and was supportive of her partner's desire to move home.

In sharp contrast were the stories from participants who were in the situation of unequal desire for the migration, therefore having a driver and trailing spouse. The situation was most often that the driver had wanted to move for many years, as was mentioned above, and this long standing motivation for migration was tempered by the need to convince their partner that moving was the right thing for the family to do. Close to half of the couples in the study had an unequal migration desire, and 50% of the drivers were female. Rhys, a 32-year-old salesman, said, "I wanted to come here and stay here. But she wasn't too keen on living here because she is very close to her family, her mum, dad and her sister." Similarly, Jackson, an IT professional and Nina, a stay-at-home mother, did not agree at first on where their family should live. Jackson admitted, "it has always been me driving it, rather than Nina, I think if it was Nina making this decision we probably we wouldn't have come here." In their case, Nina was quite willing to move abroad, she just did not want to go to New Zealand due to its isolation. Likewise, Brandon, a 31-year-old teacher, explained "it is definitely my idea, I know she wouldn't have considered it, if I hadn't suggested it. And I'm definitely more keen than she is." To be a driver is also to bear "self-imposed pressure," as Jackson termed it, to make the move a success.

As to how these drivers convinced their partners, Brandon's story illustrated the pattern of years of discussion: "We have been together for 4 years and we have been talking about it a lot and we do have long conversations about it and because it's obviously not just about making me happy it's about her as well. So we have got to make sure that if the right move for her also and if she ever said that she didn't want to go, she was adamant that she changed her mind that we would still consider that seriously and I would have to give up on the New Zealand dream, but I guess it works for both of us at the moment." Again this passage stresses the long-term nature of migration decision-making, and its negotiated element. Paige, a 45-year-old nurse, described her situation that began with a rather unreceptive partner, "before you know you get caught up, in this [move] is what you are going to do. So after discussing it with my husband and he was very 'well no we couldn't do that, it's too far to go, too much hassle to move' that sort of mind frame and so I said 'well just think about it' and then kept having conversations."

Hannah, a 40-year-old IT professional, illustrates the other side of the story. She moved solely because her New Zealand-born partner wanted to go home. Despite the

knowledge for many years that "at some point we would move away" from London, and despite only committing to New Zealand for a 3-year term, for Hannah, the process of leaving the UK was extremely emotional, "I wasn't really happy at all… I was really depressed. No I found it really difficult." She contrasted her experience with her partner's, "One of us actually went back home and the other one left home so it was very, very different for us." She mentioned that it was also hard for her partner "in a way being the cause of it as well." Likewise, Georgia, a librarian and mother, left the UK as a trailing spouse and now lives with her husband in Central America, she described that "another factor I think in immigration is whether it's a willing immigration or its not willing immigration and I feel to a certain extent that I didn't leave England at my own accord." She has not settled permanently, and is now trying to move to New Zealand as a compromise with her husband who does not want to move to the UK. Hannah's story of being in the tube in London encapsulates the less willing migrant's perspective as being completely different from a willing migrant:

> I was still in London, we had the move planned and everything, I was cold and miserable at the moment in a tube station… in fact I had to wait for three trains before I could get on and really it was the tube at its worst and opposite me was this huge poster, it said 'wouldn't you rather want to be here?' and it had New Zealand and it was a 100% New Zealand ad, it was a huge poster and you stood in this crappy horrible tube station looking at this beautiful mountain and the snow on top and the question was wouldn't you rather be here? And I looked at it and said no… Certainly that was a deciding moment, I think that I knew that I'd rather put up with all the rubbish over there because it's here, it just wasn't me and even the campaign didn't do it for me and I know of other people that have stood at exactly that place opposite at that particular poster around that time and thought aren't you lucky to be going and it was just a very different perception of the very same thing.

These differences of migration desire complicate the process, engendering lengthy negotiations for most families, and emotional costs for both partners. Not all families that differed in initial migration desire remained so polarised. Some trailing spouses were quickly convinced of the benefits of the move and became enthusiastic supporters of the plan. Of the four cross-national couples in the study, only one was very much in agreement on living in

New Zealand; for the rest it is an on-going issue whether to leave either for the UK or another country.

Micro Factors in the Migration Decision

As a group, there are many factors that impinge on the individual and their own situation that influence the decision to leave. Some factors, such as adventure and risk seeking, are essentially personality related, while work and career are major factors that facilitates migration. There are also micro level social factors that influence on the decision, such as children, extended family and connections in New Zealand. In all, this theme included 31.1% of the coded extracts.

Adventure/Risk. "Personally, I am a big fan of change, I think that change is useful and necessary and I'm always up for an adventure," Brandon volunteered. In all, five of the participants discussed the move as the fulfilment of a desire for adventure. This novelty seeking is not limited by age, as Harry, one of oldest participants in the study said, "you can't get more exciting than emigrating and moving to the other side of the world." Some participants described themselves as being easily bored. Nina, a trailing spouse who has come to embrace New Zealand, said, "I think we do, get bored after a while... I think we do like changing sceneries."

Several participants highlighted how risky the migration choice was, particularly for those who had not visited New Zealand or did not have a job waiting for them. Gwyn described herself as "a bit crazy" for moving to a place she had never been. Brandon compared himself to his brother, who is remaining in the UK, "We are extremely different personality wise. I'm not sure he would even take that kind of risk, because it's quite a big leap that we are taking, to just go without a job and just go for it. But I'm not sure my brother would ever do that. We are very, very different in that respect." These risk seeking characteristics seem to be more prevalent in the drivers compared to the trailing spouses. For example, Hannah, who is a trailing spouse, described herself as being risk-averse.

Work. "My partner being the midwife, that's the golden ticket really, to the skilled migrant category," Dylan, a public servant, revealed. There were two distinct ways in which work influenced migration. For some, career development or work culture was an incentive to move; for others, like Dylan, it was more of a means to gain access to the country and the other benefits it offered. Jackson expressed how the difficult work environment in the UK made him want to leave, "I was really stressed with work, the work environment back in the

UK for me, at that time, was quite stressful because they were just putting more and more pressure on you to do things."

The recent global economic crisis had impacted several of the participants in the form of redundancies and salary cuts. There were also regional economic issues that are part of long-term trends that participants discussed. "I can't see it in the north west of England and Manchester, I can't see it [the economy] going back for a long time," said Dylan. These reduced job prospects had the effect of making these potential migrants more interested in leaving the UK.

Social Factors

People's relationships also influenced their decision-making. The most central relationship was with their children, moving outward to extended family members and beyond to more distant social connections in New Zealand.

Children. Children, particularly children's lifestyles and the potential for their future, were important influences on parents' decisions. Evelyn commented, "In the UK, kids these days grow up a lot quicker" and mentioned the lack of the latest gadgets among children in New Zealand as a positive factor in its favour. Najib, an IT professional, was concerned that his "kids spend a lot of time at home and due to the nature of big cities, hardly kids go out and play like I used to do, climb up the tree and spend most of the time playing with other fellow children… But I feel sorry for my children… it seems like empty life."

Children's education was important for Hannah, who explained, "the only reason why I really agreed to the whole thing was that I thought the schools would be much better for the children than whatever we could offer them in England." Certainly young children were the least complicated to take on an international move, as Gwyn's story illustrates: "The girls were at an age where they were up for an adventure too, so they just found it great, and we showed them a programme about New Zealand. They started drawing pictures, and packing their stuff almost straight away." Three of the families had older children who remained in the UK, and this was difficult.

Extended Family. "We don't have necessary that many ties here and I've got a relatively small family and like I said my wife is not in contact with her family at all. So we've got a relatively big amount of freedom to just make the move and to take the plunge," Brandon disclosed. For some migrants, a lack of strong connections in the UK made moving abroad much easier. "I don't have a good relationship with my parents. Friends, the ones I left behind, some people stay in touch, others don't. Everyone gets on with their lives, you're

the one who moved away," explained Leah. For those who do have close family members remaining behind, the move can be heart wrenching. Harry is close to his elderly mother, who has health issues. "So you constantly think, how much longer have we got with her, you know?" For Nora, a 29-year-old Irish post-graduate student, family is the main reason she has now decided to leave New Zealand, "They never left Dublin … my family are all 20 thousands kilometres away which is very long, very far."

Support, or lack thereof, from extended family was also a topic of discussion. Hannah, who had a difficult time coming, also felt she could not get support from her own family, "my family really didn't want us to go. I said that I couldn't complain to them because they couldn't really understand why I was doing this… I felt that I had to keep up a reasonably happy front for them." Even when extended family were supportive, migrants knew their departure was painful, as Nina explained, "I could tell my mum was quite upset but she didn't want to make it too clear because she doesn't want to be in my way of trying new things, moving countries." Rhys also commented that his mother-in-law "is a bit sad but she can never show it and she does everything to try and help us to get what we wanted really." A large number of participants (44%) had at least one sibling living abroad, which meant many of these extended families had been through the process at least once before.

Connections in New Zealand. Eight of the participants had family or friendship connections in New Zealand prior to their arrival. The relationships were not close in any of the cases, being the great uncle or cousin, an old ski buddy, and a friend from old Army days. The move to New Zealand was not primarily aimed at developing these into closer connections, but instead the pre-existing connections eased the move itself. Many of the people spoke of getting back in touch with these distant branches of the family in preparation for the move, what Brandon termed his "indescribably hospitable" extended family in Hamilton helped encourage his move. The geographic location of the family or friends was not always relevant to the migrants' selection of a destination within New Zealand, though Dylan and Lucie's families chose their destination in New Zealand simply because of the family members in the area. Similarly, Ben's cousin's stories of the New Zealand lifestyle were part of what sparked his desire to move to New Zealand.

Macro Factors in the Migration Decision

Societal factors also have a major impact on the migration decision. The two most prominent codes in this subtheme were environment and lifestyle. Cost of living, cultural

similarity, crime/terrorism, and friendliness were also important. This theme represented 36% of the coded extracts.

Environment. Environment was the most prevalent macro factor accounting for 12.4% of the dataset, with all but one participant discussing how New Zealand's environment was significant in their decision to move. Essentially, New Zealand's environment is a key draw for migrants. For British migrants, climate is one of the leading ways that migrants eliminated options from their potential list of destinations. For Georgia's family, like many of the others, "the cold crossed off Canada." There is also the other extreme, as noted by Gwyn, "Australia, no, just because it's too hot for us. We don't like the heat very much." Najib chose New Zealand partly because the "environment temperature is ideal." Certainly the weather is part of New Zealand's allure. Gwyn explained, "in Scotland it was too cold to really access the beach properly, you'd have to wear a full winter wetsuit to go surfing. I think that the weather was a bit of a draw actually because we knew it would be better but not very extreme either."

Other environmental factors that migrants considered in the decision process included wildlife, or lack thereof. "Australia never entered into it, though I've got family there, mainly cause they've got lots of poison animals there, spiders and that," said Paige. Both male and female participants reiterated this sentiment.

Scenery and access to nature were also important elements in attracting migrants. When considering potential destinations, natural landscape was part of the decision, "we thought about Canada because they've got such lovely scenery," said Paige. For the migrants in this study though, New Zealand won the beauty contest. "It's just beautiful," said Rhys. Najib wanted more dramatic scenery than the UK offers, "like mountains, I like greenery, I like mountains covered with some snow, a lot more nature." The accessibility of nature was also important to Najib, "I want my children playing with nature enjoying all those things which God gave us."

Population density is another environmental aspect that UK migrants focussed on. Crowding was mentioned by seven of the participants, including Gwyn, "From what we could see the population was very small and it's got the land size of the UK and the population of Scotland so that was very appealing to us because we knew it wouldn't be too busy or overcrowded." As Leah explained, "Crowding definitely and I've been back to the UK once since I've been here just getting out Heathrow Airport just freaked me out because there is too many people. When I go to visit my friends in Sydney again it's the same kind of thing there is just too many people... but Wellington is just about right."

Not all aspects of New Zealand's environment were desirable. Earthquakes, particularly the recent Christchurch geologic activity, were a concern for the potential migrants. Georgia and her family were planning to move to Christchurch, but now her ideas have shifted. "The fact that people have said that it's been a continued thing it's not been just one earthquake and that was the end of it, it's been continued so that has really put us off Christchurch …we're still going ahead with it, I'm just not so sure where."

Finally, geographic isolation was an issue that several migrants mentioned. For some, this was desirable. Brandon said, "I kind of like New Zealand's isolation as well, that's part of why it's such a cool place to live." For Nora, isolation is a major problem. "It's the isolation I think in every sense of those kind of cultural, physical, intellectual and I guess it's because the physical isolation that the cost of living relative income, I find it quite hard."

Lifestyle. These elements of a better climate and spectacular scenery go hand in hand with the lifestyle that migrants are seeking. The constructs of pace of life, quality of life, work/life balance and lifestyle are very much entwined. In summary, there was a desire to "downshift" and have a less hurried life.

One expressed problem in the UK is that people's work and commute consumes much of their time. Ben expressed his frustration with lack of time for leisure activities, "In the UK is like you are up early, you go to work, come home and that's about it." Evelyn, a 50-year-old nurse, described her impressions, "when we visited New Zealand in particular, the pace of life was slower. People didn't seem so quite stressed and intense as it is in UK I don't know if that was just rose-tinted glasses but that was the way it seemed. You know they work hard but they sort of seem to make the best of the leisure time because the weather is better."

An "outdoor lifestyle" as several participants described it, would include more interaction with the natural environment, more time to spend with family. Brandon said, "another big thing is the family life in New Zealand, in the way they kept their children and way that children have an outdoor lifestyle." Paige also discussed the outdoor life, "we were hoping New Zealand would have less people, more space, probably slower lifestyle because over here everything is so rushed... Whereas in New Zealand we were hoping it would be a slower pace of life. And a more outdoor life, more time with the family rather than all the hustle and bustle you have over here." Thus, migrant expectations for a slower pace of life, more leisure time, and more time outside were all common.

Cultural similarity. When potential migrants consider destination countries, one of the first criteria they use is cultural similarity, starting with language. Many participants had previous experience living overseas in countries that required them to learn another language.

They had thus experienced the challenges of learning a new language and were, as a group, not interested in doing it again for the long term. Some were already bilingual, and some had bilingual children, like Georgia. She was very firm in her desire to leave Central America for an English-speaking country partly because of her children's language abilities, "To me it's very important, it's very tied down to who I am. There is this whole group of expats over here and I think if I wasn't speaking English I think I would go ... bonkers. It's very tied up, to me, with my identity and to me once my children started speaking English I feel that I settled greatly."

Though Harry was seeking work wherever he could find it, Evelyn had opinions about some of the potential destinations, "Dubai, not sure culturally, I don't think we would have fit in too well. I think we would have found that difficult, Singapore I mean Singapore is very picturesque and I might have thought about Singapore but I would have thought of Singapore as being short term to stay where we will be quite happy to go for residence in New Zealand or Australia." Thus Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the US were the main countries that were seriously considered, though only one family had given substantial consideration to moving to the US.

Due to its colonial history, New Zealand's culture is very similar to the UK, and this was highlighted by many of the participants as a reason to choose it. As Dylan conveyed, "New Zealand is a foreign country, I'm quite aware of that. However, it's nice to have some similarities, whether is cultural, social or even the weather." Likewise for Leah cultural similarity was a major appeal, "I know people say you can't compare it to England but it's the same language, you drive on the same side of the road, a lot of the colloquialisms are the same… so I thought it will be an easy place to settle, certainly a lot easier than Israel where I had the language barrier." Upon arrival, Jackson found the culture to be different than he expected, "Before we came we thought that the culture was very closely aligned to the UK and actually it is on the surface of it and once you get into it, it is actually quite different in a lot of respects but because it is English speaking it makes it very much more easier, very much easier than it would have been if it was somewhere where it wasn't English speaking."

Not just culturally similar, New Zealand is reminiscent of an ideal Britain that does not exist anymore. "It's kind of like England used to be when I was growing up," said Ben. Harry described New Zealand as, "almost like it used to be here 35, 40 years ago in the UK. So it's got to be a better place." Rhys also compared it to an England of the past, "it just seemed like the nice parts of England and it felt like 1970's or so everything seemed a little bit backwards and not advanced, if you know what I mean, the kind of life."

Cost of living. Six participants discussed cost of living as a factor in their decision. For Gwyn's family, rising house prices in the UK meant they did not feel they had the option of purchasing the kind of house they wanted there, making an international move more appealing. For others, including Georgia, Australia was ruled out as a destination due to cost of living, "The houses were extremely expensive. You were talking $750,000 Australian dollars for a reasonable three bedroomed house. Whereas what I saw around Christchurch was up for about four hundred and something New Zealand dollars you seemed to be able to get a reasonable property."

Crime/terrorism. The UK has a long history of terrorism, and the migrants in this study have lived with it most of their lives. "When I was growing up in Bournemouth, I got evacuated from school two, three or four times due to IRA bomb threats," said Lucie. The current threat of terrorism in the UK is different. "When I was first starting off work, there was a lot of IRA stuff going on in the UK and terror was part of life, but there was a different type of terror really that gave you warnings and there is more of that sort of defiant thing so it didn't really matter so much but this type of terror they have now, you know there is no warning for it, it can happen any time and it does play at the back of your mind but I don't think it was a driving reason as to why we left but I think it was probably there somewhere in the background," Jackson said. Again the relative safety of New Zealand was mentioned by Brandon, "The chances of anything terrorist related happening in New Zealand now is slim to none."

Crime in the UK was also mentioned as part of a general feeling that the country was sliding downhill. This was exemplified by Harry, "It was right on our doorstep, the crime…just the perception really, just seems to be getting worse… you feel uncomfortable with having your children out on the streets. Or you are worrying about them all the time." None of the participants gave crime or terrorism as the primary reason for their move, but many had a perception that New Zealand was generally a safer place to live.

Friendliness. Social niceties were a surprisingly important part of what attracted migrants to New Zealand. Over and over again participants mentioned how friendly New Zealanders are, and how that contributes to their overall perception of the country. "People are friendly, they take the time to actually talk to you rather than just grunt," said Ben. Najib's work with a friendly New Zealander in the UK was what started him thinking of moving in the first place. "He was a nice guy, very calm and just a hard working guy. We had a good understanding because I was working under him and we used to go to lunch together. So I started exploring about New Zealand talking to him and all the other stuff."

Brandon's early experiences with friendly New Zealanders was also a major part of why he decided to move, "When we came to New Zealand originally, when I came 10 years ago, I was just instantly struck by how friendly, how helpful people were…Literally the first day we got there, there were some complete strangers who were helping us get settled in our house and suggesting places to get jobs and things like that. I thought I mean it's potentially it's just a one off. But that kind of continued throughout the whole of my travels in New Zealand… all over New Zealand all of the people behaved like that and it was such a contrast of the UK. So it obviously had a profound effect on me." It is striking how this small cultural aspect, which New Zealanders likely take for granted, sets them apart.

Discussion

How do British or Irish migrants decide to leave the UK to settle in New Zealand? For those who had a long standing desire to move the first decision had happened many years in the past, and the desire to move had become their mission or their dream. For others it was very recent, an opportunity that should not be missed. As other decision-making studies have shown (Abraham & Sheeran, 2003; Zeelenberg, 1999; Zeelenberg & Pieters, 2007), anticipated regret was used in the decision. For example, migrants thought they would regret not at least trying to live in New Zealand. It is interesting to note that studies have shown that anticipated regret influences both the desire to maintain the status quo through decision avoidance (Anderson, 2003) and to make a more risky choice (Zeelenberg, 1999). It seems clear that anticipated regret influenced participants in this study to make the risky decision to move. Once the first choice to leave had been made, migrants had to continue to make choices toward their final goal, which has been observed before (Sly & Wrigley, 1986). Once again, this study shows that migration comprises a thousand decisions, not one.

Environment was one of the most prevalent macro factors, which is in line with counterurbanisation research reviewed by Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998). Halfacree (1994) also noted social features of rural Britain as motivation for counterurban moves, including slower pace of life, less crime, better environment for children, and escape from the rat race. Again, British migrants to New Zealand discussed all of these. Halfacree's (1994) physical environmental features of rural England (open, less crowded, cleaner, more natural) are particularly prevalent in this study, which is a trend that has been identified in Anglophone countries and among varying socioeconomic and ethnic groups (Mockrin, Stewart, Radeloff, Hammer, & Johnson, 2012; Simpson & Finney, 2009). Thus, I suggest

that British migration to New Zealand may be a form of counterurbanisation, in effect pushing the boundaries of how we consider this concept, as did Buller and Hoggart (1994) when they made a similar point in how British migrants chose to move to rural France because they felt that rurality in Britain had been 'lost' or become unaffordable. This resembles the way migrants in the present study idealised New Zealand as a Britain of the past, often of their childhood, which has since disappeared. There is a limitation on viewing migration in this context because counterurbanisation is likely a phenomenon that exists only in a limited number of cultures; it has been debated in other parts of Europe (Grimsrud, 2011).

Pace of life, lifestyle and work/life balance were particularly highlighted. British people moving to New Zealand have been termed 'lifestyle migrants' as have other groups moving to sunny destinations (Benson, 2010; Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Eccleston, 2006; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). Undoubtedly, there is a desire for less time commuting and fewer crowds when shopping. But lifestyle was seen very differently across the sample, some were seeking to connect more with nature ('outdoor lifestyle') and some just wanted a shorter commute. The desire for increased time for leisure activities, whether they were social, sporting or scenic, was really the most common pattern. This sense of 'time starvation' (Bellman, Lohse, & Johnson, 1999) seemed to result in a desire for a slower pace of life.

Brief Discussion Study One

This study and its relevance to the broader social science literature will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 6. However, at this stage it is important to provide an initial discussion of the key findings. Overall, the present study explored how people make a decision to leave their country of origin and investigated how they selected a destination. Across the three countries studied, there were both similarities and differences in reasons for the move, but the process itself was remarkably similar. The migration decision is composed of three distinct steps. By and large, people first made the decision of *whether* then *where* to migrate, and finally *when* to migrate.

In addition to these steps, other similarities of the migration process were noted. Nearly all participants had already exhibited long-term sustained effort to realise their migration plans; all perceived it as having a level of uncertainty and risk (though there were individual differences in comfort level with the risk), all negotiated the decision with partners and/or close family members, and all groups primarily made the decision to leave before selecting a destination. The selection criterion for destinations was also remarkably similar, which, given that they had all selected New Zealand, is not too surprising. Clearly, there is a consistent message that New Zealand sells, as those who come here are essentially drawn to the same features (e.g., friendliness, environment).

Another similarity of the migration process among all countries studies related to uncertainty. Migrants faced a great deal of uncertainty during the decision-making process, and their coping strategies were very much line with findings from NDM research (Lipshitz & Strauss, 1997). They demonstrated that they reduced uncertainty by collecting information from both online and social connections. They discussed weighing pros and cons, usually of one destination over another, and often attempted to anticipate possible negative outcomes and reduce them as much as possible (e.g., helping grandparents get connected to Skype so they could maintain relationships with grandchildren). They exhibited some suppressing of uncertainty by rationalising it, usually by focusing on how much of an adventure the move would be, for themselves and for their family members joining them. The relevance of these findings for NDM theory will be fully explored in Chapter 6.

Major dissimilarities were in reasons for leaving and cultural norms of migration. India had a predominant cultural norm for emigration, and in recent years there was growing support for emigration in South Africa too. However in the UK, though there has been a tradition of migration flows to New Zealand for more than 100 years, it is far from a cultural

norm for skilled Britons to depart. There are also regional differences in the UK regarding cultural norms of migration, with a stronger tradition for Irish and Northern English workers to leave compared to residents from other regions (Gilmartin & White, 2008; Ryan, 2008). Because perception of favourable cultural norms have been linked to increased international migration from the Philippines (De Jong et al., 1983), it is interesting to note how cultural support influences migration intentions in the present study.

Implications for the decision-making process

In the South African dataset, there was a clear and immediate catalyst for the move from almost all the participants, whereas for the other countries the process seemed to be a gradual realisation that the time for the move was right. For all of the countries, most people seemed to be "primed" to move, just waiting for the opportunity to open for them to actually leave. The timing of the migration itself is not widely discussed in the research literature; it has been called the forgotten dimension (Shotter, 1984), though some studies have addressed how migration fits in the lifespan such as the case of retirement migration (Bolzman, Fibbi, & Vial, 2006). What was clear in the present study was that *when* to move was an important and distinct decision, and one that was often influenced by external factors. Migrants spoke about the frustration of changing visa regulations in potential destinations, and those who had been accepted in visa lotteries were thankful for their luck. The recent global economic downturn had a decided impact on international migration flows (T. Green & Winters, 2010; "The people crunch: Global migration and the downturn," 2009), making some potential migrants act more conservatively (Parsons et al., 2012). Being willing to go is not the same as being able to go.

For some migrants, particularly in the case of South Africa, external events were conceptualised as a tipping point or last straw, as has been found previously (Du Toit, 2003; Visser, 2007). Yet these external events, or catalysts, do not *cause* a move. A catalyst is an external influence that the migrant perceives as spurring action, but the event in and of itself would not have the same impact if there person was not already considering a move. It is this perception-based assessment that helps explain why rising crime rates do not cause everyone to move, only those who perceive it as being intolerable. The Indian migrants who perceived crowding and commute times to be unacceptable are yet another example, as many others would not have this perception and would therefore not be inclined to move for this reason.

If a person reacts to a catalyst, inhibitors and promoters become important in the decision of whether or not to migrate to a certain destination. Triandis (1977) used the term

facilitating factors to describe a similar concept. Some factors can make the move easier, such as a career that is highly portable or a job opportunity in the destination country. These factors alone do not *make* people migrate, but they grease the wheels to make the transition from simply wanting to go, to actually leaving, easier. Inhibiting factors include having a trailing spouse who does not want to move, health issues, having a less supportive extended family, and having fewer career options. A simplified illustration of this process is depicted in Figure 10. As shown in the figure, the relative importance of intrapersonal factors, such as the desire for adventure, is great, whereas the role of cultural factors have a less important role. If a person is not predisposed to migrate, all these facilitating influences (availability of visas, job opportunities) have little effect. Yet for those who want to move, if the social factors, such as partners and extended family, are also pushing the move, the process is easier. If all the gears are working together, the process is smoother for all parties. However, this is not a causal model. As has been stated previously, facilitating factors do not cause a person to make the migration decision. Instead the self-selected migration decision stems from intrapersonal factors, and is influenced by a variety of external factors, such as the opinion of family members. These findings will be further explored in Chapter 6, with attention given to how this study relates to the body of literature in the field.
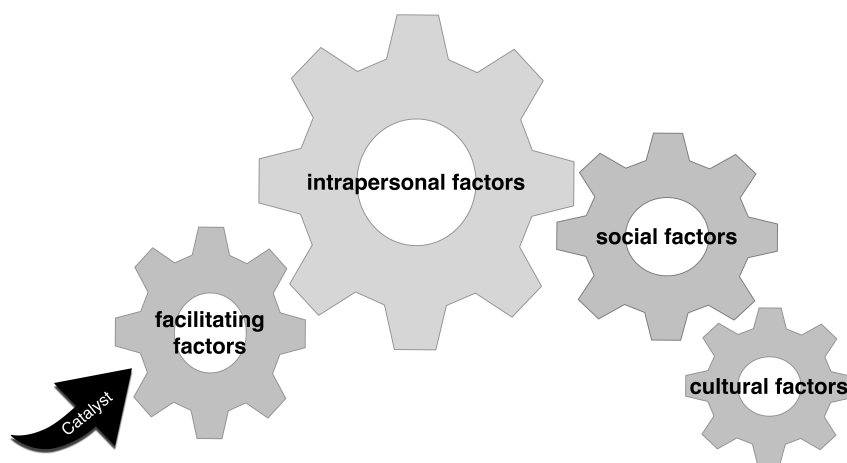

Figure 10. A simple illustration of the international migration decision

Push and pull in the migration decision

Much has been made in the international literature of the concept of push and pull factors as macro elements that influence individual and group movement across borders (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2012; Schoorl et al., 2000; Yang, 2010). On the whole, the present study supports the notion that there are broad societal aspects that are given consideration by decision makers. Yet this study also revealed that these evaluations are essentially perceptions that are seen through the lens of the individual decision maker. One person's catalyst is another's normal day at the office. When a participant put an alarm button on her daughter, it was the moment when she realised that she was not willing to live in such a dangerous country as South Africa, yet many other South Africans use alarm buttons each day and do not see this as the tipping point in their choice of whether to stay or go.

An alternative way of conceptualising push and pull factors are as macro and micro factors, as each push has a corresponding pull. For example, perceptions of better opportunities for work and education in New Zealand brought migrants from India. So were these migrants pulled by opportunities in New Zealand, or pushed by *lack* of opportunity in their own country? Neither is quite satisfactory. To say that opportunity caused the move is an oversimplified version of the complex process that migrants from India described in Chapter 3.

While there has been a great deal of scholarship devoted to external factors, and reasons, this has still failed to address the process of deciding among possible destinations. For the most part, migrants considered several countries, so the decision was not as simple as whether to stay or go. As migrants from the UK contemplated new countries to live in, they often used climate as a criterion. Thus it could be said that sunshine was a pull (or lack thereof was a push) factor in the decision. But there are hundreds of countries that have a warmer and sunnier climate than the UK, so how did they end up choosing New Zealand? In fact, cultural similarity and perceptions of welcome were important criteria that were also used. Thus singling out sunshine as the pull factor is again far too simplistic.

Therefore it is only with caution that push and pull factors should be considered as policy-relevant outcomes in isolation of other factors. For example, rhetoric in the political sphere in New Zealand has claimed that taxes are a push factor in emigration (M. Berry, Sachdeva, & Levy, 2012), yet previous research has found little mention of taxes in New Zealander's reasons for leaving (Parsons et al., 2012). Rather, the present study found that it was a long-standing predisposition that was often at the root of the decision, rather than

external factors that was most important in the decision. Participants from each country related their drive to see the world, have an adventure or try a new place. It is these internal motivations and individuals differences that will be explored more fully in Study 2.

As mentioned above, this study draws attention to the importance of destination selection in the decision-making process. Essentially there is a pool of well-qualified migration candidates who are at this moment looking for a destination. Thus there is not a need to convince people to migrate; there is only a need to convince them that New Zealand is the best destination. How do we "pull" them to come to New Zealand, instead of the USA or Australia? If the participants in this study are typical, those who will select New Zealand will do so based on the factors summarised in Table 5. As all but two participants in the study had made the decision to migrate internationally and then began searching for a destination, it is critical that New Zealand recognise how the country comes to the attention of skilled migrants. For the participants in this study, it was most often something that a friend or relative suggested. Thus word of mouth is the most powerful influence for this group. Secondarily, sport was an important element of how New Zealand has become known on a world stage. Once New Zealand is brought to a migrant's attention, factors such as quality of life, perceived welcome (availability of visas, friendliness of host nationals toward migrants), natural environment (including climate and cleanliness), safety and cultural similarity (language, laws), are all important considerations. If there is one single element that all migrants were seeking, it was improved quality of life. Thus any attempt to attract migrants to New Zealand ought to focus on this critical aspect.

Table 5. Idea and attraction factors of skilled migrants to New Zealand

Initial Idea	
	Friends
	Relatives
	Sport
	Advertising
Attraction Factors	
	Quality of Life/Lifestyle
	Welcome
	Environment
	Safety
	Cultural Similarity

The most important unanswered question from the present study was why some people self-selected to migrate internationally and others did not. Why were some people drivers while others were trailing spouses who needed to be convinced of the desirability of an international move? Why are some people driven to migrate at all? An important aspect observed in the present study is the personal characteristics and traits that seemed to influence the migration decision. This aspect is illustrated in the British subtheme 'Adventure/Risk' and similar observations by participants from South Africa and India. Though some migrants were able to firmly identify an external event that lead to their decision to move, many others indicated that they were simply the kind of people who were interested in living internationally. As in previous studies (Tabor & Milfont, 2011), migrants recognised that there were unique qualities that set them apart from those who would never make this major change. This highlights how individual personality characteristics can be a key part of the migration decision and supports the work by Boneva and Frieze (2001) on migrant personality. But which individual differences are most important in the decision? In Study 2, I explore further how individual differences influence migration choices.

CHAPTER FIVE

The role of individual differences in

the international mobility intentions of New Zealanders

The qualitative studies discussed in the previous chapters have highlighted the influence of individual differences in the migration decision-making process. For example, Study 1 showed that risk seeking traits were highlighted by UK migrants, especially among those who were driving the move. These studies also showed that many self-selected permanent migrants wanted to move abroad for years, long before opportunities arose to turn the dream into a reality. I described them as "primed" to emigrate, but where does this priming stem from? It could be the result of being in a mobile family, as many of the migrants in Study 1 had siblings or even parents who had lived overseas. Or is the drive to emigrate something that begins within the individuals themselves? Fielding (1992) stated that "migration tends to expose one's personality, it expresses one's loyalties and reveals one's values and attachments (often previously hidden)" (p. 201).

Study 1 focused on the process of migrating *to* New Zealand but this only gives half the picture. The introduction of this thesis identified emigration *from* New Zealand as an equally pressing national issue. Thus the next study is an inquiry into why New Zealanders are leaving. Taken together, these two studies provide an overview of the migration environment that is so critical to New Zealand's future.

In particular, if key intrapersonal differences can be identified between people who leave and those who stay, then a great deal more can be understood about the underlying factors that begin the process of international migration decision-making. The present study will focus on intrapersonal variables influencing the migration decision-making of New Zealanders. Individual differences are well-trodden ground for psychologists (Reeve, 2006), and it is in this area that psychology can perhaps add more insights into the decision-making process. Within the broad field of individual differences, core domains of personality and motivation are particularly salient to the migration decision.

As described in detail in the introduction of this thesis, the emigration of New Zealanders is an increasingly important topic to the nation. Since 2009, 156,200 New Zealand citizens have left with the intention to remain abroad for a year or more (Labour & Immigration Research Centre, 2013a). If they had all moved instead to a single location in New Zealand, they would have made the 5th largest city in the country (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Though there are cultural norms that encourage this movement (J. Wilson,

2006; J. Wilson et al., 2009), not all New Zealanders leave. Why do some go and others stay? Theories have been unable to satisfactorily explain why people *do not* move (Arango, 2000), though empirical research has pointed to a variety of intrapersonal factors, such as personality (M. Li & Frieze, 2013).

This chapter describes a quantitative study designed to explore which personality characteristics are predictive of migration intention for New Zealanders. To begin, I explore the literature on personality and migration, next I describe the empirical study, and I conclude with a very brief summary of the findings. A full discussion of the relationship of these findings, along with those from Study 1, to the relevant literature and theory is presented in Chapter 6.

Individual differences as predictors of migration

Bonka Boneva and Irene Frieze (Boneva et al., 1997; Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Boneva et al., 1998; Frieze et al., 2004; Frieze et al., 2006), who pioneered the concept of a migrant personality, wrote that "unfavorable economies in the country of origin, emigration and immigration policies, network support in the receiving country, and other environmental factors create the *conditions* for wanting to leave, but desires to do so are based on the personality of those who make the choice" (Boneva & Frieze, 2001, p. 478).

Though Boneva and Frieze termed their research 'migrant personality' the actual topic of their work was motivation such as work centrality, rather than personality characteristics *per se*. To expand on this foundational work, as well other research conducted in Europe and the Pacific region, this study explores motivational differences as well as personality characteristics and regulatory focus. These individual differences, in combination with contextual variables, may explain why some leave and others do not. To begin delving into the predictors of migration intention, it is first necessary to clarify what is meant by personality.

What is personality?

The study of individual differences in personality has long been a passion of psychologists. Allport (1961) wrote that "personality is the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his characteristic behaviour and thought" (p. 28). This way of thinking about personality allows for dynamic movement within the person, while also emphasising that these are characteristic traits. This is by no means the only way of considering personality, and a long running person-situation

controversy has perhaps ended in something of a synthesis of the two (Fleeson & Noftle, 2008). That is, a person is influenced both by traits and by the situational characteristics. McCrae and Costa (1999) compared personality to slowly hardening plaster, becoming more set in adulthood. Although this position favours the view that personality traits stop changing in later ages, a variety of empirical studies (Roberts & Mroczek, 2008; Srivastava, John, Gosling, & Potter, 2003), including longitudinal studies (Helson, Jones, & Kwan, 2002), have shown that there is some degree of shift in personality traits even during adulthood. In conjunction these studies show that while personality traits are overall stable characteristics, situational and life-stage processes can also influence their dynamics and stability across time.

A wide range of personality traits have been studied and debated (Eysenck, 1991), including a 16-factor model (Cattell, 1965) and the six-factor HEXACO model (Ashton & Lee, 2009; Lee & Ashton, 2004). However, it is the Five-Factor Theory (McCrae & Costa, 1999, 2003) that has gained the widest acceptance, and demonstrated repeated cross-cultural stability (Hendriks et al., 2003; Schmitt, Allik, McCrae, & Benet-Martínez, 2007). This influential theory has resulted in a focus on the lexically developed "Big Five" characteristics: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and emotional stability.

Within each of these five large domains are several lower order concepts, or facets, some of which have more relevance than others to the migration decision. It is important to examine these lower level facets, in addition to the broad domains, because these facets can be superior at predicting specific and relevant behaviour (Ashton, Jackson, Paunonen, Helmes, & Rothstein, 1995).

Emotional stability. Emotional stability, or neuroticism, is the tendency to experience negative emotional states such as sadness, worry and fear (Löckenhoff & Costa, 2008). Within the emotional stability domain there are the facets of: anxiety, angry hostility, depression, self consciousness, impulsiveness and vulnerability (Costa & McCrae, 1992). Lower emotional stability is related to lower life satisfaction, as well as increased risk of psychiatric illness (Krabbendam et al., 2002; Liu, Wang, & Li, 2012). Adults can gradually decline in neuroticism over their lives (Roberts & Mroczek, 2008; Roberts, Walton, & Viechtbauer, 2006), and stressful life events can increase neuroticism and its correlates (Fornés-Vives, García-Banda, Frías-Navarro, Hermoso-Rodríguez, & Santos-Abaunza, 2012; Sutin, Costa, Wethington, & Eaton, 2010).

Agreeableness. A more positive domain, agreeableness refers to the characteristic of being pleasant or likeable in interactions with others. People who are high in agreeableness tend to be described as "sympathetic", "kind", "helpful", "considerate" and "generous" (Goldberg, 1992). This trait dimension is linked to a variety of pro-social behaviours, such as volunteerism (Carlo, Okun, Knight, & de Guzman, 2005), helping others (Graziano, Habashi, Sheese, & Tobin, 2007), and anger caused by violations of the distributive justice principle of equality (Stouten, Kuppens, & Decoster, 2013). Agreeableness in adults is temperament-based, and likely has an evolutionary basis as those who were selfish may have been excluded from the group in survival situations (Graziano & Eisenberg, 1997; Jensen-Campbell, Graziano, & West, 1995). Facets of agreeableness include trust, morality, altruism, cooperation, modesty and sympathy (Goldberg, 1992, 1999).

Conscientiousness. As a domain, conscientiousness captures the traits of dutifulness, carefulness and self-discipline. As measured by the NEO-PI-R, conscientiousness includes the facet of competence (belief in self-efficacy), as well as achievement striving and self discipline (Costa & McCrae, 1992). Conscientious people make desirable employees, with higher levels of organisational citizenship behaviour (Chang, Rosen, Siemieniec, & Johnson, 2012). Those high in conscientiousness are also more likely to follow through on their intentions to take action (Ajzen, Czasch, & Flood, 2009).

Openness to experience. Openness to experience is "one of the broadest constructs in personality psychology" (McCrae & Costa, 1997, p. 828). It encompasses six facets: imagination, artistic interests, emotionality, adventurousness, intellect and liberalism (Goldberg, 1992). More than any other personality trait, it has been found to be heritable (Loehin, 1992). It is also remarkably consistent throughout adulthood, with reported correlations of .62 to .79 in studies that spanned up to 30 years (Finn, 1986; McCrae & Costa, 1994). People who are open are creative thinkers, politically liberal, and perform better for longer than other employees (McCrae, 1996; Minbashian, Earl, & Bright, 2013; Silvia, Nusbaum, Berg, Martin, & O'Connor, 2009).

Extraversion. Extraversion, as a trait, generally refers to the extent to which a person enjoys interacting with others. Facets of extraversion include: warmth, gregariousness, assertiveness, activity, excitement seeking, and positive emotion (Costa & McCrae, 1992). Extraverts tend to be happier overall (Diener & Lucas, 1999). But in a study of university students in the USA, extraverts were more willing to put in effort to make themselves more happy (Tamir, 2009), meaning that extraversion may be linked to increased motivational desire to improve life situations. Furthermore, one extraversion facet, excitement seeking,

heavily overlaps with risk taking, as illustrated by the large number of shared items between excitement seeking and risk taking/risk avoidance subscales in the International Personality Item Pool (IPIP) (Goldberg, 1999). Thus the domain of extraversion is linked to risky real-world behaviours, such as risky sexual behaviour and drug use (Garske, Irvin, Probst, & Turchik, 2010; Turiano, Whiteman, Hampson, Roberts, & Mroczek, 2012).

As will be discussed further below, personality domains and their facets, as well as other individual differences, such as motivations, have been linked in previous research to migration propensity (Boneva et al., 1998; Jokela, 2009). However, previous research has not simultaneously evaluated these broad domains, specific facets and motivations within a single study. Thus, the next section will describe in greater detail how these individual differences, including personality characteristics, are expected to relate to people's desire to move abroad.

The role of the Big Five in migration

Thus far only one New Zealand study has systematically examined the relationship between personality and migration. The Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health and Development Study, a cohort study of babies born in Dunedin, New Zealand, during 1972-73, included the Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire and emigration measures at their age 26 evaluation (Milne, Poulton, Caspi, & Moffitt, 2001). This study compared those who intended to return to New Zealand with those who did not, in addition to comparisons with those who never left. Compared to those who remained in New Zealand, those who moved abroad when they were over the age of 18 were higher in well-being and social potency, both of which are related to extraversion (Tellegen & Waller, 2008), as well as being lower in stress reaction and aggression, traditionalism, harm avoidance, control (related to conscientiousness) and alienation. Thus, it is necessary to explore the relationship between migration propensity and both extraversion and conscientiousness: $H_{1:}$ *Conscientiousness will predict increased migration intention*, and $H_{2:}$ *Extraversion will predict increased migration intention*. Table 6 shows the hypotheses tested in the present study. Table 7 shows the individual difference constructs previously identified as increasing migration intention.

Table 6. Hypotheses under examination

No.	Hypothesis
H_1	Conscientiousness will predict increased migration intention.
H_2	Extraversion will predict increased migration intention.
H_3	Openness to experience will predict increased migration intention.
$H_4.$	Agreeableness will predict decreased migration intention.
H_5	Gender will moderate the relationship between emotional stability and intention to migrate.
H_6	Risk seeking will predict increased migration intention.
H_7	Gender will moderate the relationship between risk tolerance and migration intention.
H_8	Adventurousness will predict increased migration intention.
H_9	Sensation seeking will predict increased migration intention.
H_{10}	Gender will moderate the relationship between sensation seeking and migration intention.
H_{11}	Persistence will predict increased migration intention.
H_{12}	Achievement striving will predict increased migration intention.
H_{13}	Assertiveness will predict increased migration intention.
H_{14}	High work centrality will predict increased migration intention.
H_{15}	Gender will moderate the relationship between work centrality and migration intention.
H_{16}	Partnership status will moderate the relationship between family centrality and migration intention.
H_{17}	Promotion-focus will predict increased migration intention.

Table 7. Summary of previously identified individual differences that increase migration intention

Variables previously found to increase migration intention

Conscientiousness (Milne et al., 2001)
Extraversion (Camperio Ciani, Capiluppi, Veronese, & Sartori, 2006; Milne et al., 2001; Silventoinen et al., 2008)
Openness to experience (Camperio Ciani et al., 2006; Jokela, 2009; Otto & Dalbert, 2012)
Risk seeking (Baláž & Williams, 2011; Gibson & McKenzie, 2011; Jaeger et al., 2010)
Adventurousness (Dashefsky et al., 1992; Tabor & Milfont, 2011)
Persistence (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011; Tabor & Milfont, 2011)
Achievement striving (Boneva et al., 1998)
Assertiveness (I. H. Frieze et al., 2004; Frieze et al., 2006)
Work centrality (I. H. Frieze et al., 2004; Frieze et al., 2006)
Sensation seeking (van Dalen & Henkens, 2012b)

As there is a tendency for migrants to seek new experiences in their destination (Tabor, 2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011), openness to experience should be the most pivotal of the personality traits in the migration decision. Costa and McCrae (1992) described openness as "willing to entertain novel ideas" (p. 15). Moreover, McCrae (1987) wrote that people who score low on openness to experience were "more comfortable with the familiar and have little

incentive to try the new" (1987, p. 1259). Whereas those who score high "are adventurous, bored by familiar sights, and stifled by routine" (McCrae & Costa, 1997, p. 825). Based on the qualitative findings reported in preceding chapters, greater levels of openness would distinguish between those who want to migrate and those who do not. Indeed, openness to experience influenced migration in a series of studies by Otto and Dalbert (2012). Although the expected influence was not observed in the samples of apprentices and workers, Otto and Dalbert (2012) found that openness to experience was related to willingness to relocate for a job among unemployed individuals.

Studies in Europe and the USA have also examined the relationship between personality domains and mobility. For example, Jokela (2009) used longitudinal data from 3,760 adults from the USA to test whether any of the Big Five personality traits could predict within-country migration (i.e., within and between state mobility). Greater openness and extraversion predicted increased within state (short distance) mobility, and when these two dimensions were controlled for, greater agreeableness was associated with lower migration propensity. For between state (long distance) mobility, only openness predicted migration, and when this was controlled for, again, greater agreeableness was associated with lower migration propensity. In both cases, adjustment for sociodemographic characteristics and neighbourhood satisfaction did not reduce the association between personality and migration behaviour. This lends support to the notion that openness is key in long distance moves, and therefore relevant to international migration decision-making. *H₃: Openness to experience will predict increased migration intention.*

Similarly, in a study of three small islands off the coast of Italy, differences in Big Five personality traits were found between those who were migrants and non-migrants (Camperio Ciani et al., 2006). The researchers reported that of the more than 200 emigrants from the islands sampled, the leavers were more extraverted and open to experience than those who chose to stay on the islands. Taken together, these findings support the notion that extraversion is a key predictor and also that agreeableness might add some predictive power regarding decreased migration intention. *H₄: Agreeableness will predict decreased migration intention.*

As discussed above, the Dunedin study found that those New Zealanders who moved abroad had lower stress reaction and aggression (Milne et al., 2001), which are related to emotional stability. In addition to the Dunedin study, emotional stability has also been linked to migration in a longitudinal twin study conducted in Finland and Sweden (Silventoinen et al., 2008). The male migrants were lower in emotional stability and extraversion, compared

to non-migrants, and for women, extraversion was the only personality characteristic to predict migration. *H₅: Gender will moderate the relationship between emotional stability and intention to migrate.*

Big Five domains are broad, and often less able to predict behaviour than relevant facets (Ashton et al., 1995). Thus it is important to examine these relevant facets, as well as other individual differences, that are most likely to be pivotal to the migration decision.

Lower level personality facets in migration

Risk. Of the lower level personality facets, risk tolerance has been most consistently associated with emigration behaviour. Given the importance of risk perceptions in how decisions are made (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974), it seems apparent that individual differences in risk tolerance would also be important factors in the decision. Migration is certainly risky, from a financial, social and psychological perspective (Baláž & Williams, 2011). Migrants explicitly state that the global economic climate can impact how risky the decision appears (Parsons et al., 2012).

Does this mean that risk seeking is a requirement for voluntary migrants? In a longitudinal study of high performing students from Tonga, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand, Gibson and McKenzie (2011) reported that risk seeking was indeed a predictor of later migration, and even more important than socioeconomic variables. Likewise, a panel study on internal migration in Germany found that tolerance for risk was predictive of mobility (Jaeger et al., 2010). Yet another study of more than 11,000 older adults from the USA reported that risk tolerance was predictive of both internal and international migration, and immigrants overall were more risk tolerant than those who had never migrated (Barsky, Juster, Kimball, & Shapiro, 1997).

Some researchers have found the amount of explained variance to be quite low (Baláž & Williams, 2011; Barsky et al., 1997), while others have reported stronger findings (1% increase in risk aversion decreasing the probability of migration by .8%) (Rimi, 2012). Regardless of the explanatory power, risk tolerance has been consistently linked to migration behaviour and is expected to do so again in this New Zealand sample. *H₆: Risk seeking will predict increased migration intention.*

Women have repeatedly been found to be less risk tolerant than men (Bernasek & Shwiff, 2001; Harris & Jenkins, 2006; Jianakoplos & Bernasek, 1998). However, female migrants were found to be significantly more risk tolerant than female non-migrants (Baláž &

Williams, 2011), whereas there was no difference between migrants and non-migrants. *H₇:*
Gender will moderate the relationship between risk tolerance and migration propensity.

Adventurousness. Desire for adventure has been given as a reason for migration in
international studies (Dashefsky et al., 1992; Ministry of Business Innovation &
Employment, 2012). Similarly, earlier qualitative research on British migrants to New
Zealand emphasized the desire for new experiences, using the term *novelty seeking* (Tabor,
2010; Tabor & Milfont, 2011). This is essentially an overlapping construct of the
adventurousness facet of extraversion, that relates to change-tolerance, desire for new
activities and experiences, and a general preference for variety over routine. Thus,
adventurousness is expected to increase migration intention.[9] *H₈: Adventurousness will*
predict increased migration intention.

Sensation seeking. Taking adventurousness a step further is sensation seeking.
Sensation seeking is theoretically composed of thrill or adventure-seeking, experience-
seeking, disinhibition, and boredom susceptibility (Zuckerman, 1971). Of these, only
experience-seeking is strongly correlated (.55) to openness to experience (McCrae & Costa,
1997). In fact, a study of Spanish undergraduates found that sensation seeking related more to
the excitement seeking subscale of the extraversion trait in the NEO-PI-R than to any aspect
of openness (Aluja, García, & García, 2003). Regardless of where sensation seeking sits
within the Big Five (if either in extraversion or openness), it has a clear link to a variety of
real-life risky choices. Behaviourally, sensation seeking is predictive of risky sexual
behaviours, gambling, drug usage, binge drinking and extreme sports (Bonnaire, Varescon, &
Bungener, 2007; Cazenave, Scanff, & Woodman, 2007; D'Alessio, Baiocco, & Laghi, 2006;
de Win et al., 2006).

The Sensation Seeking Scale (Zuckerman, 2007; Zuckerman & Link, 1968), the main
scale in use to measure this construct, has been criticised for its dated nature, particularly on
items relating to sexual behaviour (J. M. Gray & Wilson, 2007), and its cultural sensitivity is
fairly low for the same reason. Because of this, migration researchers have sometimes created
their own sensation seeking items. For example, in their study of migration intentions of 971
skilled workers in the Netherlands, van Dalen and Henkens (2012b) found that greater
sensation seeking, as measured by three items they developed, had a significant and
independent influence on increased migration intention. Sensation seeking was also
predictive of both stated migration intentions and preparatory behaviours (such as gathering

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[9] The propensity to migrate as a function of personality is not limited to humans, apparently boldness in fish
also makes them more likely to migrate (Chapman et al., 2011).

information on work visas) in an earlier study of Dutch pre-departure migrants (van Dalen & Henkens, 2007). *H₉: Sensation seeking will predict increased migration intention.* However, given the above discussed gender differences in risk perception, there may also be a moderating effect of gender on sensation seeking. *H₁₀: Gender will moderate the relationship between sensation seeking and migration intention.*

Persistence. Given the thirst for adventure, it is somewhat surprising to note that persistence and patience are also likely characteristics of migrants. In a study of online forums for migrants to New Zealand, participants "explicitly acknowledged the amount of fortitude and perseverance needed to successfully make it through the migration process" (Tabor & Milfont, 2011, p. 825). High achieving Pacific emigrants were also significantly higher in patience than those who did not migrate (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011). Indeed, the effect of patience was roughly twice that of risk seeking. Possibly due to the long-term nature of the migration decision process for many migrants, as described in Study 1, the ability and will to persist is an important characteristic. Thus, this trait might also be necessary when planning to migrate. *H₁₁: Persistence will predict increased migration intention.*

Motivational differences

Achievement. Going beyond trait-based differences, motivational differences have also been explored for their relationship to migration propensity. By far the most influential work on the "migrant personality" has actually focussed on both achievement and power motivation (Boneva & Frieze, 2001). Achievement motivation is defined as the desire to surpass one's own standard of excellence, striving for self-improvement (Boneva & Frieze, 2001; McClellend, 1985). Achievers are constantly looking for something offering challenge and may become bored easily. As mentioned above, achievement striving is a facet of conscientiousness (Costa & McCrae, 1992). On the other hand, power motivation is a desire for recognition and control over others (McClellend, 1975). This is a heavily overlapping construct with assertiveness, a facet of extraversion. People high in power motivation tend to be unsatisfied with their position in society.

Both power motivation and achievement motivation have been tested for their relationship to migration in university student populations in Eastern Europe and the USA (Boneva et al., 1998; Frieze et al., 2004; Frieze et al., 2006). Comparing mean group differences, some authors have reported only limited support for achievement motivation as a distinct personality difference for those who intend to migrate compared to those who do not (Boneva et al., 1998), though power motivation has been consistently higher among those

desiring a move (Frieze et al., 2004; Frieze et al., 2006). *H_{12}: Achievement striving will predict increased migration intention, and H_{13}: Assertiveness will predict increased migration intention.*

   Work and family centrality. Two other motivational characteristics that Boneva and Frieze (2001) have included in their migrant personality are related to family and work centrality. Family centrality is the tendency to place family as the centre of one's life and priorities, whereas work centrality places career at the centre of one's priorities (Frieze et al., 2004; Misra, Ghosh, & Kanungo, 1990). These variables are independent, since placing a high value on family does not necessarily mean someone will place low value on their work. In studies with university students in Eastern Europe, high work centrality and low family centrality were related to intention to migrate (Frieze et al., 2004), and the same results were found for university students' desires to internally migrate within the USA (Frieze et al., 2006). High work centrality is therefore predicted to increase desire to migrate. *H_{14}: High work centrality will predict increased migration intention.* Though considering gender-role differences in the work sphere (Rothausen-Vange, 2004; Stickney & Konrad, 2012), it is possible that gender may modify the relationship between work centrality and migration propensity. *H_{15}: Gender will moderate the relationship between work centrality and migration intention.*

   Interpersonal differences in family composition raise an important distinction between skilled migrants and potential migrants who have been studied in the past. The foundation work on the migrant personality was primarily conducted with university students, either in Europe or the USA, who may indeed be interested in migrating (either internally or internationally) but who are unlike skilled migrants in that they are younger, and less likely to be married or to have children. Moreover, sensation seeking is likely to be higher for younger respondents (Roth, Schumacher, & Brähler, 2005), which might inflate the association between this trait and migration intention in empirical findings. Thus, research with older and diverse population is needed.

   The importance of this was demonstrated in Study 1, in that South African migrants to New Zealand have expressed having more time for family, and a better life for their children as important reasons for their move, and large scale research has reported similar findings (Department of Labour, 2009b; Tabor, 2010). Desire to improve children's educational opportunities is also a key motivator for Asian migration to Australia (Chiang & Hsu, 2005). Participants in Study 1 discussed their priority on family, particularly those who had a partner and children. Thus unlike potential migrants previously studied (Frieze et al., 2004), family

centrality is likely high for migrants with partners. Thus I suggest that relationship status is likely to moderate the relationship between family centrality and migration intention, though this has not previously been tested. *H_{16}: Partnership status will moderate the relationship between family centrality and migration intention.*

  Regulatory focus. Another as yet unexplored motivational characteristic is regulatory focus. Regulatory focus comprises two distinct dimensions: Promotion focus relates to the desire for ideals, aspirations and dreams, whereas prevention focus is centred in oughts, especially duties and obligations (Higgins, 1997). Regulatory focus theory predicts that individuals who are promotion focused will make more risky choices than prevention focused individuals (Higgins, 1997). Though promotion and prevention focus can be primed (Crowe & Higgins, 1997; Higgins, 1998), there are also more chronic tendencies that individuals habitually use (Higgins, 1997). For example, laboratory research has demonstrated that risky behaviour is more likely for those who are promotion focused (Crowe & Higgins, 1997). A recent Dutch study also found that real life risky driving behaviour was predicted by regulatory focus (Hamstra, Bolderdijk, & Veldstra, 2011). These dispositional characteristics have been linked to values such that promotion is associated with higher achievement and lower tradition while prevention is positively related to conformity and security, and negatively related to self-direction and stimulation (Leikas, Lönnqvist, Verkasalo, & Lindeman, 2009).

  Within the migration context, regulatory focus has been linked to approach or avoidance of social interaction upon arrival in a new country (Rubin, Watt, & Ramelli, 2012). Though regulatory focus has not been studied previously in relation to international migration decision-making, given the relevance of regulatory focus to how people make goal-oriented decisions, it is likely a predictor of migration desire. Individuals who are chronically promotion focussed would be more likely to select and pursue a risky goal such as international migration, whereas those who are prevention focussed may be more likely to view the potential losses associated with leaving their home country and therefore less likely to leave. *H_{17}: Promotion-focus will predict increased migration intention.*

Study aims

  In sum, the role of individual differences in international migration decision-making has been proposed, but only tested on a limited basis, and primarily with university student samples. A variety of empirical studies from primarily the USA and Europe have identified personality traits and facets that are linked to propensity to migrate. New Zealand studies

have been very limited, and did not use the lexical Big Five model in their measures, making direct comparison difficult. Additionally, no single study has explored all Big Five traits, and relevant facets like risk seeking, along with the "migrant personality" characteristics of work-centrality and assertiveness, for their relative predictive abilities. Therefore the present study aims to conduct an omnibus test of all individual difference factors that have been demonstrated or theorised as relevant to predicting migration intentions.

Method

Sample

The present sample was drawn from a larger survey open to anyone age 18 or over living in any country and planning to migrate to any destination, and open to New Zealanders who were not migrating. For this thesis, the focus of recruitment effort was on the New Zealand sample, including both those who were planning to leave and those who had no intention of leaving.[10]

The sample had 205 New Zealand-born participants who were currently residing in New Zealand (86 males and 117 females). The average age was 31.54 (SD=12.35, range 18-74 years). Most were in a committed relationship (56%) and only 26.2% had children. Most were well educated: 40% had a bachelor's degree, 15.9% held a technical certification, 7.2% honours or master's degree and 2.6% held doctorates. The most common occupational fields were: student 27.4%, IT/engineering 16.8%, management 8.9%, civil servant 7.9%, trades 5.8%, teacher/researcher 3.7%, and medical 1.6%. When asked as an open-ended question, ethnic groups were reported as follows: 62% New Zealand European/Pakeha, 10.9% British/other European, 4.2% Maori, 2.6% Asian, .5% South Asian, 3.9% mixed heritage, .5% Latino/Hispanic, 12.7% Kiwi/New Zealander, and 13 people did not report any ethnic group.

Seventy-nine participants (38.5%) were currently considering or planning on moving internationally. Of those who were planning to leave, only 11.4% planned to do so within the

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[10] It is not possible to draw conclusions about the influence of individual differences on migration propensity without a similar sample of those who are leaving and staying, thus only limited use can be made of the non-New Zealand born sample. Of the 854 people who began the survey, 700 completed enough of the questions to be included (82%), but 495 of them were born outside of New Zealand and were therefore excluded from this analysis. For the 270 participants living in New Zealand but born overseas, their decision-making process related to return or onward migration, which is outside of the scope of this thesis. The remaining participants lived in a total of 35 different countries, making conclusions based on individual differences rather than cultural factors all but impossible.

next year, and 45.6% intended to leave between 1-3 years from now, and 25% planned to leave 3 or more years from now. The largest group (50.7%) had been considering migration for the past 1-3 years, another 34.3% had considered migration for more than 3 years, and a few had been considering it for less than a year (14.9%). Most (55.7%) planned to remain abroad for more than 5 years or indefinitely. Australia (35.4%), USA (22.8%), UK (17.7%) and Canada (8.%) were the most common destinations.

In answer to the open-ended question 'was there a particular event that made you get serious about moving abroad? If so please describe', 67 people gave an event or reason that spurred their move. Nineteen people (32.8%) listed negative push factors about New Zealand such as the economy or Christchurch earthquakes, and 39 people (67.2%) listed more positive pull factors such as family abroad or a desire for adventure.

Instruments

Demographic items included age, gender, highest educational qualification, occupation, employment status, country of birth, current country of residence, partnership status, and countries lived in. The other measures included as described below. A full list of items is located in Appendix C. Based on the theoretical rationale presented above, I selected measures tapping each of the particular constructs deemed important in predicting migration intention. Due to the large number of constructs to measure, short measures and/or sections of measures were selected when appropriate. This approach has implicit costs (e.g., low internal reliability with measures with a small number of items) but it allows inclusion of a large number of predicting variables.

Big Five personality dimensions. The broad personality domains (emotional stability, openness to experience, conscientiousness, agreeableness and extraversion) were measured with the Ten Item Personality Inventory with two items for each of the dimensions (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003). Items were rated on a 7-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 7 (*strongly agree)*. An example item is, "I see myself as anxious, easily upset" (emotional stability, reversed). All personality items are listed in Table 8 and psychometric properties of all the scales used in this study are listed in Table 9.

Table 8. Personality measures and items

Measure	Item
Extraversion	Extraverted, enthusiastic.
	Reserved, quiet. (R)
Emotional stability	Anxious, easily upset. (R)
	Calm, emotionally stable.
Agreeableness	Critical, quarrelsome. (R)
	Sympathetic, warm.
Conscientiousness	Dependable, self-disciplined.
	Disorganized, careless. (R)
Openness to experience	Conventional, uncreative. (R)
	Open to new experiences, complex.
Risk taking	Take risks.
	Am willing to try anything once.
	Seek adventure.
	Would never make a high risk investment. (R)
	Stick to the rules. (R)
	Avoid dangerous situations. (R)
Adventurousness	Prefer variety to routine.
	Like to visit new places.
	Am interested in many things.
	Like to begin new things.
	Prefer to stick with things that I know. (R)
	Am attached to conventional ways. (R)
	Dislike changes. (R)
	Don't like the idea of change. (R)
	Am a creature of habit. (R)
	Dislike new foods. (R)
Assertiveness	Take charge.
	Don't like to draw attention to myself. (R)
	Seek to influence others.
	Hold back my opinions. (R)
Achievement striving	Go straight for the goal.
	Put little time and effort into my work. (R)
	Do just enough work to get by. (R)
	Work hard.
	Turn plans into actions.
	Am not highly motivated to succeed. (R)
Persistence	Am a goal-oriented person.
	Don't finish what I start. (R)
	Finish things despite obstacles.
	Do not tend to stick with what I decide to do. (R)

Specific personality facets. In addition to the Big Five, longer measures for the most relevant facets were also used, selected from the facet subscales of the International

Personality Item Pool (Goldberg, 1999). The following facets were measured individually: risk taking (6 items, α = .70), adventurousness (10 items, α =.83), assertiveness (4 items, α =.64), achievement striving (6 items, α =.79), and persistence (4 items, α =.76). Each of these subscales contains a balanced number of positive and negatively scored items. Items were chosen for face value and to minimize overlapping between similar constructs. Items were rated on a 5-point scale from 1 (*very inaccurate*) to 5 (*very accurate*). An example item is "dislike changes" as a negatively scored item for adventurousness.

Three sensation seeking items from van Dalen and Henkens (2012b) were also used. One example item is "People or things that always stay the same, bore me." These three items were all positively worded measured on the same 5-point scale as the personality items above (α =.70).

Family and work centrality. Family and work centrality were measured with items used previously in migrant personality studies (Frieze et al., 2004) based on earlier work (Misra et al., 1990). Family centrality was measured with three items (α = .83), and work centrality was also measured with three items (α =. 67). An example is "family/work should be considered central to one's life." Items were rated on a 5-point scale, from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*, and were positively worded. It is noteworthy that these two scales are only weakly and non-significantly correlated, $r(205) = .10$, $p = .17$, thereby indicating that they are independent measures.

Regulatory focus. Prevention and promotion were measured with 17 items from the Regulatory Focus Questionnaire (Lockwood, Jordan, & Kunda, 2002). Though 2 items in the original scale that related to academic goals were removed and wording of two other items modified to apply to non-academic settings, remaining items were balanced between the two regulatory states. The prevention subscale had 9 items (α =.84), and the promotion subscale had 8 items (α = .89). Items were rated on a 9-point Likert scale from (1) *not at all true of me* to (9) *very true of me*. An example of a promotion focussed item is "I frequently imagine how I will achieve my hopes and dreams." A prevention focussed item is, "I think frequently about how I can prevent failures in my life." As in the original study by Lockwood, Jordan and Kunda (2002), these scales were related, $r(205) = .18$, $p =.01$.

Migration propensity. The outcome variable in this study was measured with the item: *are you currently planning or considering moving to another country?* This question was used to create a dichotomous variable contrasting those who are planning to move from those who are not (i.e., leavers and stayers).

Procedure

The study was approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee under delegated authority of the Human Ethics Committee of the Victoria University of Wellington (Approved 24/10/2012; Reference number: RM019566). Following this ethical approval, the survey was placed on Qualtrics for online data collection. The target sample was working age adults living in New Zealand. Participants were recruited through online forums such as the New Zealand subforum of Reddit, the community boards of TradeMe and through personal and professional contacts in the Wellington area. Incentive for participation was through the use of lucky draw for a USA$100 Amazon.com voucher. The survey was anonymous, and took approximately 20 minutes to complete. Data collection was open from 2 November, 2012 to 7 February, 2013.

Results

Psychometric evaluation of the measures

Initially, the means, standard deviations, skewness, kurtosis and Cronbach's alpha values for each scale was computed and subsequently evaluated (see Table 9). Though Cronbach's alphas were relatively low for the 2-item subscales measuring the Big Five personality domains, these values actually exceed or match those reported in the original study by Gosling, Rentfrow and Swann (2003). Additionally, mean inter-item correlations all exceed the .2 threshold recommended by Briggs and Cheek (1986). Overall, the longer scales had a reasonable level of internal reliability and fairly low levels of skewness and kurtosis, similar to other large New Zealand personality studies (Sibley & Pirie, 2013). Interrelationships between independent variables were assessed using Pearson correlation coefficients (see Table 10). Though the facets would be expected to correlate highly with the domain with which they are associated, the highest correlation was only .62 (between Extraversion and Assertiveness). Thus, excessive content overlap and possible multicollinearity is not a major concern. All data analysis was conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics Version 20.

Table 9. Means, standard deviations, and reliabilities of measures

Scale	No. of items	Mean	SD	Cronbach's alpha	Mean inter-item correlation	Skewness	Kurtosis
Extraversion	2	3.92	1.6	.75	.60	.19	-.97
Agreeableness	2	4.67	1.21	.39	.25	.01	-.52
Conscientiousness	2	5.03	1.36	.64	.48	-.46	-.61
Emotional Stability	2	4.69	1.29	.55	.38	-.38	-.34
Openness to Experience	2	5.17	1.10	.43	.29	-.32	-.43
Risk Seeking	6	2.98	.69	.70	.29	-.01	-.55
Adventurousness	10	3.61	.62	.83	.32	-.35	-.09
Sensation seeking	3	3.43	.85	.70	.43	-.38	-.06
Assertiveness	4	3.28	.77	.64	.31	-.15	-.59
Achievement	6	3.77	.73	.79	.39	-.49	-.03
Persistence	4	3.57	.79	.76	.45	-.34	-.76
Family Centrality	3	3.44	.94	.83	.62	-.31	-.25
Work Centrality	3	2.44	.77	.67	.41	-.01	-.22
Prevention	9	5.46	1.52	.84	.35	-.26	-.50
Promotion	8	6.68	1.37	.89	.49	-.71	.80

N=205 for all scales

Table 10. Intercorrelations between individual difference scales

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Extraversion	--															
2. Agreeableness	.13	--														
3. Conscientiousness	.02	.18*	--													
4. Emotional Stability	.06	.17*	.14	--												
5. Openness to Experience	.29**	.18**	.01	.06	--											
6. Risk Seeking	.31**	.01	-.18*	.18**	.42**	--										
7. Adventurousness	.23**	.18**	.05	.20**	.60**	.52**	--									
8. Sensation seeking	.22**	-.15**	-.15*	-.05	.38**	.37**	.43**	--								
9. Achievement	.16*	.21**	.54**	.15**	.15**	-.04	.19**	.04	--							
10. Assertiveness	.62**	-.07	.07	.13	.30**	.28**	.31**	.33**	.28**	--						
11. Persistence	.22**	.20**	.56**	.25**	.18*	.02	.20**	.07	.66**	.30**	--					
12. Family Centrality	.16*	.10*	.18**	-.05	-.06	-.09	-.02	.05	.11	.04	.12	--				
13. Work Centrality	.02	-.14**	.01	-.07	-.01	-.02	.00	-.06	.12	.04	.11	.10	--			
14. Prevention	-.10	-.26**	-.29**	-.50**	-.14*	-.09	-.30**	.03	-.16*	-.12	-.28**	.10	.13	--		
15. Promotion	.17**	.06	.22**	-.02	.16*	.01	.13	.13	.40**	.23**	.29**	.10	.17*	.18**	--	
16. Intention to migrate	.13	-.23**	-.16*	-.07	.23*	.18*	.08	.23**	-.11	.09	.03	-.07	.03	.01	.14*	--

N=205 **Sig .01 level (2-tailed) * Sig .05 level (2-tailed)

Comparability of samples

Following the evaluation of psychometric properties of the measures, an examination into how comparable the sample of those intending to leave New Zealand and those intending to stay was conducted. Though the statistical method employed in this study (hierarchical logistic regression) allows researchers to control for demographic characteristics, it is still important to also report the extent of any differences found.

As expected given the cultural expectation of an OE for young New Zealanders, leavers ($M = 28.86$, $SD = 11.84$) were on average about 4 years younger than stayers ($M = 33.24$, $SD = 12.41$), $t(199) = -2.48$, $p = .01$, $d = -.36$). Men were no more likely than women to be planning a move, $\chi^2(1, N = 203) = 2.60$, $p = .11$. Students were significantly more likely than any other group to be planning an international move (53.8%), compared to those employed full-time (35%), part-time (30.4%) or even unemployed (27.7%), $\chi^2(1, N = 195) = 6.29$, $p = .04$, $d = .37$. However, there was not a significant difference in educational qualifications between the leavers and stayers, $\chi^2(2, N = 191) = 4.69$, $p = .10$. Also, leavers were no less likely to be in a committed relationship compared to stayers, $\chi^2(1, N = 201) = 1.69$, $p = .24$. All testing included age, employment status, education qualifications, previous international living and partnership status as controls, entered at the first step of the regression analysis.

Data analysis

Following the evaluation of psychometric characteristics of the measures and sample comparability, the main analysis was conducted. Since the aim of the study was to simultaneously test multiple variables for their predictive ability when all other variables are held constant, and the outcome variable is binary (stay/go), there is fortunately a well known method which meets these criteria. Logistic regressions are common in medical and decision-making research with binary outcome variables (for example, Barnett et al., 2013; Horváth et al., 2013; Kim, Park, Koo, Han, & Kim, 2013; Napoé et al., 2013; Silventoinen et al., 2008; Travis et al., 2013). It has the advantage of allowing researchers to control for certain variables while examining the independent influence of each other variable. Logistic regressions give the predictive ability of each independent variable as an odds ratio (OR). The OR measures the ratio of the odds that an event or result will occur to the odds of the event not happening. An OR of 1 means that the chance of event vs. non-event are equal. As the OR increases, the chances of the event (in this case, migration) become more likely. It is not possible to directly interpret odds ratios less than 1, beyond the information that they are

lowering the odds of the event. However, OR greater than 1 can be directly compared and interpreted (Field, 2005; Hailpern & Visintainer, 2003; McHugh, 2009).

The first set of logistic regressions examined the effect of demographic variables alone on migration intention (Model 1), including age, gender, partnership status, education, employment status and previous experience abroad. The second set explored the influence of individual differences including personality on migration propensity while controlling for demographic characteristics (Model 2). Finally, the hypothesised interaction of gender and selected independent variables (emotional stability, sensation seeking, work centrality, risk seeking) as well as partnership status (with family centrality) was tested in Model 3. Demographic items were coded as shown in Table 11. For each step, all variables were entered into the equation simultaneously.

Table 11. Demographic variable coding parameters

Variable	Coding
Gender	0 = male
	1 = female
Age	Age in years
Relationship status	0 = not in a committed relationship
	1 = in a committed relationship
Education	0 = High school or less
	1 = Bachelor or technical degree
	2 = Honours or higher
Employment status	0 = employed
	1 = unemployed
	2 = student
Previous international living	0 = no previous international living
	1 = lived abroad

Note. Reference category is 0 for all categorical variables.

New Zealanders' migration intentions

Table 12 reports the results of the hierarchical logistic regressions. The first model with the demographic variables was not able to account for much of the variance in migration intention. For model 1, χ^2 (8, N = 205) = 13.25, p = .10. Sixty-five percent of cases were correctly classified by model.[11] In fact, no demographic variable was able to significantly predict migration intention.

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[11] Logistic regression does not produce an R^2 value directly comparable to linear regression. It is preferable to evaluate the models using the changes in chi-square and the classifications that give the percentage of cases that

In Model 2, the ability of the model to predict migration intention increased greatly as personality and individual difference variables were entered. For model 2, χ^2 (23, N = 203) = 58.99, p < .001. In all, 70.4% of cases were correctly classified by model. Though demographic variables were still non-significant predictors, conscientiousness, emotional stability, assertiveness and persistence were all able to independently influence migration propensity while holding all other variables constant.

Adding the predicted interaction terms in Model 3 increased the predictive ability of the model. For model 3, χ^2 (28, N = 203) = 79.80, p < .001. In this final model, 75.7% of cases were correctly classified. For the first time, a demographic characteristic, previous experience living abroad, became a significant predictor of decreased intention to leave, though this was only a small change in the OR and significance level (step two OR=.47, p=.07, vs. step three OR=.33, p=.02). People who had lived abroad were significantly less likely to be currently planning another move. Additionally, openness to experience, persistence, and promotion all increased migration propensity. Agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and achievement all significantly decreased migration propensity. Sensation seeking and emotional stability were both moderated by gender, and family centrality was moderated by partnership status. These findings are discussed in more detail below.

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were correctly classified by the model (Field, 2005). By chance 50% of the cases would be correct, and a perfect model would classify 100% of the cases correctly. Thus this is a crude measure of the accuracy of the model (Pampel, 2000).

Table 12. Predictors of intention to migrate

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
	B (SE)	Wald	OR	95% CI	B(SE)	Wald	OR	95% CI	B(SE)	Wald	OR	95% CI
Demographics												
Age	-.02(.02)	1.67	.98	.95-1.01	-.01(.02)	.26	.99	.95-1.03	-.02(.02)	.49	.99	.95-1.03
Relationship status	-.08(.34)	.06	1.09	.56-2.12	.23(.40)	.32	.80	.36-1.75	.11(.45)	.06	1.12	.46-2.17
Gender	.30(.33)	.82	.74	.39-1.42	.63(.46)	1.88	.53	.22-1.31	-.82(.50)	2.62	.44	.17-1.19
Employment status (reference group employed)	—	1.02	—	—	—	1.24	—	—	—	.89	—	—
Employment status (unemployed)	-.02(.51)	.01	.99	.36-2.27	-.31(.64)	.37	.73	.21-2.57	-.42(.50)	.08	.82	.25-3.20
Employment status (student)	.39(.39)	.99	1.47	.36-2.69	.42(.46)	.84	1.53	.61-3.79	-.62(.79)	.72	1.52	.57-4.02
Education (high school only reference category	—	4.08	—	—	—	4.30	—	—	—	2.55	—	—
Education (Bachelor or Technical degree)	-.54(.36)	2.29	.58	.29-1.17	-.73(.49)	2.9	.48	.21-1.14	-.35(.77)	.20	.71	.16-3.21
Education (Honours or higher)	.36(.57)	.40	1.43	.47-4.37	.24(.68)	.12	1.24	.32-4.98	-.92(.71)	1.68	.40	.10-1.60
Lived abroad	.29(.33)	.80	.75	.39-1.42	.76(.42)	3.27	.47	.20-1.07	-1.23(.49)	.20	.33*	.13-.85
Personality												
Extraversion					.22(.17)	1.68	1.24	.89-1.71	.31(.19)	2.85	1.37	.95-1.98
Agreeableness					-.45(.19)	5.8	.64	.44-.92	-.61(.21)	8.28	.54*	.36-.82
Conscientiousness					-.40(.21)	3.8	.67*	.45-1	-.48(.22)	4.65	.62*	.40-.96
Emotional stability					-.32(.18)	3.09	.73	.51-1.04	-.62(.27)	5.07	.54*	.32-.92
Openness to experience					.57(.23)	6.12	1.77*	1.13-2.79	.52(.26)	4.09	1.68*	1.02-2.78
Sensation seeking					.55(.30)	3.39	1.73	.97-3.09	.06(.46)	.016	1.06	.43-2.59
Risk seeking					-.20(.35)	.31	.82	.41-1.64	-.63(.53)	1.41	.53	.19-1.51
Adventurousness					-.57(.46)	1.52	.57	.23-1.40	-.47(.49)	.92	.62	.24-1.64
Achievement					-.84(.40)	4.40	.43	.20-.95	-1.08(.44)	6.13	.34*	.14-.80

Table 12. *continued*

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
	B (SE)	Wald	OR	95% CI	B(SE)	Wald	OR	95% CI	B(SE)	Wald	OR	95% CI
Assertiveness					-.16(.35)	.22	.85*	.43-1.68	-.30(.62)	.62	.74	.35-1.56
Persistence					.98(.98)	6.8	**2.66***	1.28-5.52	1.19(.42)	7.82	**3.27***	1.43-7.51
Family centrality					.08(.21)	.13	1.08	.71-1.64	-.31(.33)	.87	.74	.39-1.40
Work centrality					-.05(.25)	.04	.95	.58-1.56	-.54(.42)	1.69	.58	.26-1.32
Prevention					-.39(.18)	4.58	.68	.47-.97	-.34(.20)	2.92	.71	.48-1.05
Promotion					.27(.17)	2.49	1.3	.94-1.81	.39(.20)	3.99	**1.48***	.95-2.16
Interaction terms												
Gender X Emotional stability									.72(.60)	4.29	**2.06***	1.04-4.08
Gender X Sensation seeking									1.19(.59)	3.89	**3.28***	1.01-10.85
Gender X Work centrality									1.03(.70)	3.03	2.80	.88-8.89
Gender X Risk seeking									.66(.70)	.88	1.93	.49-7.57
Partnership status X Family Centrality									.96(.46)	4.34	**2.60***	1.06-6.40

Note. OR= odds ratio. Model 1: χ^2 (8, N = 205) = 13.25, p = .10, 65% of cases correctly classified by model. Model 2: χ^2 (23, N = 203) = 58.99, p < .001, 70.4% of cases correctly classified by model. Model 3: χ^2 (28, N = 203) = 79.80, p < .001, 75.7% of cases correctly classified by model. For all models, Hosmer and Lemeshow's test was non-significant (p > .50). Values in bold highlight significant predictors.
* p < .05

Individual differences that increase migration intention. The results of the hypothesis testing are summarised in Table 13. Somewhat surprisingly, persistence predicted increased migration behaviour more than any other variable (OR = 3.27, p = .005). This means that for each unit increase in persistence, the odds of planning international migration approximately increase by a factor of more than 3. As expected, openness to experience was predictive of increased migration intention: each increase in openness increased the odds of planning an international move by 1.68. For the first time, promotion-focus was found to predict increased migration intention (OR = 1.48, p = .046). Those who were focussed on positive future outcomes were roughly one and a half times more likely to be planning a move. Several predictions were not supported: extraversion, adventurousness, risk seeking, sensation seeking, work centrality and assertiveness were not significant predictors of migration intention.

Table 13. Results of hypothesis testing

No.	Hypothesis	Supported
H_1	Conscientiousness will predict increased migration intention.	×
H_2	Extraversion will predict increased migration intention.	✓
H_3	Openness to experience will predict increased migration intention.	✓
H_4.	Agreeableness will predict decreased migration intention.	✓
H_5	Gender will moderate the relationship between emotional stability and intention to migrate.	✓
H_6	Risk seeking will predict increased migration intention.	×
H_7	Gender will moderate the relationship between risk tolerance and migration intention.	×
H_8	Adventurousness will predict increased migration intention.	×
H_9	Sensation seeking will predict increased migration intention.	×
H_{10}	Gender will moderate the relationship between sensation seeking and migration intention.	✓
H_{11}	Persistence will predict increased migration intention.	✓
H_{12}	Achievement striving will predict increased migration intention.	×
H_{13}	Assertiveness will predict increased migration intention.	×
H_{14}	High work centrality will predict increased migration intention.	×
H_{15}	Gender will moderate the relationship between work centrality and migration intention.	×
H_{16}	Partnership status will moderate the relationship between family centrality and migration intention.	✓
H_{17}	Promotion-focus will predict increased migration intention.	✓

Predictors of decreased migration intention. Overall, achievement, agreeableness and conscientiousness were the only variables observed to decrease migration intention. Supporting predictions, agreeableness significantly decreased the odds of migration intention (OR = .36, p = .004). Though increases in achievement orientation were expected to predict

increased desire to migrate, quite unexpectedly, achievement orientation decreased the likelihood of migration (OR = .35, *p* = .013). Similarly, conscientiousness was predicted to increase migration intention, but each increase in conscientiousness significantly decreased the odds of planning an international move (OR = .40, *p* = .03).

Gender as a moderator of migration intention. The interaction between emotional stability and gender was significant (OR = 2.06, *p* = .04), as shown in Figure 11[12]. The relationship between emotional stability and migration intention was more pronounced for men compared to women. That is, though emotional stability had little effect on women, men with lower emotional stability were much more likely to be planning a migration.
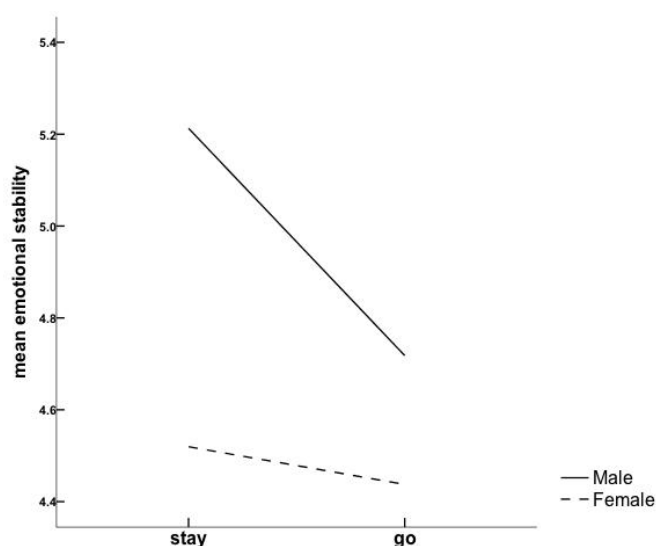
Figure 11. Interaction of gender and emotional stability on migration intention

As shown in Figure 12, there was also a significant interaction between gender and sensation seeking (OR = 3.28, *p* =.049). Women's migration decision was influenced to a greater extent than men's by sensation seeking characteristics.

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[12] Moderated logistic regressions are often graphed as probabilities (Flom & Strass, 2003) that vary from 0 to 1, or graphed as log odds (Jaccard, 2001) that vary from negative infinity to infinity. Here I am using an easily interpretable technique (Strand, Cadwallader, & Firth, 2013) that uses the mean scores rather than introducing yet another way to calculate the odds of migration intention.
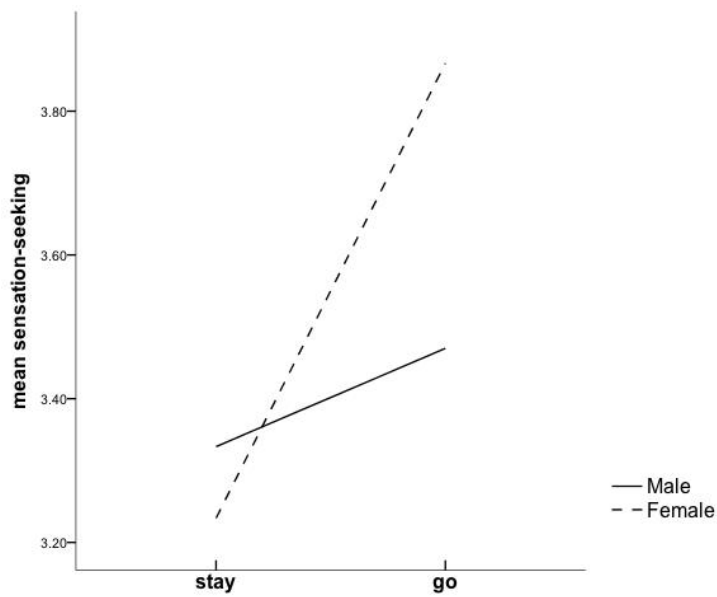
Figure 12. Interaction between gender and sensation seeking on intention to migrate

Contrary to expectations, gender did not moderate the relationship between work centrality and migration intention. Similarly, the relationship between risk and migration intention was also not moderated by gender.

Partnership status as a moderator of migration intention. As shown in Figure 13, partnership status moderated the relationship between family centrality and migration intention (OR=.38, p = .037). Overall the association between family centrality and migration intention was greater for partnered participants compared to unpartnered participants, and for these unpartnered participants family centrality was even lower for those with the intention to leave.
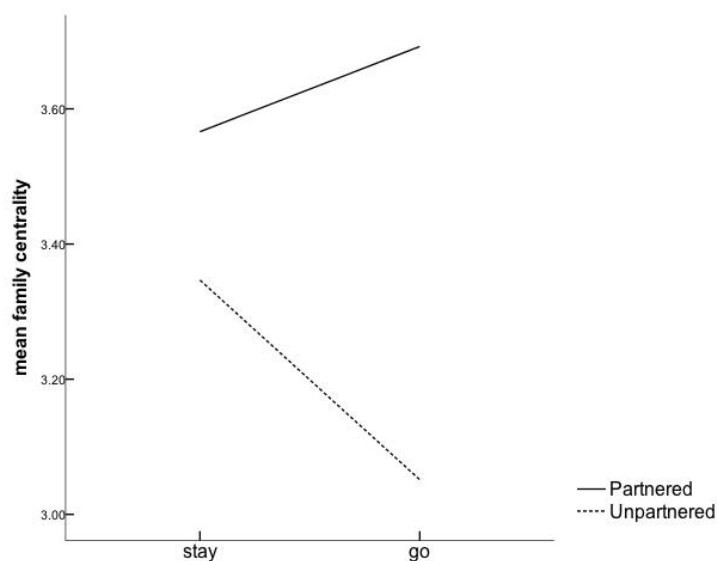
Figure 13. Interaction of partnership status and family centrality on migration intention

Brief Discussion

This study supports the overall concept that personality is linked to migration intention. There is, in fact, a migrant personality. What personality traits predict the migration decision of New Zealanders? Confirming previous research, the odds that a New Zealander is considering or planning international migration are increased if they are highly open to experience (Jokela, 2009) and persistent (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011; Tabor & Milfont, 2011). Promotion-focussed individuals were also more likely to be planning a departure. People are less likely to leave if they are more conscientious and agreeable. For women, sensation seeking was also a stronger predictor, while for men lower emotional stability predicted increased odds of leaving. For people who do not have a partner, being low in family centrality increased the odds of a planned move.

Some of the most interesting findings from this study were in what it *did not* show. Rather than focus on assertiveness, work-centrality and achievement, as in USA and European studies of university students (Boneva et al., 1997; Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Boneva et al., 1998; Frieze et al., 2004; Frieze et al., 2006), New Zealanders who plan to migrate are not more work or achievement oriented. Quite the opposite, as higher achievement orientation decreased the odds of a planned departure quite substantially.

Contrary to the predicted relationship between risk and adventurousness to migration intention, no such links existed. Though they are planning a migration, which is certainly a risky activity (Williams & Best, 1990), this may not carry over into daily activities and propensities. It is certainly possible that adventurousness in one sphere of behaviour may not directly correlate to propensity for adventurousness in other aspects of life (e.g., being a habitually fast driver does not also make you a drug user). Also the expected moderating relationship of gender on risk and adventurousness was not found.

However gender did influence the relationship between sensation seeking and migration, as women's migration decision was influenced by a greater extent than men's by sensation seeking. For men, being less emotionally stable was a predictor, as had been found in a previous European twin study (Silventoinen et al., 2008). That study found that people who later migrated drank more alcohol, smoked more, as well as reported that their life was uninteresting and unhappy. This somewhat pathological model of migration is an interesting development, and deserves further study.

Of the demographic variables included in this study (age, gender, education, employment status, partnership status, and previous international living), only history of living abroad had any predictive influence on migration intention. The finding that previous international living decreased the odds that a New Zealander was planning a departure falls in line with research on the cultural rite of passage that is an OE (J. Wilson, 2006; J. Wilson et al., 2009). Those who have not already been abroad are more likely to feel a need to do so.

Because economic theories suggest that income is a primary driver of the decision, it is notable that employment status was not a significant predictor. The participants in this study had the right to work in higher-waged Australia (and Australia was the most common destination) but those who were unemployed were *not* more likely to be planning a move out of New Zealand. This finding provides agreement with previous research into determinants of out-migration from Europe and the Pacific islands, that personality factors are more influential than demographic factors (Frieze et al., 2004; Gibson & McKenzie, 2011; van Dalen & Henkens, 2012a).

Considering that these almost exclusively personality-related variables were linked to the decision to stay or go, it is very surprising how little consideration NDM researchers have given to the role of personality in decision-making. One previous study linked Big Five personality traits with responses to emergency situations using an NDM framework, but the field has largely ignored the role of personality (Alavizadeh et al., 2008).

Findings from this study provide evidence that New Zealanders' self-selected migration is influenced by individual differences. In the next chapter, these findings are fully discussed, along with those from the first study, with attention to relevant theory and related empirical research.

CHAPTER SIX

Overall Discussion

The present research provides a systematic examination of the process of international migration decision-making. The thesis reports two studies. Study 1 comprises three qualitative studies examining the decision-making process of migrants who want to move, or who have moved, to New Zealand from South Africa, India and the UK. Study 2 provides an omnibus test of the individual differences most important in predicting New Zealanders' migration intentions.

In this final chapter, I begin with a summary of the main findings from both of the studies, and then move into a more detailed discussion of the connections between the studies and relevant literature and theory. First, I examine why some people self-select to migrate internationally and others do not. Next, I explore how people make a decision to leave their country of origin and how they select a destination. I then consider how insights learned can contribute to NDM theory of how decisions are made in the real world. Finally this chapter ends with a reflection on the limitations of the present research project and to the implications of the present and concludes by looking ahead to future directions new studies could take.

Summary of key findings

The two empirical studies reported in this thesis come together to paint a nuanced picture of how people self-select migration, contemplate migration and actually move internationally. The qualitative study examined the decision-making process of South Africans, Indians and British/Irish people in migrating to New Zealand. Some particular characteristics were observed for each of the migrant samples. For example, safety was the most critical factor in destination selection among the South African migrants, and they were most likely to identify a single event that moved them from considering migration to acting on the desire. Indian migrants decision process was most likely to have extended family involved in the decision itself, as parents of the migrants encouraged the move and helped select a destination. Though all groups used cultural similarity, such as language, as a criterion of destination selection, the British migrants were the participants who more often expressed the influence of cultural similarity, viewing New Zealand as an idyllic version of Great Britain.

Despite these differences, there were many similarities in the narratives of the migration process. For people coming to New Zealand, there was a pattern of three decisions

being key: *whether* to migrate, *where* to migrate and *when* to migrate. The question of whether and where to migrate was a negotiated decision for partnered individuals. All sought similar qualities in a destination: a country that was safe, welcoming, had opportunities for work and lifestyle, and a good climate. The question of when to migrate was most often dictated either by the willingness of both partners to undertake the move or by external opportunities such as jobs, visas or the needs of children's education.

Since personality characteristics were mentioned by many migrants in the qualitative studies, and considering the importance attributed to personality traits for migrants in past studies (Boneva et al., 1997; Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Ciani & Capiluppi, 2011; Frieze et al., 2006; Gibson & McKenzie, 2011), the final and quantitative study focussed on personality influences on the migration decision. In particular, this study provided an omnibus test of personality characteristics for their influence on the migration intention of New Zealanders. The findings showed that the individual differences of openness to experience, persistence, and promotion focus all increase the likelihood of planning a departure. For women, sensation seeking was also a predictor, though for men there was not the same effect. Low family centrality also increased the odds of a planned move only for those who were not in a committed relationship. For men, being low in emotional stability was linked to increased odds of intending to migrate. On the other end of the scale, higher achievement orientation, agreeableness and conscientiousness all decreased migration intention.

Besides these more specific findings, perhaps the strongest contribution of this research is in the development of a much more nuanced picture of the migration decision-making process. It is clear that for many migrants, the desire to move is a long-term pattern—even starting in their childhood for some. The decision of whether or not to migrate is an intensely personal one, rooted not only in external conditions, but also within the psychology of the migrant. The present research goes beyond previous migrant personality research in two important ways. First, the present research is the first to provide an omnibus test of the individual differences predictors of migration intention. By including all personality traits previously shown to predict migration intention in a single tested model, the findings reported in Study 2 provide a comprehensive test of the traits most predictive of migration intention when other traits are held constant. The second main advancement compared to previous studies was the use of a community sample, instead of the more typical convenience samples of undergraduate students.

The roots of migration desire

Self-selected migration is by its very nature, a function of individual differences. As Study 1 demonstrated, the desire to live in another country often starts very early in life, and must be sustained over a period of years, until the circumstances are ripe for departure. Only two previous studies had reported persistence or patience as important personality characteristics of migrants (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011; Tabor & Milfont, 2011). Study 2 was able to confirm the powerful influence of persistence on migration propensity. After including all considered personality traits in the model predicting migration intention, persistence was the strongest predictor of migration, increasing the odds of that a person was planning to migrate by more than a factor of three for each increase in persistence. But why is persistence so important in the decision? The items on the persistence scale focused on goals, overcoming obstacles, and completing tasks. In and of themselves, these are not related to migration. However, if combined with a desire to live abroad, they would be highly important for a successful move. The tales of migrants from Study 1 explained how years of effort was required to turn an idle thought of possible move into a successfully executed international migration. As adults, many pointed to first making the decision to leave ten years or more before they actually started the application process. In some cases, they had to first gain educational qualifications to increase their options for visas. Especially for those drivers who were waiting for years for their partner to agree, doggedness was actually a needed trait. The migration process is complex, and stressful, thus anyone who was not able to persist through difficulties would likely be weeded out early in the early stages. It is likely that many people in a society have a passing thought of moving abroad, but what sets apart those who dream and those who migrate is perseverance toward the goal.

Persistence also helps explain low mobility levels, which has perplexed and frustrated researchers (Arango, 2000; van Dalen & Henkens, 2012b). If persistence is essentially a requirement of migration, and it is normally distributed in the population, only the most persistent would be able to complete the process. Given that only a minority of those with high persistence as a trait would *want* to migrate, this brings clarity to the problem of understanding why so few move even when economic conditions are ripe for departure. This finding also helps to explain how migrants endure waits of up to 13 years for approval in some countries (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Yijälä, 2011).

It is interesting to note just how long persistence has been considered a trait of migrants to New Zealand. A 1932 article claimed early arrivals have "grit, perseverance and faith" (The Dominion of New Zealand, quoted in Wolfe, 2012, p. 30). This concept of grit

has modern traction. In their paper on the subject, Duckworth, Peterson, Matthews and Kelly (2007) wrote "the gritty individual not only finishes the tasks at hand but pursues a given aim over years" (p. 1089). They also reported that grit was a good predictor of retention at the highly competitive military school, West Point. Success or failure of an endeavour, be it migration or any other real life achievement, is dependent on many factors, but it is clear that persisting over time is an essential requirement. These migrants would also have this personality trait as a resource during their acculturation, which is important because perseverance has been linked to resiliency (Casanova, 2012).

Like international studies of long distance moves (Camperio Ciani et al., 2006; Jokela, 2009), leavers from New Zealand are also more open to experience. A related personality characteristic, sensation seeking was expected to also predict migration intention. Yet as is often the case in mixed method studies, the qualitative results are not in perfect agreement with the quantitative results (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). For women more than for men in the present study, sensation seeking, conceptualised as liking new and unexpected experiences (van Dalen & Henkens, 2012b), was a major predictor of migration intention. Though sensation seeking had not previously been found to have a gendered effect in a migration context, there have been gendered effects of sensation seeking noted in other risky behaviours, such as drinking and smoking (Scott-Parker, Watson, King, & Hyde, 2013; Stoel, De Geus, & Boomsma, 2006; Zuckerman, Ball, & Black, 1990).

As the questions used in the sensation seeking scale were primarily about boredom and trying new things, and it is particularly interesting that these capture why women, but not men, are interested in moving. Much scholarship has been devoted to women's secondary role in the choice of whether or not to migrate (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Coulter et al., 2012; Mckinnish, 2008), with one prominent researcher declaring that family migration within Western societies is a social structure that maintains the secondary status of women (Halfacree, 1995). But other researchers have recognised that women have agency in the movement decisions of their family, pointing out that women also drive moves (Hiller & McCaig, 2007; Ryan, 2009; Tabor & Milfont, 2012). Research with expatriates working for multi-national companies has found that men and women use different criteria for deciding whether to accept an international assignment (van der Velde, Bossink, & Jansen, 2005), and in the same vein the present study found that women are not necessarily electing to migrate based on the same traits that men are. Women may be seeking new experiences, and how these interact with the goals of others within the family is a topic worthy of future study.

Against expectations, risk tolerance overall was not related to migration intention. A reason for this could be that the most popular destination of migrants in the New Zealand sample was Australia, a nearby and culturally similar country. This makes it a less risky destination than many others; for example, New Zealanders have a right to work there automatically by virtue of citizenship. For the migrants in Study 1 who were coming to New Zealand, the geographic distances were all much greater, and the cultural distance more pronounced. Therefore these moves may require a greater acceptance of risk than the Trans-Tasman move. This difference again reinforces the need to study each migration stream as unique, with its own demands and challenges for the migrant. The destination may have its own characteristics that dictate the self-selection process, such that risk tolerance, adventure-seeking are more important for destinations deemed more remote or risky. If a study was conducted of those migrating *to* South Africa, what levels of risk tolerance might be found?

Though the migrant personality is a well-known concept, the findings of this research challenge the previously reported composition of such a personality pattern. University students from the USA and Europe who intended to migrate were more work, power and achievement oriented, as well as less family oriented (Boneva et al., 1997; Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Boneva et al., 1998; Frieze et al., 2004; Frieze et al., 2006). For New Zealander adults, in contrast, higher achievement orientation predicted lower intention to migrate, while work centrality and assertiveness had no influence, once other important personality characteristics were taken into account. Lifestyle, and work-life balance (Kalliath & Brough, 2008) are given priority over work achievement, as demonstrated by the low mean for work-centrality of 2.44 on a 1-5 scale. It was the lowest mean score of any variable in the present study. Schwartz (1999) has reported that New Zealand has affective autonomy values and that these are conflicting with work centrality. The outdoor lifestyle in New Zealand might reflect the emphasis on autonomy and less focus on work achievement.

If work is constructed as a limiting factor, as many participants expressed in their interviews, the role is that of an external influence on the decision-process. Though economic theories have long held wage differentials and labour markets as the most important part of the decision to move between countries (Boyle, 2009), the present research challenges the notion that this is true for all migration streams.

The greater influence of family centrality on migration intention for those without partners replicated Boneva and Frieze's earlier findings (Frieze et al., 2004). However, partnered participants who were high in family centrality were actually more likely to migrate than those who were low in family centrality. This finding is congruent with the narratives

told by participants in Study 1 about how the move was aimed to provide a better future for their children and family members, as has been found previously (Department of Labour, 2009b). A European study found attachment differences between leavers and stayers, with leavers scoring higher on both secure and dismissing attachment (Polek, Van Oudenhoven, & Berge, 2011). Migrants in that study were very secure in the attachments they had, but expressed little need for close ties. Likewise for partnered migrants in the present study family-centrality was high, demonstrating a strong and secure connection, despite the fact that they were likely leaving extended family members.

Rather than conceptualising migration as something that breaks families apart, it may be more accurate to view it from a more long-term standpoint. Both Indian migrants and South African migrants in Study 1 often wanted to bring family members to join them in New Zealand, and this aligns with previous work that recognizes migration as a multi-generational process (Bailey et al., 2004; Ho & Bedford, 2008; Ryan, Sales, Tilki, & Siara, 2009). Thus even when geographic distances separate families, the goals of the move may include reunification.

People who were more agreeable and conscientious were also *less* likely to be planning an international move. In one USA study, agreeableness was also found to predict decreased migration (Jokela, 2009), however there was no significant relationship with conscientiousness. Also, there was a mean group difference in conscientiousness in an Italian study (Camperio Ciani et al., 2006; Ciani & Capiluppi, 2011), with migrants having significantly lower conscientiousness than stayers. It is possible that very agreeable and conscientious people are more content, and therefore less likely to focus on negative evaluations of their present environment that can lead to a desire to move (van Dalen & Henkens, 2012a). This negative evaluation, and perhaps unsettled feeling may also explain why, as reported in a Scandinavian study (Silventoinen et al., 2008), New Zealand men who were less emotionally stable were more likely to be planning a departure. It may also be the case that agreeable people form stronger emotional attachments which in turn may make them less inclined to leave close associates (Marusic, Kamenov, & Jelic, 2011; Polek et al., 2011).

For the first time, regulatory focus has been linked to migration intention. Though promotion and prevention are related, it was only promotion that predicted increased migration intention. Promotion is a focus on gains, future success and striving toward an ideal self (Higgins, 1998). How could promotion make a migration more likely? Previous research has linked promotion focus with illusions of control (Langens, 2007), which may

assist in coping with the uncertainty inherent in migration (A. M. Williams & Baláž, 2012). But it is most likely to have an influence right at the start of the decision-process. Previous research has found that chronically promotion-focussed individuals are more likely to initiate actions toward a goal than prevention-focussed individuals (Freitas, Liberman, Salovey, & Higgins, 2002). Thus this characteristic may be the previously mysterious factor that explains why some people are able to move from desiring migration, to acting on the decision.

Overall it is personality factors that influence who self-selects migration and who does not. This study has reaffirmed the role of persistence, openness to experience and for the first time, promotion as important traits linked to migration. But how do people move from wanting to go, to actually getting on the plane?

Moving from desire to action

Unlike the norm of internal migration (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993), the international migration decision was nearly always first to leave the country of origin, and then where to go. Though Halfacree and Boyle (1993) term these separate operationalisations of the decision a "literary fallacy" (p. 341) that makes a temporal distinction for the sake of the written narrative, it was clear in Study 1 that the desire to move abroad was often years ahead of the intention to move to New Zealand in particular. Despite this, the unformed desire to move abroad was likely sparked by perceptions of opportunities and lifestyles other countries offered. For some migrants, it was previous experiences abroad making migration more likely, and thus the two decisions are perhaps more entwined than the timeline would otherwise indicate. The stories these migrants related were examples of long-term decision-making, which required them to be both patient and persistent in the pursuit of their goal of migration.

Indeed the timing of the move was dependent on a country being available to move to, and the migrants in this study felt they had relatively few options. This is quite unlike the economic theories of migration, which assume that migrants consider every possible destination (Fischer et al., 1997). External constraints were largely related to the difficulty in finding a country that made permanent visas accessible, self-imposed constraints included language (English), climate, accessibility of jobs, and pace of life. Thus the process was first for there to be interest, from at least one partner, followed by investigations of possible destinations. When asked if a particular event led to the migration decision moving from desire to action, the most common response for Indian migrants was simply that a visa was available (in more than one case it was the Silver Fern visa lottery), whereas for South

African migrants it was more often a violent incident, and for British it was a specific job opportunity or life stage.

Key features of the migration decision-making process

Besides identifying the main personality traits influencing migration decisions and the steps in the migration process, the present research also highlights three important features of the migration process: partner decision-making, social factors and the role of opportunity. These features are presented and discussed below.

A negotiated decision. This research has supported previous findings on how families make migration decisions together (Adams, 2004), and expanded the understanding of the role of extended families in the decision. All of the countries in Study 1 had themes that included the issue of how differences in migration desire were negotiated between partners. NDM researchers would consider this a situation of "multiple players" with more than one person having a role in the decision-process (Zsambok & Klein, 1997).

Unlike research on Vietnamese migration, where males downplayed the female's role in the decision (Hoang, 2011), men and women in the Indian study affirmed the importance of having spousal agreement for the move. Both the men and women were, for the most part, highly educated, with the Indian sample having the highest qualifications of the three countries. They were certainly not passive in accepting their male partner's wishes to move, and is therefore similar to Indo-Canadian migrant experiences (Walton-Roberts & Pratt, 2005).

Among all nationalities in Study 1, there were examples of trailing spouses agreeing to a move that was against their own wishes, purely to make their partner happy, or because they felt the children would be better off. This has also been noted in German migrants to New Zealand (Bürgelt et al., 2008). Much of the research on trailing spouses stems from the expatriate literature (M. Harvey, 1998; M. Harvey, Novicevic, & Breland, 2009; Shahnasarian, 1991; Vögel, Van Vuuren, & Millard, 2008), where the focus is on moves that are dictated by one partner's employer, self-selected migration is a different animal altogether. In this situation the blame is not on the company, but on the partner who is driving the move.

The most common narrative of these participants was for one partner to have a long-term desire to leave (the driver), and the other partner to be less willing (the trailing spouse). Drivers in this study discussed "self-induced" pressure to make the move a success, which is similar to previous findings (Tabor & Milfont, 2012). Though trailing spouses have been

discussed in the academic literature (Adams, 2004; Bielby & Bielby, 1992; M. Harvey, 1998; Tabor & Milfont, 2012), this study found that the concept of a trailing spouse should be less categorical and more situational. The drivers often described themselves as novelty-seekers, wanting to explore the world and try new adventures. For these couples, the catalyst was always something that made the trailing spouse decide that the time had come for them to leave; the driver's mind was already made up. From the point of the catalyst on, the formerly trailing spouse was often as enthusiastic to leave as their partner, if not more eager. There was also evidence of the destination influencing who was driving the move, sometimes a person can become the driver of the move to a particular destination, but the trailing spouse to the another destination. This fluidity in migration desire is an important consideration for further research, and it is also a clear example of how goals can shift during a decision process (Zsambok & Klein, 1997).

All interviewed couples made the decision to move together, and how this was negotiated between them was extremely variable. Some were of one mind almost from the start and sailed along smoothly toward their joint goal. Others had major differences in migration desire between partners that required, for some, years of discussions in an attempt for the driving partner to convince their spouse. Though research on couple's decision-making has focussed on consensus (Godwin & Scanzoni, 1989), the present study questions whether consensus of behavioural action (i.e., moving) is a temporary solution to what is an on-going issue of where to live. Other research on bi-national couples has reached the same conclusion: just because the couple has moved does not mean the decision process is over (Adams, 2004). Despite the tensions participants related stemming from years of long negotiations, there is hopeful research showing that having more role in the decision facilitates adaptation on arrival (Copeland & Norell, 2002). Again, this opens the path for further research that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The importance of social factors. Though some of the UK and South African migrants in Study 1 had social networks through kinship ties in New Zealand, it was clear that this was not the reason for the move. Unlike research with other migrant groups, there was minimal expectation that social capital would increase the chances of finding jobs or housing (Massey, 2004; Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa, & Spittel, 2001). It may be that skilled migrants have less need of these support systems than do unskilled migrants who are arrive in their destination with very limited financial resources.

Ho's (2008) work with Chinese migrants to New Zealand has supported Ley and Kobayashi's (2005) view that migration is not a linear process, but is instead a fluid

arrangement that can include some parts of a family migrating and returning while others remain in the destination. These shifting needs are also demonstrated in the present study, as the migration activities of the family overall were planned in advance to include reunification. Though the process of leaving them was painful for both the leavers and stayers, extended family members being left behind were fairly supportive for most migrants. This is similar to previous New Zealand findings (Bennett et al., 1997; Tabor & Milfont, 2012). The situation of some extended family members being supportive while others were firmly against the move was also very common. One further comment a British community member made in reaction to the findings of this research, illustrates the divide between immediate and extended family: "in day-to-day life it can be a lonely journey as only you and your immediate family are caught up in it. Your extended family (mum, dad etc.) are quite outside of the bubble so to speak and although they support you and you share what you can, ultimately it is you and your little unit that have to make that giant leap of faith" (N.S., personal communication, May 12, 2012). The main exception to this was India, as discussed previously, where some families shared that their extended family members were as important to the decision as the couple (or individual) themselves. Research with Irish migrants has also shown that extended family can have a strong role, particularly in destination selection even in individualistic cultures (Ryan, 2008, 2009). In the Indian sample, not all extended family were supportive, particularly of New Zealand as a destination, instead encouraging migrants to go to places with more social networks to support them (such as Canada, Australia or the USA). Indeed, social capital was expected to be useful in the process of settlement, as has been found in previous research (Hamer, 2008; Palloni et al., 2001).

Further, as in international studies, social connections were a key part of the decision to leave in the first place (Haug, 2008). Having a close family member plan to move to New Zealand, or having long-time friends living there, provided the social networks that helped New Zealand be identified as a possible destination. In contrast to the destination decisions of other migrant groups studied in Australia (Chiang & Hsu, 2005), the South African families in this study were not always choosing to live near family, friends or the South African community in New Zealand. The social isolation of the South African expatriate community, and its perceived desire for segregation rather than integration, was a reason several of the migrants choose specifically to live apart from their own community's ethnic enclave, or ethnoburb (Meares et al., 2011).

Children were another social aspect of the decision for some families. Bushin's (2009) view of parents taking children's 'best interests' into consideration when making migration decisions was very much evident in this study. For some families these children's life experiences were given priority over adult family member's desires. Several mothers and fathers discussed the fact that they would stay in their home country, but moving was the right thing to do for their children. These findings echo research done internationally with respect to the central role of children in the migration decision process (Chiang & Hsu, 2005; Cooke, 2008; Ho & Bedford, 2008). In the case of South Africa, the move was focussed on the safety of the children. The lifestyle of children was particularly important for both UK and South African migrants, including time and space to be outside interacting with nature. Previous research has connected high parental education levels with desire for children to have outdoor play opportunities (Aarts, Wendel-Vos, van Oers, van de Goor, & Schuit, 2010). For all countries, the future opportunities of the children, conceptualised as school and work options, were important.

Migration as opportunity. The participants in Study 1 were, as a group, highly successful in their own countries. Owning a large house, in a good neighbourhood, and in the case of India and South Africa, servants to assist in the daily chores, were all quite common. At least one partner, and very often both, had high paying jobs and had progressed well in their careers. Most of the families had children, and many had extended family nearby. And yet, there was dissatisfaction. Particularly for the Indian and UK migrants, the issues were more focussed on opportunities, career prospects and work/life balance. Work was a subtheme for both UK and Indian migrants, however it was much more prevalent in the India dataset (19% vs. 8%). In South Africa, it was just one of many intrapersonal factors that facilitated migration, rather than a reason for the move. Only one person in the study was migrating to New Zealand purely because they had a job offer; all others were seeking to move to New Zealand and therefore looked for a job before or after arrival. This concept of work as a way to facilitate a desired move was also found in internal migration studies in the UK (Boyle et al., 1998).

Two trends emerged that appear to be at odds: wanting to slow down the pace of life and also wanting to improve career options. This echoes the 'opting out' and 'going places' concepts of migration, as outlined by Fielding (1992). Indian participants were most likely to express the upward mobility desires inherent in going places, but many also express the desire to opt out. Likewise the British participants were seeking to downshift their pace of life, while some wanted to develop their careers. There is clearly a blending of needs when a

family is considering migration, and even within a single person there can be somewhat conflicting desires. For South Africans, the migration was overwhelmingly about freedom and escape. All of these seemly contradictory drives can be distilled into the single idea that migrants are seeking a better life. What a better life means can vary greatly, but it is this hope for a better future (for themselves and their children) that is inherent in the decision. This future focus is perhaps part of the reason that the regulatory focus of promotion predicted migration intention in the New Zealand emigration sample in Study 2 as well.

If a single idea can encapsulate what all of these migrants are seeking, it is therefore an improvement in quality of life. Quality of life, in the form of lifestyle, pace of life, and work/life balance, was a prominent theme for all three countries. Inglehart (1997) found that in a society that had reached a high level of material wealth, people tend to start focussing more on immaterial aspects, such as quality of life. In previous research, lifestyle migration had a quality similar to retirement migration, a seeking of leisure pursued by those who could afford not to work (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). Yet the migrants in the present study, who very often did give lifestyle as a reason for their move, were clearly planning to work upon arrival. One Indian participant referred to seeking 'a more balanced life' and this is a very good description of what these lifestyle migrants were searching for. A satisfying career, but balanced with time for leisure and access to nature were the key qualities that the migrants pursued.

Thus the process of whether to migrate clearly relates to personality characteristics as shown in both Study 1 and 2; the process of where and when to migrate are dictated by both social influences and features of the destination, as will be discussed next.

Same, same but different: How migrants select a destination

Selecting a destination is also an important feature of the migration process. However, because Study 1 has focussed on the decision to move to New Zealand, in this section I will focus on those characteristics that contribute to selecting this country as the destination. Despite having very different reasons for leaving, the reasons for selecting New Zealand were consistent across cultural groups. Lifestyle, quality of life (including safety), and work/life balance was important to all. Climate and scenery, as well as access to nature were important attractions. For the UK and Indian group, opportunities to develop careers were also particularly important, but the lack of emphasis on career progression was observed for the South African migrants. The South African motivations were quite the opposite, as family safety was placed above career or financial gain. Besides these similarities and differences,

three characteristics contributed in the selection of New Zealand as the destination: welcome, cultural similarity and environment.

Migrants wanted. The perception that New Zealand wants migrants was a crucial aspect of its selection as a destination. Availability of visas, the clarity of the Immigration New Zealand website, transparency of the visa application process and the expectation of a friendly host population were all part of the judgment. Strikingly, it was largely this reason that kept the migrants from applying for a visa to the USA, Australia or Canada.

The receptiveness of host nationals is an important factor in the decision. The racist incidents that have occurred against Indian migrants in Australia and been publicised in the Indian media (The Indian Express, 2010), were the main reason that the Indian migrants in this study did not select Australia. Though the actions were of a relative few individuals, this behaviour compromised the perception of safety and thus were a reason to exclude that destination.

New Zealand was viewed as hospitable to migrants, which has been supported by previous research (Ward & Masgoret, 2008; Ward, Masgoret, & Vauclair, 2011). It was also seen as accessible, in that the migration policies were open enough to allow legal entry. The higher threshold for visas that Australia imposes, and the complicated system varying by state were seen as indications that Australia has less desire for migrants. The USA and UK also had much more strict policies of entry, and it is this openness which helped create a path of least resistance to New Zealand. From a NDM perspective, this is a function of situational awareness (G. A. Klein, 1998; Pauley et al., 2008), as migrants are seeing the options open to them at the time, and make the best-informed decision possible.

Cultural similarity. Aspects of culture have previously been demonstrated as part of the internal migration process, as Mormons reported that their move to Utah was driven by religious as well as family motives (Kontuly, Smith, & Heaton, 1995). The present study went further, finding that cultural characteristics of a nation were key factors in destination selection. Despite many of the migrants in Study 1 speaking other languages, English language was the first criterion used by most migrants as a conjunctive strategy, thereby ruling out all potential destinations where English is not the language of business. More general cultural similarities were also important selection criteria for migrants. For example, sport was an important part of determining cultural similarity, particularly for the South Africans and their rugby, but Indians also mentioned the importance of cricket in their perception of New Zealand.

Not only were migrants seeking a similar culture, but an idealised culture. In both South Africa and the UK, changes within the country of origin resulted in a feeling of loss. Both of these countries have seen demographic and/or political shifts favouring non-white groups. This was most apparent in South Africa, where affirmative action policies were key in the decision for some to leave. This was not usually because the migrants themselves felt unable to find work, but was focussed on their children's future employability due to their skin colour. Griffiths and Prozesky (2010) discussed the feeling of loss experienced by white South Africans, particularly Afrikaans-speakers, as the nation that they built morphed into one where they lost their power and their place. This loss of identity has been linked to emigration (Steyn, 2001), as well as negative intergroup attitudes (Bornman, 2011). Even the UK participants expressed frustration at the lack of English-speakers in their schools and neighbourhoods, much as previous studies have found increased immigration as a push factor for potential migrants (Tabor & Milfont, 2011; Zodgekar, 1990). The unrealistic expectation that New Zealand is a utopian version of Great Britain was common, though many migrants admitted that they had "rose-tinted glasses" when it came to their destination.

Environment. From the perspective of destination selection, environment is one of the best selling features of New Zealand. Though these migrants came from a range of climate zones, all viewed the relatively mild New Zealand climate positively. Migrants had considered, but ruled out, Canada because it is too cold and Australia because it is too hot. Even Indian migrants sometimes saw Australia as too warm, though they were also concerned that they might be too cold in New Zealand, and thus favoured migration to the northern part of North Island, where the weather is most tropical. The sentiment that Canada is too cold and Australia is too hot but New Zealand is just right, echoes the "Goldilocks Effect." [13] New Zealand's relatively mild climate falls between extremes and is therefore considered preferable over what Australia or Canada has to offer. However, a serious exploration of the climates of these two competing countries would reveal that there are parts of both that are also mild in climate (Vancouver, British Colombia or Adelaide, South Australia), and a vast unexplored list of other potential destinations with even more mild and sunny climates (e.g., Hawai'i).

Beyond temperature, New Zealand's scenery and access to nature were attractions for all nationalities. Positive evaluations of the environment were very much in line with

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[13] The Goldilocks Effect is a reference to the children's story *Goldilocks and The Three Bears*, and is used by planetary scientists to describe the distance between a planet's orbit and the nearest star in order for the planet to support life, neither too close nor too far.

research on place attractiveness in the migration decision (Ewers, 2007; W. Li, Holm, & Lindgren, 2009; Niedomysl, 2010). The mild climate, beautiful scenery, accessibility of nature, and pollution-free reputation of the country were key draws.

All of these country characteristics (e.g., climate, cultural similarity, welcome) combine to make New Zealand an attractive destination to these migrants. It is interesting to note just how long these characteristics have been sold. The term "Britain of the South" was first coined in 1857, and was later revised to "The Brighter Britain of the South" (Wolfe, 2012, p. 29). Though the terminology has fallen out of favour, the idea is very much present in the minds of today's migrants.

Theoretical frameworks for the migration decision

At the beginning of this thesis I mentioned that the dominant theories of international migration decision-making focus almost exclusively on the financial costs and benefits of moves (Boyle, 2009). Certainly the present studies have supported the idea that migrants do consider financial costs, career prospects and economic conditions. But overwhelmingly, there was more to the question than money alone. It is for this reason that decision-making theories that consider broader reasoning must be used to explain international migration.

In this thesis I used NDM as the primary theoretical framework, and suggested that it had relevance to understanding the migration decision. Overall, there was very good support for this throughout the thesis. Migration decision-making clearly has high stakes and real consequences for individuals. Though NDM research has often focussed on life and death decisions (Ash & Smallman, 2010; Chauvin & Lardjane, 2008; G. A. Klein, 1998), the migration is also a life-changing event. In the case of South African migrants, some did feel that their lives were in danger. For all the migrants, this was a real-world decision with serious financial and emotional consequences for all the parties involved. Leah, a British migrant, described how it felt to leave her adult children in the UK when she came to New Zealand, and with limited financial resources for visits. Certainly the choice to move had a heavy emotional weight and real consequences in her life, even though she did not feel her personal safety was involved.

Migrants from all the countries in Study 1 explained how multiple players were involved in the decision, such as partners and extended family. These players demonstrated that they, at times, had differing and/or shifting goals (driver wanting to leave South Africa, trailing spouse wanting to stay). This helps to explain why the process took many years for some couples. Using the NDM frame, these multiple players can be given equal attention in

the decision-making process, shedding much more light on the situation than household or individually based theories.

The context of the decision was also incredibly dynamic. One Indian migrant explained how she had prepared her application to Australia, only to have the government change the skills shortage list, leaving her with too few points to apply. This then caused her to have to make a new destination choice. There were also examples of changes in family composition, health, and financial resources shifting the decision context.

Action/feedback loops are evident throughout the migration decision-making process. As when Richi, an Indian migrant, said, "When I share my idea of immigration to New Zealand, all of my friends they say, are you mad?" This is an example of his having to cope with feedback on his decision, in his case it made his resolve to move to New Zealand even stronger. Certainly immigration logistics/paperwork are filled with required action and then feedback.

NDM suggests that decisions are made in the context of organisational norms, however migration decisions are made within family and cultural norms. South Africa was an example of the changing ways that cultural norms can influence emigration, as it was once seen as a very negative thing to be planning migration but is now accepted. Likewise the families that these participants came from were very often familiar with emigration, many had a sibling or parent living abroad or they themselves lived abroad previously. These again lowered the barrier to migration by creating a cultural or family norm of acceptability. It has also been shown that online communities for migrants, of which many participants were active members, create a perceived normalisation of risk within the online community, thereby making the decision to migrate easier (Tabor & Milfont, 2013). Again, it is these family and cultural norms that are influencing the decision, and therefore must be acknowledged as contributors.

Time is the factor where migration diverges most sharply from the situations that NDM has been applied to in the past. Time pressure is a common feature of the types of situations that NDM researchers are exploring: often seconds count. However, migrants have the "luxury" of months if not years to make their decision. This does not mean that time is irrelevant. In fact, it is the very drawn out nature of the migration decision that makes it a challenge, for only those with patience and persistence are able to succeed, as evidenced in Study 2.

One additional area that NDM frequently fails to consider, but which was brought out in Study 1 as well as Study 2, was the role of individual differences. Personality

characteristics influenced who was a decision-maker to begin with. This is key in the development of a personality-based NDM (Alavizadeh et al., 2008). Perhaps NDM researchers have not frequently considered this because they draw largely from a few selected professions (soldiers, pilots, emergency workers), and people who are in these professions may share some personality characteristics that help them do their job well (risk tolerance, conscientiousness). However, because migration researchers are interested in the characteristics that make people less likely to migrate as well as those that make people more likely to migrate, these personality traits are very salient. Even for traditional NDM research that focusses on life and death decisions, the trait of risk tolerance should be given consideration in future studies.

Based on the similarities and differences between the decision-making process often studied by NDM researchers and the decision-making process of migrating, I suggest the following as NDM-based assumptions: migration decision-making is a process driven by individual differences, occurs over time, has multiple decision-makers, exists within a social (family) context, has real consequences for the parties involved, is bound by cultural norms, takes place in a dynamically-changing environment (including immigration policy changes, life-stage, family health and resources changes), and is the expression of goals that may change during the process. Table 14 summarises these eight assumptions. I posit that these assumptions are an important step forward in viewing international migration-decision-making as a process that is much more complex than the economic theories that have so dominated the field suggest.

Table 14. Proposed assumptions of international migration decision-making

Naturalistic Decision-Making Based Assumptions of International Migration
Driven by individual differences
Occurs over time
Has multiple decision-makers
Exists within a social context
Has real consequences
Bound by cultural norms
Situated in a dynamically changing environment
Expression of goals which may change during the process

Limitations and further research

As the subtitle of this thesis ('the peculiar case of New Zealand') emphasises, I am framing the reported findings firmly in this national context. However, I have also suggested that these studies have implications beyond these islands. Most of the immigration research focusses on movement from low income to high-income countries, which tends to confirm again and again that money is the only root of migration. By investigating the migration decisions of people from high, low and approximately equal wage countries in Study 1, a more diverse picture emerges. Just how peculiar migrants to New Zealand are is a topic for future study, as migrants to the USA, Canada and Australia may well be much more focussed on financial aspects of the move.

The sole focus on New Zealand is certainly a limitation of the study, but given how complex the situation is in this one country, and how rarely similar research has been conducted here, it is a major step forward. Even within the New Zealand context, there was a limited selection of sending countries (UK, India and South Africa) included in the sample, when the diversity of migrants is vast. In the 2011/12 year, skilled migrants were approved from 119 source countries (Zhao, 2013). This selection has likely meant that cultural similarity was an important destination selection criterion, when for many other sending countries this would not be a factor. This is particularly evident in the use of English language as a criterion. Future studies with more participants from non-English speaking countries is recommended.

However, the focus on these countries is justified not only by sheer numbers, with India and the UK ranked as the top source countries for residence approvals, but also given the dynamic shifts in these migration flows. Approvals from the UK are down 8% in the past year, whereas approvals from India are up by 24% (Labour & Immigration Research Centre, 2013a). Numbers alone give very little in the way of explaining these trends; instead this thesis has delved into the decision-making process to understand more of the full context of why these people are moving. This type of in-depth research is needed to understand how to attract workers who can drive the economic success of the country. Future studies that include the perspectives of pre-departure migrants from other countries would be extremely beneficial, given that thus far only the UK and South Africa (Barkhuizen & de Klerk, 2006; Tabor & Milfont, 2012; Zodgekar, 1990), and now India have been sampled. China should certainly be given priority in any future research, as this group of migrants is growing rapidly (Statistics New Zealand, 2007).

Subjectivity is a common critique of qualitative research, and in this case every effort was made to check the findings from Study 1. Participant and community feedback on the results was tremendously supportive, as shown in Appendix B. Independent confirmation that the results are representative of the reality of individuals who have lived the experience is the most rigorous check of validity (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The aim of Study 1 was also descriptive, which may be seen as a fundamental limitation. The sample size of each country's part of the study was large by qualitative research standards (J. A. Smith et al., 2009), but not large enough to draw inferential conclusions, being a small non-random sample.

Both studies were cross-sectional, capturing the perceptions, attitudes and intentions of the participants at a given moment, and these are all somewhat changeable. It has been noted in previous research that migration intention is correlated less than perfectly with migration behaviour (Coulter, Van Ham, & Feijten, 2012; van Dalen & Henkens, 2012). Thus further research that links migration behaviour to individual difference traits is needed. This is demonstrated in the changes that some of the participants revealed when contacted for their comments on the results. At least one of the pre-departure migrants had changed their plans and was leaving for Germany, instead of New Zealand. Other pre-departure migrants had arrived in New Zealand, but the design of the study did not allow for capturing these additional settlement experiences. Future studies that include pre-departure and post-arrival experiences of the same participants, therefore spanning several years, would be beneficial. The actual timing of the study (2011 for the qualitative study, 2012 for the quantitative) may also have influenced the responses in subtle and not so subtle ways. Sports were regularly brought up as being important in how migrants attention was first brought to New Zealand, but the interviews themselves were being conducted over the period that the rugby world cup was being played in New Zealand (and aired internationally). This international attention may have primed participants to think about New Zealand in a sporting context. Also several participants discussed the global economic crisis and its impact on their decision, if the interviews had occurred five years previously, it is possible that global economic activity would have had less impact on the decision. This reiterates the importance of framing the study of each migration stream in its political, economic and cultural context.

Both studies recruited the majority of participants from online forums. This limits the sample to not just those who use the internet, but those who use it for social interaction. It is possible that these users may differ systematically from those who spend little or no time online. Though internet usage is sometimes pathologised (Winkler, Dörsing, Rief, Shen, &

Glombiewski, 2013; Young, 2009), other researchers have found that those who are using the internet for social interaction are receiving pro-social benefits, particularly in the migration context (Coulson, 2005; Coulson, Buchanan, & Aubeeluck, 2007; Eastin & LaRose, 2005; Elias & Lemish, 2009; Grace-Farfaglia, Dekkers, Sundararajan, Peters, & Park, 2006; Leung & Lee, 2005; Norris, 2004; Obst & Stafurik, 2010; Shaw & Gant, 2004; Tabor & Milfont, 2013; Xie, 2008).

The quantitative study linked self-reported individual difference traits to migration intention. Though the survey was anonymous, it is still possible that social desirability played a role in the responses. Research has demonstrated that internet-based anonymous surveys have lower social desirability than paper and pencil surveys (Joinson, 1999).

Additionally, though Study 1 found support for decision-making being a collective decision, either between partners or extended families, Study 2 still measured migration intention as an individual decision. There is a need to further explore the role of gender in decision-making, particularly using dyadic studies. As has been noted previously, partners can have sharply different goals in the migration (Gubhaju & De Jong, 2009; Hiller & McCaig, 2007; Ryan, 2009), and quantitative studies that allow analysis at the level of the family (rather than the individual) are needed.

Future research should also expand the range of individual difference characteristics that are tested for their relationship to migration desire, particularly values such as materialism. In the context of migration to New Zealand, environmental values may be important drivers of the decision, though for migration to other destinations it is possible this is less important when compared to other values.

In addition, attachment could be a useful addition, as the interaction of family centrality on migration desire indicates. Beyond attachment to social ties, place attachment is a developing area of interest to international migration researchers (Gustafson, 2001; Knez, 2005; McAndrew, 1998; Sampson & Gifford, 2010) that could be explored in further studies. Though there were only two migrants, both from the UK, who had moved to New Zealand because they developed a strong attachment to it prior to deciding to leave their country origin (fell 'in love' with it during their first visit), this phenomenon is a potentially fruitful area for later study.

Implications

One of the issues with economic migration theories is that they do not adequately address the individual differences in migration propensity. Emigration is not randomly

distributed throughout a population. Especially in the case of self-selected migrants, the characteristics of the individual are likely to be as important as systematic factors that constrain or encourage such mobility. New Zealand has lamented the loss of educated and skilled labour for many years (Carmichael, 1993; A. E. Green, Power, & Jang, 2008; P. L. Martin, 2012, Aug 22). These trends tend to be linked to economic boom and bust cycles, a completely external factor. But as Study 1 demonstrated, timing is heavily influenced by economics, but desire less so. If New Zealanders are interested in leaving, perhaps for many years, the economic conditions may tip the scales in favour or against a move at a particular time (Parsons et al., 2012).

What does selective emigration by personality trait mean for a small country like New Zealand? Lynn (1981) suggested that Australia, Canada and the USA all have higher extraversion scores than the European countries that originally settled them, primarily the UK. If this proposal is true, then trait-selected migration may have been going on for many years, including early settlers. Today, New Zealand may be systematically losing not only skilled workers, but also the people who are good at getting things done, forward looking, and open to new possibilities. These might be tomorrow's entrepreneurs, innovators, and inventors. As discussed previously, because migrants from other countries are replenishing the stock of workers, it is possible that these "brain gains" are making up for the losses to some extent.

In many ways, this study paints a hopeful picture of the effects of personality-selective voluntary migration. These new migrants will be taking up the challenges of adapting to a new country with the resources of persistence, openness to experience, and a focus on creating a positive future. All of these traits will be useful to them in the settlement process. However, there is also caution, as males who were lower in emotional stability were more likely to migrate, as were women who were higher in sensation seeking. Both of these traits may make long-term settlement more difficult. Further research on the relationship between these personality characteristics and specific acculturation outcomes is needed, preferably using longitudinal designs.

One implication from this study has already impacted policy. As discussed in the Chapter 3, Indian sons have an obligation to care for elderly parents. At the time this study was conducted, there was a rule in place that limited the use of family sponsorship visas to people who did not have more siblings abroad than in New Zealand. This effectively banned the research participants in this study from bringing elderly parents to live here, and therefore they were expecting that they would someday be forced to return to India. I presented these

concerns, along with the policy-relevant findings from Study 1 in June 2012 to the policymakers in New Zealand government. Recently, a Study 1 participant contacted me to let me know that the rule was changed in early 2013, and he now intends to sponsor his mother and remain in New Zealand indefinitely.

There is a great deal more of policy-relevance in this thesis, most importantly the essential factors that migrants are seeking in New Zealand, and thus the keys to attracting skilled migrants from the UK, India and South Africa. Among these are: quality of life, opportunity, cultural similarity, welcome and environment. Even more of these key findings have already been adopted by Immigration New Zealand in their new "Migration Pathway" model, which now includes the importance of connections in New Zealand, multiple countries compared, reassurance for all the family, transparency of steps, and feeling welcome (Masgoret, 2013).

Not everything can be accomplished through policy, however; the perception of the host nationals as welcoming stems in large part from the relatively low prevalence of violent racist incidents, in addition to the availability of visas. Cultural similarity is an attraction, but also somewhat of a deception. Though New Zealand does have similarities to the British culture that has had profound impacts for the past 170 years, it also has a bicultural history that is completely unlike anything the UK has imagined. Overselling cultural similarity will reinforce unrealistic expectations that New Zealand is an idyllic version of 1950s Britain, which would be clearly a false impression to anyone walking today through the ethnically-diverse streets of New Zealand's largest city, Auckland (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Overly positive expectations, especially when not met, tend to lead to negative outcomes during acculturation (Mähönen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2013; Rogers & Ward, 1993).

Environment was a major attraction to prospective migrants. Thus it becomes critically important that New Zealand protect its environment that is such a key point of distinction between destinations. The "unspoiled" nature that appeals very much to tourists and migrants alike is easily lost to pollution in rivers, beaches and the air. There is a paradox in which environmentally motivated migration has very negative consequences for the environment itself (Rudzitis, 1993). The balance between economic sustainability and environmental sustainability is fraught with tension, particularly as population is the biggest single factor that impacts environmental degradation (Suhrke, 1993). Ultimately, the attractive quality that New Zealand's environment has on potential migrants is another powerful reason to enact legislation to protect it.

Inherent in this thesis is also a recognition of the barriers to migration, even for those who are predisposed to go (through their personality), knowledge of possible destinations, social limitations (partner willingness), resource limitations (financial, educational, skills, experience), and specific opportunities (jobs, visas) all constrain the decision to migrate. The expectations of those who choose New Zealand as a destination need to be realistic, and through this study it is clear that they are looking for lifestyle, work/life balance, access to nature, mild climate, safety, employment and an opportunity to integrate. Where possible, support must be given for these expectations to be met to promote retention of migrants.

Conclusions

These studies have answered important questions as to how the migration decision process works. By using an NDM framework, I was able to place the migration decision-making process in a tradition of other real-world decisions, thereby expanding the contexts that NDM has been used, as well as proposing additional aspects that NDM researchers should consider.

Psychology tends to be bound by an individualist tendency; it puts priority on individual decisions while failing to appreciate that important real world decisions are essentially collective when the decision-makers are in a committed relationship, or part of a family that rely on parents, grandparents, children and even siblings in the decision-process. Study 1 included numerous stories of how the couples had to reach a decision together, and particularly for Indian families how important the role of the extended family was in the decision. Consequently, theories must address that the decision is not only the three main choices (whether, where and when) but also how these are each situated within a social context.

By studying the migrant personality in a new context, I have also added significantly to the research base on this important aspect of the decision process. These findings shed light on the high mobility of New Zealanders, increasing understanding of how New Zealand can have both high immigration and emigration. It is indeed fortunate that New Zealand, though remote, is still very attractive, with the lifestyle, environment and welcoming aspects that migrants seek.

When I am at a party and I am asked the usual question, why did you come here? I am now tempted to answer that I am open to experience, sensation seeking, have a regulatory focus on promotion, and have a trailing spouse who was agreeable with some persuasion. This sort of answer might work as long as I was at a party of psychologists, but luckily I can

also explain the results in plain English. I am the kind of person who wants to live abroad, and I was fortunate enough to have a family who was willing to come along.

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Appendix A. Interview schedule

- Are you Ok with being recorded?

- You can stop at any time.

1. Can you tell me about your background?

2. Tell me the story of how you came to New Zealand. (Tell me how you started thinking about coming to New Zealand)

3. What are/were your reasons for leaving?

4. What countries did you consider moving to? Why?

5. What did you know about New Zealand before you came? (what do you know about New Zealand?)

6. Where in New Zealand are you living/do you plan on living?

   - Why did you choose that location?

7. What expectations did/do you have for your life in NZ?

8. Imagine we are speaking in 2 years, what will your life be like then?

9. Can you tell me the first 5 words that come to mind when I say "New Zealand"?

10. When I say "New Zealand" what visual images immediately come to mind?

That's all the questions I have for you. Would you like to add anything? Something that I missed that is important in your decision?

Do you have any questions for me?

Thanks for participating. Would you prefer to have a US$20 Amazon.com voucher emailed to you or a NZ$25 New World voucher mailed to you?

Would you like a copy of the transcript sent to you?
Would you like a copy of the results sent to you?

Appendix B. Reactions via email of participants and community members to findings of study 1

Participant reactions
Names given are the same pseudonym used in the thesis.

_____

Hi Aidan,

I read your analysis for the South African study and I think you are spot on! Well done. I agree with your analysis regarding South Africans approach to this. In the study someone mentions the user-friendliness of the New Zealand Immigration website that I would like to emphasise as well. I don't think we touched on that in our interview but it definitely gave me more motivation to consider New Zealand. You can't really compare the Australian and Canadian sites to the New Zealand site. The New Zealand site is so much better in terms of design, usability etc. If someone at Immigration New Zealand will be reading your study, I think it is worthwhile to point it out to them. They've done a good job.

I appreciate the way in which you approached the subject as well as the objectivity (it is research after all!). You are sensitive in recounting the people's stories without it reflecting badly on South Africa as to why people want to leave. I think you got the balance right.

Regards,
[Andries]

Sent: Wednesday, March 21, 2012 4:05 AM
To: Aidan Tabor
Subject: Re: Emigration study

Hi Aidan

I found your research to be very interesting! It was comforting to hear other people's views too! You've broken it down into some very interesting and complex themes and provide an all-rounded analysis of the perceptions and factors involved. Your two identified concepts of driving and trailing spouse is a wonderful metaphoric way of seeing the process unfold.

Thumbs up!! :-)

[Kate]

Sent: Thursday, March 22, 2012 9:15 AM
To: Aidan Tabor
Subject: Migrant study

Hi Aidan

Both [Tyler] and myself enjoyed reading your paper and don't really have something else to add. We are comfortable that it represents our views.

All the best with finalising it.

Regards
[Elizabet]

Sent: Sunday, April 22, 2012 11:44 AM
To: Aidan Tabor
Subject: Re: Your thesis

Hey Aidan,

I'm so sorry I didn't reply sooner, I've had a pretty hectic week at work. I finally got the chance to read through the PDF and I think my views, and the views of others are represented quite well. It's a well researched piece. Good job!

Thanks,

[Durva]

Sent: Monday, April 30, 2012 11:01 PM
To: Aidan Tabor
Subject: Re: FW: Immigration PhD study

Hi Aidan,

At last I completed reading your paper and I think following paras refers my story
----
Padmesh, an IT professional from Andhra Pradesh, was also hoping to bring his widowed mother-in-law to New Zealand. When I asked if his wife's brother might also come he replied, "Since we got residency now here, we were just checking a couple of options to sponsor him on we decide to bring them here and so we are just checking because just we got residency last [year] and we are just exploring things." In this way a single couple can form the anchor that facilitates the rest of the family migrating.

Similarly, Padmesh felt
that it was his last chance to go abroad before he had to bear the responsibility of providing for his mother, "because I am the only son to my mother, I have to take care of my mother.… after getting this [visa] I thought once she gets retired then only she can

come, until then she is in India… So I thought this is the time to actually, by that I mean, do something in my life otherwise I can't do it again and I won't get another chance, so that's why I decided to go abroad and work…"

But recently I come to know from immigration that I can't sponsor my mother's PR after I get my indefinite PR. Even though I am the only son to her, I got two sisters settled in India. Because of that, I can't sponsor her which is very sad. In India, parents live with their son only. Not with daughter. Immigration should understand such things and cultural values in considering such situation of each individual. If my father is alive, it's different case. Since she is alone, I need to take care of her after her retirement. Now, if I can't get her here, I need to think of going back to India after some time.

I think the following para refers to my wife's view

Sitara,Padmesh's wife, described New Zealand as "a scenic beautiful country."

Small correction in the below paragraph. It's not Maharaji, it's

"Marathi" people or "Maharastrians" or "speak Marathi". Please correct them.

Though Geeta has no family members outside her immediate family in New
Zealand, she engaged with members of her ethnic community who have helped with her adaptation, "Fortunately we got to know lots of Maharaji people. We are Maharajians, as we speak Maharaji. Maharaji is our mother tongue and we were living in a suburb called Karori and in Karori there are almost 15 to 20 Maharajians families we got to know.

Everything else sounds very correct. It's interesting to read all our country people opinions in moving here to New Zealand.

All the best for your PHD. Hope my response is useful for you.

Thanks,
[Padmesh}

Sent: Tuesday, May 15, 2012 5:02 PM
To: Aidan Tabor
Subject: Re: UK/Ireland emigration study

Hi Aidan

Looks great! Had a quick read of it and think you've got it bang on :) If I can rustle up any other Irish/Poms, I'll circulate it for sure.

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[Nora]

Hi Aidan,

Thank you for forwarding the British part of the study you've been conducting. I read the Adobe file and found it very interesting. It reflected pretty closely what I'd seen reading the Emigrate NZ forum for over two years. I always like to read about how difficult people find settling in to be, in the sense that you can feel very guilty about not feeling totally happy and content when you've invested so much time, money and emotional energy into something and when you read someone else finding it difficult, you know it's "not just you".

My experience at the moment of people around me looking at emigration (people in their forties with teenage children) seem to be that they all want something better for their children. Before I had children, if I heard anyone saying that, it always seemed crazy to me, and thought that you should always put yourself first because children could make their own choices later. However, now I have children I can relate to the primal instinct to put your children's welfare and happiness (long term) above everything else.

Well, you may not believe this, but as I told you in the interview, the New Zealand move had been over three years in the "planning". However, given the continued earth tremors in Christchurch and continued comments on the quality of housing, both my husband and I, separately, had been getting more and more unsure about the impending move but not voicing the concerns. He came down to breakfast one day, with all the NZQA documentation on the table (which I'd finally translated into English - all his certificates etc.) and said that he didn't want to go to New Zealand any more. I felt as if a huge weight had been lifted off my shoulders and said that I didn't either. He shocked me by saying that he wanted to go and live in Germany (where we'd spent a sabbatical year over 10 years ago) and, two days later, we were sitting in an intensive German summer language course.

Germany, to him, had the advantages of New Zealand (clean, green environment, Government concerned about people's wellbeing) but with the advantages of Europe (we have residency through the EU, history, proximity to other countries etc).

I can't say I was convinced, but I didn't want to go to NZ and I knew he would never agree to the UK and Germany seemed a fair second best.

So, a week on Monday (28th May) I fly out to find a house, job and school in Freiburg. They follow 10 days later. I am going to stay by myself with my two daughters for a year until his sabbatical comes up in 2013.

This close to going, I am wishing that I was flying to Christchurch because of the language. I'm also at that horrible point where I've done as much preparation as I can before I go and now I can't do any more until I get there.

The language scares me witless, and I am deeply unsure that we'll be able to "crack it" and stay forever as it's going to be hard for my teenage daughter. In that sense, the isolation of New Zealand encourages you to to really make a go of it and stay long-term. Also it's a country with a history of immigration whereas the immigrants to Germany tend to be uneducated Turkish guest workers or young Eastern Europeans.

Our plan is to go for two to three years and see if we can financially make a go of it.

Time will tell if we have made the right decision - at the moment I am looking enviously at the people who have lived here all their lives and are happy with their family around them. I've always been fascinated by travelling, languages and cultural differences so I am getting what I wished for (be careful what you wish for ;-)

Wish me luck -

[Georgia]

Community member reactions

Date: May 28, 2012 11:05:26 AM GMT+12:00
To: <aidan.tabor@gmail.com>
Subject: FW: your light reading from my thesis

Hi Aidan

J. forwarded your thesis to me for comment. I found it quite interesting to read as I used to work for Immigration New Zealand for a few years after I first moved to NZ. Part of my role was as a "Keep In Touch" Officer - basically a first point of contact for migrants arriving in NZ.

From my experience working with migrants from the UK, I tend to agree with you that the decision to move across the world is often not taken lightly and the decision making process can often take years. A lot of migrants that I worked with had never visited NZ before emigrating here, and had decided to make the move for many of the reasons you mention in your thesis - better quality of life, environment, career etc.

I found that most of the migrants from the UK settled in well to their new lives, though there

were some that decided to return home. Mostly this would be because of homesickness, but for a handful of others it was disillusionment with NZ and its inability to meet with their expectations. I would always find it frustrating that migrants didn't plan or budget for a holiday/research trip to NZ before actually migrating here, as that could have minimised the number of people having false ideals of the country. I remember having a phone conversation with one man who had heard that crime in NZ was virtually non-existent compared to the UK. He said he was shocked to watch the news on his arrival in NZ and see that, in fact, murders and gang crime happen here too. I think he ended up leaving because of that!!

My experience of migrating to NZ is perhaps a little bit different. I came here on holiday with my parents and sister in 2003. We had an absolutely fantastic holiday and we all loved the country. So much so in fact that, 6 months later, my sister and I packed up our lives in the UK and moved to NZ. It was an easy decision. Seeing NZ on that holiday really made me realise how depressing life in the UK is - the negative people, the politics, the traffic, the general doom and gloom. I hated that 6 months in the UK between my holiday in NZ and actually moving here! I remember I would see tv shows about NZ and would burst into tears as I just wanted to be back there so much. I can relate to the woman quoted in your thesis talking about the ad in the tube station, only my experience is the opposite - I would see those ads and think "yes! I would much rather be there." I still often see those ads whenever I visit the UK and I think smugly to myself "I live there."

I settled into life in NZ very easily. I think it helped that I pick up accents ridiculously quickly and started talking like a kiwi within about 2 months! Finding work was easy, and I even managed to find myself a kiwi partner, which allowed me to get a residence permit (I'd arrived in NZ on a working holiday visa). I must admit that I did have a wobble in 2008. I visited the UK with my partner and we travelled a few places in the country and in Europe as well. We had such a great holiday and on our return to NZ, I found myself to be incredibly homesick, 5 years after first migrating! I decided that I wanted to return home to the UK, but I would try it for 6 months and leave myself the option to return to NZ if things didn't work out. I lasted 2 months in the UK!! I missed things like the history of the UK, the proximity to Europe, and my family. But the rose-tinted glasses of visiting somewhere on holiday, and the reality of actually living there, trying to find a job etc, are very different.

So I moved back to NZ and got a tattoo of the country on my leg - I can't ever leave now, I've been branded a kiwi :)

Sorry if this email is a bit long! I hope it is of some help to you.

C.W. [post-arrival UK community member]

Date: May 24, 2012 4:55:06 PM GMT+12:00
To: "Aidan Tabor" <aidan.tabor@gmail.com>
Subject: RE: your light reading from my thesis

Hiya. I didn't get back to you about this.... Sorry!

By the way, I'm asking friends and colleagues to read & comment, and asking for responses by the end of next week.

I thought it was interesting that there was no single driver for emigrating, and indeed, it seems to be difficult to narrow it down to even a small group of drivers as everyone's story was slightly different.

In our case, I was the main driver in terms of the actual migration.

I felt our circumstances were similar to:

1. like Dylan, it was more of a means to gain access to the country and the other benefits it offered

1. Nina's description of her children's lifestyle changes provides some evidence that parents may allow more freedom after arrival in New Zealand

   Environment was the most prevalent macro factor across the dataset, with all but one participant discussing how New Zealand's environment was significant in their decision to move. Essentially, New Zealand's environment is a key draw for migrants.

   These elements of a better climate and spectacular scenery go hand in hand with the lifestyle that migrants are seeking. The constructs of pace of life, quality of life, work/life balance and lifestyle are very much entwined. In sum, there was a strong desire to "downshift" and have a less hurried life.

   cultural similarity, starting with language

   "Before we came we thought that the culture was very closely aligned to the UK and actually it is on the surface of it and once you get into it, it is actually quite different in a lot of respects but because it is English speaking it makes it very much more easier, very much easier than it would have been if it was somewhere where it wasn't English speaking."

I like your description of the Goldilocks effect.

Is this the kind of community feedback that you need? If not, please let me know :-)

Cheers,
J. A. [post-arrival UK community member]
Wellington, New Zealand

Sent: Saturday, May 12, 2012 2:06 AM

To: Aidan Tabor
Subject: Re: results from the UK study

Hi Aidan,

Had a good read of your paper..it certainly makes interesting reading. It's amazing how many people think along the same same lines when emmigrating...the cross referencing of reasons. Although we are emmigrating and we have historically had online web forums etc for support aactually in day-to-day life it can be a lonely journey as only you and your immediate family are caught up in it. Your extended family (mum, dad etc) are quite outside of the bubble so to speak and although they support you and you share what you can, ultimately it is you and your little unit that have to make that giant leap of faith (albeit with planning admittedly).
Thanks again for letting me read the final paper.
Keep in touch and let me know how you get on.
Kind Regards
N. S. [pre-departure UK migrant]
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13 March, 2012

Hi Aidan,

Thank you very much for sending this along. It is very insightful and I
really enjoyed reading it. I recognize so much of what the other South
African immigrants have said about their reasons and their impressions
of SA and NZ.

Best wishes with your studies.

A. van R.
Auckland
New Zealand

Sent: Sunday, March 25, 2012 10:31 PM
To: Aidan Tabor
Subject: Re: South African migrants to New Zealand study

Hi Aidan,

Sorry about the delay in responding to your email, however this weekend I finally found the time to sit down with my mum and read through your paper.
Overall, my mum identified with the majority of the characteristics/features you identified in South African migrants.
I thought I would just list a few key points we identified from our own personal experience of migrating to NZ.

2. My mum and dad both wanted to leave South Africa (SA), there was neither a 'driver' or 'trailing spouse'
3. Both of parents are doctors so their careers are highly portable and made the move a lot easier
4. We migrated to NZ in 1991 so my parents did not have the internet as a migration tool. Instead they relied on phone calls, faxes and letters
5. Quality of life was the main reason they decided to leave SA - they were tired of living in fear
6. They decided to move to NZ upon my mum falling pregnant with me - they waited until I was a year old before we moved.
7. The catalysts for moving were (a) my mum receiving a direct threat of violence and (b) her falling pregnant
8. My parents both report the migration process brought them closer together
9. We have had slight 'chain migration' in our family - only one cousin, her husband and child have migrated to NZ. But, the majority of our family from SA have since migrated to countries all over the world - England, Australia, Wales and Switzerland - it has been especially common in the younger generations
10. Getting used to the lack of security in NZ was extremely disconcerting for my parents at first
11. SA culture has a strict class structure compared in NZ - my parents found NZ culture relaxing as people from 'all walks of life' can socialize
12. My parents also found wooden houses 'weird' - all houses in SA are made from brick or stone
13. My parents didn't find it hard to make friends with NZer's - in general my parents found (and still do find) NZer's friendly people
14. My parents made the conscious decision not to join any SA migrant groups - they did not see the point in joining these groups, they wanted to become NZer's
15. My parents both state they would **never** go back to live in SA - however they do still have a 'soft spot' for SA, and especially miss the wildlife
16. NZ's clean, green image was a major draw
17. My parents felt South African's and NZer's are similar in their love of nature, sport and the great outdoors (hunting and fishing)
18. NZ was my parents first choice, Australia was their second - they decided against UK, USA and Canada due to visa restrictions/requirements, cultural clashes and the climate

I hope that helps - as I said before, my mum identified with the majority of what you said.
Thank you for letting us read your paper, we found it really interesting!

Kind regards,
M. Y.

Appendix C. Questionnaire items

Demographic questions
What is your date of birth?
Gender? Male/Female
What is your ethnicity?
What is your highest level of qualification?
What is your employment status?
What is your occupation?
Are you currently in a committed relationship?
Have you ever lived outside of your country of birth?
In which country do you currently reside?
In which country were you born?
Are you currently considering or planning to move to another country?
I intend to move abroad...in the next month/next 6 months/next year/1-3 years/ more than 3 years
I plan to remain abroad for...less than 1 year/1- up to 3 years/3-5 years/more than 5 years/indefinitely

Personality and Individual Difference Items

Big Five Personality Domains		
	Extraversion	Extraverted, enthusiastic.
		Reserved, quiet. (R)
	Emotional stability	Anxious, easily upset. (R)
		Calm, emotionally stable.
	Agreeableness	Critical, quarrelsome. (R)
		Sympathetic, warm.
	Conscientiousness	Dependable, self-disciplined.
		Disorganized, careless. (R)
	Openness to experience	Conventional, uncreative. (R)
		Open to new experiences, complex.

Personality facets		
	Risk taking	Take risks.
		Am willing to try anything once.
		Seek adventure.
		Would never make a high risk investment. (R)
		Stick to the rules. (R)
		Avoid dangerous situations. (R)
	Adventurousness	Prefer variety to routine.
		Like to visit new places.
		Am interested in many things.
		Like to begin new things.
		Prefer to stick with things that I know. (R)
		Am attached to conventional ways. (R)
		Dislike changes. (R)
		Don't like the idea of change. (R)
		Am a creature of habit. (R)
		Dislike new foods. (R)
	Assertiveness	Take charge.
		Don't like to draw attention to myself. (R)
		Seek to influence others.
		Hold back my opinions. (R)
	Achievement striving	Go straight for the goal.
		Put little time and effort into my work. (R)
		Do just enough work to get by. (R)
		Work hard.
		Turn plans into actions.
		Am not highly motivated to succeed. (R)
	Persistence	Am a goal-oriented person.
		Don't finish what I start. (R)
		Finish things despite obstacles.
		Do not tend to stick with what I decide to do. (R)

	Sensation-seeking	New and unexpected experiences give me the excitement I need in life.
		When I have to work according to fixed rules, I easily get fed up with them.
		People or things that always stay the same, bore me.
Motivation		
	Family centrality	An individual's goals should be mainly family oriented.
		Family should be a large part of one's life.
		The most important thing that happens in life involves the family.
	Work centrality	Work should be a large part of one's life.
		The most important thing that happens in life involves work.
		An individual's goals should be mainly work oriented.
Regulatory Focus		
	Prevention	In general, I am focused on preventing negative events in my life.
		I am anxious that I will fall short of my responsibilities and obligations.
		I often think about the person I am afraid I might become in the future.
		I often worry that I will fail to accomplish my goals.
		I often imagine myself experiencing bad things that I fear might happen to me.
		I frequently think about how I can prevent failures in my life.
		I am more oriented toward preventing losses than I am toward achieving gains.
		I see myself as someone who is primarily striving to become the self I "ought" to be- to fulfill my duties, responsibilities, and obligations.
	Promotion	I frequently imagine how I will achieve my

hopes and aspirations.

I often think about the person I would ideally like to be in the future.

I typically focus on the success I hope to achieve in the future.

I often think about how I will achieve success.

I see myself as someone who is primarily striving to reach my "ideal self"- to fulfill my hopes, wishes and aspirations

In general, I am focused on achieving positive outcomes in my life.

I often imagine myself experiencing good things that I hope will happen to me.

Overall, I am more oriented toward achieving success than preventing failure.