Editorial
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ESTUDOS DE GÉNERO E A MULHER NO ESPAÇO LUSÓFONO E NA DIÁSPORA
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Women, Portuguese culture and Diaspora: Women from Goa in New Zealand and cultural adaptation

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Introduction

New Zealand is a nation of Migrants. Immigrants have played a significant role in the country's economic growth and cultural development. With a population of four million people, New Zealand's population is becoming increasingly culturally diverse. Almost one in five New Zealanders were born overseas, rising to one in three in its largest city, Auckland. Asians are the fastest growing ethnic group, increasing by around 140% since 1996. Indians account for 1.2% of the population (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). The Goan community in New Zealand is relatively small and its size is not formally recorded, however, anecdotally it appears to have grown to over 200 families in the Auckland area, with most arriving after 1996.

For women who migrate, loneliness and isolation have been identified as the most 'glaring' experience and this is intensified by the loss of extended family networks when they migrate to a country where nuclear families are the norm (Leckie, 1995). The creation of new networks and maintenance of prior networks in new ways is crucial to the successful settlement and integration into a new country.

This paper reports on how Goan, Indian women in Auckland, New Zealand used specific strategies to manage the adjustment to living in a new country. The findings reveal that participants used a variety of skills to settle in New Zealand such as cultivating a "can do" attitude, obtaining support and learning. These skills enabled them to move beyond their own culture and begin to take active part in New Zealand culture. However, this process was not immediate and the participants passed through a number of stages along a continuum of settlement and integration. These stages will be discussed below and situated within a body of literature.

Study context

The study took place in Auckland, New Zealand among women of the Catholic Goan community. A purposive sampling technique was used and selection criteria limited participation to women who self-identified as Goan and who had migrated to New Zealand (for a detailed description of this research, refer to R. DeSouza, 2006). None of the participants were born in Goa or came directly from Goa due to the history of Goans as a migratory population. Data collection involved the use of in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted

in English and analysis occurred alongside the data collection. The interview transcripts were coded line-by-line and analysed within and between interviews to ensure the researcher was grounded in the data. The codes were clustered according to similarity and reduced. Similar phenomena were grouped into categories and named.

Literature Review

There is an historical view that men migrate in order to maximise their economic gains, whilst women migrants have been seen as passive, migrating for emotional and personal reasons or as 'dependents' and appendages to men (Kofman, 1999). Literature suggests that the role of women in migration was to continue tradition as "cultural custodians" (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999, p.571) and maintain home life while remaining separate from the public sphere of work and the politico-economic process (Bottomley, 1994). This perception is beginning to change as a result of the increasing interest in "women's position in society, the feminisation of the foreign population, the increasingly visible economic presence of immigrant women and the production of knowledge by immigrant women about themselves" (Kofman, 1999, p.271). Settlement indicators have tended to focus on the public sphere rather than the private endeavours.

Settlement can be considered as a multidimensional process, involving all aspects of the migrant's (and migrant family's) life. It can be defined as the early parts of the longer integration process (Fletcher, 1999) or as the period of adjustment that occurs following a migrants arrival, their becoming established and independent in the new society. This includes aspects such as obtaining appropriate housing, employment, orientation and language (Australian Government, undated). Integration is further along this continuum, being about how migrants become active participants in the economic, social, civic, cultural and spiritual affairs of their new homeland. This is shown in Figure 1.
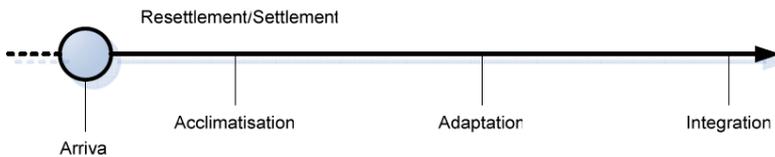

Figure 1: Resettlement/settlement continuum (Canadian Council for Refugees, 1998)

Integration is the long term process through which new residents become full and equal participants in society. Whilst acknowledging that each new resident's experience is unique,

there are some recommended principles for the successful integration of newcomers. These include viewing integration as a goal as well as a process that takes time and can include several generations. Fletcher (1999) suggests that integration is not a linear process and does not occur at a similar rate across all aspects of life. He suggests for example that settlement issues can arise long after arrival when migrants become elderly and have new health and social needs. In addition, migrants can be well settled in one dimension of their life (e.g. employment) but poorly integrated in other aspects. Settlement and integration occur within several spheres such as the social, economic, cultural and political as seen in this model developed by the Canadian Council for Refugees (1998):

Table 1: Dimensions of settlement and integration.

Dimension	Short-term (settlement)	Longer term (integration)
Economic	Entering job market Financial independence	Career advancement Income parity Entry into field of prior employment
Social	Established social network Diversity within social network	Accessing institutions Engaging in efforts to change institutions
Cultural	Adaptation of various aspects of lifestyle (e.g. Diet, family relationships)	Engaging in efforts to redefine cultural identity Adapting or reassessing values
Political	Citizenship Voting	Participation in political parties Participation in socio-political movements

A study by Ward and Styles (2005) found that women who migrated experienced grief and that negotiating the grieving process was pivotal to successful settlement. Participants who successfully settled and re-invented themselves engaged in more social and cultural activities. While those participants who were less successful tended toward more solitary strategies. The study concluded that using appropriate strategies could reduce the psychological impact of relocation.

Findings

The foregoing section has outlined key literature pertaining to settlement and integration. For the research participants, migration caused major disruption to their lives. In the following section, the strategies used by participants to manage their settlement process are described in the context of the social and cultural dimensions of settlement described in Table 1 and in terms of the settlement continuum shown in Figure 1. This process of integration required that the participants became independent, which in turn necessitated the acquisition of attitude, skills, support and learning. In addition integration involved rebuilding links with their Goan culture and finally moving beyond Goan culture to contribute and engage with the receiving community. This resulted in a revised settlement and integration continuum which is shown in Figure 2 and discussed in the remainder of the paper.
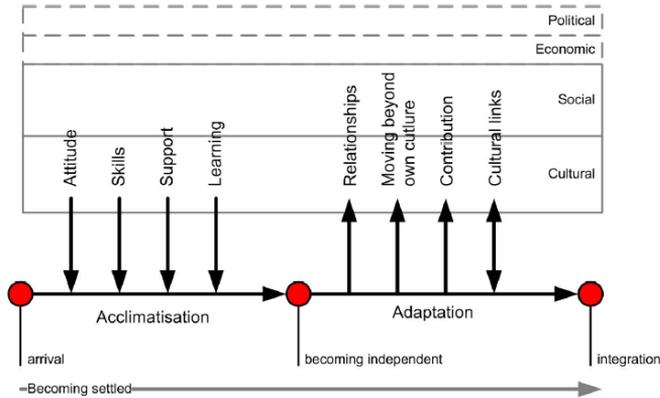
Figure 2: Coping strategies used by Goan women to enable settlement and integration.

Acclimatisation

The first stage of settlement required participants to actively seek out support and new skills in order to learn about their new country and to adjust to a change in their way of life.

Attitude

Migrants are caught between two compelling expectations that that they make things work and settle successfully. These implicit expectations are derived from both the receiving country and the migrant themselves. They are aware that they carry not just their own hopes and aspirations but that of the community that they have left behind. In New Zealand the pervasive ethos of 'Kiwi ingenuity' and 'pioneer spirit' align well with the desire of participants to 'get on with things.' The former hint at not only New Zealand's recent past, but the potential future that is available to those who stay and 'make it work' (Roscoe, 1999). Mascarenhas-Keyes's (1990) notion of progressive motherhood and the self-sacrificing Goan mother seems apt in the case of Goan women in this study, who believed that they had to adapt and make things work in the present in order to attain a better future, adjustment was mandatory and compromises had to be made:

> You get on with life yeah and you have to think you are in a different place, you cannot have 100% of what you would have had back home, you have to adapt as well (Lorna).

Arisaka (2000, p.8), in a discussion of Asian assimilation in the United States, articulates this perfectly:

> This almost non-negotiable drive for upward mobility requires diligent assimilation. Self-pity, victim consciousness, and separationist self-consciousness are deadly to the process towards success. Not only are they excessively self-indulgent, but they are also a waste of time and energy, and therefore not allowed.

Flora was aware that there was no turning back because of the risks and sacrifices that had been made and they had to make it work and survive:

> You just couldn't pick a flight and go back and you think 'oh God you brought me you brought us here and now you look after us'. You don't know where to go because you've resigned your job, you've spent half your savings to come here and you know there's no turning back so you have to make the most of this. So it's like there's no turning back, but you think, 'God what have I done' (Flora).

Skills

Skills such as reframing or becoming philosophical about their circumstances were used by many of the participants as a way of coping with difficult situations. DeSouza (2001) suggests that this might be an Indian response to the harshness of life in a country with no welfare state or individual protection, where life for many is about survival and relying on one's own resources. Lorna's pragmatism suggests an acceptance that life-stresses are universal and inevitable:

> Oh well, after a while you realise that the world is quite a small place and you know you are here for a while. You just do your bit wherever you are, it's the same, every country every place and every situation has its own pros and cons, so you just have to battle it either here or there (Lorna).

For Sheila, it was her cousin who role-modelled and guided her towards self-efficacy, a key skill that she had to learn in order to become settled:

> She was a very good model for me and she was a really neat person you know. She didn't look on the gloomy side, she would say 'the sun is shining, lets do a wash.' I would go to her sometimes saying I was feeling cold you know and I was in a bit of self pity. She would say 'go and do your floor' (Sheila).

The pragmatism and philosophical acceptance that was necessary for survival had a coercive element for some participants and required that they also had social support.

Support

Social support is key to successful settlement. Having social support makes coping with daily living, acquiring language and employment (three other important factors in settlement) easier to acquire (Ho, Cheung, Bedford, & Leung, 2000). In addition, social support can moderate stress by reducing the perception of severity of the stressful circumstance and, by reducing the severity of the reaction (Kearns, Neuwelt, Hitchman, & Lennan, 1997). The participants found that having family, friends and other migrants was crucial.

Family and social networks are thought to be pivotal to the settlement process (Fletcher, 1999). Connecting with familiarity through their own ethnic group is thought to reduce the stress of migration for migrants. Sarup (1996, p.3) suggests that the boundary crossing involved in migrating can provoke hostility, exclusion, building up of walls and conversely inclusion, welcome and breaking down of walls. Sarup (1996, p.3) states:

> Any minority group, when faced with hostile acts, does several things. One of its first reactions is that it draws in on itself; it tightens its cultural bonds to present a united front against its oppressor. The group gains strength by emphasising it's collective identity. This inevitably means a conscious explicit decision on the part of some not to integrate with the dominant group but to validate their own culture.

Participants in this study initially built relationships with members of the Goan or Indian communities and later built bridges with the wider community. Sheila came to New Zealand at the invitation of her cousin Tanya, who was instrumental in helping her to adjust to living in New Zealand:

> We stayed with them initially and then we moved to a flat which was quite close by. Then the house next to them was going on sale and I said to Peter you want to buy a house that's the house. I didn't even look at another house. So we were immediate neighbours and that was the best thing that could happen I wanted to be close to her (Sheila). According to Foner (1997, p.961):

Immigrants live out much of their lives in the context of families…family networks stimulate and facilitate the migration process itself; the role of family ties and networks in helping immigrants get jobs when they arrive in the United States; and the role of families in developing strategies for survival and assisting immigrants in the process of adjustment, providing a place where newcomers can find solace and support and can pool their resources as a way to advance.

Making new friends took time, for many women who had come here for marriage, their friends were their husbands. Leckie (1995, p.59) called this a 'double isolation.' Not only were women isolated in a strange country, but also in 'solitary confinement' with a relative

stranger. This was compounded by husbands who worked long hours and the sprawl of Auckland, which made it difficult to meet other Goan women. Participants also felt estranged from wider New Zealand society and despite being able to communicate in English, new friendships did not necessarily result:

> The outside was beautiful, but besides Tony there was no one whom I could really speak to. Really have a friend to confide in, or just have a friend or just have some-one who I could just call, you know just once in a while just go out (Greta).

Lorna's experiences of the general public were a shock, in particular the friendliness that didn't lead to anything. Lorna misunderstood the new social cues and discovered that the warmth was superficial and lacking in depth (this superficiality is called '*voilea voir*' in Konkani). However, The Catholic religion and church provided support for many participants in the form of social support, spiritual and secular activities. Evelyn found the church played a significant part in providing support and networks:

> I had Toby when I was 28 and found that belonging to a church was a great support , people were supportive and friendly. I think that people were good to me at the church because Joe's parents had been good to them (Evelyn).

The importance of faith for migrant women is echoed in studies of migration of Jordanians (Hattar-Pollara & Meleis, 1995) and Koreans (Shin & Shin, 1999). Many women found churches were places where loneliness could be alleviated and information exchanged.

Many participants wanted to learn the requisite skills and knowledge that would help them to survive and thrive in New Zealand, which was a third strategy that emerged in the findings.

Learning

Learning how to cope with a new life in New Zealand happened in diverse ways for participants. For some, preparation before they arrived helped them to develop culturally relevant skills and knowledge that assisted their settlement. Others had no knowledge of life in New Zealand and even the use of a migration consultant was no guarantee of assistance with grasping the day-to-day realities. For those participants that had to learn from trial and error, independence was learned.

The 'culture learning approach' refers to the adaptation that occurs when migrants overcome the cross-cultural problems related to every day social encounters, by learning new culture specific skills that assist them to navigate the new cultural environment (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Anticipatory preparation is thought to enhance the transition

experience (Meleis, Sawyer, Im, Messias, & Schumacher, 2000; Weaver, 1994) and in Greta's case, she obtained culturally specific knowledge and skills prior to migration from her husband which helped her to cope with her new life:

> Tony described it as a fast village and said it was a beautiful place. He said that traditionally migrants would find it a little difficult here and he also made it clear to me that back there in India we get many people to help us. Like you know with the manual work, cleaning is done by somebody who comes at home and a lot of manual work is taken off your shoulders because there is someone else who you could easily employ. Here it is not so, and at the same time he said we have things like you know vacuum cleaner machine and this and that, so there are machines that make things easier (Greta).

Weaver (1994) terms the useful and powerful strategy used by Greta's husband 'inoculation' as preparation helps build up resistance to the stress of adjusting to migration:

> Yeah, I think that's very necessary, that the basic thing, your mind must be prepared to accept what is going to come ahead and like you can go through that phase much more smoothly (Greta).

Muriel, who also came to New Zealand for marriage, was likewise prepared by her husband:

> Neville said, don't work, get to know the country, because once you start working then you kind of you lose out on the sightseeing and doing things and finding out things. So I waited for some time and in September I started work (Muriel).

Lorna and Flora were not as fortunate. For Lorna, New Zealand was unknown while learning about New Zealand was daunting for Flora:

> I didn't know the culture I was coming out to, the weather or any other conditions (Lorna).

> It's quite scary, like because you've never heard of New Zealand and you think oh God I'm going to a country that I've never heard about. Then we tried to read books to know about it. It's very hard like, you know wonder what will they say, what will I do, what shall I not do. Because like when you come here you don't know anything, you come in the street. You don't know anybody, you don't know where to start (Flora).

It seemed that this lack of knowing for some women later led to painful ways of learning that were informal and incidental. Informal learning is where people "consciously learn from their experiences" (Foley, cited in Fowler, 1999, p.29). Incidental learning is "learning that is incidental to the activity in which the person is involved, and is often tacit and not seen as learning, at least not at the time of it's occurrence" (Foley, cited in Fowler, 1999, p.29). Flora was thirsty to learn the skills and knowledge that would help her to survive in New Zealand. Despite going through an immigration consultant she realised she had had to learn through hardship:

> I remember we arrived on a Thursday and on Friday I wanted to go and register with the IRD. We didn't want to waste a single day and he (the immigration consultant) said, oh don't waste your time. Friday, in New Zealand nobody works. He totally misled us, but anyway you learn through these hardships (Flora).

The challenges of adjusting to life in a new country were not helped by the lack of access to basic information. Many of the things that New Zealander would take for granted, such as free local telephone calls, remain unknown to the new migrant and were withheld from Flora by the people who had been paid to assist and support her, in particular the immigration consultant:

> You know the basic things at least tell, that the telephone was free. We were so scared to even use the telephone because we thought like India, every three minutes are charged, so you really hesitate to even pick up the phone, or even to give the number, we were hesitating you know. So I mean small things which mattered a lot for a newcomer who doesn't know anything (Flora).

Flora's learning required a lot of effort and studies show that activities requiring no effort in the home culture require a high degree of concentration, leading to possible fatigue and overload in a new culture (Sharts-Hopko, 1995). A study of Jordanian woman migrants to the United States, found that essential but ordinary tasks were anxiety provoking, but this lessened with practice (Hattar-Pollara & Meleis, 1995). The experience of adjustment was compromised by the exploitation by fellow Indians and was worsened by being far from home and supportive family members. As Flora said:

> It was the first time we had been on our own before, in Bombay you've always got family to help you and you've got everything ready made, so you never know what hardship is until you come here (Flora).

Adding that:

> You learn to become tough and you actually learn to do better because if you rely on somebody constantly you will never reach anywhere. Yah learn to be independent, you know, not rely on anyone, and you learn to fit you know (Flora).

Adaptation

Adaptation necessitated moving beyond one's family and own networks into broader society, through becoming independent, through activities such as volunteering, joining churches and having access to support through e-mail.

Moving beyond own culture

Sheila's cousin also encouraged her to become independent which Ho et al., (2000) argue is necessary for new migrants if they are to start interacting with dominant society and developing skills. Sole reliance on family or members of their own community for ones daily needs, can preclude this learning and development:

> They moved one year after we came and Tanya said to me (and I was absolutely devastated) "because all my friends have become your friends but now you have to go out yourself and make friends" and it was so true (Sheila).

Ho, Cheung, Bedford and Leung (2000) caution that having a supportive network within one's own ethnic community can be a disadvantage if it stops migrants from connecting with people outside their ethnic group. Those women participants who had no family or friendships in New Zealand had to make contact with other migrants for social support. However, building relationships outside one's community can be challenging for many reasons, which include a lacking of confidence or resources, and having limited opportunities for meeting and socialising (Ho et al., 2000). Many women in this study developed friendships with other migrants who were experiencing similar adjustments.

> I think when you are a migrant you tend to kind of get very close to the few families that you know, because you have some common bond (Rowena).

Contributing

Sheila and Peter decided that she would be a full-time parent, but she was keen to contribute to the community that she had joined. The volunteering that Sheila undertook in church and Playcentre, a voluntary organisation helped Sheila make connections, meet friends and develop social support:

When we came I could have walked into a job, there was probably 1% unemployment and I got my qualifications completely recognised. We made a decision because Peter was away, I didn't work for 13 years. I did lots of voluntary work, like I was involved in the church, I taught the kids that went to state school. I would help them prepare for confirmation, I did Playcentre, so I made my staying home very interesting (Sheila).

Maintaining cultural links with Goa and Goans

Maintaining cultural links was the final strategy identified by participants and it helped them to make sense of the new experience and maintain wellbeing. The loss and separation resulting from the process of migrating can lead migrants to hold on to familiar and trusted values in order to maintain ties and well being (Vasta, 1991). This connection with 'the familiar' mediated some of the dislocation and challenges that resulted from being in 'the unfamiliar". Participants actively reshaped their culture within a New Zealand context and acted in the role of "cultural custodians" for their children (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1999, p.571).

Maintaining networks within one's ethnic group can provide both validation and resistance as Smith (1999, p.160) has described, in the case of Caribbean-Canadian women. Networking is:

> An act of forming bonds among Caribbean men and women to resist marginalisa-tion, to maintain a sense of identity and to reduce feelings of alienation. While net-working involves no apparent structure, it carries with it a reciprocal responsibility by persons participating in the network…. networking became another strategy of resistance against marginalisation and/or perhaps against losing home, the place that defines food, language, laughter, music, and other forms of communication.

For some participants like Greta, the presence of other Goans, migrants and locals did nothing to mitigate loneliness, nor did having a good education, a Masters degree and English fluency. In her case, electronic access to pre-migration friends was vital in keeping homesickness at bay. She found that:

> I didn't know personally anyone and in that way it was a bit of a struggle, initially, because Tony used to go to work and I wasn't working. I had just the computer to myself, just go on the Net sometimes and things like that. Yes, I did feel homesick but I guess because of regular e-mail correspondence it made it easier (Greta).

She added:

> and every time I knew .. like I was having a difficult time... I would often write to a very close friend of mine, either e-mail or snail mail (Greta).

The cultural links and resources that participants drew on included "the notion of homeland, the importance of language, religion, everyday social rituals such as food, drink, dance and song…. To family, morals, community, landscape, histories and occupations" (Roscoe, 1999, p.106). Researchers of migrant communities have found that connection with one's ethnic community is vital for collective cultural maintenance. Bottomley (1991) found in a Greek community that many participants involved themselves in community-type social networks in order to maintain 'Greekness.' They took part in ethnic institutions, made trips to Greece regularly and married Greek spouses in order to maintain cultural identity. In Hattar-Pollara and Meleis' (1995, p.533) study of Jordanian women in the United States this was termed 'ethnic continuity' and was seen as a cultural expectation to conform. The strategy of linking up with fellow migrants from one's community was used by Goan's to reinforce 'Goanness'. In Sheila's case this was challenged by the small size of the Goan community and she later became involved with other families in the establishment of a Goan association.

Migrants who have their real kinship ties broken often attempt to recreate new linkages (Smith, 1999). All the participants went in search of community. Sheila recalls how she found a person with the same surname in the phone book. She also visited contacts on the P&O shipping line, who employed Goans (a strategy that my own parents also used):

> I did once there was a (name) in the directory and I went all the way to meet this person who turned out to be Spanish! I was really disappointed But we had one friend who used to work for P&O and he used to work as a Pantry Man he was actually a friend of one of our servants (Sheila).

Sheila's attempt to reconnect with "home" by trying to meet Goans that worked on the cruise ships is worth examining. In India, class/caste may have been a barrier to their friendship. Cohen (1997, p.132) argues that migration and the creation of diasporas move the margins to the centre. So, marginal groups are suddenly "nearby, present, attendant and coexistent", which doesn't mean that gaps between cultures have been overcome because of the reduction in distance. Cohen argued that group identity can remain strong in response to the shrinking space between peoples. However, the space is still there and needs to be explored to improve understanding. For many migrants there is an assumption that the distance between people from the same landmass remains less than that between people from India and New Zealand.

Other participants, such as Flora, found that they were caught between their own needs to connect up with other Goans and an awareness that other Goans were in all probability trying to survive themselves and not wanting to impose. Moreover, Flora's expectations that people from the same geographical area were going to be supportive and inclusive had already been shattered by her experience of being let down by her Indian immigration agent and Indian landlords which had been exploitative and gate-keeping. Smith's (1999) caution

about the notion of home, like community and nation being imagined is poignant here, as is the notion of home as a place where individuals feel they belong. Flora found that the notion of home as somewhere that embodied safe and nurturing relationships, and romanticised as inclusionary and communal was displaced when she was unsuccessful in her attempts to connect with other Goan community members. She was left with the impression that everyone else was also trying to survive and was suspicious of being asked to help.

> Then you know you call up one or two people and they say we are struggling. You think I'd better not call, because then people think you want help, but what you want is to talk, yeah and then you say, 'my God better not call'. You know because people have different ideas, when they call you, so you get so scared to even approach. Then you learn to become tough, and you say okay, once you realise that you are on your own. (Flora).

Going back to Goa for visits became important for many participants. Going 'home' regularly can be a way of finding oneself and reconnecting with one's place of birth (Smith, 1999). Sheila was aware of a cultural vacuum and a feeling of homesickness that was alleviated by going to her ancestral home. This was done with phenomenal sacrifice which saw her and her husband overextending themselves financially and her being essentially a sole parent at times:

> We had no-one here to bounce ideas from or anything, so we made a decision that we would keep taking our children back to India and that was like a real project. Because four years we were here, all the money that we saved went into going to India. I tell you we were so short of money we bought that house and we had three mortgages and he worked consistently for two years which meant that I had to look after the children for two years (Sheila).

Sheila observed:

> We came back dead broke from India and then we decided it was such a lovely thing. We had been with the family and exposed to the culture that we decided that we would do this on a regular basis. We didn't know any one, there wasn't anyone here you know, but that constant saving coming back dead broke and starting again was an investment. I think you've really got to set your priorities and they have to be long term (Sheila).

And concluded that:

> I don't regret what we did, it's important not to get carried away by the western thing, to keep taking them back to their roots if you can afford it because I think that priority has really made the difference for us (Sheila).

Particularly, in places where everyone wants to identify you, going home can clarify one's identity and security, helping with survival in a new country by providing a reference point. Visiting home can "provide reassurance and help dispel the longing, assuage the emotional loss" (Swirsky, 1999, p.201). Homelands are imbued with an emotional reverential dimension through the use of such words as motherland, fatherland, the ancestral land and the search for roots (Cohen, 1997). Cooner (1968, cited in Cohen, 1997, p.106) states:

The motherland is seen as a warm, cornucopian beast from which people collectively seek nourishment, replaced by the blood of soldiers defending their fatherland. Their blood nourishes the soil. The law of blood versus that of the length of residence or place of birth.

Cohen (1997, p.106) explains:

> Just as the evocation of homeland is used as a means of exclusion, so the excluded
> may see having a land of their own as a deliverance from their travails in foreign
> lands. A homeland acquires a soteriological and sacred quality.

Limitations

This research focussed on the experiences of women and not on the roles men play. IN addition We get no notion of whether new roles/powers are being created, of whether these women use these strategies merely "to survive" individually and/or collectively. Indeed, there is a clear sense of stability and continuity, but does this correspond to women's expectations of migration? We get a sense that these women have "made it" but not of what they have gained in the process.

Conclusion

Adjusting to life in New Zealand for the participants occurred without the support that they might have had from extended family, a wide network of friends and hired help in the country they lived in pre-migration. The participants demonstrated engagement with a process of settlement and integration with their receiving community. This presents as a continuum that moves from acquiring new attitudes, skills, support and learning through a point of achieving a sufficient level of independence. Beyond this stage, participants were able to contribute back to their communities of origin and, eventually, to their receiving communities through newly formed relationships, church, other social networks and cultural links.

Notes

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