Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.
Highly Skilled South African Immigrants in New Zealand

A Thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management In Management At Massey University Albany New Zealand

Siobhan Alison Porter 2006
1. ABSTRACT

This exploratory research represents a first step into investigating the acculturation strategies employed by highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand. It answers the call for information to be added to the body of knowledge, in this emergent research area for New Zealand, on this specific immigrant group. The report examines the match between the South African and New Zealand acculturation strategies in the workplace, and highlights the relationships expected as a result. It also identifies factors helping and hindering the acculturation of South African immigrants. Limiting factors such as time constrained the report; however, results add new information to the body of knowledge in the fields of immigration to New Zealand, emigration from South Africa, and acculturation in New Zealand. The research used convenience and snowball techniques to identify participants, and structured interviews with open ended questions were used to elicit their migration experiences. Data analysis was qualitative, and consisted of identification of themes that could be used to classify participant groups. The research concluded that highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand pursue either an integrative or assimilative acculturation strategy. Those pursuing an integrative strategy are likely to have consensual relationships with New Zealanders in the workplace, given the New Zealand expectation that immigrants should integrate into the host culture. However, those pursuing an assimilation strategy may experience more problematic relationships in the New Zealand workplace. The main factors helping the integration group to acculturate were developing shared understanding and acceptance between different cultural groups. The factors helping the assimilation group were their ability to be flexible adapt to change. The main factor hindering the acculturation of the integration group was that their expectations of New Zealand workplaces were not met. For the assimilation group the main hindering factor was suffering from acculturative stress. A major implication of the research for New Zealand workplaces is developing a better understanding of highly skilled South African employees, which in particular will affect selection and retention practices for this group. By developing shared understanding, a better fit between the person and their environment can be achieved. This can help ensure the skills of this immigrant group are utilised in New Zealand’s growing knowledge economy.
2. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this thesis has been a long road, and I have a lot of people to thank for their support during this journey. Firstly, to my family and partner, thank you all for your support and love, I could not have motivated myself to achieve this goal without you. My supervisor, Kaye, you are a wonderful, positive and intelligent person, and I value your friendship. Not only have you organised all the administrative details and provided input and advice, but you have also managed to inspire me, and for that, I thank you. Thanks also go to the entire Department of Management and International Business, who have provided much needed help along the way. Finally, to my friends, thank you all for listening and always being there to take my mind off my work, and remind me that there is always time for play.

'We have a hunger of the mind which asks for knowledge of all around us, and the more we gain, the more is our desire; the more we see, the more we are capable of seeing' – Maria Mitchell

May our minds never cease to hunger.
# Table of Contents

1. Abstract ......................................................................................................................... ii
2. Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................ iii
3. List of Abbreviations ...................................................................................................... 1
4. Introduction .................................................................................................................... 2
   4.1. New Zealand ........................................................................................................... 2
   4.2. South Africans in New Zealand ............................................................................. 6
   4.3. My Personal Experience ....................................................................................... 11
5. Literature Review ......................................................................................................... 12
   5.1. Defining International Migration ............................................................................ 12
   5.2. Defining ‘Highly Skilled’ ..................................................................................... 18
   5.3. Exploring Acculturation ........................................................................................ 25
       5.3.1. Defining Acculturation .................................................................................. 25
       5.3.2. Factors Affecting Acculturation ...................................................................... 26
       5.3.3. Expanding the Study of Acculturation .......................................................... 29
       5.3.4. Models of Acculturation ................................................................................ 30
6. Methodology ................................................................................................................ 37
   6.1. Research Design ..................................................................................................... 37
   6.2. Data collection ....................................................................................................... 37
   6.3. Sample .................................................................................................................... 38
   6.4. Participant Recruitment ......................................................................................... 39
   6.5. Data analysis .......................................................................................................... 40
   6.6. Informed Consent .................................................................................................. 41
   6.7. Ethical considerations ............................................................................................ 42
   6.8. Research Significance ........................................................................................... 42
7. Findings and Discussion .............................................................................................. 43
   7.1. Highly Skilled South African Immigrants to New Zealand ..................................... 43
       7.1.1. Acculturation styles ....................................................................................... 43
       7.1.2. Attitudes towards the past ............................................................................ 45
       7.1.3. Attitudes towards the future ......................................................................... 46
       7.2. Factors helping acculturation ............................................................................ 48
       7.3. Factors hindering acculturation ......................................................................... 50
       7.4. Other interesting trends ..................................................................................... 52
           7.4.1. Reasons for leaving South Africa ............................................................... 52
           7.4.2. Friendships ............................................................................................... 54
8. Conclusions .................................................................................................................. 57
9. Avenues for future research ......................................................................................... 61
   9.1. The Long Walk to Freedom ................................................................................... 61
   9.2. The Rainbow Nation ............................................................................................. 61
   9.3. Victims of Violence ............................................................................................... 62
   9.4. The 1.5 Generation ............................................................................................... 62
10. References .................................................................................................................. 64
11. Appendix A ................................................................................................................. 72
12. Appendix B .................................................................................................................. 74
13. Appendix C .................................................................................................................. 75
14. Appendix D .................................................................................................................. 77
3. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

IAM – Interactive Acculturation Model
IOM - International Organisation for Migration
OECD - Organisation for Economic and Co-operation and Development
P-E – Person Environment fit
P-J – Person Job fit
P-O – Person Organisation fit
UN – United Nations
4. INTRODUCTION

4.1. New Zealand

New Zealand is considered one of the few countries in the world that experiences immigration from new source countries such as Asia and the Pacific Islands (Bedford, Ho & Lidgard, 2000; Castles & Miller, 1998). It is also one of a minority of countries that actively encourages immigration as a way of increasing economic and population growth (Department of Labour, 2006a; Poot, 1998). As a result, New Zealand is becoming a more ethnically complex, multicultural country (Bedford, McPherson & Spoonley, 2000). New Zealand has faced quite varied population changes in the last twenty years. These include the highest net gains seen in one hundred years, attributable to Asian immigration; high net losses of New Zealanders, dubbed the brain drain; and an increase in temporary migration (Bedford, Ho & Lidgard, 2000). The country is loosing its qualified youth to the “Big OE” or overseas experience, a working holiday that can last 12 months or more (Inkson & Meyer, 2003). Any gain in skilled labour is hampered by migrants unwillingness to commit to New Zealand permanently, hence the temporary migration trend (Bedford, 2000). The above changes have implications for the economic capacity of New Zealand. A key aspect of being competitive in the global market is the ability of the country to attract and incorporate skilled migrants, who have a wide choice of host country (Benson-Rae & Rawlinson, 2003).

Successive New Zealand Governments have, since the 1970s, met the issues identified above by actively encouraging immigration of skilled labour (Bedford, 2003; Lidgard, 1993). Driving this is the shift towards a knowledge based economy, and greater international competition for skills (Bedford, 2003; Department of Labour, 2006a). It is vital to ensure new immigrants skills are utilised in the labour market, something researchers warn is not happening, resulting in under employment of skilled immigrants (Mace, Atkins, Fletcher & Carr, 2005). The most recent action has been to conduct a review of the 1987 Immigration Act, as New Zealand legislation needs to adjust to cater to labour market needs by harnessing the increased circulation of migrants, while still maintaining border integrity (Department of Labour, 2006a).
immigration system is based on points, it ranks applicants and grants entry on the basis of qualifications, work experience, age, English language proficiency and ability to settle (Bedford, 2003; Department of Labour, 2006a). The New Zealand immigration program has three streams; Skilled Migrant, including Business, Investor/Entrepreneur, General Skills and Skilled Labour; Family Sponsored; and International/ Humanitarian (Dunstan, Boyd & Crichton, 2004). All categories except family focus on bringing highly skilled or experienced people into New Zealand to complement the workforce. Bonus points can be earned by having an offer of employment in an occupation on the long-term shortage skill list; having skills in identified future growth areas; or skills in areas of absolute skills shortage (Department of Labour, 2005). This helps New Zealand select those who will be able to match their skills with employment opportunities in New Zealand (Bedford, 2003).

Regulations regarding temporary work visas have already been amended in an attempt to attract younger skilled migrants to New Zealand (Bedford, 2000). New Zealand also has equal employment opportunity policies in place to improve the labour market position of immigrants and ensure the labour market takes advantage of the skills they have to offer (Bedford, 2003). The New Zealand Government also actively supports the development of a multicultural society. This is evidenced through a multitude of cultural festivals sponsored by local councils. For example, the Auckland City Council organises a Lantern Festival, a Chinese celebration; a Pacifica festival to celebrate Pacific cultures in Auckland; and Diwali, the Indian Festival of Lights (Auckland City, 2006). New Zealand has a positive attitude towards skilled immigrants. Research suggests 81% of New Zealanders feel immigrants have made a positive contribution to the country (Ward & Masgoret, 2005, p.2). The country also has positive attitudes towards multiculturalism, with 78% of New Zealanders agreeing that accepting a wide variety of cultures into the country was important, and 88% agreeing that society should be multicultural (Ward & Masgoret, 2004, p.5).

The result of these policies has been positive net migration since 2001, although numbers have fallen from 95,951 (2002) to 78,963 (2005) (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b). Statistics New Zealand; following countries such as Canada, the United States and Australia; is currently conducting a Longitudinal Immigration Survey, with results expected to be released in 2007. This survey focuses on the experiences of new
immigrants; examining the outcomes of immigration policy and determining how to assist the settlement of immigrants (Statistics New Zealand, 2006c). The pilot study for the survey shows a trend of increased approvals in the Skilled Business category between 1998 (around 14,000) and 2002 (around 36,000), with a slight decline in 2003 (around 30,000) (Dunstan, et al., 2004, p. 23). Table 1 provides information on residency approvals by category, from 1999 to 2005. The highlighted row indicates just over half (55%) of immigrants are in the Skilled Migrant category (Statistics New Zealand, 2006b).

Table 1
*Residence Approvals by category, 1999-2005*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General skills</td>
<td>14,398</td>
<td>19,075</td>
<td>31,015</td>
<td>29,630</td>
<td>20,516</td>
<td>8,237</td>
<td>915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled migrant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7,504</td>
<td>30,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>12,915</td>
<td>13,941</td>
<td>15,965</td>
<td>12,663</td>
<td>14,608</td>
<td>13,394</td>
<td>14,834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>5,582</td>
<td>5,792</td>
<td>6,473</td>
<td>5,203</td>
<td>6,430</td>
<td>4,440</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent</td>
<td>3,570</td>
<td>4,041</td>
<td>4,724</td>
<td>2,431</td>
<td>2,273</td>
<td>2,758</td>
<td>3,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>1,168</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>1,131</td>
<td>1,283</td>
<td>1,312</td>
<td>1,362</td>
<td>1,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanitarian</td>
<td>1,438</td>
<td>2,029</td>
<td>2,264</td>
<td>1,902</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnership</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>178</td>
<td>4,534</td>
<td>8,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1,157</td>
<td>1,065</td>
<td>1,373</td>
<td>1,844</td>
<td>4,212</td>
<td>2,033</td>
<td>1,168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees of businesses</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneur category</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>1,606</td>
<td>2,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investor / Business investor</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>4,077</td>
<td>4,130</td>
<td>2,573</td>
<td>1,620</td>
<td>901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee</td>
<td>1,844</td>
<td>1,635</td>
<td>1,396</td>
<td>1,531</td>
<td>1,079</td>
<td>1,336</td>
<td>926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoan quota</td>
<td>1,024</td>
<td>1,444</td>
<td>1,089</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>1,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>3,483</td>
<td>1,836</td>
<td>2,751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30,889</td>
<td>37,591</td>
<td>54,114</td>
<td>48,817</td>
<td>43,422</td>
<td>38,155</td>
<td>54,176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics New Zealand (2006b)

Demographic information on immigrants from the Skilled Business category is available in Appendix A. The pilot study (Dunstan, et al., 2004), clearly shows the choice to immigrate to New Zealand is based on lifestyle and the physical environment, more than employment opportunities. Further, the majority of immigrants intend to stay for more than five years. Most immigrants (75%) have contacts in New Zealand, however, most (75%) do not have family members here (Dunstan et al., 2004, p. 43).
They are well educated; the main occupations are professionals (health, teaching, mathematical and engineering), administrators, managers, legislators, and technicians (physical and health). Other common industries included property and business services, retail and education (Dunstan et al., 2004). Recent data from Statistics New Zealand (2006d) corroborates these findings, which are presented in Table 2. Of those immigrants whose occupations are known and identified (Total OKI), administrators, managers and professionals currently (2005) account for 44% of permanent and long term migrants.

Table 2

*Occupation of permanent and long term migrants, 1997–2005*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administrators and managers</td>
<td>2,729</td>
<td>2,147</td>
<td>2,001</td>
<td>1,680</td>
<td>2,493</td>
<td>3,435</td>
<td>3,334</td>
<td>2,944</td>
<td>2,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>9,153</td>
<td>7,218</td>
<td>6,624</td>
<td>6,499</td>
<td>8,153</td>
<td>9,764</td>
<td>9,688</td>
<td>9,292</td>
<td>9,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians</td>
<td>4,278</td>
<td>3,427</td>
<td>4,034</td>
<td>3,721</td>
<td>4,304</td>
<td>4,267</td>
<td>4,849</td>
<td>4,164</td>
<td>3,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks</td>
<td>2,670</td>
<td>2,380</td>
<td>2,334</td>
<td>2,184</td>
<td>2,855</td>
<td>3,558</td>
<td>3,497</td>
<td>2,682</td>
<td>2,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service and sales workers</td>
<td>2,940</td>
<td>2,670</td>
<td>2,915</td>
<td>2,739</td>
<td>3,434</td>
<td>3,565</td>
<td>3,819</td>
<td>3,635</td>
<td>3,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and fishery workers</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>972</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>877</td>
<td>1,034</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades workers</td>
<td>3,483</td>
<td>1,893</td>
<td>1,884</td>
<td>1,789</td>
<td>2,232</td>
<td>2,374</td>
<td>2,661</td>
<td>2,684</td>
<td>2,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant and machine operators</td>
<td>1,090</td>
<td>811</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>1,018</td>
<td>1,051</td>
<td>1,055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary occupations</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation unidentifiable</td>
<td>3,224</td>
<td>5,717</td>
<td>6,366</td>
<td>7,047</td>
<td>8,562</td>
<td>10,094</td>
<td>9,465</td>
<td>8,996</td>
<td>10,311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not applicable(1)</td>
<td>32,340</td>
<td>27,686</td>
<td>27,318</td>
<td>29,690</td>
<td>39,078</td>
<td>48,054</td>
<td>44,647</td>
<td>37,291</td>
<td>34,929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>4,158</td>
<td>2,907</td>
<td>4,195</td>
<td>5,498</td>
<td>7,403</td>
<td>8,357</td>
<td>7,994</td>
<td>6,305</td>
<td>5,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>67,636</td>
<td>58,220</td>
<td>59,743</td>
<td>62,994</td>
<td>81,094</td>
<td>95,951</td>
<td>92,660</td>
<td>80,479</td>
<td>78,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total OKI</strong></td>
<td>27,914</td>
<td>21,910</td>
<td>21,864</td>
<td>20,759</td>
<td>26,051</td>
<td>29,446</td>
<td>30,554</td>
<td>27,917</td>
<td>27,957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics New Zealand (2006d)
4.2. South Africans in New Zealand

The current study focuses on the group of South African immigrants in New Zealand. This is an immigrant group that personifies the New Zealand Government’s desired migrant, as the following discussion will show. They have good English proficiency and are generally skilled and well educated. Unfortunately, in the pilot study discussed above, people from South Africa are grouped with those from Europe, North America and Russia, so little specific data is available. The best estimate the pilot study has is that 14% of migrants to New Zealand are South African (Dunstan, et al., 2004, p. 28). Statistics New Zealand estimates that 2.2% (1,433) of immigrants in 2005 were born in South Africa (Statistics New Zealand, 2006d). This may not, however, reflect the number arriving on South African passports. Between 1998 and 2004, an estimated 9% of immigrants were from South Africa (Department of Labour, 2006b). Table 3 presents Census data from 1991, 1996, and 2001 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006a). This shows that the number of South Africans in New Zealand has been steadily rising, however, the data is not current, and the latest Census data is yet to be released.

Table 3

South Africans in New Zealand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group – Up to Three Responses and Sex</th>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand European</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,287,543</td>
<td>1,218,765</td>
<td>1,307,610</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,330,902</td>
<td>1,277,784</td>
<td>1,381,696</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,618,445</td>
<td>2,496,552</td>
<td>2,689,308</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South African</td>
<td></td>
<td>936</td>
<td>3,270</td>
<td>7,185</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>3,489</td>
<td>7,707</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,007</td>
<td>6,762</td>
<td>14,889</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,648,239</td>
<td>1,668,099</td>
<td>1,747,752</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,657,574</td>
<td>1,768,488</td>
<td>1,838,982</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,345,813</td>
<td>3,436,587</td>
<td>3,586,731</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics New Zealand (2006a)
The number of immigrants arriving from South Africa has varied markedly over the last 20 years. Figure 1 depicts the trend as estimated by Statistics New Zealand (2006d). It shows the relatively high peaks of the nineties have dropped, and that returns to South Africa have steadily risen. South African studies have projected this trend; however, no reasons are given for these estimates (Statistics South Africa, 2005; 2006). Possible reasons include under-employment in host countries (Mace, et al., 2005), psychological factors (Pietersen, 2000), and culture shock (Fumham, 1990). Speculation within the migrant community suggests lower migration rates to New Zealand may be because all those capable of leaving South Africa have already done so, leaving only those unwilling or financially unable to emigrate.

![Figure 1: New Zealand figures for permanent and long term arrivals from and departures to South Africa](image)

Source: Statistics New Zealand (2006d)

Using statistics from South Africa to corroborate New Zealand research is desirable, although problematic. In many cases, the statistics South Africa produces reflect much lower levels of emigrants than immigration statistics in destination countries show. Meyer (2002, p. 215) found that actual emigration of skilled labour out of South Africa is 3.2 times greater than estimates provided by the South African Government. South African Statistics is aware of this and suggests emigrants are not declaring their status until they have gained residency in their destination countries, or are filling in departure forms with false information. Therefore they present their statistics as “self declared” emigration information (Statistics South Africa, 2005, p. iv). What is agreed upon by both South African authorities and international researchers is that there are five main countries that South Africans target as destinations. These are the United Kingdom,
United States, Australia, Canada and New Zealand (Crush, 2002; Meyer, 2002; Statistics South Africa, 2005). These countries may be popular as they have similar cultural orientations to South Africa (Dunstan, et al., 2004). It is also suggested that data from destination, rather than source countries should be used to evaluate South African migration flows (Meyer, 2002).

South African authorities can provide some relevant demographic information on self declared emigrants. More than half, 65.2% (10,540) are economically active, and of these, 26.7% (4,316) are professionals (Statistics South Africa, 2005, p. v). This is corroborated by research from the Presidential Commission in their statement that the emigration of skilled labour has since become a major issue for the country to address (Wocke & Klein, 2002). The majority of highly skilled (professional) emigrants from South Africa are aged between 20 and 50 (Statistics South Africa, 2005, p. viii). They come from a variety of professions and include engineers, lawyers, medical professionals and executives (Statistics South Africa, 2005, p. 53).

Statistics New Zealand (2006c) provides extra demographic information about South African immigrants. They can be categorised into two main age groups; 0-19 and 20-54. This could reflect the immigration of family groups rather than individuals. Almost half of respondents did not provide occupational information; however, the professional, administrator, manager and technician categories are well represented among those who did. This suggests families with one or both parents in the skilled migrant category are entering New Zealand, and supports South African research. Other South African research suggests that both black and white people emigrate, which disproves the perception that only whites are leaving (Crush, 2000). The same research suggests that the more ties cut with the home country, such as giving up South African citizenship, the more permanent their migration decision may be.

The reasons for emigration from South Africa are varied, and may aid our understanding of why New Zealand is chosen as a destination country. Some of the most often cited reasons include a lack of safety and security, poor economic conditions, fewer employment opportunities and uncertain future professional advancement (Mattes &
Other reasons include high tax rates and living costs, providing a secure future for children, job security and income levels, dissatisfaction with Government policies (for example affirmative action) and politics, and a pessimistic future outlook. The belief that these needs will be better met overseas, and access to networks overseas also eases the decision to emigrate (Crush, 2000). Research also suggests the decision is affected by fear of the AIDS epidemic, and lack of quality medical and social services (Crush, Pendleton & Tevera, 2005). New Zealand research suggests immigrants choose the country as a destination because of the lifestyle, physical environment, safety, lack of crime, economic conditions and employment and educational opportunities (Dunstan, et al., 2004). These reasons certainly relate to those South African emigrants give for leaving.

South African immigrants to New Zealand have incurred significant expenses during relocation, and finding employment is seen as one of the most difficult aspects of the move (Harrison & Nortje, 2000). They are not used to the smaller size of companies or the tendency to offer short contracts. There are several perceptions they have to deal with in the marketplace. The first is that they are ‘stealing’ jobs from New Zealanders. However, the New Zealand immigration process specifically selects those with skills to fill gaps in the labour force (Department of Labour, 2005). Borjas (2003) has noted that the impact of immigration on wages varies between studies; it is evident that New Zealand specific research is required in this area. Another perception of South Africans is that they do not stay in jobs long (Harrison & Nortje, 2000). This may be due to problems with under-employment and subsequent frequent exchanging of jobs to try and overcome this issue. New Zealand research suggests that immigrant skills are not successfully utilised, and this may be the case with the South African group (Mace et al., 2005). Finally, South Africans are perceived as too confident, sometimes aggressive and overly talkative (Harrison & Nortje, 2000). There is a significant cultural difference between the countries, something that could result in acculturative stress, the result of psychological attempts to adapt to a new culture (Constantine, Okazaki, & Utsey, 2004). It may have an impact on the behaviour of new immigrants as they struggle to behave in a more socially acceptable fashion. The misinterpretation of this struggle could be responsible for the stereotyping South African immigrants face in New Zealand.
A final factor to consider is the acculturation style South Africans may have, the focus for this study. To understand their style requires some background information on South African policies towards immigration, and their stance on developing a multicultural society. This follows the reasoning of Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Seneca (1997), who identified state integration policies as affecting the perceptions of and ideology pursued regarding acculturation, for both host and immigrant. The South African Constitution accepts and defends freedom of cultural, religious and linguistic expression. However, cultural events for the diverse immigrant cultures do not seem to have Government support. Rather, South African cultural industries and events focus on showcasing African cultures as a basis for tourism (Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, 2006). The South African Government does not officially recognise or fund immigrant groups, however, South Africa is not a homogeneous nation. It is widely referred to as the Rainbow Nation specifically because of the vast array of cultures residing within it. The country has eleven national languages and core domestic cultural groups. A prevalent attitude is for cultural harmony, for everyone to come together as Africans. These factors will be vital in identifying and understanding the acculturation strategies employed by South African immigrants to New Zealand (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Little specific research on South African immigrants to New Zealand is available, let alone research solely on the highly skilled category. While some statistics are available, they are broad and descriptive, rather than providing information employers can use to their advantage in recruiting and effectively utilising these skilled workers. Acculturation has been identified as a process that also occurs in the workplace, so it is not limited to research focusing solely on culture (Berry & Sam, 1997; Nahavandi & Malekzadeh, 1988). Research in this area would aid the acculturation of highly skilled South African immigrants, help develop relevant support systems and remove barriers to acculturation. This would support the New Zealand Government aim of ensuring skilled immigrants who are able to compliment our workforce with their skills, and are able to bolster areas where skill shortages are apparent. It is important not only to ensure New Zealand can attract skilled labour, but also that immigrants can be properly integrated into the labour market (Benson-Rae & Rawlinson, 2003). These are just some of the
steps along the path to developing a powerful knowledge economy. New Zealand researchers have already identified the South African group as one New Zealand needs to know more about (Mace, et. al., 2005; Poot & Cochrane, 2005). This study aims to follow on research by Mace et. al. (2005), and identify the acculturation styles of South African immigrants.

The research questions are as follows:

1. What acculturation styles are used by highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand?
2. What factors do highly skilled South African immigrants believe help their acculturation into New Zealand workplaces?
3. What factors do highly skilled South African immigrants believe hinder their acculturation into New Zealand workplaces?

The report will include a literature review to define and explore migration, the highly skilled migrant and acculturation, as they are relevant to New Zealand. The methodology will describe the steps taken in the research, and justify methodological choices. Qualitative data analysis and discussion will follow, along with conclusions regarding the acculturation style of South African immigrants to New Zealand. The implications of their style will also be discussed in terms of the relevance of the research to the New Zealand workplace. Finally, areas of future research will be outlined.

4.3. My Personal Experience

One of the main reasons I have pursued this study is my own personal experience. I moved to New Zealand from South Africa at the age of 15. My parents and many of their friends can be classified as highly skilled, and I have seen first hand the experiences they have had in the New Zealand workforce. Punch (1994) would argue that this situation and my personality have influenced my choice of research topic. I feel that South Africans represent an immense, underutilised resource for New Zealand business. This provides a major motivation for me to take a first step into researching the dynamics of the relationships between the two groups.
5. LITERATURE REVIEW

5.1. Defining International Migration

Migration is not a new concept; it is now seen to be part of the normal fabric of life around the globe. However, international migration is a more recent concept. It began with early passport and visa systems in the 20th century, and is now facilitated by access to cheaper travel and information on destinations (Doyle, 2003; Kapur & McHale, 2005; Martin & Wridgren, 2002). The number of people who migrate each year has more than doubled since the 1970s, showing that the trend is increasing (Kingma, 2006). International migration as a topic creates academic interest in many disciplines, including geography, sociology, history, psychology and politics (Boyle, Halfacree & Robinson, 1998). These disciplines represent a social, psychological, cultural and spatial exploration of the phenomenon that sees an average of 2.4 million people move around the globe every year (United Nations (UN), 2002, p. 14). Clearly then, the topic merits academic pursuit. However, there are problems defining international migration.

There are many aspects of international migration that need to be taken into account when choosing an operational definition of the term. As with all research, either a macro or micro view could be used. Doyle (2004) suggests that defining migration depends on identifying the characteristics of international migrants, a micro view. One characteristic is that they can be grouped into motivation-based categories, specifically that of labour, family and refugee. They can also be classified by whether their movement is voluntary or not, and what legal status their movement has (Cohen, 2004; Doyle, 2004). However, there are worldwide inconsistencies in international migration definitions (Auriol & Sexton, 2001; Champion, 1994). Boyle et al., (1998) provide a more macro view, suggesting that the components of an international migration definition should include space, time, networks, culture and motivation. Having fragmented approaches such as this is typical of international migration research. No one level of analysis is superior, but it must also not be assumed that they cannot be compatible (Massey et al., 1993). It is therefore necessary to explore, filter and combine the
components of each of these views, in an attempt to provide a feasible operational
definition of international migration.

The most obvious characteristic of international migration is that it involves the
movement of people. Boyle et al., (1998) define this as movement across space. In the
case of international migration, this involves movement across a national boundary.
People moving into a country are termed immigrants, and those leaving termed emigrants
(Young, 1994). These three points – movement across borders, immigrant and emigrant
– present an interesting issue when it comes to developing an operational definition for
international migration. One could argue that they should be included in any definition;
they exist as concepts because international migration exists as a phenomenon. However,
this argument also justifies leaving them out of any definition, because one expects an
inherent understanding of them to be present for anyone using the term international
migration. The word ‘international’ implies that national borders must be crossed before
international migration can take place. The words immigrant and emigrant (and their
derivatives) are now common, widely used and understood. For international migration
to take place there must be first an emigrant, then an immigrant. The ties between these
concepts suggest an intrinsic understanding of their relationship exists. Therefore, while
these three issues should be part of any research or discussion of international migration,
they do not necessarily have to be part of an operational definition.

Migrant categories with labour, family and refugee status, as outlined above, all
point to the intention the migrant has when making the decision to move. They intend to
find jobs, join their families, or to escape to a safer environment. Purpose of migration is
a basic criteria used by the United Nations to identify international migrants (UN, 2004).
Therefore, using this classification as part of an operational definition would allow
researchers to focus on a specific group, as well as differentiate between them.

Martin & Wridgren (2002) suggest that the reasons for migration are generally
either economic or non-economic. Each migrant category would therefore be supported
by either an economic or non-economic reason. Boyle et al. (1998) would term this
motivation for international migration. Economic reasons for international migration
include supply (push), and demand (pull) factors. A lack of supply of goods and services, insufficient salary or lifestyle issues can constitute a push away from a home country. An international demand for skills may provide an attractive career option, creating a pull effect towards a particular destination country. Research by the Organisation for Economic and Co-operation and Development (OECD) (OECD, 2004) suggests that many migrants are searching for employment or better economic opportunities. Current estimates suggest that 50% of migrants are economically active in their destination country (International Organisation for Migration (IOM), 2005, p. 381). For Boyle et al., (1998), this type of migration motivation would be voluntary, people who are free to make their own migration decisions. These migrants could be ‘speculative’, intending to find employment at the destination. They could also be ‘contracted’, transferred to another international location within their company, or have already found employment at the destination (Boyle et al., 1998, p. 38). By including economic reasons for migration in an international migration definition, the term would encompass movement between countries in pursuit of paid employment. International migration can also be motivated by an illegal and involuntary economic reason. This is the smuggling or trafficking of people, against their wishes, for the profit of others (Doyle, 2004). Understandably, this is extremely hard to document or research (Boyle et al., 1998; Doyle, 2004). While this category of international migration may not always be the focus of research, the possibility of research, and existence of the phenomenon requires acknowledgement. Therefore, the use of the distinction between voluntary and involuntary movement would prove useful in an international migration definition.

Family and refugee migrants fall into the category of having non-economic reasons for moving. There may be the pull factor of other family members already in the host country. According to OECD (2004), the majority of migration is due to family reunification. Boyle et al. (1998) would term this type of migration voluntary, as the choice to migrate is the individuals. There may also be the push factor of war, persecution, or famine (Martin & Wridgren, 2002). This produces the refugee migrant, one for whom the home country presents the threat of danger, death or imprisonment. However, the OECD, UN, and researchers would tend to classify this type of migration as involuntary (Boyle et al., 1998; Widgren, 1993). The IOM (2005, p. 399) estimated
that, in 2000, the number of worldwide refugees had risen to 16.6 million, almost double the 1980 count of 9.5 million. A large influx of refugees can put pressure on national resources and an economy (Gallegos, 2004). This can result in the development of legislation that limits the number of refugees accepted. Reactions to this can include attempts to gain illegal entry into a destination country. One of the most documented examples of this situation is the US-Mexico border (Gallegos, 2004). Overall, the distinction between economic and non-economic reasons for international migration is an important one. It has a significant impact on the migrant and the country of destination. Therefore, any definition would need to encompass this feature of international migration.

Whatever group migrants fall into, they will find themselves in new cultural and social situations. Corter, Nijkamp and Poot (1998, p. 1) define international migration as when “an international migrant leaves one community and becomes part of another community in a foreign nation, at least for some minimum amount of time”. Therefore, one could argue that a change or exposure to a different culture is part of the international migration experience. Boyle et al. (1998) would agree, stating that the social and cultural change imposed on international migrants separates their experience from mere mobility (any geographical movement). The cultural experience may be positive, with the development of multicultural understanding (Papastergiadis, 2000) and refinement of personal values that allow assimilation into the new society. However, it can be negative, with migrants being perceived as threatening a culture or way of life (Doyle, 2004). Xenophobia, a deep mistrust or fear of people from other countries; or racism, discrimination against other races, can also result in both the host and immigrant populations (Thompson, 1996). In all likelihood, a migrant will try to fit into a Diaspora, a group of people living outside the home country, bound by culture. This gives international migrants optional ties to their culture, through interaction with others, food, traditions, history or art (Ommundsen, 2003). This highlights a cultural and social aspect to international migration. All international migrants will have to face a culture shift of some description, making it a characteristic of international migration. Therefore, this distinction should be acknowledged by any definition of international migration.
The Corter et al. (1998) definition above mentions another important aspect to defining international migration - time. There is debate as to how long a migrant must be away from the home country in order to be deemed as taking part in international migration (Champion, 1994). Some sort of permanency has to be associated with international migration (Boyle, et al., 1998), to distinguish it from business and holiday trips. Time is another of the basic criteria used by the UN to define international migrants (UN, 2004). Migrants can be grouped into short- or long-term categories, with recommended definitions for both proposed by the UN. A long term migrant is “a person who moves from his or her country for a period of at least a year” (UN, 2004, p. 11). A short term migrant is ‘a person who moves for at least three months but less than a year’ (UN, 2004, p. 11). A person returning to the host country after a period of time away is known as a return migrant. Being able to differentiate between the lengths of stay would assist researchers in narrowly defining their target group of international migrant. It is therefore important to incorporate time into any definition of international migration.

A final feature of international migration to consider is that of networks. A migration network is a ‘set of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin’ (Massey, 1988, p. 396). Migration is usually achieved on the basis of support networks, although some migrants do attempt the journey unaided (Light, Bhachu & Karageorgis, 1993). Networks of family, friends and communities facilitate international migration by providing a pathway and support structure for new international migrants (Boyd, 1989; Martin & Wridgren, 2002). Networks can include recruitment mechanisms, a valuable asset for potential migrants (Nyberg Sorensen, Van Hear, & Engberg-Pedersen 2002). Ultimately, networks are important because they decrease the economic and psychological risk associated with international migration (Light et al., 1993). In this way, they assist international migration based on both economic and non-economic decisions. As networks are such an inherent and important part of the process of international migration, it is necessary to include them in a definition of the term.
The paragraphs above have sought to succinctly define international migration, a task some researchers have dubbed impossible (Boyle, et al., 1998). This is possibly due to the fact that no unifying theory of migration exists (Massey et al., 1993). Each researcher chooses their definition, based on the nature of their research and their philosophical approach, or epistemology (Findlay & Li, 1999; White, 1980). The approach the researcher takes should depend on the goal of the research. Therefore, in order to provide an operational definition of international migration, one should first look at the research. Without this analysis, any definition would be too broad. Therefore, a composite definition of international migration is proposed. This type of definition involves the development of a diagram that allows different choices to be made when defining a particular phenomenon (Kilpatrick, Barrett & Jones, 2003). It is particularly helpful when used in situations where no universally accepted definition exists. The composite definition developed from the discussion above is presented in Figure 2. This definition lends itself to many different types of research focusing on international migration.
5.2. Defining ‘Highly Skilled’

The next part of this analysis is to explore the international migration of the highly skilled, and provide an operational definition for the term. Therefore, an operational definition of international migration suited to the study is also required. Using the composite definition in Figure 1, above, this definition would be:

International migration is the voluntary, legal and long term movement of people across national borders for economic reasons, motivated by intentions of labour opportunities or family reunification, which exert supply-push and demand-pull forces; facilitated by diaspora and home country networks; and involves positive and negative social and cultural implications.
This definition would seem long, however, it covers the different aspects of international migration that help the researcher begin to narrow their field of focus. As the study progresses, the researcher may be able to refine the definition above to suit the study.

Defining what constitutes a highly skilled migrant is a more difficult task. Research in this area is lacking, stunted in part by a lack of acceptable definition, and incompatible methods of measurement between countries (Iredale, 1999; Kapur & McHale, 2005). This is disturbing, given that the migration of the highly skilled is now an integral part of the global economy (Findlay, 1991). Therefore any research in the area will both add to the body of knowledge and help develop a working definition that can be applied worldwide. As a highly skilled migrant is a subgroup of an international migrant, the definition developed above can be used as a guide. The information gained will be moulded into an acceptable operational definition of migration of the highly skilled for the study.

The first issue to explore is the reason behind the migration of the highly skilled, to discover whether they are motivated by economic or non-economic factors. A major consideration here is that a highly skilled migrant is just that – someone with experience in a particular area, or who is highly qualified (Iredale, 1999). The group includes professionals, technical professions, managers, supervisors and senior officials (Meyer, 2001). They have made a significant investment in their own education or expertise, and are seeking to maximise their return on investment in education with high paying or highly rewarding positions (Iredale, 2001). Highly skilled migrants are interested in finding employment in a new country, especially in specialised areas such as technology (Benson-Rae & Rawlinson, 2003; Kahn et al., 2004). The majority move from less to more developed countries (Iredale, 1999). With this career focus (Ferro, 2004); it is obvious that the majority of highly skilled migrants are migrating for economic reasons (Salt, 1997). Iredale (2001) does provide a word of caution however, noting that in some cases highly skilled migrants are also refugees, or may move to reunite with family. It is up to the individual researcher, and the nature of their project, to decide whether to incorporate these subgroups into their definition or research. This particular study aims
to develop a working operational definition for highly skilled South African migrants to New Zealand. While there will be an economic motivation associated with this move, in particular an expectation of labour opportunities, political issues must also be acknowledged. Many South Africans, not just the highly skilled, have fled the country due to political upheaval in the last ten years (Crush, 2000). Therefore, this study must accept both economic and non economic motivations for migration, even though this may be an anomaly when compared to highly skilled migrants from other source countries.

Researchers acknowledge an increase in highly skilled migration due, in part, to globalisation (Castles & Miller, 1998; Kapur & McHale, 2005). With increasing globalisation has come increasing worldwide demand for skilled labour; and a global labour pool that is more accessible (Crush, 2002; Kingma, 2006; Winkelmann, 2001). Coupled with this is the development of the knowledge economy; in which knowledge is seen as an essential resource (Drucker, 1993). Recent developments in computing, biotechnology, telecommunications and transport have led to a recognition that the way governments, organisations and economies are run will change in the future. This is an economic transition that will see an increasing proportion of a nations GNP derived from high skill services (Neef, 1998). The demand for highly skilled labour means that migration is becoming more closely related to economic development (Nyberg-Sorensen et al., 2002). This is because competitive advantage can be leveraged from the knowledge these skilled individuals have (Winkelmann, 2001). The result is “a conscious search for international talent”, where both governments and private enterprise attempt to attract skilled personnel (Benson-Rae & Rawlinson, 2003, p. 65).

Governments have responded by removing barriers to immigration for those whose skills they covet (Martin & Wridgren, 2002; Salt, 1997). International demand for skills has prompted the development of immigration policies offering permanent residency status, specifically designed to attract skilled migrants. Examples include the United States (US), Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Korea, the UK and Israel (Castles & Miller, 1998; Iredale, 1999; Martin & Wridgren, 2002; OECD, 2004; Salt, 1997). Therefore, the international demand for skills is a major catalyst increasing the migration of highly skilled individuals.
Given the discussion above, another conclusion that can be drawn about the international migration of the highly skilled is that it is usually voluntary. This implies that this movement should also be legal. Legal movement between countries requires work permits, visas or residency status, and is supported by agents who provide information and support (Castles & Miller, 1998). These systems are slowly changing, as governments realise the importance of facilitating the flow of skills (Salt, 1997). In some cases, multinational companies can lobby government for special intra-company visas to allow the transfer of personnel (Kapur & McHale, 2005). Governments, therefore, have significant control, and regulate movement within borders (Martin & Wridgren, 2002). Iredale (1999) suggests the movement of the highly skilled is less restricted than that of unskilled workers, as countries recognise the benefits to be gained from new skills. This helps narrow the focus of the study further, removing the need to include involuntary and illegal migration in a definition of the highly skilled.

Another consideration is the timeframe associated with the international migration of the highly skilled. Migration of the highly skilled can be both permanent and temporary (Gould, 1988; Iredale, 2001). Research also suggests that both temporary and permanent flows of highly skilled migrants are increasing (Castles & Miller, 1998). As discussed above, few countries encourage permanent migration; therefore the choice of destination is somewhat limited, but permanent migration does occur. However, it seems the majority of highly skilled migration is more temporary in nature, with placements often only lasting for up to three years (Salt, 1997). This can be accomplished in two ways. The first is that a country may allow highly skilled migrants to fill skill shortages for a short period of time (Iredale, 2001). This can be through policies encouraging the use of seasonal- and guest-workers (Castles & Miller, 1998). A second channel is for private enterprise to take part in a skill exchange, both from within (internal labour market) and outside (external labour market) individual organisations (Gould, 1988; Salt, 1997). This happens because companies do not want to wait for local skills to be developed; rather they import specialised skills (Findlay, 1991). Iredale (1999) terms this industry-led migration, and suggests that the internal labour markets of trans-national corporations are responsible for much of the movement of highly skilled personnel. Appleyard (1989, cited in Castles & Davidson, 2000) terms these migrants ‘professional
transients', skilled employees sent by their company to aid development at another (international) location. The movement of these highly skilled migrants has been described as having a circular pattern and has been documented around the world, including Britain, Japan and the US (Findlay, 1991; Gould, 1988). Salt (1997) suggests that government frameworks need to be developed to support either channel of sourcing international skills.

These two sets of timeframes for skilled migration provide a useful distinction for researchers. The goal of the research will help decide whether to focus on short- or long-term migrants. This helps narrow the definition of highly skilled international migration further, for the current study, permanent migrants will be the main focus.

International migration of the highly skilled is essentially a personal choice. Therefore, the motivation behind movement is essentially subjective, with entities within the environment providing influence or incentive (Mahroum, 2000). Obviously, the entity with the most influence over a skilled individual will be closely aligned with the motivation that individual has. Thus, a skilled worker focusing on a career would likely be more influenced by recruitment agencies, while one focusing on family reunion might be more influenced by Diaspora or community networks. Research suggests there are several entities that regularly influence the migration of highly skilled individuals. The first of these are destination governments. As discussed above, governments develop programs and policies to encourage temporary and permanent immigration of the highly skilled (Castles & Miller, 1998; Salt, 1997). Bilateral and multilateral agreements with other countries are also a mechanism that aids the migration of the highly skilled (Iredale, 1999). Multinational companies also facilitate migration of the highly skilled via both internal and international labour markets (Castles & Miller, 1998). This is accomplished by sending employees to consult or work on projects and joint ventures where they act as agents of change (Castles & Duncan, 2000; Salt, 1997). International labour markets are accessible through advertising jobs, or via recruitment companies and other international agents (Castles & Miller, 1998; Iredale 1999). These agencies actively pursue skilled labour in an attempt to fill skills gaps in destination countries (Boyle et al., 1998). The cornerstone of these attempts to attract highly skilled individuals is information. Successful integration into new cultures and jobs does not happen if migrants have
insufficient information, and do not know what to expect (Benson-Rae & Rawlinson, 2003). Information about the destination country is filtered back to future skilled migrants through networks (Iredale, 1999). However, the nature of these networks constitutes an information gap, and presents opportunities for future research. It seems therefore, that the major entities facilitating the international migration of the highly skilled are governments, multinational companies and recruitment agencies.

The international migration of the highly skilled has positive and negative social and cultural implications. Researchers suggest that there are three receptions for professional international migrants; handicapped, where they are viewed negatively and become ghetto service providers; neutral, where they are accepted into appropriate employment; and advantaged, where they are favourably met and advance within their professions (Iredale, 1999; Portes & Borocz, 1989). For the highly skilled, governments should aim to ensure their reception is advantaged, in order for their skills to be appropriately utilised. A second issue is whether skilled immigrants are complementary to, or substitutes for, the local labour force. If they are complementary, the situation is perceived as positive, as knowledge is shared. However, if they are seen as substitutes, negative perceptions of the immigrants can result (Winkelmann, 2001). A third issue is the impact of migrants on destination culture. While some view migrants as contributing to the development of cultural diversity, others perceive them as a threat to their cultural heritage (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Doyle, 2004). Alienation of immigrant cultures does exist, and may be attributable to the development of large Diaspora groups. These groups may discourage new migrants from assimilating or otherwise socially integrating with the host culture (Okolski, 2004). Some of the positive responses to highly skilled migrants include eagerness to learn from them, generating a possible increase in local wages, and assisting with the development of the knowledge economy (Ferro, 2004). Castles & Miller (1998) suggest that highly skilled migrants are not met with the same hostility as the unskilled, because they are facilitating economic development. This is demonstrated by the comparative ease at which they can migrate, assisted by skill friendly policies. Therefore, it can be concluded that the international migration of the highly skilled has both positive and negative social and cultural implications.
One of the major issues debated due to migration of the highly skilled is the issue of the brain drain. Brain drain occurs when the flow of skilled migrants is primarily outwards from home countries, and can lead to a brain gain in destination countries. If the flow is two-way, brain exchange is said to be taking place (Salt, 1997). Lowell (2004) states that for a brain drain to be present there must be both a significant outward migration of the skilled population, and negative consequences as a result. The brain drain debate generates concern because it represents outward flows of a scarce resource, human capital, which may have negative effects on growth and welfare in the source country (Wong & Yip, 1999). Some research suggests that the prospect of migration can have a negative effect on the economy, as people alter their decisions to accumulate capital (Kapur & McHale, 2005). However, there is evidence to suggest that source countries can benefit from a brain drain. Dos Santos and Postel-Vinay (2003) suggest this can occur in three ways, firstly through remittances, and secondly through growth stemming from local labour markets seeing the benefits of increased education (an accumulation of human capital). The third way countries can benefit is through return migration bringing knowledge gained in international markets to be assimilated into local ones. The implications of a brain drain are therefore mostly economic, which suggests that international migration of the highly skilled has positive and negative economic implications.

What this analysis provides is a clear picture of the factors associated with the international migration of the highly skilled, as well as the different facets of an international migrant. It also allows for the development of an operational definition for the international migration of the highly skilled:

The voluntary and legal movement of highly qualified or experienced individuals across national borders for economic and non economic reasons; motivated by labour opportunities which exert pull forces; for short or long term periods; facilitated by recruitment agencies, government and multinational companies, and involves positive and negative social, cultural and economic implications.
5.3. Exploring Acculturation

5.3.1. Defining Acculturation

The Social Science Research Council set up a Committee in 1936 to focus on the development of a framework to help organise the study of acculturation. One of their first steps was to develop a working definition of the term. They stated that “Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield, Linton & Hersovits, 1936 p. 149). The note immediately following this definition further clarified the term,

Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture-change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which, while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the type of contact between peoples specified in the definition given above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation.” (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149-150).

This definition and explanation represents a cultural level (or macro view) of acculturation. Here, acculturation affects both the immigrant and host country groups, but is seen as only one part of broader cultural change (Berry, 2003). Lesser (1933, cited in Herskovits, 1958) stated that there is a reciprocal relationship between these two groups, with both undergoing change in order to co-exist. The individual level of experience (micro view) is referred to as psychological acculturation, and encompasses the changes in behaviour, attitudes, beliefs, values and identity of individuals experiencing acculturation (Marino, Stuart & Minas, 2000; Smith-Castro, 2003). This process is different for each individual (Berry, 1990). It also has psychological implications in that social influence affects the behaviour, cognition and affect of individuals (Carr, 2003).
5.3.2. Factors Affecting Acculturation

The process of acculturation can be affected on both group and individual levels by many factors. Tables 4 and 5 below provide an overview of this.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Society of origin</td>
<td>Ethnographic features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(language, religion, values)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(conflict, repression)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(poverty, disparity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Demographic factors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(crowding, population explosion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Society of settlement</td>
<td>Immigration history &amp; policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attitudes towards immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attitudes towards specific groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group acculturation</td>
<td>Changes in acculturating group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Physical, biological, economic,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>social, cultural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Berry and Sam, (1997, p. 301)

Group level factors focus on the changes groups have to adapt to. Migrant groups will experience differences in features of society, and may have to come to terms with speaking a new language, living in less crowded conditions, and experiencing different levels of conflict or even violence. The host country may have prevailing attitudes towards immigrants and immigration in general, which the migrant group cannot change. Finally, the migrant group may also have to develop an understanding and acceptance of the consequences of their migration (Berry & Sam, 1997). This may mean that they are of a lower social status, that their group is isolated from mainstream society, or that they have a different dress code to conform to. However, it must be noted that although a group may have a dominantly preferred acculturation strategy, individual strategies may vary (Berry & Sam, 1997). The current study has a more individual focus, and therefore, factors moderating the acculturation strategy of individuals are of more interest. Some of these factors are presented in Table 5 below.
Table 5

*Individual factors moderating the acculturation process*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Moderating factors prior to acculturation</th>
<th>Demographic characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Migration motivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Migration expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderating factors during acculturation</td>
<td>Acculturative strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contact &amp; participation in host culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coping strategies &amp; resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prejudice &amp; discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural shifts</td>
<td>Culture learning, shedding &amp; conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Identification with home and host cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural preference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturative stress</td>
<td>Stressors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Culture shock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychopathology</td>
<td>Problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pathological phenomena (e.g. depression)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological adjustment</td>
<td>Self esteem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Identity consolidation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Well being &amp; satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural adjustment</td>
<td>Cultural knowledge &amp; social skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interpersonal and inter-group relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family and community relations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok, (1987); Birman and Tyler, (1994); Ward and Kennedy, (1994); Berry and Sam (1997); Berry, (1990); Ward and Rana-Deuba, (1999); Barrette, Bourhis, Personnaz & Personnaz, (2004).

The factors identified above have an effect on the acculturation process for individuals. Some factors may help the individual acculturate, while other factors may hinder the process. One of the main issues to consider is the acculturative stress experienced by the individual. Acculturative stress, the psychological impact of adapting to a new culture, affects cultural adjustment (Constantine et al., 2004). It is associated with confusion, anxiety and depression (Berry et al., 1987). The degree of acculturative stress experienced by an individual is affected by their acculturation attitude, experiences and values, and cultural maintenance (Berry et al., 1989). The issue of acculturative stress, and other factors moderating the acculturation process, will now be examined.
Factors that help an individual acculturate also diminish the effects of acculturative stress. These include host culture acceptance of new groups, contact with the host culture and participation in cultural events, and the provision of support services for immigrants (Berry, Kim, et al., 1987; Berry & Sam, 1997). Increased intercultural contact led to decreased anxiety between groups, and more positive attitudes towards immigrants from the host culture (Ward & Masgoret, 2006). Host country acceptance of multiculturalism is associated with increased tolerance for different ethnic groups (Berry, 1990). This outlook values cultural diversity and helps to ensure that immigrant needs are met (Barrette et al., 2004). Demographic characteristics may also affect successful acculturation, for example acculturative stress decreases with education and cognitive styles that use coping strategies (Berry et al., 1987). The acculturation strategy of the immigrant can impact the process. If favoured by the host culture, an integration strategy is associated with better understanding and acceptance of the immigrant culture (Berry & Sam, 1997). Assimilation strategies and being able to identify with the host culture have been shown to result in decreased social difficulties between groups (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Both these strategies are associated with low and intermediate (respectively) levels of acculturative stress (Berry, 1990). Related to this is the behaviour of immigrants. Some cultural learning about the host culture may take place, as may cultural shedding, where inappropriate behaviours are identified and stopped (Berry, 1992). This may aid the acculturation of immigrants, as it represents having social skills that the host culture approves of (Berry & Sam, 1997). However, it must be noted that an immigrants ability to continue to retain their cultural identity can result in less depression during acculturation (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

Factors that hinder acculturation may increase the effects of acculturative stress. Psychopathology of the immigrant can have a negative impact on the acculturation of immigrants (Berry & Sam, 1997). Immigrants who are not able to identify with the host culture have more difficulty acculturating, however, those who do not retain ties to their host culture can be more susceptible to depression (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Psychological crises, depression, low self esteem, resentment, anger and sadness are all symptomatic of acculturative stress and culture shock, and can be aggravated by a lack of social support and unrealistic expectations of migration (Constantine et al., 2004). New
Zealand research indicates that unrealistic expectations are linked to poor information flows, which impacts integration into the labour market, levels of satisfaction and successful settlement (Benson-Rae & Rawlinson, 2003). The acculturation strategy of the immigrant can affect the amount of acculturative stress they experience. In particular, in situations where the strategy of the host and immigrant are discordant, acculturative stress is higher, and relationships between the groups are problematic or conflictual (Bourhis et al., 1997). This can increase the effects of culture shock (Berry & Sam, 1997). Marginalisation and separation strategies are associated with increased acculturative stress (Berry et al., 1987). An inability to alter behaviour, sometimes an aspect of acculturation, may create cultural conflict between immigrant and host groups (Berry & Sam, 1997).

5.3.3. Expanding the Study of Acculturation

The study of acculturation does not have to be limited to a focus on culture (Berry & Sam, 1997). The concept and research has been successfully applied to business settings, including the role of acculturation in mergers, and the interactions between male and female managers (Korabik, 1993; Nahavandi & Malekzadeh, 1988). Acculturation is an important part of a skilled immigrant’s entry into a workplace. In a work situation, the organisational environment (a type of social environment) affects the knowledge and behaviour of the individual employee (Stajkovic & Luthans, 2003). When the values of the predominant culture change, the individual is then subjected to different kinds of social influence. This can impact the self, group and ethnic identity of an individual (Harris & Moran, 1991; Phinney, 2003). Therefore, acculturation is an important part of understanding cross cultural psychology (Berry, 2003). It implies that ethnic identity is not fixed, rather it can change according to environmental influences. International migration puts an individual into a new cultural context, in which they can either retain their original ethnic identity, or acculturate and adapt or identify with the new, dominant host culture (Phinney, 2003). The cultural expectations within a workplace can therefore significantly impact the success of an immigrant in that environment (Benson-Rae & Rawlinson, 2003).

Person-Environment (P-E) fit is a general term that suggests a person should be matched to their environment. Two of the most common types of P-E fit theory try to
match the person to either their job (P-J fit), or the organisation they work for (P-O fit) (Carless, 2005). P-J fit is the match between the applicant’s knowledge, skills and abilities, the needs of the individual, and the requirements of the job (Carless, 2005; O’Reilly, Chatman & Caldwell, 1991). P-O fit is defined by Kristof (1996, p. 4-5) as “the compatibility between people and organisations that occurs when: a) at least one entity provides what the other needs, or b) they share similar fundamental characteristics, or c) both”. Vocational choice research suggests that if there is a good fit between the person and the work environment, the result will be faster adjustment to the workplace, increased job satisfaction, performance and feelings of wellbeing (Davis & Lofquist, 1984; Holland, 1997; O’Reilly et al., 1991; Spokane, 1985). Ensuring a high P-O fit can help create a more flexible and committed workforce (Kristof, 1996). Conversely, a mismatch between the person and the environment can lead to stress, increased staff turnover and lower job satisfaction (Aamodt, 1999). Researchers also suggest that person-culture fit is an important part of P-E fit (O’Reilly et al., 1991). This presents an opportunity to blend P-E fit theory with models of acculturation.

5.3.4. Models of Acculturation

Two main types of models have attempted to map the choices made by individuals experiencing acculturation. The key debate separating these types is dimensionality; does acculturation occur along one (one-dimensional, unilinear) or more (multidimensional, multilinear) dimensions? (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003; Berry, 2003; Flannery, Reise & Yu, 2001). The earlier models assume a linear, unidirectional process of adaptation, or absorption, into a new society (Phinney, 2003; Smith-Castro, 2003). An influential example is Gordon’s Assimilation Model, which proposed that the assimilation process had seven main stages (Gordon, 1978). However, this was an early theory and later research suggests that the model actually tests acculturation phenomena, and that the seven dimensions can be reduced to three with factor analysis (Williams & Ortega, 1990; Smith-Castro, 2003).

Models using a multidimensional approach usually analyse two main issues; maintaining the home culture and wanting to develop ties to and participate in the host culture (Berry, 2003). Research supports this, suggesting that adapting to a new culture in a one-dimensional way can be harmful (Szapocznik, Scopetta & King, 1978). This is
because people live in bicultural worlds and experience cultural pluralism, therefore they feel the need to interact with both communities (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). Examples of this type of model include the Acculturation-Biculturalism Model (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980), the Quadri-Modal Acculturation Model (Berry, 1980) and the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Berry's Quadri-Modal model provides a method of determining the type of acculturation strategy employed by a specific individual. Research conducted in different age groups, dominant and minority ethnic groups and in different countries has suggested the model has good reliability and validity (Smith-Castro, 2003). Two main issues are addressed: a) does the participant value the maintenance of their cultural identity and characteristics, and b) do they value the maintenance of their relationship with other ethnic groups (Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989). The dichotomous (in this case, yes/ no) answers given assign the participant to one of four acculturation strategies - integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. Integration occurs when individuals both maintain their ethnic identity and traditions and have positive relationships with the host society, thus this is a bicultural option (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003; Smith Castro, 2003). Individuals assimilate when they prefer not to maintain their cultural identity, instead interacting with the host culture. Separation involves the avoidance of contact with the host culture, due to strong home culture ties. Assimilation and separation imply adoption of monocultural identities (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2003). Finally, marginalisation occurs when contact to both the home and host cultures is lost (Smith Castro, 2003). Berry (1970) suggested that the marginalisation category could be split to include anomie, alienation that occurs when both the home and host cultures are rejected. This disassociation can also be positive, when individuals identify themselves as such, rather than part of a larger group, thus creating the individualist category. The matrix is presented below:
Question 1: Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?
Question 2: Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other ethnic groups?

Table 6
**Representation of Berry's Quadri-Modal Model of Acculturation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer to question 1: YES</th>
<th>Answer to question 1: NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Answer to question 2: YES</td>
<td>I integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer to question 2: NO</td>
<td>III separation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IV marginalisation (or anomie/ individualism)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from Berry et al., (1989)

Subsequent research has shown that the majority of groups prefer the integration option, while the marginalisation option is least preferred (Berry & Sam, 1997; Dona & Berry, 1994; Navas et al., 2005). Research suggests that individuals using an integration strategy experience less acculturative stress than those using assimilation or separation strategies (Dona & Berry, 1994). A marginalisation strategy is associated with anxiety, loss of identity, and feelings of alienation, which suggest this is a high stress strategy (Berry, et al., 1989). Individuals are assigned to categories by using scales (usually Likert scales) designed for their target group (Barrette et al., 2004; Berry et al., 1989; Bourhis et al., 1997).

One of the most important contributions to Berry's quadric modal model is the IAM (Navas et al., 2005). The first part of the IAM proposes that individual acculturation orientations are affected by the ideology of the State; the prevailing attitude the Government sets towards immigrants through its integration policies. Integration policies are adopted by State governments to foster the integration of immigrants. States can subscribe to pluralistic, civic, assimilationist or ethnist ideologies (Bourhis, et al., 1997; Navas et al., 2005). As discussed above, the New Zealand Government actively supports the development of a multicultural society, and funds many cultural festivals and celebrations through local Councils. Thus, New Zealand has what Bourhis et al., (1997) would term a pluralistic ideology. This is where the State expects immigrants to adopt the public values of the country, for example, commitment to democratic ideals or Human Rights values. The State also upholds that it cannot define or regulate the private
values of its citizens, for example, cultural activities or religious expression, as long as these activities are within the boundaries of acceptable conduct. The State is also willing to support (financially and socially) the activities of minority indigenous and immigrant communities. Imposing an ideology on South Africa on the other hand, represents a problem; both civic and assimilation ideologies could potentially apply (Bourhis et al., 1997). South Africa, does not support, recognise or fund new immigrant cultural groups in the same way as New Zealand does. This provides support for a civic ideology. However, the South African Government does support freedom of cultural, linguistic and religious expression, regardless of ethnicity. The Government supports African cultures, especially as a basis for tourism, and values the fusion of all cultures. This suggests an assimilation State ideology. Therefore, it can be concluded that South Africa has a mixed State ideology towards acculturation.

The IAM also proposes that an acculturation model should integrate a) immigrant acculturation orientations, b) host community orientations to immigrant acculturation, and c) the relational outcomes that are the product of combinations of host and immigrant orientations (Bourhis et al., 1997). As such, it looks at mutual change following immigration (Berry, 2001). Immigrant acculturation orientations are assigned on to the categories identified above, presented in Table 7. Bourhis et al., (1997) used their Host Community Acculturation Scale to assign acculturation orientations. The host community orientation to acculturation is assigned in a similar way. In this case the two questions, and categories are as follows:

Question 1: Do you find it acceptable that immigrants maintain their cultural identity?
Question 2: Do you accept that immigrants adopt the cultural identity of the host community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Host community acculturation orientations</th>
<th>Answer to question 1: YES</th>
<th>Answer to question 1: NO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Answer to question 2: YES</td>
<td>I integration</td>
<td>II assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer to question 2: NO</td>
<td>III segregation</td>
<td>IV exclusion or individualism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Bourhis et al., (1997).
Integration occurs when host country members accept that immigrants try to both maintain their cultural heritage and adopt the cultural identity of the host community. Assimilation refers to the absorption of immigrants into the host community culture, thus immigrants are expected to relinquish their cultural heritage. Segregation occurs when the host community distances itself from the immigrant community, so as to ensure they do not adopt the host culture, even though they accept immigrants must maintain their cultural heritage. Exclusion means that the host community denies immigrants the freedom to maintain their cultural heritage, and will not let them incorporate into society. Individualism occurs when host community members define both themselves and immigrants as individuals, rather than belonging to a certain group (Barrett et al., 2004; Bourhis et al., 1997).

The final aspect of the IAM is a comparison between the orientations of the immigrant and host groups, which can vary depending on ethno-cultural and national origins. This provides information on whether the two groups match in terms of their orientations. Concordance results when a match occurs, discordance when they do not; this yields different relational outcomes for the groups. The effect of the relational outcomes on the immigrant community is moderated by the vitality of each group; a premise of the model. Vitality defines the strength or weakness of each group in multicultural settings. Host communities usually have a strong vitality, and immigrant groups low to medium vitality. Low vitality groups are more susceptible to the impact of strong host groups (Bourhis, et al., 1997).

Consensual relational outcomes are predicted when matched integration, assimilation or individualism orientations are apparent. This can lead to low inter-group tension, low acculturative stress and positive stereotypes. Problematic relational outcomes occur when there is only partial agreement or disagreement in orientations. This can lead to problems such as negative stereotypes, communication breakdown, discrimination and moderate acculturative stress. Finally, conflictual relational outcomes are also possible, especially where host community members have segregation or exclusion orientations. This can lead to serious discrimination, negative stereotyping, racism and political attempts to have immigrants' expelled (Bourhis, et al., 1997).
Research by Zagefka & Brown (2002) suggests that the better the fit between acculturation strategy preferences, the better the inter-group relations between host and immigrant communities. The best inter-group relations were found in integration contexts, and worst in marginalisation contexts. The relational outcomes matrix is presented below:

![Relational Outcomes Matrix](image)

**Figure 3: The relational outcomes matrix**

These models present an exciting opportunity for New Zealand research. P-E fit theory suggests that any individual must have things in common with their environment in order to ensure job satisfaction and organisational commitment (Kristof, 1996). Berry’s (1980) Model provides a valid and reliable method of testing acculturation styles. Some New Zealand research suggests that Maori and Pakeha youth both prefer immigrants to have an integration strategy (Ward & Lin, 2005). Other research supports the non-Maori preference for integration, but suggests that Maori prefer immigrants to be excluded from New Zealand society (Leong, 2005). Research by Mace et al., (2005) suggests that New Zealand employment agencies prefer highly skilled immigrants to have an integration or assimilation focused acculturation strategy. Preferring an integration strategy is in keeping with New Zealand’s pluralist state integration policy. A
key concept that can be developed from the Mace et al., (2005) research in particular, is an attempt to match an organisation's preferred acculturation style with the immigrant's style, as per the IAM. Mace et al., (2005) call for exploration of the acculturation styles of different groups of highly skilled immigrants; one of their specific suggestions is the South African group (Mace et al., 2005). Therefore, this study aims to take the first step in exploring the acculturation styles of highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand. It will also explore an extension to the Mace et al., (2005) study by determining the relational outcomes likely when matching New Zealand and South African acculturation orientations. This could, according to P-E fit theories, have an impact on the selection and retention of highly skilled, organisationally committed and satisfied South African employees. It could also be predictive of inter-group relations (Zagefka & Brown, 2002).
6. METHODOLOGY

This study aims to follow research by Mace et. al. (2005), and identify the acculturation styles of South African immigrants. The research questions are as follows:

1. What acculturation styles are used by highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand?
2. What factors do highly skilled South African immigrants believe help their acculturation into New Zealand workplaces?
3. What factors do highly skilled South African immigrants believe hinder their acculturation into New Zealand workplaces?

6.1. Research Design

The study aims to use the findings of Mace et al., (2005) and expand upon them by using the IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997). Good practice states it is important to follow the footsteps of previous researchers and make use of their information and conclusions (Page & Meyer, 2003). This is the first research to look at the South African acculturation orientation in New Zealand. It also investigates the fit between South African orientations and the orientation New Zealanders expect immigrants to have (as shown in the Mace et al., (2005) study). As the study is limited in scope, it represents a basic level foray into the research area. Therefore, the study is exploratory. An exploratory analysis is accepted as a first step into an emergent research area, and can be used to identify themes and commonalities (Page & Meyer, 2003).

6.2. Data collection

The nature of the research question implies an interpretive research methodology, as it seeks to understand some of the key factors associated with the acculturation of South Africans in the New Zealand workforce. Due to the exploratory nature of the study, the most effective method of data collection was to conduct in-depth structured interviews. The interviews had open ended questions to allow participants a chance to explain their answers fully and ensure that a good depth of information was achieved (Coolican, 1999). A structured interview produces standardised data, which is both more
valid and reliable than data from an unstructured interview (Silverman, 2001). The average validity for a structured interview is 0.51 (Schmidt & Hunter, 1998). This is fairly high for a single predictor (Gatewood & Feild, 2001). The interview is an acceptable technique for exploratory studies, and has been successfully used across a range of ethnic groups in acculturation studies (Ommundsen, 2003; Page & Meyer, 2003). The focus on the South African group is due to the Mace et al., (2005) research identifying the group as a future target for research.

The interviews were all digitally recorded and the sound file saved to computer. The files were then transcribed into documents, identified only with a letter to ensure participant confidentiality. The interview questions are presented in Appendix B.

The study did not collect data on the acculturation orientations New Zealanders expect immigrants to have. This data has already been collected (Mace et al., 2005), and the sample used is much larger than what the current study could hope to achieve. Both the Mace et al., (2005) and the current study used the Berry et al., (1989) classifications for acculturation orientation. The studies were both conducted in the same geographical area, Auckland, New Zealand. These similarities, along with the fact that both New Zealand studies are within a similar timeframe, mean the data from the two studies is comparable.

6.3. Sample

A sample size of 20 resulted from the interview process. Participants were interviewed until ‘a critical threshold of interpretive competence has been reached’, and as new data was collected, response trends became obvious and were corroborated (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 129). Studies with fewer participants have been acceptable due to the diversity of the participants, how well they reflect the target group, the depth of information obtained from interviews, and the focus on thematic analysis of participant stories and discourse (Nentwich, 2006). This is an exploratory study and a large sample would be beyond the scope of this investigation, will not suit the timeframe and will incur significant extra cost (Coolican, 1999). Sampling is non-random, both convenience and snowball techniques are used. The first sampling technique used is the convenience
sample, people within the researcher's social network who fit the criteria for the study. Convenience samples have been successfully used for studying acculturation (Dona & Berry, 1994). Snowball sampling using contacts of the convenience sample participants were used to increase the sample size until no new information was obtained.

It is acknowledged that neither randomness nor generalisation of results can be assumed from this type of sampling strategy. However, the aim of the study is not to make far reaching generalisations, but rather to provide a preliminary investigation of the target group. Spicer (2005) concedes that most samples in behavioural and social sciences are non-probability samples. However, this is not seen as an issue because these studies aim to identify whether their target phenomenon exists at all. The theories they are based upon cannot usually specify the prevalence of the phenomenon, and therefore there is no way of knowing whether a sample is representative of the target population (Spicer, 2005). As little information on the highly skilled South African community in New Zealand exists, it seems that this target population falls within Spicer's (2005) logic.

6.4. Participant Recruitment

The approach to the research is as follows. First, the researcher identified known participants fitting the criteria of a highly skilled South African immigrant. The criteria are outlined in the operational definition for the study. As the initial set of participants was known to the researcher, their country of origin was also known to be South Africa. The researcher contacted potential participants by telephone, the research was explained and a face to face interview requested. Time and location of the interviews was arranged for the convenience of participants, the majority took place within their homes, with two in the workplace. At the end of the interview, participants were approached to provide contact details of others to take part in the study. The set of participants identified through this snowball technique were approached and interviewed in the same way as the convenience sample participants.

The convenience sample provided 15 of the 20 participants, with the remaining 5 coming from the snowball sample. The sample consisted of 12 males, with an age range of 42-62 (52.6 average), and 8 females, aged 36-55 (47.8 average). The males had an average tenure in New Zealand of 10 years, the females 9.1 years. All participants were
married, and all lived on the North Shore of Auckland city. For 15 (75%) of the 20 participants, English was their first language, only 5 (25%) had Afrikaans backgrounds. Only 1 (5%) participant spoke Afrikaans at home in New Zealand, the other 19 (95%) spoke English at home. Figure 4 presents the main occupations of the participants. Business Functions can be further categorised into accounting, marketing, and human resources. Business functions, education and medicine are the main professions.

![Figure 4: Professions of study participants](Image)

6.5. Data analysis

Many research studies both in New Zealand and overseas have developed four separate scales to measure acculturation orientations based on the Berry et al., (1989) model (Barrett et al., 2004; Berry et al., 1989; Bourhis et al., 1997; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Other studies have developed a single scale, the most notable New Zealand version being the Acculturation Index (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). There are two main issues to consider when deciding to use this scale for the current research. The first is that the scale was developed to study sojourners, and has since been used to study student migrants and refugees. These groups may differ significantly from that of a highly skilled immigrant (the focus of this study). A lack of testing on the focus group may influence the results of the study.

The second issue is the scoring of the Acculturation index; namely the use of median splits (Ward & Kennedy, 1994). The Mace et al., (2005) study used this index; however, scoring using median splits was abandoned due to uneven data distribution.
The alternative was for participants to rank order four statements, each of which was associated with an acculturation orientation, and to use this to categorise respondents. This ultimately gave the same result as presenting participants with the original statements from the Berry et al., (1989) model. The current study is both exploratory and of limited scope. Given the difficulties encountered in the Mace et al., (2005) study and the issues surrounding the nature of the participant group, the decision has been made to use the simplest version of categorising participants' acculturation orientations - the questions on the original model.

This is a qualitative study. Its exploratory focus and data collection procedures are not numerically based, and only descriptive numerical information is provided. The aim is to identify the acculturation orientation of highly skilled South African immigrants, using the Berry et al., (1989) quadric modal model. The categorisation is compared to the acculturation orientation New Zealanders expect of immigrants, using the IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997). This provides an indication of the relational outcomes likely when the two groups share an environment. In order to better understand the responses given, the analysis identifies themes in the interview information. A thematic analysis looks for commonalities in data both within and between individual responses (Symon, 1998). Comparing the answers given by different groups provides insights as to how each approaches acculturation in the New Zealand workplace, the first research question. In terms of the second and third research questions, this thematic approach also allowed identification of the factors helping and hindering acculturation in the workplace. The analysis involved recording the number of times a particular response was given by participants. Similar responses were grouped together, forming a theme in the data. Themes were then compared to theory, to determine whether that set of responses was expected. Themes were also compared to each other, to identify links and response patterns.

6.6. Informed Consent

Participants were given forms to sign that detail the aims and methods of the research, and how their data will be used. It explains their rights to confidentiality, access to data, and access to the results of the research (Kaplan & Saccuzzo, 2001). Their
permission to record the interview was solicited. This ensured their decision to take part in the research was informed. The Information Sheet given to participants is provided in Appendix C.

6.7. Ethical considerations

This project falls in the category of presenting minimal risk, and has been officially classified as low risk. The researcher will therefore be responsible for ensuring research is conducted in an ethical manner, according to University rules. Acknowledgement of this low risk notification was confirmed on 18 May, 2006 (see Appendix D).

6.8. Research Significance

The New Zealand Government aims to develop a knowledge economy and has altered its immigration system to ensure the country attracts skilled immigrants to fill identified skills gaps and increase economic productivity (Bedford, 2003; Bedford, et al., 2000). However, the acculturation style adopted by an immigrant, and the style expected by their host community do not always match; this can lead to problematic relationships (Bourhis et al., 1997). Research has shown that acculturation concepts can be used in the business setting (Berry & Sam, 1997). P-E fit theory states that a person should be matched to their environment, a notion that has implications for the workplace (Carless, 2005). A good fit between a person and their job or organization can increase productivity, job satisfaction and commitment, and decrease turnover and stress (Aamodt, 1999; Kristof, 1996). By understanding the fit of acculturation orientations for both South African and New Zealand groups, human resource co-coordinators may have more success placing highly skilled South Africans. The research may also provide indications of how New Zealand workplaces can better understand South African employees, which may have a positive impact on inter-group relations. Researchers suggest that developing an understanding and acceptance of integration strategies has a positive correlation with good acculturation, less perceived threat, and better inter-group contact (Berry & Sam, 1997). The current study takes the first exploratory steps into an area identified as a knowledge gap in New Zealand (Mace, et. al., 2005; Poot & Cochrane, 2005).
7. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

7.1. Highly Skilled South African Immigrants to New Zealand

7.1.1. Acculturation styles

The first research question was to determine the acculturation style used by highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand. This information can then be compared to the style businesses in New Zealand expect immigrants to have. Using the IAM, the outcome relationship between the two groups can be predicted.

The data shows that exactly half (10) of the respondents favoured an integration strategy, and the other half (10) an assimilation strategy. A possible explanation for this is the suggestion that South Africa could have either an assimilation or civic state ideology, as suggested by Bourhis et al., (1997). Theory suggests that the home State ideology may affect the acculturation strategy used by South African immigrants to New Zealand. A civic ideology expects immigrants to adopt public values, but will not interfere with the private values of individuals, which could lead to a preference for an integration strategy (Bourhis et al., 1997). This is because immigrants are able to maintain ties with their home culture, while creating new ties with the host culture. An assimilation ideology however, expects immigrants to cast aside their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness, in favour of adopting those of the host culture (Bourhis et al., 1997). This may lead to the immigrant adopting an assimilation strategy in the host country. Having a background of mixed State ideology could conceivably lead to mixed acculturation strategies among highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand.

New Zealand has a pluralist ideology; the State expects immigrants to adopt public values, but also expects private values to be maintained, and will provide funding to ensure that occurs (Bourhis et al., 1997). Research conducted by Mace et al., (2005, p. 103) suggests that 55% of New Zealand employers would prefer immigrants to have an integration approach to acculturation. The second ranked preference was for an assimilation strategy. The IAM suggests that the relationship between cultural groups is
the product of the combination of their approaches to acculturation (Bourhis et al., 1997). The New Zealand majority approach of integration, when combined with the South African approach of integration is concordant, and relationships are likely to be consensual (Bourhis et al., 1997). In the workplace, this is likely to lead to a good P-O fit, as the South African and New Zealand groups share fundamental characteristics (Kristof, 1996). This can lead to faster workplace adjustment, increased job satisfaction, better performance and feelings of wellbeing (Davis & Lofquist, 1984; O’Reilley et al., 1991; Spokane, 1985). However, the South African approach of assimilation is discordant to the New Zealand approach of integration, and theoretically, problematic relationships may result (Bourhis et al., 1997). This situation can also be indicative of a lack of P-O fit, which can hinder adjustment to the workplace (Holland, 1997). In this instance, likely outcomes include increased stress, lower job satisfaction and increased staff turnover (Aamodt, 1999). Sections 6.2 and 6.3 probe this issue by allowing participants to express the factors that have helped and hindered their acculturation in the New Zealand workplace.

There were few differences between the groups to explain the South African choice between integration and assimilation. Slightly different themes in responses were however, apparent, especially in each group’s attitudes towards the past and the future. These themes will be presented diagrammatically, following Edwards & Thorn (2005).
7.1.2. Attitudes towards the past

![Attitudes towards the past diagram]

The respondents who pursued an integration strategy were committed to maintaining their heritage and remembering their past experiences. They felt that this was a large part of who they are, and that their heritage was the foundation for their identity, values and core beliefs. They wanted to remember where they came from, and give their children the opportunity to understand the culture they had left behind. ‘You have to maintain some sense of where you came from; you don’t want to become a complete Kiwi’ (Interview 0, Integration Strategy). This fits with the theoretical characteristics of integration (Bourhis et al., 1997).

Respondents who pursued an assimilation strategy had an equally strong reaction to their past, they wanted to cut their ties to their homeland. This is aligned with what would theoretically be expected from a group pursuing an assimilation strategy (Bourhis et al., 1997). Many felt they had no affinity with South Africa, and did not ever want to return to the country. ‘I don’t even feel like a South African anymore!’ (Interview 1, Assimilation Strategy). A possible reason for this, supported by several respondents, was that they had an English upbringing, and therefore felt that they had less cultural identity with South Africa than Afrikaners would have. As the sample only included 5 respondents from an Afrikaans background, this could be a topic to pursue in future...
research. The assimilation group was also characterised by a feeling that maintenance of South African heritage would hinder attempts to fit in, in New Zealand.

The attitudes of each of the respondent groups are congruent with what would theoretically be expected in each case. The strategies pursued also support the theoretical notion that the South African State ideology can have an impact on the acculturation strategy chosen by emigrants from that country (Bourhis et al., 1997).

7.1.3. Attitudes towards the future

The different attitudes towards the future exhibited by the two respondent groups are subtle, but lies in having an internal versus an external view. Interestingly, both groups felt they had an understanding of living in a multicultural society, as this is what they had experienced in South Africa. ‘Sometimes I find it easier to interact with people of different cultures because we come from a place that has so many cultures that we don’t have any preconceived ideas... we are used to it’ (Interview C, Assimilation Strategy). All were supportive of ensuring they had an understanding of the different groups in New Zealand society, and respectful of each group’s ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences. Their acceptance of new cultures may be a factor that helps South Africans fit into New Zealand workplaces, an issue that will be discussed in Section 6.2. This understanding and acceptance is a reaction that could theoretically be expected from
both integration and assimilation strategies. This is because both value making ties with external cultures in order to fit in to their new environment (Bourhis et al., 1997).

The group pursuing an integration strategy has a very internal focus on the future. They see the key to success as them fitting in and accepting New Zealand as home. The focus is very much on blending who they are with their new environment. There is no mention of them changing their core identity as a South African, their goal is to coexist within and understand the new environment. ‘You can’t succeed until you understand the culture of the country you are in because that becomes the basis for the culture of the work environment’ (Interview M, Integration Strategy). This is what would be expected from an integration strategy, as the immigrant values the maintenance of their original cultural heritage, even in the new environment (Bourhis et al., 1997).

The assimilation group however, has an external focus. They see the key to success as becoming part of the new environment, rather than merely coexisting with it. They want to understand Kiwi culture, make friends with Kiwis, they ultimately want to be a Kiwi; they do not want to be identifiable as a South African in the New Zealand environment. Theoretically, this is an expected reaction, as assimilating groups do not value maintenance of their original culture. Rather, their focus is on gaining a cultural identity consistent with that of their host society (Bourhis et al., 1997). ‘The kids need to feel like they are New Zealanders, we decided to come here, it’s a case of when in Rome...’ (Interview A, Assimilation Strategy).

It was expected that the result of these two attitudes would be manifested in the friendship groups the two respondent groups had. Theoretically, the integration group should have more Kiwi friends, as the relationship between the two groups is consensual (Bourhis et al., 1997). The assimilation group is expected to have less Kiwi friends, as their strategy is discordant with the Kiwi integration strategy, and the relationship between the groups predicted to be problematic (Bourhis et al., 1997). The results are discussed in Section 6.3.
7.2. Factors helping acculturation

The second research question allowed an insight into the factors that participants felt have helped their acculturation into the New Zealand workplace. Figure 7 presents the main factors identified by each group.

![Factors That Help Acculturation]

**Integration Strategy**
- Developing an understanding of the new culture
- Accepting the new culture
- Putting effort into fitting in
- Having accepting employers and colleagues
- Adapting knowledge to a new environment
- Personality factors
- Being physically similar

**Assimilation Strategy**
- Preparation prior to arrival
- A multicultural workplace
- Developing shared understanding
- South African reputation for being hard workers
- Supportive and honest colleagues
- Adapting to the new culture
- Adapting to the workplace

*Figure 7: Factors that helped participants acculturate in the New Zealand workplace*

There were many factors that helped the participants acculturate and fit into the New Zealand workplace. In some cases the individual comments from both groups were strikingly similar, for example, there were two instances of participants being part of the development of the workplace culture. ‘*There was no established culture, it was all growing and changing, so I went along with all that*’ (Interview C, Assimilation Strategy). ‘*I helped build a new culture that appealed to them; we are a family type business where no blame is apportioned...where everyone was entitled to know the direction of the company*’ (Interview B, Integration Strategy). These two examples however, highlight an interesting difference between the attitudes of the two groups.
Those following an integration strategy again have an internalised view of the process, only one of the factors they give has to do with the external environment (having accepting employers and colleagues). It is characterised by ‘I’ statements, and as a group it becomes clear that they are accepting their environment and making an effort to fit in. However, the words they use to describe the process are focused on the self – I am understanding or accepting of the new culture, I am putting in the effort and adapting my knowledge. A strong theme was that developing shared understanding between Kiwi and South African groups in the workplace is an important part of the acculturation process. Cultural diversity is valued and can aid the acculturation process, and research suggests that person-culture fit is an important part of ensuring a good P-E fit (Barrette et al., 2004; O’Reilly et al., 1991). This South African group feels they are very much in control of the process. The main theme is one of acceptance, not change. It is possible that this strategy is successful in New Zealand because it matches the host country strategy. This has been shown to result in better understanding and acceptance of immigrants (Berry & Sam, 1997). ‘I was able to maintain my way of operating, but apply it to the New Zealand model...I think its just about adapting and mixing’ (Interview M, Integration Strategy).

Those pursuing an assimilation strategy also had an internalised view of the factors helping the acculturation process. Their explanations however, are much more focused on change. They are very keen to explain how they had already started to fit in as soon as they came to New Zealand, for example, saying that their qualifications were recognised, or that they had already accepted job offers. They have a positive view of the workplace, they like the fact that it is multicultural, that their colleagues are honest, and that South Africans have a reputation for being hard workers. Learning was a very important process for this group. Their ability to learn about their new environment was seen as the key to success, as it allowed them to become part of the Kiwi culture. They tried very hard to seek out common ground, and understand the New Zealand cultural and economic environment. Changing behaviours or shedding the home culture can be met with approval in the host country; it aids acculturation as it suggests the immigrant has mastered the social skills of the host country (Berry & Sam, 1997). Cultural acceptance is also an important part of developing a good P-E fit (O’Reilly et al., 1991). The acculturation process for the assimilation group is characterised by flexibility and change.
This may be an example of an assimilation strategy leading to less social difficulties due to the immigrant identifying with and emulating the host culture (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). 'The first thing I did was immerse myself in the local market personally and professionally so I could understand Kiwi culture' (Interview R, Assimilation Strategy).

7.3. Factors hindering acculturation

Highly skilled South Africans felt that there were many factors that hindered their attempts to acculturate in the New Zealand workplace. Figure 8 below provides some of the main factors identified by each group.

![Factors That Hinder Acculturation](image)

*Figure 8: Factors hindering the acculturation of participants in the New Zealand workplace.*

Interestingly, although it was expected that the assimilation group would experience more social difficulties, the two groups had a similar number of issues they identified as hindering their acculturation. The main issues that both groups faced was a lack of Kiwi experience, being confronted with negative perceptions about South Africans, facing age and gender discrimination, and adapting to a much smaller
marketplace. The consequences of a small marketplace were much tougher for some than for others, ‘my job doesn’t exist here, we just don’t have the volume’ (Interview N, Integration Strategy).

Two main themes characterise the integration group issues. The first is that their issues seem more macro, and affect South Africans on a group level. They cited issues that they felt had affected them, but were quick to say that these issues affected many South Africans in New Zealand. ‘There are a lot of barriers and there always will be, but some are not as drastic as they were in the past but that’s because South Africans in the workforce now have paved the way for others’ (Interview M, Integration Strategy). The second theme is that this group’s expectations have not been met. They have come into the New Zealand workforce expecting fairness, equality, and good jobs because of their expertise. The reality is that they had had to drop their expectation of pay and hierarchical level. They also had to deal with the fact that their South African experience has not necessarily impressed New Zealand employers. They have come to New Zealand expecting to be recognised as a separate group, and for their heritage to be respected, because that is their attitude towards acculturation. However, they have been met with negative perceptions about South Africans in general, and about many immigrant groups. While the participants are aware of what type of behaviour drives these negative perceptions, they do not feel that they have done anything to deserve the label. ‘I was used to doing things my way but I made a conscious effort to change my approach, getting honest feedback with people I worked with helped a lot with that’ (Interview O, Integration Strategy). New Zealand research has identified poor information flows as being partly responsible for unrealistic immigrant expectations (Constantine et al., 2004). Unrealistic expectations can lead to lower levels of satisfaction, and can impact an immigrant’s ability to integrate into the labour market (Benson-Rae & Rawlinson, 2003). This is indicative of a lack of P-O fit (Kristof, 1996). It is possible that the phenomenon of unrealistic expectations is affecting the South African group, and their ability to settle into the New Zealand workplace.

The assimilation group’s issues were characterised by being on a more personal level. They were more concerned about issues that made them stand out, or identified
them as South Africans, when all they wanted to do was fit in. They struggled with issues such as having a different accent, values, sense of humour, level of ethics, or even decision making processes. They felt being unknown, having no contacts or networks to rely on, not knowing where to go for information, and being unfamiliar with the way things worked, hindered their acculturation. ‘I couldn’t pick up the phone and get things done, I still had to prove myself and develop a reputation so that people would help me’ (Interview C, Assimilation Strategy). This group has tried very hard to ‘become Kiwi’, and it may be that this effort has paid off. It was expected that this group would have more social difficulties, however this has not been the case, even though their acculturation strategy was discordant to the Kiwi strategy. This group had more negative things to say about New Zealand and Kiwis, which suggests they may be reacting on a more emotional level. ‘They are willing to exploit foreigners with lots of experience; you can’t help it happening because you have to take what you can get’ (Interview D, Assimilation Strategy). This may be because they were expecting to fit straight into the New Zealand environment. Research suggests that groups that do not maintain ties with their home culture can suffer more from depression and acculturative stress (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Stress, staff turnover and lower job satisfaction are all indicative of a lack of P-O fit (Aamodt, 1999). It is possible their emotional reaction is an indicator of this group suffering from acculturative stress, which is consistent with research on the assimilation strategy (Bourhis et al., 1997).

7.4. Other interesting trends

The background information collected from participants provided insights into the differences between those who chose the integration and assimilation strategy. In particular, the reasons given for leaving South Africa, and the friendships developed in New Zealand showed different responses for each group.

7.4.1. Reasons for leaving South Africa
The major theme which characterises the difference between those integrating and those assimilating is how they view their transition into New Zealand. Integrators view their move as the next phase in life, an extension of the one they had before. Assimilators
however, view New Zealand as a completely fresh start, they are more willing to disassociate themselves with their lives in South Africa.

Figure 9: Reasons for leaving South Africa

When asked for the reasons for leaving South Africa, the two groups began to show some differences. Those who pursued the integration strategy overwhelmingly gave their children’s future as the main reason for migration. Crime and safety issues were also a major part of the decision for respondents. Less important issues were the employment opportunities available for the respondents, plans for their retirement, political issues and having pre-existing links to New Zealand. From these responses, it is clear that the integration group is putting the future of their children first. Other issues may have helped them make the decision to migrate, but their main focus was the safety
of and future opportunities for their children. There is a clear sense that these participants are continuing to live as they did, but in a new environment, because the old environment was no longer suitable. ‘We were concerned about our children’s future, even though they were at private schools, the way the universities were going their future was not going to be great’ (Interview F, Integration Strategy).

The respondents who pursued an assimilation strategy had more reasons for leaving South Africa. The major reason for migration was the safety issue of living in South Africa. In this group, three respondents had been the victim of violent crime. This in itself was enough to make the decision to migrate very quickly. All three respondents expressed relief at being in a safe country, and had negative feelings towards South Africa and the ordeals they had lived through. ‘We had a bad episode at our front door, and left the country within two weeks’ (Interview A, Assimilation Strategy). Being the victim of violent crime may be a key difference between pursuing an assimilation rather than integration strategy, and should be explored in future research.

The future education and employment opportunities for their children also encouraged migration. The respondent’s own employment opportunities and future, the political situation, reverse racism and affirmative action were issues raised by many of the respondents in this group. They were not prepared to live in a country where corruption and an uncertain political and economic future went hand in hand. Adventure and the threat of AIDS were motivators for a minority of respondents, however, a larger sample in future research would provide a better indication of the prevalence of these issues. The assimilation group provided many more reasons for leaving South Africa than the integration group. They had a more negative view of their home country, and some had been through life threatening ordeals. These negative experiences and perceptions may be a key factor motivating their choice to assimilate into New Zealand, to wholly embrace their new lives and place less value on their old ones. These perceptions have a strong link to the views the assimilation group had on their pasts, where there is a strong feeling of disassociation with South Africa.

7.4.2. Friendships

The friendships each group made in New Zealand shows a different approach was taken by each participant group. The outcomes of those approaches have led to varying
degrees of success in terms of the friendships they have developed and maintained with their own and other cultural groups.

Figure 10: Friendship groups

The last three branches under each strategy in Figure 10 give a numerical breakdown of the friendship groups in New Zealand for the ten respondents. Both strategies had respondents that gravitated towards South African friends. However, those assimilating had experienced this phenomenon more frequently than those integrating. A higher number of integration strategy respondents have Kiwi friends, compared to assimilation strategy respondents. This is despite some assimilation respondents actively seeking to make Kiwi friends, and avoiding South Africans and formal South African networks. ‘My wife wouldn’t join the South African society, so I joined the squash club
and ended up making mainly South African friends, even though we tried hard to make Kiwi friends' (Interview J, Assimilation Strategy). It is possible that this is the manifestation of the problematic relationship predicted by the IAM (Bourhis et al., 1997).

The majority of both integration and assimilation respondents believed it was important to make Kiwi friends when they first moved to New Zealand. Reasons for this included being able to fit in better, and believing they would be isolated if they did not attempt to make Kiwi friends. However, both groups encountered the same problem making Kiwi friends. They felt that the friendships extended to Kiwis were rejected due to a lack of social reciprocation. This led to many gravitating back towards other South Africans, making use of networks, and feeling more comfortable with this situation. A result of this was that both integration and assimilation groups had either mostly South African, or mixed friendships. While the IAM can be used to explain this phenomenon for the assimilating group, it does not explain why the same trend was encountered in the integrating group. This should be explored in future research. Integration is the strategy preferred by New Zealanders, and the IAM predicts consensual relationships in this situation (Bourhis et al., 1997). However, it must be noted that the integrating group were more likely to have mostly Kiwi friends than the assimilating group, suggesting their relationships with Kiwis are more successful.

'We tried very hard to make friends with Kiwis, but we would invite them round to our place, and then never hear from then again. That's not normal in our society'. (Interview B, Integration Strategy). 'Whether it's because we are South African, we just don't know' (Interview J, Assimilation Strategy).

A small group from each strategy claimed they did not seek to make friendships within any particular ethnic group; 'we tend to make friends with people we like, its not about ethnicity or race, its about whether we share the same values' (Interview S, Integration Strategy). Making friends in this way led to mixed social groups. Both integration and assimilation groups declared their understanding of multicultural environments, and these mixed friendship groups may be proof of their acceptance of this. There is also a link to both the assimilation and integration strategies valuing the development of ties to the new cultural environment (Bourhis et al., 1997).
8. CONCLUSIONS

The focus of the report was the following three research questions:

1. What acculturation styles are used by highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand?
2. What factors do highly skilled South African immigrants believe help their acculturation into New Zealand workplaces?
3. What factors do highly skilled South African immigrants believe hinder their acculturation into New Zealand workplaces?

The results of the research show that highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand do not gravitate towards one acculturation strategy. Rather, some prefer an integration strategy and others an assimilation strategy. This finding represents a first step towards answering the call for research on South African immigrants to New Zealand, and therefore contributes to the body of knowledge in the fields of emigration from South Africa, immigration to New Zealand, and acculturation in New Zealand.

A root cause of the different acculturation styles identified could be the mixed civic and assimilation State ideologies of their home country. Another possible explanation is whether the immigrant has been the victim of violent crime in South Africa. The results show that those preferring an assimilation strategy were more likely to be the victim of violent crime than those favoring an integration strategy. The results of the research are important because they highlight the fit between South African and New Zealand acculturation styles. The South Africans who integrate match the expected strategy, while those who assimilate do not. This information is important because it highlights the fact that New Zealand workplaces should develop shared understanding about the approaches immigrants take to acculturation. This will encourage the acceptance of immigrants, which will aid their acculturation, and have a positive impact on inter-group relations. It is important to do this because while an integration strategy should lead to consensual relationships, an assimilation strategy may lead to problematic relationships. If New Zealand workplaces are able to understand or achieve a match to the South African acculturation style, they may be able to ensure increased job satisfaction and
commitment from these new, highly skilled, employees. They will be better able to manage the P-E fit of South Africans in the New Zealand workplace.

The factors that help highly skilled South Africans acculturate in the New Zealand workplace are characterized by internalised statements. For those pursuing an integration strategy, those statements focus on themes of acceptance and developing shared understanding between the cultural groups. This is important because if New Zealand employers are able to encourage the development of shared understanding, the resulting match in acculturation styles will aid the acculturation of highly skilled South African immigrants. For those pursuing an assimilation strategy, the main theme is that learning and flexibility helps them adapt. They make a very conscious effort to seek out common ground and adapt so that they can become Kiwi. The main theme for this group is flexibility and change. An assimilation strategy may lead to problematic relationships in New Zealand workplaces. Again, the key is shared understanding, this group is characterised by making an effort to fit in. Working with these immigrants to ensure they fit in to the workplace (P-O fit) could increase their productivity, job satisfaction and organisational commitment, and will also help to reduce the acculturative stress immigrant’s experience.

The factors that hinder highly skilled South Africans attempts to acculturate in New Zealand workplaces have a macro focus for the integration group and a micro focus for the assimilation group. Those integrating focus on issues that affect South Africans as a group, and the major theme to their issues is that their expectations of the New Zealand environment, people and marketplace have not been met. This may be hindering their ability to settle into the New Zealand workplace and is indicative of a lack of P-O fit. Developing realistic expectations is a major part of combating this problem. Workplaces need to ensure the information they provide to South Africans provides a clear picture of what the work environment will be like. This will help the immigrant make an informed decision as to whether they feel they could fit into that environment. Those assimilating tend to focus on issues affecting them personally. It is possible that they are reacting more emotionally, and do not feel that they have the moral support of the South African group. This could lead to this group experiencing more acculturative stress than the
integration group. A more emotional reaction and possible increased acculturative stress is therefore the major theme for this group. New Zealand workplaces need to understand how a mismatch in acculturation style can lead to the immigrant failing to fit into their environment (P-E fit). The implications of this are increased acculturative stress for the immigrant, along with increased turnover and a potentially stressful situation for everyone involved. Again, developing shared understanding and providing sufficient information will be important factors in managing this situation. These findings are significant for both the selection and retention of highly skilled South African employees in the New Zealand workplace.

Reasons for leaving South Africa highlighted a difference between the two immigrant groups. Those integrating overwhelmingly gave their children's future as the main reason for leaving South Africa. They see New Zealand as a continuation of life. Those assimilating gave a greater number of reasons for leaving South Africa. They were also more likely to have been the victim of violent crime. They see their move to New Zealand as a completely fresh start in life. A possible reason for some participants choosing an assimilation strategy is that they have a more negative view of South Africa. This may be exacerbated by being the victim of violent crime. The result is that they feel they need to disassociate themselves from their home country, and turn to the culture of their host country as a replacement. While these findings may not directly impact the workplace, understanding the reasons South Africans have left their home country may be a key part of developing better workplace relationships. This may help disperse some of the negative perceptions of South Africans, which in turn may decrease the threat some workplaces may feel they represent.

All participants, regardless of acculturation strategy, felt it was important to develop friendships with Kiwis. Those pursuing an integration strategy were however, more likely to have made and maintained friendships with Kiwis. It is possible that the phenomenon of fewer assimilation strategy participants having Kiwi friends is a manifestation of the problematic relationship predicted by the IAM. This is important because it highlights the impact a mismatch of acculturation strategy can have, as well as the importance of developing a shared understanding between the two groups. One of the
major barriers to South Africans making Kiwi friends, regardless of their acculturation strategy, is a lack of social reciprocation. There seems to be a different approach to socialisation that makes South Africans feel their attempts at friendship are not returned. This highlights the stress South Africans feel as a result of not being able to develop relationships within their host culture. In an extension of their acceptance of multiculturalism, the majority of respondents, regardless of acculturation strategy, had a mixed circle of friends. The major theme here was one of making friends who share values, interests and have things in common, rather than making friends based on ethnic or cultural group. By highlighting these two issues and providing information on the South African group, it is hoped that better understanding of this immigrant group can be developed. Ultimately, this could lead to the development of better relationships and personal networks, which may impact South Africans ability to operate successfully in the New Zealand market.

In summary, this research has contributed to the body of migration knowledge by identifying the acculturation style of highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand. It has also highlighted the factors that help and hinder their acculturation. The research process has also identified several avenues for future research, which would further our understanding of highly skilled South African immigrants. These are discussed below.
9. AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

9.1. The Long Walk to Freedom

Many South Africans made the difficult decision to remove themselves from their original surroundings. Talking to people who have been here for a long time, and reflecting on my own experience, it became clear that the decision to move is just the first step in an ever changing journey to a perceived personal freedom. Whatever the reasons for moving, people saw greener pastures in their host country than they saw in their home country. However, in many cases, South Africans have spoken of an inability to fit in to New Zealand, especially during the first few years living here. I personally have known families who have given up and either moved on to Australia, or gone back to South Africa. However, over time, the stories South Africans tell change. They become more accepting, happier, they fit in better. Research suggests that migrants explore different acculturation strategies over time, however, there is no known sequence or age at which different strategies are used (Berry & Sam, 1997). A longitudinal study of South Africans who have newly immigrated to New Zealand would highlight their changing attitudes over time. Changing attitudes towards acculturation over time may have implications for the workforce over time, but they are also likely to have psychological and social implications. The study of acculturation covers all these areas. The aim is to gain a better understanding of the processes immigrants go through, and ensure they are better able to fit into New Zealand.

9.2. The Rainbow Nation

South Africa truly is a Rainbow Nation; it has 11 national languages and main ethnic groups, and many more subgroups. The sample for the current study does not reflect this. New Zealand is home to many South Africans, black, white, coloured, English, Afrikaans, and it is important to investigate each group. Acculturation research has dealt with population subgroups — examples include studies on Aboriginal groups in Australia, and native groups in Canada (Berry et al., 1987). The issue is that South Africans from different subgroups could quite conceivably approach acculturation in very different ways, and this will have an impact on how they fit into New Zealand society.
9.3. Victims of Violence

A major factor motivating emigration from South Africa is that people choose not to live there because their personal safety is at risk. 16 of the 20 respondents in this study cited this issue as being one of the foremost reasons they left the country. Interestingly, although this information was not solicited, three told of being the victims of violent crime. All favoured an assimilation strategy to acculturation. This raises an interesting issue, are people who are the victim of violent crime more likely to want to cut ties with their home country? Are they more likely to favour an assimilation strategy over any other one, due to the trauma they have experienced? Acculturation research on refugees suggests that psychopathology, such as post traumatic stress disorders can negatively impact the acculturation process (Berry & Sam, 1997). Future research could incorporate this issue in order to gain more depth of understanding about the reasons people may choose an assimilation strategy. This helps develop a better understanding of the people who leave South Africa, how violence impacts their view of New Zealand, and how this information can help them develop better relationships in the host country.

9.4. The 1.5 Generation

The notion of the 1.5 generation is common around the world; it is the generation of children who have migrated with their parents. The Chinese call them juk sing, the Koreans, ilchom ose. As a result, they are neither first nor second generation immigrants in their host country (Danico, 2004). This study looked at the acculturation style of adults who have moved to New Zealand, from South Africa. The majority moved here in order to give their children a better education and better opportunities in life. Those children have grown up partly in South Africa, and continue to grow up here. They have moved though the school system, made friends and developed values in both countries. Research shows that the 1.5 generation takes on the values and beliefs of both cultures (Danico, 2004). These South African/ Kiwi children are now on the cusp of entering full time employment. Future research should look at the acculturation style these children have, and possibly track their success in the workforce. One respondent in the study said
she saw people being put on the fast track in their company because they were Kiwi. Are these South African children likely to fit into that mould? Will they be more successful than their parents in the Kiwi market? Will they understand it better and fit in better? Acculturation research suggests that the process is smoother for younger migrants, exploration of the South African group in New Zealand present an interesting avenue of exploration (Smith Castro, 2003). Other research shows the issues faced by the 1.5 generation differ significantly from those faced by their parents (Danico, 2004). This information may contribute to knowledge of the attitudes, successes and issues surrounding the 1.5 generation.
10. REFERENCES


11. **APPENDIX A:**

The following Table presents some demographic information from the skilled business category of migrants: (please note in some cases multiple responses are possible, and responses may not add up to 100%)

Table 6

*Demographic information on highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Characteristic</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Previously held a temporary permit for NEW ZEALAND</td>
<td>Yes, including work permit – 32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes, not including work permit – 31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>None – 34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for choosing NEW ZEALAND</td>
<td>Lifestyle – 63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physical environment – 42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education opportunities – 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Safe from crime – 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employment opportunities – 38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of information on NEW ZEALAND</td>
<td>Friends/ relatives in NEW ZEALAND – 58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immigration NEW ZEALAND – 31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immigration consultant – 23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contacts in NEW ZEALAND</td>
<td>Yes – 75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No – 25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family in NEW ZEALAND</td>
<td>Yes – 25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No – 75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement intentions</td>
<td>Live in NEW ZEALAND 5+ years – 78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Live in NEW ZEALAND less than 5 years – 13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of education before approval</td>
<td>14-16 – 42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17-20 – 39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main activity in source country (last 12 months)</td>
<td>Working for pay/profit – 88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caring for children – 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main labour force activity (last 12 months)</td>
<td>Working for wages/salary – 86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislators, administrators, and managers</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians and associated professionals</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Property and business services</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and community services</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Statistics New Zealand (2006b)
12. APPENDIX B:

Interview Questions

Acculturation strategy:
1. Do you consider it to be of value to maintain your cultural identity and characteristics? (i.e. your South African heritage)
2. Do you consider it to be of value to maintain relationships with other ethnic groups? (i.e. groups in the NZ context)

Acculturation issues:
1. What factors have helped your acculturation into the NZ workplace?
2. What factors have hindered your acculturation into the NZ workplace?

Background information:
1. Age
2. Do you have an English or Afrikaans background?
3. Language predominantly spoken at home in NZ?
4. When did you move to NZ?
5. Why did you leave SA?
6. In NZ do you actively seek to make friends in the SA community?
7. In NZ do you actively seek to make friends in the NZ community?
8. What nationality are the majority of your friends?
9. What rugby team do you support?
13. APPENDIX C:

Information sheet for participants

The Acculturation Strategies of Highly Skilled South African Immigrants to New Zealand
Research Information Sheet

Researcher:
My name is Siobhan Porter and I am currently research acculturation of highly skilled South Africans in the New Zealand workplace. The research will allow me to complete a Masters of Management at Massey University. My contact details are as follows:
Email: [redacted]
Supervisor: Kaye Thom, Department of Management and International Business, Massey University Albany Campus, 414-0800 ext. 9580.

Background to the Research:
New Zealand has tailored its immigration laws to attract skilled labour to the country, in order fill identified skills gaps. A main goal is to develop a knowledge economy. As a result the country is increasingly multicultural. However, migration means that individuals find themselves in a new environment, one which will have a different dominant culture, values and standards. Acculturation is the process of changes that occur when two cultures come into contact. Immigrants try to get used to the new culture of their destination country. Acculturation theory suggests there are four main strategies through which people approach acculturation. The goal of this research is to identify which acculturation strategies South Africans use when they try to get used to New Zealand. In particular, I am interested in hearing about your acculturation strategy in the New Zealand workplace. Hopefully, results will point the way for further research that will help organisations understand ways they can help South African employees settle in to their jobs, decrease stress, and develop an understanding of the process of adjustment their new employee is going through.

Your Role:
The research format is a semi-structured interview, which should last approximately half an hour. By signing the consent form, you agree to allow me to use the information gathered solely for the purpose identified above. In order to ensure you opinions are correctly represented, voice recording equipment will be used during the interview.

Your Rights:
Your confidentiality is assured; individuals will not be identified in the report. All the information gathered will be safely stored, and destroyed upon completion of the research project. By signing this information sheet, you provide informed consent; please do not hesitate to ask any questions prior to signing. You have the right to withdraw from the research at any stage, and the right to decline to answer any question you object to. A summary copy of the report will be available at the conclusion of the research, upon request.
Human Ethics:
This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University’s Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone (06) 350-5249, email humanethicspn@massey.ac.nz

Permission Form:
I, ...................................., agree to take part in the study of acculturation strategies of highly skilled South African immigrants to New Zealand. I understand my rights and consent to any information I provide being used in the study.

Signature:

Date:
Dear Siobhan,

Re: The Acculturation Experiences of Highly Skilled South African Immigrants to New Zealand

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 18 May 2006.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University’s Human Ethics Committees.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

“This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University’s Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethicspn@massey.ac.nz”.

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University’s Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely,

Sylvia V Rumball (Professor)
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs’ Committee and Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity)

cc Assoc Prof John Monin
Department of Management and International Business
Albany