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**Acculturation, Social Dominance, and Systemic Discrimination at each
degree of employment: Exploring their roles at different steps towards
decent work for skilled Indian migrants in New Zealand**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts in
Psychology at Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand

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Abstract

Access to decent work is a major obstacle for skilled Indian migrants e.g., to New Zealand, but little is known about the key steps through unemployment, under-employment, and full employment. Unlike previous research which has conglomerated all steps into one, this thesis explores the roles of acculturation, social dominance, and systemic discrimination in skilled Indian migrants' career trajectory at each step of employment separately, and then combined them into an overall but graded model.

Taking an exploratory approach, an online questionnaire based on Flanagan's (1954) Critical Incident Technique focused on positive and negative critical incidents of job-hunting at each step of employment (unemployment, entry-level, intermediate-level, and full employment).

Forty-four skilled Indian migrants completed the survey by providing direct experience of the positive and negative critical incidents encountered throughout their job-hunting journey.

Eight content analyses were conducted for positive and negative critical incidents in the four stages of employment.

The themes of networking, work experience, and skills and qualifications were crucial at all four steps of employment as depicted in Figure 1. However, as skilled Indian migrants stepped closer to full employment, the themes of work experience and skills and qualifications emerged more frequently in successful job hunting, rather than being a consistent barrier from progressing towards full employment in a skilled Indian migrant's job-hunting journey. This is perhaps to be expected since the work experience and skills and qualifications would be increasingly relevant, as skilled Indian migrants got closer to full employment.

Networking was a consistent theme across all stages of employment. This thesis identified whom the respondents networked with which informed which acculturation style was used by

skilled Indian migrants. When skilled Indian migrants networked with Indian community members, they adopted the separation acculturation style. When the respondents networked at an organisational level with recruitment agencies and ex-employers, they adopted the integration acculturation style.

Systemic discrimination theory was not well supported, as the themes of work experience and skills and qualifications which were predicted to be systemic barriers, were found to be more relevant to human capital theory in conjunction with social dominance theory.

Discussion recommends that future studies compare the responses between both skilled Indian migrants and New Zealand employers. Finally, the findings of the present research have the potential to be a blueprint for newcomer skilled Indian migrants to form strategic pathways to attain full employment in New Zealand. The results of this study can be tailored to the particular stage of employment a newcomer skilled Indian migrant is currently in, and it can inform them of which job-seeking behaviours best worked at the same stage of employment for other skilled Indian migrants in New Zealand.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	v
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES	iv
Chapter 1 – Critical Literature Review	1
<i>Context</i>	1
<i>Theoretical Framework of the Employment Steps in Figure 1</i>	3
Step 0 of Figure 1 – Unemployment	3
<i>Acculturation at Step 0 of Figure 1</i>	4
<i>Acculturation and the link to networking at Step 0 of Figure 1</i>	6
Step 1 of Figure 1: Entry-Level work	9
<i>Systemic discrimination in Step 1 of Figure 1</i>	10
<i>The systemic discrimination against visa statuses</i>	12
<i>Social dominance theory in Step 1 of Figure 1</i>	13
Step 2 of Figure 1: Intermediate level work	17
<i>Systemic discrimination theory in Step 2 of Figure 1</i>	17
<i>Social dominance and the concept of similarity-attraction in Step 2 of Figure 1</i>	18
<i>Social dominance theory and the concept of occupational stereotyping in Step 2 of Figure 1</i>	19
Step 3 of Figure 1 – Full employment	22
<i>Acculturation at Step 3 of Figure 1</i>	22
<i>Systemic discrimination theory and the link to visa status at Step 3 of Figure 1</i>	24
<i>Social dominance theory in Step 3 of Figure 1</i>	26
Summary of literature and research aims	27
Chapter 2 – Method	29
<i>Participants</i>	29
<i>Demographics</i>	29
<i>Materials</i>	31
<i>Procedure</i>	32
<i>Method of data analysis</i>	35
<i>Statistical calculations</i>	38
<i>Step 0 of Figure 1: Unemployment</i>	39
<i>Step 1 of Figure 1: Entry-level Access</i>	42
<i>Step 2 of Figure 1: Intermediate level of access</i>	44
<i>Step 3 of Figure 1: Full employment</i>	46
Chapter 4 – Discussion	49
<i>Summary of main findings</i>	49

<i>Theoretical implications</i>	50
<i>Acculturation and Networking</i>	50
<i>Human capital theory and Work experience and Skills and Qualifications</i>	52
<i>Limitations and extensions</i>	55
<i>Implications for practice</i>	58
<i>Conclusion</i>	59
APPENDIX	61
Questionnaire	61
REFERENCES	62

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

Figure 1: Theoretical Steps Towards Full Employment for Skilled Migrants from India in New Zealand.....	2
Figure 2: Berry et al.'s (1989) two-dimensional acculturation model.....	5
Figure 3: The percentage of the stages of employment undertaken by Indian migrants.....	31
Figure 4: The relevant theories attributed to the most prominent themes which emerged in the response at each stage of employment.....	50

TABLES

Table 1: an overview of the questionnaire which investigated positive and negative critical incidents at Each Degree of Employment.....	33
Table 2: Core themes identified in Step 0 (Unemployment) of Figure 1.....	40
Table 3: Core themes identified in Step 1 (Entry-Level) of Figure 1.....	45
Table 4: Core themes identified in Step 2 of Figure 1 (Intermediate level).....	47
Table 5: Core themes identified in Step 3 of Figure 1 (Full employment).....	4

Chapter 1 – Critical Literature Review

Context

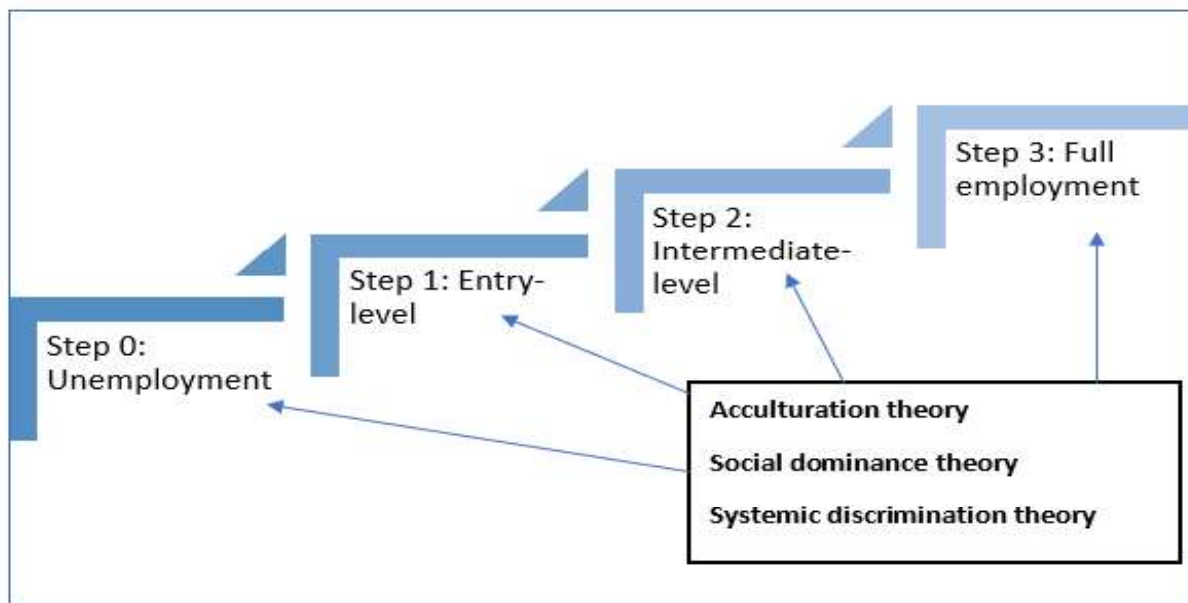
The changing demographics of migrants in New Zealand has resulted in a multicultural workforce with an increasing number of ethnic minorities arriving from different countries (Pio, 2005). According to Statistics New Zealand (Stats NZ, 2018), in the year ending January 2019, migrant arrivals were 132,000. While China leads migration arrivals with 15,000 migrants arriving in New Zealand in the year 2018, India follows with 14,400 migrants (Stats NZ, 2018). According to the Department of Labour (2010), there are three reasons for Indians to migrate to New Zealand. The three reasons include political stability compared to the political climate of the country of origin; educations for themselves and children; and increased employment opportunities. Due to migrant arrivals in New Zealand steadily increasing, it is important to understand the implications of the migrant-selection process on skilled Indian migrants' career trajectory in New Zealand.

As migrant-selection in New Zealand is based on meritocracy (e.g. education, entrepreneurial and business capabilities), skilled migrants entering New Zealand most often acquire higher qualifications and skills prior to arrival (Lewin, 2011). Theoretically, this should result in high value to New Zealand's economy. However, skilled migrants often find it difficult, if not unattainable, to obtain full employment - that is, a job which is fully reflective of one's skills and qualifications (Fouche, Beddoe, Bartley & Brenton, 2014). Therefore, it has become increasingly important to understand how skilled Indian migrants navigate through the New Zealand workforce and the process by which they seek to attain employment.

The three steps that the present thesis predicts skilled Indian migrants will take before attaining full employment as shown in Figure 1 are unemployment, entry-level work, and

intermediate-level work. (Dooley, 2003; Grzywacz and Dooley, 2003). While previous research such as Fouche et al. (2012) focuses on unemployment in migrant work, there is a tendency for previous research to overlook the different steps of employment shown in Figure 1. This thesis seeks to fill this gap by using work psychology to explore and explain how the potential impacts of acculturation, social dominance and systemic discrimination affect each degree of employment as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1- Theoretical Steps Towards Full Employment for Skilled Migrants from India in New Zealand



While previous literature has examined the challenges of attaining work in New Zealand (Basnayake, 1999; Pio, 2005; Sulaiman, Cheryl and Thompson, 2012), less attention has been given to investigating the requirements of obtaining work from unemployment to an entry-level job to an intermediate-level job to finally reaching full employment (as shown in Figure 1). This thesis investigates positive (respondent finds work) and negative (respondent does not find work) critical incidents in the job-hunting journey of skilled Indian migrants to discern any similarities and differences across gradations of employment. Being a new field of study, the thesis adopts an exploratory approach. The researcher acknowledges that not all skilled Indian migrants will go through each step as shown in Figure 1, as some skilled

migrants may skip a step or two e.g. may go straight from Step 0 (unemployment) to Step 3 (full employment) of Figure 1. At the same time, there may be central patterns or tendencies that lead to positive and negative critical incidents at one employment step (of Figure 1) more than another.

Theoretical Framework of the Employment Steps in Figure 1

Acculturation refers to the cultural behavioural changes within an individual (e.g. skilled Indian migrant) as a result of direct contact between two cultures: the culture of origin of the individual and another, often dominant, cultural group (Nadermann and Eissenstat, 2018). The present thesis further conceptualises *Social dominance theory* (shown in Figure 1) as racial and cultural differences where dominant groups (e.g. New Zealand-born individuals) are perceived to be of a higher social rank than the minority groups, which in the context of this research are skilled Indian migrants (Miglietta, Gattino and Esses, 2014). As illustrated in Figure 1, *Systemic discrimination* is the practice of keeping minority groups (e.g. skilled Indian migrants) marginalised from the labour market (Batalova and Fix, 2015). *Systemic discrimination* occurs when employers disregard overseas work experience and qualifications and discriminate against certain visa statuses (Batalova and Fix, 2015).

Step 0 of Figure 1 – Unemployment

In Figure 1, *Unemployment* refers to the number of individuals who are willing and ready to work, however, are unable to attain work (Viviano and Brandolini, 2018). Research on migrants has identified common factors which function as barriers toward skilled migrants attaining employment (Carr and Coates, 2003; Fouche et al, 2014). Both Carr and Coates (2003) and Fouche et al.'s (2014) research studied the work experiences of skilled migrants in New Zealand.

Fouche et al. (2014) stated on the basis of skilled migrant professionals looking for decent work in New Zealand, the difficulties commonly experienced included: cultural and language barriers; lack of connections and references; lack of recognition of overseas qualifications and skills; lack of local work experience in the host country; selection biases; and employer discrimination. Previous research such as Fouche et al. (2014), descriptively focused on the barriers for migrants to attain work rather than explaining “why” skilled Indian migrants are both excluded from or accepted in the New Zealand labour market at each degree of employment in Figure 1. The current research, therefore, aims to close this gap by exploring whether the theoretical constructs in Figure 1 are revealed in the positive and negative critical incidents of skilled Indian migrants’ stories of finding work in New Zealand.

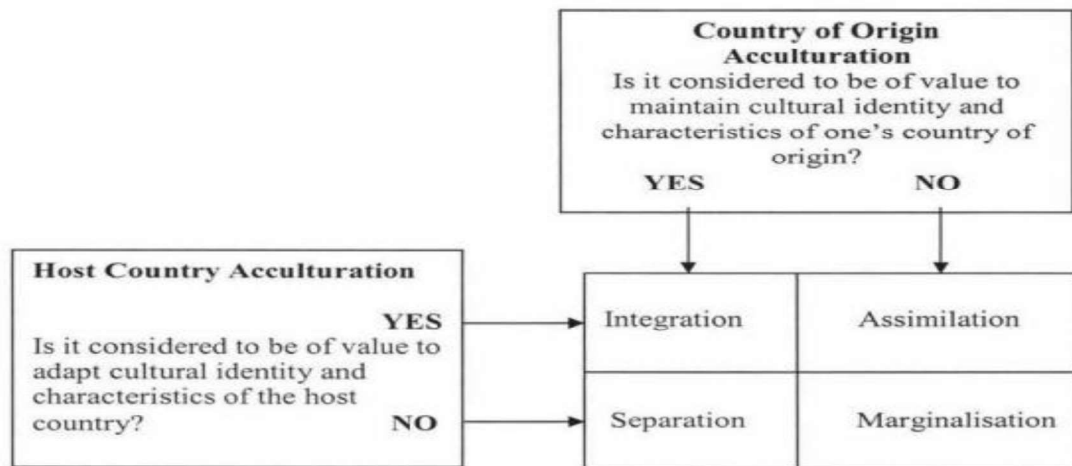
Acculturation at Step 0 of Figure 1

Acculturation takes place when migrants learn about and adopt the normative ways of behaving in a society which is culturally distant from their ethnic identity (Graves, 1967). Ethnic identity refers to the emotional and cultural significance attached to one’s sense of self as a member of a group. Hence, *Acculturation* is the strength of the identification migrants hold to their ethnic culture and the host culture (Chavira & Phinney, 1991; Phinney et al., 2001).

Berry (1997) proposes two key strategies attributed to *Acculturation* occurring among minority groups, namely: cultural maintenance, and contact and participation. Cultural maintenance refers to the extent to which the ethnic identity of migrants is significant and to what extent the preservation of ethnic identity is strived for. Contact and participation refer to the extent to which migrants strive to remain with their own cultural group or be involved with the host culture. Berry (1997) suggests that these two central ideas occur

simultaneously. The ideas of cultural maintenance and contact and participation are depicted below in Figure 2 and are conceptualised as four distinctive styles. Berry (1997) explains that depending on what the respondent answers for the two dimensions, imply which of the four acculturation styles the respondent practises as shown in Figure 2. Therefore, this thesis aims to investigate whether the strategies of cultural maintenance (e.g. skilled Indian migrants retaining their culture) and contact and participation (e.g. skilled migrants kept in contact with the members of their own community or non-Indian members in New Zealand) helped or did not help in gaining initial access to decent and entry-level work..

Figure 2: Berry et al.'s (1989) two-dimensional acculturation model



Berry's (1997) bidimensional model illustrates a table with discrete cells which assesses individuals' orientation to the host culture and culture of origin. Bourhis et al. (1997) state that *integration* occurs when migrants keep aspects of their culture of origin while simultaneously adopting aspects of the host culture. *Assimilation* involves fully embodying the host culture at the expense of losing all the culture of origin. In other words, *assimilation* is the neglect of the culture of origin as a result of entirely embodying the culture of the host country. *Marginalisation* is when neither the culture of origin nor culture of the host

country are significant in the adaptive behaviours of migrants. Lastly, a *separation* style means preserving the culture of origin while dismissing the culture of the host society (Bourhis et al., 1997).

According to Titzmann and Lee (2018), acculturation is determined by how long the minority group chooses to be in contact with the host society. For example, if a skilled Indian migrant at Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 1 was unemployed for an extensive period of time (e.g. six months' post-arrival in the host country), they may have eventual plans of returning to India due to the lack of success in finding work. Hence, a skilled migrant may adopt the acculturation style of *separation* due to the hesitancy to fully engage and *integrate* to a new culture, the lack of interest and ambivalence to adapt to the new culture, and form relationships with members of the host society (Titzmann and Lee, 2018).

Acculturation and the link to networking at Step 0 of Figure 1

On a theoretical level, according to Podsiadlowski et al. (2013), for skilled migrants to form relations with members of their original culture in the host society or members from the host country's culture, the acculturation style of *integration* has a positive effect on skilled migrants' and their overall adjustment in the host society. When skilled migrants maintain only communal relationships with members of their cultural group, *separation* style is adopted. For skilled Indian migrants, to obtain initial access to paid employment and decent work could be the behaviours used to network and form relationships with members within the Indian community in the host society (*separation*) and with recruitment or organisational agencies that have direct contact with New Zealand companies (*integration*). Therefore, networking and building relationships with members of both the host society and their members of their cultural community helps skilled migrant integrate into the host country and assists them in gaining initial access to decent work.

In career focussed research, networking is the process of developing relationships and building connections to gain knowledge of the job market. The trade of knowledge is useful at the stage of unemployment (Step 0 of Figure 1) as skilled migrants learn about what is required to obtain paid employment and decent work (Kuijpers and Scheerens, 2006; Nadermann and Eissenstat, 2018). Examples of networking behaviours include: socialising, maintaining relationships and connections, engaging in community events and activities, and participating in professional events and activities by attending career-related seminars or connecting with other skilled migrant professionals (Forret and Dougherty, 2001; Nadermann and Eissenstat, 2018).

At the level of unemployment (Step 0 Figure 1), networking is beneficial as it helps in information exchange of the job market, provides social support, and helps gain references for unpaid voluntary work and paid work (Nadermann and Eissenstat, 2018). Networking, therefore, is a valuable tool for career development, and it may impact how effectively and to what extent skilled migrants *integrate* in New Zealand. The present study will investigate patterns of networking behaviours and whether this was more prominent at one employment step in Figure 1 than another. Hence, it is important to consider the link between employment and networking.

Sterling and Nayar (2013) conducted a study to analyse the relationship between networking and job opportunities. The participants consisted of four Indian men who held tertiary qualifications from India and chose to migrate to New Zealand with the hope of increasing employment opportunities. To collect data, the researchers conducted semi-structured interviews. The method included an inductive analysis of the transcribed interviews and evaluated using content analysis. Sterling and Nayar (2013) coded and categorised the interview responses and found that networking was used as an adaptation behaviour to build connections in the host society and gain knowledge of the job market. The

present research aims to explore whether networking helped skilled Indian migrants *integrate* with members of the host society and whether only maintaining relationships with members of the Indian community depicted the acculturation style of *separation*. It will also investigate whether networking helped skilled migrants find unpaid work at Step 0 of Figure 1 and whether the lack of connections created barriers in finding decent work at Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 1.

Networking occurs when skilled migrants have social relationships with other individuals with the aim of maximising their benefits while minimising their costs (Sterling and Nayar, 2013). The social benefits of networking include companionship, friendship, trade of knowledge about the job market, and support. Reciprocal and trusting relationships with other Indian immigrants in the host country positively affect feelings of belongingness and emotional connectedness (Sterling and Nayar, 2013). This relationship formed by networking with members of the Indian community also comes with an expectation that peers will help newcomer migrants with the job-seeking process and adjusting to the host country (Bhattacharya, Sen and Korschun, 2008; Pio, 2005). On the other hand, the social cost is the obligation migrants may feel toward accepting a job the peer had referred the migrant to as a gesture of gratitude towards the relationship between the migrant and the peer (Sterling and Nayar, 2013). For example, the data from the current thesis may show that a participant in Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 1 who identifies as an engineer may attain intermediate level work as they had practised the behaviour of networking with other Indians who were also in the engineering sector. A negative critical incident may suggest that the skilled Indian migrant had to accept a lower-level job that they were referred to by a community member due to the obligation they felt toward those who helped them get the job.

While Sterling and Nayar's (2013) research focused on how skilled Indian migrants increased their employment opportunities, it failed to highlight the role that networking

played at each step of the job-hunting journey of skilled Indian migrants. The present research aims to close this gap by exploring whether building networks and developing relationships provided any opportunities to progress from Step 0 (unemployment) to Step 1 (entry-level) of Figure 1, and whether the lack of networks was a barrier in escaping from Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 1 for skilled Indian migrants in New Zealand.

Step 1 of Figure 1: Entry-Level work

An entry-level job may not be in the sector equivalent to the skilled Indian migrant's qualification and skills nor will it be a job they are trained for. The underutilisation of skills and qualifications is referred to as 'brain waste' (Inkson et al., 2004). Brain waste occurs when an individual's skills are under-graded and they are performing work which requires lower-level skills than what they have previously acquired (Pires, 2015). In other words, brain waste can occur at Steps 0 (unemployment), 1 (entry-level) and 2 (intermediate level) of Figure 1. For example, if a highly-skilled Indian migrant holds professional skills and qualifications, but are in a job which does not reflect their human capital acquisition (i.e. the investment made towards an individual's skills), then the skilled Indian migrant ends up in an under-graded job and therefore performs unskilled work (Pires, 2015).

With brain waste, skilled Indian migrants are at risk of not reaping the benefits of their investment in themselves (i.e. the skills and qualifications they acquired) in the host country's labour market due to the challenge of attaining full employment. The present thesis may find that employers discriminate against skilled Indian migrants' overseas acquired skills and qualifications and as a result, skilled Indian migrants are under-graded and perform entry-level (Step 1 of Figure 1). Therefore, it is imperative to understand the barriers that skilled migrants may face when looking for entry-level work in New Zealand.

Finding a foothold in the New Zealand labour market can be difficult as newcomer Indian migrants may be unfamiliar with the requirements of the New Zealand job market to attain entry-level work. Skilled migrants may not attain work at Step 1 (entry-level) of Figure 1 despite being highly skilled and highly educated, due to the differences between educational standards, curricula and professional training gained overseas compared to the host country (Batalova and Fix, 2015). These differences, in turn, limits the access to mobility to higher stages of employment in Figure 1 (Batalova and Fix, 2015). The present study explores whether there is a gap between the recognition of overseas skills, qualifications and experience compared to the recognition towards local accreditation and work experience by employers.

Systemic discrimination in Step 1 of Figure 1

Systemic discrimination is apparent when minority groups (e.g. skilled Indian migrants) are marginalised from the labour market by employers due to the lack of recognition given to overseas work experience and qualifications (Pires, 2015). As a result of skills and qualifications being discounted by employers, skilled Indian migrants are forced into entry-level employment (Step 1 of Figure 1) by the New Zealand labour market (Pires, 2015).

To investigate entry-level work among skilled Indian migrants, Qureshi, Varghese and Osella, (2012) examined the career trajectories of Indian Punjabi skilled migrants in Britain. The study conducted open-ended life history interviews with twenty Punjabi skilled migrants. Skilled migrants performing entry-level work in Qureshi et al.'s (2012) study reported that upon arrival in Britain, they were directed to labour markets and British universities in which their skills and qualifications were not transferable. The participants experienced systemic barriers and downward mobility in their job-hunting process due to the devaluation of their Indian-based work experience and qualifications by British employers.

However, skilled Indian migrants in Qureshi et al.'s (2012) study reported that they were able to gain entry-level work (i.e. Step 1 of Figure 1) through networking. As Sterling and Nayar (2013) suggested, networking can increase employment opportunities for skilled Indian migrants, similarly Qureshi et al.'s (2012) study found that the participants had gained entry-level work through networking within the Indian community. In this instance, friends and family referred participants to jobs within the British labour market and other Indian migrants were referred to jobs within Indian-owned organisations in Britain. These participants had to perform entry-level work whilst preparing for accreditation transfers to practise their profession in Britain as their overseas skills and qualification was not recognised.

Due to employers not recognising the participants' overseas acquisition of skills and qualifications, the skilled Indian migrants in Qureshi et al.'s (2012) study were forced to regain qualifications in Britain. Furthermore, their skills were devalued as they performed entry-level work which was under-graded compared to their overseas work experience. The lack of recognition toward overseas experience and qualifications by employers caused barriers for skilled Indian migrants to attain full employment (Qureshi et al., 2012). In turn, the rejection of overseas acquired skills and qualifications led to skilled Indian migrants performing entry-level work in Britain in order for employers to recognise their local work experience. Therefore, *systemic discrimination* theory provides a useful tool to understanding why skilled Indian migrants' capacities to move from Step 1 (entry-level) to Steps 2 (intermediate level) and 3 (full employment) of Figure 1 are limited by the devaluation of overseas skills and qualifications. Additionally, skilled Indian migrants are also systemically discriminated from attaining entry-level work due to the status of their visa.

The systemic discrimination against visa statuses

Being systemically discriminated against by employers based on the visa status skilled Indian migrants hold can restrict employment opportunities and career advancement where skilled Indian migrants may not be able to attain entry-level work or higher levels of employment in Figure 1 (Howe, Charlesworth and Brennon, 2019). The present thesis seeks to investigate whether most common visa at the stage of entry-level work is the student visa. This assumption is based on the idea that newcomer skilled Indian migrants most often come to New Zealand to first gain New Zealand qualifications in order to attain New Zealand work experience (Morrison and Clark, 2011).

The international student visa was introduced for the primary purpose of gaining New Zealand qualifications, however, it does also permit student visa holders to work in New Zealand (Howe, Charlesworth, and Brennon, 2019). India, South Korea, and China are the largest source countries under the international student visa programme with a total of 91,575 student visa holders in 2016-2017 (Howe, Charlesworth, and Brennon, 2019). A student visa duration lasts for as long the academic programme runs for. During an academic semester, a migrant on a student visa is not permitted to work more than 20 hours per week (Howe, Charlesworth, and Brennon, 2019) Although, during semester breaks, their work hours can increase to full time. The restriction of hours of work can cause barriers towards migrants reaching full employment as the restriction to only be permitted to work part-time may not meet the job demands of full employment work (Howe, Charlesworth, and Brennon, 2019).

Due to conditions such as duration of the visa and work-hour restrictions, the international student visa limits the work migrants can take which most often results in brain-waste jobs (i.e. entry-level work) where migrants are under-graded and their skills are

devalued by employers (Howe, Charlesworth and Brennon, 2019). They are, therefore, more readily accepted for unpaid volunteering work with more flexibility which can be attained at Step 0 of Figure 1 than at Steps 1, 2 or 3 of Figure 1. The present thesis predicts that Indian migrants on a student visa or a similar visa type are less likely to be rejected on the basis of their visa for volunteering work due to the lower job demands required for volunteering work. Whereas, for skilled migrants on a student visa looking for work at Steps 1, 2 or 3 of Figure 1, due to the demands of the job, employers may reject skilled migrants based on the conditions of their visa. It is also important to delve deeper and consider whether it is just the human capital (investment of skills and qualifications) and visa status that employers use as the basis of rejecting skilled migrants, or whether skilled Indian migrants being a minority group also plays a role.

Social dominance theory in Step 1 of Figure 1

Social dominance theory proposes an inherent tendency in society to stratify groups based on preconceived dispositions which form group-based hierarchies such as dominant and minority groups (Sidanius, Levin, Federico, Pratto, 2001). Hence, if the theory of social dominance emerges in the present research's findings, the researcher expects that the New Zealand labour market is not exempt from encouraging group-based hierarchies. The current thesis hypothesises that social structures are encouraged in the labour market as there is increased accessibility to full employment among dominant groups, leaving minority groups in Step 1 of Figure 1.

Social structures in the labour market can be attributed to the country of origin of individuals (Sidanius, Levin, Federico, Pratto, 2001). More specifically, group-held perceptions based on the hierarchical structure of countries of origin are determined by how the dominant group views individuals from countries with relatively lower social and economic power as inferior i.e. the minority group (Coates and Carr, 2005). For example, if

an individual's country of origin is perceived to be dominant, they may be considered to have a higher social economic status and therefore highly educated simply because they originate from a dominant country (Sidanius, Levin, Federico, Pratto, 2001). On the contrary, another individual who originates from a country that members of dominant groups consider inferior, may be viewed as having a lower socioeconomic status and in turn, is considered as under- or uneducated (Sidanius, Levin, Federico, Pratto, 2001). In other words, social dominance occurs when the dominant members of the host society perceive themselves more socially and economically powerful than ethnic minority migrants' country of origin (Sidanius, Levin, Federico, Pratto, 2001; Hansen and Dovidio, 2016).

Central to the theory of social dominance is the concept of social dominance orientation (Miglietta et al., 2014). It is a predisposition to support existing hierarchical relations between groups. Social dominance orientation is an ideology held by dominant group members which favours superiority, and power, and significantly affects the judgement and subsequent behaviours formed about a minority group, such as skilled Indian migrants in New Zealand (Miglietta et al., 2014).

Social dominance orientation can generate notions of prejudice against ethnic minorities by powerful and dominant groups. Prejudice is a mechanism which strives to maintain role difference and statuses between groups in society to preserve the power structures of the dominant group over minority groups (Hansen and Dovidio, 2016). A high level of social dominance orientation is indicated by an individual's inclination to have members of their group be deemed as superior to, better than and dominant over minority groups (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth and Malle, 1994). For example, in the present thesis, we might find skilled migrants experienced that New Zealand-born employers have a high level of social dominance orientation by favouring to hire New Zealand-born **individuals** over skilled Indian migrants in spite of the skilled migrants possessing similar qualifications and

work experience. In turn, prejudice, and bias toward dominant group members by employers can create barriers for skilled Indian migrants to obtain entry-level work (Step 1 of Figure 1).

Hansen and Dovidio (2016) sought to investigate any predispositions and potential bias towards two minority groups – Asians and Latinos which caused barriers towards attaining work at Step 1 of Figure 1. The study analysed responses from 65 adults aged between 18-67 from the United States of America (USA). The participants with typical American accents listened to recordings by individuals with a Mandarin-Chinese accent and a Spanish accent. The researchers investigated how likely participants are to hire an individual with a non-American accent for a job. Hansen and Dovidio (2016) hypothesised that because the Asians in the USA have a higher socioeconomic status than Latinos, the participants with a higher level of social dominance orientation would less likely recommend an individual with a lower socioeconomic status for a job i.e. if the accent suggested it was a Latino person.

The findings indicated that the social dominance orientation of the participants determines their willingness and reluctance in hiring individuals with Mandarin-Chinese and Spanish accents. Hansen and Dovidio (2016) note participants perceived the recordings of the non-American accents to be difficult to understand. The participants who had a higher level of social dominance orientation reported a Latino speaker was more difficult to understand than an individual with a Mandarin-Chinese accent. The results, therefore, support the hypothesis theorised by Hansen and Dovidio (2016) where ethnic minority groups with a perceived level of high socioeconomic status had greater chances of attaining work than individuals of low socioeconomic status.

Similarly, in a New Zealand context, Burns (2000) states that individuals with a non-New Zealand accent faced higher levels of discrimination which resulted in a decreased rate of career success for ethnic minority group members. Anderson (1992) stated ethnic minority

migrants with regional or foreign accents and their proficiency in English impacts their success of attaining work, more so during the interview stage. When employers of a host country do not hire migrants based on their race or accent, they exercise racial and accent bias as forms of social dominance over skilled migrant workers. Employers may often justify their accent bias towards skilled migrants by asserting that a particular way of speaking which is different from how the employer speaks reflects ineffective communication (Hansen and Dovidio, 2016). For example, employers with a New Zealand accent may underestimate their ability and extent to which they can understand skilled Indian migrants with a non-New Zealand accent. Therefore, employers unfairly attribute ineffective communication to individuals with accents that are different from what is normally practised in the host country (Hansen and Dovidio, 2016). Data from the present thesis may highlight that in order for skilled Indian migrants to attain work at Step 1, they may feel the need to amend their pronunciation and phraseology to sound more Kiwi so that employers do not discriminate them against their race or accent (Pio, 2005).

The present thesis will explore how racial and accent bias causes barriers from attaining Step 1 of Figure 1. It will also explore whether these two themes (racial and accent bias) emerged more prominently at one employment step than another e.g. racial and accent bias may be a stronger theme at Step 1 (entry-level) than at Step 0 (unemployment) as volunteering work at Step 0 may more readily accept individuals from all walks of life due to the flexibility of the nature of the work rather than at the stage of entry-level which is the first breakthrough into the labour market or at higher levels of intermediate work and full employment.

Step 2 of Figure 1: Intermediate level work

An intermediate-level job is when a skilled migrant is working within their preferred sector of employment; however, it is not directly in line with their training and qualifications. In other words, intermediate-level work is when skilled migrants are working in a different position, albeit at a lower-level, from what they have trained for. While research has focused on unemployment and entry-level work, there is little known about specifically intermediate level work. Career-focused research tends to combine both the stages of entry-level and intermediate-level work under one category, that is – underemployment. According to Guerrero and Rothstein (2012), underemployment is the extent to which an individual's skills, education, abilities, and work experience are underutilised by their current job.

Systemic discrimination theory in Step 2 of Figure 1

Feldman (1996) introduced certain dimensions of measuring underemployment, namely: 1) the individual possesses higher qualifications than required for the job; 2) the individual is involuntarily employed in a field or job different from what they have trained for, and 3) the individual holds higher-level skills than required for the job. An individual is overqualified if they possess higher skills and qualifications than required by the demands of the job they perform (Feldman, 1996). The present thesis aims to explore whether skilled Indian migrants were rejected from performing intermediate-level work due to being viewed as overqualified by employers or whether they attained intermediate level work where their skills were underutilised.

Due to the underutilisation of skills, migrants tend to find jobs in the segments of the labour market which are characterised as low paid, demand high flexibility and are at a lower-level skill than what the individual is capable of performing. Therefore, skilled migrants experience deskilling of their qualifications and work experience and are considered

as overqualified for the job applied for. On a more positive note, Baghdadi (2012) suggests that the new skills acquired through volunteering work gained at Step 0, entry-level work gained at Step 1, or intermediate-level work gained at Step 2 has the potential to broaden horizons for new occupational fields. On the other hand, Baghdadi (2012) also suggests that skilled migrants who experience negative critical incidents in their career trajectory, where they do not attain work that is reflective of their skills and qualifications, experience a loss of skills that they had previously acquired, which makes entering the host country's labour market more difficult. In the present study, the researcher is interested in learning about whether gaining intermediate level work had helped shape a new career for individuals. The current research aims to explore whether, during the selection-process, skilled Indian migrants are rejected based on the view that they are overqualified. It also seeks to explore whether the rejection of work was due to employers having certain selection preferences of who they want to hire.

Social dominance and the concept of similarity-attraction in Step 2 of Figure 1

As indicated earlier, social dominance influences employers' preferences to hire skilled migrants based on the hierarchical structure of the country they originate from (Coates and Carr, 2005). The preference for hiring a certain group of employees from a particular country over another is based on the similarity between the employer and the potential employee, which is also known as the concept of similarity-attraction (Glynn and Carr, 1999). An early key researcher of similarity-attraction theory stipulates that individuals respond positively towards people who are culturally similar in terms of attitude, communication style, and behaviour (Byrne, 1969). The reason being that there is a sense of reassurance derived from recognising cultural similarities in others based on what we support, value and act upon (Carr, 2003). The concept of similarity-attraction posits that when there is a perceived cultural similarity between individuals, there is a higher likelihood that they will engage and

interact with each other (Cushman, Valentinsen & Dietrich, 1982). In other words, the shorter the cultural distance between a skilled migrant and an employer, the higher the chances of the migrant being selected for a job (Glynn and Carr, 1999).

Goldberg (2003) states that cultural and ethnic similarity underpins selection biases. Potential employees who are ethnically and culturally similar to the hiring manager have a higher chance of being offered the role (Goldberg, 2003). Therefore, the concept of similarity-attraction is useful in informing which skilled migrants are likely to progress from Step 1 (entry-level) of Figure 1 to Step 2 (intermediate level) work based on how culturally similar they are to the hiring manager who shares the same cultural, and ethnic background (Coates and Carr, 2005). Skilled Indian migrants may also experience a lack of cultural fit between the employer who is a member of the dominant group (e.g. New Zealand-born, white male) and themselves due to the perceived differences on worldviews and attitudes which can be attributed to ethnicity and culture (Goldberg, 2003).

Based on the framework of similarity-attraction under the theory of social dominance, the present study expects to find that skilled Indian migrants experience not being culturally similar to the hiring manager can cause barriers in attaining intermediate-level. This thesis seeks to learn what the outcome of a close (i.e. the employer is an Indian) or far cultural distance (i.e. the employer is a non-Indian) would be and what effect it would have on the likelihood of skilled Indian migrants reaching Step 2 (intermediate level) of Figure 1. As social dominance theory posits that there is a preference toward members of the dominant group, this can result in ethnic niches of job sectors in the New Zealand labour market which is also known as occupational stereotyping.

Social dominance theory and the concept of occupational stereotyping in Step 2 of Figure 1

Occupational stereotyping occurs when employers carry a preconceived idea about members

belonging to ethnic groups, such as Indian migrants (King et al., 2006). Occupational stereotyping holds prominence in hiring decisions which results in ethnic niches within the labour market (King et al., 2006). For example, decision-makers may more likely hire New Zealand-born candidates in top management positions over skilled Indian migrants. Recruiters and employers may subconsciously develop an implicit mental schema about the attributes of ethnic minority applicants. This mental schema dictates the future of this applicant within the organisation leading to occupational segregation.

Occupational segregation is when the members of a certain group are concentrated in a job or industry (Elliott and Lindley, 2008). Occupational segregation occurs when ethnic minority migrant applicants are not considered for high-status positions where they are underrepresented and instead members of the dominant race predominantly occupy these high-status jobs (Elliott and Lindley, 2008). Thus, the mental schema of occupational stereotyping has a major influence on whether Indian migrants progress from Step 1 (entry-level) to Step 2 (intermediate level) and Step 3 (full employment) of Figure 1 based on the preconceived idea the hiring manager has of them. This thesis seeks to learn about how the preconceived impressions of Indian migrants by New Zealand employers had impacted the career trajectory of skilled Indian migrants. It aims to explore whether the impressions held by employers were more prevalent in the steps preceding Step 2 of Figure 1 or whether they were more prominent as skilled Indian migrants moved toward Step 2 of Figure 1.

Research conducted by Ndobu, Faure, Boisselier, & Giannaki (2018) examined the impact of preconceived impressions in selection processes. The research consisted of 146 participants from Western France and European descent. All the participants were actively employed in the sector of recruitment. The researchers had designed fictitious resumes containing skills stated in the French National Directory of Professional Certification (RNCP) for the professions of an IT engineering job and a security agent position. The only three

differences found in the job applications were: 1) the candidates' ethno-racial category which was indicated by the name of candidate suggesting whether they were of European or African descent; 2) their level of competence based on the number skills stated for each job type; and 3) the type of job they are applying for. The present thesis will investigate if and why the experiences of occupational stereotyping vary between each step of Figure 1. For example, the present thesis will explore whether discrimination will be less evident as skilled Indian migrants get closer to Step 2 of Figure 1 because people have had more chances to debunk any negative stereotype(s) about them. On the other hand, it will also explore barriers in attaining work at Step 2 of Figure 1 in the case that skilled Indian migrants experience racial bias as employers prefer dominant groups members for high-skilled work in spite of skilled migrants having similar skills and qualifications.

Ndobo et al.'s (2018) study found applicants of European descent were more likely recommended for positions considered of higher prestige. Conversely, applicants of African descent were more likely to be employed for lower-status positions by which they were in Step 2 (entry-level) or Step 3 (an under-graded intermediate position) of Figure 1. The findings of this Ndobo et al.'s (2018) study suggest ethnic minority and migrant applicants who apply for jobs not aligned with the prescription of the pervasive mental schema the dominant race hold over them (i.e. under- or uneducated), will undergo discrimination and prejudice from the dominant group which leaves the minority group excluded from discourses surrounding higher-status positions in the labour market. This thesis will seek to explore whether skilled Indian migrants had compared themselves to New Zealand-born candidates who may have attained work Step 2 of Figure 1 due to the racially biased preference of employers.

Ndobo et al.'s (2018) study concluded that due to African migrants being underemployed at Step 2 of Figure 1 despite being highly skilled can result in them feeling

deprived compared to individuals who have reached full employment i.e. Step 3 of Figure 1. The social comparison of job-hunting experiences being relative between individuals is known as relative deprivation (Feldman, Leana and Turnley, 1997). Relative deprivation is the utilisation of skills and qualifications in comparison to the employment situation of a referent group who hold the same skills and qualifications. For example, the critical incidents highlighted in the present thesis may indicate that skilled Indian migrants who are at Step 2 (intermediate level) of Figure 1 may compare their job-hunting experiences with other New Zealand-born individuals who have similar qualifications but have attained full employment (i.e. Step 3 of Figure 1).

Step 3 of Figure 1 – Full employment

Full employment is when a skilled migrant is working in a position that is fully reflective of their skills and qualifications. Ng et al. (2005) state that human capital which constitutes personal, professional experience and qualifications enhances and predicts the likelihood of reaching full employment. In career focussed research, human capital is the investment made towards an individual's skills to enhance their career outcomes (Tharmaseelan, Inkson and Carr, 2010). Linking to the themes presented above, this research explores whether the qualifications and skills accumulated, and how well *integrated* skilled migrants are in New Zealand influence the likelihood of skilled Indian migrants attaining full employment i.e. Step 3 of Figure 1.

Acculturation at Step 3 of Figure 1

Mace et al. (2005) conducted a study to investigate the psychosocial correlations of how acculturation contributed towards the career progression of migrants reaching full employment. A survey was conducted with seventy immigrants and refugees based in Auckland, New Zealand. The study aimed to measure proximity to full employment, the

extent to how much the host society influenced migrants and refugees in culturally fitting to New Zealand. To measure the acculturation-fit of participants relative to their occupation, the researchers included input from recruiters to compare it to the views of migrants and refugees.

As Bourhis et al. (1997) argued that integration was the most preferred acculturation strategy by the host community, the results from Mace et al.'s (2005) is in favour of this claim. The findings demonstrated recruiters ranked integration as the most preferable option of acculturation style for the participants to adopt and assimilation was the second most preferable choice. Similarly, immigrants had estimated both integration and assimilation would be the preferred choices by employers over marginalisation and separation. The results suggest there is a direct link between acculturation style (more specifically, integration) and the proximity to finding full employment. A reason for this may be the reduced cultural distance between the migrant and the host country. When employers hire migrants in a role which is fully reflective of their skills and qualifications, it may be because the employer deems the migrant to appropriately fit not only within the norms and culture of the host country but also within the organisational culture of the company. The present research will also seek to explore whether the cultural distance between Indian and New Zealand culture had an impact on Indian migrants and how this impacted the positive and negative critical incidents encountered at each degree of employment as shown in Figure 1. This thesis will also expect the findings to reveal the types of acculturation styles used to reach full employment, i.e. networking as suggested implies integration or separation depending on who skilled Indian migrants networking with (see acculturation in Step 0 of Figure 1).

A drawback in Mace et al.'s (2005) study was that researchers generalised the findings to only highly skilled migrants, although almost half of the respondents were students who most likely will not be eligible for a skilled migrant category visa. However, the present

thesis aims to reach a wider sample group by not only observing highly skilled migrants but also considering the job-seeking behaviours of all Indians who arrived as a migrant to New Zealand and Indians who have returned back to their country of origin perhaps due to lack of success in reaching Step 3 of Figure 1 or their visa conditions.

Systemic discrimination theory and the link to visa status at Step 3 of Figure 1

The structure of the labour market can also encourage the persistence of systemic discrimination by employers underpinned by the visa status of skilled migrants. New Zealand's migration policy had begun to prioritise skills, educational background, and employment of applicants by the early 1990s (Lewin, 2011). In early 2000, New Zealand was concerned over its ability to fill the shortages in skill in the labour market, which eventually led to the introduction of the Skilled Migrant Category Visa. The Skilled Migrant Category Visa supported applicants who had a job offer in an area of skill shortage or in a growing job sector or applicants who had local New Zealand work experience (Immigration New Zealand, 2018). The skilled migrant category visa includes various trade qualifications; however, it notably does not include frontline occupations and other entry-level jobs. This thesis seeks to examine whether, among the respondents in Step 3 of Figure 1, the most common visa status which helped reach them to this stage was the Skilled Migrant Category visa. Employers may deem the Skilled Migrant Category visa status to be more credible than a student visa as the student visa implies lower-skill and less work experience.

The introduction of the Skilled Migrant Category Visa ensured that both temporary and permanent migrants were meeting New Zealand's economic needs and eventually skilled temporary migrants would be provided with a pathway toward permanent residency (PR). To fulfil the requirements of gaining PR, migrants need to achieve a minimum of one hundred points from the point-based immigration system (Immigration New Zealand, 2018). The

criteria include factors such as: attaining full employment, location of employment, number of years of skilled work experience both from the country of origin and New Zealand (the host country), recognised qualifications, and age. Once the migrant has reached a minimum of hundred points, they are eligible to apply for an Expression of Interest (EOI) to attain a PR under the Skilled Migrant Category Visa (Immigration New Zealand, 2018). According to Immigration New Zealand (2018), the higher the points an individual obtains equates to higher the value of their contribution to New Zealand society.

While this process sounds straightforward, there are implications. One is that the migrant needs to reach full employment in New Zealand to score points. However, if the migrant is unable to attain a Skilled Migrant Category Visa, how likely are they to succeed in attaining full employment (Step 3 of Figure 1) Another implication of this process is that simply gaining the minimum requirement of 100 points does not guarantee PR. While the migrant may be eligible to apply for an EOI, this does not secure their chances of gaining PR. Additionally, in 2016, Immigration New Zealand required migrants fulfil at least 160 points to attain PR. However, this amount of points only further limits the pool of migrants eligible to be residents. These implications which are set by arbitrary external conditions i.e. the immigration point system, create an illusion that the migrant is in full control of their residency and employment in New Zealand. This thesis seeks to investigate how the visa-status of Indian migrants have affected their success towards attaining full employment (Step 3 of Figure 1).

Flexible visa statuses such as the student visa may be more accepted at the unemployment stage (Step 0 of Figure 1), but if Indian migrants were to apply for permanent positions where they are at intermediate (Step 2 of Figure 1) or full employment (Step 3 of Figure 1), their visa status may have more significance due to conditions which restrict migrants from working in certain location, certain types of roles and also the duration of the

visa itself can be a major restricting factor. Data from this thesis may present barriers to attaining Step 3 (full employment) of Figure 1 work due to certain visa-related policies and conditions granted by migration policies attributed to the student visa. On the other hand, holding a visa status such as a work visa or a skilled migrant category visa which forms an indefinite pathway to permanent residency could lead to positive critical incidents at Step 2 (entry-level) and Step 3 (full employment) of Figure 1 as there is more flexibility in the type of work allowed to be performed, the hours of work, the location of employment and the duration of the visa.

Social dominance theory in Step 3 of Figure 1

In addition to immigration status impacting the likelihood of skilled Indian migrants attaining full employment, social dominance theory provides a useful tool for explaining why leadership roles may not be accessible to skilled Indian migrants. Simmons and Umphress (2015) examined why social dominance orientation influences the hiring decisions to recruit an individual who is considered to be of lower social status for a leadership role. The researchers conducted a laboratory experiment with 63 undergraduate students undertaking a business course at a university from the United States of America. Simmons and Umphress' (2015) study involved these participants to respond to a survey which evaluated social dominance orientation attributed to control variables, some of which included modern racism, race, and social desirability.

The findings of their research showed that compared to the participants with low social dominance orientation, the participants with a high level of social dominance orientation will more likely discriminate against a candidate who is considered to have a low social standing despite being highly qualified. The type of position of the job moderated this outcome as the researchers found that there was a stronger effect when selecting individuals

who are viewed as lower-status for a leadership role compared to a non-leadership role (Simmon and Umphress, 2015). Therefore, this thesis aims to find out whether skilled Indian migrants are rejected from attaining full employment, in particular, leadership roles, as ethnic minorities may face more barriers toward reaching Step 3 of Figure 1 as they belong to a group considered as inferior compared to the dominant group.

Summary of literature and research aims

Based on the above literature, the research aims to explore whether networking behaviours would be a prominent theme that emerges among the responses in Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 1 for skilled Indian migrants. The theme of networking may be prominent in the positive critical incidents at Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 1 as it helps skilled migrants acculturate into New Zealand opening a more accessible pathway to the labour market (Nadermann and Eissenstat, 2018),

Based on the literature, the present research explores whether, in Steps 1 (entry-level), 2 (intermediate level) and 3 (full employment) of Figure 1, social dominance by employers will play a factor in hiring decisions for skilled Indian migrants. Depending on the cultural distance between the employer and the skilled Indian migrant, this may determine the likelihood of attaining intermediate level work or full employment (Feldman, 1996). Skilled Indian migrants may be denied work due to racial and accent bias as well as occupational stereotyping. Occupational stereotyping may be prominent in Step 3 of Figure 1 in terms of recruiting skilled migrants for leadership roles (Ndobu et al., 2018). To enter full employment, skilled migrants may be required to break through New Zealand-born employers' mental schema of stereotyping skilled Indian migrants in roles where they are most populated, which most often does not include leadership roles if the hiring managers have high social dominance orientation as found by Simmon and Uphress (2013).

This research seeks to explore whether the respondents have experienced systemic discrimination based on the lack of recognition toward overseas work experience and qualifications by employers and in turn may have had to attain New Zealand based qualifications and work experience to be recognised in the New Zealand labour market (Pires, 2015). Thus, the main pathway for escaping from Step 1 to Steps 2 or 3 of Figure 1, may be taking up unpaid (volunteering at Step 0 of Figure 1) or paid work (entry-level work at Step 1 of Figure 1) to gain local New Zealand work experience. Skilled migrants at Step 1 of Figure 1 may also be limited by their work choices due to being on restricting visas such as the student visa. At both Step 1 (entry-level) and Step 2 (intermediate-level) of Figure 1, the responses may suggest that skilled migrants feel they were viewed as overqualified by employers and therefore were performing work which is under-graded compared to their acquisition of skills and qualifications. Due to the low-level work experience gained at either Step 1 or 2 of Figure 1, this can cause barriers towards attaining jobs that are reflective of skilled Indian migrants' qualifications and skills i.e. Step 3 of Figure 1 (full employment).

Finally, the main objective of this present research is to find reoccurring themes among the four employment stages (as shown in Figure 1), to explain why the themes emerged are prominent or not so prominent.

Chapter 2 – Method

Participants

The criteria for this research was that participants had to have arrived in New Zealand as an Indian migrant, be a person of Indian origin, be either currently unemployed/seeking employment, underemployed (entry-level or intermediate level) or are fully employed, be 18 years or older, and be proficient in English. Altogether, there were $N=60$ responses of which $N=44$ responses were usable giving a response rate of 73.3%.

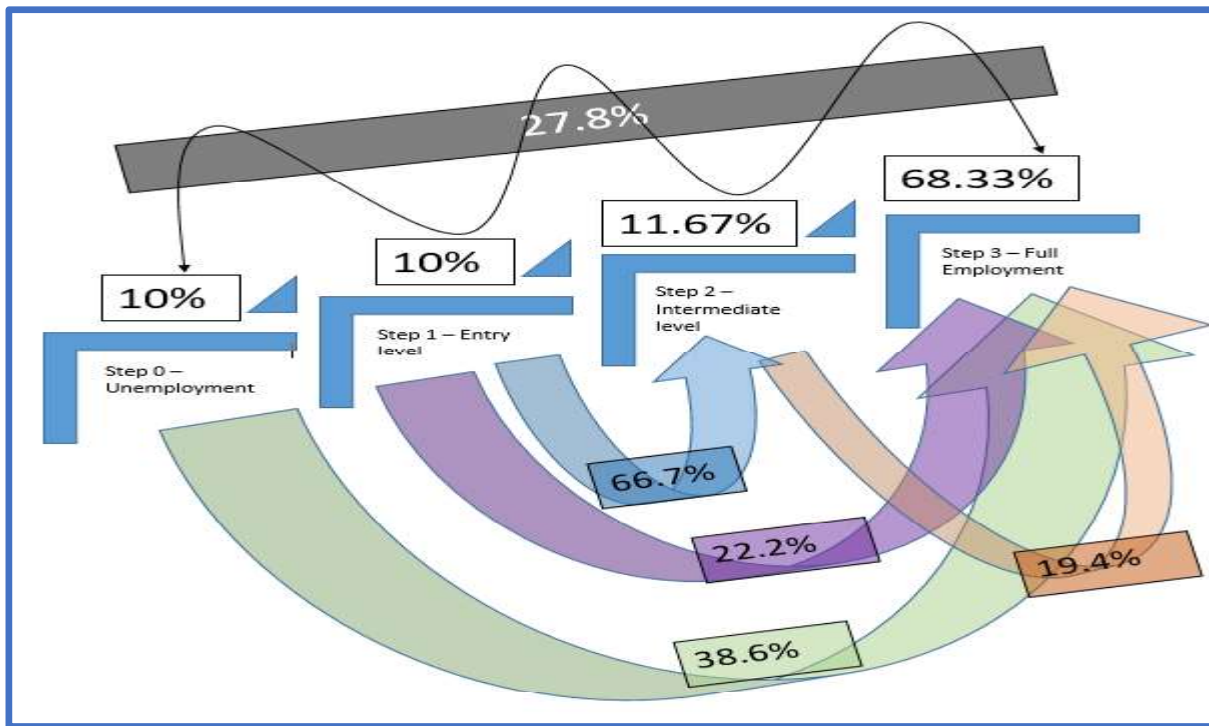
Demographics

Demographically, of the 44 participants, 40% were female and 60% were male, ranging between 18 to 65 years old and above ($M= 3.83$, $SD= 1.33$). Two respondents had not noted down their age. The average year of arrival among all participants was 2005, with the most recent year of arrival being 2017. The qualifications of the participants included twelve Bachelors' degrees, eleven Masters' degrees, eight post-graduate diplomas, and four PhD holders. The study consisted of ten accountants and business analysts, five customer service/support workers, five managers and team leaders, four research fellows, five educators, two consultants, two engineers, one doctor, one dentist. These various qualifications and occupations attained by skilled Indian migrants show that the participants in this study were all highly skilled.

The overall pattern showed that majority of the participants, 55.17%, arrived in New Zealand with a work visa, 24.14% were on a visitor visa and 6.9% were on a student visa. When asked about whether their visa status had changed from their time of arrival to when they had completed the survey, majority of the participants reported that 77.5% of the participants were New Zealand citizens and 10% had held work visas. The point of investigating visa statuses was to identify whether a considerable number of responses in the

study showed that visa status had positive or negative impacted the trajectory of skilled Indian migrants in looking for work.

Figure 3 showing the percentage of the stages of employment undertaken by Indian migrants



From Figure 3, of all the participants, 10% were still unemployed at the time of the study (Step 0 of Figure 3), 10% were in entry-level work (Step 1 of Figure 3), 11.67% were intermediate-level (Step 2 of Figure 3), and 68.33% were fully employed (Step 3 of Figure 3). Of the 11.67% who were in Step 2 of Figure 3, 66.67% stated they had gone through Step 1 of Figure 3 prior to reaching Step 2 of Figure 3. Of the 68.33% of participants who were in Step 3 of Figure 3, 22.22% had gone from Step 0 to Step 1 to Step 3 of Figure 3 (i.e. they had performed entry-level work but not intermediate-level work before reaching full employment), 19.44% had gone from Step 0 to Step 2 to Step 3 of Figure 3 (i.e. they did not perform entry-level work prior to attaining intermediate level work and eventually reaching full employment) and 30.56% had gone straight from Step 0 to Step 3 of Figure 3 (i.e. did not perform entry-level or intermediate-level work and had attained full employment straightaway). Finally, 27.78% of the participants had gone through all four steps of Figure 3.

The strength of this thesis is the research explains why certain behaviours or themes contributed toward the progression or prevented career success at different degrees of employment. As predicted in the literature review, not all participants had gone through each step of employment. Thus, the present thesis provides a wholesome view of the various pathways that can be taken toward reaching full employment.

Materials

The Critical Incident Technique is an inductive, exploratory interview technique which can be used as a tool to gain knowledge about how Indian migrants go through each step of their job-hunting journey in New Zealand as shown in Figure 1 (Flanagan, 1954). It is inductive as it does not assume what will be predicted but discovers themes through the process of interviewing organically (Flanagan, 1954). It is a technique which investigates recurring themes between narratives from the experiences of individuals (Flanagan, 1954).

The Critical Incident Technique is often used in work psychology to identify positive and negative events. Developing an online questionnaire based on the Critical Incident Technique, the researcher gains an understanding of why previous behaviour and themes identified in the responses were effective or ineffective in attaining work at each degree of employment as shown in Figure 1.

A typical critical incident comprises of three components (Butterfield, et al., 2004): a) antecedent information (i.e. What led up to the positive event where the respondent got a job or what led up to the negative outcome where the respondent did not get a job); b) description of the experience (i.e. What helped or what made it difficult to get the job); c) the outcome of the experience (i.e. What lessons were learnt from the positive outcome and negative outcome). How these three elements from the Critical Incident Technique were used in the present thesis are shown in Table 1 below.

When conducting the questionnaire, the employment steps were labelled as Step 1: Unemployment; Step 2; Entry-Level work; Step 3: Intermediate level work; Step 4: Full employment (as shown in Table 1). After further consideration, the employment labels were re-evaluated as shown in Figure 1 where *Unemployment* is Step 0 as *Unemployment* implies unpaid work whereas the rest of the employment stages imply paid work. Although, as the questionnaire had already been sent out and for the purpose of consistency, the labels remained (as Step 1: Unemployment; Step 2; Entry-Level work; Step 3: Intermediate level work; Step 4: Full employment) as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 showing an overview of the questionnaire which investigated positive and negative critical incidents at Each Degree of Employment

Step 1: Unemployment	Step 2: Entry-Level	Step 3: Intermediate level	Step 4: Full employment
1. What led up to you getting or not getting a job? 2. What was it that the employer, yourself, or anyone else involved did that was helpful or made it difficult for you to get the job? 3. What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?	1. What led up to you getting or not getting an entry-level job? 2. What was it that the employer, yourself, or anyone else involved did that was helpful or made it difficult for you to get the job? 3. What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?	1. What led up to you getting or getting an intermediate-level job? 2. What was it that the employer, yourself, or anyone else involved did that was helpful or made it difficult for you to get the job? 3. What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?	1. What led up to you getting or not getting a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualifications? 2. What was it that the employer, yourself, or anyone else involved did that was helpful in getting you the job? 3. What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?

Procedure

Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC) reviewed the proposed research and questionnaire. Upon approval on 10th October 2018 (MUHEC NOR 18/51), pilot studies were conducted prior to data collection. To adhere to ethical considerations proposed by MUHEC, the advertisement of the research included a condensed version of the Information Sheet but ensured all the important points explained. The online questionnaire included the whole Information Sheet. Both the information on the advertisement and the online questionnaire

indicated that completion and submission of the online survey imply that consent of data is provided. However, once submitted, participants will not be able to alter their responses nor withdraw from the research as all responses are anonymous. Furthermore, the rights of the participants were outlined in the advertisement and the information sheet of the questionnaire which ensured that the data provided will remain confidential and all identifiable information will be removed. Participants were made aware that the data collected from the questionnaire will be held in a secure file at Massey University for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

A pilot study was conducted with 4 Indian migrants and 1 non-Indian migrant to assess the comprehensiveness and face validity of the online questionnaire. The ages of these pilot participants ranged from 25-65. All five of the participants had formal qualifications and were working at an intermediate level (Step 3 of Figure 1) and full employment (Step 4 of Figure 1). The pilot participants were requested to provide specific feedback (oral or written) based on the following criteria:

- How clear the instructions were in terms of understanding terminology such as positive and negative incidents
- How engaging the questionnaire and how long it took to get through the questionnaire
- Overall language and clarity of instructions
- The layout of the online questionnaire

Based on the suggestions of the pilot participants, each section of their feedback was reviewed. The pilot participants suggested that the term 'incident' carried a negative connotation and therefore did not fit well when the incident was paired with the term 'positive critical incident.' Therefore, the term 'incident' was replaced with 'outcome' instead. Hence, the opportunities which enabled progression in the trajectory of Indian

migrant's journey of job-hunting was termed as a positive outcome and the barriers were termed as a negative outcome. The terminology was explained in the instructions of the questionnaire and stated: "Critical incidents are simply short stories about your job-hunting journey detailing positive outcomes where you found success (i.e. got a job) and negative outcomes where you faced barriers (i.e. did not get a job)." The feedback also indicated to ask whether participants in Step 3 and 4 of Figure 1 had attained work in Step 2 prior to reaching Step 3 or 4. The change was effective as participants would only answer questions about the employment steps (as shown in Figure 1) pertaining to their journey. For example, if a respondent was in Step 3, they were asked whether they had experienced employment in Step 2. If a respondent was in Step 4, they were asked whether they had experienced employment in either or both Steps 2 and 3 of Figure 1.

Upon revising feedback from the first pilot study, the researcher conducted a second pilot study with three Indian migrants different from the first pilot study. The second pilot study ensured that the process of responding to the questionnaire was smooth and clear. The second pilot test also required the participants to provide feedback based on the same criteria as the first pilot study. The feedback given did not require further revisions and the distribution of the online questionnaire had begun.

As stated in the Participants' section above, 60 Indian migrants participated in the study with a return rate of 44 usable surveys to analyse. The recruitment process was two-tiered. Advertisements of the online questionnaire were first distributed to Indian Newslink, migrant settlement agencies, and Indian cultural organisations. These organisations were identified through internet searches and personal networks. The representatives of these agencies were requested to advertise the questionnaire on their noticeboards, social media platforms and mailing lists. The return rate through this first mode of recruitment was N=15. The relatively low return response through this method may be due to potential distribution

issues of public advertising. A potential issue was the wariness of migrants to partake in research which could impact their career development and visa status despite stating all responses are anonymous and with the assurance of all identifiable information will be removed. Therefore, the researcher realised there was a need to contact Indian migrants directly.

The second tier of recruitment involved distributing the online questionnaire using a snowballing sampling technique. Personal contacts were requested to identify potential participants in their Indian networking group who fit the selection criteria of this research. Once identified, these potential participants were sent an advertisement of the research through email, word of mouth and social media platforms such as WhatsApp. The return response rate through this method was more successful in reaching N=60 participants.

Method of data analysis

Content analysis was conducted to find the frequency of theories and their corresponding sub-theories among the responses. Content analysis codes and identifies themes (Weber, 1990) from the responses and in the context of this research, the theories are acculturation, social dominance, and systemic discrimination. As this is an exploratory study, the researcher read the responses as a whole and then listed sub-themes under each theory which appeared to be most frequently occurring in the responses. The researcher listed the themes relevant to the findings before coding the data. The researcher then evaluated each response of the employment steps with an independent rater and agreed upon whether the themes in the list were identified among the responses.

Process of analysis

1. To gain inter-rater reliability, the researcher and an independent rater had taken part in performing the content analysis for the responses at each step of employment. The independent rater was a previous postgraduate student who has experience in research.
2. The researcher and the independent rater had a digital copy of the responses and worked independently to identify any themes in each response.
3. The themes corresponding to each response was noted in comment boxes next to each response. For example, if the response was “I gained work through a friend,” the passage was given a label of ‘networking’ in the comment box. In addition to identifying the themes, the researcher and the independent rater indicated which step of employment the respondent’s positive and negative critical incident was describing.

The reason the researcher and independent rater noted the corresponding employment step to each response was that while each section of the questionnaire was dedicated to each step of employment, a few participants at the entry-level and full employment stage had a tendency to answer in the unemployment section itself (if participants at Step 3 of Figure 1 had not undergone Steps 1 and 2 of Figure 1). Therefore, these respondents did not answer anything in the entry-level or full employment sections as they had already written their experience of finding entry-level and full employment in the unemployment section.

These responses were analysed at the stage of employment the respondent was referring to. For example, if Person A had selected that they went straight to full employment from unemployment, they would have received two sets of questions to

answer (regarding unemployment positive and negative critical incidents and full employment positive and negative critical incidents). However, Person A wrote their experience of how they got to full employment at the unemployment section itself and left the questions at the full employment section blank. Therefore, the researcher and the independent rater were required to break down their responses and allocate their experiences to the respective stage of employment they were referring to.

4. Once the researcher and the independent rater had assigned relevant themes to the responses, they had compared their independent rating to each other. The researcher and independent rater went through the responses together and compared their understanding of the responses and the themes assigned to each response.
5. Eight matrices were drawn which included the positive and negative critical incidents at all four steps of employment. The matrix had an axis for each rater with the frequencies of themes the rater had assigned to a passage Fleiss (1981). The number of times a theme occurred was put in a matrix to record the theme assigned by each rater. The researcher totalled all the frequencies of themes to indicate the proportion of agreement to disagreements between them and the independent rater. This ratio of agreements to disagreements between the researcher and the independent rater assisted in gathering the Kappa coefficients for each positive and negative critical incident at each step of employment resulting in eight Kappa coefficients. The Kappa expressed the extent of the agreement level between the researcher and the independent rater. In other words, the agreement level measures the Kappa coefficient when the researcher and independent rater obtained the same results when they separately coded the responses. The Kappa coefficients were evaluated using Fleiss' (1981) rules for assessing the significance of Kappa as follows:

Kappa of 0.40 to 0.60: fair

Kappa of 0.60 to 0.75: good

Kappa of above 0.75: excellent

Statistical calculations

The results in the present study have been assessed for association to determine whether the core themes emerged in the findings i.e. networking and work experience, are significant at each step of employment. To determine the presence of the themes at each stage of work, a Chi-squared (χ^2) test was conducted. Chi-square is a statistical method used to evaluate the relationship between variables. The test of association was performed to assess the significance of associations between the top three themes each employment step of Figure 1 (Cochran, 1954).

Chapter 3 – Results

Content Analyses were conducted separately for each step in Figure 1, and for each positive and negative critical incident question. For each content analysis, inter-rater reliability was calculated. The researcher and independent rater then re-evaluated the data together and thoughtfully discussed the key issues until a consensus was reached to resolve any disagreements (Kolbe and Burnett, 1991). Participants' critical incidents were generally each reflective of only one theme, in any given content analysis.

Step 0 of Figure 1: Unemployment

Table 2: Core themes identified in Step 0 of Figure 1 (Unemployment)

Themes	Positive Incident	Negative Incident	Total
Networking	23	5	28
Work experience	5	14	19
Skills and Qualifications	0	3	3
Visa Policies & Status	0	2	2
Racial bias	0	1	1
Total	28	25	53

Coefficient Kappa at Step 0 for positive critical incidents was $k = 0.88$ and for negative critical incidents $k = 0.94$. Fleiss (1981) considers Kappa coefficients above 0.75 as excellent. Therefore, the content analyses performed in Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 1 were sufficiently reliable to proceed with examining the responses of both positive and negative critical incidents.

The positive critical incidents at Step 0 of Figure 1, in Table 2, largely described how skilled Indian migrants attained unpaid *volunteering* work prior to their initial access into the New Zealand paid workforce. In descending order of recorded frequency, and irrespective of positive or negative incidents (adding these together), the top three core themes emerging in

the responses at Step 0 of Figure 1 were *Networking* (28/53 = 52.83% of responses), *Work experience* (19/53 = 35.85% of responses), and *Skills and qualifications* (3/53 = 5.66% of responses). Other themes were negligible (Table 2) in terms of frequency.

With respect to positive incidents alone, in Table 2 the most frequently mentioned theme was *Networking* (23/53 = 43.40% of responses). At Step 0 of Figure 1, skilled Indian migrants described that they networked with friends and family in order to get unpaid volunteering work. A representative example of how *Networking* with friends was described in a positive critical incident at Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 1 is: “One of my friends, who is working on a senior position, helped me to find my first voluntary job.”

A comment about a positive critical incident which succinctly captured *Networking* in Table 2 with family was: “I was referred to a Volunteering organisation by my family and that helped in me in getting the job.”

Another mode of *Networking* was through attending job-search events as a respondent stated this helped them in volunteering with a migrant settlement group: “Attended job search seminars. Met other new migrants. Everywhere the discussion was take what you get. So, I volunteered with [migrant settlement group].” Hence, at Step 0 (unemployment) *Networking* through friends, family and job-search were important for gaining volunteering work.

Turning to negative experiences in finding work through *Networking*, a participant stated that: “I applied for a lot of entry-level jobs online but didn't get any response as I didn't have a good reference from internal staff at those companies.”

Returning to positive experiences, *Work experience* at Step 0 (unemployment) helped skilled migrants attain volunteering work as succinctly captured in the response: “I gave my CV to a [migrant settlement agency] and my experience got me the volunteering job”.

When participants reported negative incidents, Table 2 shows that there was a clear shift to another most common theme: *Work experience* was the most frequently mentioned

theme among the negative critical incidents (14/53 = 26.4% of responses). Representatively of this theme, a respondent at Step 0 of Figure 1 commented that “There is too much competition and lack of right experience in the country (overseas experience may not count in some instances) and might lead to not getting a job.” Thus, the main barrier to finding paid employment was (the lack of) *Work experience*.

A potentially emergent theme in Table 2, which manifested only in negative critical incidents at Step 0 of Figure 1, was *Skills and Qualifications*. A respondent stated that the lack of recognition towards overseas qualifications by employers caused barriers in finding paid employment: “The recruiters and employers were not ready to take a non-kiwi qualification seriously.”

Apart from *Networking*, *Work experience* and *Skills and Qualifications*, there were relatively few other core themes in Table 2. Focusing on the three core themes (*Networking*, *Work experience* and *Skills and Qualifications*), the Chi-Square Test of Association was used to calculate the probability of obtaining the observed frequencies across the top two themes in Table 2 by chance alone. Initially, a 3x2 analysis was conducted with the top three themes, but the expected frequencies were too low to render the test viable (Cochran, 1954). Therefore, a 2x2 analysis was conducted with the top two themes being *Networking* and *Work experience*. The Test of association revealed that as the responses moved from positive to negative incidents, there is a corresponding shift from *Work experience* to *Networking* (in table 2) as ($\chi = 14.6483$, $p=.00013$) and the test was statistically significant.

Step 1 of Figure 1: Entry-level Access

Table 3: Core themes identified in Step 1 of Figure 1 (Entry-Level)

Themes	Positive Incident	Negative Incident	Total
Networking	16	6	22
Work experience	2	6	8
Skills and qualifications	2	3	5
Occupational stereotyping	0	2	2
Visa Policies & Status	1	1	2
Similarity-attraction	1	0	1
Accent Bias	0	1	1
Total	22	19	41

The Coefficient Kappa at Step 1 for positive critical incidents at was $k = 0.91$ and for negative critical incidents $k = 0.95$.

In Step 1, the top three themes overall, i.e., across positive and negative incidents combined, were again *Networking* which emerged most frequently (22/41 = 53.66% of responses), followed by *Work experience* (8/41 = 19.51% of all responses) and *Skills and Qualifications* (5/41 = 12.2% of all responses). The other themes were negligible and thereby dropped from any further analysis

Breaking these incidents down into positive, and negative, Table 3 shows that *Networking* was for a second time the most frequently mentioned theme among the positive critical incident narrative (16/41 = 30.02% of responses). However, this time the positive incidents involved gaining access to paid employment rather than unpaid volunteering. For example, a respondent stated that they had attained entry-level work through *Networking* within the Indian community: “I was volunteering for a [Indian] cultural event where I met a person who was looking for staff to work at her laundry. I just jumped at the opportunity for an initial kick start.” Another respondent described a positive incident of how *Networking* through employment agencies was helpful: “I registered with [an employment agency] and

could enter into an entry-level job with the help of [the employment agency].” Hence, *Networking* within the Indian community and employment agencies were helpful in attaining entry-level work.

In terms of negative experiences of job-hunting, a respondent who did not network with recruitment agencies and therefore was not able to get entry-level work advised that “It is imperative to register with as many recruitment agencies as you can. It is also important that you have at least 2 year's work visa. Early you get the role better are the chances of progressing in the organization.”

In Table 3, the next most common theme in the positive incidents was *Work experience*. At Step 1 in Figure 1, the entry-level work was gained through volunteering at Step 0 of Figure 1. An example of how *Work experience* gained in Step 0 helped in attaining entry-level work at Step 1 was: “My voluntary work leads me to a casual contract. My previous reporting manager identified my abilities and offered a casual contract immediately after my voluntary work.”

In terms of negative incidents in Table 3, an example of how (the lack of New Zealand) *Work experience* was described in a negative critical incident is: “The recruiters and employers not ready to take a non-kiwi qualification and experience seriously.” Hence, local New Zealand work experience is important for gaining access to entry-level work.

Turning to positive incidents, the third most common theme was *Skills and qualifications*. Despite having overseas qualifications, a respondent stated that: “Even though I obtained a master’s degree from Overseas, I have enrolled in a Graduate diploma in local university to update my skills.”

How *Skills and qualifications* were described in negative critical incidents was most succinctly captured by the comment: “Sometimes disclosing too many degrees obtained from

overseas in your CV, might put off employers for the role advertised. They might be under impression that incumbent is overqualified for the role.” Thus, the lack of recognition towards overseas *Skills and qualifications* caused barriers in attaining entry-level work.

Focusing on the top three core themes (Networking, Work experience and Skills and Qualifications), a Test of Association was performed to calculate the probability of obtaining the observed frequencies by chance alone. A 3x2 Test of Association revealed that as the responses moved from positive to negative incidents, there is a corresponding shift from Work experience and Skills and qualifications to Networking ($\chi = 6.1568$, $p=.046032$) and the test was statistically significant.

Step 2 of Figure 1: Intermediate level of access

Table 4: Core themes identified in Step 2 of Figure 1 (Intermediate level)

Themes	Positive Incident	Negative Incident	Total
Work experience	5	5	10
Skills and qualifications	5	4	9
Networking	6	1	7
Accent bias	1	0	1
Total	17	10	27

Coefficient Kappa at Step 2 (intermediate level) for positive critical incidents was $k = 0.92$ and for negative critical incidents $k = 0.84$ with both Kappa coefficients being above 0.75.

As shown in Table 4, in descending order of recorded frequency, and irrespective of positive or negative incidents (adding these together), the top three core themes were *Work experience* emerged most frequently ($10/27 = 37\%$ of responses), followed by *Skills and*

Qualifications (9/27 = 33.3% of all responses) and *Networking* (7/27 = 25.9% of all responses).

An example which captured how *Work experience* had emerged as a theme among positive critical incidents is: “I had experience with laboratory skills, and I managed to get a job in Auckland. This was not what I was trained for. I am a doctor and a Pathologist in India. Yes, it is a level different from my training, but I don't consider a job to be higher or lower.”

Subsequently, not having local New Zealand *Work experience* had emerged most frequently in the negative critical incident narratives (5/27 = 18.5% of responses) as a respondent stated: “The level of experience required to get into an intermediate level of the job was quite high. Educational grades were hardly on the list of criteria for those jobs.”

Skills and qualifications from obtained from New Zealand provided opportunities in the positive experiences at Step 2 of Figure 1 as succinctly described in the comment: “Despite having a postgraduate degree from my home country, but in order to get a job here in NZ I had do 7 years of rigorous higher study.”

Skills and qualifications were captured in a negative critical incident as a respondent stated: “I think probably I was overqualified for the job. Considering my age, I was too old or overqualified for a mid-level job.”

Networking which emerged the most in the positive critical incidents (6/27 = 22%) connected skilled migrants to relevant jobs by maintaining contact with past employers. A textual example of how networking helped in attaining intermediate level work was: I got my present job mainly because I knew the management people, though I am more qualified for the job that I am doing now.”

Turning to a negative critical incident of a textual example where a respondent did not attain intermediate-level work due to the lack of connections through *Networking* was: “You need a reference here to have a better chance to get a job”

Focusing on the three core themes (*Work experience, Skills and qualifications and Networking*), a Test of Association was conducted to calculate the probability of obtaining the observed frequencies by chance alone. A 3x2 Test of Association revealed that as the responses moved from positive to negative incidents, there was not a corresponding shift from *Networking* to *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* ($\chi = 2.4272$, $p=.297128$) as the test was not statistically significant.

Step 3 of Figure 1: Full employment

Table 5: Core themes identified in Step 3 of Figure 1 (Full employment)

Themes	Positive Incident	Negative Incident	Total
Work experience	19	8	27
Skills and qualifications	10	8	18
Networking	15	3	18
Visa Policies & Status	2	1	3
Accent bias	0	1	1
Racial bias	0	1	1
Total	46	22	68

The Coefficient Kappa at Step 3 (full employment) for positive critical incidents was $k = 0.97$ and for negative critical incidents $k = 0.94$.

As shown in Table 5, in descending order of recorded frequency, and irrespective of positive or negative incidents (adding these together), the top three core themes were *Work experience* emerged most frequently ($27/68 = 39.7\%$ of responses), followed by *Skills and*

Qualifications (18/68 = 26.5% of all responses) and *Networking* (18/68 = 26.5% of all responses).

Work experience which emerged the most in the positive critical incident narratives (19/68 = 27.9% of responses) had helped attain full employment as succinctly captured by the response: “My NZ experience for a short term of about 6 months seemed to be more reflective of my skills in comparison to the years of work done overseas.”

Turning to a negative experience a respondent noted how (the lack of) *Work experience* caused barriers in attaining full employment (8/68 = 11.76% of responses): “No previous experience in this country, qualifications not in line with the job requirement.”

Networking, through the forms of references from ex-employers, helped skilled Indian migrants attain full employment. A textual example of how *Networking* had emerged in a positive incident is: “I got a call from an ex-employer, who had interviewed me for an afterschool job in the month of May. She called back in July stating that there is a suitable vacancy for me and whether she could pass on my CV. I told her that I would like to update it and hand it in myself to the new organisation by meeting the Principal, so I did. Then I had an interview call pretty soon and a job offer.” Hence, *Networking* with ex-employers had helped skilled migrants in attaining full employment.

Turning to how *Networking* appeared in a negative critical incident was: “Not getting an opportunity to meet the prospective employer.” Hence, not being able to communicate with potential employers caused barriers in attaining full employment.

To obtain full employment, many respondents had also noted how gaining New Zealand *Skills and qualifications*, in spite of having similar qualifications from overseas, had helped them attain full employment as shown in the comment: “I did my masters in Environmental Science from the University of Auckland, and I did another masters’ in the

same field in India as well. and now I am working as an Environmental engineer in a waste management company.”

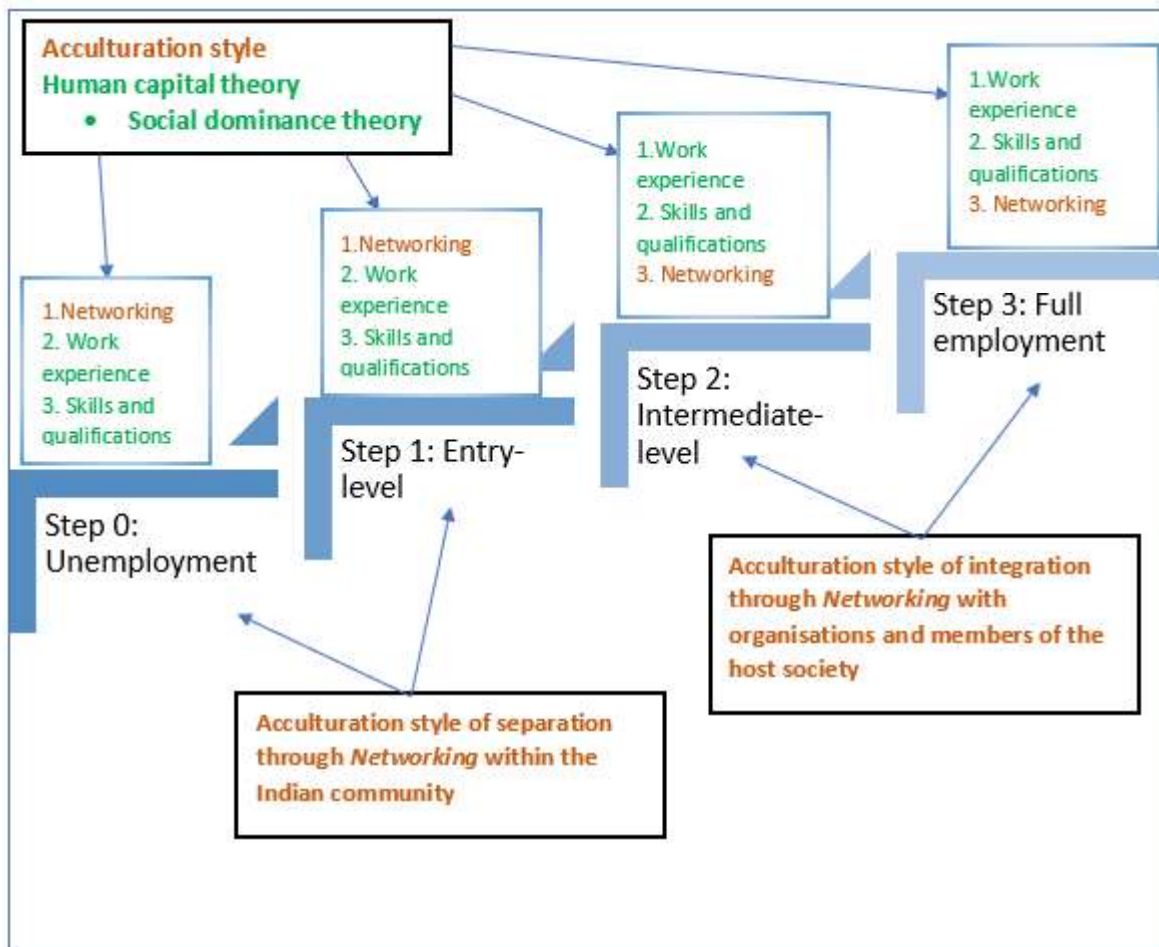
Turning to negative critical incident narratives, respondents had also experienced their *Skills and qualifications* from overseas prevented them from attaining full employment (8/68 = 11.76% of responses) as illustrated in the comment: “In most cases, it was the employer who felt I was overqualified or the salary offered for the role was below my current salaries.”

Focusing on the three core themes (*Work experience, Skills and qualifications and Networking*), a Test of Association was conducted to calculate the probability of obtaining the observed frequencies by chance alone. A 3x2 Test of Association revealed that as the responses moved from positive to negative incidents, there was not a corresponding shift from *Networking* to *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* ($\chi = 3.3032$, $p = .19174$) as the test was not statistically significant.

Chapter 4 – Discussion

The present thesis is an exploratory study probing the potential open-ended linkages (i.e. acculturation, systemic discrimination, and social dominance) to each degree of employment depicted in Figure 1. The exploration of the emerged themes and their relationship to the employment steps in Figure 1 have not previously been researched among skilled Indian migrants in New Zealand.

Figure 4: The relevant theories attributed to the most prominent themes which emerged in the response at each stage of employment



Summary of main findings

There was a pattern in the findings. As skilled Indian migrants got closer in proximity to full employment, the pattern of findings showed that *Work experience* was a predominant barrier in the initial steps of employment and *Networking* was a positive enabler to find work. There

was a statistically significant association with positive and negative critical incidents, and the themes of *Work experience*, *Skills and qualifications*, and *Networking* at Step 0 (unemployment) and Step 1 (entry-level) of Figure 4. At Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 4 the most salient theme in barriers is the lack of *Work experience* and at Step 1 (entry-level) of Figure 4 the most predominant themes in barriers to work were *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* with *Networking* being the most positive enabler at these two steps. There was a statistically non-significant association with positive and negative critical incidents, and the themes of *Work experience*, *Skills and qualifications*, and *Networking* at Step 2 (intermediate level) and Step 3 (full employment). At Steps 2 and 3 of Figure 4, *Work experience*, and *Skills and qualifications* became positive enablers alongside *Networking*. There are apparent differences in the salient themes across the distinct stages of job-hunting which means that the theories need to account for these differences.

Theoretical implications

Initially, in Chapter 1 of the Literature Review, it was anticipated that *Systemic discrimination* in Figure 1 may play a role in the career trajectory of skilled Indian migrants. However, it was not a salient theme.

Acculturation and Networking

Under the theory of *Acculturation*, the literature review proposed that *Networking* may emerge in the responses. There were different forms of *Acculturation* at distinct stages of employment. For example, the findings showed that for skilled Indian migrants at Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 4, *Networking* was predominantly with friends and family. Therefore, skilled migrants preserved strong communal connections and thereby used the acculturation style of separation by not engaging with non-Indian members of the host society (Bourhis et al., 1997). However, as skilled Indian migrants progressed from Step 1

(entry-level) of Figure 4 they networked with both members of the Indian community and the host society. At Step 2 (intermediate level) to Step 3 (full employment) of Figure 4, the respondents mainly networked at an organisational level with recruitment agencies and ex-employers. Therefore, without making the assumption that skilled Indian migrants have neglected their communal relationships as they got closer to full employment, the respondents at these Steps 1, 2 and 3 of Figure 4 adopted the acculturation style of integration as they networked the Indian community (Bourhis et al., 1997). *Networking* in the present study differentiated with whom skilled migrants networked with, whereas other studies (e.g. Nadermann and Eissenstat, 2015) do not measure the distinction of who migrants networked and at what stage of employment they networked with certain groups.

For example, Nadermann and Eissenstat (2015) conducted a study with 172 international Korean students in America. Two of the measures Nadermann and Eissenstat (2015) assessed were *Acculturation* which was evaluated using the Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AAMAS), and *Networking* which was assessed using three scales which measured networking intensity, networking comfort and proactive networking and career decision self-efficacy. All three *Networking* scales measured attitudinal, behavioural, and the emotional aspects of the participants. Nadermann and Eissenstat (2015) performed data analysis using structural equation modelling to calculate the descriptive statistics of all the measures in the study. The findings showed that the participants who had a high score of *Acculturation* had also reported high levels of career networking. Nadermann and Eissenstat (2015) suggested that for participants who are less acculturated, *Networking* would be more challenging. However, a limitation of this research is that it did not identify whom the participants networked with and it extrapolated its findings to suggest that the practise of *Networking* itself implies integration.

Whereas, the current research differentiates significantly from previous studies on *Networking* as it identified the relationship between the stage of employment and whom skilled Indian migrants predominantly networked with. At Step 0 of Figure 4, as skilled Indian migrants networked within their Indian community, they used the separation acculturation style. However, at Steps 1, 2 and 3 of Figure 4, *Networking* is qualitatively different as the respondents networked outside of the Indian community and built connections with recruitment agencies and ex-employers implying the usage of the integration acculturation style. Therefore, *Acculturation* was more predictive than *Systemic discrimination*.

Human capital theory and Work experience and Skills and Qualifications

As very briefly indicated in the literature review, *Human capital* in Figure 4 refers to how much an individual invests in themselves such as education, work experience, and the knowledge, skills, abilities and behaviours they have possessed, developed and invested in themselves (Tharmaseelan et al., 2010).

At Step 0 (unemployment) and Step 1 (entry-level) of Figure 4, skilled Indian migrants were unable to find work due to the predominant barriers of not having local New Zealand *Work experience* nor *Skills and Qualifications*. A plausible reason is that there is a sense of prejudice by New Zealand employers regarding Indian *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications*. As suggested in Chapter 1, when an employer has high *Social dominance* orientation levels, they may reject a potential employee based on the idea that they are from an inferior group which has a negative effect on how their pre-migration *Human capital* of Indian *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* is viewed by employers (Hansen and Dovidio, 2016). Therefore, the invested *Human capital* of *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* from overseas may be viewed as inferior or 'lower than' New Zealand obtained *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications*.

Despite skilled Indian migrants being highly educated and holding extensive levels *Work experience* gained from overseas, at Steps 0 and 1 of Figure 4 where *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* were the main barriers to attaining work, respondents were still required to put invest more in New Zealand obtained *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* irrespective of whether these attributes were obtained in Indian. Relative deprivation was evident as skilled migrants at the steps preceding Step 3 (i.e. Steps 0, 1 and 2) of Figure 4 may have perceived New Zealand employers to more readily hire New Zealand born individuals with similar qualifications and experience to skilled Indian migrants suggesting the employers exerted a high level of *Social dominance* orientation over skilled Indian migrants.

The preconceived notion of New Zealand employers that Indian migrants with overseas *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* do not fit into a New Zealand-based organisation suggests that there is a perceived distinction between the working styles of skills Indian migrants and New Zealanders which ranks New Zealand *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications*. Therefore, social dominance exerted by New Zealand employers results in migrants being excluded from the New Zealand labour market which forms barriers against attaining full employment in New Zealand.

Additionally, as stated in the literature review, occupational stereotyping occurs when employers from the host country hold a negative preconceived notion about members belonging to ethnic minority groups such as Indian migrants (Ndobo et al., 2018). While respondents did not explicitly experience the theory of occupational stereotyping, it is evident that occupational stereotyping had played an underlying role in the jobs that skilled Indian migrants were hired for. If organisations prevent skilled Indian migrants from reaching higher-level employment i.e. Step 3 (full employment), this can result in skilled migrants being stagnated at a certain level before they reach Step 3 of Figure 1 i.e. Step 0 of Figure 4.

Therefore, an implication of occupational stereotyping is that employers may be aware of skilled migrants' readiness to work when they enter a new country, this provides an incentive for employers to place them in work which offers long hours, with very little to no pay.

At Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 4, the respondents aimed to increase their *Human capital* by gaining volunteering work in New Zealand. Volunteering work provided a sense of how skilled Indian migrants perceive their increased chances of employability as it enabled skilled migrants to obtain the skills and experience required to work in New Zealand (Sloothes and Kampen, 2017). Volunteering work performed at Step 0 is, therefore, a form of *Human capital* investment as it helped progress the career trajectory of skilled Indian migrants offering a path to paid employment at Step 1 (entry-level) of Figure 4 (Handy and Greenspan, 2009).

As indicated earlier, skilled Indian migrants are often rejected due to the absence of not having local *Work experience and Skills and Qualifications* (Qureshi, et al., 2012). In Step 2 (intermediate level) and Step 3 (full employment), *Work experience and Skills and Qualifications* were the top themes alongside *Networking*. The negative experiences of not obtaining work at these two steps of employment were due to the lack of recognised *Human capital*. In Step 2 (intermediate level) skilled Indian migrants who are highly skilled and experienced were often considered overqualified and overeducated by New Zealand employers (Mace et al., 2005). As a result, skilled migrants were rejected from work applied at Step 2 (intermediate level) and Step 3 (full employment) of Figure 4 for being overqualified and were left to continue looking for entry-level work or were stagnated at Step 0 (unemployment) of Figure 1.

The rejection of employers based on skilled Indian migrants being overqualified led respondents to dismiss their *Work experience and Skills and qualifications* gained from

overseas and thereby diluted their *Human capital* in their resume. The idea of skilled migrants being viewed as overqualified and overeducated begs the question of why employers do not typically hire candidates who have experiences and skills beyond what is demanded by job requirements (i.e. overqualified).

According to Robert et al. (2014), a motive for hiring managers to discriminate against individuals that are highly skilled beyond the scope of the job demands is that there are concerns over the incentive of the potential candidate. The concern about their motivation is with regard to whether the potential skilled candidate will be a flight-risk where the candidate will not remain with the organisation for a significant amount of time and will eventually move on if there is a vacant job that is more reflective of their qualifications and skills (Robert et al., 2014). New Zealand employers need to start recognising the value of overseas qualifications and perhaps shift the idea of an individual being viewed as overqualified to rather using utilising the skills beyond what is expected in the role and seeing their skills as assets and not liabilities.

As the respondents approached Step 3 (full employment) of Figure 4, *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* were as prominent as *Networking*. The recognition of *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* at Step 3 (full employment) is to be expected as skilled Indian migrants accumulated the relevant *Human capital* for gaining work which is fully reflective of what they have trained for.

Limitations and extensions

The study provides an exploratory glimpse at certain psychological processes which occur during skilled Indian migrants job-hunting journey toward full employment in New Zealand. As in any exploratory research, sample size can pose issues regarding the limited number of respondents we could gather to participate in the study. This thesis, therefore, recommends

future research to use a larger sample to increase statistical power and delve deeper into the job-seeking behaviours practised by skilled Indian migrants.

Reasons for relatively low sample size is that there may be a lack of trust on part of skilled Indian migrants especially from those who have just entered the country on a visa and are hesitant to speak out about certain issues i.e. visa status and policies. Lack of trust could also be from skilled Indian migrants who have attained full employment and may be hesitant to talk about a certain organisation they have worked with or are currently working with. Therefore, we would like to see the model in Figure 1 evaluated with a larger number of participants. Having a higher number of participants can provide a more rounded view of what it takes for skilled Indian migrants to get from unemployment to full employment. The range of participants can potentially provide a broader variety of factors that contributed to positive and negative critical incidents that have not already been researched upon in this study.

To draw a comparison, future research can run a two-way study with New Zealand employers (who are members of the dominant group) and skilled Indian migrants to measure how different or similar the perceptions of organisational cultural fit is between dominant and minority groups. Therefore, future research could find substantive evidence of similarity-attraction between New Zealand employers and skilled Indian migrants. To measure similarity-attraction, future research can adopt Coates' (2003) method. Coates' (2003) questionnaire aimed to identify how participants estimated whether a particular employee would be selected for a job based on the current climate of the occupational sector. The questionnaire required participants to rank eight employees from one to eight based on how likely they were to be accepted for a job. Future research can adopt this method and include questions relating to skilled Indian migrants, and how overseas *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* are viewed relative to the job the candidate is applying for. Measuring the

estimates provided by both employers and skilled Indian migrants about the likelihood of potential candidates being hired provides a wholesome view of how the New Zealand labour market operates with concern to skilled Indian migrants.

Another limitation of this study is that 38.6% of the skilled Indian migrants in this research had attained full employment straightaway from unemployment (as shown in Step 3 of Figure 3). Therefore, this study was limited in capturing a wholesome view of skilled Indian migrants' career trajectory towards reaching full employment (Step 3 of Figure 3). Future research can conduct a two-way study to compare and contrast the positive and negative critical incidents of skilled Indian migrants in New Zealand to observe the differences in job-seeking behaviours.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate whether the wisdom brought forth in work psychology research in terms of the theoretical constructs identified in Figure 1, emerged among the responses in the positive and negative critical incidents of finding work in New Zealand. Without research like this study, which includes gaining insight into the positive experience of job hunting as opposed to merely investigating the challenges of obtaining full employment for skilled Indian migrants, provides for a more hopeful and positive outcome. We believe this study has identified a number of interesting linkages, some of which were overlooked in the literature review such as *Human capital theory* and the link of *social dominance* to *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications*. Therefore, to this extent, the research has achieved its purpose in detecting the reoccurrences of similarities and differences between the themes that emerged among the positive and negative critical incidents of the job-hunting journey for skilled Indian migrants. The present thesis also provides a clear view of what it takes to attain full employment in New Zealand (i.e. *Networking*, *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* as shown in Figure 4). The

challenge now is to broaden the vein of this research by conducting and theorising more studies of similar nature.

Implications for practice

The reason this research is unique is as it focused on what got skilled Indian migrants from Step 0 (unemployment) to their next step of employment (as shown in Figure 4), thereby investigating their job-hunting behaviours at each degree of employment and the association to the theories shown in Figure 4. This information can be useful for newcomer skilled Indian migrants as they can tailor the findings of job-seeking behaviours at a particular employment step (as shown in Figure 4) to their current stage of employment in order to progress in their job-hunting journey if they have not already attained full employment (Step 3 of Figure 1).

The data that has been gathered contains relevant implications for professional refocussing. Existing research on employment and migrants have focused solely on the migrant perspective, thereby risking the potential for a fundamental attribution error. By the present research also following the same pattern of focusing on migrant behaviours at each degree of employment, the researcher has also perhaps fallen into the trap of not investigating the behaviours of employers. However, it would be helpful to examine how these job-hunting behaviours compare to what New Zealand employers expect from potential New Zealand-born and skilled Indian migrant candidates, and whether is a difference between the employers' expectations of skilled Indian migrants compared to New Zealand-born locals.

Furthermore, for future research to redirect the focus from skilled migrants to employers, research can investigate on why overseas qualifications are not as well recognised and why many highly skilled Indian migrants are viewed as overqualified to the point that this is the basis of the rejection of jobs for Indian migrants. The view of 'overqualification' is

a subjective perspective by employers where the skills possessed by an individual exceeds the job demands. As shown in the findings, skilled Indian migrants attempt to mitigate this issue by diluting and neglecting their overseas obtained credentials from their resumes. To provide substantial evidence as to why highly skilled migrants are considered overqualified for certain roles, future research could examine why employers view skills that exceed job demands as irrelevant as opposed to utilising the extensive skills of potential candidates to other areas of the business.

Conclusion

The model proposed in this thesis has the potential to contribute toward educating skilled Indian migrants on how they can navigate their career trajectory to eventually reach full employment. The present thesis also has the potential to contribute towards creating a blueprint for newcomer skilled Indian migrants in terms of how they can form a strategic pathway in their job-hunting journey to reach full employment. For example, the findings from this study show that the more the participants *Networked* with both Indian members of the country as well as members of the host society, this helped in getting closer in proximity to full employment. Additionally, the more *Human capital* invested within individuals such as gaining New Zealand *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* can help newcomer Indian migrants in reaching full employment. Particularly, at the stage of unemployment, volunteering work had helped respondents in getting to paid employment which is useful information for newcomers so that they know where to begin their job-hunting journey.

As shown in the findings, *Networking* is a consistent theme across responses at each step of employment. Under the theory of *Human capital*, *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* had gradually and increasingly become more frequent at each step of

employment and it shifted from predominantly appearing in negative experiences to emerging in the positive experiences of job-hunting. By Step 3 of Figure 4, *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* become the most prominent themes alongside networking.

Future research can consider solely focussing on *Networking behaviours*, the most relevant types of *Work experience* and *Skills and qualifications* to find more specific positive enablers for skilled Indian migrants to attain full employment. The effort of this research is a humble drive for work psychology to conduct further study on the best ways for skilled Indian migrants navigate their job-hunting journey in New Zealand at each degree of employment. Work Psychology has a significant role in contributing not only towards understanding the behaviours which positively enabled or negatively prevented skilled Indian migrants from attaining work, but also shifting the focus toward how employers and organisations can perform best practises to positively impact and support skilled Indian migrants in New Zealand.

APPENDIX

Questionnaire



Information Page



Indian migrants' stories at different degrees of employment

Information Sheet

We are interested to hear about the job-hunting journey of Indian migrants in New Zealand. One of the first things people do when they change countries is find a job that matches their skills and qualifications which is also known as full employment. Full employment means that you are working in a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualification(s). We realise some people will be further along the path towards full employment than others. Wherever you are in the process we want to hear your stories.

Please note that your data is not 'owned' by the research team but is rather in the safe-keeping of the research team. We assure you that all identifiable information revealing your identity, or any organisation will be removed.

Completion and submission of your information in this questionnaire implies consent of data. You have the right to decline to answer any question(s) as well as choose not to submit the questionnaire at any point. However, once submitted, you will not be able to alter your responses nor withdraw from the research as **all responses are anonymous**.

If you experience any unpleasant memories of job-hunting, please feel free to access the charitable and counselling services of

- Auckland Regional Migrant Services (ph: 09-625 2440),
- Shakti Legal Advocacy and Family Social Services (ph: 0800742584),
- Migrant Action Trust (ph: 6293500; email: info@migrantactiontrust.org.nz),
- Refugees as Survivors (ph: 09 270 0870) and
- Lifeline Aotearoa (0800 543 354).

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*This project has been reviewed and approved by the
Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Northern, Application NOR 18/51.*

*If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research,
please contact A/Prof David Tappin, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee:
Northern, telephone 09 414 0800 x 43384, email humanethicsnorth@massey.ac.nz.*

Instructions

Instructions

Thank you for participating in this study. This questionnaire consists of a series of questions to learn more about your story in looking for work in New Zealand.

The questionnaire should only require 10-15 minutes of your time.

Your data will be held in a secure file at Massey University for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

Please complete all the sections below if possible. You have the right to not answer any particular question.

Please note: Your answers guide the selection of questions which are presented in this survey. Please consider your responses carefully before clicking 'Next', as you may not be able to return to a previous page to review your answer.

Many thanks for your assistance with this survey.

Consent

Respondent Consent

Thank you for participating in this questionnaire.

Your participation implies consent.

You have the right to decline to answer any particular question.

I have read and understood the information sheet for this study and consent to collection of my responses.

(Please click on the 'Yes' choice if you wish to proceed.)

Yes

No

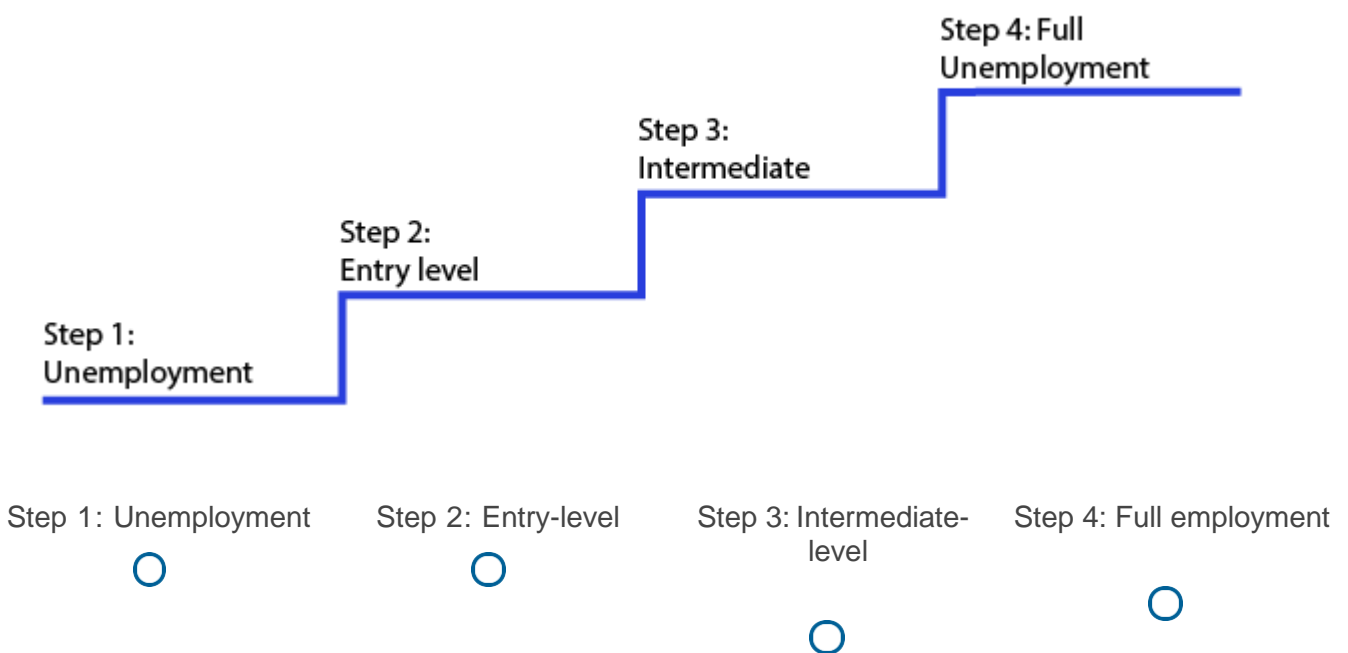
SECTION A: Learning about you

Learning about you

Which employment step are you currently on?

Please note:

- *Step 1: You are currently seeking work and/or unemployed.*
- *Step 2: An entry-level job is a job which requires little work experience. This job may not be in the sector equivalent to your field of qualification and skills nor will it be a job that you have been trained for. In short, it is a step into the workforce.*
- *Step 3: An intermediate-level job is when you are working within your preferred sector of employment but are not performing a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualifications. In other words, it is a lower-level and/or a different position from what you have been trained for.*
- *Step 4: Full employment means that you are working within your preferred sector/field of employment and you are working in a position that is entirely reflective of your skills and qualification(s). In other words, you are working in a job that you have been trained for.*



Before you attained your intermediate level job (*a lower-level and/or a different position from what you have been trained for*), did you work in an entry-level position?

- Yes
- No

Before you attained full employment (a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualifications), did you work in an:

- Entry-level position (i.e. went from Step 1 to Step 2 to Step 4)
- Intermediate-level position (i.e. went from Step 1 to Step 3 to Step 4)
- Worked in **BOTH** entry-level and intermediate-level positions (i.e. went from Step 1 to Step 2 to Step 3 to Step 4)
- Did **NOT** work in an entry-level or intermediate level position. (In other words, from unemployment, you attained full employment straightway i.e. went from Step 1 straight to Step 4.)

Section B: Learning about the critical points

Learning about the critical points in your journey of looking for work in New Zealand

We would like to ask you some simple questions that draw on your experiences of job-hunting in New Zealand based on opportunities and barriers which have proved to be very crucial i.e. critical incidents.

Critical incidents are simply short stories about your job-hunting journey detailing **positive outcomes** where you found success (i.e. got a job) and **negative outcomes** where you faced barriers (i.e. did not get a job).

Step 1: Unemployment

You were/are seeking work and/or unemployed.

If applicable, please tell us a story about your job-hunting journey in New Zealand which led to a **positive outcome** (i.e. got a job).

By recalling this episode, please answer the questions below.

What led up to you getting a job?

What was it that the employer, yourself, or anyone else involved did that was helpful in getting you the job?

What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?

You were/are seeking work and/or unemployed.

Please tell us a story about your job-hunting journey in New Zealand which led to a **negative outcome** (i.e. did not get a job).

By recalling this episode, please answer the questions below.

What led up to you **not** getting a job?

What was it that the employer, yourself or anyone else involved did that made it difficult for you to get the job?

What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?

Section B: Step 2

Step 2: Entry-level

An entry-level job is a job which requires little work experience. This job may not be in the sector equivalent to your field of qualification and skills nor will it be a job that you have been trained for. In short, it is a step into the workforce.

Please tell us a story about your job-hunting journey in New Zealand which led to a **positive outcome** (i.e. got an entry-level job).

By recalling this episode, please answer the questions below.

What led up to you getting an entry-level job?

What was it that the employer, yourself, or anyone else involved did that was helpful in getting you the job?

What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?

An entry-level job is a job which requires little work experience. This job may not be in the sector equivalent to your field of qualification and skills nor will it be a job that you have been trained for. In short, it is a step into the workforce.

Please tell us a story about your job-hunting journey in New Zealand which led to a **negative outcome** (i.e. did not get an entry-level job).

By recalling this episode, please answer the questions below.

What led up to you **not** getting an entry-level job?

What was it that the employer, yourself or anyone else involved did that made it difficult for you to get the job?

What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?

Section B: Step 3

Step 3: Intermediate-level

An intermediate-level job is when you are working within your preferred sector of employment but are not performing a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualifications. In other words, it is a lower-level and/or a different position from what you have been trained for.

Please tell us a story about your job-hunting journey in New Zealand which led to a **positive outcome** (i.e. got an intermediate-level job).

By recalling this episode, please answer the questions below.

What led up to you getting an intermediate-level job?

What was it that the employer, yourself, or anyone else involved did that was helpful in getting you the job?

What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?

An intermediate-level job is when you are working within your preferred sector of employment but are not performing a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualifications. In other words, it is a lower-level and/or a different position from what you have been trained for.

Please tell us a story about your job-hunting journey in New Zealand which led to a **negative outcome** (i.e. did not get an intermediate-level job).

By recalling this episode, please answer the questions below.

What led up to you **not** getting an intermediate-level job?

What was it that the employer, yourself or anyone else involved did that made it difficult for you to get the job?

What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?

Section B: Step 4

Step 4: Full employment

Full employment means that you are working within your preferred field of employment and you are working in a position that is entirely reflective of your skills and qualification(s). In other words, you are working in a job that you have been trained for.

Please tell us a story about your job-hunting journey in New Zealand which led to a **positive outcome** (i.e. got a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualifications).

By recalling this episode, please answer the questions below.

What led up to you getting a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualifications?

What was it that the employer, yourself, or anyone else involved did that was helpful in getting you the job?

What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?

Full employment means that you are working within your preferred field of employment and you are working in a position that is entirely reflective of your skills and qualification(s). In other words, you are working in a job that you have been trained for.

Please tell us a story about your job-hunting journey in New Zealand which led to a **negative outcome** (i.e. did not get a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualifications).

By recalling this episode, please answer the questions below.

What led up to you **not** getting a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualifications?

What was it that the employer, yourself or anyone else involved did that made it difficult for you to get the job?

What lessons, if any, did you draw from this experience?

Section C: Your view of the job market

What helped or did not help you in moving up the employment ladder in New Zealand?

Thank you for answering all the questions about your job-hunting journey at different levels of employment.

Please note:

- *Step 2: An entry-level job is a job which requires little work experience. This job may not be in the sector equivalent to your field of qualification and skills nor will it be a job that you have been trained for. In short, it is a step into the workforce.*
- *Step 3: An intermediate-level job is when you are working within your preferred sector of employment but are not performing a job that is fully reflective of your skills and qualifications. In other words, it is a lower-level and/or a different position from what you have been trained for.*
- *Step 4: Full employment means that you are working within your preferred sector of employment and you are working in a position.*

Are there any stories you would like to share about how a job at one level helped you in getting a job at another level (e.g. entry-level to intermediate-level and intermediate-level to full employment)?

Are there any stories you would like to share about how a job at one level did **not** help you in getting a job at another level (e.g. entry-level to intermediate-level and intermediate-level to full employment)?

Demographics

Demographics

How old are you?

- 18-24 years
- 25-34 years
- 35-44 years
- 45-54 years
- 55-64 years
- 65+ years

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Other

What year did you move to New Zealand?

Where did you move to New Zealand from?

Do you currently live in New Zealand?

- Yes
- No

What Visa do you currently hold?

- Visitor visa
- Student visa
- Working holiday visa
- Work visa
- Resident visa
- New Zealand Citizenship
- Other

If different, what Visa did you hold when you first came to New Zealand?

- No change
- Visitor visa
- Student visa
- Working holiday visa
- Work visa
- Resident visa
- Other

What Visa did you hold when you were in New Zealand?

- Visitor visa
- Student visa
- Working holiday visa
- Work visa
- Resident visa
- Other

Were you born in India?

- Yes
- No (please specify)

If applicable, what qualification(s) do you hold?

If applicable, what field of work were you in and what job title did you hold before arriving in New Zealand?

Field of work:

Job title:

What field do you currently work in and what is your current job title?

Current field of work:

Current job title:

Reflective of your skills and qualifications, which field would you like to work in and what job title would you like to hold in New Zealand?

Desired field of work:

Desired job title:

Are you working:

(tick as many as applicable)

- Fulltime
- Part-time
- Contract
- Temp
- Casual
- Other

End

Thank you for taking part in this questionnaire. Your time and responses are truly appreciated.

Post completion of the thesis, findings will be made available online and be accessed through <https://mro.massey.ac.nz/> with the title '**Indian Migrants' Stories at Different Degrees of Employment**'.

If you experience any unpleasant memories of job-hunting, please feel free to access the charitable and counselling services of

- Auckland Regional Migrant Services (ph: 09-625 2440),
- Shakti Legal Advocacy and Family Social Services (ph: 0800742584),
- Migrant Action Trust (ph: 6293500; email: info@migrantactiontrust.org.nz),
- Refugees as Survivors (ph: 09 270 0870) and
- Lifeline Aotearoa (0800 543 354).

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