

School of Occupational Therapy and Social Work

**Settlement Experiences of Post-1995 Male Migrants from India
in New Zealand**

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Doctor of Philosophy
Of
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DECLARATION

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signed:

Dated: 29 July 2016

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ABSTRACT

Historically, New Zealand has encouraged migrants from Britain and other European countries. In the last few decades it has welcomed skilled migrants from Asia and other countries around the world. As a result, the number of migrants from India has increased more than tenfold in the last quarter of a century, making their presence very visible in the ethnic landscape of New Zealand.

This ethnographic study, conducted by a male migrant from India who arrived in New Zealand in 2000, examines the settlement experiences of skilled migrants who came from India to New Zealand since 1995. Interviews were conducted with twenty principal applicants from India who entered this country under either the ‘general skill category’ or ‘skilled migrant category’. The purposive sample of participants represents a diversity of regional subcultures, religions, and languages.

The study documents narratives of expectations, hardships and conflicts experienced in the course of settlement, and also celebratory tales of achievements. The study highlights the resilience, fortitude and optimism of the participants in the face of difficulties, challenges and struggles within the new setting, and the collective, familial and spiritual ways of negotiating them. This was particularly the case in managing distress caused by the formidable barriers many participants faced in securing employment appropriate to their qualifications and experience in the early stage of settlement.

The study identifies the main reasons for the distress and hardships experienced as lack of adequate information, transport, monetary resources, and failure of participants to obtain jobs befitting their experience and qualifications due to acute devaluation of their human capital. The participants’ desire for integration into the host society and their adoption of an acculturation strategy utilising their social capital, in addition to their bonding and bridging capital, is noticeable. The study also unveils the settlement needs of participants during the pre-arrival, early, intermediate and long-term phases of settlement pointing towards an appropriate framework of domains of support and services pivotal for successful settlement and integration of skilled migrants into the host society.

The study documents the subtle, complex and nuanced dynamics rather than the stereotypical or ethnocentric binary of ‘them’ and ‘us’. Welcoming and helpful Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) and Māori transcended barriers to assist with ethnic interaction. The study has implications for existing settlement services, policy makers, employers and employers’ organisations, human rights personnel, media, and migrants themselves. The study also shows the importance of cultural and faith-based community organisations in advocating for and supporting recent migrants from India to New Zealand.

Prologue

Where would I go if there were no limits, if I could defy all boundaries, if I could fly the wind? Where would it take me if all roads were opened to me? Where would I go, if I could fly, if I was free, free to move? (Youth for Human Rights, 2013)

My lifelong dream and a deep desire to migrate to a ‘foreign’ country became a reality when, along with my wife and two daughters, then aged 8 and 11 years, I landed in Auckland on a crispy cold morning in September 2000. My migration to New Zealand was more complex than I anticipated. It was a montage of emotions: profound joy upon receiving a permanent residence visa, the agony of leaving behind loved ones, the shock of encountering barriers of language and accent, the sadness of falling from the height of success in my former country to ground zero in the new country when I accepted a job of a salesman, then the happiness of accomplishment at securing appropriate jobs, satisfaction of living a higher quality life-style, owning a house in a prime locality and a couple of cars, delight at my children’s success in education and their chosen professions, and a sense of pride at being a useful and responsible citizen of the new country.

The dreams and expectations I had of my migration had been fulfilled. The overwhelming support of friends, the spiritual sustenance of the faith community and kindness of New Zealanders had enabled me to overcome most of the barriers and difficulties and settle in the new country successfully. Reflecting on my experiences, I realised that an enterprise as big as migration and establishing a home in a new country is more challenging than one could imagine. Migration is viewed differently by different members of the family at different stages of settlement.

Reactions of my daughter (written in her class work when she was 12 years old,) was noteworthy. She wrote:

The loss was moving houses, country, and school. It was one of the biggest losses I’ve ever had. I was happy when I got the news that I was moving to

another country but after some days it felt like I was going to lose a lot more than I expected.

*I lost so many friends and family. All my friends were back home and so was my family. We've never had anyone migrate to a foreign country. **Moving here felt like losing your organs to another body** [my bold format added for emphasis].*

The grief is huge when coming here into a new school from a third world country about which everyone has got the wrong message from TV, videos etc. You get made fun of a lot. Sometimes some people think they are superior to others, make your life miserable and we feel that we shouldn't live. I cried a lot after I came here.

It had a very big impact on my life. Hello!!! I'm coming to a new country, starting another life. It's difficult. After sometime I took it as an advantage. I began to think of how school is better here in NZ and I still have some family and friends.

More than a decade later, having completed her studies with honours in New Zealand's finest university, and having qualified and begun practicing as a professional, she believes that the risk taken to migrate was worth it.

During my employment as the head of a settlement services agency and then as a social work educator as well as a member of Indian community, I listened to scores of stories of my fellow migrants: stories of courage to move, initial excitement, loneliness, endurance, and resilience. Their stories aroused a desire and interest to examine deeper study their experiences. My enrolment in the PhD programme gave me the opportunity to pursue this desire. So my research began....

Chapter 1: Introduction

As traditional migrant receiving countries, New Zealand, Canada and Australia have sought to build their nation states through migration (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). From the 1950s and 1960s onwards, successive governments of these countries regarded economic migration as a device of labour market policy to alleviate skill shortages (Winkelmann, 2000). Since the 1990s, these countries have changed their immigration policies, signalling a radical shift from a policy that functioned as a labour market instrument (to meet labour shortage) to one which facilitated recruitment of human capital, by inviting highly educated and skilled migrants needed for enhancing national economic and social growth (Shachar, 2006).

The settlement services for migrants in these major migrant receiving countries have been evolving over the last 60 years and were mostly focused on humanitarian migrants, namely refugees and asylum seekers (Spinks, 2009; George, 2002; Chapman, 2002). In New Zealand, until the late 1990s, no specific settlement services were available to the economic or skilled migrants (Ho, Cheung, Bedford & Leung, 2000). As the migrants were skilled and English speaking (having complied with English language requirements), they were assumed to be resourceful, innovative and adaptive to the new society without special programmes to facilitate their settlement and integration (Thomas & McKenzie, 2005; Henderson, 2004). However, there was a growing realisation that skilled migrants also faced barriers and difficulties and needed assistance to settle and integrate into the host society (Lewin et al., 2011; Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2008; Potocky-Tripodi, 2002).

The changes to New Zealand's immigration policies in the 1980s, and the enactment of the Immigration Act 1987, removed the preference for the traditional source-countries of Britain and central Europe and resulted in a marked increase in the number of skilled migrants from non-traditional countries such as India, China and other Asian countries. Pursuant to these changes, the number of migrants in New Zealand that originated from India grew more than tenfold from 6,500 in 1986 to 67,200 in 2013 (New Zealand Census, 1986; 2013). Consequently, the total numbers of Indians including those born in New Zealand and other countries (such as Fiji,

Malaysia and South Africa) increased tenfold from 14,000 in 1986 to 155,200 in 2013 (New Zealand Census, 2013).

Though Indians represent a rapidly growing ethnic group with an increasing presence in New Zealand's institutions and economy, very little research has focused on their settlement experiences in New Zealand. McGee (1962), Taher (1965, 1970), Tiwari (1980), McLeod (1980, 1986) and Leckie (2007, 2010) have provided useful historic accounts of Indian pioneers and early Indian communities, especially Gujaratis and Punjabis, in New Zealand. DeSouza (2004, 2005), Pio (2004, 2005, 2007) and Nayar (2009) have conducted studies on the specific challenges migration posed for Indian women in New Zealand. Few studies have been undertaken to explore the settlement experiences of male migrants from India who have migrated mostly under the skilled migrant stream of New Zealand's immigration policy in recent times. This present study, focuses on the settlement experiences of the skilled male migrants from India who have arrived in New Zealand since 1995, and intends to contribute to the growing but still limited body of research addressing skilled Indian migrants in New Zealand society.

Aims and Research Questions of this Study

This study aimed to explore the experiences of a selected group of skilled male migrants from India. It sought to collect the narratives about their migration and settlement experiences. It focused on their positive as well as negative experiences and how they negotiated the challenges and conflicts arising from the differences in their cultural and religious values and practices. The study also attempted to find out the strategies and coping mechanisms used by selected migrants for their settlement.

Though this study originally intended to focus on skilled migrants irrespective of their gender, all those who agreed to participate in the study were male. One of the reasons for this can be attributed to men outnumbering women among applicants in the Skilled or Business category throughout the 1997 to 2006 period by a ratio of 2:1 (Badkar et al., 2007). The gender imbalance can be linked to an Indian traditional worldview of gender roles where men are seen as heads of households, economic providers and decision makers (Gaynair, 2011; Piper, 2005; Hickey, 2008).

Therefore the research question was framed as:

What are the settlement experiences of male migrants from India arriving since 1995?

The subsidiary questions the study addressed were:

1. What were the struggles, challenges, and conflicts experienced by the male migrants and how were these managed?
2. What resources and strategies did they use to cope with the migration and settlement process?

The year 1995 was chosen because changes made to New Zealand's immigration policy in 1995 led to significant increases in immigration numbers.

Significance of the Study

New Zealand and other major migrant receiving countries have revised their immigration policies to invite skilled migrants and entrepreneurs from diverse nations on the basis of their ability to contribute to the country's economic and social development. Knowing post arrival experiences, both positive and negative, of such migrants and entrepreneurs, is paramount for all who are concerned with these policies. Further, there has been an increased focus within these countries on the issues of integration, inclusion and participation of migrants in their new society (Spinks, 2009; Spoonley et al., 2005).

Barriers and challenges faced by migrants to their integration and inclusion need to be identified. Interventions to facilitate the processes of integration and inclusion need to be devised. This study of male skilled migrants from India will assist in understanding their positive as well as negative experiences. At the same time, it will support migrants to realise their dreams and expectations as a result of responding to the New Zealand government's invitation to contribute to the country's economic development.

Assisting migrants requires specialised knowledge of the unique issues of populations (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). This study will throw light on the distinct concerns of Indian migrants in order to assist helping professionals working in the

field of settlement services. Knowledge of family dynamics, cultural, religious and linguistic diversity, and educational and economic circumstances are important for effective work with migrants. This study attempts to contribute to the knowledge of these factors for a particular group of Indian migrants.

The general public and the media tend to stir up panic by superficial or incorrect categorisation of migrants: voluntary and involuntary, humanitarian and economic, unskilled and skilled. Public discourse on migration lacks understanding of its historical role, contemporary situation and future scope (Goldin et al., 2011). This study may contribute by placing some of the issues of migration in proper perspective. The participants' stories of resilience, fortitude and optimism can also help the host people understand and empathise with migrants, refugees and asylum seekers.

The literature reveals that the settlement services provided by government agencies to skilled migrants are limited and inadequate (Lewin et al., 2011; Henderson, 2004; Ho et al., 2000). The findings of this present study helps in evaluating, as well as developing, settlement services to migrants. This study will add to the comparative studies on Indian migrants in other migrant receiving countries such as Canada and Australia. The unique findings of this study will also add to the literature on migration.

Personal Background to the Study

In spite of my preparedness to face some challenges as a migrant to New Zealand, members of my family and I faced many hurdles during the first year of our life in New Zealand. Later, in my role as a settlement service provider to new migrants, I came across a number who needed support to overcome major barriers. The question of the adequacy of services provided or available arose in my mind. In my next role as a social work educator, I met many migrants pursuing new careers in social work who had failed to secure jobs appropriate to their qualifications. I wondered how and why the systems failed these competent, hopeful migrants and pushed them to pursue careers other than those they were qualified for (and skilled in) before their migration. I was also faced with the challenge of figuring out ways and means to help migrants of different ethnicities in general and Indian migrants in particular.

Reflections on my own experiences of over a decade as a migrant, a social work practitioner and educator, a resident of my neighbourhood, a member of a faith community and of my own ethnic (Indian) community brought to my attention the challenges and complexities of migration. I turned to the literature on migration in general and on Indian migrants specifically, which, in turn, kindled my desire for deeper research in order to find out more about the migration experiences of my fellow migrants.

Clarifying Key Concepts

Key concepts such as Indian, migrant, and settlement are used throughout this study. Each of these concepts has multiple meanings depending on the context and the person interpreting them. The meanings of each of these concepts as used in this study are given here.

Indian

Migration from the Indian subcontinent has been going on for centuries in the form of indentured labourers, sojourners and skilled workers. More recently, many skilled Indians and professionals and their families have left India to work elsewhere, in many cases after completing their education or training in these or other countries (Davey et al., 2010). In the last few decades, apart from migrants from India, migrants of Indian origin from post-colonial countries (e.g. Fiji, Malaysia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Kenya and Uganda) have migrated to New Zealand (George, 2008). The 2013 New Zealand census identified 155,200 people of Indian ethnicity living in the country; 117,200 of them were born overseas, and, of those, 65,200 or 55.6% were identified as born in India (New Zealand Census, 2013). The term 'Indians' in this study refers to people of India and also who identify themselves as of Indian origin or descent. This study, however, focuses on a sample of skilled migrants from India who were male heads of households, who migrated to New Zealand since 1995.

Migrant

The term 'migrant' has been used to depict a person who moves from one country to another with the intention of settling into the new country and establishing a home there. UNESCO (2012) defines a migrant as any person who lives temporarily or

permanently in a country but was not born in that country and has acquired significant social ties to that country. A migrant, therefore, is a person who has taken a decision freely to migrate for reasons of personal convenience and without intervention of any external compelling factors (UNESCO, 2012). This definition excludes refugees, asylum seekers or others who are forced or compelled to leave their homes. A migrant in New Zealand would be a person who was born overseas and whose usual residence is New Zealand. His or her decision to migrate was free, conscious and determined by New Zealand, which accepts him or her. The term is also used to signify the 'economic migrant' (UNESCO, 2012).

Migrants to New Zealand come under three main streams: Skilled or Business, Family Sponsored, and International or Humanitarian. Migrants through the Skilled or Business Stream are selected for their ability to contribute to New Zealand's capacity building, global connectedness and thriving and inclusive communities. The General Skills Category was based on the principal applicant meeting a minimum level of points earned through a combination of their qualifications, work experience, job offer in New Zealand, age and settlement factors. The General Skills Category was superseded by the Skilled Migrant Category in December 2003. Skilled Migrant Category is a point-based policy allowing people to gain permanent residence if they have the skills, qualifications and experience to contribute economically and socially to New Zealand. The Family Sponsored Stream allows family members, in certain circumstances, to be sponsored by residents to New Zealand, but the International or Humanitarian Stream includes the Refugee Quota, Samoan Quota and various other policies that allow New Zealand to meet its humanitarian or international obligations (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2004). Skilled or business migrants also are called 'economic migrants' or 'knowledge migrants'.

Highly skilled migrants represent an increasingly large component of global migration streams (Iredale, 2001). This increased level of mobility of highly skilled migrants manifests the 'internationalization of professions or professionalization of professions or professional labour markets' (p. 8). 'Highly skilled workers' are normally defined as having a university degree or extensive experience in a given field. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD SOPEMI, 1997, p.21), the term includes highly skilled specialists,

independent executives and senior managers, specialised technicians or tradespersons, investors, business persons, keyworkers and subcontract workers. Many countries deem skilled migration as a means of filling skilled labour shortages in order to ensure that economic growth is not impeded in the short term. Major migrant receiving countries have begun to utilise skilled migrants to develop their economies and social fabric (Shachar, 2006).

The terms ‘skilled migrant’, ‘economic migrant’ and ‘highly skilled migrant’ are used interchangeably throughout this study. Of the various streams of migration into New Zealand, this study only focuses on ‘skilled migrants’. Although the skilled migrant category includes the principal applicant, applicant’s spouse (secondary applicant) and dependent children, only the principal applicant is studied here.

The literature on migration also uses the term ‘newcomers’ to denote migrants of various categories. Newcomer is an umbrella term that lumps together an extremely diverse group of residents such as migrants under all the streams of immigration, temporary workers, and international students (Biles et al., 2010). The literature also uses the term ‘new settlers’, which includes economic migrants and refugees (Butcher, Spoonley & Trlin, 2006, p. v).

Settlement

Settlement is a multi-dimensional course or progression of activities involving many aspects of the lives of migrants’ and their families and focuses on their experiences, adaptation and acculturation within the new society (Henderson, 2004; Fletcher, 1999). Settlement is also constructed by the migrants’ interaction with various elements of the political, social and economic structures of the host society (Burnett, 1998). Settlement is multifaceted, with a range of sectors at national, regional and community level supporting settlement-related activities. Ho, Cheung, Bedford, and Leung (2000) describe settlement as a:

complex process of adjusting to a new environment following migration. It involves all aspects of the migrant’s life, including finding somewhere to live, learning the local language, getting a job and learning to find their way

around in the new society. The process implies change both in the individual migrant and the host society (p. 54).

A definitive empirical benchmark to measure ‘successful settlement’ has been elusive (Henderson, 2004). However, the studies on migrant settlement in New Zealand and elsewhere have identified the following features of ‘settler satisfaction’: a) being employed in a position commensurate with his or her experience and skills (when it is an aspiration and expectation of their migration); b) achieving access to the same health, educational and welfare services that are available to the host community; and c) being able to participate in the wider society and to be accepted and feel belonged to (Fletcher,1999).

Some other indicators of ‘successful settlement’ that reflect the ‘satisfaction’ of migrants are: a) sponsorship of extended family members to migrate to the host country (chain migration); b) taking up the citizenship of the host country at substantial ‘cost’ where the source country does not permit ‘dual citizenship’; c) home ownership and satisfactory accommodation, and d) display of culture, traditions and festivities to the wider community (Henderson, 2004; Fletcher, 1999). However, Morrissey et al. (1991), Burnette (1998) and Henderson (2004) point out that it is difficult to decide when the settlement phase ends and when one ceases to become a migrant, and when a migrant’s specific needs change to become the same as those of the community as a whole. According to the international literature on migrants and refugees, the process of adjusting to a new environment is commonly referred to as one of “settlement” for migrants and as “resettlement” for refugees and asylum seekers (Nash & Trlin, 2004, p. 6).

Methodological Frameworks Guiding this Study

Multicultural studies underscore the recurrent emphasis on the need to understand culture as a frame of reference (Clark, 2000). The use of ethnography in understanding individuals and their cultures in the context of human services has been highlighted by Fortune, Reid and Miller (2013), Carey (2012) Goldstein (1994) and Sherman and Reid (1994). The ethnographic and interpretive approach within the broad qualitative paradigm becomes an appropriate methodological framework for this study of settlement experiences of skilled migrants from India.

Distinctive features of an ethnographic approach are the insider's point of view, the here and now of everyday life, use of an interpretive stance, an open-ended interview process, researchers' direct involvement in participants' lives, and observation (Fetterman, 2010). The aim of the ethnographic approach is to 'generate practical and theoretical truths about human life grounded in the realities of daily life' (Jorgensen, 1989, p. 14). Ethnography is also a way of looking at the responses, behaviours and practices through the lens of participants' worldview; that is, their belief and value systems (Wolcott, 2008). An ethnographic design, then, employed theoretical frameworks of 'settlement and its stages' (Drolet & Robertson, 2011; Wayland, 2006; Drachman, 1992; George, 2002; Cox, 1985) and acculturation (Berry, 1997, 2005). These theoretical constructs present a guide as to what to look for in the data and also to make sense of the experiences of participants.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters. **Chapter one** describes the aims and significance of the study and explains the context and rationale of this research. It also clarifies the important terms used in the thesis. The theoretical frameworks and research philosophies guiding this study are discussed briefly.

Chapter two discusses Indian historical and contemporary global migration, followed by Indian migration to New Zealand. This chapter also outlines New Zealand's migration policies, migrant settlement strategies and the issues emerging from the Treaty of Waitangi (signed between Māori chiefs and British Crown in 1840) affecting migrants.

Chapter three examines migrants' settlement and integration processes, and the psychosocial impacts of migration on migrants. The chapter also critiques the theoretical constructs of acculturation and migrant identity.

Chapter four details the methodological concerns and methods used in the study. The objectives of the study, the questions the study sought to answer, the researcher's position and stand, and ethical consideration of this research are presented. The analytic and interpretive processes followed in the study and how data

management software NVivo was used to organise and analyse the data are explained. This chapter also provides a discussion on the trustworthiness of the study, and criteria adopted for ensuring the study's credibility, transferability and dependability.

Chapter five presents the findings of the study. **Chapter six** provides an overview of the research design, a summary of the major findings, the frameworks emerging from the findings, a compilation of the recommendations from the study, and the concluding statement.

Chapter 2: An Overview of Indian Migration: Global and to New Zealand

This chapter is presented in two parts. In part one, an outline of Indian historical and contemporary global migration is followed by Indian migration to New Zealand. In part two, New Zealand's migration policies are outlined. A discussion of how the Treaty of Waitangi affected migration, biculturalism and multiculturalism in New Zealand follows. New Zealand's migrant settlement strategies are then examined.

Part 1: Indian Migration: Historical and Contemporary Global Migration

India has one of the world's most diverse and complex migration histories. More than 20 million Indians live in more than 200 countries (Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, 2012). Their ancestors left India in four migration flows that can be categorised into trade migration, labour migration, post-war migration and second-time migration or twice migrants (Naujoks, 2009; Oonk, 2007). The composition of these migration flows is based on the causes of migration and the length of time migrants have remained abroad.

Trade Migration

In the first and oldest migration flow, traders left India in search of business. India's coastal communities developed trade contacts with East Asia, East Africa and Central Asia in pre-colonial times. This trade diaspora was temporary, mobile and reflective of circular migration (Oonk, 2007; Lal, 2006). Circular migration is a repeat migration of a migrant between home country and multiple host countries mainly for the purpose of employment or business (Vertovec, 2007). In the trade migration male children (sons) were sent off to explore trading opportunities and, eventually, to return home. These traders were filters through which other cultural links were developed. In the 19th century, substantial Indian trading communities settled in Arabian Peninsula, Aden, Oman, Bahrain, South Africa and East African countries, most of which were ruled by the British. The emergence of long distance trading connections, changing gender roles and trust were important issues in the trade migration phase (Oonk, 2007, Dale, 2002; Markovits, 2004).

Labour migration

In the second flow, the ‘labour diaspora’ (Cohen, 2008), Indian indentured labourers replaced slaves freed by the abolition of slavery in the 19th century. The enactment of a law abolishing slavery by the British Parliament in 1834 resulted in an acute shortage of workers in the British colonies (Naujoks, 2009). Poor Indians joined the indentured labour force in sugar, tea and rubber plantations in distant colonies such as Fiji, Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad, Suriname, British Malaya (now Malaysia and Singapore), Burma (now Myanmar) and Natal (South Africa). There was a pattern to this migration. Workers for plantations in Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Fiji and Mauritius were mainly recruited from the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The labourers in Guyana and East Africa came from the states of Punjab and Gujarat. Given the proximity of Tamil Nadu to the French colony of Pondicherry in India, most workers were Tamils in the French colonies of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and La Réunion (French Réunion islands) as well as indentured labour in Natal (South Africa) (Naujoks, 2009; Lal, 2011; Hoefte, 1998).

Indentured labourers initially signed up for five-year contracts. Many renewed their contracts and a significant portion chose to stay permanently in the colonies. Many accepted a piece of land or were paid a sum in lieu of the cost of being shipped home (Naujoks, 2009). Colonial rulers isolated indentured labourers from the local population and housed them in barracks; their lives were regulated, with severe punishment for disobedience and ‘insufficient work’ (Tinker, 1974). The poor living conditions and employer control turned the system into a ‘new form of slavery’ (Tinker, 1974, p.10). In response to severe criticism, the British Imperial Legislative Council abolished indentured labour in 1916. By this time, nearly 1.5 million Indians were indentured labourers in European colonies in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Oceania (Naujoks, 2009; Lal, 1983; Sunders, 1984).

A new system was established whereby managers of tea, coffee and rubber plantations in Sri Lanka, Malaysia, and Burma requested Indian headmen to recruit entire families and ship them to plantations. This system was known as *kangani* in Sri Lanka and Malaya, and *maistry* in Burma (Bhat & Bhaskar, 2007; Jain, 1989; Naujoks, 2009). Indian workers in these three locations had close ties with India, partly because of geographical proximity. In Sri Lanka, the host society prevented

the workers from settling or mingling with the local Sinhalese. However, *kangani* migrants were less regulated and lived better lives with their families compared to the indentured labourers. By the time these systems were abolished in 1938, six million Indians had migrated: 1.5 million to Sri Lanka, 2 million to Malaya, and 2.5 million to Burma (Bhat, 2003).

Many low-skilled workers and India's trading communities migrated to those countries where indentured labourers had settled and where business opportunities existed. Gujarati merchants became shop owners in East Africa, and traders from present day Kerala and Tamil Nadu provided loans to Indian families for farming. They also established retail trade in Ceylon, Burma and Malaya (Naujoks, 2009). During the long and arduous journey to distant countries, Indian co-passengers became '*jahaji bhai*' (ship brothers), a ship brotherhood that not only continued among descendants for generations but also slowly eroded caste boundaries (Bhat & Bhaskar, 2007).

Though Indians who were taken to various countries as indentured labourers lived in appalling conditions, noteworthy transformations were effected over the next two or three generations through their hard labour, perseverance and thrift. They also calculatedly withdrew into their culture to find sustenance and support. They provided their children and grandchildren better economic futures and took over the trade and commerce of their new homelands in South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Trinidad, Mauritius, and Burma (now Myanmar) (Lal, 2011).

Post-war migration

The third wave included successive migrations after the Second World War. Labourers from India were recruited to rebuild the shattered economies of Germany, Holland and Britain (Oonk, 2007). Many Muslims migrated from India to East and West Pakistan, and Hindus from Pakistan migrated to India, as they did not feel that the new national governments (established after their independence from British rule in 1947) were able to protect their minority rights. Removal of race-based immigration policies by US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s led to the migration of professionals and skilled Indians to these settler nations (Oonk, 2007; Bhat & Bhaskar, 2007). Then there was the exodus of information

technology (IT) professionals in the 1990s to US, Australia, Germany, Japan, and Malaysia (Sahay, 2009; Konrad, 2007). Since 1970, numerous migrants from India have found work as construction workers and housekeepers in the Middle East. The new diaspora retained a close relationship with their families, in their home country, due to the advances in the communication technology, whereas the old diaspora largely lost contact with their homeland, even losing familiarity with their mother tongue (Bhat & Bhaskar, 2007).

Twice migrants

The fourth stream within the post-war period was that of ‘twice migrants’ (Oonk, 2007, p. 9) or second or third time migrants. They included Indian indentured labourers of Suriname who eventually settled in the Netherlands, or those who were expelled from East Africa and ended up settling in the UK and Canada. More recently, Indians have migrated from Fiji and Sri Lanka (Tamil Indians) to Australia and New Zealand (Lal, 2006; International Crisis Group, 2010). They left their host countries for political rather than economic reasons. Most of them never considered returning to India. They may have felt some cultural ties with their ‘motherland’, but economic, political and family ties sent them elsewhere. This group is diverse and includes traders, labourers and professionals (Bhachu, 1985; Twaddle, 1975; Oonks, 2007).

Indian Migration to New Zealand

The earliest Indians in New Zealand were the ‘*lashcars*’ (sailors) and ‘*sepoys*’ (soldiers) who deserted the ships of the East India Company (the British colonial agency, which ruled India prior to the establishment of colonial government) in the early 19th century. The British ships, after delivering supplies to Australia, stopped at New Zealand ports to reload supplies, especially New Zealand meat, before sailing back to India (Swarbrick, 2009).

However, the enactment of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901 in Australia, aimed at restricting migrants from Asia, imposed a stringent dictation test in any European language; this made it impossible for Asians (including Indians) to enter Australia. Many Indians who were headed for Australia continued their journey towards New Zealand. Further, the introduction of a shipping link from Bombay to

Auckland via Sydney facilitated immigration of many Indians from the villages of Gujarat and Punjab to New Zealand (McGee, 1962; McLeod, 1986; Tiwari, 1980; Leckie, 2007; Beaglehole, 2012).

In 1945, there were 194 Indian women out of an Indian population of 1554, reflecting the preference for male migration within Indian communities (Leckie, 2007, p. 109). Until the 1950s there was little encouragement of Indians to settle permanently in New Zealand. Men, mostly, arrived with the intention of earning money and returning home (McGee, 1962; Taher, 1965). Initial outright hostility greeted the Indian community in New Zealand. Once men decided to remain in New Zealand, the arrival of family members became imperative (Leckie, 2007; McGee, 1962; McLeod, 1986). After 1950, as families and businesses were established, women began to join their husbands.

A special provision was included in the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1920, allowing Indian women to join their husbands, and minor children to join their fathers. After World War II, the immigration policy further facilitated the migration of Indian wives and children. Indian male settlers encouraged their families to join them once they had established a small business, the success of which usually depending upon intensive and low-cost labour provided by the women and children.

New Zealand's first Indian association, the Auckland Indian Association, was formed in 1921, followed by the Wellington Indian Association (1925) and the New Zealand Indian Central Association in Taumarunui in 1926 (Tiwari, 1980). The vehement opposition to their settlement in New Zealand, especially from the White New Zealand League, induced Indians to form the national New Zealand Indian Central Association (NZICA) in 1926, amalgamating three Indian associations in Auckland, Wellington and Taumarunui. In the mid-1930s, Indian associations emerged in Pukekohe, Roturua and Christchurch. The Manawatu-Hawkesbay Indian Association was established in 1945 by Indians, mostly shopkeepers, from Palmerston North, Feilding, Foxton, Levin, Masterton, Eketahuna, Pahiatua, Woodville, Dannevirke, Waipukurau and Napier. The Taranaki branch of the Indian Association was established in 1956 (Tiwari, 1980). The objectives of these

associations were mainly cultural and religious, promotion of language (Gujarati) and migrant settlement facilitation (Friesen, 2008).

Until the 1980s, more than 90% of the Indians in New Zealand were Gujaratis from western India (Tiwari, 1980). The remaining were Punjabis, from northern India (McLeod, 1986). In 1981, 46% of New Zealand's Indian population of 11,244 was born in New Zealand, 31% in India, 13% in Fiji, and 10% in other countries such as Malaysia and South Africa (Zodgekar, 2010, p.68). By 2001, 29% of New Zealand's 62,187 Indians were locally-born, whereas the proportion of Indians born in India had risen to 33.6%; those born in Fiji had risen to 31.3% and the proportion of those born elsewhere had fallen to 7%. Of 104,600 Indians in 2006, 43% were born in India, including not only Gujaratis and Punjabis linked to original Indian communities, but also a rapidly growing proportion of recent arrivals from diverse regions in India (Zodgekar, 2010).

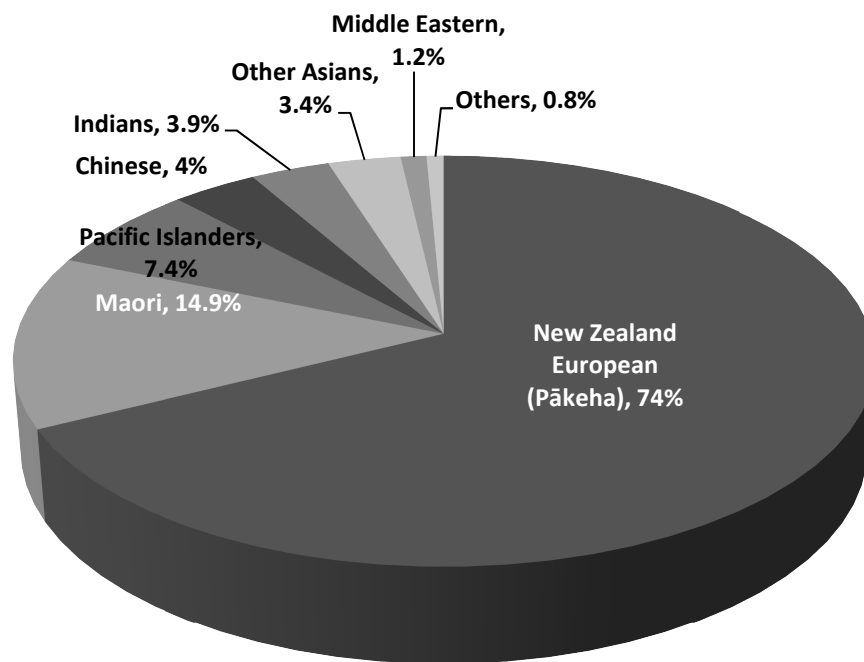
Since the end of World War II, more Indians have acquired retail businesses (Leckie, 2010). The deregulation of New Zealand's economy in the 1980s which facilitated competition from supermarket chains, had a profound impact on the retail businesses of Indians (Leckie, 2010). However, deregulation and legislative change enabled small retailers to conduct their businesses for longer, flexible hours. These retailers or 'corner dairies' served customers seeking regular staples such as milk, bread, newspapers and cigarettes, and also impulsive purchases such as confectionary, ice-cream, flowers, magazines and videos. Since the 1990s, many Indians have acquired service stations (petrol pumps), liquor stores, food outlets and taxi licences (Zodgekar, 2010; Leckie, 2010).

The 2001 census revealed that 24% of Indians in New Zealand were employed in retailing, compared with 11% of the wider population; and 44% of Indians were in white-collar jobs compared with 40% of the general population (Zodgekar, 2010, pp.74-75). In 2006, most Indians professed themselves to be professionals (10,776), followed by those claiming sales occupations (8436). These statistics reveal a sustained occupational shift (indicating increased tertiary education among second and third generation Indians in New Zealand, as well as migration of skilled Indians, including those from Fiji and other countries (Zodgekar, 2010). The 1987 and 2000

Fijian coups, with violence and discrimination aimed at Indo-Fijians, contributed to the marked surge of Indians in New Zealand (Leckie, 2010).

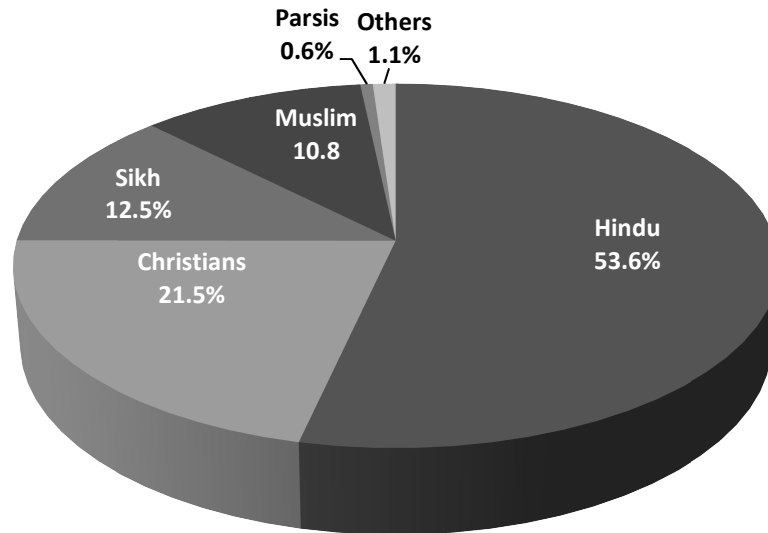
The changes to immigration policy in 1986 and enactment of the Immigration Act in 1987 resulted in a dramatic increase of skilled migrants from India, increasing their number from 16,000 in 1986 to 30,606 in 1991. The liberalisation of immigration policies in 1991, 1995, and 2002 resulted in further increase of Indians, from 30,606 in 1991 to 155,200 in 2013. As shown in Figure 2.1, with 3.9% of the national population, Indians were the fifth largest ethnic group after New Zealand Europeans, Māori, Pacific People and Chinese (New Zealand Census, 2013).

Figure 2.1. New Zealand Ethnicity - population 4.24 million (2013 Census)



Until recently the discourse on ‘Indian’ identity suggested a greater degree of homogeneity among Indians (Zodgekar, 2010). But the process of globalisation and opportunities provided by New Zealand for multiculturalism and pluralism have made the heterogeneity of Indians or Indian identity based on religion, region, ethnicity and language more visible. As shown in Figure 2.2, among 155,200 Indians in 2013, 81,000 or 53.6% identified themselves as Hindus, 21.5% as Christians (approximated), 12.5% as Sikhs, 10.8% as Muslims and 0.6% as Parsis or Zoroastrians (New Zealand Census, 2013).

Figure 2.2. Religions of Indians in New Zealand. Total 155,200 (New Zealand 2013 Census)



Changes in migration policy, explained in the next sections, account for the increase in heterogeneity of Indians in New Zealand.

Part 2: New Zealand Migration Policy

The Māori, the first migrants to land on the shore of uninhabited New Zealand, migrated from the Pacific islands in the 13th century in canoes (King, 2007). The ancestors of the present day Māori reached New Zealand in deliberate voyages of discovery (Wilson, 2012). The British explorer, Captain James Cook, first circumnavigated New Zealand in 1769 and paved the way for other Europeans and missionaries to settle. When increasing numbers of settlers resulted in the spread of lawlessness and immorality, the Māori tribal chiefs approached the British Queen to demand better control of her British subjects (King 2007). Captain Hobson signed a treaty with Māori chiefs on 6 February 1840 at Waitangi, which resulted in the Britain taking over the sovereignty of Aotearoa, ‘the land of the long white cloud’ and renaming it (Belich, 2001, 1998). The English text of the Treaty of Waitangi is seen as the first charter for immigration (Ip, 2005).

Early immigration policy: 'White' New Zealand

The Treaty envisaged taking immigrants from Britain, Australia and Europe with the clear intention to keep New Zealand 'white' (Phillips, 2012; Beaglehole, 2009). Despite this, Chinese arrived in the 1860s to work in the depleting goldmines of Otago. Indians and settlers from Germany, Scandinavia, and other parts of Europe arrived in small numbers. Between 1881 and the 1920s the New Zealand government moved to restrict the entry of Chinese and Indians. Between 1914 and 1945 the government also restricted the entry of Germans, Austro-Hungarians and Italians so that they could make New Zealand a 'Better Britain' or 'Britain of the South' (King, 2003, p. 197).

From 1896, despite objections from the British government, New Zealand passed more comprehensive legislation restricting the migration, not just of the Chinese, but also of Indians and other Asians (Beaglehole, 2009). These discriminatory policies culminated in the Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Act 1919, and the Immigration Restriction Amendment Act of 1920, mainly aimed at stopping Germans, socialists and Marxists. A policy review undertaken in 1974 granted applicants' permanent entry into New Zealand on the basis of their skills and qualifications. Although the official rhetoric displayed a distinct shift away from racism, in practice migrants from the traditional source countries (Britain and northern European countries) continued to be favoured (Beaglehole, 2009; Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). New Zealand was not unique in enacting such discriminatory legislation and policies. Australia, Canada and the United States adopted similar policies until the 1960s, directed at not only stopping Asian and other 'undesirable' (Beaglehole, 2012, p.3) migrants but also encouraging them to leave (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012).

Development of non-discriminatory immigration policy

The Immigration Act of 1987 set criteria in education, business, profession, age or assets regardless of race, ethnicity or nationality (though Australian citizens and permanent residents still entered New Zealand freely) (Winkelmann, 2000). The Immigration Act 1987 provided three streams for entry: General Skill/Business stream, Family stream and Humanitarian stream. The General Skill Category/Business stream contained an Occupational Priority List. Business people

and entrepreneurs needed to have proven business ability and had to transfer investment capital of at least NZ\$150,000. Under the Humanitarian stream, refugees and asylum seekers with a proven threat to their lives were granted residence (Winkelmann, 2000; NZIS, 2003; Beaglehole, 2009).

The Immigration Amendment Act 1991 replaced the occupational priority list with a point system under which points were awarded for employability, age, educational qualifications, settlement funds, and use of English language. Any applicant achieving sufficient points was eligible to migrate. The Act also introduced a new 'general skill' category under which an applicant should have a degree or certified trade or vocational qualification, the introduction of 'pass marks' and tighter English language requirements (Beaglehole, 2009), changes that led to an increase in skilled migrants from Asia.

As a response to growing public concern at increasing levels of Asian migration, further changes were introduced in 2002 and 2003 by replacing the 'General Skill' category with a 'Skilled Migrant category', replacing the pass marks system with a process in which people qualifying above a certain level of points entered a selection pool, from which they were invited to apply for permanent residence. The Business stream and Family sponsored stream were also reviewed (Winkelmann, 2000; NZIS, 2003; Beaglehole, 2009).

In 2003, New Zealand introduced a concept of 'comparable labour markets' with a list of 29 countries, almost exclusively from Western Europe (Immigration NZ, 2011b; McClymont, 2006). Only applicants who worked in these countries, or applicants who worked in multinational organisations headquartered in these countries, were awarded points for work experience. China, India and other Asian and Middle Eastern countries were omitted. McClymont comments on the introduction of 'comparable labour markets':

The Skilled Migrant policy therefore has an in-built mechanism for ensuring that applicants from countries such as India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Fiji are less likely to obtain Residence Visas under the Skilled Migrant

Category as opposed to their counterparts in Western-European countries (McClymont, 2006, p. 8).

Lianne Dalziel, the then immigration minister, defended these changes to the immigration policy saying:

These changes are designed to ensure migrants who are selected because of their skills and talents are set up to succeed not destined to fail. New Zealanders do not want to see skilled migrants driving taxis, cleaning offices and cooking hamburgers (Immigration system overhauled, 2003, p. 25).

Though the number of skilled migrants from India declined after 2003, the number of students from India and other Asian countries who hoped to work and settle after completion of their studies steadily increased. By 2011, India was the largest source country of new international students with nearly 9000 Indians choosing New Zealand to study (Tan, 2012a). By 2012, India became the largest source of skilled migrants mainly due to an increase in Indian international students transitioning to residence under the 'work to residence' visa (Tan, 2013a). India has consistently remained as the largest source of skilled migrants in 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015, overtaking the United Kingdom (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015).

Under the current policies, about 50,000 migrants resettle in New Zealand each year and eventually become naturalised citizens of New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). Under its International/Humanitarian stream New Zealand accepts 750 refugees per year mandated by United Nations and 1,100 Samoan citizens. A Pacific Access category also allows a certain number of people from Tonga, Fiji, Tuvalu and Kiribati to be granted residence in New Zealand. Pitcairn Islanders are also considered for residence under certain conditions (Beaglehole, 2012). In 2014, the top five source countries for migrants were India, China, United Kingdom, Philippines and Germany (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2015b). These dramatic changes in the immigration source countries and the resultant 'superdiversity' (Spoonley, 2015, p.650) of more than 200 ethnic groups pose, challenges to the labour market, settlement service providers and to migrants

themselves. The diversity poses further challenges to migrants in a society founded on a Treaty that only acknowledges two cultures or biculturalism.

Treaty issues: Biculturalism, multiculturalism or cosmopolitanism?

Ip (2005) sees the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi as the first charter for immigration in New Zealand. Even though the Treaty envisaged Aotearoa New Zealand to be bicultural with two cultures, namely, Māori and Pākehā (Maori term for New Zealanders of European descent), New Zealand was unofficially mono-cultural until the 1980s, with government policies favouring Pākehā (Hayward, 2012). Against this backdrop, migrants arriving into New Zealand are faced with the issues of their position and identity within bicultural New Zealand.

The New Zealand government's 1986 'Review of Immigration Policy' rejected the 'old notion of assimilation' and noted that 'our society now clearly sees a positive value in diversity and the retention by ethnic minorities of their cultural heritage' (Fletcher, 1999, p. 7). However, Ranginui Walker (1995), a prominent Māori academic and advocate of recognition of the sovereign rights of Māori as *tangata whenua* (people of the land or native people) summed up the concern of Māori people over a rhetoric of 'multiculturalism' that underlies the 1986 immigration policy review:

The review asserted that New Zealand is a country of immigrants, including the Māori, thus denying their prior right of discovery and millennial occupation of the land. Defining the Māori as immigrants negates their first-nation status as people of the land by lumping them with the European immigrants who took over the country, and post-war immigrants from the Pacific Rim (p.286).

Walker (1995) also argued that a multicultural ideology is a direct negation of the Māori assertion of the primacy of biculturalism, thus giving the government another way of neutralising Māori claims for justice, especially as the new migrants would have no commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi. He expressed the view that, although "its primary rationale is economic, the government's immigration policy must be seen for what it is, a covert strategy to suppress the counter-hegemonic struggle of

the Māori by swamping them with outsiders who are not obliged to them by the treaty” (p. 292).

At the same time critics such as Thakur (1995) declare that while the official stand on ‘biculturalism’ acknowledges the bilateral relationship between Māori and Pākehā it excludes migrant cultures that are non-white and non-indigenous. These ‘others’ are excluded from the debate on the identity and the future of the country in which they live (Desouza, 2004; Ip, 2003). Many Asians in New Zealand experience the exclusionary effect of the ideology of biculturalism due to their treatment in a society that discriminates against them in many life situations and in which they do not qualify for the ‘privilege’ (Omura, 2009, 2014; Nayar, 2013).

DeSouza (2004) argues that biculturalism and multiculturalism need not be mutually exclusive; one need not preclude the other. Recognising and celebrating ethnic diversity of modern day New Zealand need not diminish the rights of Māori. In this model, citizens are treated equally, celebrating their diversity but valuing both the central position of the Treaty of Waitangi as its founding charter and its principles that guide the relationships between Māori and all ethnic groups.

Studies have shown that multiculturalism policies appear to reduce the tensions between having large minority populations and redistributive policies (Banting & Kymlicka, 2004). Canada, Australia, Sweden and the Netherlands, which have adopted comprehensive multiculturalism policies (including celebration of multiculturalism and reduced legal barriers to diversity) and provided active support to minority groups, have been more successful in maintaining welfare state than those countries that have resisted such policies (Goldin et al., 2011).

The New Zealand Federation of Multicultural Councils (NZFMC), which advocates Treaty based multicultural New Zealand, has lobbied for legislation on multiculturalism. The NZFMC (NZFMC, n.d., p. 4.) espouses the following as the basis for a Treaty based multicultural future:

1. All cultures and ethnicities that make up New Zealand are acknowledged.
2. The indigenous rights of Tangata Whenua (Māori) are honoured and recognised.

3. The full and equitable participation of every individual from all cultures and ethnic groups is promoted.
4. The existence of all ethnic communities, their histories and heritage are celebrated.
5. Inter-cultural understanding is promoted.

However, the response of the government has been that adequate protection against discrimination and freedom to practice one's culture, language and religion are available under the Bill of Rights Act 1981 and Human Rights Act 1993. Further, New Zealand maintains a Ministry of Pacific Affairs to promote the social, economic and cultural development of Pacific peoples in the country, and an Office of Ethnic Communities (formerly Office of Ethnic Affairs) is established to promote the benefits of ethnic diversity and to contribute to the development of prosperity for every New Zealander (Sibley & Ward, 2013). Singham (2006) argues that legislation and policy (in New Zealand) can provide frameworks and benchmarks for social conduct but they cannot impact human relationships unless each citizen has open-mindedness, patience and generosity of spirit. Understanding and accepting others results in understanding one's self. "Multiculturalism offers a path to self-edification - the most basic of all benefits" (p. 37).

New Zealand's Migrant Settlement Policy

New Zealand, in comparison to other major migrant receiving countries, followed neo-liberal values and took no responsibility for supporting migrants and their family members until the late 1990s (Henderson, 2004). Once selected, migrants were expected to take responsibility for their own settlement (Trlin et al., 1999). However, permanent residents were eligible to access mainstream social services available to New Zealanders. They were entitled to limited services from Work and Income New Zealand in the first two years of their residency, such as housing subsidy, family assistance and, in exceptional cases, emergency benefits. Migrants were also eligible to access social services provided by non-government and community groups.

In 2001 the government funded 11 pilot projects targeted at the settlement needs of migrants (New Zealand Immigration Service, 2002). Projects were focused on providing orientation services for new migrants to settle by developing and providing

employment initiatives such as access to appropriate employers, providing interfaces between migrants and employers, and providing opportunities for gaining New Zealand work experience. In 2004, the government introduced a migrant settlement strategy with seven identified goals for successful settlement of migrants. These goals were: feel welcomed and connected; get the right job and contribute to future prosperity; speak and understand New Zealand English; know how to access information and services; feel proud and confident; feel safe and understood, and contribute to New Zealand society (Department of Labour, 2007).

The strategy acknowledged that the challenges faced by migrants settling in their new country are complex and cannot be addressed effectively by any single agency (Department of Labour 2007). A collaborative approach by organisations and agencies at national, regional and local community levels was suggested to address the challenges migrants and refugees face as they settle in New Zealand and into their new communities. The Department of Labour was made responsible for leading and coordinating the implementation of this cross-sectoral strategy, which provided an umbrella for broad-based settlement initiatives (Settlement Support New Zealand [SSNZ], 2011).

New Zealand's Migrant Settlement Strategy underwent changes again in 2014 after an audit of performance of migration settlement (Immigration New Zealand, 2015). The revised 'New Zealand Migrant Settlement and Integration Strategy, 2014' identified five outcome areas with success indicators integral to successful settlement and integration of migrants in New Zealand. They are:

1. Employment to see working-age migrants have work that matches their skills and New Zealand-ready qualifications. This is to ensure migrants and secondary applicants are employed in occupations that match their skills and qualifications.
2. Education and training to ensure migrants achieve educational and vocational qualifications. This is to facilitate migrants to achieve appropriate levels of education in the New Zealand education system.
3. English language to ensure that migrants confidently use English in their daily lives. This is to ensure that migrants are able to have a conversation about everyday things in English.

4. Inclusion to enable migrants to participate in and have a sense of belonging in their community and to New Zealand. This is to encourage migrants to belong to social networks and groups and for resident migrants to take part in local and general elections. The focus is also on reducing discrimination against recent migrants.
5. Health and well-being to assure migrants enjoy healthy lives and feel confident and safe. The recent migrants are encouraged to enrol with primary health organisations and also that they feel safe in New Zealand.

The revised migrant settlement and integration strategy places stronger emphasis on the economic contribution of good settlement practice, aligning it with the government's business growth agenda. The network of migrant services established under this strategy provide job seeker support such as job search workshops, upskilling sessions, individualised job support sessions, and specialist seminars (ARMS, 2013). They also provide placement programs for new migrants seeking New Zealand work experience, intercultural awareness and communication skills workshops, and employment assistance programmes such as professional speaking courses. These services include a clear point of contact for assisting new migrants in local areas under Settlement Support New Zealand (SSNZ, 2011), an initiative of Immigration New Zealand. Though begun late, in comparison to other migrant-receiving countries such as Canada and Australia, New Zealand has made good strides to cover the gaps in migrant settlement strategy and initiatives.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided historical and contemporary migration trends of Indians globally and in New Zealand in particular. The migration policies of New Zealand government have been examined. The issues of biculturalism and multiculturalism arising from the Treaty of Waitangi have been discussed. New Zealand's migrant settlement strategies and services have been outlined. The next chapter presents the settlement process and the theoretical constructs of acculturation and migrant identity.

Chapter 3: Settlement and Acculturation

Introduction

This chapter is presented in two parts. In part one, migrants' settlement, adaptation and integration are discussed followed by the psychosocial impacts and difficulties faced by migrants. The second part critiques the theoretical constructs of acculturation and migrant identity.

Part 1: Settlement

Settlement is a phase of migration, a continuum of activities that migrants and refugees go through on arrival in a new country (Mwarigha, 2002; Ho et al. 2000). It is a process of complex renegotiation (Burnett, 1998) and can be divided into three stages: initial orientation or adjustment, adaptation and integration (Lam, 1997; Gilroy 2000; Tam, 2003).

- In the *initial orientation or adjustment* phase migrants familiarise themselves with the new environment including its climate, culture, language and systems. Most of their energy is focused on acquisition of knowledge and interpretation of the new country's systems and society.
- In the *adaptation stage*, migrants obtain deeper and specific knowledge about the new society, reassess their goals, develop social networks and become more independent.
- In the *integration phase*, migrants attain more stable means of livelihood and a sense of connectedness to the host society. In this stage, migrants function independently, participate in the community actively and become contributing members of the society.

Cox (1983, 1985) breaks down migration and settlement into four basic stages:

- 1) pre-migration or pre-arrival
- 2) transit, arrival or reception
- 3) settlement or re-settlement
- 4) integration.

Drachman (1992), and Drachman and Halberstadt (1992) divide the migration process into three phases:

- 1) pre-migration and departure
- 2) transit
- 3) resettlement.

Wayland (2006) and Drolet and Robertson (2011) partition settlement into three phases:

- 1) early settlement
- 2) intermediate
- 3) long-term settlement.

Drawing on these authors, a framework of migration and settlement can be summarised into four stages: pre-migration, early settlement, intermediate and long-term settlement.

During the **pre-migration or pre-arrival stage**, some migrants and refugees may experience abrupt departure, whereas others may go through an elaborate decision making process and prepare for the move; finally settlement or resettlement in the new environment takes place (Cox, 1985; Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). In this (pre-migration) stage immigration policies and practices are significant because they determine who comes into the country. In addition appropriate information on the life and systems of the destination country such as employment, licensing, skills recognition for professionals, housing, transport, education, and health and welfare are important for successful settlement. Cox (1985), Drachman (1992) and George (2005) all argue that pre-departure information dissemination or orientation programmes for migrants and refugees contribute to positive settlement outcomes.

In the **early settlement stage**, migrants require shelter, food, clothing, information and orientation, instructions on basic language, 'reception' or early settlement services (Wayland, 2006; Drolet and Robertson, 2011; Maclellan, 2008). In the **intermediate phase**, newcomers require employment specific language information, training and education to upgrade or acquire new skills, with an aim to secure employment at a level appropriate to their qualifications and skills. During this stage,

newcomers also require access to health services, housing and the legal system. In the **long-term settlement phase**, migrants and refugees work towards overcoming systemic barriers to participate in the new society as equals to those born in the country. During this phase, migrants and refugees may also seek civic participation and citizenship of the new country. According to Drolet and Robertson (2011) this long-term view of settlement extends beyond the settlement policies of some governments such as Canada, which consider and fund the short-term version of settlement, whereas most of the barriers can emerge over the longer term.

The stages or phases of migration discussed in this section are useful for understanding the issues that migrants and refugees face at various stages of (re)settlement. However, it is important to realise that the time periods and experiences are neither rigid nor applicable to all migrants and refugees. Not all migrants and refugees will follow the same time-related pattern of (re)settlement, and the process is not linear (Phillimore, 2011). Although the (re)settlement period might range from 2–7 years (Spinks, 2009; Pio, 2005; Gonslaves, 1992), evidence shows that settlement needs or migration stressors may persist for many decades (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002). Migrants and refugees may also be well settled in one domain (e.g. employment) but poorly settled in other aspects (Fletcher, 1999). Alternatively, some members of the migrant family may be well settled although others are not (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002).

During this temporal process of settlement, which can be divided into many stages and phases, migrants not only need various services and supports, they also encounter settlement issues and psychosocial problems.

(Re)settlement Issues and Psychosocial Impacts

Most migrants, irrespective of their visa categories, face emotional, financial, cultural and other difficulties that require the support of the host society and human services (Nash & Trlin, 2004). As explained below some of these experiences are culture shock, devaluation of their human capital and downward occupational mobility, hardships in housing, language difficulties, gender role conflicts,

diminished health and coping strategies (Ho et al., 2002; Potocky-Tripodi, 2002; George, 2002; Ager & Strang, 2008; Erel, 2010).

Culture shock

Migrants and refugees experience 'culture shock' when they enter a new country (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2005). 'Culture shock' refers to the feeling of disorientation and anxiety that newcomers experience when they adapt to a new culture (Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Liu, Volcic & Gallois, 2010). 'Culture shock' is the distress arising out of the migrant's encounter with a foreign environment (Oberg, 1960/2006). Migrants look forward to living in a foreign culture with excitement, enthusiasm and apprehension. However, they are unprepared for the extent of dissimilarity in the culture of their host society and experience culture shock: discordance in identity while negotiating familiar and unfamiliar beliefs and practices (Pederson, 1995). It is a process of initial adjustment to a new environment, applicable to any situation where a person is forced to adjust to an unfamiliar social system where previous learning does not apply any longer.

Culture shock can be summarised as follows (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2005; Furnham & Bochner, 1986):

1. Migrants experience strain related to the effort required to make necessary psychological adaptation.
2. They experience a sense of loss and feelings of deprivation in regards to friends, status, profession and possessions.
3. They experience rejection by the members of host culture.
4. There is confusion in role, role expectations, values, feelings and self-identity.
5. Migrants experience surprise, anxiety, even disgust and indignation after becoming aware of cultural differences.
6. There are feelings of helplessness or impotence due to not being able to cope with the new environment.

According to Pederson (1995), migrants exposed to a new environment undergo culture shock in five stages. In the first stage the newly arrived person experiences curiosity and excitement and is functionally integrated with his or her own culture.

The migrant also experiences fascination, adventure, optimism or excitement. The second stage is marked by confusion and disorientation. Bewilderment, alienation, depression and withdrawal may give rise to disintegration of personality; a migrant's own cultural understandings may seem no longer appropriate. He or she may also experience feelings of inadequacy, disillusionment and self-blame. In the third stage, the individual experiences anger and resentment towards the new culture due to an increased inability to function in it. The thoughts of returning home are common.

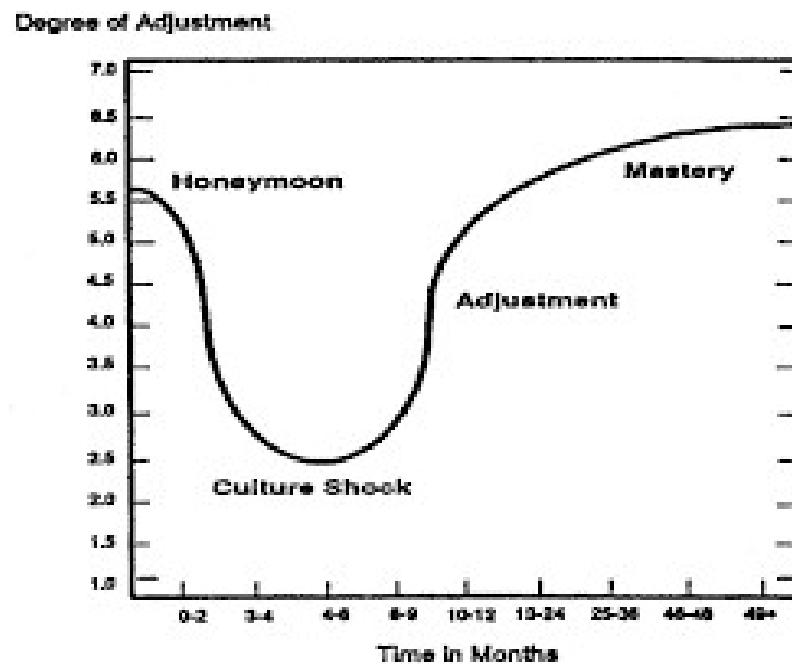
In the fourth stage, the migrant experiences rising sensitivity and acquires the skill and understanding of the new culture. In this stage, migrants become capable of moving in and out of new situations and develop resilience and appropriate coping skills for the new culture. In the final stage, the person is fully able to accept and integrate into the new culture. In this stage, the person is self-actualising, capable of undergoing further transitions in life and finding new ways to explore diversity of human beings. The migrant experiences reorientation or recovery where the 'new situation is viewed in perspective, positive and negative elements are balanced, and the person's morale is restored' (Pederson, 1995, p.26). These stages may not follow each other sequentially and can occur alone or simultaneously as elements of a multidimensional experience (Pederson, 1995).

Hofstede (2001) argues that those who have lived in several countries and have gone through one or more culture shocks in their lives are able to accept the cultural differences of different cultural or ethnic groups easily. However, migrants who have lived within a monoculture may experience culture shocks on migration, the most common being the loss of their status or profession due to devaluation or non-recognition of their skill sets.

Lysgaard (1955), Oberg (1960), Black and Mendenhall (1991), and Usunier (1998) use a U-curve framework to describe culture shock and cross-cultural adjustment of sojourners, that is, temporary migrants. The U curve (as shown in figure 3.1 as an example) starts at 'honeymoon stage' where the migrant is fascinated by the new culture and excited about the new sights followed by culture shock with feelings of inadequacy, disappointment, disillusion, alienation, and self-blame as the direction of progression drops from the highest to the lowest point on the U-curve. The next stage

is marked by reorientation or adjustment by an increased level of satisfaction in the ability to cope recovery takes place and the situation is viewed with a new perspective, and the fourth stage (mastery stage) is characterised by incremental changes in the migrant's ability to function effectively in the new culture.

Figure 3.1: U-curve of Culture Shock or Cultural Adjustment, in Black & Mendenhall (1991, p.227).



However, Furnham and Bochner (1986) discuss several problems in the U-curve hypothesis about culture shock. Firstly, there are many variables to consider such as aspects of adjustment, depression, loneliness and homesickness. Secondly, the U shape is uneven in the research literature as different migrants start out at different levels of adjustment and change at different rates. Another weakness of a U curve is the assumption of a smooth linear adaptive process which can be different from the actuality of real life.

Devaluation of skills and qualifications

Many professional and skilled migrants, on arrival in migrant receiving countries, experience a devaluation of their human capital, that is, non-recognition of their qualifications and skills (Erel, 2010). Consequently, they are under-represented in the

higher levels of employment or positions (Bauder, 2003). Despite having outstanding credentials that are transnationally validated, migrants from Third World countries face considerable downward occupational mobility and slow career progression (Weiss, 2005, Lewin et al., 2011). Professional associations and employers give preference to locally born and locally educated workers, not migrants (Sobrun-Maharaj et al., 2008; Lewin et al., 2011; Bauder, 2003).

Employers assume that non-white migrants who look different, speak in different accents, and have foreign names have less knowledge and skills (Nayar, 2009; Lewin et al., 2011). As a result, migrants who are culturally different from mainstream society are over-represented in unskilled occupations in industry and services such as supermarkets, service (petrol) stations, fast food and hospitality, and are represented among the unemployed. Many migrants manage to gain skilled employment in health and educational areas as interpreters, social workers and cultural mediators (representatives of their own culture in schools and other health centres) catering to migrant client groups. Such jobs often entail professional downgrading and offer little upward career mobility (Erel, 2010; Lewin et al., 2011). Recruitment programmes in migrant receiving countries often fail to ensure a higher level of immediate entry of migrants into the work force (Watts & Trlin, 2000; Pio, 2005; Trlin, 1999). The waste of skilled human capital, in the longer term, impacts policies in migrant receiving countries, their economy and intergroup relations as well as international relations (Cameron et al., 2013; Lewin et al., 2011).

Unemployment heightens the risk of depression among migrants and increases the likelihood of poor adjustment. The problem of unemployment is associated not only with financial strain, but also with the loss of status and self-esteem, and restriction of social contact (Ho et al., 2002). Under-employment is associated with real or perceived status loss and, is likely to lead to family stress, personal frustration and mental health risk. Educational and professional institutions in migrant receiving countries such as Canada and New Zealand exercise 'nationally-based protectionism' (Erel, 2010, p.648) by not recognising qualifications acquired outside these countries insisting on re-qualification in certain professions such as doctors and teachers (Ho et al., 2000; Henderson, 2004; Kumar & Tan, 2011; Bauder, 2003; Pio, 2005; Nayar, 2009).

The Bourdieusian concept of cultural capital has been widely used to understand skilled migration (Erel, 2010). According to Bourdieu (1986) cultural capital exists in three forms: in an embodied form of long-lasting dispositions of mind and body, in the objectified form of cultural goods, and in the institutional form of educational qualifications. In the embodied state the culture is incorporated, generally expressed in the concept of habitus, which includes bodily comportment and speaking as markers of distinction. Institutionalised cultural capital includes formal education and objectified cultural capital includes pictures, books, instruments and cultural artefacts. Cultural capital consists also of informal education transmitted through the family, political parties, and cultural groups (Bourdieu, 1986)

Even though the overseas qualifications of migrants were formally recognised for migration, employers invoke criteria such as lack of local experience, turning apparently neutral job specifications into national capital and universalising ‘western cultural capital’ by insisting on local experience as a prerequisite for employment in these countries (Kofman & Raghuraman, 2006, p.297). As a result, in the initial phase of their settlement, migrants enter into unskilled occupations. Their conditions, however, change within a short time span as their ‘national capital’ increases with experience in the destination country or by acquiring qualifications in their country of resettlement (Erel, 2010, p.644).

Migrants from non-Western societies usually do not have economic opportunities linked with their qualifications; a ‘glass ceiling’ blocks their access to upward economic and social mobility (Kumar & Tan, 2011; Rajgopal, 1990) and is rooted in their ethnicity. Albrecht, Bjorklund, and Vroman (2003), Arulampalan, Booth, and Bryan (2007), Pendakur and Pendakur (2006), Pendakur and Woodcock (2010), and Rajgopal (1990) all document the ‘*glass ceiling*’, an invisible barrier that disadvantages migrant workers and limits access to higher wage or higher level jobs. Migrants from developing countries, though better educated than the wider population in their resettled country, are paid less and experience downward occupational mobility (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2006; Ho et al., 2002; Trlin, 1999).

The notion of a '*glass ceiling*' blocking progress to organisational hierarchy was originally used in the studies of gender pay disparities; the notion was also explored in studies of barriers to economic progress of migrant and minority ethnic groups (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2006). Pendakur and Woodcock's (2010) study in Canada reveal substantial economy-wide and within-firm wage gaps in comparison to Canadian-born white workers.

Migrants and ethnic minority groups also experience the '*glass door*' that limits access to jobs in high-wage firms such as mining, oil and gas and construction (Pendakur & Woodcock, 2010). These '*glass door*' effects are greater for recent migrants and larger for visible 'minority migrants' such as Arabs or West Asians, Chinese and South Asians than for white migrants. Pendakur and Woodcock's (2010) study further reveals that male migrants to Canada face an economy-wide ceiling and are underrepresented in the upper echelons of wage distribution. Several other studies (Woodcok, 2010; Rajgopal, 1990; Bauder, 2003) suggest that recently arrived men initially enter very low-wage jobs. Over time their outcomes improve as they move up the organisational or wage ladder. Eventually, however, they hit a glass ceiling, which prevents their further progression.

Housing difficulties

Studies in migrant receiving countries such as New Zealand, Canada, Australia and the US highlight the difficulties that a large number of migrants have in finding suitable housing (Badkar, 2008; Drolet & Robertson, 2011; Papillon, 2002; Mansur, 2011; Pietsch & Marotta, 2009). The factors that constrain migrants to appropriate housing include lack of financial resources, high costs associated with moving and setting up a new household, high rental markets, limited social housing, discrimination and a lack of knowledge about local services and the local housing environment.

Newly arrived migrants often take temporary rental accommodation until they can buy a suitable property. Migrants without the necessary finances, without work or who are underemployed rely on rental accommodation for an indefinite period. Many migrants share accommodation with relatives or friends (Henderson, 2004). Shared accommodation can be seen either as a lowered life style or a positive situation

because it reduces costs and helps to raise or maintain living standards (by way of extra money being available for health care or to access education or higher quality housing). Accommodation sharing is also a source of support from relatives or friends during early stages of settlement, especially in the case of those on their own, such as single migrants or those separated from family members. Many migrants also find difficulties in finding suitable housing because of their lack of English language skills (Badkar, 2006, 2008).

Studies by Mattu (2002), Wayland (2006), Drolet and Robertson (2011) in Canada, Ager and Strang (2008) in the US, and Spoonley et al. (2005) in New Zealand highlight the inequalities between migrant and host communities in housing, employment, health and education, which thwarts social inclusion and cohesion. Migrants face difficulties when landlords are reluctant to let houses to certain groups of migrants (Henderson, 2004). An increased migrant presence in certain neighbourhoods, result in 'ethnoburbs' and 'ethnic precincts' (Friesen, 2008; Lewin, 2011). Residential concentrations diminish the need for English language proficiency, particularly among older immigrants (Henderson, 2004).

Spinks (2009), in his study of temporary migrants (seasonal workers) in Australia, highlights the potential for tension in the community when migrants compete with locals for housing and jobs. Another Australian study (Pietsch & Marotta, 2009) revealed that increasing concerns relating to housing affordability (in addition to job security and interest rates) may result in less favourable attitudes towards migrants.

Language difficulties

Language barriers for migrants from non-English speaking backgrounds result in significant problems in many aspects of their lives. (Ho et al., 2000; Richardson et al., 2002; Drolet & Robertson, 2011). Migrants from non-English speaking countries find it difficult to communicate effectively with people of the host society, adversely affecting their social and psychological well-being. Pahud (2008) observes that lack of language proficiency in the host country is a substantial predictor of depressive signs in migrants. Proficiency in the language of the receiving country provides a means of learning about the society, engenders a sense of belonging and has a positive impact for employment, income and occupational status.

Despite often fulfilling the high level of English language requirements, principal applicants, on migration to New Zealand, find that they need assistance in improving their own written and spoken English (Badkar, 2006). Many migrants take additional steps to improve their language skills and improve their employment opportunities. Acquiring language skills enhances their opportunities in employment and higher education, and fuller participation in the new society (Ho et al., 2002).

The study of migrants in New Zealand by Ho et al. (2000) found a lack of English language skills was a barrier to accessing health, legal, taxation and other services. Although English language assistance is provided by community and ethnic groups, many migrants cannot afford to pay the fees to attend formal English language classes, and some do not have any means of transportation to enable them to get to classes. For informal English language courses, current demand exceeds its supply and many migrants have to wait a long time to be placed in a class. The New Zealand Migrant Settlement and Integration Strategy (NZ Immigration Service, 2004; 2014) states that migrants and refugees need to be confident in using English in a New Zealand setting or that they can access appropriate language support to bridge the gap. Immigration services to support language include consultation to assess migrants' English skills and referral to suitable providers and courses. The support also includes a Citizen Advice Bureau Language Link, an interpretation service through Language Line, and written translation services written through the New Zealand Society of Translators (MBIE, 2015). National Association of ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) Home Tutor Schemes which was renamed as English Language Partners (ELP) in 2009, provides home based English language skills and social support to migrants and refugees for their effective settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand (ELP, 2017).

Mastering the language and understanding the ways of life of a host society through language courses empowers newcomers and results in migrants becoming more confident. It is also observed that parents of migrants find themselves in a more difficult position than voluntary migrants if they cling to the homeland culture and are unwilling or unable to adapt to the new culture and learn the language of the new country (Ho et al., 2002).

Asian women and older migrants, especially parents who join their children, and have limited knowledge of English tend to rely on children or grandchildren for translation and interpretation (Thomas, 2003). They feel isolated because of the lack of knowledge of English and their dependence on family members for transportation (Mak & Chan, 1995). Migrants who are under severe financial strain on their arrival, give priority to securing employment and settle for unskilled jobs rather than taking time needed to improve their language proficiency (Henderson, 1989). Lack of English proficiency of migrants limits their access to mainstream services and has been cited as the fundamental barrier for their effective participation in the labour market and adaptation in the new society (Pahud, 2009; Ho et al., 2002). Women from Asian traditional religious backgrounds and with limited English language ability, experience considerable social and cultural isolation in the new society (Ho et al., 2002). Colic-Peisker and Walker (2003) found that the first generation of Bosnian refugees, who resettled in Australia during the 1990's, chose partial separation from mainstream society due to their language barriers. Individuals were more inclined to align to their own community and sought work and support through informal channels.

Gender issues

Hondagneu-Sotelo's (2003) study on migrant women in the US observed that where women are accorded subordinate gender roles such as housewives and cooks in their countries of origin, those traditional gender roles are perpetuated in the host societies. Migrant women also face new forms of subordination and discrimination in their host societies. Boyd (1984) was the first to articulate the double disadvantage experienced by immigrant women in Canada based on their gender and nationality. Subsequently, studies have confirmed the double disadvantage in a variety of host countries such as the US, UK, Canada and Israel with varying results (Kelson & DeLaet, 1999; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2003; Boyle & Halfacree, 2005; Donato, Piya, & Jacobs, 2014).

The trend within the labour force in developed countries has been the gendering of labour migration especially the emergence of dual-career households. A dual career household has been defined as a household containing two principal adults in which

both partners are engaged in occupations with a distinctive and progressive career path based on 'commitment' to the job (Boyle & Halfacree, 2005). They are different from dual-income families where both partners are in paid employment. In dual career households the partners tend to be professionals (Hardill, 2002, p.1; Shachar, 2006; Boyle & Halfacree, 2005).

Until the mid-1970s, women were invisible in migration studies. However, in recent decades women's representation in the migrant labour force has become substantial (Lutz, 2010). Menjivar (2004), in her study of a diverse group of Salvadoran and Guatemalan migrant women in the US, observed that California's urban and suburban labour markets prefer Central American women over men. Central American women find the jobs faster, they work more hours and earn more on average than their male counterparts. Yet this labour market advantage for women does not necessarily lead to egalitarian family relations, but inflames family tensions and household inequalities as men feel threatened at losing their breadwinner status.

Kurien (2003) assessed gender relationship among Hindu Indian migrants in US and in larger pan-Indian migrant organisations. She noted that Indian migrant women have made great strides towards equality; husbands do more housework than they did in India. Women actively reshape the culture of organisations that they become involved in, reflecting their enhanced status. However, Kurien (2003) observes that in keeping with the patriarchal and elitist nature of religio-cultural organisations, wealthy Indian males occupy leadership positions; very few women obtain leadership positions in such organisations. Faced with the pressures of racism and assimilation, Indian migrants construct an exemplary public face to locate themselves as a model minority group. In the process, a woman will find herself placed in retrograde positions than in India because she is constructed as a virtuous, self-sacrificing homemaker enabling the professional success of her husband and the academic achievement of her children through unselfish actions.

Nayar (2009) observed that Indian male migrants to New Zealand re-negotiated their roles by assisting with household chores. Piper (2005) had earlier observed that cross-border movements, whether by men or women on their own, or jointly with their spouses, provide opportunities to re-configure gender relations and power

inequalities. Lewin et al., (2011), Nayar, (2009), and Pio, (2005) observed that pre- and post-migration, Indian men's lives revolved around their careers. Pre-migration men worked long hours and had active social lives and had less pressure to help out at home due to availability of extended family and paid help. Post-migration, the social lives of men became limited and their domestic responsibilities increased. For women in employment in India, as well as New Zealand, their pre-migration and post-migration lives were similar and involved balancing the needs of their home and children with the demands of their paid work (Pio, 2005). However, many women felt the added pressures of life in New Zealand due to lack of domestic help. Many women who were not engaged in paid work in India, had to adjust to entering the workforce for the first time while juggling family life. Many relished their new responsibilities and felt that they had gained independence and confidence (Lewin et al., 2011).

Mental health

Migration and its processes have been generally observed as causing considerable stress on those who migrate as well as on those around them (Bhugra & Ayonride, 2004). International migration has been linked to a wide range of stress related illnesses such as depression, fatigue, loss of appetite and weight loss (Fu & van Landingham, 2012). Migration by itself does not precipitate the development of mental illness; however, the changes in environment and adjustments on the part of the migrants due to the move can result in improved or worsened mental health (Francis, 2014). The stress-producing experiences such as devaluation of skills, non-recognition of qualifications, unemployment and underemployment, culture shock, language difficulties, disruption of family and social support networks, acculturation attitudes and traumatic experiences prior to migration have an impact on the mental health and well-being of migrants (Ho et al., 2002, Potocky-Tripodi,2002; Fu & van Landingham, 2012).

Unemployment heightens the risk of depression and increases the likelihood of poor adjustment. Unemployment is associated not only with financial strain, but also with the loss of status and self-esteem, as well as restriction of social contact (Ager & Strang, 2008; Ho et al., 2002). Under-employment, associated with real or perceived status loss, creates a mental health risk and may lead to family stress and personal

frustration (Ager & Strang, 2008; Ho et al., 2002). Cultural beliefs also influence how migrants and refugees conceptualise mental health, what is normal and abnormal behaviour, and the etiology (cause) and symptomology (diagnosis and symptom expression) of mental health problems (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002).

Acculturative Stress

Another adaptation stressor is acculturative stress, in which the stressors have their source in the process of acculturation, often resulting in anxiety, depression, feeling of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptoms, and confusion (Williams & Berry, 1991, p. 634). Acculturative stress arises from a psychological disorientation due to migration, where the former social order and cultural norms often disappear and previous patterns of life no longer operate in the new environment (Potocky-Tripodi, 2002).

Depression, anxiety about future uncertainty and guilt about having left family members behind has been extensively documented among refugee and migrant population (Pahud, 2008; Potocky-Tripodi, 2002; Garcia-Peltoniemi, 1991; Vega et al., 1986). Emotional reactions such as grief, loneliness, and decreased self-esteem are associated with depression and can lead to further adaptation problems (Potocky Tripodi, 2002; Mansur, 2011).

Bhugra and Ayonrinde's (2004) studies on migrants and refugees in the UK confirm that a discrepancy between aspiration and achievement can result in poor self-esteem, leading to depression. Abraham's (2006) study of South Asian migrants in the US observed that once in their new host country, the migrant group invests in portraying the concept of a "model minority" image, which means retaining strong collectivistic family values from South Asia, maintaining unified family relations, and simultaneously becoming successful in the West by working hard, achieving good grades, and earning a good living. In the process, they deny the problematic aspects of self and the community because unsuccessful stories are signs of failure and deficiency. In public they represent a unified community and tend to deny the individual and group diversity that exists

Coping practices

Migrants use a variety of coping strategies to deal with distress caused by culture shock, financial crises and other difficulties encountered during migration and settlement (Lu & Cooper, 1995). Coping is the process people use to manage distress (emotion-focused coping) and the problem underlying the distress (problem-focused coping) in the context of a specific stressful encounter or situation (Folkman, 2001). Individuals constantly change their cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and internal demands perceived as taxing or exceeding their resources (Lazarus, 2006; American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

Migrants and refugees use their personal resources, coping behaviours, and social resources as protective factors against the development of mental health problems (Beiser, 1993). Personal resources refer to personality characteristics that enable individuals to overcome obstacles. These personality characteristics or traits are extraversion, self-esteem, confidence, optimism, self-efficacy (can do attitude), locus of control (internal as well as external), knowledge, intelligence, and religious, spiritual and cultural beliefs and values (Kuo 2014).

Coping responses or strategies refer to cognitive, affective, and behavioural processes that individuals use in coping with stressors. Kosic and Triandafyllidou's (2003) study in Italy highlights coping strategies used by Albanian migrants, such as achieving positive self-concept through favourable comparisons with the native and the host groups or interpreting the migration experience in positive ways because migration allowed them to improve their financial position.

Lewin et al.'s (2011) study of Indian migrants in New Zealand revealed that newcomers use social resources such as support from members of family, social networks of friends and work colleagues, and social and financial support from government or non-government agencies. Migrants who mobilise some of these external resources find that the situation that appeared uncontrollable results in positive outcomes through the support received from these sources. Many migrants also demonstrate pro-active approaches to job hunting (such as approaching employers directly by door knocking or cold calling), embrace the chance to upskill

and retrain, and show a determination to make their way back up the occupational ladder. Most migrants demonstrate persistence and resilience despite barriers.

Resilience is a significant thread in the lives of migrants when they try to rebuild their future in the new country amidst adversity (Lenette, Brough & Cox, 2013). Resilience is the capacity to maintain competent functioning in the face of major life stressors. Atkinson, Martin, and Rankin (2009) define resilience as the ability to apparently recover from the extremes of trauma, deprivation, threat or stress (p. 137). Similarly, Rutter (2007) describes resilience as the phenomenon observed when individuals have “relatively good outcomes despite exposure to adverse life experiences” (p. 208). Resilience theory addresses the strengths of people and systems that they demonstrate in the face of adversity and which helps them to rise above those adversities. Bonanno, Galea, Bucciarelli, and Vlahov (2007) recognise protective factors such as family, employment, social support, and good health promote individual resilience. Similarly, Chung, Hong, and Newbold (2013) note that community assets including wider community supports, contribute to the collective resilience by creating and reinforcing personal resilience.

The theory of resilience falls under the umbrella of Antonovsky’s (1998) theory of ‘salutogenesis’ (Eriksson & Lindström, 2007). *Salutogenesis* emphasises health or wellness (salus = health, genesis = origin) as opposed to pathogenesis (origin of disease) a dominant model of health and medicine that focuses on the origins of disease or sickness. Research documents that most migrants and refugees are resilient and have a sense of coherence (Marlowe, 2011, 2013; Reidel, Weismann and Hannich, 2011; Lewin et al., 2011). Marlowe (2011, 2013) argues that a salutogenic perspective is appropriate for supporting migrants and refugees as it promotes ‘health’ and focuses on their health potential rather than placing major attention on their pathology or disease.

The psychological and social aspects related to migration discussed in this part such as culture shock, devaluation of human capital and downward occupational mobility, hardships in housing, language difficulties, gender role conflicts, health issues, and coping strategies have a significant role in the processes of adaptation, acculturation and identity formation of migrants in the new environment.

Part 2: Acculturation, Integration, and Identity Formation

Perspectives on settlement as a process involving adaptation and acculturation of the migrant within his or her new social context have changed over the years. In the post-war period, successful settlement was ‘the achievement of invisibility by the migrant’ with neither the migrants as a whole nor individual national groups being visible, and having no special needs beyond the initial period of arrival (Fletcher, 1999; Henderson, 2004). This meant that the migrants were expected to assimilate into the new society without any significant alteration or active change on the part of the society. However, over the past half-century many countries have accepted or encouraged ‘integration’ of migrants, allowing them to retain aspects of their culture and identity, but at the same time discouraging and proscribing harmful practices of culture such as female genital mutilation, forced marriage, bigamy and polygamy (Henderson, 2004).

Berry (2005) defines acculturation as a “dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (p. 698). Phillimore (2011) describes acculturation as a process whereby individuals from one culture adopt the characteristics and values of another culture with which they have come in contact. It is the modification of the culture of a group or individual as a result of contact with a different culture.

‘Integration’ is a ‘reciprocal process involving adaptation not only of migrants but also of structures within the host society’ (Henderson, 2004, p. 8). It implies a ‘multicultural policy’ where migrants retain aspects of their own culture rather than get assimilated through a one-sided adaptation of the migrant. Integration is when the migrants have an interest in both maintaining their heritage culture while undertaking daily interaction with other groups. This strategy can only be freely chosen and successfully pursued by migrants when the host society is open and inclusive in its orientation toward cultural diversity (Berry, 2005). Thus, a mutual accommodation is necessary to achieve integration, which involves acceptance by both groups to live as culturally different groups.

‘Assimilation’ is the degree to which an immigrant is accepted in the host culture without discrimination and prejudice in the groups, institutions, social relations and positions of power. Assimilation takes place when individuals prefer to shed their heritage culture, and become absorbed into the dominant society (Schwartz et al., 2010). Assimilation, when sought by the dominant acculturating group, is called a “melting pot” (Berry, 2005, p. 706).

According to Berry (1997, 2005), migrants’ acculturation and adaptation takes place in three spheres: psychological, socio-cultural and economic. Acculturation depends on two principles: cultural maintenance, and contact and participation. Cultural maintenance is the extent to which cultural identity and characteristics are valued and maintained. Contact and participation is the extent to which cultural groups seek or avoid contact. These principles lead to two defining questions. Is it considered to be of value to maintain one’s identity and characteristics? And, is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with the larger society? Answers to these questions provide us with a conceptual framework of four areas of acculturation: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation, illustrated in Figure 3.2 .

Figure 3.2: Acculturation Strategies (Berry, 1997. p.10)

		Importance of maintaining cultural identity and characteristics	
		YES	NO
Relationships with larger society valued	YES	INTEGRATION (Preferred mutual adaptation)	ASSIMILATION (one sided adaptation)
	NO	SEPARATION/ SEGREGATION (Chosen or enforced by society)	MARGINALISATION (Can result from exclusion or discrimination)

In '**integration or biculturalism**', migrants retain many personal and cultural values but adapt the dominant culture by learning necessary skills and values. In **assimilation**, the migrants seek to become part of the dominant society to the exclusion of his or her own cultural group (Schwartz et al., 2010; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). In **separation or segregation**, migrants identify exclusively with a specific culture. In this orientation migrants have high ethnic and low national identity, use predominantly ethnic language and have friends mainly from their own ethnic group (Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006). In **marginalisation**, migrants perceive their own culture as negative, but are unable to adapt to the majority culture. Marginalisation is often associated with the major loss of heritage culture and appearance of dysfunctional and deviant behaviours such as delinquency and substance and familial abuse (Berry, 2005).

The studies of Berry and colleagues (Berry, 1980; Berry et al., 1989; Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1989; Sam & Berry, 1995) to assess the acculturation strategies of migrant groups in North America have indicated that a strategy of integration is psychologically the most adaptive pattern. The studies noted that integrated or bicultural individuals experienced less stress and anxiety and manifested less psychological problems than those who were separated, marginalised or assimilated. The marginalised individuals experienced maximum distress including problems with self-identification and cultural alienation which also affected their self-esteem.

However, Phillimore (2011), and Bhatia and Ram (2009) criticise Berry's (1997) framework as fixed, rigid and apolitical, which perceives acculturation as a series of linear paths. They argue that acculturation is an ongoing negotiation between past and present, the country of origin and country of refuge or destination, a negotiation between the contested and constantly moving identities. According to Bhatia and Ram (2001, 2009), this bi-dimensional model ignores the issues of power, race, and gender. Acculturation is deeply interconnected with the development of a migrant's identity, and migrants face inequities and injustices as a result of their nationality, race and gender.

Migrants build organisations and communities with social institutions, schools and religious places of worship, in order to preserve, maintain and retain their ethnic,

cultural and religious values in the new country (Mansur, 2011). The strength of ethnic and national identity depends on the support for ethnic maintenance and pressure for assimilation (Phinney et al., 2001). A combination of a strong ethnic identity and a strong national identity promotes acculturation. The history of migration and migrants' complex social formations and their attachment to multiple locations have resulted in migrants acquiring multiple, hyphenated and hybridised identities (Modood & Webner, 1997; Raghunandan, 2012).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the complexity of the migration and settlement process and the implications of psychosocial factors on migrants' lives. The stages or phases of migration and settlement process and the needs of migrants in each of these phases have been highlighted. The settlement issues and psychosocial problems such as culture shock, devaluation of skills, housing problems, language difficulties, gender issues, mental health and coping practices of migrants have been outlined. The acculturation strategies of migrants and their identity formation process have been reviewed. The next chapter describes the methodology and methods used in this research.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

Introduction

This chapter presents the main aim of the study, the research questions, the researcher's position and standpoint and the significance of the research. The methodological assumptions guiding this study are discussed, followed by the methods of data collection including the study setting and the participants recruitment processes. The analytical process applied to the study and how NVivo data management software was used in analysing the data is then described. A section on the ethical considerations in relation to the current study are outlined. Finally, the trustworthiness of the study and the quality criteria used in the study are discussed.

Aim of this Research

The overarching aims of this research were:

- To examine the experiences, the difficulties and barriers faced by male migrants to New Zealand from 1995.
- To explore the strategies and coping mechanisms used by male migrants for successful migration.

The main research question was therefore framed as:

- What are the settlement experiences of male migrants from India arriving since 1995?

The subsidiary questions the study addressed were:

- a. What were the struggles, challenges, and conflicts experienced by male migrants and how were these managed?
- b. What resources and strategies did they use to cope and settle in New Zealand?

The year 1995 was chosen because it was the year New Zealand revised its immigration policy with changes to 'General Skill Category' (GSC) (Beaglehole,

2009, p. 5). These changes resulted in a significant increase in the number of skilled migrants, most of whom were men, from India. It was thus decided to include skilled migrants from this cohort in the study, using 1995 as the cut off year.

Positioning Myself as the Researcher

Qualitative research is a situated activity and clarifies the location of the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In interpretive research, the researcher can only interpret the meaning of the data from a particular perspective, a certain standpoint, or a situational context (Patton, 2004, p.115). In this study, therefore, I begin from the position of a qualitative researcher influenced by multiple identities, positions or locations, namely an Indian man, a Christian, a skilled migrant, a settlement services provider and a social work educator in New Zealand.

As an active member of the Indian community, and having migrated during the same period as most of the participants of the study, I was also an insider who could converse in Hindi, the common language of my participants. I could also speak some other Indian languages of the participants, namely Kannada, Tulu, and Konkani (my mother tongue) in addition to the common language of English. This commonality of cultural background, language, and familiarity with many participants strengthens my position as an insider-researcher.

According to Bonner and Tolhurst (2002) the advantages of being an insider-researcher are that a) the researcher has a greater understanding of the culture being studied; b) allows the flow of social interaction naturally; and c) there exists a familiarity that facilitates telling of truth. As an insider, I was also aware of internal jargon, sensitive subjects, and power dynamics. The insider-researcher can use this knowledge to obtain richer data during interviews. My position as an Indian male migrant in New Zealand helped me relate to the participants in meaningful ways establishing trust, warmth and genuine relationship. My inside knowledge of Indian culture also helped me to relate to participants in a culturally sensitive way. This position contributed to sharing of rich experiences by participants.

A disadvantage of insider-research is that familiarity with one's culture can lead to bias and a researcher can lose objectivity (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007). These

disadvantages were managed by making researcher's position and research process transparent as suggested by Hammersely (2005).

Methodological Assumptions Guiding the Study

Use of Ethnography

Situated within the framework of qualitative inquiry, this research is an ethnographic study of the migration experiences of a small cohort of male migrants in New Zealand. Ethnographic methodology broadens understanding of the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it (Fetterman, 2010). It is argued that an ethnographic approach is uniquely suited to multicultural studies because of its focus on emic point of view (insider's perspective), for accepting multiple realities and 'voices' and for understanding (verstehen) varied frames of reference or worldviews (Clark, 2000, p.3).

The use of ethnography in understanding individuals and their cultures in the context of human services has been acknowledged by Fortune, Reid and Miller (2013), Carey (2012), Goldstein (1994), and Sherman and Reid (1994). Fortune et al. (2013) emphasise that today, more than ever, human services workers need to follow an ethnographic approach to understand how people experience life in a culturally diverse world and to communicate for cultural competence. Padgett (2008) also advocates an ethnographic approach to cross-cultural or multicultural studies and human services, with emphasis on narratives as a means to understand individuals. Ethnography, therefore, was an appropriate methodology for this study, which sought to describe and interpret the shared experience of participants who belonged to a culture-sharing group, namely, skilled migrants from India during their settlement and integration process in New Zealand.

According to Wolcott (2008), ethnography is 'a way of looking' and 'a way of seeing' (p. 41). It is a way of looking at the behaviours, practices and responses of participants through the lens of their worldview: their belief and value system. Ethnography is not a detailed analysis of culture or society but a study of social behaviours of an identifiable group of people in particular situations (p.70). Ethnography is learning from people rather than studying people (Van Manen, 2011). It is an exploration of how cultural ethos is reflected in aspects of everyday life of the

people studied. It necessarily focuses on particular behaviours in specific settings rather than attempting to portray a whole cultural system (Beekhuyzen et al., 2010).

According to Sands (2013), ethnographic research is naturalistic, reflexive, inclusive of emic as well as etic perspectives, holistic, and incorporates a special stance of the researcher. Ethnographic research is naturalistic in that it studies participants in their natural settings as they pursue their everyday activities. In naturalistic research, the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest; it is allowed to unfold naturally (Patton, 2014). Drawing on Patton (2014), this study captured the precise language of the participants and remained true to their perspectives (Patton, 2014). Aligned to this naturalistic characteristic of ethnographic research, participants were studied in their natural settings: their homes, offices and the community as they pursued their everyday activities.

Use of Reflexivity in the Study

Ethnographic studies are reflexive in order to overcome a researcher's own assumptions, biases and values that may influence the data collection and analytical processes. Reflexivity is paying attention to power imbalances and different kinds of linguistic, social, political and theoretical elements that impact the process of knowledge development, during which data is constructed, interpreted and written (Sands, 2013).

Carla Willig (2013) presents two types of reflexivity:

Personal reflexivity involves reflecting upon the ways in which our own values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political comments, aims in life and social identities have shaped the research. It also involves reflecting on how the research has affected or changed us as a person and researcher.

Epistemological reflexivity leads us to pose questions such as: How has the research question defined and limited what can be 'found'? How has the design of the study and the method of analysis 'constructed' the data and the findings? Epistemological reflexivity helps us to reflect upon the assumptions we have made about the phenomenon during the course of our research and

helps us to be aware of the implications of such assumptions on our research and findings. Reflexivity was an important part of this study. Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009) perceives reflexivity as a particular and specific version of reflectivity. According to Ryan (2005), being reflective as a researcher can also mean being personally reflexive, though being reflexive is different from being reflective. The reflexive process involves introspection, that is, a deeper inward gaze into every interaction. I used the interactive introspection as a tool to improve my interactions and study my thoughts, feelings and behaviour during the research. Writing a reflective diary assisted in applying reflexivity, both personal and epistemological, throughout the process of this study, providing validity and rigor to this study.

Drawing on Emic and Etic perspectives

Another characteristic of ethnographic research is its focus on emic and etic perspectives. Derived from the terms phonemic and phonetic (Pike, 1967), emic and etic refer to insider and outsider views respectively (Sands, 2013). Ethnographers give primacy to understanding the perceptions of insiders, its participants. As an insider-researcher I gained access to the language, normative systems and meaning systems of the group. Nevertheless, outsider perspectives—which are external to the participants, events, settings, or situations under study—are relevant and can enrich the study (Sands, 2013). Although I am an insider—being a migrant from India having migrated during the same period and speaking the common languages of the participants—I also am an outsider as I profess being an Indian Catholic (a minority in India). My perspectives, therefore, were both emic as well as etic. The reflexivity practised in this study overcomes my biases as an insider.

Ethnographic study is also holistic (Sands, 2013) as it aims to secure a comprehensive understanding of the social, political, economic, and historical contexts of participants or events. My attempts to contextualise the experiences of participants necessitated asking questions, consulting documents, and exploring cultural dimensions and systems connected with those under study.

An ethnographic perspective enables a researcher to understand the human experience as it is lived, felt and known by the people being studied. Ethnography

enables gathering of cultural information from a number of participants until a general picture of life in a given community emerges (Green, Dixon & Zaharlick, 2003). These characteristics of ethnography guided me to focus on the cultural information from the participants until a ‘general picture’ or a pattern emerged from the data collected.

According to Geertz (2000), ethnography is a “continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structure in such a way as to bring them into simultaneous view” (p.69). Ethnographic studies bring out how global and national institutions as well as relational interactions seep through the lives, identities, relations and communities of people, ultimately ‘refracting back on the larger systems that give rise to them’ (Fine & Weis, 2005, p.69). This ethnographic perspective of linking the local issues to the global phenomenon guided this study to link the local experiences of participants to the national and global structures and phenomenon. As suggested by Mills (1959/2000), I was also able to link the ‘private troubles’ of participants to ‘public issues’ or larger social structures (p. 18).

The Methods

In ethnography, methods of ethnographic interviewing and observation go hand in hand (Van Manen, 2011). The ethnographic design of this study, therefore, used the methods of ‘ethnographic interviewing’ (Ortiz, 2003; Heyl, 2001), ‘observations’ (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2014), and a ‘reflective diary’ (Traverse, 2011; Wall, Glenn, Mitchinson & Poole, 2004; Glaze, 2002) to collect the data for this study.

Ethnographic interviews

Ethnographic interviewing is a method where there is an on-going and respectful relationship with interviewees characterised by genuine exchange of views (Ortiz, 2003; Heyl, 2001). In ethnographic interviewing, researchers establish enough rapport for a genuine exchange of views and enough time and openness in the interviews for the interviewees to explore purposefully with the researcher the meanings they place on events in their worlds (Heyl, 2001). Such an interview is ‘humanised methodology of friendship’ (p. 254), an empowering dialogue where power asymmetries are minimised (Kvale, 2006). The interview is also a

conversation, a give-and-take between two persons, creatively and openly sharing experiences with one another in a mutual search for greater self-understanding (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). These assumptions of the ethnographic interview guided my interviews of participants conducted in mutual trust and respect, which generated thickly described data narratives. Thickly described data or ‘thick’ description is a feature of ethnography where description of context and behaviour is provided in great detail ascribing thinking and intentionality to the described behaviour (Fetterman, 2010; Ponterotto, 2006).

Because ethnographic interviews uncover the meaning participants make of their experiences, the context in which they live is a central feature of investigation (Ortiz, 2003). Ethnographic interviews often generate discussions about race, gender, class, and other socio-historical experiences of participants and meaning made of their experiences. With sustained interaction in the social setting, researchers discern themes and patterns that represent collective understandings that include diverse perspectives (Ortiz, 2003). These assumptions of the ethnographic interview guided my interviews of participants conducted in mutual trust and respect, which generated thickly described data narratives. Thickly described data or ‘thick’ description is a feature of ethnography where description of context and behaviour is provided in great detail ascribing thinking and intentionality to the described behaviour (Fetterman, 2010; Ponterotto, 2006).

My deep disclosures led to participants’ reciprocal revelations. The empathetic approach inherent in ethnography takes an ethical stance in favour of the participant or the group being studied (Clark, 2000). The interviewer becomes an advocate and partner in the study, hoping to be able to use the results to advocate social policies and ameliorate conditions of the interviewee (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 696). These broad principles as well as the questions framed in this study guided my interviews and analysis. The interviews were inextricably bound by historical, political and cultural moments and the result of the interview changes as these moments change (Kong et al., 2002). These assumptions enabled me to link the narratives of participants to the historical, political and cultural moments the participants lived in.

Use of a reflective diary

Janesick (2011) recommends reflective writing in the form of a reflective journal or diary to provide a data set of the researcher's reflection of the research process. According to McKernan and McKernan (2013), a reflective journal or diary also helps practitioners to solve practical research problems. Bassot (2013) argues that reflective diaries serve four purposes: first, it takes the researcher on a journey of reflective research to critically reflective research. Reflective research encourages a researcher to review his or her research experiences, but critically reflective research means that the researcher begins to engage with his or her emotional responses and to challenge some of the assumptions the researcher might be making about people and situations. Second, the reflective diary introduces the researcher to a broad range of theoretical models of reflection at a deeper level by understanding by highlighting things that might not be obvious on the surface. The reflective diary serves as a tool to help the researcher to build a deeper knowledge of reflective practice by applying theories of reflection to the researcher's ongoing learning and development. Third, the diary enables the researcher to record his or her learning and development so that he or she can return to it in the future. Fourth, the reflective diary enables the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of self and the research process through writing about issues of power in relationships, institutions and the societal structures.

Wall, Glenn, Mitchinson, and Poole (2004) say a reflective diary helps the researcher to develop 'bracketing' skills (putting aside assumptions or preconceptions) and to inform methodological decision making. The reflective diary also encourages the researcher to review and reflect upon situations, including specific interviews with participants, and also to reflect on the methodological progression of study itself. The reflections would involve describing the situation in detail, identifying any factors that had an influence on the situation, and providing evidence of critical analysis.

These perspectives prompted me to choose a reflective diary as a data set and guided me to structure it appropriately. My identity based on factors such as gender, race, religion and profession interacted with my research experience and influenced my reports, findings and conclusions. I have, therefore, reflected on my identity as an Indian male, a Christian and as a service provider and academic, which has minimised and overcome my own subjectivity as well as research biases. As the

method of data collection for this study was ethnographic interviews, I set aside time before each interview to bring to mind and write about specific issues such as the power relationships between me as the researcher and the participants that were influenced by identity markers such as occupation, educational qualifications, religious affiliation and social class (our gender was the same). In addition to identifying the issues, I also planned and documented necessary action to help in the process of critical analysis. My reflective diary helped me to make sense of and gain perspective of the discrimination and maltreatment experienced by Indian pioneers in New Zealand and elsewhere (in Fiji and other British colonies). My reflective diary also helped in developing my own conceptual model explaining my experience, leading to clarity of thought, emotional recognition, and a more balanced view of the situation. A sample of my reflective diary is annexed in Appendix G.

Personal observations

Observation has been termed as the basis of all research methods in social and behavioural sciences (Angrosino, 2005). In ethnography, observation is significant because it provides cultural context for the answers to the research questions (Bogdewic, 1992). Observation is being in or around an on-going social setting for the purpose of making a qualitative analysis of that setting (Patton, 2014). Full observation simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of participants, participation and observation, and introspection (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Accordingly, after each interview I used a journal to record my observations and to review literature on the practices, activities and terms mentioned by the participants. I continued informal conversations with the participants who met me at community celebrations, religious gatherings, and celebration of landmark birthdays and anniversaries. My observational notes and journals became data sources of this study.

Fetterman (2010) argued that internet and web-based tools are indispensable to ethnographers today. As observed by Appadurai (2003) and Denzin (2001), in this digital age people interact in cyberspace. Web based social media such as Facebook became sites of observation. For example, a participant posted on his Facebook:

Today at 10.30 am (NZ time) we completed 12 years in New Zealand. Leaving behind our friends and families has been [of] pain and finding new friends in New Zealand has been a gain. Professionally my wife and I did not gain much but personally the success of our son and daughter mattered the most. Our purpose of migration and motto was to ensure that our next generation is sound, successful and happy- and in that we had been lucky and successful (Researcher's journal entry, 16 Sept 2014).

Such information added to my observation journal, enriched the data corpus and facilitated 'triangulation' (Fetterman, 2010, p.94). A sample of my observation journal is annexed in Appendix H.

Data Collection

Study setting

This study was set in the Auckland region where 71% of Indians in New Zealand reside (New Zealand Census, 2006). Further, over the past several years I had established relationships within the Indian communities in this region. My roles as a service provider of settlement services to new migrants in the Auckland region and subsequently as a social work educator in a tertiary institute in Auckland contributed positively to establishing relationships with many Indians and facilitated the selection of participants for this project. These factors contributed to the selection of the Auckland region as the location of this research.

Participant selection

The inclusion criteria of participants was:

Male migrants from India who were the principal applicants under New Zealand's immigration policy and had arrived in NZ as 'permanent residents' or on 'work to residence' visas under General Skill Category (GSC) or Skilled Migrant Category (SMC) and had arrived in 1995 or after.

The reason for setting the first criterion was to focus on the experiences of skilled migrants. The second criterion was to include migrants from India who arrived after 1995 when major changes to 'general skill category' (GSC) were introduced to the

immigration policy by the New Zealand government, which resulted in a significant increase in number of migrants from India.

Participant recruitment

An advertisement was designed to invite willing candidates who fulfilled the criteria and was circulated through my personal networks by email (see Appendix A). Most of the respondents were known to me either as members of my faith community, as acquaintances whom I had come to know within the larger Indian community, as service users during my tenure as settlement service provider, or ex-students who had graduated with a social work degree and were working in senior positions. An information sheet providing detailed information on the research was sent to all those who responded positively to enable them to make an informed decision to participate in the study.

A guiding principle about sample size in qualitative research is the concept of data saturation (Mason, 2010). Data saturation entails recruiting adequate number of participants until data set is complete and nothing new is added (Bowen, 2008). A sample of twenty participants among those who responded positively to the invitation to participate in the study was selected using a combination of ‘purposeful sampling’ and ‘convenience sampling’ (Patton, 2014, Sedgwick, 2013). Purposeful sampling is selecting information-rich participants who, by their nature and substance, are able to illuminate the research question being investigated (Patton, 2014). Convenience sampling is the selection of most accessible participants chosen according to the available resources in relation to time and finances (Sedgwick, 2013). A brief biographical account of each participant is provided in Appendix F. Socio-demographic characteristics of participants such as their name (pseudonyms), age, arrival date, profession before migrating and a few years after arrival, religion and regional affiliation are provided in Table 4.1

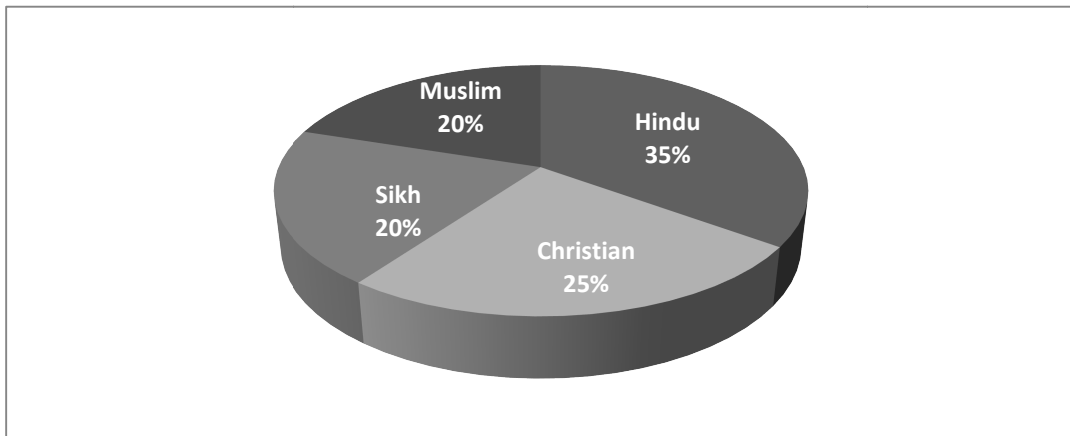
Table 4.1: Sociodemographic Characteristics of Participants

(Names used here are pseudonyms)

No	Name	Age 2012	Profession in New Zealand	Arrival	Profession in India	Religion	Cities/ State
1	Abishek	42	IT specialist	2003	IT specialist	Hindu	West Bengal
2	Ashok	50	Liquor store owner	2000	Chartered accountant	Hindu	Delhi
3	Ajay	56	Driving tutor/ Grocery owner	1995	Geologist	Hindu	Gujarat
4	Amrik	46	Taxi driver	2002	Pharmacist	Sikh	Punjab
5	Gregory	54	Fitter	2002	Fitter	Catholic	Mumbai
6	Gurcharan	41	Assembler	2007	Assembler	Sikh	Punjab
7	Indubushan	46	Liquor store owner	2000	Chef	Sikh	Punjab
8	Lawrence	27	Travel service	2009	Travel service	Catholic	Goa
9	Madanpal	41	Sales consultant	2002	Businessman	Sikh	Punjab
10	Manohar	64	Customer service	2002	Bank executive	Hindu	Karnataka
11	Peter	44	Bank executive	2002	Bank executive	Catholic	Goa
12	Pascal	47	Lighting engineer	2002	Engineer (electrical)	Catholic	Karnataka
13	Rahman	44	Corrections officer	2002	Medical representative	Muslim	Hyderabad
14	Rahul	48	Estate agent	2002	Corporate executive	Hindu	Mumbai
15	Raheem	45	Social worker	2002	Social worker	Muslim	Hyderabad
16	Satyajit	53	Manager	2002	Corporate executive	Hindu	West Bengal
17	Satish	56	Social worker	1998	Teacher	Hindu	Delhi
18	Shakib	52	Lecturer	2000	Lecturer	Muslim	Tamil Nadu
19	William	39	Customer service	2003	Customer service	Catholic	Mumbai
20	Yusuf	42	Credit controller	2002	Credit controller	Muslim	Hyderabad

The selected participants were from different Indian cities such as Mumbai, New Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, Bhopal, Baroda and Hyderabad, and states such as Punjab, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Gujarath and Karnataka. They spoke one or more of the following languages: Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati, Bengali, Urdu, Tamil, Konkani and all spoke English. Seven participants were Hindus (35%), five were Christians (25%), four were Muslims (20%) and four were Sikhs (20%). The higher number of Hindu and Christian participants were selected to represent their higher number among Indians in New Zealand as compared to Muslims and Sikhs (see Figure 2.2). Figure 3.2 is a representation of the participants' religion.

Figure 4.1 Religion of Study Participants.



The participants were interviewed in the natural settings of homes, work places and business premises. Five interviews were conducted at participants' homes, three in their offices, three in their business precincts, and seven were conducted at my home. The last option was considered and accepted by participants when they expressed their difficulties to converse freely, because of the presence of children and other family members at home. Each interview was approximately 60 minutes in length and was recorded on a digital voice recorder. Spouses of several participants joined the 'conversations'. Their participation helped the participants to recollect the events and dates. This contributed to correctness, richness, and thickness of the data.

Data Analysis

As an interpretive, ethnographic study, I used an inductive thematic analysis framework (Braun & Clark, 2008) as well as a ‘qualitative data analysis’ strategy (Bazeley, 2013) to analyse the interviews. According to Braun and Clarke (2008), “thematic analysis is a method for identifying analysing and reporting themes within data” (p. 79). The themes embedded within the data were identified firstly in an inductive or ‘bottom up’ way (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 83; Patton, 2002, p. 452). The inductive process is data driven without trying to fit into pre-existing coding frames, or the researcher’s analytical pre-conceptions or theoretical frameworks. An inductive approach ensured that findings arose directly from the data and not entirely from my prior expectations or theoretical frameworks, although the findings are influenced by the research objectives and questions. The research objectives provided a focus or domain of relevance for conducting the analysis, but not a set of expectations about specific findings.

According to Bazeley (2013), ‘qualitative data analysis’ strategy takes the analytical process beyond simply identifying themes and describing them. Qualitative data analysis strategy proposes three stages of analysis:

- 1) *Read and reflect, explore and play, code and connect, review and refine* to start the analytic process.
- 2) *Describe, compare and relate* to deepen it (analytic process).
- 3) *Extract and explain* so that the researcher can *contend, defend, and extend* to bring it to conclusion through developing concepts and theories.

Guided by the two approaches of inductive thematic analysis (Braun & Clark, 2008) and qualitative data analysis (Bazeley, 2013), I undertook the analysis in several phases as explained below.

Phase 1: Familiarising myself with my data

I personally transcribed all the interviews, listening and re-listening to participants’ stories including the tone of their voice to sense the emotion evoked by recall while narrating their experiences. Personally transcribing the data facilitated ‘close attention and interpretive thinking’ (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999, p. 82). Most participants had emotional moments, both tears of joy as well as sadness on

occasions recollecting the times when life was hard after migrating. The process of transcribing, which was time consuming and at times unexciting, helped to familiarise me with the data. A rigorous and thorough 'orthographic' transcript, a 'verbatim' account of all verbal and sometimes nonverbal utterances (such as a cough) (Patton, 2002, p. 4; Braun & Clark, 2008, p. 88) of participants was carried out checking the transcripts against the original audio recordings for accuracy. Reading and re-reading transcripts, though time consuming, provided me with coding pathways.

Phase 2: Generating initial codes

After reading and familiarising myself with the data, I generated an initial list of codes. NVivo software was used for coding and categorising the extracts under parent nodes, child nodes and free nodes using inductive process. All the data extracts were initially coded and brought under either free nodes or parent nodes. Four overarching parent nodes of pre-migration or pre-arrival experiences, early settlement experiences, intermediate, and long-term settlement experiences were prepared, guided by the 'stages of settlement' framework of Drolet and Robertson (2011), Wayland (2006), George (2002) Drachman (1992) and Cox (1985), discussed in the previous chapter. The acculturation model of Berry (1997), which explains the four strategies of acculturation adopted by migrants and refugees (integration, assimilation, segregation and marginalisation), also assisted in making sense of the data and categorisation into nodes. All the coded extracts were then collated under the four overarching parent nodes. The process resulted in an overall conceptualisation of themes, categories and relationships between them as shown in the figure 4.2.

Phase 3: Reviewing themes

In this phase the collated and coded data extracts under each theme were analysed to detect a coherence. When some data extracts within the theme did not fit, the theme was reworked creating a new theme, finding a new home for those extracts that did not readily fit in an already existing theme. Thereafter, I considered the validity of each individual theme in relation to the data set and also checked to ensure that the thematic map accurately reflected the meanings evident in the data set as whole (Braun & Clark, 2006). When the thematic map did not fit the data set I further

reviewed and refined my coding until a satisfactory thematic map was drawn. By the end of this phase it became clearer how different themes fitted together and how the data told the story.

Phase 4: Defining and naming themes

Based on the themes, I drew a thematic map by returning to the collated data extracts for each theme and organised them into a coherent and internally consistent account with accompanying narrative. I not only identified the story each theme told but also considered how it fitted into the broader story in relation to the research questions. This process ensured minimal overlap between the themes. Figure 4.2 describes the themes under the various settlement stages.

Phase 5: Describing themes and concepts

In this phase I reviewed the themes, interspersing them with relevant quotes to provide a concise, coherent, logical, and non-repetitive account of the data (presented in chapter 4). Moving forward, I combined coded themes into higher-order focused codes and began to *wonder* and *ponder* relationships in order to develop the emerging themes and concepts (described in detail in chapter 5).

Ethical Considerations

Ethics approval to proceed with this study (HR 124/2009) was granted on 13 Nov 2009 by the Human Research Ethics Committee of Curtin University (Appendix E). The process of ethical review concentrated on three main areas: informed consent to participate in the research project; protection of privacy and confidentiality of records; and protecting participants or groups in the community from risk of harm (National Health and Medical Research Council NHMRC, 2007). The conduct of the researcher therefore should be above reproach, and his or her code of ethics strict (Christians, 2005).

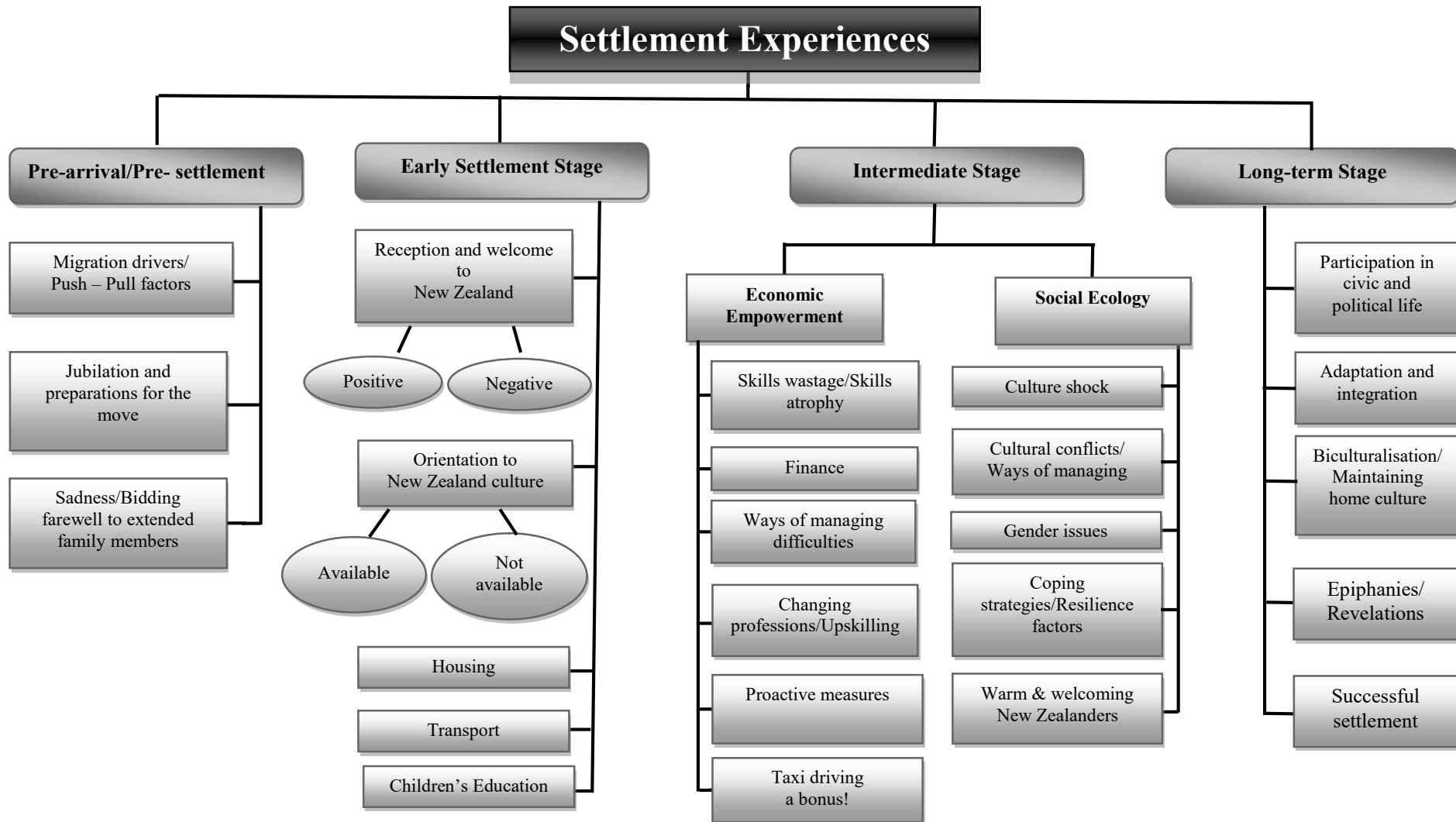


Figure 4.2: Analytical Map

All participants were provided with information on the nature and purpose of the study, both verbally and through a written information sheet (Appendix B). From the beginning, participants were encouraged to ask questions in case of any doubt or need for clarification. After the participants confirmed that they were clear about the study and their role in it, they were asked to sign a form consenting to their participation in the study. The signed consent forms (Appendix C) were obtained before the interview. The form, as well as verbal communication, informed the participants that their involvement in the research was entirely voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw at any stage without it affecting their rights or responsibilities.

The privacy of participants was maintained by replacing all names of participants with pseudonyms and changing any identifying details in the transcript and thesis. The participants were also informed that the information provided would be kept separate from their personal details and that only the researcher and his supervisors would have access to the data. Care was taken to ensure that the interview transcripts would not have their names or any other identifying information on them. The digital recordings and transcribed information were stored on computers accessible with passwords and locked shelves. The names of participants (in Table 4.1 and other chapters including Appendices) have been disguised using pseudonyms thus protecting their identity.

Curtin University's 'Principles of Ethical Research' based upon the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research (National Health and Medical Research Council NHMRC, 2007) require all participants to be protected from any physical, emotional and psychological harm. Participants were treated with utmost respect, empathy and cultural sensitivity, with their emotional and mental safety paramount in the process. No coercion or any type of inducement was used.

Quality Criteria in the Research

Trustworthiness

To provide trustworthiness to an interpretive study, the conventional concepts of ‘validity’, ‘generalisability’, ‘reliability’ and ‘objectivity’ of the positivist paradigm need to be replaced with criteria such as ‘credibility’ ‘transferability’ ‘dependability’ and ‘confirmability’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 13; Guba, 1981, p. 80; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 219). Loh (2013) argues that in order to pursue trustworthiness qualitative researchers should follow the criteria of credibility in preference to internal validity, transferability in preference to external validity or generalisability, dependability in preference to reliability and confirmability in preference to objectivity.

Credibility

Credibility can be established through prolonged engagement and persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, and member checking (Guba, 1981; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 219). Throughout this study I discussed and reviewed the research process with supervisors, colleagues and other researchers. I reflected on the narratives of the participants, my own experiences, analysis and observations, and shared them with my supervisors, which contributed to the improvisation of interview process, listening and analysing skills.

I also continued contact with my participants, seeking clarification, additional information and checking my understanding for correctness. I presented preliminary findings to a group consisting of supervisors, academics and peers, then to audiences at a humanities graduate research conference and Mark Liveris research student seminar both at Perth in 2012, which engendered discussions providing more clarity to the findings. This ‘prolonged engagement and persistent observation’ (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 219) aided me in noting and understanding the dynamic interactions of my participants within their new society and how they made meaning of their experiences.

Transferability

Transferability is the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalised or transferred to other contexts or settings (Trochim, 2006). Thick description facilitates transferability (Guba, 1981, p. 86; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 219). In this study, the interviews of participants generated narratives with thick descriptions of their experiences, providing transferability to the findings of this study.

Dependability and confirmability

Qualitative researchers go through the research cycle several times (Coolican, 1990, p. 237). I maintained a detailed trail of the process, findings, and analysis of my study and regularly discussed these with my supervisors, colleagues and co-researchers, all of which strengthens research dependability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 219). Further, my observations and reflections on my own experiences (as presented in my reflective diary) confirm the findings, making them dependable. This research has highlighted the complex nature of lived experiences of participants, the coexistence of binaries and opposites—‘us’ and ‘them’, ‘fairness’ and ‘discrimination’, ‘easy’ and ‘difficult’, ‘coped’ and ‘did not cope’, ‘happy’ and ‘unhappy’, giving the study ‘ironic validity’ (Newman & Benz, 1998, p. 47; Lather, 1993, p. 685).

The multiple perspectives and diverse empirical materials in a study add ‘rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to the inquiry’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5). This study explored diverse situations, and developed interpretations and personal stories grounded in the world of lived experience. It went beyond the single-case method and analysed multiple cases and life stories. Although introspective moments of insight might have suffered from the bias of observation, the rules of analysis and structure of the study—and reflectivity—have given it a ‘scientific rigour’ (Denzin, 2009, p. 52). The use of open-ended interviews, observations and reflective diary have provided rigor, breadth, complexity and depth to the study.

My own personal positioning and standpoint as a researcher has been that of a male migrant, an ‘insider’, a social worker and an academic. Though I acknowledge earlier that I am also an outsider being of minority Christian faith, my reflections

made me feel that that I am not so much an outsider but an insider being from the same community (Indian). Accordingly, supervisors, peers, other academics who have been hearing, reading and critiquing the findings of this study have ensured rigor and quality. My reflective diary provides another perspective and another voice. I have subjected myself to critical and intensive reflexivity through my journals to be aware of biases and prejudices that may obscure the reality that this study sought to find.

As the researcher, I have ensured reciprocal relationships, eschewing hierarchy with all the stakeholders in the study-participants, members of my community in general, supervisors and the readers who have had an opportunity to know the findings during conferences, seminars and discussions. The goal of this study has been to help members of the Indian community to enhance their wellness and well-being, to help policy makers and the host society in general. Wellbeing or wellness is a general term for the physical (medical), social, economic, psychological, and spiritual state or condition of an individual or a group (Durie, 1999, 2001). This research has strived to comply with criteria of ‘credibility’ ‘transferability’ ‘dependability’ and ‘confirmability making this study epistemologically rigorous and ethically robust.

Conclusion

Chapter 4 has presented an overview of the research design, the theoretical underpinnings guiding the study, the methods used and the analytical frameworks used. The theoretical concepts of acculturation, and stages of settlement identified in the literature have been discussed. The methodological assumptions, the research design used to collect and analyse the data have been provided. The analytical process and the technique and strategies employed in analysing the data have been explained. The ethical principles have been outlined. The next chapter presents the findings of the study derived through inductive thematic analysis and qualitative data analysis processes.

Chapter 5: Findings

This chapter presents the findings of this study, which are structured around the research questions. Findings are presented under the stages of migration framework, and acculturation theory. The findings describe the experiences of the migrants in four stages of settlement, namely, pre-arrival, early settlement, intermediate and long-term settlement stages. In this chapter pseudonyms are used to protect the identities of the participants.

Findings of the Study

The main aim of this study was to explore the settlement experiences of Indian male migrants arriving in New Zealand since 1995. The study also sought to identify the struggles, challenges, and conflicts experienced by them and how were these managed, as well as coping resources, responses and strategies adopted by participants. Deploying the qualitative data analysis framework (Bazeley, 2013) and thematic analysis approach (Braun & Clark, 2008), I analysed the data guided by the stages of migration model (Drolet and Robertson, 2011; Wayland, 2006; George, 2002; Drachman, 1992; Cox, 1985) and acculturation theory (Berry, 1997, 2005).

In the pre-arrival stage participants' experiences relate to push and pull factors, jubilation and preparation on qualifying to migrate, and sadness of bidding farewell to extended family and friends. The early settlement stage includes arrival and reception experiences, orientation to New Zealand life, and those associated with housing, transport and children's schooling. The experiences in the intermediate stage are classified under two main themes: economic empowerment and social ecology. The experiences relating economic empowerment include skill wastage and atrophy (unemployment and underemployment due to human capital depreciation), resultant financial difficulties, and proactive measures taken to overcome the difficulties arising from skill atrophy. Under the theme of social ecology, experiences are culture shock, conflicts arising from differences in cultural and religious values, and coping. In the long-term settlement stage the experiences include involvement of participants in civic and political life, adaptation and

integration into the new society, biculturation, epiphanies or new insights, and successful settlement with progression to good jobs and promotions.

Pre-migration or Pre-arrival Experiences

Participants' pre-arrival experiences were significant as these experiences influenced their reactions and behaviour in other stages of settlement. In this stage participants engaged in decision making, assessing their lives within the socio-economic-political system of the home country, some using their knowledge of life in other countries and the possibility of moving to one of those countries. They evaluated if the movement would be beneficial to themselves and family members. Once the decision was taken to move, they submitted applications for 'permanent residence' or 'work permit' under the 'general skill category' or 'skilled migrant category'. On receipt of the visas they made travel plans. The experiences of participants in this stage have been laid out under themes of push and pull factors (migration drivers), jubilation and preparations for the move, and sadness of bidding farewell to extended family and friends. A graphic representation of this structure can be followed in Figure 4.2

Migration drivers (push and pull factors)

The narratives of participants indicate that higher quality of life with balanced time for family and work, and better future for children were the most significant migration drivers that prompted participants in favour of migrating to New Zealand. Social, economic, educational and environmental factors of the home country (push factors) and those of the destination country (pull factors) also prompted participants to choose to migrate to New Zealand. Overall the participants had lived financially secure lives and enjoyed successful careers prior to migration. Unsatisfactory infrastructure, poorly maintained roads, traffic jams and grid locks, long hours spent travelling to and from home and work, plus the crowded trains of the Indian metropolitan railways prompted participants to choose in favour of migrating to a country that promised a better and relaxed lifestyle, a slower pace, and a good balance between family and work. Rahul, a corporate executive (participant # 14, see table 4.1, page 73) recounting his life in Mumbai said:

I was getting sick of the Indian infrastructure ... I was travelling three hours to and from home and work in a chauffeur driven car ... When I visited Sydney [on office work] I really loved the place ... I went back home and said to my wife, 'Look, it is time we moved ... We have had enough'.

Pascal, an electrical engineer (participant # 12, see table 4.1, page 73) echoed similar sentiments, narrating his life in Mumbai, where trains were crowded beyond tolerable limits during peak hours:

In India you have to travel for four hours in crowded trains ... It was difficult to get to work. Working was also difficult.

Madanpal (participant # 9), endorsing Rahul's statement, recounted the unbearable maddening pace and rush of Indian mega-cities and his yearning for a slower paced and more relaxed life:

I had my own business in Delhi and we were doing pretty well. It was just the madness and the rush that you have in any Metro We wanted to go to some country to change our life style. We thought we would go to a more simple country which is a bit more relaxed and allows [us] to spend time with family and has a good balance between work and family. That's how we landed in New Zealand.

Indian corporate work culture demanded spending long hours at work with little or no time to spend with their families. The employers gave lower priority to family life than work and expected employees to spend time beyond their contracted hours and days. This 'choking' situation made participants consider moving to a country that gave a higher priority to family life and allowed for a good balance between work and family. Peter, an executive in a multinational bank when in India (participant #11) recounted:

A comment was made by my superior that the bank comes first and that family [and] everything else is later. And it just got me thinking. I asked, 'Why am I working?' I am working for my family. I am working so that I can feed myself; take care of myself and my family. So, if it wasn't for me and my family, the need to work would not be there. The statement was wrong and it made me think [about moving].

Indian employers expect white collar employees, especially in supervisory roles, to work beyond their contracted hours. Performance of employees is measured by the long and late hours of work. Recounting such experiences in India, Peter added:

Then I was thrown into my next assignment. I used to leave work at six, seven, seven thirty [pm]. The impression I got from the seniors was that 'You are leaving so early,' which was like you have not worked enough. The effort you put in was correlated to how late you were at the office. There came a time when I did not enjoy my work.

Corruption and the long delays in the bureaucratic and justice systems were frustrating to participants. There was an identified yearning for a corruption-free country. People had to bribe civic workers to do their jobs. Amrik, then a pharmacist in India (participant # 4), recounted these reasons for his move:

There is no doubt that there is so much struggle in our country.... Our corruption is big.... The system is not working. It is only working for the affluent people.

India's highly competitive education system puts a lot of pressure on children with few opportunities to pursue chosen careers. Private tutoring of children and 'cram-school' culture deprives children of their time for fun and play. Children undergo extreme duress to achieve high grades that will ensure admission to the few places in medical, engineering, management and other institutions providing professional courses where entry marks and fees are high. A lack of accessible, quality educational institutions made many think of moving to a country that enables access to good education and more opportunities to pursue better qualifications with higher success in entering desired careers. Satyajit, a corporate executive when in India (participant # 16) recounted:

I was a little worried about my children. So many obstacles. I thought they were going through the same process which I had gone through. My wife and I thought we need to make a change. We thought that we should make life a little easier for [our children]. We are almost middle-aged. We thought my career was not so important. My children's career was more important. We both agreed and decided to go abroad.

Another factor that goaded the participants to migrate was their wives' feelings of being stifled within the extended family environment. They wanted to move somewhere else so as to be away from family politics. The joint family system and family dynamics suffocated many women who were happy to get away from their larger families to enjoy freedom. Manohar (participant #10) recalled:

We had our internal politics. You know Indian families. My wife wanted to get away from all this gossiping. She said 'Let us also migrate.'

The precarious economic situation of India in the 1990s was identified as driving some to think of moving to more stable and developed economies. Pascal recounted:

I was in sales and the market was down. Pushing the sales was difficult. There was a lot of recession in 1996-1999.

When it came to choosing a country from the list of stable and developed economies, the scenic landscapes, the clean and green environment of New Zealand as depicted in Bollywood movies spurred many participants to initiate the process to migrate to New Zealand. They also learned from the media, friends and relatives of the laid back, slow-paced and balanced life styles of New Zealanders, and longed to migrate here. Rahman (participant # 13) recalled:

One of my friend's uncles was staying [in New Zealand] and at that time we saw a movie 'Kaho na pyar hai' (Say that you love me) that was shot in Queenstown [in New Zealand] and we were really impressed with the beautiful [landscapes], beach setting etc.

Many participants experienced societal structures and occupational prestige hierarchies that stifled their freedom to pursue occupations of their choice and posed barriers for self-actualisation. The egalitarian values of New Zealand attracted them. Rahul, echoing many other participants said:

In India, the community puts a lot of pressure on you, pressure of status, stigma, what you are and what you are not. There are a lot of expectations out there and I really never liked that. So, for me it was freedom. When I come here, I am free to do what I want to do... So I can do whatever I like, I can live my own life.

Jubilation and preparation to move (pre-arrival information or orientation).

On receiving 'permanent residence' or 'work to residence' visas, participants were jubilant and began gathering information on the impending new life in New Zealand. Some received a 'Settlement Kit' containing information on all aspects of life in New Zealand such as transport, housing, employment. Settlement kits contained some information but participants did not get a realistic picture of the situation in New Zealand. Some browsed and searched websites on life in New Zealand. Some received information from friends and relatives already in New Zealand and, in a few cases, from immigration consultants.

Many participants felt that the information they gathered was inadequate resulting in severe hardships such as not being aware of any support or services available to them on arrival. Representing the views of many other participants Satyajit had this to say about the need of pre-departure briefing by New Zealand immigration personnel in India:

You apply, fill in the forms, deposit the money and you get [the visa]. And off you go on your own. I think there should have been [a person] in commissioner's office of New Zealand, back in India [to guide us] about the things that you are going to face and these are the suggestions... this is what you will go through... very basic things... if you go from this place to this place, in the bus, this is how much it is going to cost you. Those basic things would have helped us in our initial days.... When I went to collect my PR [permanent residence] letter, somebody from the counter came to me and said, this is your letter 'Congratulations,' now go. Then I was in the dark.

Bidding farewell to extended family

Leaving behind the place of residence they had either inherited or built with hard work, and which contained memories and history, was heartbreaking for participants. They also experienced the agony of leaving behind family and friends who were their support in domestic chores and decision making. Many participants travelled to New Zealand first, leaving behind wife and children to be called to join them later.

Rahman, one of such participant who experienced the heartache of leaving behind his wife and children reminisced:

The saddest part was my daughter. She was two-years-old and when I was at the airport ... my mum, my wife ... they all came and my daughter was there ... my wife was holding her and she was sitting on the pavement and [perhaps] was thinking that I was going for a tour ... like the way I used to go for my job ... for three days or two days and she was really happy that I would come home with chocolates and all. Two to two-and-half years was really horrible. Every time it haunted me ... thinking that my daughter is still expecting me and I have done injustice to her.

Early Settlement Stage

In the early settlement phase participants' experiences centred around their arrival, reception, receiving information on and orientation to daily life in New Zealand, and meeting the immediate needs on arrival such as housing, transport and schooling of children.

Arrival and reception experiences

Most participants were received and welcomed by friends, relatives or immigration consultants. They also received orientation to New Zealand's life and systems such as transport, banking, education, health and welfare by those who welcomed them. In contrast, participants who had no one to receive them felt anxious, unwelcomed and rejected, and remained in dark about New Zealand's systems and practices. Rahman, who travelled alone, was received by his friend and felt welcomed and secure:

I landed here on 18 October, 2001. My friend [who encouraged me to migrate] came to the airport and picked me up. It was a beautiful country to see from the airport. Very clean. That was the first time I travelled away from India. Very good impression of the country. Clean, neat and tidy. Everything was fine.

Satyajit, accompanied by his family, arrived at the airport with no one to receive him. His feelings of excitement turned into those of rejection:

In the aircraft right from India it was excitement for us. But when I landed at the airport I could feel the difference, [that] I am not wanted over here. This was the first shock that I got when I came out [of airport]. We did not know anybody in this place.

Raheem (participant # 15) too, who arrived alone leaving behind his family to be called later), had no one to receive him and experienced anxiety and fear of the future. He sought the help of a taxi driver to take him to a mosque, which he thought would take care of his immediate needs such as shelter and guidance for life in New Zealand:

I approached a taxi driver, straight coming out of the airport. I said, 'I have just landed, don't know anything about this country'. And I asked him, 'Do you know any big mosque here?' He said, 'Yes, I know a big mosque where I can take you'.... He dropped me at Mount Roskill Mosque. And on the way he said, 'Don't panic. I can understand the way you have come through now. I can see the amount of stress on your face and everything, but don't panic. You will be able to settle down. It takes time.'.... I met one of the persons who was the trustee of the mosque. I said, 'I have just come now. I need accommodation, I need everything. I need everything.'

Orientation to New Zealand life

Participants who had friends, relatives or immigration consultants were assisted with tasks that needed to be completed immediately on arrival such as opening bank accounts, registering with Inland Revenue Department (IRD), locating places and ways of shopping for the essentials. Many others who had no one to guide them experienced stress due to lack of information about the immediate documentations that need to be taken care of upon arrival.

Abhishek (participant # 1) expressed the importance of receiving direct guidance when his friend helped him through the tasks to comply with the country's requirements.

Next morning we filled all those banking [formalities], IRD, etc etc.... [My friend] told me that I should do all those things. It was quite helpful. Although

we had 'Settlement Kit' with us it was hard to read all those bunch of files. But if someone tells you 'do this' it is quite easy.

Satyajit, who arrived with his family but who knew no one in New Zealand stressed the significance and the need of someone to welcome and orient them to New Zealand's life. His comments represented other participants:

Some society, some club from here, somebody could have been stationed at the airport and given us basic guidelines and how to go from the airport to your destination. That will make a big difference to immigrants. At least [make them feel] that they are wanted. When migrants come out [from airport] it is an ocean for them.

Housing

The relatives and friends of many participants provided temporary accommodation on their arrival until they were able to secure rental accommodation. Participants who had no friends and relatives moved into lodges, motels and even the Mosque on arrival and soon started looking for rental accommodation. Some participants experienced difficulties due to high demand and short supply of rental accommodation caused by the arrival of increased number of migrants. The lack of personal transport such as their own car contributed to the problem with the resultant inability to meet the owners of properties in time. Gregory (participant # 5), who was in this situation remarked:

It was difficult to get a house because everyone was coming in at that time and houses were difficult [to get]. To get a rental house, you phone in the morning. We didn't have a car. So couldn't go to see [immediately]. Then by evening the house was gone.

In a few instances participants felt that they were denied accommodation because of their ethnicity with a pretext that it had already been allotted even though they arrived before the 'Open Home' time (time specified for customers to check the property). In a few other instances the house owners hesitated to rent the houses to unemployed migrants. Peter explained:

We would look at the papers, see a place, call the agent and he would say 'Open Home' is at three o'clock afternoon'. We used to land up there at two-

thirty pm and meeting the agent, he would say, 'Sorry it is already given.' It happened in a couple of places and some of the places they were hesitant to give it to a migrant who did not have a job.

Participants who initially stayed with relatives and friends had to put up with the inconvenience of sharing accommodation. Some participants were able to see the positive side or the silver lining in the situation. Peter, who arrived with his wife and two minor children was accommodated by his uncle:

So when we came here we were put at my Uncle's place. It was just a small room, a bedroom which he had for four of us. But when we look back at it now, it was a very small room. But I think that was the best thing that could have happened. With only the four of us in one room ... it created a sense of warmth in the room.

The quality of accommodation and living arrangements of many participants during the initial phase of settlement was lower than they had prior to their migration to New Zealand. Raheem compared his accommodation and living arrangements in New Zealand and India:

We used to have a good life in India. We didn't pay any bills there, the house was our own, big building, only [paid for] the electricity and water sometimes, but here you had to [pay for] everything.

Transport

Many participants who were guided by friends, relatives or immigration consultants bought their own vehicles—mostly used cars—and found their way around using road maps. However, many participants found local transport system inconvenient and costly. Many participants who could not afford to buy a car and some who did not know how to drive walked long distances to their workplace. Family members underwent hardships when only one of the spouses was able to drive. Satyajit, a corporate executive in India, walked long distances, initially due to lack of clear information on the transport system in the city, and later to save the ticket fare, which he found was expensive when compared to transport in India:

I got my car after four months. [Until then] I was walking and walking. I walked to city almost every day, came back walking every day. Distance from

my home would have been around fifteen kilometres. [It took] two hours, two and half hours one way. I never walked in my lifetime such long distances.

Manohar, too, found the public transport inconvenient and expensive, and walked the distance to and from work. He recalled,

From Whitney street to end of Patiki, four to five kilometres. I used to walk from my house [starting] at eight o'clock [morning] and return at about four-thirty pm.

Peter, having one vehicle and his wife unable to drive, faced difficulties in driving his wife to work and children to school or day care:

Because [my wife] did not drive, she had to take two buses to work where she worked in shifts. This meant she would catch the five-thirty bus in the morning or she would finish at nine o'clock [night] and reach home at eleven pm It was tough. [We] kept on changing from one day-care to the other.... [When it was night shift] I had to pick her up, take the kids along ... both [children] would be sleeping in the back of the car and [I would] bring them and put them back to sleep.

Education

Participants found the enrolling of their children to school easy and effortless. Most of the participants were very happy with the schools and education system. Abhishek found admissions easy and schools good. Children too were very happy in schools.

It was quite easy [to get admissions to schools]... Once we started looking which is a good school we looked for 'deciles' (a ranking on the basis of composition of school's socio-economic level of the students or community) and ERO (Education Review Office) reports. On the basis of that we know this school [where my children were enrolled] is good.... In New Zealand schools are good. Kids are happy. Good results.

Schools in New Zealand provide good support to immigrant children especially those from non-English speaking countries. Ashok (participant # 2) recounted his experience:

Children were quite happy. There was no problem for school admission. Initially they found it a bit different here. I think the school supported them well. They gave them some special English classes initially and they picked up slowly and they were quite happy

Participants found the education at tertiary level (e.g. university level) good for their children and for themselves in regards to funding the education. Ashok recollected:

It is easy for children to study here.... All the primary and intermediate schools are nearby. After you pass out from school, there are so many avenues available to students like practical training things and good amount of different diplomas in technology institutes. For even commerce and other graduations you can always go to Auckland University. So education wise it is good ... especially for children.

Most of the participants felt the education system in New Zealand was good. They felt there was less pressure on children and parents alike; they were not required to teach children tables or arrange 'tuitions', unlike India where the practice placed huge pressure on children and parents, depriving children of play and entertainment. Children in India were required to carry huge bags loaded with books. Student loans in New Zealand were a great help for participants. Gregory recounted:

We liked the education system here. We didn't have to pull our hair making them study Hindi and Marathi ... where in India that was the only thing.... No taking them for tuitions. No big bags to carry [like in India]. Getting admission for my son was not problem. Of course he was in Mt. Roskill [school] and he had good choice of subjects. He got what he wanted. He went to university and fortunately with the help of government's [interest free] student loans he was able to educate himself without putting much strain on us. D [daughter] too did well in her studies.... We like the system over here because it didn't put pressure on us.... We never had the trouble of teaching them tables and it came automatically to them.

Intermediate Settlement Experiences

In this phase the experiences of participants are classified under the two themes of economic empowerment and social ecology.

Economic empowerment

The experiences of participants under the themes of economic empowerment included those related to skills wastage and atrophy (human capital devaluation), financial hardship arising from unemployment and underemployment, and measures taken by participants to manage these struggles such as upskilling, going back to study, taking proactive strategies and driving taxis.

Skill wastage and atrophy (human capital devaluation)

As a result of skills wastage and atrophy (human capital depreciation) many participants felt compelled to take up unskilled jobs or remained unemployed for a short period. They accepted tedious and menial jobs such as dishwashers in restaurants, cleaners in hotels, shelf packers in supermarkets, petrol pump attendants and taxi drivers. Yusuf, a professional in finance (participant # 20) , was compelled to accept a cleaner's job:

One day I was going through the town.... I came across Richards's Hotel [pseudonym] and they had put up notice that they wanted housekeeping staff. In India I had never done that before.... I had two maids at my place.... The last hundred dollars were there in our account. We had to pay that as rent to the paying guest guy. So I said, 'I have to take up this job'. I went in.... That was my first job. For first three months I cleaned sixteen toilets and rooms every day.

Manohar, in his late fifties when he arrived, had been a bank executive in India prior to migrating; he had to take the low paying and low level job of a car groomer. He lamented:

Then he gave me the job of car grooming.... It was winter time. It was raining outside and it was very hard for me. I was getting very bad cramps in my body. I still continued because there was no other opportunity for me.

Rahman, a medical representative in India, could only secure the job of dishwasher for couple of hours a day. He told of his struggle of waiting for long hours to do the assigned two hour job:

So I went there, just two hours at closing and I used to wait twenty-two hours to do those two hours. That hard it was but tried to do very well whatever work was given to me ... basically the dishwashing.

Shakib, an academic in India (participant # 18), having failed to secure a job suited to his qualifications and experience took up taxi driving. It adversely affected his self-esteem and confidence. He told of his frustrations and struggle:

It was very hard ... their way, their language, what they talk in taxi. You have ... prostitutes coming into your taxi, people asking to take them to a prostitute. You know all that was going against our culture. At the end of the day I needed to survive. I needed some money.

Financial hardships

The money carried by participants limited by the rules of India, was soon spent on rent, food, travel and other basic needs. With no earnings, they were forced to give up simple pleasures, skip meals, and walk distances instead of taking bus rides. Many did not want to approach Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ), the government agency that provides income supplements, accommodation subsidies and emergency benefits, but a few did seek the assistance they needed. The money earned by a few participants was inadequate due to the few work hours allotted or lower rates of pay, forcing them to work in other establishments such as petrol stations and foregoing weekend rest. Many dug into their savings in India. Satyajit recounted:

After two-three months we had exhausted our money. At one point in time I had only twenty-five dollars in our account. I wondered how one will survive? Whatever we brought in just finished. Just like that. That was a terrible time. After a long time I got my job, [it took] around six to seven months almost. It demoralised me ... I lost everything what I had made back home. That was a really frustrating period for me.

Satyajit's experience of financial difficulties were echoed by Peter, who felt the pressure of inadequate funds to run the family:

[My wife]) did not have a job.... My salary was not even enough to make both ends meet. I did not want to utilise the benefit system and said 'I would stand on my own' Then it became a matter of just calculating and seeing whether the dollars met [basic needs], even the cents [mattered].

Raheem, who found his income insufficient to meet his bills, had to find work on the weekends, sacrificing his weekly rest. He recalled:

I was getting only thirty hours or so [of work per week] which was insufficient for me to pay my bills. So I had to work at gas station in the weekend. I used to start my work at six in the morning and finished at eleven in the night, fourteen hour shift, continuously for two days. So that was the struggle.

Lawrence (participant #8), who migrated under the 'study to work' and 'work to residence' visa, could not earn enough to meet his basic needs due to the restrictions of hours of work, and was compelled to give up meals and simple enjoyments. He recounted:

It was always hand to mouth. I used to get two hundred dollars a week. Out of two hundred dollars, one hundred and fifty dollars used to go for rent ... thirty to forty dollars for grocery shopping for the week and I used to have like ten dollars left or five dollars left sometimes. That used to go for Vodafone top ups. Basically at the end of the month I didn't have anything, it was always zero balance.... Sometimes I used to skip one meal. I used to have sometimes breakfast and lunch together, that was brunch.

Managing struggles

Participants managed their hardships and challenges in respect of unemployment, underemployment and finances through taking measures such as changing their professions and starting businesses, upskilling and returning to study, and taking proactive steps such as shortening their name, negotiating with employers to work on commission, getting oriented to Kiwi culture, turning passion or a hobby into a profession, and using planning skills to generate wealth.

Changing professions, return to study and upskill

As a measure to overcome skills wastage and atrophy some participants changed professions after weighing the pros and cons, especially if it seemed there were too many difficulties involved in re-qualifying for registration. Many embarked on studies to acquire professional degrees that were in demand in New Zealand. Some went back to study to update their existing knowledge and upskill themselves.

Ashok, a Chartered Accountant (CA) in India, was informed that he would need to re-qualify in New Zealand to be registered as a CA. He carefully considered the difficulties involved and decided to set up a business; it was successful:

My friends told me that I have to re-qualify here and start my classes again in chartered accountancy. And probably needed to clear about ten papers out of thirteen or fourteen. So I decided not to get into studies. I had planned to get into some business as soon as possible and when I got the chance I arranged for some money from my relations in India. I had some savings with me. So I started this business [of liquor store] here. Since then it is alright. I am able to live comfortably and able to support my family well.

Satish (participant # 17) found that his existing qualification and experience was not in demand in New Zealand. He decided to acquire a qualification in a field that was in demand, and he was able to secure a job in a statutory organization:

So I had to do something else. So I thought, 'I have a master's degree in sociology from India ... here there is a good demand for social work'. My friends ... who were working in those fields said, 'you need to have some local qualification' I went to Massey University, Albany ... and they said, 'you are eligible for MSW'. I took admission ... as full time student. Then I enquired with YJ North [Youth Justice, North Region, a statutory youth justice service]. They took me in. So, I was working full time and was a full time student.

Pascal, an electrical engineer who did not succeed in entering his preferred career (in lighting engineering) persevered with his dream by completing an upskilling course, and managed to enter his chosen profession:

I wanted to get on to my field, which was lighting in electrical engineering. So I did a course in AUT [Auckland University of Technology]. I was working ten hours in the call centre plus another three hours in the university ... studying illumination engineering for two years.... My main interest was to do lighting ... and since 2005 I am working as a lighting engineer.

Proactive measures

Participants adopted various proactive strategies to overcome the barriers for entering the labour market at a higher level. Abhishek, realising that his long and difficult-to-pronounce name might hinder him being short listed to be called for interviews, changed his name to make it simple and easier to pronounce:

My name is very difficult [to pronounce]. Then I thought, 'Ok, suppose my CV is sorted. They know it is wrong to pronounce it wrong. So they keep my CV aside. So [I thought], 'Why not change my name?' You can't believe; once I changed the name I got immediate response.

Rahul realised that it was difficult for him to get a job due to non-recognition of migrants' credentials and skills. He therefore offered to work on commission basis, which employers willingly accepted:

[I] found that it was very tough to get a job. For some jobs you are overqualified. For other jobs you don't have New Zealand experience. So within three days I knew that it is not going to happen. But I was ready to do anything. It didn't matter to me what it was. Because I actually came here for peace and happiness. Idea was to live a simple life. So first thing was to understand what happens here, how it works, what people are, what goes and what doesn't work.... I looked around and realised that best and easiest way of getting into anything is commission-based jobs. They don't expect anything from you. There is no salary. They just train you and throw you out [in the market]. I talked to one of the companies and they said 'yea'.... So I started going to door-to-door selling alarm systems.

Pascal believed that knowing Kiwi culture is important if you want to work and live in New Zealand, and to know Kiwi culture one needs to live with a Kiwi (or a Pākehā) family. He arrived alone, leaving his family behind to set up things, firstly

for himself and then for the family before they arrived to join him. He looked for paid accommodation with a Kiwi family to get acquainted with their culture, their ways and values, and succeeded in doing so:

I stayed as a paying guest for a year [in a Pākehā household] to learn Kiwi culture ... They were very good. I was good with them. We used to get on very well. I learnt a lot from them.... They told me, 'you have to speak slowly'.... There is a lot you can learn from them.

Satish, who was qualified as a teacher, realised that it would be difficult for him to work as a teacher in New Zealand. He was also qualified and well experienced in yoga and fitness, and was passionate about it. He decided to turn his passion into a profession and succeeded in becoming a yoga and fitness teacher in gymnasiums and fitness centres:

I said 'I won't be able to adjust [as a teacher]'. I saw people are very health minded here. I went to gyms and introduced myself and [my expertise in Yoga]. They said, 'You can give one sample class.' I gave one session ... they really liked it and said 'Ok, we have eight branches and we will have three classes each in all the eight branches'. I started with that and then included YMCA and various fitness centres.

Rahul echoed Satish and told of his friend who converted his 'passion' for cooking into his 'profession'. After finding it difficult to find a job as an accountant, the acquaintance took work as a chef.

I have seen a person who came from an accounting background, who was good at cooking. He used to cook just at home ... and for us as a group. He could not get a job in accounting and I asked him why does he not take up a job in the restaurant? He actually got into a restaurant and that is where he started his living from. Here [you get] an opportunity to make your passion your profession.

Rahul, unable to make entry to labour market at higher levels once again used his planning skills to generate enough wealth to live a comfortable and relaxed life, one of the goals of his migration.

I decided that by the time I am fifty, I would have passive income of a hundred thousand dollars.... If you have two million dollars, at five percent return it is hundred thousand.... Every seven to ten years the property doubles. If you have two million worth of property, in ten years it becomes four million. You sell two million and you got two million free. I wrote down my ten-year plan and worked on it. I actually implemented it.

Ajay, an engineering geologist (participant # 3) unable to secure a job in his field, found a business opportunity in the needs of arriving migrants from India and elsewhere, and ran a successful driving school:

I am a Master of Science in engineering geology. After coming here I searched for the jobs in my field but I was told that I am highly qualified [but] didn't have New Zealand experience. At that time for those who were migrating from India, driving [in New Zealand] was important. Everyone was interested to get the driving licence first so that they would be mobile in the country. Looking at all these necessities of people I started my driving instructor's course and completed the course in short time. Upon completion of the course, I started driver instructor's job ... and taught driving to thousands of people from all countries.

Taxi driving: a bonus

As participants found it difficult to secure employment many took to driving taxis. Although participants initially felt devalued driving a taxi, they later perceived that it was a boon and a 'bonus' for Indian and other migrants who could not initially obtain other jobs. Although they perceived driving a taxi as a form of downward occupational mobility, they soon understood that it was different in New Zealand, that it was considered as respectable as other professions.

Shakib, who initially struggled to come to terms with this reality, slowly reconciled to the situation and changed his perception of the profession:

The taxi was kind of a bonus for migrants, especially in Auckland. So whether he was a top official or a professor, everyone had a hand on the taxi. At least ninety percent to my knowledge. I met some of the nuclear physicists from Iraq

driving taxi and they were very happy, because they knew they could not get a job here. Many doctors were driving taxi here. But if you look driving taxi through an Indian perspective it is a different thing. Here it is a profession. I did go through my struggles from time to time. But I had to reconcile, revisit my thoughts and ideas and perceptions.

Rahman learnt that like many other professions, taxi drivers had to pass rigorous tests such as an area knowledge test, fee endorsement tests and had to obtain an owner-operator licence. Fellow taxi drivers and friends encouraged and helped each other to get the needed licence. Narrating the advantages and disadvantages of taxi driving Rahman said:

My friends said, 'Jobs will not give you good money. Driving taxi will get good money. Easy money.' So I went and bought all that stuff which I needed to get qualified... I did these, one after the other, while I was doing job at Nandos. Weekends I used to sit for these tests and would clear at one attempt. I got my full driver's license in one attempt... But to put some investment into it was difficult. Someone told me to take a taxi on rent for one or two months and then if you feel it is ok then buy.

For about two months I did [make] very fast money ... it went very easy and I was really happy.... Start meter and you drive and you make money. But there was a lot of risk involved.... One is health issue.... Whole night you have to stay awake and there is tension that people may run [without paying], or harm you, or kill you. So, those were the problems.

Shakib and Rahman both drove taxis and simultaneously acquired professional qualifications in New Zealand tertiary institutions. At the time of interview, Shakib was working as a lecturer in a tertiary institution, and Rahman as a corrections or probation officer.

Amrik found that taxi driving gave him flexibility and freedom and suited his personality. He found driving a taxi gave more remuneration than working on wages. Driving a taxi enabled participants to take care of children when their wives went to work and vice versa:

It was my nature.... I like freedom and flexibility. So I jumped into taxi. It suited me.... A lot of people from my community, though well educated, are driving taxis. They are taking it as a business.

Night working is quite risky because you get drunk people all the time.... I still drove in the night and earned more than the wages.... Most of the people are satisfied driving taxi because it is serving their purpose. Money is there. They are happy because their wives are working. Both people cannot work at the same time. One has to be flexible ... to take care of children when one goes to work. They are getting good money ... paying off their mortgages. It is going well for them.

Differentiation

Most participants felt that there was a certain level of differentiation in respect of remuneration and upward mobility. These personal feelings, however, could not be verified by factual data. As a contra experience one participant negotiated a salary higher than normally paid to starters.

Peter who was elevated to a manager's position felt that he was not being remunerated as much as a Pākehā doing the same job in his organisation and also felt that his upward mobility within the organisation was restricted:

After a period of time I moved from one job to the other and moved up. Once you have your foot inside the door, you can be acknowledged for the person you are,[but] up to a particular level.... Salary wise you would not be paid the same as another person doing the same amount of job if not more.... Oh yes, definitely, I see a disparity between brown skin people and the white skin people. While you may get the particular position, if you are lucky, you may not get the same salary if the white person was in that particular position.

Abhishek too felt discrimination in the organisation based on ethnicity or skin colour:

I found, compared to other people around, some kind of differentiation, partiality happening.

Pascal had a different experience and opinion. According to him his superiors were impartial but colleagues bore prejudice against Indians:

There is discrimination, not with the immediate superior, but with the other colleagues. Immediate superior is pretty good, but with other colleagues there has been discrimination. One thing I have seen, unless you are better than them they won't respect you in the work.

Raheem, a Muslim, had a different perspective on racism, believing racism or discrimination is practised even in his home country and New Zealand should not be singled out for such practices. According to him migrants should not take serious cognisance of it. He explained:

At the work place the acceptance was good. You will find racism everywhere.... Why do we call people as racists? I don't understand that.... We Indians are racists among ourselves. So why do we say [others are] racist? No it is the way we think.... There were some ups and downs. People used to [pass] comments.... [But] the acceptance was good.

Although a majority of participants expressed a feeling that there was differentiation between the remuneration paid to them and to New Zealanders of European descent, Satish narrated a different experience. After acquiring a New Zealand degree and varied experience in health sector after his arrival, he was able to negotiate a salary higher than paid to similarly placed health professionals. He came to this conclusion on the basis of the recruiter's admission that the organisation had not given such a salary to anyone in a similar position in the past. He recounted:

Normally they never start anybody with more than forty five [thousand]. That was the highest they would give at start and they negotiated with me 'how much do you expect'. 'It is not as per my expectation, but as per my qualification. You tell me how much you can give' [I asked]. Then there was a lot of discussion on that. So I negotiated with them and it was quite a big process and I gave my ultimatum to them that I would not accept less than sixty [thousand dollars]. If you want me ... then I need at least sixty [thousand]. They said, 'We have never done this and give us some time. We have to have a meeting and get an approval from our board as well'.... I got a

letter from them [saying] 'Yeah, we are prepared to take you with that [salary]'. I then joined them. That was a good start.

Social ecology

Under this theme the experiences of participants included culture shock, identity issues, conflicts arising from the differences in participants' cultural and religious values and those of the host culture, and how they resolved them. The participants' experiences under this theme also included those relating to their gender, resilience factors and coping strategies. Participants also experienced warmth and a welcoming and helpful response from New Zealanders.

Culture shock due to skills wastage or skills atrophy

On arrival, many participants experienced culture shock on realisation that their experience and qualifications in their fields of expertise were not recognised by New Zealand employers at start. They were stunned at the realisation that they had to take up unskilled jobs with a 'low status' according to Indian values and structures. Many were devastated to discover that even the lowest jobs were not available to them. Some, however, had been made aware of this reality through their friends and relatives in New Zealand and were ready to accept any kind of job initially, irrespective of the status accorded to it. They expected that it would take a while to get good jobs. Some experienced culture shock due to the differences in values between India and New Zealand. Abhishek, a software professional who was unaware of the situation in New Zealand, recounted:

It was different when we arrived here. My friend said 'If you say you are driving a taxi, there is no problem here. But if you say it in India, that you are driving a taxi here, they will say 'bullshit, what the hell are you doing?' It is not that a taxi driver's life here [is] as it is in India. It is different. Here all are the same. You have to start with these types of jobs. If you can't then you should take the next flight and go back to India'. It was a shock for me.

Shakib, who had a PhD degree, felt devalued when his qualifications and experience in teaching were not recognised in New Zealand. The uncertainty of securing a

decent job in his related field shocked him and made him feel depressed. He recalled:

What I felt initially when I came was a kind of loneliness, a kind of shock ... especially in terms of the future life. I was not sure whether I would get a job or not. Because without money, we cannot survive and it was really a hard thing.... That was sad to realise, that even though we have been invited to this new country we are not accepted immediately. I experienced tremendous amounts of de-motivation, which actually put me off.

Shakib's experiences and emotions were endorsed by Rahman who failed to get even the lowest jobs in the initial days of his arrival. He said:

So I started walking on the streets and just dropping my CVs in dairies, butcheries, fish and chip shops, and restaurants. It was really devastating; I was a medical representative. Here I am asking for a job in restaurants and they are denying even that. It was really insulting to me. Not getting even those jobs. There was no night where I did not cry. At one point, I said to my friend, 'please book my tickets ... I will go back. I can't bear anymore.'

On arrival, participants observed that the culture, practices and values of New Zealand were different from India. In the joint family system in India, the heads of the households take decisions on behalf of the family, freeing others from the responsibilities. This resulted in family members becoming dependant on others to take decisions. On arrival in New Zealand, many participants who were not accustomed to taking day-to-day decisions found it hard to make decisions on their own. Rahman, who was dependant on his father and other members of his extended family, said:

I had no idea that I have to look after everything. In India, even up to and after 26–27 years [of age] my father did everything. I used to come and go and I was the youngest one. Over here, everything was my responsibility. This was the first time I lived alone and on my own. I had to take decisions.

In India, participants had the support of maids and servants for cooking, cleaning, washing and for doing other routine and monotonous chores. Coolies were available for carrying luggage and goods on meagre wages. The realisation that the help of

maids, servants and coolies was not available in New Zealand and that they had to carry their own luggage shocked many. Gregory's wife, corroborating his experience, said:

When we reached the International Lodge, the guy helped us to unload our luggage and put everything on the street from the shuttle taxi. That was the first shock. Nobody was around to carry your bags. In India, you don't have to do that hard work. Another shock: usually the men carry the luggage, not the women. Here, all of us [were] trudging the stairs to the second floor with our big suitcases. That was our first experience.

Shakib, who experienced 'shock' of non-recognition of his qualifications (a PhD) and faced unemployment, admitted to having suffered depression; he believed the stressors of migration such as the shock of devaluation and other hardships contributed to his mental health problem. Though he needed specialised professional help he did not seek it as he felt that mainstream helping professionals would not understand his struggles and challenges, which were rooted in his culture and its practices and values. As a result he desisted from accessing the needed support:

It took me at least one-and-half to two years to come out of that depression. We are coming from Islamic culture. No doubt counselling is important.... I accept that.... But going to a counsellor ... personally coming from my indigenous point of view, I did not feel [going to a counsellor] is worthwhile. That is my personal perception. So I never thought I should go and meet a counsellor and how will he know what we are going through? So I refused to meet any kind of counsellor, even a career counsellor. I thought I had made it [of my own] and I should make it [by myself] till the end.

Conflict of cultures

Some participants felt that some of their native cultural and religious values and practices conflicted with those of New Zealand society. These conflicting values caused disagreements between spouses, between children and parents, and between parents and school authorities. Many parents objected to a few western practices expected of their children at school. Parents also felt that New Zealand's values and attitudes were very liberal and were not acceptable to them and their children. Satish

was concerned about the liberal values of New Zealand on sex, boy-girl relationships, partying, 'sleepovers' and school balls:

The system here is quite liberal. They have parties, and friends come and stay overnight. We do not have that system over there [in India]. Then they have the school ball. We are not used to that, buying new dress and taking them, dropping them.... It was quite challenging in the beginning. I and my wife used to have a lot of arguments whether to allow them or not.... I used to stay outside and make sure that they are safe and fine. Because you come to know that a lot of drugs go on. And having daughters you become more cautious. Many times it created a lot of confrontation at home and with children as well, because children were having outside a different culture and at home a different culture.

Rahman (participant # 13) too was concerned about the expectation of the schools on sleepovers, swim wear and sex education in school and expressed his disagreement:

The primary school wanted my daughter to go for a sleepover. We explained to them that due to religious background we are not allowed to send our daughters. It was not a good excuse for them. That is a good practice for them. For me that was crossing our boundaries. We did not want to do that. Secondly in swimming, they had to wear swimming tog etc ... which we really don't like. My daughter also does not like it.... Apart from that the culture over here [is different]. They teach about sex at an early age, which is not convenient for us ... uncomfortable zone for us.

Amrik echoed the feelings of Satish and Rahman and expressed his concern about his daughter growing up with conflicting values. He disagreed with New Zealand's (and the West's) values of pre-marital relationships:

Here pre-marital relationship is seen as a positive. [For us] that is an opposite value. My daughter is 14. She is coming of age now. She has those conflicting values.

Resolution of conflicts

Some participants who found that some Indian cultural and religious values conflicted with some of those of New Zealand, negotiated the conflicting values through open communication with their children and spouses, changed their own rigid attitudes and became more open minded. Some oriented their children to their faith, traditions, and cultural values. One Muslim participant enrolled his children in an Islamic school.

Satish realised that he could change his views and perspectives and be more flexible without losing his and his children's identity. His solution was adaptation, compromise, and flexibility:

Then slowly I made myself understand that since we have left home and everything, and having come to a new place, to some extent we have to change ourselves. You have to loosen yourself a little. At the same time, do not lose your complete identity, maintain that, and at the same time have some compromise here and there. That is how things have become good.... If you compare me ten years before and now, I am a totally different person.

Amrik, as the head of the family, felt that introducing his children to the values, practices and traditions of his culture and faith was a good way of dealing with the conflicts arising from the exposure of children to two cultures:

We tell [our daughter] what our way of life is, what our spiritual teachers have told us, the life of sanctity and purity[which] they have told us to follow.... [For this] the role of temple [Gurdwara] is very important. We gather and do our 'kirtan' on one day in a week.... May be in the temple or somewhere else. Our families come and see. People and children intermingle. They see our way of life. They see how traditional way is pure way of life. On the other hand [they see] parties, alcohol, drinks, teenage sex, [and] what are their consequences. One way is to tell them and then there is this practical way. It is a better way of dealing with the problem.

Rahman decided to manage the conflicts of cultural and religious values faced by him and his daughter at the mainstream school by having recourse to cultural and

religious resources such as an Islamic school, which fulfilled all the requirements of his culture and faith:

I thought we should do something for [sleep-overs, swim-wear and so on]. We came to know about this school. Even though I have to pay more for this school, we felt that we should send her there and she was really happy. The curriculum is same, standard is good, teachers are qualified, and the best thing is that it has an Islamic environment in the school. Children wear school dresses like in India, long dresses for the girls and they wear the scarf. The two subjects they have are Islamiat and other one is Quran. They teach them how to learn the Quran, the meaning of it.... The teachers as we know from our country are role models. Teachers are equivalent to our parents. Every time we say to [children] that the teachers are equal to [parents]. They respect them.

Gender themes

The participants who considered themselves as heads of their households, economic providers and decision makers expressed strong feelings of responsibility towards their family members, and a readiness to sacrifice their own interests for those of the family. When they failed to secure jobs and faced other difficulties, they doubted if they had taken the right step in migrating to New Zealand. But when they thought of their wives and children, they were ready to bear the ‘shock’ of devaluation of their skills and undergo the difficulties associated with migration.

Shakib, an academic who failed to secure employment for many months, wondered if he had made the right decision to migrate to New Zealand, but thoughts of his wife and children revived and revitalised him. His thoughts echoed those of many other participants:

‘It is the thoughts of one’s family—kids and wife—that enables one to bear the shocks and to resurrect,’

Madanpal (participant # 9) resonated similar sentiments, ‘*We are here for [our families]*’, placing the interests of his family over his own. Though participants considered women’s roles to be primarily associated with the domestic area, women

were perceived as economically dependent. Most of the participants had re-configured gender relations and power inequalities, especially as economic necessity compelled women to supplement the family income through employment. Most participants showed a change in their perception of gender roles. Some acknowledged that their wives were more confident and competent, and secured jobs earlier than them, even got better positions. A few participants also took over the responsibilities of childcare and assisted in daily chores.

Raheem (participant # 15), who acknowledged his wife's experience of living in other countries, admitted her role as the 'empowerer' within the family. He said:

My wife had stayed in Saudi Arabia and knows the outside world.... She was more confident than me.... [S]he empowered me, helped me and supported me ... and boosted up my confidence level.

A few participants found it difficult to accept the new role of women as bread winners when they failed to secure jobs, and their wives were employed sooner than them. As a result, the relationship between them was strained. Shakib, an academic whose wife was able to secure a job when he remained unemployed and later took to taxi driving found it difficult to accept the reversal of roles between him and his wife. Speaking on behalf of a few other participants he said:

It was very difficult psychologically. Especially the family dynamics kept changing. You see the power shifting from the male to a woman, because the woman is well placed salary-wise.... It does affect all [Eastern] males. They realise that and they think 'we are quite old and you cannot do anything about that.' Your 'mana' (prestige in Māori language) is threatened. We come from those countries where the male plays an important role, especially in terms of earning, and they expect the wife to be at home cooking, taking care of children. But things over here are quite different. The women play a vital role. They actually snatch your shoes.

Coping strategies

Participants used variety of coping strategies to deal with the distress caused by skills wastage and atrophy, culture shock and financial crises such as accessing

support from government and community organisations, seeking comfort from family members and friends, and using their personality characteristics of positive disposition, optimism and faith.

Seeking support from government and community organisations

Rahul, a corporate executive while in India, became aware of government and nongovernment welfare and support services for New Zealanders that also provided support to new migrants who had ‘permanent residence’ visas. He approached one of such organization and was given support to secure employment:

I used to go to ‘Work and Income’ [WINZ] to do some work, do some resumés. I spoke to the lady [case manager] and showed my resumé. Within a day or two she came back and said, ‘There is a Bedpost store next door. They are looking for a salesperson. Would you be interested?’ and next day I had the job. I started as a salesman in that Bedpost store. And at the same time I introduced my wife to the same lady. So my wife got a full time job again as a telemarketer in one of the companies, again through ‘Work and Income’.

Abhishek, a software professional prior to migrating, approached WINZ and received support to improve his CV. The jobs they referred him to were not at the level of his qualifications and skills. However, the lower level jobs WINZ referred him to enabled him to sustain his family during the early days:

WINZ at Three Kings helped. We had a seminar over there. The lady Case Officer, an Indian lady taught us how to make CVs. WINZ’s idea was that people should get into jobs. But the jobs were in [organisations] like Foodtown [a supermarket] and gas stations.

Gregory availed himself of the help and guidance of friends, friends of friends, non-government organisations and faith communities:

‘Bhakti’ [pseudonym; a non-governmental agency] helped us in making CV and gave us lot of information. People of ‘Good Shepherd’ [pseudonym] community were very supportive..... We had friends from everywhere ... friends of friends ... who helped us.

Rahul accessed free programmes for new settlers delivered by tertiary institutions such as ‘Life Works’ by Open Polytechnic, and ‘Kiwi Ora’ by Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, which provided advice for successful settlement in New Zealand. These programs offered individualised help by teachers and assisted migrants to settle successfully. Rahul recalled:

‘Life Works’ by Open Polytechnics taught how to do our CV, how to settle down, gave us some information. They gave us a whole set of books and a teacher would come to our place to evaluate our homework and that was a wonderful piece of thing that I read. They have you set the goals and teach how to do it. I actually did it very diligently. Read some wonderful books out there ... on life ... and I really enjoyed it. ‘Life Works’ was wonderful.... That helped me in terms of challenging my mind and that is why I moved from one industry to another, to another, to another. Every time I am learning. Here I am again new. I am a new comer. I am learning everyday ... I learn something [new].

Seeking support from family and friends

Participants relied on their close family members such as spouses, parents, and close friends for emotional support. Wives and husbands encouraged and comforted each other when they ‘felt low’, ‘lacked confidence’ and experienced ‘self-doubt’. Even though their parents were in India or overseas they communicated with them through social networking and communication websites such as ‘Skype’. Friends and neighbours encouraged and shared their similar experiences, consoling them and saying ‘better times would soon follow’.

When Raheem’s confidence nose-dived he turned to his spouse for encouragement and support. Having lived in other parts of the world and travelled more, Raheem felt that his wife was more tenacious and confident than he was:

My wife had stayed in Saudi Arabia and knows the outside world ... I left India for the first time.... She was more confident than me ... I used to say, ‘Oh, we used to have a good life in India.’ But she empowered me, helped me and supported me ... and boosted up my confidence level.

Pascal kept in touch with his mother back in India, who was his greatest support. He regularly kept her apprised of his situation, which made him feel ‘good’, saying:

‘I used to call every week, sometimes twice a week, to my mother [to let her know] whether I have got a job etc. Just feels good when you talk to your family.’

Lawrence echoed Pascal’s strategy of calling up his mother for encouragement and clarifications. He said:

‘Basically I went to technology [Skype], I would say. If I had any difficulty it was always like ‘call up mum’.

For Shakib, the advice and experiences of friends who had arrived in New Zealand earlier provided him much needed strength to persevere. The friends who had gone through similar experiences but who were now successful encouraged him to hold on and move on:

One or two friends who were well settled here said ‘all this [hardships] would actually help you in getting a job, in redefining yourself’ and they told me their stories. They used to deliver the newspaper and today they are holding powerful posts.

Gregory acknowledged friends and friends of friends (who did not know him directly), and the members of a faith community for their advice, help and support during his difficult days:

Initially it was a struggle. But it was just friends that helped us a lot. Some people whom we didn’t even know—our friends’ friends — who came and helped us. And even support from people at ‘Good Shepherd’ [Christian community] who helped us a lot. And there were friends who guided us along the way and everybody in good faith gave us good advice.

Madanpal felt supported by a group of friends in New Zealand who had migrated earlier from India and whom he knew before his arrival to New Zealand. Meeting up with them regularly provided Madanpal and his family much needed material and emotional support:

We supported each other. Luckily we got that group, friends' group and we got a lot of support from them and we used to visit each other's families almost every week end. That gave us a lot support.

Satyajit did not know anyone in New Zealand until his arrival. However, he began to socialise with other fellow Indians residing in and around his precinct, also new migrants and going through similar difficulties. Talking to them and exchanging the stories of struggles helped him to calm down and take things in his stride:

Just mixing with those Indian people at initial stages helped. They were going through the same problems. They used to come out with some talk. Most of them were not relevant talks. But they relaxed me a lot. We used to laugh, in spite of our difficulties. Some good things used to come out. Fifteen talks would be bad but two talks would make your life. Those two talks from my neighbours and other people were helping me.

Resilience factors (positivity, optimism, and faith or spirituality)

Participants used their positivity, optimism, 'can do' attitude, patience and perseverance, and their cultural and religious beliefs and practices to cope with the crises and distress caused by the struggles, challenges and conflicts.

Rahul, a corporate executive, looked at life with a positive attitude. He saw an unskilled job as an opportunity to learn a new subject, acquire a new skill:

[In India] before I left one job I always had another job. But this time, I had nothing. I said, 'That is a challenge and I am going to enjoy it.... Enjoy exploring the country, enjoy the beauty of this country, enjoy talking to people, and enjoy knocking [on] doors and learning stuff from grassroots level again.... I do not know how many people in this world would get this opportunity of being a head of a company to becoming a sales man again. You can take it as a negative or positive. But I took it as positive.

Gregory was advised by friends and relatives that it is a matter of time before migrants get jobs in fields they are skilled in. He kept his mind open, and was

willing to accept the lowliest of jobs and persevered until he secured a job in his field of expertise:

We came with an open mind. We were prepared to do anything. We were ready even to pick up the garbage or work in a super market shelving ... putting the things in the rack ... we came with that open mind. We were told by friends that ... it is a matter of time before we get our job [in our fields]. So I was prepared to do anything just to keep the money coming in.

Rahman, who got an opportunity to work for a few hours a day, considered it an opportunity to exhibit his work ethic, commitment and competence to do higher levels of work, and soon was offered a higher level job. He put in the extra effort needed to do the job well, taking notes, studying the problems and finding the solutions; he proved his worth for the organization and soon was offered a higher position:

I tried to do very well whatever work was given to me ... basically the dishwashing ... and I did it well. Slowly they called me in front. I did very well in front. I learned everything and fast and I wrote down things and would go back home and read, 'What do we need and prepare?' and then applied it over. Within ten days I got the [full time, front] job. In front I did a very very good job. And within short time she offered me a shift manager's job and she said, 'You are educated and are working really hard. Very good.'

Abhishek was patient with himself and the system, and told himself to give some time and not to give up:

I had to give some time to myself. I realised that this is a different [country].... I thought it may take some time and we should not give up.... Try your best and it may work ... may not work. You have to give some time to yourself, because things cannot be changed all of a sudden. It has got its own time. I worked with these thoughts.

For Satish, yoga, a Hindu ascetic and spiritual practice which includes breath control, adoption of various bodily postures and mediation, helped him overcome the hardships and challenges arising out of his migration.

In my tensions and problems and challenges I faced at the beginning, yoga helped me a lot. People just gave up. I didn't give up. Yoga was helping me a lot.

For Rahman, his faith and its practices provided him the support he needed to cope with the challenges of migration. His attendance at the *Jamaat* (congressional prayers on Fridays) provided him the needed support for his day-to-day struggles:

My life as a migrant was like a roller coaster, sometimes it was up sometimes it was down.... My coping skills all came from my faith.... Keeping continuously with the Jamaat helped me especially while working so hard and in a stressful job. It is the best thing that I take time [for Jamaat] ... three days in a month.

Raheem's time in the mosque and his prayers, provided him the emotional and spiritual support required to cope with his distress:

Emotionally... I have supported myself more in a spiritual way. When I used to get stressed up with all these things I used to go straight to the mosque and pray there. And sit in the mosque for quite a long time when I was free. Instead of spending time here and there I used to spend time in the mosque. That has given me a lot of strength and support: emotional support and spiritual support. And I was easily able to cope with the [situations].

Shakib found great relief and solace in prayers. He observed similar practices in fellow Indians belonging to other religions:

I am a Muslim and we used to go for prayers and we have a system where we can ask God.... All Indians do this, whether they are Hindus, Muslims or Christians. They go and cry to God and they feel that a day will come when all will be good. That is ingrained in us.

Peter's religious beliefs and values as well as the teachings and activities of the Good Shepherd community not only helped him to deal with the difficulties and challenges of migration but also helped him to strengthen relationships with his family members, with other members of the community as well as people outside the community.

I think if it was not for religion, life would have been quite different.... Through 'Good Shepherd' community I grew personally. [It] helped me to grow relationship wise: with my wife and children and also with the other community members. Even in terms of interactions with other people at work. Somehow you start seeing things differently.... The 'Good Shepherd' community has been a major eye opener, heart opener, and mind opener.

Amrik found the *Gurudwara* (Sikh temple), and *Sangats* (collectives of Sikhs) spiritually and emotionally fulfilling, especially for dealing with the struggles and challenges migration posed:

When I came here, the Gurudwara, the Sikh temple played a very prominent role.... So I started going there, in Otaruru [pseudonym] Moral support was there, no doubt.

Helpful, warm and welcoming Kiwis (Pākehā, Māori and others)

Most participants experienced warmth and acceptance from New Zealanders. The New Zealanders' practice of greeting strangers on the road was met with reciprocal friendly response from Indian migrants, generating a mutual respect and positive regard to each other. Abhishek reminisced:

When I came to New Zealand I found some people in the street people saying hi, hello, smiling. We didn't even know these people. Why are they saying this? In India we don't talk to people whom we don't know. But here people whom we don't know say hi, hello, hi. It is quite good.... A hi and hello is more than enough.... These kind of things matter.

Many participants found New Zealanders very helpful and accepting of migrants. Representing voices and experiences of many others Abhishek recounted:

Then we drove [from Tauranga] to Mt. Wellington in Auckland and from there we [hired] a taxi. Taxi driver was a Kiwi (New Zealander of European descent)..... The drive was of about three hours from Mt. Wellington to Dargaville and so had lot of chat. The Kiwi guy was very good. Very helpful.

Participants who interacted with Māori found them very welcoming and supportive and were able to establish a good relationship with them. Some participants who worked in Māori institutions felt very much accepted and 'at home'.

Shakib, who worked in a Māori tertiary institution, felt that Māori culture was akin to India's collective culture, where family and collectives were significant to them. He shared:

In fact, working for a Māori organization I feel I am working for an Indian institution. It is almost the same 'kaupapa' [Māori term for philosophy or theme]. Ninety percent is same. Whether it is Islam or Hinduism, we share and eat. You do not eat alone. You sleep together ... you do not say that I need a [separate] room. You are ready to do another man's job, even though you call it a donkey's job, but you do not mind.

Rahman, who studied in a Māori tertiary institute, found that Māori institutions were very accepting and supportive.

The first day I was very impressed with the Wānanga [Māori tertiary institute] and the 'powhiri' [Māori ritual of encounter] and all the learning. It was a new thing for me. There was very good support, not only with studies but also with personal life. I received really, really good support at the Wānanga.

Long-term Settlement Experiences

In this stage, the participants sought to participate in civic and political life. Many joined governance boards of schools and contributed to the schools' development. They adopted many New Zealand practices and lifestyles and developed bicultural identities. Participants' interactions with the host people and their organisations and networks led them to a changed perspective on discrimination, and a felt need to interact and integrate more with the host communities. They maintained their cultural and religious practices to preserve their identity and well-being. In this stage, participants realised the goals and expectations of their migration through their sustained efforts to overcome the barriers to their settlement and integration and with the support of the host community and its institutions.

Participation in civic life

Participants strove to integrate with the host community and desired to contribute to New Zealand's economic, social and political life. They were eager to become good and responsible citizens. They encouraged children to mix and mingle with the host society, facilitating unity between ethnic groups.

Ashok got involved with his son's school's governing body and assisted in the school's fund raising events. He took an active role in the school's activities and celebrations and felt good about his contribution to the school's governance:

I was a board member for Ray Road School (pseudonym) for about six years starting from year 2001. I used to take active participation in their school day and all other [activities]. We asked them to add vegetarian, Indian style snacks to their [menu].... We provided them with 'samosas' and 'bread pakodas' [types of deep fried savory snacks] and they liked them a lot. Whatever collection was made from the sale of samosas and pakodas was donated to the school.

Madanpal ensured that he interacted and intermingled with people of other cultures, including Pākehā. He also encouraged his son to mingle with children of all cultures, at the same time initiating his son into his faith and culture:

I go to gym and I go to squash club and I interact with other people. I never got problems due to my turban or anything else [like] my skin colour.

We made sure that [our son] goes to Gurdwara and gets in touch with our culture and roots. At the same time we wanted him to mingle with Kiwis and be able to be a part of their routine and everything. We have never stopped other people like Asians and Kiwis [Pākehā] come home and stay with my son; and he has gone there and done the same. They mingle very well together while keeping the roots intact. He knows he is an Indian, [will] always remain Indian, always look Indian while still be able to interact with others [including] Kiwis.

Gregory's workplace was multicultural and multi-ethnic. He found it enjoyable working with work mates from different cultures, including Kiwis. Work mates of other cultures too showed interest in Indian culture and learnt greetings:

[At work] there were Indians, Sri Lankans, Pakistanis, Filipinos, South Africans and Kiwis and even some of the Pacific Islanders from different [islands] and Māori. It was fun working with them because slowly you got to learn everybody's culture and they taught you one of the words, greeting words and they wanted to know all our words like Namaste.... I really enjoyed working there.

Rahman expressed his regard and love for his 'new home' and his desire to be valuable to his adopted country:

When I am in this country I definitely respect everything, as a good citizen. I have to be a best citizen.... I will always contribute something to this country.

Pascal observed that Indians have been interacting and intermingling with their host society well, and better than they did a few years ago, revealing an increased level of integration of Indians and the host community in New Zealand:

In the last five years Indians have interacted well and intermingled well with the local population and with the European Pākehā population. The things are getting better and better.

Adaptation and integration

Participants adopted many values and practices of New Zealand. They observed that New Zealanders accord priority to family life with emphasis on quality time with family, and incorporated these values in their lives; this ethos fulfilled the participants' important goal for migrating. They adopted the egalitarian values of New Zealanders, viewed all occupations, vocations and professions with respect and dignity. They did not feel guilt or shame doing jobs considered by Indian structures and caste system to be menial. Some participants appreciated the culture of Pākehā, and when they were greeted on the road, they felt accepted and welcomed. Participants found it easy to incorporate this practice into their own lives.

Peter welcomed and adopted New Zealanders' practices of family outings, picnics and family time. He enjoyed the facilities provided by civic authorities in the parks and the proximity to beaches and local and regional parks, and he felt that their value could not be measured in terms of money:

One thing I keep reminding myself that when the day is bright and sunny, [New Zealanders] think of going to the beach and enjoying nature and we think of washing our clothes. We got to appreciate nature. We have come here to this country, which has so much to offer. Nothing like taking a picnic basket and going to the park and spending time with the family. We do not have to drive very far, as was in India. To get to such place, it is a five minutes' drive and we are in a beautiful place. This place may not give you money, but it gives you much more.

For Satyajit, New Zealanders' attitude towards work and their respect for every occupation was his biggest lesson:

I said, 'Oh man, if these people can do it why can't we do it?'.... New Zealanders respect their work so much. I came from India and thought I am the boss and I will not do all those jobs. But I am very pleased to see that I have learnt something new in life which everybody back home in India should learn. Work is to be respected whatever it is. My manager in the gas station is to clean toilet, put hands down into the sink and clean up and take out those shit things and show it to me how to do it. I wondered if this millionaire lady can do this what is wrong with us. Why can't we do it? Those things I picked up. That was the biggest learning for me so far in this country.

Madanpal's purpose of migrating was accomplished when he could embrace a balanced lifestyle and more time with his family in contrast to India's excessive priority on work and competitiveness:

New Zealanders are laid back which is actually good because being an Indian you got used to doing the hard work and being very competitive.... And [here] life style is there.... Here it is pretty much from 9 to 5 or thereabout. So you can have good family and well balanced life. That is again something that you would want for your family, something that they like.

Peter, echoing Madanpal, experienced the balance between work and family life that New Zealand's work and social culture allowed him to have.

New Zealand is a blessed country that you can enjoy. Despite working you can still have time for the family. In general, [the people] you worked with ... acknowledge that you have a personal life, other than your office life which was quite different back home.

Ashok experienced acceptance when New Zealanders who were unknown to him greeted him on walkways. He found that the practice had a very positive impact on him and others and adopted it himself, greeting strangers while walking on the road:

Initially when we came here we were reluctant to say hello to a stranger. But they [Kiwis] always did. Then we felt happy and we started doing the same thing.... This was a very, very good experience in the first year. We do the same thing now.

Biculturalism: Maintaining home culture and religion

Participants experienced freedom and encouragement for their religious and cultural practices, celebrations and festivals and did not miss any of the cultural and religious activities, or the Indian entertainment they were used to in India. They celebrated all their festivals privately and publicly. They patronised Bollywood and regional language video stores, theatres screening Indian movies, and radio stations such as Radio Tarana, Hum Fm and Apna FM, which streamed Bollywood and Indian music and news. They watched family dramas and programmes in Hindi, Punjabi and other languages broadcast from India through pay TV channels such as Star Plus (on Sky TV) and Vision Asia. Local Indian periodicals and newsletters such as *Indian Newslink*, *Indian Weekender*, and *Indian Outlook* in English and 'Kuk Samachar' in Punjabi language, available free from Indian outlets, and e-zines such as *Global Indian* provided them news on Indians in New Zealand and other parts of the world. The performances and concerts by visiting Indian singers and performers made them feel that they were in India. Religious ceremonies, rituals, and gatherings were held regularly without any hindrance.

Satish and his family regularly kept themselves connected with Indian entertainment and information through watching DVDs, Indian TV channels, listening to Indian

radio channels in New Zealand, Indian newsletters published in New Zealand, and the Internet. They also observed their religious practices and rituals as a family together with their fellow believers:

We watch all the Bollywood movies.... On Fridays we visit the temple, after we come home watch a Hindi movie as a family. We bring the DVDs from [video stores]. We regularly watch shows on Star Plus [an Indian TV channel streamed through Sky TV].... I listen to Radio Tarana on a regular basis, at home, in car or at work. So I get all the information [of India and Indians everywhere]. And there are a number of Indian newspapers.... We do shopping from Indian stores and these papers are given free.

Among festivals, Janmastami [the deity Krishna's birthday] is the main one. Then the other one is Bhagwat Saptah [week long celebrations involving Krishna]. Then we celebrate Diwali and Holi [Hindu festivals]. Not only our own festivals, but Christmas and other festivals as well. We take active part in all those.

We start [Gurusangs] (assembly of devotees) with bhajan, kirtan [spiritual songs] first. We do some chanting. Then there is an Indian priest who recites Bhagwad Gita in Hindi. He is the head priest from Hare Krishna temple in Juhu, Bombay. He is brought over here.

Abhishek did not miss the cultural and religious celebrations and rituals either. The temples and priests provided every religious need:

Priests are available here. The Balmoral temple is there. We go there. And whenever we have the pooja, we call the Balmoral 'pundit' [Hindu priest]. On the 25 of July we had 'Budh Poornim' [birth as well as death anniversary of Buddha] and had a 'havan' [fire offering ritual] inside the house. We got together, called about one hundred people.... The day was very good, Buddha Poornima, an auspicious day for Hindus. We did pooja at four o' clock in the morning, because pundit was very busy.

For Durga Pooja [worship of the goddess Durga], we bring the Durga idol from India. As we do not have [our own] temple [for Bengali], during Pooja ,

we bring the idol from the particular house and hire a school for two or three days and do the worship. And [during the] remaining year we cover it and keep it in a box. We do not have a place or temple for Bengalis. It is mainly during Kali and Durga [festival].

Madanpal and his family celebrated all the festivals and performed all the religious practices he was used to in India in the new country:

We celebrate Guru Nanak Jayanti [the birthday of Guru Nanak, founder of Sikhism], Guru Govindsingh Jayanti , who was our last guru and they're the two major ones. Then obviously we celebrate Diwali [Hindu festival] because somewhere we are connected through Indian Sikh history. Then you have all the other celebrations like New Year.

Epiphanies (Revelations)

As participants interacted with host people in the new land, a dynamic interaction between the host culture and the institutions took place. These interactions led them to realise the role participants need to play in integrating into the host society, which also lead to newer understandings of how the host society treated them on their arrival especially with regards to employment.

Satyajit became aware that integrating into a host community was a two-way process and migrants need to take the initiative in order to obtain acceptance. He observed that New Zealanders have become more open and have learnt about migrants. Mirroring the views of many other participants, Satyajit said:

As one year went by I realised that more you live separately [the] more you will be left alone. More you try to amalgamate with [New Zealanders] the more they might accept you. Initiative should come from both sides, but I think we should, as immigrants, take lead in this because they are so hesitant to know us.... Over the period of time they have started learning us, started opening up.... I think the neighbours are what I have. I think they look forward to me more than I look forward to them. I have opened up a lot more.

Some participants observed that Indians who re-qualified in New Zealand secured good jobs, and realised their earlier assumptions that Indians were given only

unskilled jobs because of racism were wrong. They also realised that one of the reasons for their long unemployed period was having an inadequate CV and not being aware of creative and advanced formats used by New Zealand employers. When they saw those Indians who qualified in New Zealand being employed in statutory organisations, many realised that studying in New Zealand opens up avenues for a stable career. Participants also realised that rather than just expecting the community to extend its hand to them, they should extend their hand to the host community.

Satyajit realised that using the term 'racism' to describe the reasons for the difficulties experienced by him in New Zealand was wrong. He became aware that such difficulties were faced even when one moved from one state to another within India. Reflecting the views of many other participants he said:

Earlier I used to call it racism but I think now [that] that is not the right word.... They did let us to come into this country for our skills and backgrounds but they are not using us properly, the right way.... But New Zealand has changed in leaps and bounds since we came in.... You cannot blame them as they did not know about us. Now they know that we can deliver, as good as what they can. I think they have opened up a little bit more but not as much as we would like it to be.... See, even if you move from one state into another state in India I think we will face the same difficulties.

Abhishek noticed that one of the reasons for rejection of his applications for employment was the faulty format of his CVs, and ignorance of the New Zealand way of presenting one's CV. As he interacted with people, he learnt the correct way of writing a CV and understood the process of screening applications by employers. In applying this new knowledge to his life, his situation changed. Representing many other participants with similar realisation he said,

Apply, apply, no reply. Now we realise that there was a different format of CV, different way of writing a CV, different way of writing a covering letter.... Slowly we met people who got experience and shared our experiences.... Also attended the Three Kings Immigration Bureau, their classes on how to write a CV.... Then I learnt from a consultant how the CVs are processed, that your CV should match to their requirement. Once it is picked up you have got 80

percent chance of getting a job. For getting that chance your CV must get sorted.... Most of the [migrants'] CVs here do not get shortlisted. Most of the [migrants], I think, lack [knowledge] on this. They don't realise what is wrong. They always say 'Man! what is wrong? We applied for thousand jobs and didn't get any'.

Rahman realised that his presumptions that New Zealand employers were racist and Indians were given only unskilled jobs were wrong when he observed one of his friends who received a New Zealand qualification was employed in a statutory organization. Echoing Abishek's experiences and resonating many other participants, Rahman said,

Until then I was thinking that these people are racist, they don't do anything. Only Indians are given labourers' jobs and no other jobs will be given to them. My friend told me, 'You get a qualification. You need to be knowledgeable in your field. Their working system is totally different from ours'.... Stereotyping people say they are racist and they will not give you good jobs. I was also buying into that talk. But when [my friend who qualified in New Zealand] got the job I knew that I had to do something.

Successful settlement (dreams and expectations fulfilled)

A balanced, relaxed and higher lifestyle, better education, opportunities and future for the children and freedom to pursue what they desired most were the main goals of participants for their migration to New Zealand. The positivity, resilience and perseverance, and the support of family, community and government organisations enabled participants to realise the purpose of their migration to New Zealand. The overwhelming majority of participants (90%) felt that their aim of migration had been fulfilled and that they were either happy or very happy. They felt that they made the right decision in migrating to New Zealand. They also had no plans to move to any other country in the near future. Their children too were very happy. Their dreams had been fulfilled.

Ashok's experiences in New Zealand have been very good, except for a burglary at his house. He found people very hospitable and accepting. He felt that New Zealand is probably the best country to live in the world:

I am quite happy here. [I] found country very nice. People are very good. I really did not have many bad experiences except one later on in year 2003 or 4 when there was a theft in my house. Apart from that it has been all good.

[I]f you are after comfortable and nice life I think this is probably the best country in the world. I can't imagine a better country than New Zealand to live in.... Once the contentment is there you will find that New Zealand is probably better than any other country.

Rahul was very happy in New Zealand, and observed that fellow Indians who migrated during that time were also successful and happy:

If you look at people who came in five years ago, every one of them is doing well. Everyone. I can say that people who came with us in 2002, everybody has their own house now. They have decent jobs, decent earnings, kids are doing well. What else [do] you want in life?

Satish was very happy with his accomplishments in New Zealand and felt that all his aspirations such as good jobs for all in the family, a good house, and children's success in education and in their professions had been met:

When we came here I did not bring any money with us. We have [now] three cars, two houses, one in Remuera [an upmarket suburb], one over here in [Hillsborough]. All are well settled. Wife is working, having a very nice job.... Daughter is well settled. The other one is coming up. So we all are doing very well and we are very happy.

Both of Satish's daughters had successfully completed their professional degrees in one of the universities in Auckland and had taken up good positions in Australia. One of the daughters married an Australian of European descent.

William too felt that he made the right decision in migrating to New Zealand. He said:

'[Migrating to New Zealand] was one of the best decisions I made ... totally the right decision.'

Peter indicated that the goal and aspirations of his migration to New Zealand, namely a life style with good balance between family life and work, had been realised. He said:

New Zealand is a blessed country that you can enjoy. Despite working you can still have time for the family. In general, [the people] you work with ... acknowledge that you have a personal life other than your office life which was quite different back home.

The narratives of participants indicate that the time period taken by most to settle well in New Zealand ranged from 12 to 36 months after arrival.

Other themes

Although the literature on migration in New Zealand and elsewhere mentions instances of racism and discrimination against migrants and also the negative experiences of migrants involving their identity, only two participants (10%) in this present study narrated experiences of racism and discrimination on the basis of their race or ethnicity.

Racism and discrimination

Two participants felt discriminated on the basis of their ethnicity. In one instance, a Pākehā owner of the restaurant who had invited Ajay and his Indian friends (who were studying together) for a discussion, asked them to enter from the backdoor. Ajay explained,

During that course we were given one topic to discuss.... So venue was fixed ... one restaurant on Totara Road [pseudonym].... We walked up the stairs. Suddenly the owner of that restaurant, who was one of our group mates, came and said, 'Don't come through the front door. My customers will be annoyed because you are Indians. They will stop coming here. So please go down and come from the backdoor entrance'. We felt very sad.

Yusuf felt that his efforts to buy a house in an upmarket area were frustrated by the estate agent because he did not want an Indian in that area. He said,

[The house in Paroa Bay (pseudonym)] was advertised for \$650,000.... So we went there and said, 'OK, \$650,000, let us negotiate'. That guy said, 'We have

to ask the vendor, how much he wants to negotiate'. I said, 'Vendor has already put his value. You give me your papers I will put down my price and you can take it to him'. He came back and said the vendor now wants to sell for \$675[thousand] Following week we went and asked what happened? He said, 'Oh the vendor now wants to sell it for \$750 [thousand]. I said, 'From \$650 [thousand], within seven days you want to sell your house for \$750 [thousand] Just say that you don't want to sell it to an Indian.'

In another instance, Ajay, a driving instructor, believed that in one driving test centre a testing officer was deliberately and consistently giving wrong instructions to Indian license seekers so that they failed. Ajay explained,,

One officer named R used to give wrong instructions during the practical test. And after coming back he used to tell me, 'Ajay [pseudonym], your [driving] student is not good. He could not understand my language'. I was accepting. 'Ok, may be language problem'. But then he told me a similar excuse for one person and I could not believe. Because instead of telling turn right, turn left, he told my student turn south-east. So he was confused, 'Where was south-east?' After conducting the test he came and told me, 'He could not follow my instruction. He is an old man from India so he doesn't know English'. I was surprised, because he was a diplomat in USA, Canada, Germany, and France. So how is that he could not understand turn right, turn left? If he was an ordinary person I would have [accepted].

Identity issues

For many participants, their own and their family members' identity was of paramount importance. Fathers had ensured their children were oriented to their Indian roots and heritage and were proud to be called Indian. At the same time, having lived for a long period in New Zealand and having officially been accepted as New Zealanders through citizenship, they believed that they should also be rightfully called 'New Zealanders' or 'Kiwis' or "New Zealander-Indians" or "Kiwi-Indians". However, two participants felt that they were denied these bicultural identities. Raheem felt that he will not be called a Kiwi-Indian but just an Indian.

No doubt you are staying in New Zealand. You've got a New Zealand passport. You are a Kiwi. But your looks, your appearance, everything, your culture,

your tradition, your values, your beliefs, your faith, you are an Indian. One hundred years you live here, you will be called as an Indian only. You will not be called as a Kiwi.

Satyajit believed that although adults categorise people according to their race, nationalities and colour, children and young persons generally do not differentiate people on the basis of these categories of identity or markers of difference. However, he has been somewhat disappointed that his son, previously feeling well-integrated in school life, later began to express a feeling of not being well accepted:

Then [my son] adjusted like anything and he became the head prefect for such a long time. I saw him leading in every activity. Everybody was following him. It was a quick change for him, but there was a very big obstacle which I think should not have happened. You know, for a child you are making him realise that you are different from them.... I don't think children come with that immigrant and non-immigrant and white or black [notion], but he thinks people have made him realise that 'you are a bloody black Indian and you are black and you do not belong to this country' and that consciousness comes into you and I think that is not a good thing to grow up with. So those challenges were there and are there, and will be there tomorrow too.

My Own Experiences

My own experiences and observations as recorded in my observation diary and reflective journal provided added to this study and strengthened it through data triangulation as mentioned in the previous chapter. A few entries from my journal and diary are provided here.

Bidding farewell to extended family (Pre-migration or Pre-arrival stage)

My experience of leaving behind parents, siblings, relatives and friends who also were a support for us in our domestic chores, child care and decision making was sorrowful. An entry in my diary read:

However, the thrill of starting a new life in a progressive country that guaranteed promising futures for our family was shadowed by fears of the

unknown and the heartbreak of leaving behind parents, siblings, relatives and friends.

Helpful, warm and welcoming Kiwis (Pākehā, Māori and others)

My experiences of New Zealanders too were very positive. I felt welcomed and accepted by New Zealanders (Pākehā, Māori and others) in my faith community who were not only helpful but overwhelmed us by their generosity. Noting in my diary stated:

It was our first Christmas in New Zealand. The money we brought into the country (which was limited by India's central bank's rules of releasing foreign exchange to those who emigrate) was fast depleting and therefore celebrations were to be on a low key. Children would have to forgo their usual goodies and presents, so we thought. However, on a morning in that week we found on our doorstep a huge hamper containing Christmas dainties and expensive dolls meant for our daughters. We came to know that they were placed by a nun who assisted the Catholic parish which we attended regularly. The nun knowing our situation as new migrants had gone out of her way to bring joy into our celebrations. Her magnanimous act brought cheer to us as well as tears in our eyes.

New Zealanders, especially in the faith community, were sensitive to the needs of migrants. They strived to make migrants comfortable in the new environment being empathetic towards their hardships of the early days in the new country. My own experiences as written in my diary read:

A Pākehā family in the our faith community who invited us for dinner had gone out of their way to ensure Indian food on that evening's menu by scouting Indian restaurants though they were not familiar with Indian food. A young Pākehā member from the faith community took us around to select accommodation and purchase other goods. Another member of the community, a Malaysian Indian took us on many occasions to his business precinct and oriented us to New Zealand systems. The kindness and largesse of these 'good Samaritans' within our faith community and outside overwhelmed us (Personal Diary).

Conclusion

This chapter presented the in-depth findings of this study underpinned by the stages of settlement framework and acculturation theory. The chapter has highlighted settlement experiences of participants in the four stages of settlement: pre-arrival, early, intermediate and long-term stages. The struggles and challenges experienced by participants during the settlement process were highlighted and how participants managed these challenges with coping factors and resilience. The researcher's own experiences presented in this chapter strengthen the study by way of data triangulation. The next chapter discusses the findings and how they compare with existing literature.

Chapter 6: Discussion, Recommendations, Significance and Conclusion

This chapter discusses the findings of the study, relating the findings to theoretical concepts and literature reviewed in earlier chapters. The chapter commences with an overview of the research design. The major findings of the study are then discussed in relation to the study objectives and frameworks. The significance and contributions of the study are presented followed by recommendations. The limitations as well as the strengths of the study are then examined. The chapter ends with a concluding statement.

Overview of Research Design

Settlement of migrants in a new environment is a multifaceted and complex process of acclimatisation to the new environment with social, economic and psychological consequences characterised by a range of experiences (Wayland, 2006; Drolet & Robertson, 2011; Tam, 2003). This present study was aimed at examining the positive and negative experiences of male migrants from India arriving in New Zealand since 1995. The study further focused on the struggles, challenges and conflicts encountered by them during settlement period and how these were managed. The study also sought to probe the coping responses and resilience factors demonstrated by participants during their settlement. Ethnography, a qualitative research design that helps to understand the human experience as it is lived, felt and known by participants was considered appropriate for this research.

The method of semi-structured ethnographic interviews offered useful insights into the experiences of participants during the various stages of settlement and how they navigated through the struggles, challenges and conflicts encountered during this period. The researcher's own critical reflective diary and observation journal were employed to provide 'data triangulation' (Fetterman, 2010, p.94) as well as 'methodological triangulation' (Patton, 2002, p. 247), enhancing internal validity and overall dependability of the study by way of multiple perspectives and voices. The reflective diary was deployed to examine both self as a researcher and the research relationship: how the relationship dynamics affected the responses of participants to

the questions. This reflectivity enabled the researcher to minimise his own bias and distortion during the research process, including data analysis. Analysis of the data was guided by a qualitative data analysis framework (Bazely, 2013) and thematic analysis approach (Braun & Clark, 2008) and structured by stages of migration and settlement (Drolet & Robertson, 2011; Wayland, 2006; George, 2002; Drachman, 1992; Cox, 1985) and acculturation theory (Berry, 1997, 2005). The complementarity of the methods contributed to enhancing completeness, assisting with explanations of findings, providing context for the research findings and offering more nuanced understanding of the issues under investigation.

Major Findings

The major findings are presented as a response to the objectives, which were to explore: 1) settlement experiences (positive and negative) of male migrants from India in New Zealand, 2) the struggles, challenges and conflicts encountered, and how they managed these, and 3) the coping responses and resilience factors demonstrated by them.

Settlement Experiences

Guided by the 'stages of settlement' framework the settlement experiences of participants were grouped under the four stages of settlement process: pre-migration or pre-arrival, early, intermediate and long-term settlement stages.

Pre-migration or pre-arrival stage

In this stage the participants engaged in decision making for their move. 'Push' factors of the home country prompted participants to decide in favour of moving out of the country and 'pull' factors of New Zealand attracted them to move into it. The unsatisfactory infrastructure, transport systems and corporate work culture of Indian organisations were some of the 'push factors' that prompted participants to opt for moving to countries with better infrastructure and transport. The rapid pace of metropolitan life led to a yearning for a slower pace of life with better balance between family and work, and quality time with family. For some, overcrowding, lawlessness, corruption and competitiveness in the education system were the push factors. Some of the pull factors were reports of New Zealand's clean and green

environment and its slow-paced and balanced life style; they learnt about these attractions through their friends and relatives in New Zealand, and immigration consultants. The depiction of picturesque landscapes of New Zealand in Bollywood movies also attracted some participants. The aspiration to provide a better education and future for their children, and the availability of such facilities in New Zealand, appear to be a significant pull factor for Indian migrants.

The study indicates that some participants who were at a higher level of the corporate ladder moved from India to live in New Zealand in order to exercise personal freedom. For those participants, a desire for a higher level of 'self-actualisation' (Maslow, 1973, 2013) and a genuine life (without pretences) appear to be the push factors. These findings are consistent with the study of Bürgelt (2010) of migration from European countries to New Zealand and Australia, which noted that actualising one's self and living an authentic life are deep drivers of migration of well-to do migrants to New Zealand and Australia.

Analysis of the data indicates that pre-arrival information provided to most participants was inadequate, which contributed to the hardships and challenges experienced by participants in later stages of settlement. After pre-selection health and police checks the participants received their visas and 'Settlement Kit' with information about different aspects of life such as employment, housing, health, education and daily living in New Zealand. However, some participants indicated that they were not aware of this information, and a few participants who received 'Settlement Kits' felt that the information available was inadequate.

Many participants felt that accurate information on employment and other situations would have helped them to make informed choices as to whether they should migrate to New Zealand. Many participants who were professionals were not fully aware of processes nor the difficulties in getting licenses for professional practice and having their existing credentials accredited by the New Zealand Qualification Authority. It was probably this situation that led to the proverbial notion of 'doctors and engineers driving taxis' in New Zealand. Availability of information to aspiring applicants about internship and other placement opportunities to gain the

professional experience in New Zealand that was required by some professions prior to licensing, would have minimised the difficulties faced by professionals on arrival.

It also emerged from the study that many participants were in need of information and support to get connected with their linguistic, ethnic and religious community groups. Although participants who had relatives or friends received the needed information either before or immediately on arrival into New Zealand, those who did not have any relative or friend within the country faced difficulties to contact and connect with community groups. Participants felt that more detailed and appropriate pre-arrival information on the various aspects of life in the new country such as employment, housing, transport, education, health and welfare entitlements, and ethnic and religious community groups was pivotal for successful settlement. These needs identified by participants are consonant with a New Zealand study of seasonal migrants by Maclellan (2008) that noted pre-departure briefing and orientation is a key step to ensuring successful outcomes in the settlement process.

Early settlement stage

The findings of this study reveal that those participants who were received and welcomed by friends, relatives or immigration consultants felt accepted and received guidance and orientation to life in New Zealand, but those who knew no one in the new country with no one to receive them, experienced anxiety and felt rejected. Some participants felt that many of their hardships could have been avoided if someone had received them and oriented them to New Zealand life, signifying the importance of post-arrival reception and orientation to life in the new country. Although the system of reception and orientation is in place for humanitarian migrants such as United Nations quota refugees, this study revealed reception or orientation for skilled migrants was neither available nor contemplated in the policies (Immigration New Zealand, 2014).

The experience of rejection some participants had due to the absence of reception and welcome on arrival, accords with the findings of Drolet and Robertson (2011), Wayland (2006), George (2002) and Maclellan (2008) in Canada and New Zealand. These studies reveal that newcomers on arrival experience rejection and that a carefully arranged reception programme is necessary to counter these negative

experiences. The findings of this study highlight the importance of first impressions of the country and on-arrival experiences in the new environment for the integration of migrants. The findings also suggest that a reception-orientation programme can ameliorate negative attitudes held by newcomers and hosts, facilitating positive relationships at the community level.

Intermediate stage

Culture shock

The study indicates that most participants experienced ‘culture shock’ due to differences in cultural practices of New Zealand such as use and availability of domestic help and decision-making. In India, the extended family members and paid help were available for childcare and domestic chores; however, in New Zealand, participants and their spouses had to manage without external help. Secondly, in India patriarchy in joint families took decisions for the entire family, whereas in New Zealand some of the participants were required to take day to day decisions, resulting in stress.

Skill wastage and atrophy

The findings reveal that participants, on arriving in New Zealand, experienced skills wastage and atrophy. They actively sought to capitalise on their qualifications and experience in order to enter the labour market at an appropriate level. However, their efforts failed and they were unable to secure employment suitable to their qualifications and skills. In order to sustain themselves financially, many were compelled to accept unskilled jobs including driving taxis for a brief period until they gained knowledge of local culture and New Zealand experience and qualifications.

Helpful, warm and welcoming Kiwis

The study found that encounters between the participants and New Zealanders were very positive. Most participants found New Zealanders to be warm, friendly and accepting. Participants appreciated being greeted by New Zealanders on roads and felt welcomed and accepted. Participants not only returned the greetings but also adopted the practice and began to greet others whom they did not know. The

corresponding gesture of participants created a mutual positive regard and respect for each other. Many participants were overwhelmed by the generosity of New Zealanders, especially in the faith communities. Participants' interactions with Māori and other ethnic groups in New Zealand too were positive. Whereas the early settlement stage had its own stressors, some of these stressors were alleviated when the participants began to make sense of their surroundings in this, the intermediate stage.

A few participants who worked and interacted with Māori found a lot of similarities between the two cultures. That this study found New Zealanders warm and welcoming of migrants is consistent with the findings of other studies (Porter & Stern, 2014; Edmunds, 2013; Legatum Institute, 2012; Dickinson, 2010) that note that New Zealanders are most tolerant of migrants and minorities despite isolated instances of discrimination against migrants and other minority groups.

Gender role configuration

The study shows that the dominant concern of participants, male heads of the family, was their family. Family held pre-eminence over their own interests. Some who were unemployed were contemplating returning to their well-paid positions, but the future of their children and the quality of life offered by New Zealand prompted them to sacrifice their own interests. As a result they stayed back and, in some cases, continued driving taxis until suitable jobs came by. One participant found it difficult to accept and adapt to the Western concept of equality between sexes. He felt that his spouse had “snatched his shoes”, meaning she had taken away his right of being a provider and bread winner. The spousal role reversal of wives who secured jobs before their husbands, or wives securing better jobs than their husbands, resulted in a few cases of strained relationships. However, they overcame the distress through gradual acceptance of an egalitarian culture prevalent in New Zealand.

Most participants showed a change in their perceptions of gender roles. Some acknowledged that, because their wives were more confident and competent, they rightly secured jobs earlier than them and in some cases better jobs. The male participants also took over the responsibilities of childcare and assisted in daily chores. These findings are consistent with the observation of Nayar (2009) that

Indian male migrants on migration to western countries re-negotiate their roles by assisting with household chores. This study also agrees with Piper's (2005) perspective that migration, whether by men or women on their own or jointly with their spouses, leads to re-configuration of gender relations and power inequalities.

Long-term settlement stage

In the long-term settlement stage participants acknowledged their obligation of integrating into the society and participating in civic life. They expressed their desire to contribute to the economic, social and cultural landscape of the new country. These wishes matched New Zealand government goals for migrants (Immigration New Zealand, 2007, 2014) to be able to contribute to the advancement of economic, social and cultural sectors.

Participants also realised it was a two-way process and migrants should take initiatives in building bridges or create 'bridging capital' (Putnam, 2000) and integrate into the new society. They also acknowledged their obligations to be productive members of the society. Viewed through Berry's (1997, 2005) acculturation model, the findings of this study indicate that participants pursued a strategy of integration into the host society, seeking a bicultural identity, adopting some of the host culture's values and practices and, at the same time, actively maintaining their Indian culture at home and in public celebrations. They also enjoyed Indian (Bollywood) entertainment and media, which was easily available in New Zealand. Through this, the participants demonstrated 'cultural maintenance' or 'enculturation' (Kim, Ahn, & Lam, 2009) by honouring their religious and cultural beliefs, practices and traditions.

Dynamic interactions

This research indicates that participants engaged in dynamic interactions with co-ethnics within the cultural and faith communities, as well as groups in the wider community. In this way, they acquired knowledge of the new environment. They also received support and guidance to cope with the difficulties they faced in their day to day lives. Through interactions and dialogue with organisations such as migrant service agencies, Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ), recruitment

firms, Indian veterans, and colleagues at work, they also learnt the processes of recruitment in New Zealand. These revelations broadened the participants' understanding and perceptions of their circumstance. What they believed at first to be racism and discrimination no longer appeared so. These findings are consistent with constructionist epistemology, which claims that there is no reality apart from one's construction of it in dialogue (Gergen, 1985; Middleman & Goldberg Wood, 1994).

Constructionism explains how people perceive things differently and how their individual interpretations merge into ways of understanding the world. It is through dialogues and conversations that meaning is socially constructed. Meaning is therefore local (Geertz, 1983), not universal, and is not timeless but historically situated. In this study, the meanings participants made of their circumstances through their dynamic interactions in the new environment, the way they perceived their situations, some positively and some negatively, and the realisations they experienced, can be linked to and explained by a constructionist approach.

Settlement outcomes

All participants expressed the view that they have settled well. Most (90%) felt they had made the right decision in migrating to New Zealand and they were happy. Many believed that migrating was the best decision they had made. The narratives of participants reveal that, despite going through difficulties and challenges during the early and intermediate settlement stages, they succeeded in settling down happily in due course. After initial struggles, participants secured good jobs through upskilling and requalifying. Some became entrepreneurs and established successful businesses. Most were financially sound and independent; many sponsored their parents and relatives to migrate or to visit. They were able to easily access the health, educational and welfare services of New Zealand. They participated in the community events and celebrations. Most of them owned one or more houses and cars. All participants felt accepted and that they belonged, and most had taken up New Zealand citizenship. These findings indicate that their settlement was successful in terms of the indicators of a successful settlement outlined by Henderson (2004) Burnette

(1998), Morrissey et al. (1991), and Fletcher (1999), success being defined by the fulfilment of the desires and aspirations of migrants.

Neoliberal approach to settlement services

This research reveals that most participants did not receive assistance to settle specially to enter the labour market. Some participants received limited services from government and non-government agencies where they received support to gain unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. It would appear that the limited services for migrants as experienced by participants are rooted in the neoliberal approach of New Zealand government. This finding is consistent with the literature presented earlier in this study which reveals the continued influence of neoliberal politics on settlement services and the reluctance of the government to actively intervene in the labour market with low levels of institutional support and guidance to migrants (Spoonley, 2006, Henderson, 2004; Trlin et al, 1999; Migration reforms outdated, 2014).

Managing Struggles, Challenges and Conflicts

In response to the second objective of this study, the findings indicate that participants endured financial hardships, experienced barriers to transport, faced difficulties in finding temporary housing and encountered conflicts due to the differences in the values and practices of their home culture and those of the host society.

The participants underwent financial hardships due to: unemployment during the period of job search on arrival, low salaries in the cases of those who were employed, and underemployment. They lived a very frugal life, giving up simple enjoyments of life (such as cakes on Christmas day) and 'living on pennies'. In one case, the participant skipped meals. Those who were underemployed worked additional hours in petrol stations, foregoing weekend rest. Some, though entitled to financial supplements from government agencies such as Work and Income (WINZ) and Inland Revenue (IRD), did not feel comfortable enough to approach them, whereas others who approached these agencies received accommodation supplements and child support among other forms of assistance.

Participants experienced difficulties in finding short-term rental accommodation due to the high demand and short supply brought about by increased numbers of migrants arriving in the country. The inability of participants to own a car and the resultant inability to meet the owners of properties in time to secure a rental was another reason for accommodation difficulties.

The analysis of the data reveals that the participants experienced difficulties with the transport system and walked long distances: first, they lacked clear information on the transport system and, second, they were unable to access transport because of financial difficulties and the cost factor. They tolerated these difficulties until they had the capacity to purchase a car for themselves; for some the wait was up to six months.

The participants felt that practices and events in the schools of their children, such as the school ball, sleep-overs, specifications of western swim-wear, and the schools' liberal attitudes to pre-marital relationships, were against their Indian values and practices. They were anxious that their children would be influenced by peers with regard to alcohol, drugs and pre-marital relationships. In some cases the views of participants caused a strain in the relationship with their spouses who held differing views, and also with their children who adopted the culture of their peers and host society easily.

The participants dealt with conflict between their Indian values and practices and those of New Zealand's schools and society by trying to understand the New Zealand perspective and by being open minded and flexible. These findings align with previous studies on Indian migrants in New Zealand and other migrant receiving countries (Davey et al., 2010; Hickey, 2008; Lewis, 2005; Nayar, 2009), which noted that migrants from India successfully acculturated, maintaining their own value systems while negotiating the values and expectations of the host society. Some participants enrolled their children in Islamic schools, which followed Indian and Islamic religious values. This finding is consistent with the observation of Kurien (2001a, 2001b) and Hickey (2008) that most Indian migrants tend to insist that their children maintain ethnic traditions and values.

Coping Responses and Resilience Factors

Participants used internal and external resources to manage the struggles, challenges and conflicts faced by them in the new environment. Their internal resources such as positive attitude, personal qualities of hard work and perseverance, and the value of keeping their family's welfare as their focus helped them to be resilient and move on. They looked at barriers positively and considered challenges as opportunities to succeed, to learn new skills to bring out the best in them, and as opportunities to meet people and build new relationships.

Participants relied on external resources such as spouses, parents, and close friends for emotional support. Wives and husbands encouraged and comforted each other when they 'felt low', 'lacked confidence' and experienced 'self-doubt'. Even though their parents were in India or overseas, some participants talked to them using calling cards, Skype and other social networking technology. 'If I had any difficulty it was always like "call up mum"', one participant said. Friends and neighbours shared their similar experiences and consoled them saying 'better times would soon follow'. Some friends comforted participants, narrating that they too went through similar experiences and it was hard for them in the first year. The participants were encouraged by the success stories of their friends and fellow migrants. The findings of this study were consistent with the results of the studies on migrants in New Zealand by Lewin et al. (2011), Winbush and Selby (2015) and Pahud (2008), which indicated that members of the family, friends and fellow migrants helped to lessen the negative impact of stressful situations and difficulties of migrants. .

These findings illustrate the experiences participants encountered during the various phases of settlement, and the coping strategies used by participants to overcome struggles, challenges and conflicts, thus meeting the three objectives of this present study.

Modification of Frameworks

The findings of this study on the experiences of economic migrants suggests two relevant frameworks need to be modified: one for providing support services during the settlement period, the other to understand migrant settlement experiences.

Settlement support and services framework

This study found that participants sought support and services during the four stages or phases of settlement: a) pre-arrival, b) early, c) intermediate, and d) long-term settlement stages. In the pre-arrival stage, the participants sought information to assist decision making and to prepare for the move. In the early settlement phase they looked for welcome, reception, information and orientation. In this stage participants also sought assistance for securing appropriate temporary housing, to access transport, and to enrol their children in schools.

In the intermediate settlement phase, participants searched for employment, training and education to acquire qualifications, upgrade or upskill with the goal of securing employment appropriate to their qualifications and skills. In the long-term settlement phase, the participants desired developing more contacts with host groups and their institutions and sought more participation in the social and civic activities of the host society. These needs of the study participants at various stages of settlement generate a framework for settlement services to migrants as outlined in Table 6.1. The framework sums up the domains or areas of support and assistance sought by participants in this study to overcome the struggles and challenges endured by them.

The framework (Table 6.1) builds upon the ‘stages of migration and settlement’ frameworks of Drolet and Robertson (2011), Wayland (2006), George (2002), Drachman (1992) and Cox (1985). The framework (Table 6.1) emerges from the settlement needs of, and supports and services to economic or skilled migrants. Whereas previous models or frameworks mostly focused on the needs of humanitarian migrants (though also applied to other categories of migrants with modifications), the present study suggests that the framework in Table 6.1 is more specific to economic and skilled migrants and their settlement needs, supports and services. It has been observed that the presenting needs of humanitarian migrants are generally different to the economic migrants (Chapman, 2002).

Table 6.1: A Possible Framework for Settlement Support for Skilled Migrants

Stages of Migration	Presenting Issues/ Identified Needs	Recommended Settlement Services or Domains of Support
Pre-migration or pre-arrival	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inadequate and insufficient information to make informed decision to migrate or not • Inadequate information on the life in the destination country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing accurate information on the destination country to make an informed decision especially whether to migrate or not • Pre-departure briefing on the culture, values and practices of destination country • Information and contact details of on ethnic community groups and organisations to get connected
Early Settlement: Arrival and Reception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear and the anxiety of the future • No reception or welcome into the new country. • Inadequate or no orientation on arrival on the life in the new country • Difficulties in finding temporary accommodation • Lack of information and knowledge of education system in the new country • Difficulties in finding appropriate schooling for children. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appropriate reception programme • Post -arrival orientation and assistance on issues such as : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Inland Revenue Dept, for social welfare payments such as child support, parental tax credits, and taxation system ➤ WINZ accommodation supplement and other welfare entitlements ➤ Employment market and job search skills ➤ Housing, tenancy rights and negotiating with owners ➤ Health system including contact details of general medical practitioners (GPs) ➤ Education system to enrol children to schools ➤ Licensing process for professionals ➤ transport systems and information on other specific needs such as procuring own vehicle etc. • Assistance to find affordable accommodation or housing <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Training on tenancy rights and obligations ➤ Training to negotiate with landlords • Mentoring and buddy system (newcomers are matched with earlier migrants of similar professional background) • Case work to meet specific needs

Intermediate Settlement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unemployment & underemployment due to devaluation, lack of job search skills and poor résumés • Acculturative stress and culture shock • Financial hardships • Discrimination and differentiation • Conflicting cultural values and practices • Stress from gender role reversal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment assistance in: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Résumé writing ➢ Job search ➢ Mentoring ➢ Peer counselling ➢ Education upgrading or upskilling ➢ Licensing or requalification procedures for professionals ➢ Credential evaluation, accreditation ➢ Obtaining New Zealand experience or internship ➢ Labour market related language training ➢ Education upgrading and upskilling • Case Work <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Intake, assessment and general settlement assistance ➢ Increasing coping ability ➢ Referral to culturally sensitive services to respond to major stressor • Supportive counselling • Crisis intervention
Long-term settlement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desire and efforts towards integration, inclusion and cohesion • Negative attitudes of the host society (towards migrants) • Desire for participation in civic life and citizenship • Acculturation and bicultural identity issues • Cultural maintenance and enculturation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Community education to change negative attitudes in the host society and to promote migrant groups to realise their goals of integration, inclusion and cohesion • Equity of opportunity measures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Development of programmes to facilitate maximisation of economic opportunities • Community Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Programmes to stimulate strong intra-group and inter-group relationships (building and using bonding and bridging capital)

This conceptual framework of settlement support or services to skilled migrants (Table 6.1) highlights presenting needs and suggested interventions during the four stages of settlement (pre-migration or pre-arrival, early, intermediate and long-term stages of settlement).

During pre-migration or pre-arrival stage, provision of timely and accurate information to potential migrants is pivotal. A pre-departure briefing on the vital aspects of life and essential formalities to be completed by migrants on their arrival to the destination country is suggested. In the early settlement stage, a carefully

planned reception on arrival ensures a positive experience and good impression of the new home, eliciting a favourable attitude towards the hosts. A post-arrival orientation on all significant issues, systems and processes in this stage are fundamental for minimising the hardships migrants would face without this orientation. Assistance to secure affordable temporary accommodation, and to access health and welfare services are other initiatives in this stage. In intermediate stage, assistance to seek employment appropriate to their skills and qualifications such as resume writing and job search skills is central to settlement services. Case work, supportive counselling and crisis intervention for migrants experiencing financial hardship, culture shock and acculturation stress are other interventions in the intermediate stage. In the long-term stage, education to promote integration, inclusion and cohesion of migrant groups with the host society, programmes to facilitate maximisation of economic opportunities and introduction of community development programmes to stimulate strong intra and inter group relationships are the other suggested interventions which also contribute towards meeting the goals of 'New Zealand Migrant and Integration Settlement Strategy, 2014' (Immigration New Zealand, 2015) listed in Chapter 2.

The community education and development programmes aimed at migrants and hosts to ameliorate systemic barriers to the integration and inclusion of migrants into the host society are significant in order to realise the higher goals of migration of skilled migrants into the country, namely, creation of an inclusive and cohesive society that accommodates new migrants and recognises their contributions. The settlement services proposed in this study aim at accomplishing the government's social policy of reinforcing public confidence among migrants and host communities alike that New Zealand is a diverse, tolerant, creative and supportive place to live.

The findings of this study also reveal that the time periods of these stages of settlement in this framework are neither rigid, nor applicable to all migrants in the same way. Migrants follow different temporal patterns and the process of settlement is not linear. For example the experiences and presenting needs identified for some migrants in the intermediate stage may occur in the early or even long-term settlement stages for others. Further, although the findings of this study reveal that most participants felt that they settled within a time period ranging from twelve to

thirty six months, the settlement needs may persist beyond that period for many other migrants. The findings of this study also reveal that all migrants are not settled in all domains mentioned in this framework (Table 6.1). Migrants may be well settled in one domain (e.g. employment) but unsuccessfully settled in others. The reality also could be that the pace of adaptation can vary from person to person, resulting in some members of a migrant's family being well settled but others are not.

This framework also acknowledges that experiences and settlement needs of migrants vary and are dependent on the characteristics of individual migrants such as age; gender; social class; family composition; socio-economic, educational and cultural factors; occupation; rural or urban backgrounds; belief systems; and social supports. This study also indicates that the process of settlement, adaptation and acculturation is not linear, and time periods of each stage cannot be rigidly determined. The needs of participants also differ and cannot be stated definitely as falling under specific stage. For example, though most participants began their job search during the intermediate stage some participants began looking for jobs in the early or pre-arrival stages through the Internet.

Skills, knowledge, values and principles

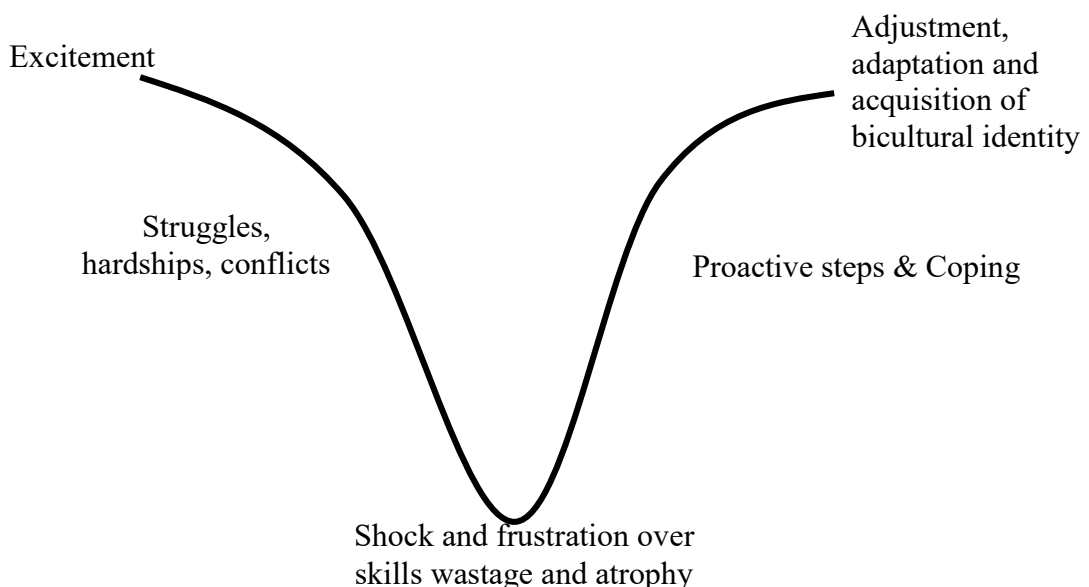
The findings of this study and the literature on the settlement services frameworks indicate that settlement services personnel and helping professionals require specialised skills to assist migrants such as cultural competence, knowledge of religious beliefs and practices of various migrant groups. The experiences of migrants in this study and the literature indicate that principles and values of social inclusion, trust, justice, multiculturalism, cultural sensitivity, inclusiveness, collaboration, empowerment, equality of opportunity and civic rights are fundamental if settlement services are to achieve the successful integration, inclusion and participation of migrants into the host society (Powell, 2001; Nash et al., 2006; Potocky-Tripodi, 2002; Sue & Sue, 1999; Hiriya & Cetingok, 1988).

Settlement Process of Skilled Migrants

This study found that the emotional well-being and levels of satisfaction and patterns of adjustment of participants can be depicted in a U-shaped curve or an inverted bell curve (see Figure 6.1). In the pre-arrival and early settlement stage participants experienced excitement, and anticipation. In the intermediate stage, most participants experienced ‘shock’ over the employment situation that resulted in skill wastage and atrophy. They also experienced shock over the differences in cultural norms, values and systems such as transport, housing, education, and health. When the initial excitement had worn off participants transitioned to a low point in the U-curve.

In the intermediate and long-term settlement stages, participants became comfortable with their surroundings, moved into recovery and began to thrive. Participants oriented themselves to their new country, regained self-esteem, and developed a more positive outlook. Their perspective became more balanced through dynamic interactions within the community as they acquired fresh insights into their situation, and were more open to integrating with the host community. Eventually, they developed the ability to function productively in the new culture. In essence, they became bicultural, adopting many aspects of the host culture whilst retaining their own ethnic culture and traditions. They developed an increasing ease and flexibility in navigating the new surroundings and challenges in their new country of resettlement.

Figure 6.1: Settlement Process Curve modified from Black & Mendenhall (1991, p.227)



The progression of participants' settlement satisfaction or participants' emotional wellbeing drawn from the results of this study and presented in the figure 6.1 is a modification of the U curve depicting culture shock postulated by Lysgaard (1955), Oberg (1960), Black & Mendenhall (1991) and Usunier (1998) and discussed in Chapter 3 under section 'Culture Shock' on page 43. While the stages postulated by Lysgaard (1955) and others above represent the adaptation experiences of temporary residents such as foreign students, tourists or temporary migrants planning to return to their home or other countries, the curve emerging from this study represents the settlement journey of the skilled migrants who arrived with an intent of settling permanently in the country.

The findings of this research highlight that in the pre-arrival stage and part of the early settlement stage the participants experienced excitement and euphoria similar to the studies of Lysgaard (1955) and others. However, in the intermediate stage, the participants of this study experienced a shock mainly over devaluation of their skills and qualifications and their employment situation (such as underemployment or unemployment) in addition to the differences in host culture. In the intermediate and long term settlement stage, the participants of this study adjusted and settled acquiring the cultural capital of host country and a bicultural identity and moved on to become productive members of the new society. This study, however, reveals that the stages of the U-curve do not always apply to every migrant in the same manner and the degree and length of each stage varies from individual to individual.

Significance and Contributions of the Study

This study was significant for several reasons. It was the first study of its kind in New Zealand. Although studies have been conducted on humanitarian and economic migrants in New Zealand this study investigated the settlement experiences of male migrants from India. The study provides insights into their experiences and how they navigated the struggles, challenges and conflicts encountered. The gender themes emerging from this study also provide perspectives on the re-configuration of gender relationships pursuant to migration.

The research also reveals cultural issues of male migrants from India and is useful for settlement services personnel and helping professionals. The finding also indicate that some Indian migrants are reluctant to avail help from mainstream helping professionals out of fear that the helping professionals are unable to understand issues unique to their culture. This could mean that helping professionals need to provide culturally appropriate interventions to migrants from India rather than the mainstream approaches or interventions.

The study can be considered significant as the findings have:

- a) Provided a better understand the hardships migrants encounter in the new country of settlement with a special emphasis on New Zealand;
- b) Identified gaps in the migrant settlement services and policies
- c) Proposed an improved framework for providing support services to skilled migrants
- d) Recommended changes to the services and policies to bring about better settlement outcomes to new migrants
- e) Identified unique cultural issues experienced by Indian migrants, which will enable service providers and employers to assist migrants in a culturally appropriate way.

Recommendations from the Study

The recommendations of the study are separated into recommendations for immigration and social policies, migrant settlement services, employers and businesses, the Human Rights Commission, media, international social services, and for ethnic and religious groups. Recommendations proposed by participants for future migrants highlight the precautions and proactive steps new migrants can take to prevent some of the hardships and barriers hindering their successful settlement.

Recommendations for Immigration Policies

The study highlights the need for a well-planned welcome and reception programme and a pre-departure and post arrival information or orientation sessions for economic migrants (as is provided to UN mandated humanitarian migrants) covering life in New Zealand, its culture, practices and systems related to employment, health and

welfare housing, education, and transport to make a better start in the new land and for successful settlement outcomes. The introduction of such services by Immigration services or Migrant Settlement Services (SSNZ) would avoid many economic migrants encountering hardships on account of lack of information and guidance on crucial aspects of life in the new country.

This study reveals that, although some participants were aware of the ‘Settlement Kit’ sent by the Immigration Department, containing information on various aspects of life in New Zealand such as housing, transport, education health and employment, many did not make mention of this. Those who read it found the information inadequate. This study indicates that all economic migrants need to be provided realistic information on New Zealand and its culture, practices and systems before their arrival to New Zealand. Orientation programs for migrants on day-to-day life in New Zealand by Regional Migrant Services (ARMS, 2013) or Settlement Support New Zealand (SSNZ, 2013), may ameliorate some of the difficulties faced by new migrants.

Recommendations for Migrant Settlement Services

The findings of the study indicate that most of the participants were not aware of settlement support or services that were available. They relied on the advice and support of friends, neighbours and members of ethnic and religious groups that they belonged to or joined. Many of the participants were not aware of the services available to them through Auckland Regional Migrant Services (ARMS), Settlement Support New Zealand (SSNZ, 2013) and other welfare and emergency supports through Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ). More publicity through community groups and community newsletters might improve the reach and accessibility of these services and the initiatives by the government and local councils. It also emerged from the study that many participants were in need of information and support to get connected with their linguistic, ethnic and religious community groups.

Even though participants who had relatives or friends received this information either before or immediately on arrival into New Zealand, those who did not have any contacts within New Zealand faced difficulties due to the lack of information

about community groups. Although a certain level of networking between Regional Migrant Services, SSNZ and community groups exists and some skilled migrants and professionals are able to secure information about New Zealand life on the Internet and blogs, a review of the present system of disseminating information about New Zealand life and community groups may be necessary. Such networking may also assist community groups to provide information on settlement support services to those new migrants who have failed to find information on settlement support.

The findings of this study reveal that the existing settlement support and services by ARMS and SSNZ is mostly around information dissemination and referrals. Introduction of case-work and advocacy services by regional migrant services and other community organisations would help some of the migrants who face acute hardships. This study reveals that highly qualified migrants go through depression due to their failure to secure suitable employment and do not receive any support, referral or follow-up from any of the government or non-government agencies. Introduction of case-work, advocacy and referral services appears to be an imperative to ensure the health and well-being of new migrants. It is observed that SSNZ (2013) provides one-on-one contact for a new migrant, but providing professional help to needy migrants is paramount.

This study supports the literature (New Zealand Federation of Multicultural Council, 2015; DeSouza, 2004; Singham, 2006) of an urgent need for Treaty of Waitangi (1840) focused resources for new migrants. New migrants need to be resourced to recognise, understand and value the special position of *tangata whenua* (people of the land, that is, Māori) and be able to examine their role in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi. Equally it is necessary for immigration policy and settlement policy to be inclusive of those who are already here, namely, Māori and Pākehā. By doing so, we create a dynamic and vibrant society, leaving behind a past based on fear of losing the whiteness, grievance due to denial of Māori rights and invisibility of migrant groups arriving in an already formed country (Desouza, 2004; Singham, 2006; Sibley & Ward, 2013).

Recommendations for Employers and Businesses

This study indicates that employers failed to acknowledge and value skill sets and expertise of new migrants. The study reveals that the behaviours or communication styles of migrants are different but Liswood (2010) observes that they need not be counterproductive. As observed by Falconer (2011) the differences and different points of view can be used to benefit organisations with the ability to leverage cultural differences more productively. Cultural and gender differences, when better understood, can lead to creativity; embracing diversity leads to competitive advantage (Falconer, 2011; Liswood, 2010). Accepting these suggestions by employers and employers' organisations would not only result in harnessing the advantages of diversity but also would minimise the devaluation of the human and cultural capital of skilled migrants in migrant receiving countries. Embracing these ideals would also contribute to the realisation of the government's goal of creating an inclusive and equitable society.

Recommendations for Human Rights Commission

The government's Migrant Settlement Strategy (Department of Labour, 2004, 2007) envisages educating and influencing the community and those New Zealanders with whom new immigrants will come into contact. In order to create an equitable, accepting and inclusive environment, free from prejudice and stereotyping the Human Rights Commission (HRC) can play a pivotal role:

1. The host population needs to be informed of the various streams of migrants such as skilled or business category, family category and international or humanitarian category and the reasons for such a policy. The knowledge of the government's immigration policy and New Zealand's humanitarian obligations to the international community may foster better understanding and acceptance of migrants into New Zealand.
2. New Zealanders need to be educated on human rights, especially the provisions of the Human Rights Act (1993), which provides protection to every New Zealander against discrimination on the basis of race, gender, age, beliefs, and sexual orientation.
3. The HRC has undertaken a growing number of anti-racist and cohesion-enhancing initiatives and reports them through various electronic newsletters. *Te Korowai Whakapono – The Religious Diversity Network* supports and publicises

groups that undertake interfaith activities, projects and programs that contribute to religious tolerance, public understanding of religions and beliefs, and interfaith cooperation for peace, security and harmonious relations (HRC, 2013a; NZ Interfaith Group, 2016).

4. *Paenga Hihiko - On the Bright Side*, a monthly newsletter, carries acknowledgements from the Race Relations Commissioner of positive contributions to cultural diversity and race relations in New Zealand, and is a part of the HRC's contribution to the NZ Diversity Programme (HRC, 2013b). *Nga Reo Tangata*, a media and diversity network, is a newsletter connecting people and organisations with an interest in the media and diversity, to improve the reflection and promotion of cultural diversity in the media, emailed monthly by the Human Rights Commission (HRC, 2012). These initiatives of HRC can be given wider circulation and publicity and include all New Zealand ethnic groups including Pākehā in their email group list. The religious diversity forums held every year can be given wider publicity through mainstream media.
5. Establishment of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Trust in 1986 (now named as Diversity Works NZ (2016) with its 'Supreme', 'Diversity' and 'Work-Life' awards for employers and employees, and appointment of a Human Rights Commission's Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner are laudable steps in the right direction. Only 400 organisations in New Zealand have been brought under the Trust, and the majority are yet to commit to the equal opportunity principle (EEO, 2012). Promotion of the Trust to influence more organisations to seek membership of the Trust might lead to increased acceptance of migrants and their diversity.

Recommendations for the Media

'Public debates about migration are limited by a lack of perspective of its historical role, contemporary impacts and future prospects' (Goldin et al., 2011, p. 2). Studies have shown that the advantages of economic migration outweigh its disadvantages and disruptive effects (Goldin et al., 2011; Sarvimäki, 2009; Hatton & Williamson, 2008; Murat & Flisi, 2007). As responsible professionals, media persons can help in educating the public through projecting migration and migrant issues in their right perspective and facilitating the acceptance of migration and migrants.

It is important for media to give a more holistic portrayal of migrants. Recent studies (Asia New Zealand Foundation, 2013, 2016) show that negative publicity about Asians buying businesses and property in Auckland have led to less positive sentiments towards migrants from Asia. A display of bigotry and prejudice by TV presenters against Asia and Asians (See Excerpts from Observation Journal, Appendix H; and also in Donnell, 2011; Neville & Harper, 2010) has had negative impact on social inclusion and acceptance of ethnic minorities. The media may, therefore, need reforms such as provision of codes of conduct, Press Council jurisdiction and enforcement of existing legislation on Human Rights.

Recommendations for Social Services

This study reveals that religion and spirituality is central to the lives of migrants from India, be they Hindus, Muslims, Christians, or Sikhs. The participants' accounts showed that their coping ability emerged from their internal resources of faith and religious beliefs and practices. A participant refused professional help for the fear that mainstream professionals would not understand him and his cultural and religious values and beliefs. Using Western secular values and interventions with Indians causes confusion and further negative effects (Canda & Furman, 2009; Hodge, 2004; Reddy & Hanna, 1998). A majority of the service users of Indian origin request a counsellor or social worker who understands their culture intimately (Hodge, 2004).

Social workers and other frontline service professionals should ensure that they are culturally competent, and trained in understanding the cultural and religious beliefs and practices of Indian religious groups such as Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and Parsis (Hogan-Garcia, 2003). Studies have also revealed that social workers and therapists need to consider spiritual interventions while working with Indian migrants (Hodge, 2001, 2003). The findings of this study support the principle that it is imperative for social workers and other intervention agents to accord primacy to the meaning given by clients, in this study Indians, to their problematic situations or interactions, which are shaped by their religious and cultural beliefs and values. Nimmagadda and Martell (2008), Nimmagadda (1999), Nimmagadda and Cowger (1999), and Crawford, 1994 argue that social workers

who work with Indians and other ethnic cultures in Western countries need to indigenise and localise their practice and for cultural relevance.

Indigenisation and localisation of practice involves considering the religious and cultural beliefs, values and practices of clients in the given setting and context. Nimmagadda and Martel (2008) have pointed out that ‘lessons from India’ need to inform the practice of social workers in Western countries while working with Indians for successful outcomes. According to Nimmagadda and Martel (2008), the ‘lessons from India’ are that the meaning given by clients in India to their problems are cultural and comprise an important aspect of working with them. It is therefore imperative for practitioners who work with Indians to acquaint themselves with the culture of Indians in order to ‘indigenise’ their social work practice.

Recommendations for Anti-racist interventions.

A few participants narrated instances of covert racism and discrimination. A few participants also narrated instances when their children in schools experienced racism (also see the Prologue). These experiences of participants are in consonance with the observation of Dovidio, Kawakami and Gaertner (2002), who noted that though people do not experience overt racism, many experience aversive racism, a modern form of prejudice that characterises the racial attitudes of many Whites who endorse egalitarian values, who regard themselves as not prejudiced, but who discriminate in subtle, rationalisable ways.

According to Abreu (1999), though people may believe themselves to be racism-free, unconscious forces drive their judgments and behaviours. Tinsley-Jones (2003) and Viruell-Fuentes et al, (2012), suggest following strategy to deal with pervading racism.

- a) **‘Call a spade a spade’** (Tinsley Jones, 2003, p.183): Helping professionals including therapists must name what they know to be true. It is necessary to acknowledge that racism debilitates bodies, minds and spirit. Racism in its many manifestations, devaluates, discriminates and differentiates and are significant factors that impact upon migrant wellness.
- b) **Racism is intertwined with other issues of past experiences and issues of class:** Migrants’ anxieties and distress are not only the result of their

temperament and critical upbringing but also a result of past experiences of discrimination, especially on the basis of caste and class. Migrants are trained to push themselves and excel to prove their worth. Acknowledging these would be necessary for their healing. Helping professionals need to be well trained to enable migrants to express their struggles including discrimination and racism encountered and make them understand their problems in order for healing to take place.

- c) **Taking a stand against racism** for and with migrant clients, in and outside the practice context is required. Helping professionals need to empathise and acknowledge the reality of the experience of racism and also help migrants to appreciate other meaning of the situations ensuring that their experiences are not demeaned or trivialized. Helping professionals take antiracist stands when they join culturally diverse community groups and initiatives, combat racist jokes in their professional and personal lives and spearhead tackling of cultural issues in their work places and empower clients against racism. Helping to form support groups and helping to initiate forums to elicit a positive dialogue about race within the professional community would be helpful. It is not enough to only help migrants to process past racist injuries but they must be empowered with regard to future assaults. Significant changes in eradicating institutional racism are possible only when administrators address racism in institutional structures (Dovidio et al, 2001). Organisations should include managerial incentives for meeting diversity goals and taking a “long march approach” to tackle this issue (Tinsley-Jones, 2003, p.184).
- d) Asking questions on racism, making comments and suggesting empowerments in Social Work and other helping professions is a developing area. Professionals need multiple sources of learning and support – learning from multi-disciplines, using twofold approach. Firstly, to establish a network of supportive individuals and groups which can process cases and personal issues on an ongoing basis. To be antiracist helping professionals need to be in the company of their allies and in this colour does not matter. White colleagues are among one’s staunchest allies. It is advisable to belong to multiracial/ethnic groups as well as mono-racial groups. It is in the latter groups that the most difficult and sensitive issues related to race are brought

up and tackled in a manner difficult to accomplish in a mixed group. Biased attitudes and behaviours directed towards Whites and towards other people of colour must also be confronted. The education sector and media should cover the cultural histories of migrants as well as facts and statistics of racism. Internalizing one's own racism related affect and thinking is the main prerequisite to unlearning racism and devising antiracist interventions/strategies. Hearing of others' stories and telling of our own will point us in the right direction.

Recommendations for Ethnic and Religious Groups

This study shows that most participants were involved with at least one cultural, linguistic or religious community group or association. The narratives of many reveal that they received support from members through information on day-to-day life, encouragement and help in job searches and acceptance into the group. For many participants these organisations were the first point of contact. One Muslim participant went to the nearest mosque from the airport to seek information and support on arrival, as he felt that that was the place where he would be supported best. Many others received similar support from churches, *Mandirs* and *Gurudwaras*. As Indian migrants are, in general, associated with religious institutions and associations, the Settlement Support Services should liaise or network with them for the larger reach of their programs. At the same time, community and religious organisations should liaise with Migrant Resource Centres and assist new migrants to link with them. Ethnic and religious organisations should develop their own support services for new migrants to orient them to New Zealand life and help them to access support services and provide advocacy services if need be.

Recommendations for New Migrants as Proposed by Participants

Many participants stated that they should have done more homework before they decided to migrate as well as before their arrival, which would have minimised their hardships. Participants did not want new migrants to experience the difficulties and struggles participants themselves went through. Though the difficulties and situations of new migrants who arrive under the 'skilled migrant category' (as

distinct from the former ‘general skills category’) are different, participants’ suggestions may help new and future migrants from India.

Participants suggested that new migrants or aspirants should do more homework and obtain realistic information on New Zealand life before they arrive. They should use their networks, meet experienced and knowledgeable people who live in New Zealand and seek more information. If possible they should visit New Zealand, develop contacts before making up their mind to migrate and then decide on migrating when in a rational frame of mind. A positive attitude, an open mind to changing profession and a readiness to go back to study (to upgrade, upskill or acquire a new degree) would assist in the successful settlement of new migrants. Bringing in enough money to sustain themselves and their families during the initial months of job search when one might remain unemployed sometimes up to six months, would ease financial difficulties in the initial period. Knowledge of driving and an early purchase of a vehicle would ameliorate difficulties of transport.

Developing a good network, getting their CVs done in New Zealand format (through professional bodies such as Career Services or recruitment agencies) would facilitate their job searches. Some participants suggested that men should migrate first, secure a job, arrange accommodation and personal transport, and then invite family members to join them in New Zealand. Others felt that arriving with family helps in coping with the difficulties and distress of the initial period. New migrants should know that New Zealand provides a good quality of life and not necessarily economic prosperity, and therefore the aspirants should know what they are aspiring to achieve. New migrants should be aware of their accent and speak in a manner understandable to New Zealanders. Those young Indians seeking to study and settle in New Zealand should make use of social networks such as Facebook to seek information, guidance and help from the universities or educational institutions they are entering.

Limitations and Strengths of the Study

Due to constraints on time and monetary resources, participants were selected from the Auckland region, which then comprised the four cities of Auckland, Manukau,

Waitakere and North Shore, now amalgamated into Auckland Super City. One participant who was a resident of Auckland during his settlement period was interviewed in Hamilton where he had moved for employment. The study therefore is Auckland-centric and can look like the study of migrants from India in Auckland, though two-thirds of Indians in New Zealand reside in Auckland. There is a possibility that experiences of Indians in other parts of New Zealand are different, given that their numbers are low and ethnic institutions and organisations fewer. The study represents participants from four major religions. The minor religions such as Zoroastrianism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Judaism, whose Indian adherents in New Zealand are comparatively small, are not represented. The study therefore cannot be said to represent participants of all religions of India, but only the major religions.

Though this study is an emic or insider study, a problem associated with being an insider-researcher is that familiarity can lead to bias and a researcher can lose objectivity (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007). Though complete objectivity is impossible (Denzin, 2011), the reduction of the impact of biases is done through carrying out research in consciousness of its social situatedness and by making researcher's position and research process transparent (Hammersley, 2005). The transparency and honesty evident in the process can allow the readers to construct their own perspectives, which are as valid as researcher's perspective (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2013). I have attempted to minimise the likely bias by being conscious and reflective throughout the process of this research and being transparent about my standpoint or position as well as my relationship with the participants.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study has reported that most of the participants felt that a disparity in pay for equal work exists between Pākehā and coloured employees within the organisations even though one of the participant vehemently denied the differentiation. There have been a few studies on wage disparity based on race and ethnicity in other countries such as US (National Equal Pay Task Force, 2013). Studies might be required in New Zealand to establish if wage disparity exists in organisations on the basis of race and ethnicity.

This study shows that most skilled migrants arrive with their spouse and children and that the labour market participation of spouses too is crucial in the retention and integration of skilled migrants into New Zealand society. This research has reported barriers faced by skilled migrants resulting in skills wastage and underemployment. No studies appear to have examined the labour market participation of spouses of skilled migrants in New Zealand. A study of this kind would benefit in ensuring the retention and integration of skilled migrants into New Zealand society.

This study shows that many migrant men adapted new gender roles within the family. However, it is believed that some men continue to behave in the same dominant way in the domestic matters and some migrant women suffer. This is an important issue within migrant families which require to be investigated and addressed.

Concluding Statement

This study evolved as a result of my own migration and settlement experiences and my interest in the experiences of my fellow migrants or co-ethnics from India in New Zealand. The social, economic and psychological consequences of their migration to New Zealand were expressed by participants in terms of struggles, challenges and conflicts encountered by them. The participants stressed the ramifications of lack of information on the life of New Zealand as a highly significant and underappreciated concern. Their narratives revealed how they responded with resilience and optimism to the major struggles and challenges.

This study reveals that settlement is a process of participants creating a space where they can be 'Indians' within the context of New Zealand, where they can feel safe, welcomed and accepted. The findings indicate that settlement is not a result of the work of an isolated sector but an integrated effort of multiple socio-political institutions. Institutions such as schools, hospitals, police, justice system, media and government departments either enhance or hinder integration and inclusion of migrants to the extent they adapt to the diversity of people they serve.

The study highlights that the attitudes of the general population have a significant impact on the inclusion, cohesion and integration of migrants. The host society's outlook determine migrant's relationships with their neighbours, with colleagues at work, with fellow students in educational institutions and all those whom they encounter in their daily life.

This study reveals that settlement service delivery in New Zealand is inadequate with limited funding due to the government's neo-liberal policies. Until adequate funding is injected into the programmes and services as identified by this study new migrants may continue to face barriers similar to those faced by the participants of this study. Pre-arrival information dissemination, post-arrival reception and orientation, case work, advocacy and referral services—as emerged from this study—are of prime importance for successful settlement outcomes envisaged in New Zealand's Migrant Settlement and Integration Strategy (2014).

The literature on Indian migrants documents the finding that Indians in many migrant receiving countries are gaining a reputation as 'model minorities' (Abraham, 2006; Saran, 2015; Lee, 2015). Abraham (2006) observes that Indians overseas invest in portraying themselves as a 'model minority' through retention of strong collectivistic family values, and maintaining unified family relations.

Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan (2011) in their recent book on how migration shaped our world and will define our future, describe migrants as exceptional people. On a similar note, Hemingway (2013) said that the best people possess a feeling for beauty, the courage to take risks, the discipline to tell the truth, and the capacity for sacrifice. Ironically, however, Hemingway adds their virtues make them vulnerable; they are often wounded, sometimes destroyed. The findings indicate that participants of this study are exceptional people. Their courage, risk-taking ability, sacrificial nature and fortitude as well as their vulnerability has shone through tales of survival and success that are documented in this study.

Epilogue

This study has been the result of a cascade of growth, education, self-confidence and nurturing as a migrant, educator and social worker. The study itself took me on a personal journey as I became aware of the numerous facets of life experienced by the participants, people around me and in my own life. The study has unveiled numerous stories of resilience, survival, fortitude and indomitable human spirit.

The study affected me emotionally, intellectually and politically. The history of indentured labourers from India in colonies of Britain and other European countries, the opposition faced by Indian pioneers in New Zealand and the instances of racism experienced by a small number of participants aroused a range of emotions: anger, hurt, and indignation. The guidance, advice and incisive questions posed by my supervisors and my own reflective diary helped me to see the reality in perspective.

This study also led me to read about social Darwinism, colonialism, Eurocentrism, 'White privilege', and hegemony. Olesen's (2005) words, 'Rage is not enough we need incisive scholarship to frame, direct, and harness passion in the interest of redressing grievous problems in many areas of life' (p. 236) enabled me to move on from my indignation and hurt towards understanding, forgiveness and healing. My introspection led me to realise that dominance, hegemony and discrimination are not limited to Western cultures but are a reality in India, my home.

I learnt that oppression and privilege are two sides of the same coin and that we can be oppressed as well as oppressors at the same time. The Indian caste system is a case in point, one of overt discrimination and racism. I recollected how my community treated (and perhaps are currently treating) 'Mahars' and 'Koragas', two of the so called 'untouchable' castes in the village I grew up (in Karnataka State, India). Racism and discrimination, though on the decline, is still a fact of life through the caste system, which is deeply entrenched in Indian psyche, even after five decades of enforcement of 'The Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955' or 'Untouchability Act'.

My migration to New Zealand with my family has been one of the biggest milestones of my life. I am grateful to the country that I now call home. I have learnt much from the Pākehā, I experienced their professionalism, egalitarianism, integrity and love for freedom of expression and democracy. From the other cultures that now make a multicultural New Zealand, I have learnt to love my brothers no matter the race or religion. From Māori I have learnt of their values and practices of *whanaungatanga* (establishing kinship), *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) and *ahurutanga* (providing safe space).

Through this I have changed the way I relate to people. Working and interacting with Māori has been a most gratifying experience. I agree with Rajen Prasad, an ex-member of the New Zealand parliament and ex-Race Relations Commissioner of Indo-Fijian descent who expressed this view:

[The] *tangata whenua* [people of the land or Māori] are the most generous group of people you will ever meet in this society. How can a group simply sign away through a Treaty, for no reason other than being generous and enabling those who came at the time of the first contact, a partnership to an enterprise so big? (cited in Panny, 1999, p. ii).

After fifteen years in New Zealand, my few hardships and low moments appear inconsequential and insignificant in the face of what New Zealand has offered me. I feel privileged and honoured to be able to live in a country considered by many as ‘socially most advanced in the world’ (Porter & Stern, 2014), ‘the most peaceful’ (Institute of Economics and Peace, 2010), ‘the least corrupt’ (Transparency International, 2013) and ‘the best commonwealth country in the world to raise girls’ (Royal Commonwealth Society, 2011).

The dreams and expectations I had of my migration, especially the future of my children, have been fulfilled. The encouragement of friends who migrated with me, spiritual sustenance received from the faith community, overwhelming support of New Zealanders, and timely financial supplements of government agencies (when we needed them most) have enabled me to settle in this ‘God’s own country’ successfully. I couldn’t ask for more.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Recruitment Flyer **Invitation to participate in a Research Study**



Photos courtesy: distinctoccasions.typepad.com, muslima.com, radioxldating.com, rio-bravo.org .

Migration and Re-settlement Experiences of Indian Immigrants to Aotearoa New Zealand

Are you an immigrant from India and arrived in New Zealand in the year 1995 or after? Are you a main applicant?

If you answer yes to the above three questions, I would like to invite you to share your experiences of settling down in New Zealand with me. I am currently undertaking a research project for my Doctoral thesis titled “Migration and re-settlement experiences of Indian immigrants to Aotearoa New Zealand” with Curtin University of Technology, Perth, Western Australia. If you are interested to participate in this study please contact me and I will send you further information.

This research has been reviewed and given approval by Curtin University of Technology Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval number HR 124/ 2009).

Researcher:

Elias Martis

School of Occupational Therapy and Social Work

Faculty of Health Sciences

Curtin University of Technology, Perth. Australia

New Zealand Contacts:

Telephone: +64 9 626 6842,

Mobile: +64 21 030 6965 (texts are ok)

Email: epmartis@paradise.net.nz

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

Faculty of Health Sciences



School of Occupational Therapy and Social
Work

GPO Box U1987
Perth Western Australia 6845
Email sw-info@curtin.edu.au
Web healthsciences.curtin.edu.au
CRICOS Provider Code 00301J

Participant Information Sheet

My name is Elias Martis. I am currently undertak

Curtin University of Technology, Perth Austri

“Migration and re-settlement experiences of Indian immigrants in Aotearoa New Zealand”

Purpose of Research

I am interested in exploring the migration and resettlement experiences of new Indian immigrants in Aotearoa New Zealand (the principal applicants who arrived from India in the year 1995 and after), the conflicts and challenges based on race, ethnicity, culture, economic class and education faced by them and how they manage them. This study may benefit the Indian migrant community, policy makers, health services and helping professionals to understand the difficulties, struggles and challenges faced by new migrants.

Your role

I am interested in finding out your experiences, challenges, difficulties and successes you faced during your re-settlement process in New Zealand. I will ask you to tell me your experiences in various areas of re-settlement such as housing, education, employment, community life, home life or any other area you feel/felt important to you. The interview will take approximately 60 minutes.

Consent to Participate

Your involvement in the research is entirely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any stage without it affecting your rights or my responsibilities. When you have signed the consent form I will assume that you have agreed to participate and allow me to use your data in this research.

Confidentiality

The information you provide will be kept separate from your personal details, and **only my supervisors and I** have access to this. The interview transcript will not

have your name or any other identifying information on it and in adherence to university policy, the interview tapes and/or digital recordings and transcribed information will be kept in a locked cabinet for five years, before it is destroyed.

Further Information

This study has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number HR 124/2009). The Committee is comprised of members of the public, academics, lawyers, doctors and pastoral carers. Its main role is to protect participants. If needed, verification of approval can be obtained either by writing to the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University of Technology, GPO Box U1987, Perth, 6845 or by telephoning 9266 2784 or by emailing hrec@curtin.edu.au.

If you would like further information about the study please feel free to contact me on tele: +64 9 626 6842, or mobile: +64 21 030 6965 or on email: epmartis@paradise.net.nz. Alternatively you can contact my supervisor Fran Crawford, Associate Professor, School of Occupational Therapy and Social Work, Faculty of Health Sciences, Curtin University of Technology, Perth Australia on tel: +61 8 9266 3340 or Email: f.crawford@curtin.edu.au .

Thank you very much for your involvement in this research. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Elias Martis

11, Rosamund Ave, New Windsor,

Auckland 0600, New Zealand

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Appendix C: Consent Form

Faculty of Health Sciences



School of Occupational Therapy and Social Work

GPO Box U1987
Perth Western Australia 6845
Telephone +61 8 9266 3343
Facsimile +61 8 9266 3192
Email sw-info@curtin.edu.au
Web healthsciences.curtin.edu.au

Migration and Re-settlement Experiences of Indian Immigrants to Aotearoa New Zealand

Research conducted by Elias Martis

I _____ have read the information on the attached letter. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research but understand that I can change my mind or stop at any time.

I understand that all information provided is treated as confidential.

I agree for this interview to be taped/recorded.

I agree that research gathered for this study may be published provided names or any other Information that may identify me is not used.

I am also aware of the contact details of the supervisor of this study and the Ethics Committee Officials in case of arising of any issue that requires to be taken up with them.

Name: _____ Signature: _____

Date: _____

Investigator: Elias Martis _____ Signature: _____

Date: _____

Consent Form

Migration and Re-settlement Experiences of Indian Immigrants to Aotearoa New Zealand

Research conducted by Elias Martis

- I understand the purpose and procedure of the study.
 - I have been provided with the participation information sheet.
 - I understand that the procedure itself may not benefit me.
 - I understand that my involvement is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time without prejudice.
 - I understand that no personal identifying information like my name and address will be used and that all information will be securely stored for 5 years before being destroyed.
 - I have been given opportunity to ask questions.
 - I agree to participate in the study outlined to me.
-

Signature _____ Date: _____

Witness signature: _____ Date

Appendix D: Prompt Questions

Prompt Questions for Semi structured Interview

Settlement Experiences of Indian Immigrants in New Zealand

Primary research question: What are the settlement experiences of male heads of households migrating to New Zealand from India since 1995?

Subsidiary research questions:

1. What were the struggles, challenges and conflicts experienced and how were they managed?
2. How did migrants' Indian culture, religion and those of New Zealand impact on their settlement?
3. What strategies were used to cope with these challenges and conflicts?

The interview will be semi structured. The participants would be asked open ended questions and 'paraphrasing' would be used to elicit more detailed narratives and thick descriptions. The researcher may ask some or all of these questions to elicit information.

Prompt questions:

1. Tell me why and how you migrated to New Zealand?
2. Tell me the story of your life in New Zealand
3. Tell me your experiences from the time you arrived in this country
4. Tell me about the challenges you faced while settling down/in the initial years?
5. (The above question could be broken into the following question) : Tell me your experiences of settling down with various aspects of your life such as finding a house, job, school for your children (if applicable), following your religious practice, your community life, developing your friend circle and networks, finding the support you needed, support you received, and the availability of important information (each issue in this question would be repeated/ specified/reminded during the narration to assist the participant to include in the narrative).
6. What did you do to keep yourself happy and occupied?
7. Tell me about your achievements and successes.
8. Tell me the things you wished were different.
9. Tell me about the positives and negatives of your initial years of your life in New Zealand

P.S: Care would be taken if any of these questions evoke emotional perturbation. The interview would be stopped immediately and the applicant would be allowed to withdraw from the study and necessary support for debriefing and counseling would be provided. Back up of counselors from community agencies would be arranged.

Appendix E: Ethics Approval



memorandum

To	Associate Professor Fran Crawford Occupational Therapy & Social Work
From	A/Professor Joan Wardrop, Acting Chairperson, Human Research Ethics Committee
Subject	Protocol Approval HR 124/2009
Date	7 October 2009
Copy	Polly Yeung, Occupational Therapy & Social Work Elias Martis, 11 Rosamund Avenue, Avondale, New Zealand 0600 Graduate Studies Officer, Faculty of Health Sciences

Office of Research and Development
Human Research Ethics Committee

TELEPHONE 9266 2784

FACSIMILE 9266 3793

EMAIL hrec@curtin.edu.au

Thank you for your application submitted to the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) for the project titled "*Migration and Resettlement Experiences of Indian Immigrants in Aotearoa, New Zealand*". Your application has been reviewed by the HREC and is **approved** subject to the conditions detailed below:

1. Please provide a copy of the recruitment advertisement to the Research Ethics Office for approval.

Please do not commence your research until your response to the above conditions has been approved by the Executive Officer.

Please note the following:

- Reference Number: **HR 124/2009**. Please quote this number in any future correspondence.
- Approval of this project is for a period of twelve months **06-10-2009** to **06-10-2010**. To renew this approval a completed Form B must be submitted before the expiry date **06-10-2010**.
- If you are a Higher Degree by Research student, data collection must not begin before your Application for Candidacy is approved by your Divisional Graduate Studies Committee.
- The following standard statement **must be** included in the information sheet to participants:
This study has been approved by the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Number HR 124/2009). If needed, verification of approval can be obtained either by writing to the Curtin University Human Research Ethics Committee, c/- Office of Research and Development, Curtin University of Technology, GPO Box U1987, Perth, 6845 or by telephoning 9266 2784 or by emailing hrec@curtin.edu.au.
- It is the policy of the HREC to conduct random audits on a percentage of approved projects. These audits may be conducted at any time after the project starts. In cases where the HREC considers that there may be a risk of adverse events, or where participants may be especially vulnerable, the HREC may request the chief investigator to provide an outcomes report, including information on follow-up of participants.

Regards,

A/Professor Joan Wardrop,
Acting Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee

Appendix F: Participants' Short Biographies

PARTICIPANTS' SHORT BIOGRAPHIES

(Names used here are pseudonyms)

Abhishek

A Bengali speaking software professional from the state of Madhya Pradesh in India, 33 years old when arrived alone in the year 2003 was shocked to find that his friend who suggested him to migrate was working in KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken) and that migrants on arrival have to take up unskilled jobs. He started as a shelf packer in the supermarket. He changed his name to a Christian-sounding name after which he was called for interviews and secured a basic level job in a computer related area. He brought his family soon after. He attempted to change his profession to Social Work but was unable to cope with rigors of the course due to long hours of work and family obligations. He decided to start at the lowest rung in IT and rose to become a full fledged computer programmer. He has brought his parents from India to stay with him and has his own house in a up-market residential area. He is active in Bengali cultural association and is very happy in New Zealand.

Ashok

A Hindi speaking Chartered Accountant (CA) from New Delhi, aged 40 years when arrived in the year 2000 decided to purchase and run a business when he was told that he has to requalify to practice as a CA. After few months of observing his brother-in-law operating a liquor shop in a suburb dominated by Indians, purchased the business from him and is running it successfully. He served as board member for six years in the local school which his two sons attended and assisted the school in fundraising. His sons are performing well in academics and sports in the local Grammar [Secondary] School. Wife and sons occasionally help in the store which is a few hundred meters away from their home. Ashok and his wife, who joined the conversation, say that they are very happy in New Zealand.

Ajay

A Gujarati speaking 'engineering geologist' with more than 16 years of experience in India's largest underground power generating unit arrived in 1996 then aged 40

years but could not find a suitable job. He was ridiculed by Income Support officials for migrating to New Zealand to be on dole and was asked to take up job as carpenter or mason. He and his wife established driving school and ran it successfully for about eight years helping scores of migrants to get their driving licenses. A few years ago he along with his wife acquired a Indian grocery store and are running it successfully. Both of them would like to go back to India once their three children are well settled in New Zealand. Two daughters have graduated and have taken up managerial level jobs, one in Australia and one in New Zealand and son is soon to complete his graduation in Engineering. He experienced stigma for being an Indian from a 'Pākehā' lady who asked him and another fellow Indian to enter the restaurant from back entrance.

Amrik

A Sikh pharmacist who lived in Punjab and Delhi who had cherished a dream of going to a 'foreign' country arrived in New Zealand in 2002 when he was 36 years. He brought his wife and young children upon finding a house. Upon not finding a job in his field he enrolled and completed a degree in social work in a Maori Tertiary Institute in New Zealand. He, however, preferred to drive a taxi because of the flexibility it offered to provide support to his wife and care for his 3 pre-primary children.

Gregory

An 'East Indian', (a Marathi speaking Catholic community in Mumbai) and a technician arrived in 2002 when he was 44 years old migrated with his wife and two children. He began his life in New Zealand as a car park attendant, then in a Casino and soon secured a job in his special ised area. He added qualifications to his existing specialist qualifications to increase his employability. One of his regrets is that his son, though academically excelled failed to obtain admission into 'medicine' in Auckland University. Very happy in New Zealand.

Gurucharan

A Sikh, who returned to Delhi after working for six years in England arrived in New Zealand in 2007 when he was 36 years old after marrying a Sikh New Zealander bride arranged by his aunt. After a couple of months of unemployment, which was

mainly due to the holiday season, easily found a job similar to one he was doing in England, that of a machine assembler. He found it easy to mingle and mix with New Zealanders including Maori, Pacific Islanders and Pākehā.

Indubhushan

A Sikh who lived in Chandigarh and Delhi, a chef by profession, migrated to New Zealand in 2000 at the age of 34 as a bachelor on the request of his parents, elder brother and elder sister who had settled in New Zealand. Having worked in England for two years and visited many European countries he did not find difficult to secure jobs but found it hard to hold on to jobs (he did not work as he found difficult to be subordinate to anybody. After The Café he set up had to be sold as it did not do so well and after working as manager of a petrol pump and real estate agent decided to invest in a liquor store which he runs satisfactorily. His wife was a science teacher in India and now works as a tutor of English in a tertiary institute. Only son studies in a primary school.

Lawrence

A Goan Catholic (an ethno-religious community of Roman Catholics and their descendants from the state of Goa) from Mumbai then aged 22 years arrived in New Zealand in 2007 as an international student to pursue a Business Administration diploma. On completing the studies was able to secure a supervisory position which enabled him to obtain New Zealand residency as a 'skilled migrant' under New Zealand's 'study to work' and 'work to residence' immigration policy. In the university adapting to the new education system of writing assignments, as against India's close book examinations', and using APA system was a challenge. He felt that it would have been helpful if the given mentor was culturally sensitive or was from his own culture. In view of the economic risk facing New Zealand he is not sure if New Zealand is a safe place to settle. He is weighing options of moving to other countries whose economies are stable or growing, including India.

Madanpal

A Sikh from Delhi, aged 41 (in 2012) arrived in 2002 along with his wife and son, settled within a year with his own house and car and believes that he and his family including his primary school going son have integrated well into New Zealand

society. His parents who were living with his brother in Chicago are living with him as per his wish as he believes that being the eldest son it is his responsibility to take care of his parents. He got involved in establishing a Gurdwara (Sikh place of worship) in the suburb near to their home (12th Gurdwara in New Zealand). His parents are very happy, happier than they were in Chicago. In Chicago they had to drive long distance to meet their friends. In Auckland the distances are smaller so they socialise more.

Manohar

A Hindu, 54 year old when arrived in 2002, was a Bank Official in a multinational bank in Mumbai found it difficult to get a job. He started as a car groomer and later worked in a produce shop where he still continues. He faces problems in commuting as he does not drive. Even though his two working daughters have requested him not to work anymore he likes his financial independence and still works even though the travel is very tedious. He has found suitable life partners for his two daughters (from his own community, but overseas (one from Australia) and desires that after the weddings, the newlyweds reside with him in his fairly big house. He is very happy with what he has accomplished.

Peter

A Goan Catholic, 34 years when arrived in 2002, was a Bank Executive in a multinational bank in India. After an initial job in a call centre managed to get a job in the same multinational bank's branch in Auckland and also was promoted to a Managers rank shortly. The struggles in the initial days were due to his wife's inability to get a job and after she got one her inability to drive. The faith community which he belonged was an 'eye opener, heart opener and mind opener'. His two daughters are studying in a Catholic School for girls in Auckland.

Pascal

A Mangalorean Catholic (a Konkani speaking community of Roman Catholics from the Mangalore Diocese, on the south-western coast of Karnataka), 47, a sales engineer – lighting in India, came to New Zealand along with his wife to study the life in New Zealand and she returned to India while he settled down with a job and a house. In order to learn the Kiwi-culture he chose to live as paying guest with a

Pākehā family where, he says, he learnt a lot. He got employed in a Bank at its call centre and was determined to get into the field he was passionate about – lighting. He pursued a diploma in lighting and after a couple of years of his completion of the diploma has secured a job as an Electrical Engineer – lighting. His wife joined him and works as a teacher and his son is studying in a Catholic college (Secondary school).

Rahman

A Muslim from Hyderabad, 34 when arrived in 2002, a medical representative in India, migrated alone with intention of bringing his family after he settled with a job and house. On his arrival he was distressed being rejected for even the lowest jobs in restaurants. When he was asked to work as a cleaner for two hours everyday in a restaurant he saw it as an opportunity and rose to become shift manager within weeks. He studied a Bicultural degree in Social Work and is employed as a Corrections Officer (Probation Officer) in a statutory agency. His found it hard to accept New Zealand's clothing such as swim wear, boyfriend/girlfriend relationships and its liberal attitude to sex came and enrolled his daughter in an Islamic school.

Rahul

An Arya Samaji (a Hindu sect) from Delhi, 38 when arrived in 2002, an engineer and management graduate from a well-known management institute in India, was a top corporate executive with a chauffeur driven car before migrating in 2002. Unable to secure jobs in his field of expertise, started selling alarms door-to-door and after experimenting in various jobs planned and strategised to live a balanced life and to earn 2 million dollars in ten years to ensure a steady income of \$100,000 as interest per year and succeeded in doing so. His son is a singer and was New Zealand Idol's finalist.

Raheem

A Muslim from Hyderabad, a social worker in India, arrived in 2002 at the age of 35 and started as support worker in disability sector and worked in a petrol station to supplement his income. He studied master's degree in social work in a university in Auckland and was employed as a social worker in a statutory agency and later in district health board. On his arrival stayed in the accommodation attached to a

Mosque and found prayers his main support in times of distress. He has not availed housing mortgage to have his own house because of his religious belief of not accepting or granting loans on interest. He believes that his brothers and cousins in India are economically ten years ahead than him due to the economic transformation and boom in India.

Satyajit

A Bengali Hindu from Calcutta, who was corporate executive in a well known corporation in India arrived in 2002 when he was 43 years old, with his wife and two children. He started as petrol pump attendant, then worked as a bus driver and went on to work as an accounts executive in a tertiary institution. He believes that lack of information on life and systems in New Zealand caused great hardships to him. He is very happy with the educational opportunity available to his son and daughter. After graduation in health sciences his son was head-hunted by Australian government. Mr. Banerjee believes that the action now is in India and would like to spend his retirement life there amidst his extended family and vibrant cultural milieu after his daughter completes her education and settles down in about four years.

Satish

A Hindu from Delhi, a fitness teacher who worked in Gulf countries for many years arrived in 1998 at the age of 46 and become a yoga teacher in New Zealand. He studied master's degree in social work in an university in Auckland and worked as social worker in a statutory agency and then in different district health boards. He was made a Justice of Peace by New Zealand government. He owns two houses and resides in an up market locality. He is very pleased with the educational facilities and opportunities in New Zealand. After graduating his daughter has started a great career in Australia and married a Australian of European descent. He is very pleased with his life and achievements in New Zealand.

Shakib

A Muslim from Tamil Nadu, a PhD in International Business and a lecturer in an Indian University arrived in 2000 at the age of 42 with his wife who was also an academic. Unable to find a suitable job and having to drive taxi he went into depression. He returned to studies in social sciences and now is a lecturer teaching

social work in a tertiary institution. His inability to obtain meaningful work led to strain in relationship with his spouse. He encouraged many immigrants to return to studies and acquire New Zealand qualifications and is involved in international philanthropic work. He has no children.

William

An Anglo Indian Catholic (a Roman Catholic community with mixed Indian and British ancestry) from Mumbai, migrated in 2003 at the age of 30 with his wife and a daughter. On arrival, he drove taxi and then bus for livelihood and went on to secure a job in a multinational security system manufacturer in Auckland, the same multinational company for which he was working in India. His wife who was a chartered accountant in India had to re-qualify to continue as a CA. He believes that the best decision in life was the decision to migrate to New Zealand. His daughter attends a private Catholic school.

Yoosuf

A Muslim from Hyderabad, who alternated between business and office work in India had travelled extensively overseas prior to his migration to New Zealand in 2002 at the age of 32 with his wife. He started work as cleaner in a motel and is working as credit controller in a telecom company. He and his wife feel that New Zealanders have discriminated against them for being Indians during house auctions, health services and in promotions. They have no children.

Appendix G: Excerpts from Reflective Diary

Excerpts from My 'Reflective Diary'

1.09.2011

It appears that I am influenced by the discourse of Bell Hooks (nee Gloria Watkins) who argues that a combination of dominant markers of difference are used in exercising power, dominance and hegemony in the society. Bell Hooks in her discourse on 'Criticism of Culture and Transformation' narrates how the representations are created by the powerful and how the social constructs are created. She names these structures as racism, sexism, classism, ageism, hetero-sexualism, and able bodied mindism. The oppressors under each type of oppression, most of the time are not separate but are interconnected. The oppressor is a hyphenated specie - 'white supremacist- paternalist- heterosexual-able bodied/minded capitalist'. Every representation that is made to appease the senses and sensibilities of dominant and majority groups are made by this hyphenated specie. All of us who have been oppressors of some kind become so when we buy into the value systems and structures created by this hyphenated specie and collude with him in enslaving ourselves and others. I tended to agree with Bell Hooks.

Today (1 Sept 2011) I also reflected on the book 'Localizing and glocalizing the oppression'. This edited book, 'Localizing/Glocalizing Oppression' provides a good reading on how to think globally and act locally. The book explains that any examination of oppression these days needs to begin with an understanding that the local issues of our everyday lives have global consequences. The world today requires us as global citizens to "think globally and act locally." In order to do so, we need to begin with a basis for exploring the underlying issues of oppression in our society. The book invites us to engage critical thinking skills to better examine those issues as they relate to the social constructions of race, class, gender, and sexuality in the US. The book shows that the "local" issues discussed have also a global reality providing an intersectional analysis of globalization.

4.09.2011

Today I deliberated on the notion of 'paradigm'. 'Paradigm' is a set of beliefs that will help me to understand the world, and make sense of whatever is happening in

the world. I am approaching to find the reality of this world with a set of beliefs. First of all the world that I am looking at is a world within the world, the world of migrants from India who migrated to New Zealand in the year 1995 and afterwards. The setting is Auckland in New Zealand and my participants are among this community who are trying to settle among them. I am not looking at the world like looking from a helicopter or like a fly on the wall but being one among them, being an insider, not an outsider. My gaze is an emic not etic. I asked myself, with what beliefs am I approaching to interpret what I am seeing and what I am experiencing? .

7.09.2911

SL, Business Manager of Health Sciences Dept came into the Research Associates room introduced himself to me. After some 'small talk' asked me about my topic and was keen to know my preliminary findings. I said that all migrants were happy to be in New Zealand. He expressed surprise. 'Oh, is it? I said that though they are currently happy, many of them experienced differentiation and 'glass ceiling'; almost all experienced non recognition of their qualifications, expertise and experience, perhaps solely on the basis of their language and communication skills.

Many Indians who felt that it would be difficult to find appropriate jobs started their own businesses and many are doing well. Almost all migrants were in jobs or positions below what they have been in India but they were very happy with the education and opportunities for their children. All were happy with the quality of life in New Zealand. West does not recognise/utilise the skills of migrants and believe that only one who communicates, speaks the way they do are good and competent. As a result the knowledge and skills of Indian migrants are underutilised.

SL asked, 'Have you faced racism in terms of skin or caste in India?'. I said, 'yes'. In India, racism is on the similar lines. It is generally not on the basis of colour. In India discrimination is based on cast class, economic class, social status linked to the jobs. A Brahmin who is fair in colour, a doctor, or wealthy person has a higher status and power over those who are non-Brahmins, darker in colour or poor. Gender and ability/disability are other factors in determining the hierarchy of status. For example, males dominate, disabled have no voice or support. Religion-wise, Muslims and Christians are oppressed and face a lot of persecution and attacks in

India. The riots are based on religious bigotry, often Hindu-Muslim or Hindu-Christian.

Question of SL made me to realise that discrimination is a universal phenomenon and is based on various markers of difference such as colour, caste, gender, age, (dis)ability, religion and so on. Our discussions led me to see the experiences of my participants in a balanced perspective and my indignation against the host employers for the discriminatory practices subsided. This introspection led me to reminisce my own experiences on how 'Mahars' and 'Koragas', the two 'untouchable' castes were treated in most inhuman ways in our communities in India. It made to believe that oppressor and oppressed can be two sides of the same coin. We can be oppressed in one context and can be oppressors in the other.

Reading the history of Indians in New Zealand, Fiji (as indentured labourers) and other parts of the globe which provides accounts of discrimination and oppression against Indians by dominant groups. However, I have come to realise that Indians are not the only group that faced discrimination or racism, but all groups in the world have their own history of being discriminated and oppressed. Knowing this fact and the theory of 'Social Darwinism' which explains the reasons behind colonialism makes me less emotional (and angry) and enables me to see the situation more objectively.

Today (8 Sept 2011) I came across the notion of 'politics of research', an issue debated by Denzin & Lincoln (2005) in their book on qualitative research. A postmodern researcher talks about the politics of his research. According to Denzin ultimate goal of a project is to make utopian ideals a reality, to bring about radical democracy where every race and religion come together as its integral parts, to emancipate the subjugated from oppressive structures, to prevail equity, justice and fairness. I wondered, how can a single research project, which will not be read by many do that? What impact can it make on the influential and powerful, their systems and structures. My inner voice murmured, 'we need not be despondent'. If pen is mightier than the sword, one's pen can make a difference. Writings of thinkers like Karl Marx have been able to break mighty and powerful.

(9 Sept 2011) is the 10th anniversary of 9/11 spectacle. The reports reveal that New Zealand was among many countries who reacted fastest to the shocking and horrid events of Sept 11 by passing anti-terrorist laws, sending troops to Afghanistan, introducing anti-terror legislation, and other steps to show solidarity with forces to fight the new threat. But New Zealand did not pursue the war on terror the same way as other nations because of its pro-peace stance and liberal policies. New Zealand did not go for preventive detentions, suppression of speech or disbanding of inflammatory organisations like many other countries did. New Zealand made people feel safe rather than responding to any threat. Racism, however, exists according to Assoc Professor Hoadley, (New Zealand's decade-long reaction, NZ Herald 2011, Sept, 7) who says many older people hold to the view that Muslims do not make suitable immigrants. "Those views very definitely exist and 2001 didn't help that.... But it's certainly not the socially-accepted view in New Zealand. Publicly, people do their best to be religion-blind, colour-blind and generally keep their views under wraps."

Hodley also put the New Zealand's stand/position in global scenario thus: 'In New Zealand there is an idealist, almost pacifist view that military affairs are somewhat suspect and New Zealanders shouldn't be involved in killing people, even for a good cause.... Call it peace keeping and it's totally fine, but guns and shooting and it's not. Many believe that this is in contrast to many countries including Australia, "where soldiers are more respected and sharp-end deployments are, if not applauded, at least accepted as part of what Australia has to do"(September 11: New Zealand's decade-long reaction - New Zealand Herald , Sept 7, 2011). This military scepticism also was seen in New Zealand's reaction to Osama bin Laden's death in the hand of American soldiers. New Zealanders saw it as a murder and many felt very queasy about it. The celebrations after his death made New Zealanders uncomfortable. My own experiences in New Zealand for more than a decade show me that New Zealand is a country which promotes freedom, liberty and democracy. Majority of New Zealanders are very welcoming of migrants and new comers.

Today (17 Sept 2011) came across New Zealand Immigration dept (2007)'s settlement curve depicting the six distinct stages new migrants go through when they settle in a new country (see the diagram below). These stages are:

Forethought: This is a positive time when a migrant plans the move to New Zealand. It is important though to have realistic expectations about the new home country.

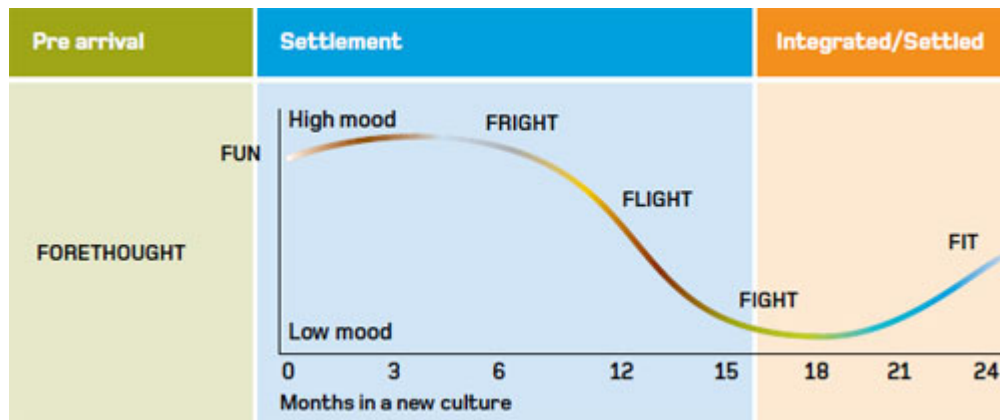
Fun: The excitement of new people and new places means those who arrive feel very positively about their new home.

Fright: At some point, something will happen. It might be a big thing or a small thing, but it will make the newcomer feel frustrated and/or unhappy.

Flight: If something happens and newcomers don't have a network of friends or family to call on, they may look at moving on or returning to their country of origin at this point.

Fight: This is the turning point, when people become realistic about what it's like to live here and consciously decide to stay and make their life in the new country.

Fit: By this stage, the challenges are more about the usual things that people think about every day, not about being in a new country. People have decided to stay and contribute and this leads to a sense of 'fit'. This means they believe they have made the right decision and New Zealand is where they want to be.



Emotional Curve in the Stages of Settlement Process

I observe that this curve is a lot similar to the U curve of acculturation and culture shock presented in many studies on migration and migrants.

Friday 30 September 2011

I personally believe that I and my family had a successful settlement, aided by the guidance of our immigration consultant, support of members of the faith community we belonged to, encouragement of friends who had already settled here, and the emotional strength given by the friends who migrated along with us, and the government agencies who assisted us in employment and financially. Our immigration consultant, an Indian who had migrated to New Zealand many years ago who was also a well-known Dentist in Auckland provided us realistic picture of New Zealand and had assisted us in all the documentation formalities before as well as after arrival. The documentation formalities that he helped us with were registration with Inland Revenue dept (for IRD number) and opening our Bank Account (where he signed the documents as a referee). I now realise the difficulties and struggles those migrants who had none to welcome them and orient them to New Zealand life might have gone through.

During my brief stays in Perth, I came across many who had migrated from developed countries from Europe. One among them was Dr. EL a researcher and lecturer in Curtin who had migrated from Holland. Today (4 Sept 2012) I met Dr T, a Senior Research Fellow in the dept who had migrated from Sweden (I met his wife too later who too works in the same faculty – Health Sciences) who are here about 20 years. A question arose in my mind, why people from wealthier and better developed countries migrate to lesser developed or economically lesser developed countries (I believed that these European countries were more developed than Australia or New Zealand).

It was ok for us to migrate from an under developed or developing country such as India for a better quality of life. What makes people from world's richest and most powerful economies with high incomes such as Germany, Sweden and Switzerland move to countries which are less wealthy and do not offer the same salaries, lifestyle, and financial security in their old age such as Australia and New Zealand? Why do people from such developed economies leave behind their familiar terrains and move to the lands where they do not know anyone, have different culture and language, and where they have to start from scratch?

The answers to my question came from a research done by Petra Topaz Bürgelt, a German immigrant who migrated to New Zealand and later to Australia who did a study (for her PhD from Massey University) on this subject meeting Germans who had migrated to Australia, New Zealand and those in Germany who were planning to migrate to these countries. She found out that actualising one's self and living an authentic life was a deeper driver of migration than the economic considerations which the classical theories of migration hypothesise to be one of the 'push' factors. The migrants from these developed countries were in advanced stages of self actualisation and moral development and were 'cosmopolitans'. Bürgelt's study answered my questions that arose when I had met migrants and academics from these developed countries in Australia and New Zealand.

(15 Dec 2012) reflected on the terms of 'experience-near' and 'experience-distant' (Geertz, 1983, pp. 57-58; Schutz, 1964). 'Experience-near' concept is one that a person – a participant, patient or client uses to define what he or his fellows see, feel, think, imagine, and so on. Experience-distant concept is one that specialists (experimenters, ethnographers) use to forward their scientific aims. 'Love' is an experience-near concept, 'object cathexis' is an experience-distant one (Geertz, 1983, p. 57). Experience-near concepts come from everyday language. Experience-distant concepts come from social science theories. Thin descriptions use experience-distant concepts. Thick descriptions employ experience-near concepts. Though the authors include ethnographers among the specialists who use experience-distant concept, I believe that I being one among the participants, being an insider I would be using experience-near concepts, the terminology used by my participants to describe their feelings.

Today (3 Sept 2013) I contemplated about the 'politics of evidence' explained by J.M. Morse (2006) in the edited book by Norman Denzin and Michael Giardina titled 'Qualitative inquiry and the conservative challenges'. Chicago School of neo-post positivism believes that there is an empirical world out there which is obdurate and talks back to investigators. It is an empirical science which relies on evidence that corroborate interpretations. In contrast to above some are preoccupied with politics of evidence. For Jan Morse (2006) and his model 'evidence is not just something that is out there. Evidence has to be produced, constructed, and represented. Furthermore,

the politics of evidence cannot be separated from the ethics of evidence' (Morse, 2006, pp 415). According to Jan Morse objective representation of reality is impossible. These arguments made me to reflect on my project especially how I am going to show that my research is credible and dependable.

Appendix H: Excerpts from Observation Journal

Excerpts from My Observation Journal

Interviewing Amrik

Amrik (pseudonym), a Sikh from the State of Punjab in India met me in 2006 when he was considering enrolling on to Bachelor of Social Work programme at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWOA) in Auckland, where I was working as a lecturer. He joined the programme and was a student in my class. He went on to complete his degree in the year 2008. Initially I did not consider him as a participant as our relationships as a teacher and the taught was hierarchical during the course of the programme. However, whenever Amrik met me after his graduation (in 2008) I found him to be open, transparent and honest in his communications.

He freely expressed his struggles, feelings, opinions and beliefs without any hesitation or attempt to minimise, hide or camouflage them, and I did not notice any feelings of hierarchy in his interaction with me. Knowing each other for long, in my opinion, has its advantages. Trust and rapport had already been built. I did not sense any element of compulsion or obligation (arising out of the previous hierarchical teacher-student relationship) whenever he communicated with me. I had mentioned to him about my project and having ensured that no hierarchical feelings existed in his approach towards me I asked if he would agree to be a participant in my study. I sent him participant information sheet and Amrik made many attempts to contact me of his own to convey that he was happy to be a participant.

Sikhs in New Zealand

The literature reveals that the earliest known Punjabi immigrants arrived in New Zealand in 1890s and worked as street merchants or hawkers selling goods from door to door. Then from early 1900s, the Punjabi men left their families back in India and came to New Zealand as itinerant workers mainly labourers in central north island in cities like Tamaranui and Wanganui. By the 1950s and 60s they and their decedents had their own money and bought farms in towns such as Waikato and Pukekohe. Today Sikhs are well known in New Zealand as successful market gardeners especially in the regions of Waikato, Pukekohe and Kumeu (Helensville). There are 13 Gurudwaras (Sikh temples) in New Zealand, 6 being in Auckland, and

others being in Bombay Hills, Bay of Plenty (2), Hamilton, Manawatu-Wanganui, Wellington and Nelson

Patterns of Settlement by Indians

I notice that in Auckland most of the Sikhs reside in the suburb of Otahuhu. Similarly most of the Hindus are located in Mount Roskill, Hillsborough and Sandringham area and Parsis (Zoroastrians) from India at Buckland beach. Most of the Muslims from India are located in the suburb of Mount Roskill, most probably because of the Mosques which is located in Mount Roskill. In the last 10 years I have seen a rise in the number of temples, mosques and gurdwaras (Sikh temples) in Auckland. There are 9 Hindu temples (the 10th recently built in Onehunga). As a result of the increase in ethnic population and concentration of migrant communities there has been a sharp growth of sub-culture and religion specific services such as grocery shops, restaurants, boutiques, video shops and medical clinics in these suburbs.

The stories of migrants from India reveal that one of the main reasons Indians migrate is to provide quality education for their children. Indians and other Asians are seen to be settling in Mount Roskill school zone because of Mount Roskill School, a public school with deciles 4 and a reputation as one of the best Secondary School in New Zealand. This school has high percentage of Indian and other Asian students.

Amrik and many Indian migrants have taken to taxi driving. According to Amrik most of the immigrants who drive taxis have children who need child care. With such situation, it is difficult for both spouses to work. Many immigrant fathers (who drive taxis) take turns to provide child care to their children until the working wife returns home and the father drives taxi during evening/ night time or on weekends.

Reasons for Amrik's migration to New Zealand

- i) Poor organisational systems and management or managerial styles in India prompted AS (and many other Indians) to migrate to New Zealand where he believed better systems existed.

- ii) Unethical management practices in the organisations he worked. He believed that New Zealand and other western countries have better management and organisations practices.
- iii) Stress caused by the pressures of work and the low priority given to family drove him to migrate to New Zealand. He believed that work environment in New Zealand and other Western countries was less stressful and more importance was given to family life with availability of more time to spend with family.
- iv) Many organisations in India work for 6 days and even 7 days in a week. Many employers also expect employees to work late hours. In many multinational organisations, the new employees are told 'your first wife /husband is office. The one at home is the second '.

Other Patterns observed

- a) Most men generally migrate alone and try to get employment and settle down. The spouses and children follow.
- b) Very few migrants know about NZ Government's settlement services.
- c) Most of the migrants knew someone in NZ and they were their main information sources.
- d) A migrant looks for or tries to get connected with firstly with people who speak the same ethnic language and follow same religion. Next the migrants seek to associate with group of people belonging to the same religion though the language spoken is different. Religion/faith is a strong binding force in the formation of a community group.
- e) Migrants choose a school with good reputation for academic excellence and select houses in and around that school.

Week of India Bashing?

During the week prior to the start of Common Wealth Games (CWG) in New Delhi in October 2010 the global media highlighted incompetence, procrastination, and disregard to hygiene by the organisers of the games. All Indians within and outside India bowed their heads in shame before the world and their compatriots of the country they lived. We did not feel the need to sympathise with those involved or taken to task, as Indians within and abroad held these officials, bureaucrats and

politicians responsible for such situation. While the western world was watching the failings of organisers of CWG, Indians in New Zealand were subjected to extreme humiliation by Henry Paul, the host of the 'breakfast show' on TV1 on 1 October 2010. Commenting on the reports in the media on the incomplete and unhygienic conditions of the Commonwealth Games village in New Delhi and the role of the Chief Minister of Delhi, Sheila Dikshit (pronounced Dixit), he said:

...also the dik shit woman, god what's her name (hysterical laughter), Dick Shit, is it Dick Shit? Look there she is there, Sheila Dick Shit (hysterical laughter) ... Anyway, that's so appropriate because she's Indian, so she would be dick in shit, wouldn't she, do you know what I mean, walking along the street (Breakfast, 1 Oct 2010)

This TV episode enraged Indian people and adversely affected diplomatic relations between India and New Zealand. John Minto, a human rights activist, who had spearheaded the 'Halt All Racist Tours' (HART) protests to stop the rugby tour of apartheid Springboks in 1981, led a demonstration outside TVNZ's office demanding the dismissal of Henry. The Broadcast Standards Authority received an ever-increasing number of complaints on this matter. It conducted an investigation and held that his comment which associated the words 'Dick Shit' with people of Indian descent was not only found to be derogatory but also was entirely discordant with common decency and breached discrimination and denigration standards. National and international pressure led to the termination of Paul Henry's services at TVNZ

While many New Zealanders (including Indian New Zealanders) were outraged, others, including Indian New Zealanders, expressed different feelings. They felt that Henry should not be punished for what he said. Further, he had apologised to those who were hurt by his words. Many New Zealanders (including many Indian New Zealanders) value and practise principles of democracy and freedom of expression, epitomised by the saying attributed to Voltaire, 'I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it'

Again on 4 Oct 2010, on the same show Paul Henry questioned Prime Minister John Key during his weekly appearance on TV1 who would replace Sir Anand Satyanand

as Governor General when his term ends. Sir Anand Satyanand, born and raised in New Zealand was of Fijian-Indian descent was a distinguished lawyer, judge and ombudsman. Henry asks, “Is he even a New Zealander? Are you going to choose a New Zealander who looks and sounds like a New Zealander this time?”

Next day Henry apologised to Sir Satyanand if his remarks offended him. It was interesting to note that Joris de Bres, Race Relations Commissioner, a member of NZ Human Rights Commission, stated that apology tendered by Paul Henry was not good enough and should be aimed at all New Zealanders. He said, “When you say, ‘I am sorry if I offended you’, it makes it sound as though the person who was offended is at fault....Television New Zealand probably has some responsibility as a public broadcaster...What he was saying was that if you were an Indian New Zealander and you were born here, you went to school here, you went to university here, you practices law here, you became a judge, you became an ombudsman and you became a Governor General, that a key presenter on national television still thinks you don’t look like or sound like a New Zealander.”

Joris de Bres also said, that Sir Anand Satyanand knew Paul Henry well enough to ignore his comments, but it does have an impact on other Indians and other New Zealanders. What was equally ‘discouraging’ to Mr. de Bres was the statement issued by TVNZ spokeswoman Andi Brotherson who said “The audience tells us over and over again that one of the things they love about Paul Henry is that he’s prepared to say the things we quietly think but scared to say out loud”

How did I feel?

I was holding an opinion that New Zealanders are not racist. I also heard from many migrants who had travelled or lived in other countries that New Zealanders are less racist than people of other countries such as Australia, UK, and Canada. However, the Paul Henry episodes upset me a little. But at the same time I realised that Paul Henry was a ‘shock jock’ and majority of New Zealanders disassociated with him. The reactions of New Zealanders like John Minto, who had fought against the visit of apartheid Springbok rugby players who insisted in removing Maori players (coloured) from All Blacks (NZ) team in 1980s, protesting in front of TVNZ office asking for his dismissal comforted me. These few episodes did not change my

opinion of New Zealanders developed during my residence in New Zealand for more than a decade in this country. I still believed that New Zealanders accept and embrace newcomers well. The participants whom I interviewed after these episodes too expressed that these instances were exceptions and that their experience of New Zealanders have been very positive.

Ethnoscapes:

The growing number of Asian, mainly Indian, Chinese and Korean retail shops and restaurants are mushrooming in areas such as Upper Queen Street, Dominion Road, Sandringham, Mount Roskill, New Lynn, Somerville and Dannemora in Auckland are evidence of changing ethnoscapes in New Zealand. The term 'ethnoscape' is used to describe the changes visible in the landscape such as increase in the ethnic population, housing, shops, restaurants, places of worship, and the aspects that less visible such language and changing attitudes. The festivals celebrated by these ethnic communities and the markets are other visible phenomenon of these ethnoscapes.

One of the most conspicuous changes in the ethnoscape of Auckland is the growth of restaurants. In 2010 in Auckland alone there were more than 400 ethnic restaurants - 77 Indian, 75 Thai, 73 Chinese, and 73 Japanese- with smaller number of Korean, Vietnamese, Turkish, Mongolian, Malaysian, Cambodian and Persian restaurants. The Chinese Lantern Festival celebrated over three days, Diwali, an Indian festival of lights and many other festivals which draw a large number of people of the respective ethnicity as well as other communities is a significant manifestation of Asian ethnoscapes in Auckland. Bollywood dance competitions, performances by visiting artists from India, Festival of India, Eid celebrations, Dragon Boat races are other visible signs of the changing ethnoscapes.

Bharatiya Mandir, a Hindu temple on Balmoral Road in Sandringham Road, Radha Krishna Mandir at Eden Terrace, Swaminarayan temple in Avondale, Umar Masjid on Stoddard Rd in Mount Roskill, three Gurdwaras in Papatoetoe, are proofs of large number Hindu and Muslim population in Sandringham and Mount Roskill suburbs and Sikhs in Papatoetoe area. The recently built Chinese Mahayan Buddhist (Fo Guang Shan Tsu Ming) temple in Botany confirms the concentration of Chinese community in Dannemora and Botany Down. More than 20 Chinese and about 10

Indian newspapers are distributed free through the respective ethnic outlets. Multiple TV stations and radio stations with ethnic content cater to the entertainment needs of various ethnic groups.

I also observe that Auckland is home for ethnic enclaves, ethnoburbs and heterolocal communities. '**Ethnic enclaves**' are neighbourhoods or sections of a community whose key institutions and business enterprises owned and operated by members of an ethnic group cluster together. In Auckland, the quintessential ethnic enclave (Little India or Little China is yet to develop though suburb of Sandringham is slowly developing into a 'Little India' and Dannemora into a 'China Town'. Dominion Rd too appears to be developing into an ethnic enclave as Chinese businesses, restaurants and boutiques are replacing others.

Ethnoburbs (multiethnic suburbs) are suburban ethnic clusters of residential areas and business districts in large metropolitan areas. They are multiracial communities in which one ethnic minority group has a significant concentration, but does not necessarily comprise a majority. Sandringham, Mount Roskill, Kingsland, and Papatoetoe are developing into ethnoburbs as ethnic clusters of residential areas of Indians and other Asians are growing in these areas. 'Heterolocal' " communities or 'heterolocalism is where migrants are scattered across an urban area and remain largely "invisible" because there are few significant clustering in any particular communities. They connect with each other by social-cultural activities and may form on-line communities. There are many ethnic institutions and businesses, but not spatially concentrated either. Nor do they display visible markers that identify them as "ethnic". Most suburbs in Auckland, other than those mentioned above can be termed as heterolocal communities.

Interviewing Pascal

I met Pascal a couple of months ago in a Catholic church at a 'Mass' (Catholic worship ritual) for deceased mother of a friend of mine. After the Mass I met Pascal and exchanged information about ourselves. I observed that Pascal was very free and frank in his conversation and was a very communicative person. During our conversation I realised that we belonged to the same community in India, Mangalorean Catholic.

I told Pascal about my research and asked if he would like to participate in my study. He willingly agreed to participate and I promised to send him by email the participant information sheet which I did. After a couple of emails and telephonic talks I asked him where he would prefer to be interviewed with options – his house, my house or some place outside - office or a quiet cafeteria where we may not be disturbed. He preferred to be interviewed at my house. I asked him if he would like to have a coffee or tea before the interview but he said he would have it during the break. It appeared to me that he had presumed that we would be having a break during the interview and I said it is fine.

Seating arrangements are important

We sat on the two sides of the table on a right angle to each other. I felt that sitting on opposite sides of the table would not be as comfortable as sitting on the adjacent sides. He yawned when we started the interview. I presumed that Pascal must be tired or possibly did not get enough sleep that night. When I played back the interview, I heard myself yawning first. My yawn might have set the domino effect. I do not remember being tired. But the relaxed atmosphere might have set yawns in motion. I did not find him disinterested in the conversation. His face looked tired and I saw dark rings around his eyes. I decided to ensure that I am lively and invigorated during the interviews in future.

For the first 10 minutes Pascal narrated his story uninterrupted. After that I asked some pointer questions to help him continue his narration. I put off the recorder when Pascal answered all my questions. We then continued to talk informally about many issues. During such talks I observed that Pascal spoke about some of his experiences which I felt were relevant to my study. I then requested him if I could put my recorder on to which he agreed to.

Pascal, his wife and son came to New Zealand on receiving the ‘permanent residence’ visas to find out about the life in New Zealand. His wife and son went back to India after a couple of weeks of stay in New Zealand. He chose to stay as a paying guest with a ‘kiwi’ couple to learn from them the ‘kiwi’ culture. He joined a social club where he could spend his evening listening to music, playing games and socialising. He was not a ‘drinker (as clarified by him), so drinking was not his main

purpose of joining the club. Spending time in the club refreshed him and contributed to his mental wellness. He also kept in touch with his family in India. He talked to them every week, briefing his experiences and situation. Talking to his mother and wife every week gave him the support he needed. He also kept in touch with the friends and their families who were close to him. The people who are close to him were the friends from his own culture, religion and language.

Supports

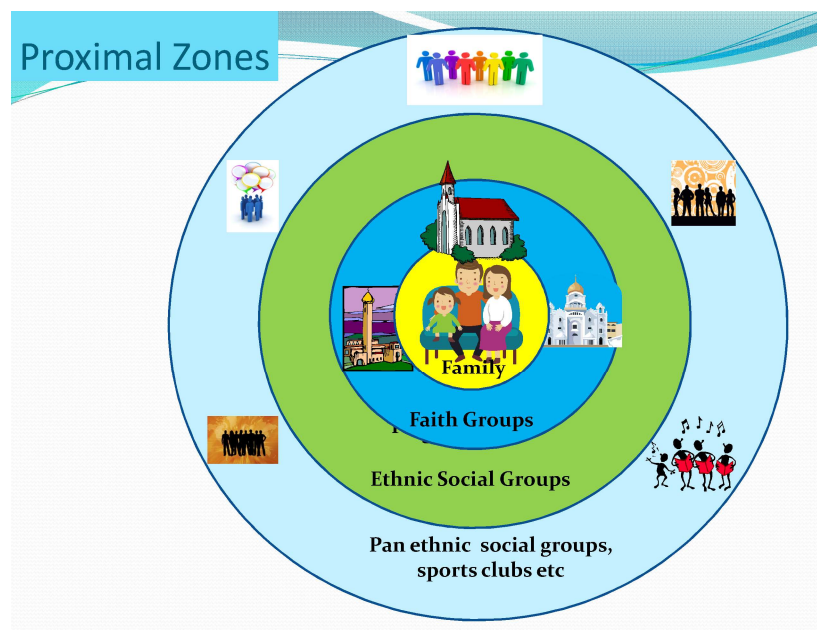
Pascal was not aware of any supports made available either by New Zealand government or NGOs. Most of the migrants are ignorant of the services and supports that could have been accessed for successful settlement. Pascal felt that if necessary information was given to him for getting the support in preparing a CV, information on jobs, housing, schools, transport system etc the settlement could have been much easier. It took him a little longer time to settle as he learnt about NZ systems and structures either through trial and error method or through the guidance of friends when they were approached.

Even though there are many services in place for migrants they are not culturally appropriate. As a result, the services are either not accessed or not suitable. Pascal felt that the best support would be from the community of the migrant. Most of the migrants in New Zealand have their own communities established. Some of the community groups established by Indian immigrants in Auckland based on their language or faith are Auckland Sikh Society, Auckland Indian Association, Global Telugu Association, Tamil Society, NZ Mangaloreans, Kannada Koota, NZ Gujarathi Association, which goes to show that migrants with the same language or religion come together to form the groupings and communities. These community groupings are the best places to support the new migrants. It would be necessary for immigration department to provide the new migrants the contact details of these language, faith or region based communities so that the new migrants are accepted, and supported by these communities to settle in the new environment. The initiatives taken by the govt if made known to the community groups the accessibility would increase.

Role of language, religion and geographical proximity:

Pascal’s and other participants’ stories reveal that migrants’ first source of support is their family - spouse, children, mother, or siblings. Pascal being alone in New Zealand met this need by calling his family on phone every week. This kept him emotionally and mentally well. Pascal being in a new country with no known person began building his friend circle and started meeting them every week. Pascal’s story reveals that generally migrants look for people in the new country to befriend. The ease with which they connect with each other and accept them as friends, the closeness they experience depends on the factors such as language, religion, city, village, area, region, state and the country they come from. For example, in this case,

Pascal’s language was Konkani, religion Catholic, region Mangalore/Canara, state Karnataka, part South India, country India. Pascal was at ease and felt closest and connected with people who speak Konkani as language, were Catholics and from Mangalore. The next to the people with the above combination he felt close and connected to people who did not speak his language or belong to same religion but were from his region or part of India or the country itself. This reality of circles of closeness/proximity of relationship or connectedness, especially when one moves geographically or from one country to another can be depicted in the following diagram.



Factors of closeness/proximity for immigrants

Reasons for Pascal's successful settlement:

1. Good fluency in English helped Pascal to be employed quickly. Being a Indian catholic having raised up in a an environment where English is spoken at home and outside Pascal had a good command on English language. Mangalorean and Goan Catholics generally study in schools run by catholic nuns or priests and a lot more emphasis is given for speaking grammatically correct English and with right pronunciation. The tertiary institution Pascal studied was run by Jesuits, an order of Catholic missionaries renowned for education. Competence in English helped Pascal to get a job in a call centre in a Bank which helped him to be financially independent.
2. Go-get attitude, fearlessness, and self-confidence helped Pascal firstly to get a job. A good study of the employment environment, job scene, and economy of New Zealand made Pascal realise that if he had to realise his dream of becoming a illumination expert, he needed to prequalify or enhance his knowledge and skills and get an appropriate qualification. With his newly acquired qualification he was able to fulfil his dream of becoming an illumination expert and get a job in that field.
3. Pascal also decided that he would settle down in the country first and then bring his family (wife and son). There have been cases where the family migrated together and faced the struggles of settlement. It is difficult to say which option is better. In this case Pascal stayed with a 'Pākeha'(Maori word used in NZ for New Zealand Europeans) family and learnt a lot about New Zealand host culture and the country.
4. Socialising with people by joining a social club where he could spend time socialising and entertaining himself. This protected him from loneliness and isolation. Having left behind their extended family, friends and community life most of the new migrants feel isolated and lonely.
5. Open attitude: In India, one's status in society depended on the job or the position one held in the organisation. One feels devalued to accept a job considered low. Having a long history of caste system and hierarchy of status

linked to the jobs, Indians tend to link their identity and self-respect to the jobs and positions they take up. Taking up a job in a Petrol pump, as a labourer, cleaner or driver is considered demeaning. However, the migrants find that in western countries including New Zealand all jobs, professions or positions have dignity and respect. While the relationships are generally hierarchical in India, in countries like New Zealand they are generally egalitarian. The person who is open to accept any job that comes his/her way is able to settle better and sustain financially in the beginning.

Even though Pascal was a qualified Engineer and was holding a good position in India was ready and open to take up any job. Because of such attitude Pascal accepted a job in a supermarket, moving and stacking consumer goods. This way he was able to be self-sufficient financially. Feeling financially independent, he was able to keep searching for better and higher paying jobs. Most of the migrants go through this process and keep changing their jobs until they are satisfied with the position, pay and working environment.

6. Adapting to and managing new transport system is a challenge to new migrants. While he neither owned a car in India nor knew to drive, Pascal took efforts to learn driving and purchased a car to manage his transportation needs. This made his and his family's life more comfortable. Most immigrants purchase a 'second-hand' car when they arrive. They purchase generally one car and manage with it, one person reaching the other to work and then proceeding further. Children are also dropped to school by parents or make arrangements through friends whose children go to the same school.
7. While being alone in this country, Pascal could have stayed as a paying guest with an Indian family. But he chose to live with a kiwi/European couple. He was bold and open to learn about host culture through his stay with kiwi family and was able to learn about the host culture well and settled in faster.

Views on discrimination:

According to Pascal, he did not experience discrimination from the employer or the manager but from colleagues. Generally the Indians are accepted by employers for

their work culture – hardworking, committed, loyal and willing to work for long hours. According to Pascal, Indian immigrants experience ‘hard times’ from the colleagues mainly due to jealousy and fear of being superseded, for example.

Suggestions for successful settlement:

Pascal suggested that best support for settlement for the new immigrants should come from the ethnic community he or she belongs to. Community groups mentioned above, which are based on language, religion and geographical location, for example, would be the best organisations to help new migrants. They will provide the much needed feelings of ‘inclusion’, ‘belongingness’ and support.

Interviewing Rahul

I met Rahul at a lunch hosted by one of my friend. While in conversation with him, I learnt that he was an alumnus of Indian Institute of Management, Ahmadabad (IIMA Indian Institute of Management, whose branches, were situated in Ahmadabad (known as IIMA), Calcutta (IIMC), Bangalore (IIMB), Lucknow (IIML) and Kozhikode were the topmost Business Management Institutes known globally for their Master of Business Administration (MBA) programmes. Graduates of these Institutes generally end up being CEOs of business organisations within India and overseas, or as proprietors of ‘start-ups’.

I revealed to him my desire to interview him for my PhD research, to which he readily agreed. We were in touch on email, Face book and Twitter (mediums he used very intently to be in touch with his network) until he emailed me recently that he is ready to be interviewed. The place he suggested was his office (a real estate agency) in inner city which I managed to find. It was amidst a block of posh, serene and sophisticated buildings on Auckland waterfront which evoked a ‘wow’ in my mind. I wondered how such a serene and quiet island of buildings with sea and marina in front without any vehicular traffic can exist in the heart of the city. Auckland has world’s best seafronts. These offices nestled amidst surroundings which were free from the normal hustle and bustle of the city. Rahul had booked his Board room for our interview. Rahul explained that he had taken up the position of a Residential Sales Trainee the same week.

Why did a high profile executive enjoying five star luxuries including a chauffeur driven car and servants in the house would choose to start life afresh, struggling to find 'any' job, however menial it is, I wondered. For Rahul, it was the dream of living in a clean and green country. Secondly it was for getting away from the noise, traffic, and relatives and their gossip. Once a high profile executive, a hero, was struggling to get any job. He had become a 'zero'. He managed to get a job as retail sales person, his first full time job in New Zealand.

Rationalisation and sublimation or truly happy?

How does Rahul feel when he compares himself to his colleagues, classmates, who still manage corporations as CEOs, live jet set and five star lives? Rahul feels that he has seen it all and lived it all. In India he was not happy within. There was no 'balance'. He couldn't balance the corporate duties with his obligations to the family (his wife and two children). In New Zealand, after changing many jobs Rahul is still a sales person. But very happy to be in New Zealand, thoroughly enjoying his life and being with his family. He is happy that his children are academically and socially doing very well. His son educating himself to be a software engineer is also a singer (sings both English and Indian songs and was the youngest finalist in NZ idol at the age of 16). Later when I 'googled' I came across many videos featuring his son and himself. In one of the video, the host, acknowledging him as the youngest participant (Rick), asks him the reasons for his exuberance and confidence. He attributes it to the support of his parents. Great. I did see that in Rahul's attitude to life and people.

Rahul was very happy with the education system in New Zealand. In India he would have worried a lot and travelled a lot accompanying his son to various campuses and institutions in different cities thousand miles apart and stood in the queues for enrolment and admission into top institutions. (I heard recently from one of my relative in India that things have changed for the better. Online enrolments are being introduced). Here in New Zealand, enrolment into any university or programme is online. No queues, no interviews (except for a few programmes such as Medicine and Dentistry). I too have very positive experiences regarding the enrolment of my daughters into the university. On the day their secondary school examination results were published they received letters from the University that they have been

accepted into the program/s they had enrolled online. They had to make decision and cancel the streams they did not want to pursue online (They had chosen 3 streams each and had to opt out of the streams they did not want to pursue, retaining the one which they wanted to study). Further, study loans were available to them, relieving parents of bearing the burden of their fees and other expenses.

Down shifting

As the proverb goes, you win some and loose some. If migrants choose balanced life, more time with family, freedom to embrace and practice spirituality, less stress, clean and green environment they are required to sacrifice some things such as high status jobs and chauffeur driven cars, and compromise to make a down shift. So migrants are happy to work at levels hierarchically lower than the ones they worked back in India to be residents of New Zealand.

Rahul, a business graduate from world known IIMA, was thinking about creating wealth, even where there was not much scope. There are no big industries here. Even if there were, it is doubtful if New Zealanders would acknowledge or accept the talent from IIMs and other Business institutions. May be in future, but not yet. Rahul continued to think of making millions, out of nothing. His business acumen, creativity, studious and open mind lead him to real estate and by the age of 47 was able to call himself a millionaire as a he made millions in New Zealand. Rahul with his cool, quiet, unassuming, unpretentious and collected attitude went about making friends. After opting for a balanced, stress free, flexible and simpler life he went about looking for an organisation and a job that fulfilled all his requirements.

Rahul, a product of such school from Delhi, with a good command of English was confident that he can survive anywhere. 'World is my oyster', he said. His good English, his 'never say die' and business and street smart attitudes helped him to settle faster, quicker and better. Rahul never thought he could fail. He felt that he has proven skills and right attitude to succeed in any environment. He had his qualifications, not as few alphabets to his name but which gave him the skills and attitude to survive. He was quick to find out what works and what doesn't work in the new land. He vocalised and lived the quote of Fran Lloyd Wright "The thing always happens that you really believe in; and the belief in a thing makes it happen".