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Resolving a crisis of habitus: the experiences of professionals and managers from South Asia in Australia

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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 acknowledgment has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature:

Date:

Abstract

The aim of this research is to examine the challenges faced by the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers from South Asia as they attempt to advance their careers in Australia. Existing literature reveals a gap between skilled migration policies and responses to those policies by organisations; for example, the non-recognition of overseas acquired skills and qualifications. This thesis explores the nature of the migrant experience paying particular attention to occupational progress.

In this thesis, the theory of habitus is employed as a framework for analysis. A person's habitus is composed of cultural, social and economic capital that, together, form the particular social space that they occupy within certain social conditions – in this case, occupation and career. To support the analysis, disembedding, sense making and acculturation are utilised to help conceptualise the issues relating to the alteration of the occupational/career space brought on by migration.

In employing a mixed method research strategy, this thesis combines two qualitative methodologies of phenomenology and analysis of narratives in the collection and analysis of data.The initial stage of the research was to establish an understanding of the 'home country habitus'. To achieve this, field observation data was collected in Pakistan. The main data collection consisted of in-depth, semi-structured interviews that continued until the data was saturated. In total, twenty-one South Asian migrants fitting the selection criteria were interviewed.

The analysis reveals that upon migration, people are uprooted from their inherited social conditions and thrust into new social conditions creating a 'crisis of habitus' characterised here as being a state of 'disembeddedness'. Social capital is lost, economic capital is depleted and cultural capital is transformed in unexpected ways. This prompts attempts at reconciling the crisis, through sense making and, following this, acculturation. The analysis also brings to light that gender is a significant factor in the shaping of this process. It was found that women face more barriers than their male counterparts.

While this research is limited to South Asians in an Australian context, it raises some interesting questions worthy of further research in other national contexts and with other migrant groups. It has brought into focus previously unexamined avenues of research and brings to light new theoretical insights. It also has the potential to raise awareness amongst policy makers and business organisations to help them in their quest to recruit and retain skilled and qualified people.

In the Name of Allah (God), the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my father, for his love and affection that cannot be elaborated on in a few words. This research is also dedicated to my mother who always encouraged me to achieve high in academics and follow my ambition. This dissertation is also dedicated to my wife for her love and support which I can always count on. In addition, this dissertation is dedicated to my lovely son and daughter; their smiles and giggles give me a reason to go on. I also dedicate this research to my brother who is not just a brother, but also a great friend. The final dedication is for my supervisor from whom I have learned the true meaning of academic research.

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I want to express my gratitude to a couple of people who have supported me throughout the course of this PhD. Before that, I want to express my humble gratefulness to God almighty for giving me the courage and strength to complete this thesis.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Every year Australia receives skilled migrants from different regions of the world to fill gaps in the Australian labour supply. In a broader sense, the aim of this practice is that these individuals will become a productive part of a multicultural nation. In the context of immigration an overview of Australian history reveals the story of a nation which had a strict 'whites only' policy until the year 1975, which excluded non-European immigrants, with the aim of achieving racial and cultural homogeneity (Jupp 1995). Australia supported the end of this policy as political leaders reassured the Australian people that the number and type of immigrants would be strictly controlled by the government and that Australia's core Anglo/Celtic ethnic identity would also be preserved (Tavan 2005). Despite the abolition of this law decades ago and advancement towards multiculturalism, 'White Australia' still retains a residual appeal (Tavan 2005). There is also recent evidence which suggests that Australian policy makers attempted to design policies to assimilate migrants according to mainstream ideas, rather than incorporating culturally sensitive and inclusive policies (Syed and Kramar 2010). Therefore, gaining professional recognition and breaking social barriers can still be challenging for skilled migrants from an Asian background in Australia during present times. According to Beck (2002), migrants can be treated as 'excluded others' within the host nations which suggests that they live in two frames of reference. This implies that they are at the same time here and there, located in and in-between different incompatible framings of social inequalities and political conflicts. This also raises interesting questions about the migrants living in this situation and trying to find a path to resolution when they rewrite their biographies in the new environment. The purpose of this research is to address these issues and bring to light the challenges faced by highly skilled professionals and migrant managers from South Asia as they try to build a new career in Australia.

Developed nations with labour shortages encourage migration from particular categories so that their economic progress is not hampered due to lack of skilled professionals and, in most cases, the flow of skilled migrants comes from developing and developed nations (Iredale 1999; Iredale 2001). Australia is one of the leading nations with a high migrant population, as shown by research conducted in 2005. Among the top 25 cities in the world, ranked on the basis of percentage of foreign-born population, Perth was ranked 18th with 32 percent foreign-born immigrants, followed by Sydney and Melbourne, ranked at 19th and 21st with thirty-one and twenty-nine percent of foreign-born immigrants respectively (Benton-Short, Price, and Friedman 2005). Consequently, the main aim of this research is to bring to light unique challenges faced in Australia by the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers from South Asia. Furthermore, in this thesis, the intention is to explore in depth the consequences of challenges faced by these migrants, as well as the impact of those consequences on their perspectives of the whole immigration experience.

Skilled migrants from South Asia arrive in Australia in significant numbers every year. According to the Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC 2010) for the financial year 2008-09, the number of skilled migrants that came to Australia from the region of South Asia was 17,320. The regions from which skilled migrant arrivals are mainly sourced are the nations of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal. Among these nations, the largest group of migrants arrived from India with 12,304 skilled migrants. India was ranked second after the United Kingdom with 15,803 skilled migrants and China was ranked third with 8,189 skilled migrant arrivals (DIAC 2010). Highly skilled managers and professionals were among the top ten in the list of skills recognised by DIAC (2010).

1.2 Origin of the research idea

Evidence of the non-recognition of formal skills appears in the existing literature about the popular skilled migrant destination nations, including Australia (Watson 1996; Salt 1997; Mellor 2004; Randall 2003; Ward and Masgoret 2007). The literature also points to 'brain waste,' as Salt (1997) argues that it explains the de-skilling that occurs when highly skilled workers migrate into forms of employment

that do not require the application of the skills and experience applied in their former occupation. Therefore, it can be inferred that brain waste is not only due to unemployment; it can also be due to career stagnation in a job. Some literature also exists that relates the integration or assimilation of the skilled migrants to economic productivity (Dandy and Pe-Pua 2009). After examining the existing skilled migration literature, this researcher concluded that some discussions about discrimination of overseas-acquired skills and its implications, as well as the economic productivity of skilled migrants, do not reveal the essential essence of the skilled migrant experience. Furthermore, the themes of discriminatory policies and economic productivity leave some unanswered questions about the experience of being a highly skilled migrant professional and manager in Australia; for example, the implications of the brain waste issue.

Secondly, personal experiences of the researcher encouraged him to conduct this research. The researcher arrived in Australia as a skilled migrant and a PhD student from Pakistan. His motivation to apply for immigration was the general belief in his home country that the developing nations of South Asia, like Pakistan, do not offer better and equal opportunities to everyone. Therefore, the only way to get equal and better opportunities was to migrate to a developed nation that encouraged skilled migration. The reason for this belief in Pakistan was that wide-spread corruption and nepotism in society was considered a negative factor, a barrier, for the professional progress of highly educated people. The foundations of the corruption and nepotism in Pakistan were laid during the dictatorial regime of General Zia. By the time the researcher completed his professional education, a bachelor degree in engineering, democracy had been restored in Pakistan. However, corruption remained deep-rooted and the politicians were too insincere and corrupt to restore order to the ailing society. As the researcher did not have contacts with important people in the higher echelons of society, he experienced unemployment for about a year. After that period, he availed himself of an opportunity in the Middle-East and worked in Saudi Arabia for a couple of years. During this time in Saudi Arabia, the researcher observed that the majority of the highly qualified professionals from his region were not willing to return to their home countries, but preferred to move on to any developed nation that offered skilled immigration. Therefore, every skilled migrant

professional who comes to Australia from the region of South Asia has certain expectations, hopes and dreams related to equal opportunity and professional and economic attainment.

After arriving in Australia, the researcher had an opportunity to interact with other highly skilled migrants of his region; skilled migrants who, during informal discussions, expressed their dissatisfaction with Australian organisations for not recognising their skills. This was a very common concern to be discussed among the highly skilled migrants from South Asia whenever they met; therefore, it was identified as a core issue around which the lives of these people revolved. The researcher also discovered that some of those migrants were struggling continuously to find ways to resolve the challenges they were facing. This piqued the researcher's interest further to explore and understand what happens to highly skilled migrant professionals, especially from the region of South Asia, when their expectations are not met even though they have given up their home country to live a new life in Australia. Secondly, how do they handle the challenges faced by them in their adopted home country which is a nation which originally had a history of white migrants only, but that now claims to be a multicultural society? Furthermore, the researcher, originating from South Asia himself, wanted to bring an insider's perspective to the experiences of highly skilled South Asian migrant professional managers in Australia.

1.3 Context of the research

Highly skilled professionals are individuals who possess tertiary qualifications in addition to spending years studying to acquire certain formal qualifications in order to gain acceptance by professional bodies (Koser and Salt 1997; Crook and Waterhouse 1995). Although professionals are specialists in specific fields, they also act as managers in their organisations and perform management roles. Moreover, to become good managers they are required to balance their technical, human and conceptual skills (Crook and Waterhouse 1995). Therefore, professionals can be managers; it depends upon the environment in which they exist, in as much as management is a general activity and managers are those people who achieve

specific tasks themselves or create environments where others can work effectively (Crook and Waterhouse 1995).

The existing research on highly skilled migrant professionals and managers mainly focuses on pre-existing ethnic and race relations and the impact of government policies upon migrants and the affects of changing boundaries (Reitz-Jeffrey 2002).There is also evidence that some research has promoted highly skilled migrants as high flying executives, separate from the mainstream societies of the host nations (Nagel 2005). However, some literature also discusses non-recognition of the skills and education of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers in the migrant-accepting nations, as well as the consequences, like brain waste, for the host nations (Salt 1997; Boyd and Thomas 2001; Ward and Masgoret 2007).

Non-recognition of overseas as well as local qualifications and the experiences of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, especially those of Asian origin, is a common research theme in the extant literature (Watson 1996; Bhattacharya and Schoppelrey 2004; Varma 2002; Ward and Masgoret 2007). The research pertaining to Australia suggests that local managers felt more comfortable hiring locally- born employees, as they were of the view that qualified managers and professionals from overseas have not lived here long enough to understand the Australian management psyche (Watson 1996). In addition, some research evidence suggests that discrimination is experienced within the system rather than as a barrier to entry, particularly discrimination which mitigates against promotion (Mellor 2004). A similar gap between immigration policies and job recruitment was also identified in New Zealand by Ward and Masgoret(2007).

Some researchers have also put forth similar arguments about the under-achievement of highly skilled Asian migrant professionals and managers in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom and Europe. Research has highlighted issues of discrimination against highly skilled Asian migrants and the lack of promotion opportunities to higher managerial positions(Varma 2002), non-recognition of skills acquired overseas, unmet migrant expectations(Rachel Lev-Wiesel 2004), and lower salaries compared to locals (Zeng and Xie 2004). As a consequence, highly skilled

migrant professionals and managers are found to rely more on their own ethnic relations which, at times, results in reverse ethnicity, leaving them in a state of lesser assimilation and integration within the host nations' societies (Castles 2002; Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002). Also, some researchers have stressed the need to highlight the struggle of highly skilled female migrant professionals and managers as, according to this research, gender does play a role in the struggle for professional attainment in the host nations (Raghuram 2004; Kofman and Raghuram 2005; Bagchi 2001; Foroutan 2008).

One of the implications of the challenges faced by highly skilled migrant professionals is stress associated with the process of migration, especially during the period of unemployment in the host nation (Bhugra 2004; Rachel Lev-Wiesel 2004). As the social and cultural capital possessed by the migrants alter, unemployment and low skill jobs led to a depletion of the economic capital, which can lead these individuals into a stressful situation. Therefore, the existing literature reveals a gap in the settlement process of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, specifically for individuals from Asian nations. Furthermore, professional attainment in host nations like Australia is a big challenge for them and the unmet expectations are frequently a source of stress and anxiety. The existing literature identifies the crisis faced by these migrants but there is little evidence that examines the lived experiences of highly skilled professionals and managers with respect to the resolution of the crises they face. There is a need to attain an in-depth understanding of their stories and to link their experiences to management theory and practice. Consequently, the research questions are designed to explore the phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian professional and a manager in Australia.

1.4 Research aims

The main aim of this research is to examine the following question:

- How does migration to Australia affect the employment experiences of South Asian professionals and managers?

The aim of the research is to develop insight about the lived experiences of highly skilled South Asian professionals and managers in Australia and to explore the

phenomenon of being in a situation in which they are disembedded from their inherited social and work conditions and are facing a crisis of habitus.

1.5 Research objectives

In addressing the main research question, the objective of this research is to thoroughly examinespecific sub-questions to identify the actual essence of the highly skilled South Asian manager and professional's experiences. Those questions are:

- To what extent do current theories about the effects of migration on career trajectories provide a useful framework for analysing and understanding the experiences of professionals and managers from South Asia in Australia?
- What is the nature of the experience of being a migrant professional/manager from South Asia in Australia?
- What are the career challenges faced by South Asian professionals and managers when they migrate to Australia?
- How do South Asian managers attempt to overcome the challenges of their new career environment?
- In what ways can South Asian managers be assisted in establishing a career following migration?

The interview questions for the data collection in this research are designed in a manner to cover all the objectives of the research. A framework which includes a combination of exiting theories is used as a basis to analyse those interviews.

This thesis employs the theories of disembedding/re-embedding (Giddens 1990), habitus (Bourdieu 1986), acculturation (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936) and sense-making (Weick 1995) to explain the phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional and manager in Australia. The data for the research is collected by interviewing respondents from South Asia. The interviews are face-to-face, using semi-structured questions to explore the nature of the experience of being a migrant professional/manager from South Asia in Australia with respect to the challenges they face to advance their professional careers. A combination of qualitative techniques of phenomenology and analysis of narratives are employed to

analyse the data. Analysis of the data will seek to identify the habitus (Bourdieu 1986) of the participants and why they face a 'crisis of habitus' (Zipin and Brennan 2003) as migrants in their careers, when the different forms of capital that contribute to the formation of habitus are altered. This crisis can lead to a sense of 'disembeddedness' and prompts them to reconcile this crisis. The process of reconciliation can be explored utilising a range of strategies, including acculturation (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936) and sense-making (Weick 1995) which could result in different outcomes that can be described in terms of research narratives.

Firstly, acculturation is characterised by integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation of the migrants in their new environment (Sakamoto 2007). Secondly, sense-making is described as a process in which individuals make sense of their environment and rationalize their behavior based on the interpretation of the environment to which they belong (Weick 1995). The process of sense-making is influenced by a person's identity and it is an ongoing process whereby an individual takes cues from the environment, enacts objects, analyses his or her socialisation experience and, within this experience, sometimes allows sufficiency and plausibility to take precedence over accuracy (Weick 1995). Also, the analysis will be used to explore links between different forms of capital and the sense-making process. Furthermore, the link between acculturation and sense-making will also be examined.

1.6 Study Setting

The target sample for this study are highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers who came to Australia based upon the assessment of their skills by Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). South Asia is a region that comprises Commonwealth nations whereby the medium of instruction in educational institutions is English, especially at tertiary level. Therefore, this is also a key factor behind skilled migrants choosing Australia as a destination to settle permanently. The selection criteria for the participants for this research required that they had job experience in their home countries as well as in Australia. For Australia, the lower limit was at least one year's job experience so that the participants had enough time to reflect on their experiences in retrospect and to enable the researcher to obtain

richer data from them. The research was conducted mainly in Western Australia as the researcher is based there. A few interviews were also conducted in other regions to make the data more reliable.

1.7 Theoretical significance of the topic

It is expected that the results from the research will have significant theoretical and practical relevance. There is little evidence in the existing literature with reference to the theories employed by this research for highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers within the context of Australia. Applying the concept of 'habitus' will extend current understandings about how migrants adapt to their new national and cultural contexts. An individual's habitus is formed by the combination of different forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986) that includes cultural capital which can exist in three forms: in an embodied state which includes a person's race or accent; an objectified state which includes a person's way of dressing or art collection; and, finally, in an institutionalised form which is a person's qualifications or degrees earned. Social capital is made up of social obligations which exist as human inter-connections and can be convertible in certain conditions into economic capital and, at times, can also be institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility. Finally, economic capital possessed by an individual is a capital that can be immediately and directly converted into money and can be institutionalized in the form of property rights.

While culture shock provides some explanation for migrants' sense of dysfunction, the research extends current knowledge by explaining the impact of changes to migrants' forms of capital. The research examines the reported habitus and life features which put them into a crisis of habitus (Zipin and Brennan 2003) and how this phenomenon contributes to their disembedding experience. Furthermore, the efforts to resolve the crisis to get re-embedded are also explained.

In choosing to migrate, the highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers leave their home country and move into a new social space, with new social conditions, within the host country. In this new social space, migrants still maintain connections with their communities back home and in other nations, a situation that can exacerbate a sense of dislocation for individuals and a defiance of

geographical boundaries. Lewellen's(2002) in-depth examination of migrants reveals that a novel, contemporary migrant identity is being created, an identity that is a hybrid of both the home and the host country. With the passage of time, migrants become independent of their original situations and acquire cultural capital: their social networks are reformulated and expanded. Finally, they develop new modes of resistance- diasporas communities, interstate institutions, support networks and political power-to defend against their minority status in the host country and the asymmetries of the global marketplace.

Such processes create the disembedding experiences that Giddens(1990) defines as the lifting out of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space. As Williams (2000) argues, disembedding refers to the uprooting of people from their inherited social conditions. Therefore, the disembedded South Asian migrant professional and manager goes through an experience of dislocation, the feeling of being neither 'here' nor 'there,' yet also of being 'here' and 'there'; this is the contemporary experience of cultural and social dislocation (Usher 2002). Cultural and social dislocation is explained by the crisis of habitus due to alterations in the forms of capital. Owing to non-recognition of the skills and qualifications acquired overseas, the institutional cultural capital of the highly skilled migrant professionals can become quite redundant. Moreover, as an ethnic minority in Australia, their embodied cultural capital becomes a major factor in their struggle for the recognition of skills acquired overseas. Especially in the initial days of change within a new country, the economic capital of migrants can be depleted very quickly; for example, the savings they have brought with them from their home countries. When their skills are not recognised, these migrants fail to convert their cultural and social capital into economic capital and, hence, they are disembedded and face the crisis of habitus.

The theories of acculturation (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936) and sense-making (Weick 1995) are employed in this research to explore the resolution of the crisis of habitus by the participants in the study. These theories are useful in exploring the different paths of resolution employed by highly skilled South Asian

migrant professionals and managers. The migrants in this study take these paths to re-embed themselves within the Australian work environment.

The research will recognize and highlight previously unexamined topics which bring to light new and significant insights into the 'brain drain'/'brain waste'/ 'brain gain' debate (Salt 1997). It also has the potential to raise awareness amongst policy makers and business organisations in the private and public sectors about the need for new approaches for recruiting and retaining highly skilled and qualified people with a migrant identity during a time of an increasing global shortage of talent.

1.8 Practical significance of the topic

This research will identify the real issues faced by the South Asian skilled migrant professionals and managers in Australia before and after joining Australian organisations. Furthermore, the findings from this research will contribute to a greater understanding of challenges faced by the highly skilled Asian migrants with respect to their settlement issues in the Australian work environment. This study will make recommendations for bridging any gaps that will be identified between government immigration policy and the hiring policies of Australian organisations.

1.9 Conclusion

The focus of this study is the novel challenges faced by highly skilled migrant professionals and managers. The aim is not only to explore the occupational outcomes of the participants of the study but to also examine the resolution of their crisis of habitus. The crisis of habitus represents the complexity of the phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian professional and manager in Australia. The research will contribute to management theory by exploring the different resolution trajectories of the participants of this study in their efforts to become re-embedded within the Australian work culture.

Chapter One examines the significance of the research topic, the main purpose of the thesis and related research questions. The chapter also provides a background to the theories upon which the whole research is based. Finally, the chapter outlines the

investigation techniques, the basis of those techniques and identifies the origin and importance of the overall research topic.

Chapter Two of the thesis provides a detailed review of the extant literature about highly skilled professionals and managers and policies of the migrant-receiving nations. Furthermore, in this chapter the researcher identifies a gap in the literature to provide the basis for the combination of theories used in this thesis to explore the phenomenon under the investigation. The chapter further provides an explanation of how these theories are useful in contributing to the management theory for the advancement of knowledge.

In Chapter Three, the data analysis methodology is discussed in detail. In this chapter a justification for the use of the qualitative research paradigm is presented. Furthermore, justification for using a combination of phenomenology and analysis of narratives to analyse the data is discussed. The research setting and the selection criteria of the respondents is also explained and the reliability and validity measures used will be outlined.

The analysis of the data is presented in Chapter Four. The major themes which emerged from the data analysis are presented. The analysis, in addition to the interview data, is based upon participant observations and the field notes of the researcher and, in this chapter, links between the themes and the theories employed are integrated into a conceptual model.

Chapter Five is the final chapter of the thesis. In this chapter the discussion and conclusions are based upon the findings, which support the literature. Furthermore, there is a detailed discussion about how the theories employed in the research contribute to the advancement of the current theory and the practical implications of this research are considered. Finally, the overall conclusions and opportunities for future research are discussed.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Extant research on the performance of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers in the countries that are popular destinations for them has considered many diverse aspects of the process of migration which is largely due to countries actively seeking to recruit migrants with high level skills such as tertiary qualifications and experience (Koser and Salt 1997). In effect, highly skilled and qualified migrants are sought in order to fill positions in the host country where there are shortages. The main purpose of this chapter is proposing theories that can be utilised to understand the path through which skilled migrant professionals resolve the challenges, they face in Australia.

This chapter is based on a rigorous examination of extant literature in the skilled migrant field and is used to develop a background for this thesis by exploring the existing research on highly skilled migrant professionals and managers. Furthermore, the chapter will identify what is meant by the terms 'highly skilled migrant professionals and managers' in the literature, as well as the content of policies that countries use to influence their processing of migrants and to suggest a range of consequences of these policies. Existing literature will be examined to determine how migration policies and practices influence the professional success of the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers.

An overview of the world in which highly skilled migrant professionals and managers exist will be considered from currently available literature sources as relevant to establishing a theoretical base upon which the phenomenon of being a highly skilled migrant professional and a manager from South Asia in Australia is examined. The crux of the literature review will relate to identifying and explaining

economic, cultural and social forms of capital that form a 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1986) and migration experiences that generate habitus crises (Zipin and Brennan 2003). Related to this is the concept of disembedding and re-embedding (Beck 1997). The situation is very challenging, especially for migrants from non-English speaking countries (Watson 1996). Theories of acculturation (Sakamoto 2007) and sense-making in organisations (Weick 1995, 2001) will be utilissed to further theorize about these experiences.

2.2 The schema of the chapter

The following figure shows the schema of this chapter which is a flow chart of different ideas around which this chapter revolves:
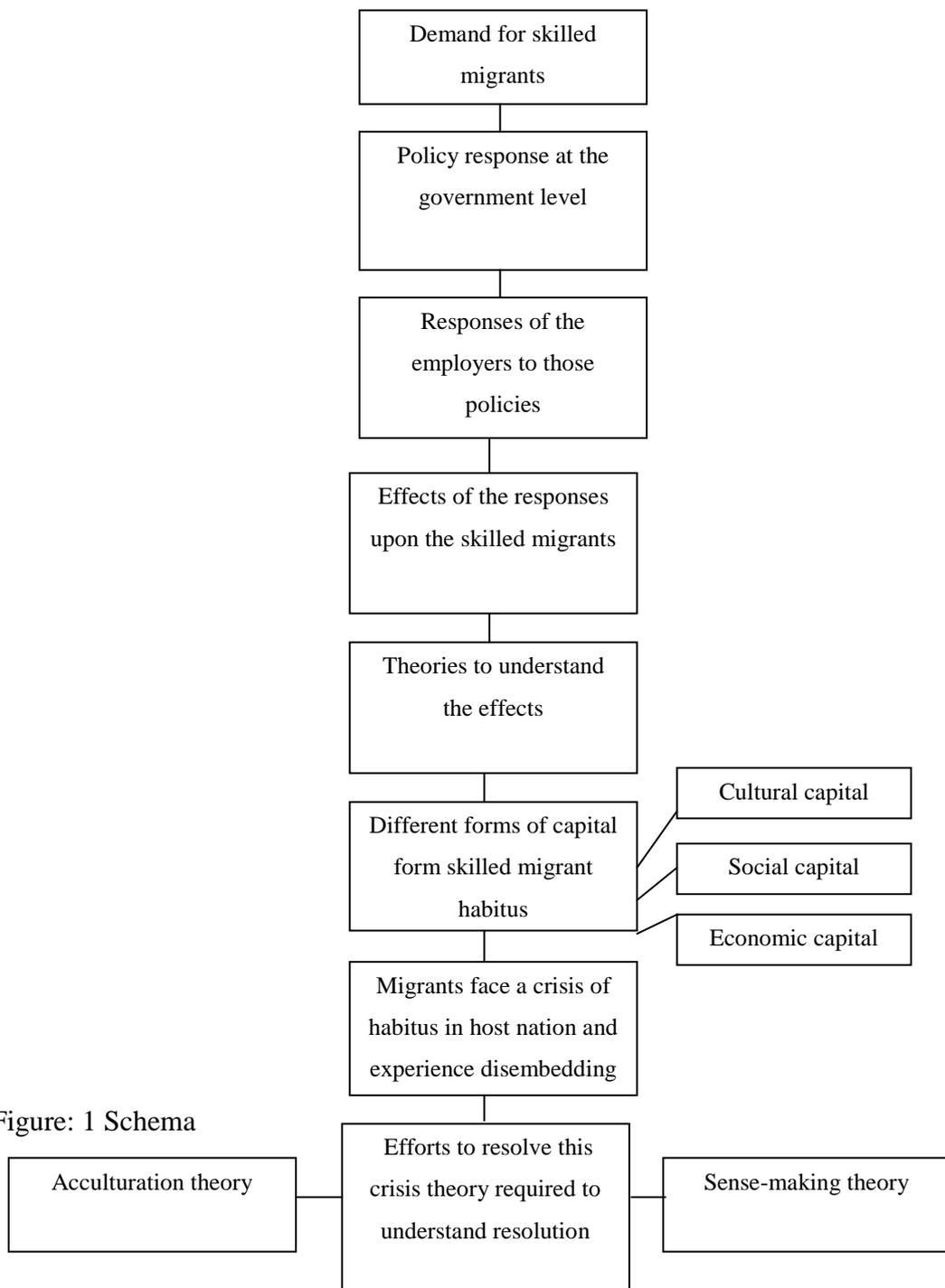
Figure: 1 Schema

2.3 Highly skilled migrant professionals and managers

Before defining highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, it is necessary to present an overview of how the literature has considered the skilled migration process. After providing an overview of the research and the research history on skilled migration, this section will conclude with a definition of migrant professionals and managers.

Human resources are important to a nation's productivity and many developed nations recognise the need for migrants due to their aging populations and low fertility rates (Thomas 2003). According to Williamson (1997) poor nations have higher emigration rates than rich nations. Thomas (2003) comments that over the last century international migration has become more regulated and countries have established better techniques to avoid illegal migrant entries, resulting in greater immigration of highly qualified and skilled migrants.

Research into skilled migrants began in the mid-1960s (Koser and Salt 1997), an initiative that was a response to the brain drain experienced from Britain to the United States (Koser and Salt 1997). Similarly, Koser and Salt (1997) explain that the research on highly skilled migrants was fully incorporated into international migration studies by the 1980s. Nannestad (2007) reviewed fifteen years of research on immigrants in western welfare states and concludes that there was not much empirical evidence to support the theory that immigrants who arrived in Western welfare states had been an economic asset. The reason given in this review for this conclusion was the level of unemployment and low labour market participation by the migrants.

Qualified and skilled migrants represent an increasingly large component of global migration streams (Iredale 2001) and many countries see skilled migration as a means of filling labour shortages to ensure that economic growth is not held back in the short term (Iredale 1999). When international labour markets experience shortages in the more developed regions, there is a distinct move in the direction of less control, more flexibility and/or exploitation of skilled workers from developing countries (Iredale 2001). Nevertheless, there are certain definitions of skilled

migrants found in the literature that can be considered rather vague and, often, the definitions do not draw a precise line between highly skilled migrants and those with lower skills levels. Furthermore, these definitions do not clearly define highly skilled migrant professionals and managers. For example, Iredale(2001, 16) pointed out the following five typologies or categories of skilled professional migrants identified in the literature:

1. By motivation: this includes forced exodus, ethical migration, brain drain, government induced and industry led. Industry led has become the most significant motivation and applies to situations where employers are the major force behind the selection and migration of skilled migrants.

2. By nature or source of destination: originating in less developed or more developed countries and moving to more or less developed destinations. However, the largest movement of skilled labour is from less developed to more developed countries.

3. By channel or mechanism: for example, by international recruitment agencies.

4. By length of stay: permanent or circulatory/temporary.

5. By mode of incorporation: skilled flows may also be categorised by the nature of integration of skilled migrants into the destination economies. This also depends upon the acceptance or non-acceptance of the skilled migrants by the host nations and, at times, race issues.

The above definitions are quite vague and general and also lack clarity in defining the skilled migrant professionals and managers. The first definition utilises forced exodus and ethical migration, which is mostly associated with refugees. In the second definition, the two-way flow among the more and less developed nations can also raise confusion; for example, why some skilled persons would prefer to move to a less developed country. The third definition does not elaborate the specifics of criteria used by the recruitment agencies. The fourth raises the question of how a

person on a temporary visa can be considered a migrant. The fifth definition raises the issue of the nature of integration, which is a post-migration phenomenon. Therefore, all of the definitions provided cannot be considered completely satisfactory in specifically defining skilled migrant professionals and managers.

The existing research does not specifically classify the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers separately. Some papers do bundle highly skilled professional migrants and managers together, although research on skilled migration is more interested in discussing the issues faced by the skilled migrants from diverse backgrounds in the host nations, rather than exploring in detail who can be considered a highly skilled migrant professional and/or manager. However, there is some evidence of research in relation to definitions in the general management literature which deals with professionals who could also be managers. For example, according to Crook and Waterhouse(1995, 4) professionals are those individuals who spend years studying for certain qualifications and gaining experience before being accepted as competent by a professional body. They further explain that management is a general activity and managers are those people who achieve tasks themselves or create environments where others can work effectively. They also explain that although professionals are specialists in specific fields they also act as managers in their organisations and perform management roles. To become good managers, they are required to balance their technical, human and conceptual skills. Therefore it can concluded here that highly skilled professionals can also be considered managers if they are also employed in some kind of supervisory role.

The existing literature has defined skilled migrants in many different ways; many definitions agree that a person who holds a tertiary education qualification, or equivalent, can be considered a highly skilled manager or professional (Koser and Salt 1997). According to Hofstede(1993), due to the vast cultural differences among the nations of the world, no management theory can be considered universal. Furthermore, he explained that every nation looks at managers, management and management practices differently due to cultural differences. Hofstede(1993) concludes that managers derive their reason for being from the people they manage but, culturally, they are the followers of the people they lead, and their effectiveness

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depends upon those people. Therefore, based on Hofstede's reasoning, it can be inferred that highly skilled migrant professionals can also be managers if those people who were in charge of a certain group of people in their home countries perform managerial roles in their respective professions. As the focus of this thesis is South Asia, highly skilled migrant professionals and managers are also those highly skilled people who experience two different management cultures; that is, within their home country and their host country. This is actually one of the core ideas behind this research, as management and management practices are not universal (Hofstede 1993), therefore highly skilled migrant professionals and managers would face a different organisational management culture in Australia.

Different nations design certain policies to assess and grant migration to skilled individuals. The policies can provide an overview of the objectives these nations want to achieve through the process of skilled migration.

2.4 Policies and issues of the migrant receiving nations

As the developed nations with skill shortages open their doors to skilled migration, they usually design policies related to the whole process of skilled migration. Although similarities among the policies of the migrant receiving countries do exist, at the same time there are variations in their philosophies and experiences (Mclaughlan and Salt 2002). These policies also have consequences for the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers. This section will provide an overview of the policies of the migrant receiving countries and regions followed by a section on the consequences of those policies, as a comparison and overview of the policy responses will help in developing an understanding of the extent of the responses of employers to fulfill the policy objectives of nations facing skills shortages. Mclaughlan and Salt (2002, 5) summarise skilled migration policies and give an overview of trends of the migrant receieving nations. They conclude that there is a strong sense that the policies and the schemes are employer-driven, sometimes resulting in the overestimation of the scale of shortages. Following are the policies and examples of the nations following these migration policies:

- Work permit regulations and procedures have been simplified in order to facilitate entry of highly skilled migrants, largely as a result of employer pressure (*Netherlands, France, Norway*)

- Strategies often address specific shortages:
  - IT related (*France, Germany, Netherlands, Ireland, Canada, Australia, USA, Denmark)*
  - Health related (*Norway, Denmark, Ireland, and Netherlands)*

- Schemes are part of wider policies to:
  - encourage participation of existing foreign workers *(Denmark)*
  - encourage the return of highly skilled emigrants (*Ireland)*
  - develop training programmes for indigenous workers, especially those who are unemployed *(Germany, Netherlands).*

- Facilitate access to the labour market for spouses of highly skilled migrants *(Canada)*

- Schemes that are largely temporary with possibilities for permanent residence (*Europe excluding Germany*)

- Permanent skilled migration entry routes with several specific schemes (*Australia and Canada*)

- Some nations have rapidly growing temporary programmes (*Australia, the US and, to a lesser extent, Canada*).

The following sections will examine in more detail specific permanent skilled migration schemes as well as the schemes offered other than specific permanent skilled migration.

2.4.1 Specific permanent skilled migration schemes

Some countries that offer specific permanent skilled migration usually follow a points system, which implies that a skilled person needs to have a certain number of points to be eligible for migration (Miller 1999; Green and Green 1995; Antecol, Cobb-Clark, and Trejo 2003). However, the system is often altered depending on changes in the demand for migrants by the migrant receiving country. Countries which follow the points system are Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom (Antecol, Cobb-Clark, and Trejo 2003; Ongley and Pearson 1995;

Mclaughlan and Salt 2002). German policy makers are also considering the adoption of the points system (Mclaughlan and Salt 2002).

There are some regions which give more importance to kinship and family ties as opposed to level of skill, such as the United States (Antecol, Cobb-Clark, and Trejo 2003). The United States is also considered a nation of migrants (Kennedy 1996). Although the United States does not offer permanent skilled migrant status immediately to the highly skilled, a H-1B employer-sponsored visa is usually granted in which people with university degrees from the United States are preferred, which can be converted to permanent resident status (which involves the issuing of a green card) within six years (Mclaughlan and Salt 2002). The immigration policy of the USA is based upon the Immigration Act of 1965 in which demand for employment based migration was considerably lower than the demand for family based migration, to protect local workers (Lowell 2001). Lowell also explains that the majority of skilled migrants are students who come to the USA to pursue higher education. However in countries like the United States, Australia and Canada the mainspring for the policy has been the perceived benefit from the permanent acquisition of high level human expertise (Mclaughlan and Salt 2002).

2.4.2 Australian immigration and multicultural policy over-view

As the focus of this thesis is Australia, it is necessary to consider Australian immigration in more detail and compare it with other nations. Australian government officially ended the 'White Australia' policy in 1966 and a year before that in 1965 policy of assimilation was replaced by the one of integration (Leuner, 2007). . The main objective of White Australia policy was to create a racially homogenous society, within which Australia's Aboriginal population was expected to die out (Jupp 1995). After this policy was abolished, Australia's doors were opened for migrants from all regions throughout the world. With the exception of a few incidents every year with people travelling to Australia illegally, the physical isolation of Australia as an island continent has helped it to strictly regulate immigration programs, unlike the United States and Canada (Birrell 1994).

According to Hawthorne (2005), an agenda was proclaimed in 1989, emphasising equal life chances and full participation in Australian society by the people of all races. The author further explains that the reality has been very different for the migrants, especially those from non-English speaking countries. Many claimed to have faced discrimination and non-recognition of their overseas qualifications (Watson 1996).

According to Poynting and Mason (2008) there are four stages of Australia's ethnic affairs policy that is the exclusivism of the 'White Australia' policy,assimilationism: with basically laissez-faire strategies of settlement, multiculturalism: state assisted and demanded by immigrant communities and the latest oneintegrationism: state imposed and demanded of immigrant communities. However further in-depth investigation of the literature reveals that Australia has passed through an evolution of the multicultural policy. According to Koleth (2010) the then Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser used the term "Multicultural Society" for the first time in Australian parliament in March, 1974. She further explained that in the context of decreasing migration from European countries and increasing acceptance of refugees from South-East Asia, Fraser employed Barrister Frank Galbally in August 1977 to review the effectiveness of programs and services provided to migrants. Galbally was from Melbourne and he was assisted by representatives of Italian, Greek and Yugoslav communities (Leuner, 2007)The Galbally report provided a program of action based upon the following guiding principles (Koleth 2010, 6):

(a) All members of our society must have equal opportunity to realise their full potential and must have equal access to programs and services;

(b) Every person should be able to maintain his or her culture without prejudice or disadvantage and should be encouraged to understand and embrace other cultures;

(c) needs of migrants should, in general, be met by programs and services available to the whole community but special services and programs are necessary at present to ensure equality of access and provision;

(d) Services and programs should be designed and operated in full consultation with clients, and self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants to become self-reliant quickly.

Moving ahead in the evolution of Australian multicultural immigration policy the Labor party governments from 1986 to 1996 have been considered as the best years of the strengthening of the multicultural policies (Ang, Stratton 1998 and Koleth, 6, 2010).However, in the years of Liberal/National party rule after Labor's defeat in the 1996 general election some reversals of these policies occurred. The Liberal/National government led by Prime Minister John Howard took a skeptical approach to multiculturalism, Itabolished the Office of Multicultural Affairs, severely slashed the migrant intake, and tightened up English proficiency requirements for new migrants(Ang and Stratton, 1998).At the 2001 election, Howard successfully appealed to a growing sense of unease about migration in the Australian community using an election slogan 'we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come' (Poynting and Mason, 2008).

In February 2006, Treasurer (and Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party) Peter Costello in a speech to the conservative think-tank, the Sydney Institute, attacked what he called 'mushy misguided multiculturalism', and warned that Australian values were 'not optional'. Those who did not share these values should have their citizenship revoked. The Prime Minister Howard also made clear that integration for migrants' meant 'embracing Australian values, accepting our culture, being able to speak English if it's not their first language and understanding that men and women have equality'(Poynting and Mason, 2008). Howard argued that not doing so represented a failure to embrace the multiculturalism in its true spirit in Australia. According to Ang and Stratton (1998) the discourse of multiculturalism in Australia does not recognise, confront or challenge the problematic of "race" but rather represses it. They further add that notions of 'Australian way of life' encourages the white Australians to construct themselves outside the 'multicultural Australia' at the same time development of an attitude that non-English speaking migrants have nothing to do with Australian core culture. Therefore, failure to implement the multiculturalism

based on the principles of cultural equality can also impact upon the career progress struggles of the non-English speaking migrants.

In comparison to Australia and other nations that use the points system, the United States gives more weight to kinship as compared to qualifications and skills. However, as mentioned above, the trend in the United States is to provide opportunities to international students to fulfill local skills shortages (Lowell 2001). This might create better opportunities for aspiring skilled migrants in the United States job market, as they have already earned degrees from local institutions. In Australia, professional migrant managers, especially from Asian origins, claim that they face non-recognition of overseas acquired skills (Watson 1996). Therefore, when one compares this to the USA, the American system can be said to motivate potential migrants to acquire a local degree.

2.4.3 Migration schemes other than specific permanent skilled migration schemes

Researchers have observed that in certain regions policies about migration and migrants exist which are not very well defined and have been considered not very proactive, such as Europe (Randall 2003). Europe is a continent that has been a source of migrants for countries like Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States. For the last two decades, it has become a major immigrant destination (Massey et al. 1993). Most European countries, with the exception of the United Kingdom, have not introduced special measures to recruit highly skilled workers and they still mostly rely upon their existing work permit systems (Mclaughlan and Salt 2002). The European Union has 27 member states and, following the Schengen agreement, the borders between the nations have diminished. Therefore, it is recognised among the member nations that there is a need to establish a common EU immigration policy to replace the inconsistent and fragmented policies of all the member states (Adepoju, Noorloos, and Zoomers 2010). However, the different economic, cultural and political conditions of the member nations, as well as the different bureaucratic structures of their immigration departments, makes the adoption of a common immigration policy a very complex issue (Jordan, Stråth, and Triandafyllidou 2003). According to Randall (2003), thirty years ago it was

unimaginable that the white-dominated society of Europe would change into a multiethnic continent of unforeseen developments and unintended consequences. Randall has looked at the experience of France, the United Kingdom and Germany. He explains that as immigration became permanent, the default opinion of the local population across Europe became anti-immigrant, which was rooted in ignorance. He also suggests that permanent migration in Europe was unexpected and unwanted, hence the integration policies were developed belatedly and inadequately. For example, the UK adopted an anti-discrimination policy as early as 1965, the Netherlands in 1981, and in France and Germany this job is left to localities (Randall 2003). The late adoption of anti-discrimination policies can have negative consequences on the settlement of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers. Regardless of the difference in the immigration policies of different regions, it can be understood that nations in need of highly skilled professionals and managers try to find ways to compensate their skill shortages through qualified and experienced people from overseas. The next section explores the question of whether those nations with a demand for skilled migrants achieve their goals of integrating highly skilled professionals and managers within their areas of need.

2.5. Consequences of policies: brain gain or brain waste?

It is evident from the literature that a gap exists between skilled immigration policies and the labour market settlement of those migrants. When highly skilled migrants arrive in the host nations they bring with them the skills and experience acquired in their home countries. According to Salt (1997), ideally a brain drain for the home country should be a brain gain for the host country, where the skills and experience of the migrant are to be utilised. Nonetheless, the research suggests that the reality is quite different. Highly skilled migrants go through a process of deskilling by going into forms of employment not requiring the skills attained in their respective home countries (Salt 1997). Salt (1997) defines this process as brain waste. However, brain waste is, again, a very broad definition as, at times, some highly skilled migrants do gain employment in their respective fields, but can still feel dissatisfied with their occupational achievements and that their talents are being wasted. For example, according to Lowell (2001), who conducted research in the United States, foreign migrant workers will often take blue collar jobs as they are willing to work

for longer hours at lower salaries than the locals. Therefore, entry in the US job market is tough for the migrants which can result in exploitation by their employers. There is also evidence in the research that the attitude of the natives can impact upon immigrants seeking career success. For example, Esses, et al. (2001)found similar attitudes in both Canada and USA, where immigrant success was perceived as a loss for the native workers.

A study conducted in Canada by Boyd and Thomas (2001) on engineers supports the concept of brain waste. It was found that skilled migrants arriving in Canada after the age of 28 who held masters and PhD degrees had higher unemployment rates compared to those who were Canadian-born and migrants arriving at younger ages. The reason for this high rate of unemployment is due to the non-recognition of overseas skills and education as well as the accreditation requirements. This led to a mismatch of jobs in relation to the migrant qualifications. As better employment opportunities is one of the motivating factors for a migrant to migrate to a developed nation, sometimes the ground realities are different. For example, research undertaken in New Zealand identifies a gap between immigration policy and labour market practices in which it was found that locals with similar educational backgrounds were given preference over migrants (Ward and Masgoret 2007). Randall (2003) also looked at employment statistics in some European nations. He reported that, in the UK, employment rates among whites was 75.1 percent compared to the average of 57 percent for African and Asian people (1998 figures). For Pakistani and Bangladeshi Britons, it was 35 percent and 41 percent, respectively. In Germany in 2000, the unemployment rate among immigrants was 16.4 percent, double the rate for the local population. The reason given by Randall (2003) for the struggle faced by migrants in Europe is that European policy makers did not expect immigration to evolve into something permanent. Therefore, the policies that were developed were reactive and, in terms of integration, less than successful.

Although brain waste can be considered a very important theme, it still fails to fully encompass the complexities and other processes that might be associated with highly skilled migration. Therefore, there is a need to understand the potential consequences of brain waste. Furthermore, there is also a need to analyse how highly skilled

migrant professionals and managers resolve the crises they face when struggling in a new home land. The extent of this resolution also needs to be examined.

2.5.1. Discrimination and its consequences

Many researchers have looked at migrant under-achievement from the point of view of discrimination. As Varma (2002) explains, Asian migrants in the United States do not have a similar chance of being promoted in science and engineering organisations. They are seldom part of the management team in private companies, government agencies and institutions of higher education, despite being represented highly as professionals. The incorporation efforts of migrants in the host society's labour market is a very complex process. During this process, some research has also indicated that migrants try to rely upon their inter-ethnic relations to gain employment. For example, detailed work on such social ties among Asian migrants in the USA by Sanders, Nee, and Sernau (2002) explain that new migrants who rely upon their own ethnic networks do get jobs, but most of the times those jobs are of low prestige and do not match their overseas acquired skills. They also explain that women in Asian communities relied more upon such social networks to seek employment. According to Castles (2002), discrimination against migrants gives rise to reactive ethnicity which can lead to closed transnational communities relying only on their own ethnic links. This may leave a negative effect on policies of cohesion and citizenship. Therefore, in such situations of reactive ethnicity, the expectation by the host nation that the migrants will not only bring expertise but also integrate within the social and work life would be quite unrealistic.

2.5.2 Manifestations of underachievement

Some researchers have also explained that due to lack of occupational achievement, migrants can experience stress and anxiety. As Bhugra (2004) explains, migration itself is a very complex phenomenon and the individual migrant goes through a series of stages of adjustment and responses to a number of stressors related to preparation, process and post-migration adjustment. In a study conducted on highly educated unemployed migrants it was found that the duration of unemployment was a contributor to anxiety and stress, even in situations which involved high levels of social and family support, as an individual in this situation also registers a sense of

the unmet expectations of the support group (Rachel Lev-Wiesel 2004). Research has also found that in the United States, the foreign qualifications of the migrants also results in lower salaries compared to people who have local degrees (Zeng and Xie 2004). Bhattacharya and Schoppelrey (2004) conducted research on migrants of Indian origin who had migrated to the United States. This research was a comparison of pre-immigration beliefs with post-immigration experience. According to their research, people decided to migrate to the USA for better opportunities and more comfortable living. Television programs had been their primary exposure to American life. After migrating however, many of them were found employed in jobs like cab driving due to a lack of skill recognition. This led the migrants to realise that they did not anticipate how hard they would have to work to pay for rent, food and clothing. All these hardships resulted in stress and, as a result of their long working hours, they were left with little time to acquire any further skills. This resulted in a post-migration belief that their children, if given a proper education, can fulfill the parent's "American dream". This represents another dilemma for South Asian skilled migrants: in order to reach some kind of resolution to their own under-achievement, individuals in this situation will often attempt to live their hopes and aspirations through the next generation.

2.5.3 The glass door

Research evidence suggests that skilled migrants experience barriers to entering employment (sometimes referred to as the 'glass door') at the beginning of their job search in Australia. According to Watson (1996), a major reason for this is that local managers in Australia prefer to hire 'clones' (people very similar to them) which can put overseas-born managers at a disadvantage. Even if they are hired, Watson points out, managers from different ethnic backgrounds are generally marginalised by the Australian sporting and drinking cultural practices which can make it difficult to penetrate the inner circle of an organisation. For South Asian immigrant managers, this leads to a mismatch between educational success and managerial success. Watson (1996) highlights that Australian companies insist that overseas-born managers should have lived in Australia long enough 'to understand the Australian psyche.' One consultant suggested that, after five years in Australia, immigrants become more competitive in the employment market. According to Watson(1996),

many managers in organisations believe that Asian managers are too authoritarian to manage the Australian workforce, do not sell themselves well and are too arrogant. One solution provided in the literature to limit the influence of local bias was to have diversity programs in organisations that recognise the specific issues and needs related to heterogeneous groups of employees, including ethnic minorities (Kramar 1998), as there are also challenges for the migrants after securing employment. According to Syed and Kramar(2010), the legal framework in Australia does not obligate the organisations to manage cultural diversity and there is little evidence of the adoption of an integrated approach towards managing migrants, especially from non-English speaking backgrounds. They further explained that this non-integrated approach has a consequence of confining non-English speaking migrants to low grade jobs with very little representation within boardroom and executive positions. Another flaw within the Australian organisational diversity policy was identified by Bertone and Leahy(2003). According to these researchers, the policy was more reflective of productive diversity where migrants were treated as factory fodder to improve the growth of manufacturing industries. They further emphasised that this policy does not recognise the rights of individuals free from stereotypes and, as a consequence of this policy, the minority ethnic groups do not achieve according to their full potential and remain marginalised and disadvantaged. Similarly, Mellor (2004) in his work on discrimination against Vietnamese migrants in Australia concluded that discrimination was experienced within the system rather than as a barrier to entry. A major issue for many migrants from Vietnam was that they were denied opportunities for promotion. However, it can happen both ways; that is, sometimes it could be a barrier to entry and sometimes it could be a barrier to a promotion.

Research has also been conducted on female skilled migrants in different regions. According to Purkayastha (2005), most of the Asian women entering the US as dependents on their husbands follow a different course in their career advancement. She further explains that even highly skilled female migrants, specifically from Asia, struggled for years for a career breakthrough. Furthermore, the reasons for their marginalisation include lack of ethnic contacts, hardships in relation to balancing job and family commitments, even with their husband's support, and lack of extended

family support. In addition to these challenges, they also face racial and gender barriers. Bagchi (2001) reports that in the USA gender plays a significant role in employee networking and it is easier for men to gain visa sponsorship from employers than it is for women.

In Europe, like the USA, very limited research has been undertaken on female skilled migrants. According to Kofman and Raghuram (2005), female skilled migrants are only mentioned occasionally in statistics on the gender breakdown of employment and very little literature is available on issues relating to female migration. These researchers further maintain that the key reasons for the dearth of research on the female skilled migrant experience is the focus on only a few professions and the generalisation within the research about the migrant experience, instead of considering gender specific issues.

In Canada and New Zealand, according to McLaren and Dyck (2004), migrant females in Canada faced even greater challenges than men as mothers and radicalised women with misrecognised experience, knowledge and skills. According to Cardu (2007), the female migrants, just like their male counterparts, must follow the learning pattern of knowing how, who and why when acquiring knowledge about new work routines, forming networks and building identities. She also added that, in addition to family and spouse responsibilities, other obstacles which prevented women from gaining professional recognition were a lack of local cultural knowledge and the job market. Furthermore Cardu (2007) concludes that female migrants confronted mistrust from their employers which can lead them into accepting jobs which do not match their skill level. Froroutan's (2008) research with South Asian female migrants argues that family and religion play a vital role in their employment status. He further asserts that Muslim women specifically are at an extra disadvantage within certain organisations if they choose to follow their religious values, such as dress code. Therefore, it can be concluded that women under such circumstances cannot even use socialisation as a tool to gain advantage within their organisations. Iredale (2005) suggests that cultural attitudes have a marked impact on female skilled migrant's employment and settlement. She points out that cultural attitudes to their employment and careers, and family and societal

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values affect the position of women in society and their ability to migrate. These values can make some women delay their applications for immigration and the recognition of their skills until their spouse has completed the process (Iredale 2005). It can be inferred from these examples that the struggle of female skilled migrants has another angle which has not been given adequate attention within the skilled migrant research. If the female experience is summed up, they not only face the same barriers to entry that their male counter parts experience, but also barriers from within their own cultures. Considering the level of achievement, or under achievement, of highly skilled professionals and managers from a broader perspective, their successful settlement in the host countries is a challenge. This challenge is due to the failure of the policies which are aimed at obtaining brain gain from the overseas-acquired skills and experiences of migrants.

It seems that the policies of those nations with a high demand for highly skilled migrants usually fail to achieve their goals. The highly skilled migrant professionals and managers whose expectations are not met usually do not return to their home countries. Instead, they try to meet their financial needs through jobs which do not match their qualifications and experience. This may increase the economic productivity of the host nation as the migrant still becomes part of the labour at large. However, this also represents a loss on the part of the host nation, not only for not utilising the expertise of the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, but also due to the failure to enhance their capabilities. Therefore, the evidence from the literature suggests that due to the gap between the immigration policies and the actual professional settlement of the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, this becomes a brain waste for the host nations instead of the anticipated brain gain. Furthermore, it can also be concluded that neither the home nation nor the host nation is a winner in this scenario, as the home nation loses the highly skilled professionals and experiences brain drain and the host nation also loses by not utilising the expertise of these migrants.

2.6 Exploring the essence of skilled migrant experience

This section will explore themes concerning highly skilled migrant professionals and managers in the extant research and will also identify gaps in the literature. Finally, a combination of theoretical perspectives that will be employed in this thesis to fill that gap will be proposed.

The focus of existing research on highly skilled migrant professionals and managers is based upon pre-existing ethnic and race relations, government policies and the changing nature of international boundaries (Reitz-Jeffrey 2002). Although these areas are important, there is also a need to understand the perspectives of skilled migrants regarding their endeavours to gain acceptance, and progress in their careers. According to Nagel (2005), there are some misconceptions in the existing literature that skilled migrants are high-flying corporate executive elites who remain aloof from local life. She further explains that this limited view does not capture the diversity of experience among skilled migrants or the wider socio-economic disparities that exist for them. This concept was also supported by Syed (2008), who argues that it is not surprising to find that official rhetoric about skilled migrants in many developed nations does not usually match the occupational outcomes of migrant workers. He also explains that skilled migration is a complex phenomenon and certain areas or contextual variables which are not often explored when conducting research on skilled migrants must nevertheless be taken into consideration. He identified that these variables could be social stereotypes, anti-discrimination and human right laws, and that they had an effect on real and perceived limitations on employment opportunities available to the skilled migrants. Furthermore, social roles like ethnicity, gender and values, and their intersection with skill, legal status and duration of stay in the host economy are also variables impacting on the migrant experience. Therefore, this raises the question about a suitable research approach that would get to the real essence of the experience of being a highly skilled migrant professional and manager. This would not stop at discrimination, ethnicity and socio-economic issues, but extend further to also explore critical events in the lives of such migrants that have a long lasting impact on their way of thinking and career trajectories as a consequence of the situations faced by them.

The focus of some of the recent studies on migrants has also included economic productivity. For example, a study conducted about attitudes towards multiculturalism in Australia concluded that that if good integration and social harmony were achieved with respect to migrants then this might also have a positive impact upon economic productivity (Dandy and Pe-Pua 2009). This perspective takes a very broad view of the whole scenario which raises the question about whether the migrant receiving nations are only interested in the increase in economic productivity with the help of skilled immigrants without paying any attention to their improved settlement within their respective professions. Furthermore, looking at highly skilled migrant professionals and managers from alternative perspectives reveals that economic productivity may increase but there is also the need to examine the implications of this increase upon the migrants who did not get the professional recognition they deserved. For example, a report (Kifle 2009) about the impact of immigrants on the earnings of native born Australians explains the implications for both native born Australians and immigrants. According to this report, immigrants have a positive impact on the earnings of the native born. Furthermore, the report revealed that a negative effect on the earnings of the natives was found in low skilled occupations where a large number of immigrants employed in low skilled positions were overeducated and this resulted in more earnings for them than their native born coworkers (Kifle 2009). These examples led to the conclusion that economic productivity cannot be the sole criteria for judging the success or failure of migration. These examples illustrate that existing research on highly skilled migrant professionals and managers after discrimination mostly explores the economic implications of the underutilisation of the skilled migrant's skills. This also explains that skilled migrants may increase the economic productivity by doing low skilled jobs but that might not make them an economic asset for the host nation (Dandy and Pe-Pua 2009; Nannestad 2007). When examined together, concepts of economic productivity and being an economic asset can be quite confusing; that is, a highly skilled migrant professional and manager who is not able to meet his or her expectations by not doing a job in their respective profession, or at a lower level in the respective profession, could still be regarded as an economic asset if he or she is still contributing to economic productivity of the host nation.

Although economic implications and discrimination are important issues, the story of skilled migrants does not finish here; indeed, this is where the story commences. According to Syed (2008), previous research undertaken on migrants to Australia, USA, UK and other Western, industrialised countries focuses on examining skilled migrants as a factor of production flowing across international borders. He further explains that the skilled migrant experience cannot be just confined to either human capital or a socio-cultural perspective. Their employment experiences are more complex and are shaped not only by the level of skill they have acquired and by economic factors, but also by their perceptions of and experiences within the host society and its occupational opportunity structure. Therefore there is a need of a better understanding of how highly skilled migrants make sense of their new environment and how it impacts their behavior. Furthermore, how this scenario impacts their cultural and economic adaptations. The policy makers, service providers and general society should be equipped with the knowledge to address the issues faced by these migrants. Different aspects of the skilled migrant experience can be dealt with in a complementary and mutually reinforcing way.

To achieve this there is a need to look at the complex experience that skilled migrants go through in Australia and consider that as a foundation for comparative studies of skilled migrant communities' experiences in other regions of the world. This can be achieved by using the concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1986). Habitus can fully encompass economic, cultural and social aspects of a highly skilled migrant professional and manager's life. As habitus is comprised of economic, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986), Bourdieu (1986) also explains that every human being can possess such capital at different levels. The proceeding sections will explore the concept of habitus in detail and establish links between the migration experience and habitus.

2.7 Existing literature on habitus

There is little research available in the published literature about habitus within the context of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers. However, there are some papers which discuss transnational habitus of migrants (Kelly and Lusis 2006).

Some researchers have also recognised the importance of habitus to a person's career (Mayrhofer et al. 2004). Other researchers have also looked at the negative impact of the home country's habitus upon migrants, with special focus on social capital (Wacquant 1998). Kelly and Lusis (2006) conducted a study of the transnational habitus of migrants from the Philippines in Canada. They concluded that immigration is commonly interpreted as an economic phenomenon but migrants actually live in a social world that has far more than just economic implications. According to them, the migrants from the Philippines can convert their economic capital into social and cultural capital back home, but this conversion is challenging for them to implement in Canada.

Despite the above-mentioned examples, a gap exists in the existing literature with regards to actually explaining the lived experience of being a highly skilled migrant professional and migrant manager in host countries, especially in Australia. There is an overwhelming need to define the challenges experienced by the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers as well as to fully understand the resolution of those challenges or the extent to which resolution of these challenges is possible.

The uniqueness of this thesis begins with, firstly, defining the challenge as the crisis of habitus faced by the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers of South Asia in Australia. This definition has also been used in Australia within the higher education industry (Zipin and Brennan 2003). These migrants face this crisis of habitus because they are disembedded from the inherited social conditions of their home countries (Bauman 2000; Gane 2004; Giddens 1990). The focus of this thesis and the nature of the crisis is different in Australia, as will be observed in the subsequent sections. This thesis utilises the combination of sense-making and acculturation (Weick 1995; Sakamoto 2007) theories to explain the resolution of the crisis of habitus by skilled migrants from South Asia in their effort to re-embed themselves in the Australian work environment, beginning with explaining habitus and the role it plays in a skilled migrant's life. Although the theories of habitus, disembedding/re-embedding, acculturation and sense-making exist in diverse research areas there is little evidence found in the literature where all these theories

have been combined in this manner to explain the phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional and manager in Australia.

2.8 Habitus

The term habitus derives from the Latin verb habere meaning "to have" or "to hold"(Swartz 2002,61S). According to Bourdieu (1990,53) "habitus is a system of durable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them". Swartz (2002) has provided an explanation of this complex definition. According to Swartz, children raised in a family of athletes will develop their own sporting abilities and develop dispositions which incorporate an understanding of good sports, which would not be as likely for a child belonging to a family of musicians. He also explains that a child's future profession can depend upon the way he or she socialises during childhood; that is, with what type of community or professionals. Furthermore, the 'structured structures' represent any individuals' relationship to the society that is in the individuals' habitus: their lives are shaped by their socialisation within the society's structures. Therefore, this explanation establishes that the society within which a person is brought up has an impact on that person's habitus. If this concept is examined within the context of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, the professions which they belong to which are considered to require high level skills does not just include a university or a college degree, but is actually a process of evolution and growth they went through within their respective societies. The evolution and growth of a person in a society does not complete the whole picture of the habitus possessed by that person. To grow in a society an individual needs power and that power is derived from the capital that an individual possesses (Bourdieu 1986). Bourdieu's concept of habitus provides the context that explains not only various forms of capital, that is economic, social and cultural, but also how they are valued and given meaning (Kelly and Lusis 2006). Bourdieu's concept of capital is very different from the concept of capital in the field of economics as he includes not only the economic

aspect but also introduces the social and cultural aspects of any individual's capital. A key feature of the various forms of Buordieu's capitals, as explained by Kelly and Lusis (2006), is that these are contingent, in the sense that their valuation is determined within a social and spatial context. They further suggest that habitus is actually the framework within which the value associated with each capital is established. Therefore, according to these researchers, individuals establish the worth of certain things with respect to the rules established by the society within which they interact. Furthermore, it can be concluded that capital possessed by the individuals is the foundation of habitus. This concept of capital is very useful for this research as it helps to understand the world of highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers who have migrated to Australia.

Capital, according to Bourdieu (1986,46), takes time to accumulate in its different forms and, as it contains the potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form and the tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is equally possible or impossible. Bourdieu further explains that the capital of an individual depends upon the social world in which he or she exists. Therefore, the structure of the distribution of different types of capital in a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world. In other words, the set of constraints that exist in that world and govern its functioning in a durable way, determines the chances of success for practices. Furthermore, the functioning of an individual's social world can only be understood by looking at different forms of capital as a whole, not just the economic one, as examined by economists. The proceeding sections will discuss the conversion of one form of capital into another; however, this conversion depends upon the constraints of the social world in which an individual exists. When Bourdieu argues that everything is equally possible or impossible, he means that in any society an individual based on the power of the capital will either achieve something he or she aspired to achieve, or he or she may not successfully achieve that goal. He also explains that an imaginary world of perfect competition and equal opportunity exists, as just by a spin of the wheel an individual can win lots of money in a short space of time which can change his or her social status instantaneously. There are three forms of capital that form an individual's habitus, including cultural,

social and economic. Another point to note is that for a highly skilled migrant professional and manager of South Asia, this research has explored the possibilities as well as the impossibilities with respect to their professional progress within the host country, Australia.

2.8.1 Cultural capital

Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in an embodied state which refers to a person's race or accent; in an objectified state which can be a person's way of dressing or art collection; and, finally, in the institutionalised form which includes a person's qualifications or degrees earned (Bourdieu 1986). Going into the highly skilled migrant professionals and manager's world there is the need to acknowledge that they have two forms of existence: one in the home country's social world and the other in the host country's social world which, for the purpose of this research is Australia. Therefore, it can be concluded that their habitus can also be classified into two categories; that is, the home country habitus and the host country habitus. Therefore, all three forms of cultural capital could have different implications for this type of migrant in the home country, as well as the host country. According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital can be converted into economic capital under certain conditions. This implies that an individual can utilise the institutional cultural capital to get a job and build up a career based upon the skills acquired through education. The earnings from that job will become a part of that person's economic capital. When highly skilled South Asian professionals and managers are employed in the home country they could be successfully converting their institutionalised cultural capital into economic capital. At the same time, they also interact with their home countries' societies where the embodied and objectified cultural capital can play a vital role in the continuous evolution of their habitus. The usefulness of cultural capital cannot be ignored, as it is all about a person's identity. Research by Zipin and Brennan (2003) has also explored the role of this identity in the crisis of habitus.

2.8.2 Social capital

Social capital is made up of social obligations, which incorporates connections with other individuals, and can be converted in certain conditions into economic capital

which can sometimes also be institutionalised in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu 1986). Therefore, social capital is mainly about a person's connections or networks. These networks are also sometimes helpful for a person to acquire a job or a professional up-grade in any organisation. According to Kelly and Lusis (2006), in a labour market these connections can be used to gain referrals and favourable consideration for certain jobs. They further explain that these connections depend upon the positioning of those with whom a certain individual can claim contacts, which sometimes depends upon class and status structures within a society. Therefore, social capital can be simply explained as an investment in social relations with expected returns (Lin 1999). From the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers' perspective, when they are residents of their home country, they are part of their home country's habitus. The individual has been brought up in the home country and has been interacting with the home country society since birth. As habitus is very much embedded in the society a person is raised in, the society teaches the individual rules about forming networks. According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital is not quite independent of a person's cultural and economic capital and sometimes class and status also play a role in the position a person might possess within a network of people. Therefore, when in their home countries, highly skilled migrant professionals and managers might be well aware of means to gain acceptance within certain social circles which can guarantee them the desired returns: a good, secure job or a position in an organisation. Summing up, in any society, the network of relationships are the product of individual and collective strategies which are sometimes conscious and sometimes unconscious, with the aim of reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the long-term and short-term (Bourdieu 1986). A highly skilled migrant professional and manager is a person who is moving from one society to another. Therefore, studying the impact of migration on social capital can also explain how successful or unsuccessful an individual has been in recovering their social losses in the new home land. Furthermore, what could the impact of this loss on their careers be?

2.8.3 Economic capital

Economic capital is capital possessed by individuals that can be immediately and directly converted into money and can be institutionalised in the form of property rights (Bourdieu 1986). Individuals need economic capital as their livelihood depends on that. However, as seen in the above two sections, both social and cultural capital accumulate over time which can be used as a tool to obtain and increase economic capital. The importance of economic capital in both the home country and host nation cannot be ignored. Lack of social capital and the handicaps associated with cultural capital can lead to a depletion of economic capital and, hence, contribute to the crisis of habitus.

The crisis of habitus (Zipin and Brennan 2003), due to shifts in capital, leads to disembedding (Beck 1997). When migrants arrive in a new country they experience disembedding, as they are up-rooted from their inherited social conditions (Williams 2000). They may attempt to re-embed themselves within the new social spaces, which includes the general environment and their organisations. It requires an effort to resolve the crisis of habitus to re-embed themselves within their new environment. The following section explores the concept of being disembedded and answers the question of what this actually means for a migrant and how it is linked to habitus.

2.9 Disembedding

Disembedding is a process which is the 'socially-sanctioned' (Bauman 2000, 32) deracination of individuals; removing them from their native culture, 'from the plot in which they germinated and from which they sprouted' (Gane 2004, 32). Yet this is followed by a process of re-embedding in which individuals try to forge their self-identification within a new environment (Atkinson 2008). The concepts of disembedding and re-embedding have been used by social theorists like Beck (1997) and Lash (1999), to explain the effects of globalisation on the lives of people. Disembedding refers to the up-rooting of individuals from the familiar structures and cultures that defined their lives and the re-embedding that follows is the process by which individuals develop new biographies to suit their new situation. In terms ofhighly skilled migrant professionals and managers, it is argued here that the very

act of migration disembeds individuals from their familiar life-world and sets in motion a process of re-embedding of which work and career is a central element. However, Baumann (2000) suggests the possibility that those who cannot or choose not to develop these new biographies may become chronically disembedded. According to Baumann (2000, xvi), for these people there is 'no rest and no satisfaction on arrival, no comfort in reaching the destination where one can disarm, relax and stop worrying'. Whilst Baumann was expressing himself metaphorically, for migrants this can be a concrete reality. These feelings of disembeddedness are described by Peeler (2002) who argues that migrants walk in two worlds, yet walk in none; they are uprooted from their home culture and struggle to feel at home in any other. This state of disembeddedness can be connected to the struggle which migrants go through in their professional lives.

According to Lewellen(2002), in this new social space migrants are transnational migrants who maintain active, ongoing interconnections (social, cultural, political and economic) in both home and host countries and, perhaps, with communities with other countries as well. Living across borders, transnational migrants give rise to a breakdown in the identification of nation and state and give rise to a deterritorialised state or, more accurately, deterritorialised space. The transnational migrant space is created because of time and space distance which is driven largely by the forces of globalisation and transnationalism (Kivisto 2001). Forces such as globalization give rise to a proliferation of social relations across greater distances (Giddens 1990), creating new social spaces without geographical boundaries. Such processes create the disembedding experiences that Giddens (1990) defines as the lifting out of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space. In their new homeland, migrants are part of the new social space which includes both ethnic communities as well as local ones. Some researchers have indicated that the assimilation of migrants really depends upon the social space they are occupying within the host nations (Mykes and Hou 2004). According to Hou and Myles, spatial assimilation means that migrants in better housing conditions and working in better jobs are in spaces where there are more chances of assimilation, compared to those experiencing poor financial conditions and living in ethnic ghettoes. This is an important conclusion that has a strong link

to habitus (Bourdieu 1986) as a person who is a new migrant might not have enough economic capital which can result in a low-income lifestyle and impact upon the individual's social and cultural capital.

It is worth observing that both the concepts of habitus and disembedding revolve around the social space occupied by individuals (Bourdieu 1986; Lewellen 2002). Therefore, the experience of migration can lead to a disturbance in a person's social space. In the context of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, this concept of social space is quite useful to observe that certain processes happen in their minds to enable them to adjust to new social spaces, where they may be required to overcome barriers in their professional and social lives. To explain these processes, this thesis has utilised the theories of acculturation and sense-making.

2.10 Acculturation

According to the classical definition, acculturation is defined as those phenomena which result when groups of individuals who have lived within different cultures come into continuous, first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936, 149). However, Barnett (1954) emphasises that assimilation is not the only kind of acculturation. It can also be reactive, triggering resistance to change in both groups; creative, stimulating new cultural forms not found in either of the groups; and delayed, initiating changes that appear more fully years later. The concept of acculturation falls into four categories: integration (accept old culture, accept new culture), assimilation (reject old culture, accept new culture), separation (accept old culture, reject new culture), and marginalisation (reject old culture, reject new culture) (Sakamoto 2007). This acculturation process in the context of career and employment is examined by Lewis (2005, 96) who maintains that 'migrant staff undergo a complex process of orientation and learning' as they try to 'adapt to the interpersonal practices of learning and teaching, care and professionalism and quality management in a large organisation'.

Immigrants do encounter unfamiliar situations and pass through a stressful process that requires emotional, social, cultural, educational and economic adjustments

(Thomas 1995). It can be argued that highly skilled migrant professionals and managers do experience cultural shock to a certain extent. The term 'cultural shock' was introduced by Oberg (1960) which describes the anxiety of a new migrant who fails to understand the new, unfamiliar culture. Cultural shock has also been defined as a situation in which an individual is forced to adjust to an unfamiliar social system where previous learning no longer applies (Pedersen 1995). There are usually six indicators that can reveal cultural shock, including missing familiar behavioral cues; values considered good or desirable are no longer respected by the host culture; disorientation resulting in anxiety depression or hostility; dissatisfaction with the new ways; recovery skills no longer working; and, finally, a feeling that the cultural shock discrepancy is permanent and will never go away (Pedersen 1995). Furthermore, there is evidence in the literature that provides a link between cultural shock and the process of acculturation (Oberg 1960; Pedersen 1995; Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001). However, Berry (1970; Berry et al. 1987; Berry 1990, 1997; Berry 2005) introduced an alternative term to cultural shock with respect to the acculturation process, which he terms acculturation stress. One of the reasons given by him for using this alternative term is that the notion of shock carries only negative connotations. While the notion of stress connotes a negative experience in the field of health psychology, stress can be both positive (eustress) and negative (dis-stress) in valence. Berry (2005) further explains that acculturation has both positive and negative elements which includes opportunities (positive) and discrimination (negative). Therefore 'stress' is a more accurate conceptualisation of the range of affect experienced during acculturation. Moreover, shock does not have cultural or psychological theory, or a research context associated with it. Secondly, the term 'culture' just refers to only culture's involvement, whereas the term 'acculturation' draws attention to the fact that two cultures are interacting and can produce stress phenomena. Berry (2005) also concluded, based upon certain findings, that for acculturative stress there is a clear picture that the integration process is less stressful when the majority of society accommodates it, but marginalisation is most stressful in-between assimilation and separation, sometimes one and sometimes the other being less stressful. He further explains that evidence exists that people who experienced acculturation actually do survive and, instead of diminishing, do find opportunities to achieve their goals. The reason for the focus on the negative aspects

is partly due to the history of acculturation studies in psychology and psychiatry. Therefore, an in-depth examination of migrants' experiences could reveal the stories of how they survived in their efforts to achieve their goals and how stressful this process was for them. It can also be concluded that although cultural shock does have a link to migration it is too narrow to explain the whole migrant experience. According to Berry's (2005) approach, acculturation stress would be a better way to explore that experience.

There is a conventional view about migrants in the existing research. According to this view people who are born into one culture and then move to another undergo a linear process of acculturation which ends in assimilation. This has been criticised by many researchers including Bhatia and Ram (2001) who question its monolithic perspective. Peeler (2002) argues that the process is much more complex because cultural identity is fragmented and incomplete, consisting of multiple identities, interests and beliefs. Hermans and Kempens (1998) maintain that acculturation is very much a dialogic process of negotiation and mediation between sometimes incompatible positions resulting in, as claimed by Bhabha (1994), a situation in which migrants are at the same time assimilated, separated and marginalised. According to Arnd et al. (2003) the attitudes of locals towards immigrants play a significant role in acculturation. They further explain that this attitude is heavily influenced by the media and that any negative portrayal of migrants in the media hinders the acculturation process. According to Thomas (1995), the whole process of acculturation can result in stress for migrants and these stressors could be due to barriers in relation to language, education, unemployment and low socio-economic status. In one comparative study conducted by Wong-Rieger and Quintana (1987) in Oklahoma, USA it was found that bicultural communities with strong ethnic networks were less assimilated compared to the communities with weak networks. Therefore, it can be concluded that when highly skilled migrant professionals and managers experience any type of exclusion in or out of their organisations, they can be pushed into their own ethnic communities which can result in a lack of local social capital, which forms part of their habitus (Bourdieu 1986), and which ultimately impacts on their professional lives.

In the context of Australia, Iredale (1999) argues that the experiences of skilled migrants is shaped to a large extent by a persistent Anglo-Celtic mono-cultural bias in the job market and within organisations, institutions and occupational assessment. This characteristic can lead to discrimination and the non-recognition of skills that often results in unemployment and under-employment of migrants. The age factor is also linked to the acculturation process. According to Schaafsma and Sweetman(2001), people arriving later in life, on average, experience low returns economically within both the foreign labour market and foreign education. They further explain that people arriving at a younger age, such as teenagers, acculturate more easily and their cultural and educational skills are similar to the locals. Therefore, it can be concluded that if highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers arrive at a later age with overseas qualifications, prospective employers could have unrealistic expectations about their acculturation.

Suarez-Orozco(2000) wrote a detailed historical analysis of the acculturation and assimilation process for migrants in the United States which can be quite useful in understanding this process for migrants in countries like Australia. He argued that, initially, when immigration was dominated by Europeans, migrant assimilation was considered a non-reversible process. However, when considering current scenarios, a different perspective must be taken. Due to advancement in technologies and transportation, immigrants can articulate dual consciousness and dual identities. It would be incorrect, therefore, to assume that present-day migrants ultimately join the homogeneous society dominated by the white, European middle-class. On the contrary, today's migrants live in multicultural societies segregated from the white middle-class. However, the author does recognise that some highly skilled migrants do well and face less segregation. He argues that in current times, the culture should be re-defined into two categories: instrumental and expressive culture. Instrumental culture encompasses skills, competencies and social behaviors which are required to make a living and to make a contribution to society. Expressive culture includes values, world views and interpersonal relations which give meaning and sustain the sense of self. This is the point which links the process of acculturation to the habitus of the highly skilled migrant professional and manager. Acculturation can be seen as a process which is rooted in an individual's cultural and social capital (Bourdieu

1986). For example, the instrumental culture (Suarez-Orozco 2000) is the same as a person's institutional cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986), whereas the expressive culture (Suarez-Orozco 2000) is quite similar to an individual's embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). Given this definition, and looking at the whole process of acculturation, this process is very much social as, during this process, people of different cultures interact with each other (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936, 149) which can impact on the person's social capital (Bourdieu 1986). That person in this research is the highly skilled South Asian migrant professional and manager who can experience either the integration, assimilation, separation or marginalisation category of the acculturation process(Sakamoto 2007), depending upon his or her experience. This is one of the quests of this research; to identify the causes for individual's belonging to one of these categories which will be very useful in explaining the extent of the resolution of the crisis of habitus in a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional's and manager's life in Australia

Suarez-Orozco(2000) summed up his argument about the two different cultures to which a highly skilled migrant professional and manager can belong, as the sense of who you are and where you belong is deeply patterned by instrumental and expressive culture. What he is pointing out here is that culture is also about a person's identity which is also dependent upon a person's cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). This whole process, or path, through which these migrants reach certain conclusions about their identities and socialisation within the host society requires further explanation. This is where the theory of sense-making is utilised.

2.11 Highly skilled migrant professionals and managers and sense-making in organisations

Sense-making plays a vital role in organisational assimilation of newcomers (Vernon and Jablin 1991). The basic idea of sense-making is that reality is an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs in the environment (Weick 1993). Sense-making is a process in which an individual makes sense of his environment and rationalises his behavior based on interpretation of the environment which he belongs to (Salancik and Pfeffer

1978). Furthermore, such sense-making also occurs in social contexts in which norms and expectations affect the rationalisations developed for behavior and this can be described as the process of legitimating behavior (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978). After joining an organisation, individuals rationalise the events and actions happening around them (Weick 2001). Weick(1995, 61) lists seven properties which describe the sense-making process:

1. Identity: The recipe is a question about who a person is as indicated by discovery of how and what he or she thinks.
2. Retrospect: To learn what a person thinks, by looking back over what he or she said earlier.
3. Enactment: To create the object to be seen and inspected when a person says or does something.
4. Social: What a person says and singles out and concludes is determined by who socialised him or her and how this socialisation happened, as well as by the audience it is anticipated would audit the conclusions reached by that person.
5. Ongoing: A person's communication is spread across time, competes for attention with other ongoing projects and is reflected on after it is finished, which means that his or her interests may have already changed.
6. Extracted cues: The 'what' that a person singles out and embellishes as the content of the thought is only a small portion of the utterance that becomes salient because of context and personal dispositions.
7. Plausibility: A person needs to know enough about what he or she thinks to get on with his or her projects but no more, which means that sufficiency and plausibility take precedence over accuracy.

Therefore, it can be observed that sense-making is not a simple process and every individual processes information within an organisation based upon the seven properties outlined above. These seven properties are utilised to explain how highly skilled migrant professionals and managers make sense of their new work environments in Australia and what conclusions they reach over the period of their stay in Australia.

According to Schwandt (2005), sense-making does not provide connection between cognition and actions based upon a set of prescribed, functional or predictive formulas. Rather, the connection focuses attention on subjective interaction, multiple socially constructed realities and the embeddedness of the process within its context; for example, power, culture and social structures. It can also be argued then that sense-making is an on-going process which depends upon an individual's socialisation. This leads to constructing meanings of events by placing them into frameworks of understanding. Thus, the way in which professional migrant managers make sense of their environment can have a significant impact on the way they adapt to their new work environment. There is also another angle to this adjustment in the new work environment with respect to the process of sense-making. Sometimes the cross-cultural encounters between the migrants and their local peers in organisations are also worth examining to understand work relations (Remennick 2004). It is very important to have good work relations with locals when the migrants try to re-embed themselves in their new work environments. Remennick's (2004) work was related to Russian-Jewish migrants in the state of Israel and the factors which influence their work relations with the locals. In her work, Remennick explains that in pluralistic societies, hegemonic groups with higher social status usually construct their own image along positive lines, while minority members are ascribed with a more negative set of features. As sense-making is also about enactment (Weick 1995), this enactment of images is happening for both migrants as well as locals. Stereotyping by locals can lead to separation and discrimination of the migrants. Remennick (2004) also explains that these stereotypes can either be enhanced or weakened through inter-group interactions. In her findings, she discovered that both immigrants and locals attributed to each other a flawed work ethic, which was based upon popular stereotypes. This type of judgment can result in plausible sense-making conclusions, not only for locals but also skilled migrants.

For highly skilled migrant professionals and managers this means coming to terms with an organisation, not only as a newcomer but also to a new cultural context. In terms of organisations, Louis (1980) argues that an individual passes through different stages of socialisation starting with being a newcomer, to becoming an

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insider. She further explains that newcomers become insiders when they are given more autonomy and broader responsibilities and entrusted with 'privileged' information through informal networks, are encouraged to represent the organisation and are asked for advice by others. Louis (1980) provides a comparison of the sense-making processes for a newcomer and an insider, arguing that the experience of newcomers differs from the insiders in three important ways. Firstly, the insiders normally know what to expect in and of situations and, therefore, little is surprising or needs to be made sense of. Secondly, when surprise occurs, an insider has sufficient history to make sense of that immediate situation and, thirdly, when surprises arise, insiders usually have other insiders with whom to compare their perceptions. For newcomers, Louis (1980) argues that a lack of such insider knowledge causes problems because meanings are attached to actions, events and surprises, using interpretative schemes developed through their experiences in cultural contexts which, therefore, may produce inaccurate understandings. As highly skilled professionals and managers are initially new to Australia, and ifthe organisation's management makes no effort to raise their level from outsiders to insiders, this may result in many wrong conclusions being reached in reaction to certain events, as observed by them according to their perspectives.

A new migrant not only brings skills but also knowledge and experience. Williams (2007) explains the need for the host nations to benefit from the global skills of the migrants and the transfer of this knowledge to local employees. She further argues that this ideal does not generally happen, as migrants are viewed as newcomers or strangers, therefore their existence is peripheral in comparison to the existence as a member of inner circles of the organisations who are regarded as a friend. Therefore, if a person cannot break this barrier, that person will not be able to completely re-embed him or herself in the host society's organisational culture. Williams (2007) argues that skilled migrants might lack sufficient reflexive capacities which leads them to acquire only routine jobs, whereas the organisations are only interested in labour cost minimisation and strict replication of the existing knowledge base. This also represents a dilemma for the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers and can lead to career stagnation rather than professional development.

The process of sense-making holds the key to explaining what occurs after the event of migration. The migrant experience is not just an event for the migrants, that is shifting from the home country to gain better opportunities, this experience is actually a series or combination of events which require an in-depth explanation.

2.12 Conclusion

Highly skilled migrant professionals and managers are different from other classifications of migrants and have different aspirations for their new home countries. According to Syed (2008), it is important to classify highly skilled migrant professionals separately as their issues and challenges are quite different compared to other migrant categories. Extending this argument further, the settlement of the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers from South Asia in Australia is quite a complex phenomenon which requires an inside perspective of the lived experiences of the skilled migrants and a consideration of how they were, or were not, able to overcome all the barriers they faced in the Australian work environment.

Highly skilled migrant professionals and managers from South Asia are individuals who have come to Australia to achieve both career and economic advancement. According to the literature reviewed, the majority of highly skilled migrant professionals face discrimination in the host countries which might lead to economic hardships. The word discrimination does not do justice to explain the actual challenges faced by them. To understand this challenge, there is the need to begin from the roots of their story and find appropriate theories to give their challenge a name and explain the resolution of that challenge. The early authors of this story are the policy makers who decide that their country needs highly skilled professionals and managers within certain areas of expertise, where the local graduates cannot fulfill the needs. Therefore, these authors devise certain policies to screen and shortlist people, such as the points system in Australia. The individuals who successfully match skilled migration criteria arrive in the new home country, leaving behind their country of birth. Following this shift, these highly skilled individuals are very much on their own to become a productive part of Australian society by

bringing their expertise to the organisations which hire them. The literature reveals a gap at this point with regards to the majority of organisations who are reluctant to recognise the skills and expertise of the migrants who have already been approved by the immigration department. Literature is available that not only discusses the flaws in the policies, but also the discrimination faced by highly skilled migrant professionals and managers. Some literature has discussed the impact of joblessness of these migrants on the economic productivities of the host nations. These numbers and statistics about economic impacts and discrimination against the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers are popular themes in the extant literature. These numbers are quite helpful in providing an overview of the situation, although these themes fail to reveal the actual story of a highly skilled migrant professional and manager.

Understanding the perspectives of skilled migrants are important as it can shed light on their psychological, economic and educational reactions to situations they encounter when their skills are not recognized. The literature discussed in this chapter has revealed that the core principle of equal opportunity as outlined in Australia's multicultural policies has failed to achieve the intended goal for skilled migrants. Therefore, the research conducted in this thesis can provide a basis for policy makers to develop a deeper understanding of the issues faced by skilled migrants especially from non-English speaking backgrounds. Furthermore, for academic researchers, this research can provide a basis for continuous evaluation of the consequences of the evolution of policies related to the settlement of the skilled migrants from culturally diverse back grounds.

The theories discussed in this chapter provide the basis of analysis of the data for this research. In this chapter, an in-depth examination of the literature about highly skilled migrant professionals and managers was carried out. It can be concluded from the existing literature that the settlement of highly skilled migrants in the organisational environment of the host country is a complex issue. It was also established that it is important to examine the perspectives of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, focusing on their occupational achievements in

Australia. A gap in the existing literature was identified as most of the literature that examined the skilled migrants' experience and settlement issues focused mostly on the phenomenon of discrimination, brain exchange and economic productivity. These discussions led to conclusions that reveal relatively little about the experiences of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers. A broader approach can be achieved through the application of disembedding/re-embedding (Giddens 1990), acculturation (Sakamoto 2007) and sense-making (Weick 1995), which should be used as a theoretical basis for explaining the crisis of habitus (Zipin and Brennan 2003). The next chapter will outline the research methodology employed in this research for the collection and analysis of the data.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, an in-depth examination of the literature about highly skilled migrant professionals and managers was carried out. In the methodology chapter, the main focus of the discussion will predominantly be about combining the two qualitative analysis techniques of phenomenology and analysis of narratives. As the analysis of this research is to explore the phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional or manager in Australia, one aim of this research is to gain an understanding of the essence of this phenomenon through phenomenology techniques. However, the data of this research is the stories or narratives of the above-mentioned skilled migrants as well. These stories commence at the time of their entry in Australia and are about different critical events which have an impact upon their professional and personal lives. As the importance of these narratives cannot be ignored, narrative analysis technique is used, along with phenomenology, to explain this phenomenon. The justification of using qualitative analysis and a combination of the two methods will be discussed in detail in the proceeding sections.

This chapter will also provide a detailed overview of the research design and data collection techniques used. Moreover, the issues related to the criteria of validity and reliability of those techniques will be justified.

3.2 The interpretive paradigm

Within a research context, a paradigm describes a system of ideas or world view used by researchers to generate knowledge (Fossey et al. 2002). There are two basic research paradigms: the positivist/quantitative and the interpretive/qualitative (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Quantitative research seeks to explain the causes of changes in social facts, primarily through objective measurement and quantitative analysis (Firestone 1987). According to this school of thought, researchers should

eliminate their biases, remain emotionally detached and uninvolved with their objects of study and test, or empirically justify, their stated hypothesis (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Whereas. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1998), qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret a phenomenon in terms of the meaning people bring to them. Qualitative researchers are more actively involved with their subjects (Silverman 1998), focusing primarily on understanding and accounting for the meaning of human experiences and actions (Fossey et al. 2002). Qualitative research is situated in the activity that locates the observer in the world; that is, it consists of interpretive activities that make that world visible through observation and interviews. Furthermore, qualitative researchers interpret the phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln 2008) and, as such, are embedded in a philosophical perspective which holds that reality is socially constructed through individual or collective definitions of a situation (Taylor and Bogdan 1984).

Interpretive methodologies focus primarily on understanding and accounting for the meaning of human experiences and actions (Fossey et al. 2002). Furthermore, interpretive researchers assume that reality as we know it is construed intra-subjectively and inter-subjectively through the meanings and understandings garnered from our social world (Angen 2000). Therefore, qualitative researchers actually get involved with their subjects in their respective social worlds. As, according to Cresswell's (1998, 15) definition of qualitative research, " it is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore social and human problems. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports and detailed views of the informants and conducts the study in a natural setting". As the subjects of qualitative research are studied in their natural settings or social worlds, interviews, focus groups, participant observation and visual data, such as videos, are used as data collection techniques (Flick 2002).

As the main aim of this research is to understand the phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional or manager in Australia, employing a qualitative approach is the most effective way of getting to the essence of this lived

world through researching the experiences of these people in the social and organisational settings of their life. These stories provide valuable and rich descriptions of experiences (Denzin and Lincoln 2000) and, according to Jackson, Drummond, and Camara (2007) enables the researcher to understand the textured experiences and reflections and, through in-depth interviews, access how people construct and understand their experiences.

According to Creswell (2007), a variety of research designs are available. The most commonly used include narrative research, case study, grounded theory, phenomenology and participatory action research. In this research, a combination of phenomenology and analysis of narratives is deployed. Such use of multi-methods or triangulation reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question (Denzin and Lincoln 2008). To come to a full grasp of the phenomenon under investigation, it is essential to listen and analyse the stories of the participants of this research. Therefore, the narratives of the participants will reveal the critical incidents in their stories which will aid in explaining the phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional or manager in Australia.

3.3 Mixed methods research

To investigate a complex phenomenon, researchers can use more than one method to improve the outcome and this is a stronger research approach as it enhances the validity of the research project (Morse and Niehaus 2009). Denzin (1978) outlines different ways to triangulate methods. Denzin defines triangulation as different methodologies which are combined to explain the same phenomenon. Furthermore, according to Denzin (1978), in methodological triangulation there can be both within and between-methods triangulation. Whereas 'within' refers to using either multiple quantitative or qualitative methods, 'between' refers to using a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques. Since this thesis has used both qualitative methods of analysis, it falls under the within-method triangulation analysis technique. Denzin further explained that triangulation can bring outcomes like convergence, inconsistency and contradiction so, based upon the outcome that prevails in the analysis, a researcher can construct superior explanations of the social phenomenon under observation. According to Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and

Turner(2007), the reasons behind mixing methods are to provide a full picture and a richer and more meaningful understanding, as well as more useful answers, to the research questions and to improve the validity of the findings.

Morse and Niehaus (2009) have identified two types of mixed methods: simultaneous design and sequential design. They further explain that, in simultaneous design, the core and the supplemental methods are used at the same time; however, in the sequential method the one which contains more data is collected and analysed using a supplemental design after the completion of the core method. In this study, phenomenology and analysis of narratives have been mixed, although as both methodologies are equally useful in exploring the phenomenon under investigation, niether of the two methodologies can be considered as supplemental methodologies, as the narratives of the participants help in explaining their lived experience of the phenomenon. Another reason provided by these researchers for using a supplemental methodology component is that this methodology should elicit another perspective or dimension, or obtain data that the first method cannot access. The aim of this research is to obtain multiple dimensions of the experiences of the participants embedded in their narrative to explain the phenomenon under investigation. Therefore, to provide a more in-depth explanation of the phenomenon and improve the validity of the findings, this thesis combines the techniques of analysis of narratives and phenomenology to interpret that data collected in the form of interviews and field observations.

3.3.1 Combining phenomenology with analysis of narratives

While both methodologies are particularly suited to this research, when combined, they provide a very useful framework of analysis. One important element of narratives is the plot. According to Polkinghorne (1995), plot relates to events by causally linking a prior choice or happening to a later effect. This is relevant to the experience of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, who make causal links of their choices and relate them to the events that happened in their lives as migrants. Polkinghorne (1995) also explains that the ground of storied expressions is the phenomenon of individual protagonists engaged in ordered transformation from initial situation to a terminal situation. As a phenomenon is considered a lived

experience, Ezzy (1998) emphasises that it is a mistake to assume that lived experience is in some way separate from narration, as if reality from fiction. Furthermore, lives and texts are not configurations, rather they become completed compositions in their reading. A clear example of this is the way in which events become episodes as part of the plot of the story (Ezzy, 1998). In relation to the phenomenon of being a highly skilled migrant professional and manager, the initial situation is arriving as a skilled migrant and the terminal situation would be their achievements and failures at the time of interviews. The phenomenological and analysis of narrative techniques complement each other as lived experience of the migrants of this study is their reality and that reality is embedded in their narratives which reveals the phenomenon under study in this research. The narratives of the migrants of this study are the stories which reveal the process which brought them to that reality, which gave them their new identities in their new home country, Australia. These stories are about the evolution process in which an individual reacts to the new environment never before experienced; therefore, this new environment gives birth to the phenomenon of South Asian highly skilled migrant experiences embedded in their narratives. The combination of the two analysis techniques will reveal certain information about the skilled migrant experience in Australia which other research methods might not reveal. This research reveals how highly skilled migrant professionals and managers write their new biographies of the lived experience in new social and organisational structures.

3.3.2 Phenomenology

From a phenomenological point of view, to conduct research is questioning the way one experiences the world, the desire to know the world in which we live as human beings (Manen 1990). A phenomenological study describes the meaning of lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or a phenomenon (Creswell 1998). According to Sanders (1982), it is the study of a conscious phenomenon that is an analysis of the way in which things or experiences show themselves. Phenomenology focuses on researching conscious experience rather than hypothetical situations (Lanigan 1979) which enables descriptions to be produced. To illuminate the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or phenomenon, the investigator writes research questions which explore the

meaning of that experience for individuals and asks them to describe their everyday lived experiences (Creswell 1998). According to Manen(2006) a phenomenological researcher's effort to give meaning to a phenomenon is just like bringing a reality out of darkness. Phenomenology allows the researcher to see into the heart of things; that is, the phenomenologist directs their attention towards the regions where meaning originates wells up and pre-locates through the porous membranes of past sedimentations and then it infuses and touches the researcher by exercising a formative affect (Manen 2007).

In phenomenology, the researcher has to extract the essence of a phenomenon that can be described through the study of the structure that governs the instances or particular manifestations of the essence of that phenomenon (Manen 1990). Two of the most commonly used phenomenological techniques used by researchers to gather lived experiences are in-depth interviews and focus group discussion (Orbe 2000). Phenomenology involves a three step process of discovery: (a) the collection of descriptions of lived experiences, (b) reduction of those experiences into essential themes and (c) hermeneutic (i.e. explanatory) interpretation of those themes (Orbe 1997). In addition to in-depth interviews and focus groups, close observation is also a data collection technique in phenomenology which is also called "the experiential anecdote" (Manen 1990). According to Manen (1990), in observation the human science researcher tries to enter the world of the individuals whose experiences are relevant to his or her research. The author further explains that this method is quite similar to being on the lookout for stories to tell and incidents to remember. Manen(1990) also explains that the researcher using this method is a gatherer of anecdotes where the personal experience of the researcher as well as interviews are also a source of anecdotes. In this research, in addition to interviews, the field observations of the researcher have also been used to collect data. Observation is also considered important during interviews as to note the gestures and body language of the participants is also considered important in qualitative research methods (Angrosino and Kimberly 2000).

According to Orbe (2000), when used effectively, phenomenology can be productive in revealing the commonalities of diverse experiences of racial/ethnic groups while

simultaneously giving attention to lived realities within and between these same groups. Such a methodological approach is especially valuable for intercultural relations given that everyday conversations reflect microcosms of the larger societal and political relationships of a specific place in history (González 1997). As this research focuses on the experiences of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers from South Asia, using phenomenology as one of the research techniques will help to understand and explore the individual experiences of the professionals and migrant managers interviewed. The target population of this research is highly skilled migrants and the phenomenon of interest here is what it is like to be a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional or manager in Australia. Therefore, this study has racial and professional angles at the same time. The exploration of the phenomenon will help to understand how the racial and cultural background of the participants of the study impacted their professional progress as well as how it affected their way of thinking, the perspectives and perceptions, which can be regarded as the reality of the world of the participants of this study. In conducting the analysis, the processes associated with this phenomenon are illuminated and examined. To do this, there is a need to listen, record and analyse the stories of those migrants.

3.3.3 Analysis of the narratives

A narrative is defined as a spoken or written text which provides an account of an event/action, or series of events or actions, chronologically connected (Czarniawska-Joerges 2004,17). A story in a narrative research is a first-person oral telling or retelling of events related to the personal or social experiences of an individual. Often these stories have a beginning, middle and an end (Ollerenshaw and Creswell 2002). This research is using the interviews of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers and the interviews are about their experiences. These experiences have a time-line, from arriving in Australia as a migrant to the time when the interview was conducted. Furthermore, it involves their personal and social experiences.

Usefulness of analysis of narratives lies in the stories relayed by the respondents. According to Polkinghorne (1995) stories are concerned with human attempts to

progress to a solution, clarification, or an unraveling of an incomplete situation. He further explains that stories express a kind of knowledge that uniquely describes human experience in which actions and happenings contribute positively and negatively to attaining goals and fulfilling purposes. He also comments that there are different examples of the outcomes of analysis of narratives within stories; that is, a historical account, a case study, a life story or a storied episode of a person's life. For the highly skilled migrant professional and managers who took part in this research, his or her life episode of being a migrant in Australia will be utilised.

The main purpose of analysis of narratives is to use the narratives and stories to understand the phenomenon of the experience of migration for highly skilled professionals and managers. According to Smith (2000), analysis of narratives can be applied to phenomena that are less artificial and more reflective of an individual's construct and contextual organisation experience. He further explains that narratives depend upon the perspective, context and frame; whereas perspective is the point of view of people about certain events. Smith (2000) also explains that in narratives, the particulars of an event or episode are embedded in a setting and one part cannot be taken in isolation, or out of context, from the rest. A frame can be defined as an expectation about the world, based upon prior experience, against which new experiences are measured and interpreted (Tannen 1993,17). The concept of a narrative frame is relevant to this research because attention is focused on the experience of a crisis of habitus (Zipin and Brennan 2003) and stories about how people reached a resolution. The migrants in this research began their journey located within their home country 'frame' and, after migrating, had to re-define their 'frame' through a process of making sense of events and forming perspectives about the different issues faced by them; hence, they also compare their experiences in Australia to the expectations they held in their home countries prior to the migration. However, it is important to remember that when analysing narratives about an experience every story is unique and personal. Furthermore, even individuals in externally similar circumstances might use the same ingredients in a story and come up with a different interpretation of the same experience (Ayres, Kavanaugh, and Knafl 2003). Therefore, the stories must be interpreted as self-contained wholes.

According to Polkinghorne(1995), stories also express a form of knowledge that uniquely describes human experience in which actions and happenings contribute positively or negatively to attaining goals and fulfilling purposes. He also explains that there are two types of qualitative narrative analysis. Firstly, narrative analysis, being a form of analysis in which the data are often autobiographical accounts of personal episodes whose analysis will produce biographies, histories and case studies, this type of analysis can be based upon a single story. Secondly, the category called analysis of narratives seeks to locate common themes or conceptual manifestations among the stories collected as data. Furthermore, the researcher inspects different stories to discover which notions appear across them. Therefore, for this research the second category of analysis is applicable, as twenty-one participants took part in this study. These participants shared their stories with the researcher which represented their lived experiences. The analysis was done to reveal the common as well as the unique themes that emerged in those stories.

According to Boland and Tenkasi (1995) a narrative is judged to be good if it is interesting, plausible and believable. They further explain that narratives reveal how events or features in the world are sensible and fit within a cultural field. Therefore, narratives are actually how humans make sense of events that happen over a certain timeframe. Furthermore, according to Llewellyn (1999), when researchers analyze narratives they not only analyse chronicles but also stories of people's own and collective past with others analysed in a manner that can provide evidence about how certain actions produce consequences.

When considering the suitability of analysis of narratives, these techniques have been used in organisational research. According to Rhodes and Brown (2005), the major areas where narratives have been used in organisation theory are sense-making, communication, learning/change, politics and power, and identity and identification. They also explained, with respect to sense-making in organisations, that theorists with postmodern inclinations have gone so far that stories should be regarded as ontological, prior to sense-making. That is, what people seek to make sense of are not events themselves but accounts of them. Further, storytelling then has to be considered as the way that people reflexively make sense of organisations and

organisational life and infuse their working life with meanings. It is clear that such an approach will provide this research with a powerful means of exploring what it actually means for a person to be a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional and manager in the Australian work force.

3.4 Research Design

In the process of designing a qualitative study, a vital element is data collection and analysis techniques. For this research, the use of phenomenology and narrative analysis requires the adoption of particular approaches. According to Creswell (1998 ,54 & 55) a researcher who has chosen phenomenology as his or her methodology must understand the following procedural issues:

- The researcher needs to understand the philosophical perspectives behind the approach, especially the concept of studying how people experience a phenomenon.

- The investigator writes research questions which explore the meaning of that experience for individuals and asks individuals to describe their everyday lived experiences.

- Bracketing personal experiences by the researcher might be difficult. The researcher needs to decide how and in what way his or her personal experiences will be introduced into the study.

- The investigator then collects data from the individuals who have experienced the phenomenon under investigation. Typically, this information is collected through long interviews. Therefore, the participants of the study need to be carefully chosen to include only those who have experienced that phenomenon.

- The next step for the researcher is the analysis of the data.

With regard to analysis of narratives, Creswell et al (2007) maintains that the procedures of collecting data involve the participants telling their stories about their experiences. These are then analysed and re-storied into a chronological presentation which considers how the plot of the story unfolds from beginning to end.

The phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional and a manager and the processes associated with it have already been identified. The research questions were also designed to cover the stories of the migrant's lived experience of the phenomenon for their period of stay in Australia. The interviews not only covered the critical events during the migrant experience of the participants in Australia, but also the perspectives formed as a result of those events and how those perspectives impacted upon their professional lives in Australia. The interview process will be discussed in more detail under a separate section.

3.5 Data sampling

Data collection, according to Creswell (1998),is a series of interrelated activities aimed at gathering good information to address emerging research questions. As in a phenomenological study, the goal is to describe the common features of an experience, it is important that the participants share certain demographic characteristics which represent the inclusion criteria for the sample (Porter 1999). As for this research, the participants selected were highly skilled migrant professionals and managers from the region of South Asia. According to Hycner(1999), the phenomenon to be explored will dictate the method and the type of participants which should be involved.

Creswell (1998,110) has provided the following data collection criteria which he describes as a circle:

- Locating site and individuals.
- Gaining access and establishing a rapport with them so that participants will provide good data.
- Determining a strategy of purposeful sampling of individuals or sites. The researcher needs to determine the type of purposeful sampling from the array of possibilities and present a rationale for the selected approach.
- Collecting the data, recording and preserving information.
- Resolving field issues.
- Sorting the data.

According to Porter (1999), to craft a population of an eligible, accessible population, qualitative researchers must consider practical issues as well as research aims. She further explains that if data gathering involves travelling to the participants, then the accessible population is first defined as those persons from the target population who reside within the geographic region which can be reached by feasible travel; these persons constitute the geographically accessible population. Any inclusion criteria are applied to the geographically accessible population, diminishing its size with the systematic application of each criterion in turn. When all the inclusion criteria have been applied, the remaining persons constitute the eligible, accessible population.

Given the goals and logic of qualitative research, purposive sampling strategies are often employed, which are designed to enhance understandings of selected individuals or group experiences, or for developing theories or subjects (Devers and Devers 2000). The purposeful sample is also sometimes called the Judgment sample as the researcher actively selects the most productive sample to answer the research question (Marshall 1996). He also explains that the size of the sample in qualitative studies is not as large as quantitative studies, usually within the range of single figures for simple research questions and large figures for complex ones. Furthermore, the number of required subjects usually becomes obvious as the study progresses, as new categories, themes or explanations stop emerging from the data, which is data saturation. This is also confirmed by Dukes (1984) who suggests that the sample size in a phenomenological study would suffice. She explains that this claim is not unreasonable as the aim of the study is to uncover necessary structural invariants of an experience and those invariants are discoverable in any individual case.

Creswell (1998) believed that a more narrow range of sampling strategies is appropriate for phenomenological studies. Furthermore, he explains that criterion sampling, which is one of the purposive sampling strategies, is better for phenomenology when all individuals studied represent people who have experienced the phenomenon. All individuals should meet this criterion. Therefore, purposive or purposeful sampling was utilised in this research where all the participants were

highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers who had experienced the phenomenon under investigation. All of the above-mentioned parameters were taken into consideration in data sampling for this research. As the researcher himself is a South Asian skilled migrant, this attribute worked in his favor to find appropriate participants for the study and for gaining an inside perspective about the phenomenon under investigation. According to Manen(1990), a phenomenological researcher can use his or her own lived experience as a starting point for the research work.

The insider view of research is the behavior described as seen from the perspective of cultural insiders, in constructs drawn from their self-understandings to describe the cultural system working as a whole (Morris et al. 1999). Insider/outsider perspectives were considered from the positivist research tradition, in which the outsider perspective was considered optimal for its objective and accurate account of the field of study, while insiders, who processed deeper insights about the people, place, and events, were believed to hold a biased position that complicated their ability to observe and interpret (Chavez 2008). However, according to Shah (2004), being a social insider can hold many advantages, as gaining access for interviewing is one significant one, not because it is a permit to get into the situation but because issues of cross-cultural differences can have an impact upon those seeking to interview and those granting those interviews. Furthermore, due to their perceptions about the interviewer hailing from a different cultural background, the interviewees can erect discouraging barriers. In phenomenological research there is no objective or single knowable external reality. The researcher is an integral part of the research process, not separate from it and, at the same time, in qualitative research it is actually the thick descriptions of the narratives that yield results; researchers are merely interpreters between the community they describe and the audience to which they report their findings (Brannick and Coghlan 2007).

There can be different types of insiders in qualitative research. Total insiders share multiple identities with their respondents, such as race, ethnicity and class, or based upon shared experiences like wars and family membership and, sometimes, researchers who share a few identities are considered partial insiders (Chavez 2008).

Being an insider, as seen from the examples from the literature, has many advantages, including an equalised relationship between the researcher and the participants, quick rapport building, and immediate legitimacy in the field and insight into the linguistic, cognitive, emotional, sensory and psychological principles of the participants (Chavez 2008). Therefore, all these advantages assist the researcher in capturing the essence of what it is like to be a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional and manager in Australia.

However, being an insider does have some disadvantages that an insider researcher must overcome. As an outsider, the qualitative researcher has to get into the skins or shoes of the participants, whereas the insider must get out of his or her own skin or shoes (Aguilar 1981). The insiders should have a clear understanding of in what way their own social identity is similar to their respondents, in what ways it differs and what the advantages could be for them (Chavez 2008). Therefore, an insider researcher can be successful if he or she fully understands the role of the qualitative researcher as an unbiased interpreter between the community they describe and audience to which they report their findings (Brannick and Coghlan 2007). As an insider South Asian researcher, the researcher of this thesis had the advantage of gaining the confidence of the participants very quickly as they believed that the researcher was one of them. This confidence gave the researcher a chance to enter the comfort zone of the participants within which they expressed themselves without any preconceived apprehensions as there were no cultural boundaries in between. As every individual is different, this research captured the diverse experiences of the participants from the same region of the world. However, the interview analysis revealed areas of convergence in relation to perspectives of the participants, the instances where their perspectives differed and the reasons behind those convergences and differences.

3.6 Inclusion criteria used in the qualitative sample of this research

According to Hycner (1999) the phenomenon under study not only dictates the method but also the choice of participants. As outlined in the previous section, purposeful sampling strategy has been used in this research (Creswell 1998). A Purposeful sample, also called a judgment sample, is a sample in which a researcher

actively seeks the most productive sample to answer the research questions. This type of sample is considered as more intellectual-based than just simply demographic-based and the subjects in this type of sampling can be selected on the basis of specific experiences (Marshall 1996). Furthermore, under purposeful sampling, criterion sampling was used which is based on the specific individuals who experienced the phenomenon (Creswell 1998). The majority of the literature on qualitative research recommends that interviews should continue until theoretical saturation occurs; that is, when no new themes are emerging from the data (Guest, Bunce, and Johnson 2006). The more similar the participants in the research sample are in their experiences with respect to the research domain, then a researcher should expect to reach the saturation point sooner (Guest, Bunce, and Johnson 2006). The respondents of this research were from very similar back-grounds with similar experiences. It was observed by the researcher that no new themes emerged in the last five interviews of the male respondents therefore it was considered as the saturation point. The last five interviews were conducted to improve the validity of the saturation point. The five female respondents were interviewed for taking gender diversity into account. However, most of their themes were very similar to their male counterparts confirming to the saturation point, except a few gender related issues which would be explained in detail in separate sections in the analysis chapter.

Following inclusion criteria, respondents who were selected to be interviewed for this research had the following characteristics:

- Migrated to Australia from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka
- Migration must be part of the skilled-based migration program.
- Must have minimum one year work experience in the home country and at least one year work experience in Australia.
- Must have professional/managerial qualifications.

The researcher approached forty-two individuals for the interviews. The interviews continued until saturation was achieved which was after twenty-one interviews had been conducted. The following table gives more detailed descriptions of the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers interviewed:

Participants	Gender	Country of Origin	Age	No. of Years in Australia	Occupational Sector
Participant 1	Male	Pakistan	50	13	Small Business
Participant 2	Male	Pakistan	45	10	Education
Participant 3	Male	Pakistan	45	9	Engineering
Participant 4	Male	India	35	11	Education
Participant 5	Male	Pakistan	50	15	Mining
Participant 6	Male	Pakistan	55	19	Geology
Participant 7	Male	India	55	39	Agriculture
Participant 8	Male	India	50	24	Engineering
Participant 9	Male	Pakistan	35	3	Engineering
Participant 10	Male	Pakistan	35	9	Engineering
Participant 11	Male	Pakistan	35	5	Information Technology
Participant 12	Male	Pakistan	45	4	Health Care
Participant 13	Female	Pakistan	30	5	Health Care
Participant 14	Female	Pakistan	29	4	Banking
Participant 15	Female	Pakistan	39	4	Chemistry
Participant 16	Female	India	45	17	Agriculture
Participant 17	Male	India	35	2	Accountancy
Participant 18	Male	India	55	18	Health Care
Participant 19	Female	India	60	22	Health Care
Participant 20	Male	Bangladesh	40	8	Education
Participant 21	Male	Sri Lanka	70	23	Public service

Table: 1 Interviewees description

The data for this research was collected in two stages. The first stage of the data collection was to develop an understanding of the 'home country habitus'. The second stage was to understand the 'crisis of habitus' and its resolution for the participants of the study. Field observations and interviews were conducted in Pakistan. For the second stage, interviews were conducted in the states of Western Australia and Victoria.

3.7 Interviews

After designing the study and selecting candidates for the qualitative research, the next stage is to conduct the interviews for data collection (Creswell 1998). There are different forms of qualitative interviews: structured, unstructured and semi-structured. Structured approaches are usually used to collect quantitative data while unstructured approaches are mainly used by ethnographers (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree Benjamin 2006). A semi-structured interview technique is employed when such data is the primary source for the research. In phenomenology, interviews are the primary source of data (Creswell 1998) and are organised around a set of predetermined open ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree Benjamin 2006). Therefore, this technique was considered appropriate for designing the questions to explore the experience of highly skilled migrant professionals and managers from South Asia.

Creswell (1998) outlines a useful guide to conducting interviews. Firstly, a researcher must find people who are happy to share their ideas and experiences. Adequate recording procedures and an interview protocol is needed and the interviews must be conducted in a quiet location free from distractions. Furthermore, it is important to obtain the consent of the interviewee and stick to the questions and complete within the time specified, if possible. During the course of this research, the above guidelines were taken into consideration and signed consent was taken from each interviewee before conducting the interview.

During the first stage of data collection individuals were interviewed in Pakistan and discussions were held with families who were considering migration to Australia. The purposes of the interviews in Pakistan were not only to understand the 'home country habitus' but also the motivations and expectations of the individuals planning to migrate to Australia. Each individual possesses habitus in different forms of capital. Therefore these discussions helped the researcher in understanding how different forms of capital influenced their lives in the home country. This part of the study helped the researcher when the second stage data collected and comparison was done between the two stages. This led to a deeper understanding of the impact of

the altered habitus on the professional lives of the participants of the study upon migration. This part of the data was collected in Pakistan over a period of one month. These interviews and discussions were held with ten individuals and families that is ten individuals were interviewed along with their families from the cities of Lahore and Islamabad. The participants in the first stage were approached through personal contacts of researcher. Field notes and observations were the methods of data collection during the first stage as people in Pakistan were reluctant to allow the researcher to record the interviews. Reason for this reluctance was a cultural perception as people in Pakistan believed that only way to keep their identity anonymous was that their voice were not recorded. Researcher obliged their request as he wanted them to give their candid opinions without any sort of psychological pressure.

Twenty one individuals were interviewed in Australia during the second stage of data collection, out of which five respondents were females. Researcher gained access to the respondents of this study through his personal contacts as well as ethnic Diasporas associations like association of Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshi migrants. The interviews conducted in Australia during the second stage of data collection were designed in a manner so that they not only provided rich descriptions of the phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional and manager in Australia, but also provided the story of every respondent interviewed (Appendix 3). The span of the interviews was from forty-five to sixty minutes, depending upon the participants' discussion details. The interview started with questions about the origins of the migrants and their reasons to choose Australia for migration which also led to the motivating factors and expectations about Australia. To fully understand the narratives of the highly skilled migrants, the expectations cannot be ignored. The interviewer asked questions about the initial experiences as highly skilled migrants in Australia. This question covered the respondent's story and also answered what it is like being new highly skilled migrants and the challenges associated with that. The interview had a question which asked about comparing the expectations with the reality. The interview had questions about communication problems, organisational socialisation, general socialisation and relationships with colleagues. These questions were important to

shed light on the importance of cultural differences. The question that summed up the stories was focused on the impact of being a migrant on the professional progress of the respondent, starting from the time of immigration to the time of the interview. All the respondents interviewed were found to be very much interested in sharing their stories and perspectives in detail and, as per the researcher's observations, there was not any significant reluctance to share their stories once they consented to the interview.

3.8 Reliability and validity issues

According to Creswell and Miller (2000) the choice of validity procedures is governed by two perspectives: firstly, the theoretical lens researchers choose to validate their studies and, secondly, the paradigm assumptions which underpin the research. For example, how long to remain in the field, whether the data are saturated to establish good themes or categories and how the analysis of the data evolves into a persuasive narrative, are important validity considerations. Secondly, the perspectives of the participants of the study are important considerations. The qualitative paradigm assumes that reality is socially constructed and, therefore, it is important to ensure that the participants' realities have been accurately represented in the final account. Thirdly, credibility of the research can be established by testing the findings by consulting individuals who are not affiliated with the project. This helps to maintain validity.

During the course of data collection, interviews were conducted until saturation point. As the interviewees were highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, substantial care was taken to obtain accurate accounts of their experiences. During the analysis of the interviews, common themes were explored to reaffirm the accuracy of the narratives and the interviews were conducted until saturation point. For the external reviewers, the research was regularly presented to academics and peers not involved with the project to get feedback for continuous improvement. The findings from the research were also presented at the twenty third ANZAM Conference held at University of Auckland in New Zealand in December, 2008. This also helped in acquiring constructive feedback to validate the findings.

Many qualitative methodology researchers have looked at the development of reliability and validity measures over the past decade (Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle 2001) and (Morse et al. 2002). These researchers have proposed that different reliability and validity measures can be merged into one set of measures to make those measures more concise. Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle(2001) have summarised the realiability and validity measures proposed by different authors as follows:

- Altheide and Johnson (1994) and Eisenhart and Howe (1992) proposed plausibility, relevance, credibility, importance of topic completeness, appropriateness, comprehensiveness and significance.

- According to Leininger (1994) credibility, conformability, meaning in context, recurrent patterning, and saturation and transferability are important validity measures.

- Lincoln (1995) mentioned positionality, community as an arbiter, voice, critical subjectivity, reciprocity, sacredness and sharing perquisites of privilege as the measures of validity.

- Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1989) proposed truth value, applicability, consistency and neutrality for validity in qualitative research.

- Marshall (1990) considered goodness and canons of evidence as good validity measures.

- According to Maxwell (1996) descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity, evaluative validity and generalisability are important measures.

- Sandelowski (1986) and (1993) believed that a valid study should conform to the measures of credibility, fittingness, audibility, conformability creativity and artfulness.

- Smith (1990) proposed a moral and ethical component as validity measures.

- Finally, Thorne (1997) considered methodological integrity, representative credibility, analytic logic and interpretive authority as validity measures.

From the above review of the validity measures, one can see that many of these measures are quite similar and overlapping. Therefore, after examining different validity measures over the years, Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle (2001) have

summed up reliability and validity into two criteria: primary and secondary. Primary criteria include credibility, authenticity, criticality, and integrity. Whereas, secondary criteria have measures like explicitness, vividness, creativity, thoroughness, congruence and sensitivity. They further explain that primary criteria are necessary to all qualitative inquiries; however, they are insufficient in and of themselves. Therefore, secondary criteria provide further benchmarks of quality and are considered to be more flexible as applied to particular investigations. They further explain that for studies that involve phenomenology, the investigation will need to address investigator bias (explicitness) and vividness, as well as explicate a very specific phenomenon in-depth: thoroughness.

Although the researcher is a migrant from South Asia, care was taken during the data collection to maintain neutrality during the interviews. The participants were allowed sufficient time to explain their stories in-depth to achieve rigor and vividness. According to Morse et al. (2002), to ensure rigor in qualitative research, there is a need to place the responsibility with the investigator rather than the external judges of the completed product. For this they have recommended a proactive approach by the researchers; that is, taking validity and reliability measures into consideration prior to and during the research rather than towards the end. The qualitative reliability and validity measures were taken into consideration when this research was proposed and have been used as a benchmark during data collection and analysis.

Qualitative researchers ideally consider validity issues throughout the process of inquiry, particularly in the planning and analytical phases (Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle 2001). Furthermore, the findings need to be presented with an explicit articulation of the validity criteria of the emphasis and the specific techniques employed, so that consumers of research can critique findings in a meaningful way. Hence, Whittemore, Chase, and Mandle (2001) have given further detailed criteria of their model of primary and secondary criteria as mentioned above. In this detailed criteria a researcher needs to address specific questions.

3.8.1 Primary criteria

- Credibility - do the results of the research reflect the experience of the participants or the context in a believable way?

After compiling and analysing the data there was no doubt left that the sample accurately reflects the experience of the respondents in a believable way. This was confirmed by the rich text of the stories of the respondents which had repetitive common themes. These repetitive themes proved during the analysis that the phenomenon under investigation was experienced by the majority of the respondents and fully covered their world view.

- Authenticity – does the representation of the perspective exhibit awareness of subtle differences in the voices of the participants?

During the course of analysis and among the common themes, the researcher noted the subtle differences as well. Although the overall experience of the majority of respondents was very similar, some respondents were able to explain the phenomenon under investigation in a manner that summed up the experience of others. Since the respondents of this research were highly skilled South Asian managers and professionals from diverse occupational backgrounds, the data is both divergent and convergent. Divergence is apparent in how the different participants experienced the phenomenon under investigation in their respective occupations. The convergence stemmed from the common challenges faced by the participants and how they resolved the challenges they faced as individuals.

- Criticality – does the research process demonstrate evidence of critical appraisal?

Throughout the course of the research, the findings were regularly presented to academics, peers and various seminars for critical appraisal. All these presentations were helpful in providing suggestions and constructive criticism to the researcher to continuously improve during the course of the study of the phenomenon under investigation.

- Integrity – does the research reflect recursive and repetitive checks of validity as well as humble presentation of the findings?

The interpretation of data was valid and repetitive checks for validity were performed. The interviews were coded for the analysis of the themes. The constant comparative analysis techniques (Thorne 1997) were used to develop the relationships between the different themes which emerged from the data. In using this technique when each new interview was coded the themes and incidents that emerged from each interview were compared to previously coded interviews before any further coding.

Boeige (2002, 395) proposed five steps in coding when using constant comparative method. The first two steps were followed by the researcher in the coding process, since the respondents of this research belonged to same group with similar cultural and educational back grounds as well as similar experiences which was revealed during the comparison of the interviews of the different respondents. Since Boeige (2002) explains that step three is about a group of people also having different perspective on same issues. The perspectives of the respondents of this research were same, however if the perspectives of employers were taken into account that would have formed a group with a different perspective. This scenario was beyond the scope of this study. This step has a scope to be incorporated in any future research where prospective employers of skilled migrants will also be interviewed to examine how much their perspectives on the issues related to skilled migrants differ from that of the respondents of this study. Step four is also about comparing peoples' responses in pairs who are in relationships for example employer and employee, the respondents of this study only gave the employee perspective. Similarly step five is about comparing those pairs. Therefore it was not considered necessary to move to the rest of the three steps. Following are the five steps (Boeige 2002, 395):

1. Comparison within a single interview.
2. Comparison between interviews within the same group.
3. Comparison of interviews from different groups.
4. Comparison in pairs at the level of the couple.

5. Comparing couples.

Furthermore the themes were organised using NVIVO 8 software. In the following paragraphs the two steps as proposed by Boeige (2002) in relation to this thesis will be discussed in more detail.

After conducting each interview the different parts of the interview were individually compared for consistency. At this stage of coding the aim was to find out the similarities and contradictions within each interview separately. Through these similarities and contradictions the main message of each interview was determined. An understanding of the challenges faced by each respondent due to the event of migration to Australia was determined. Furthermore the link of these challenges to alterations indifferent forms of capital that form an individual's habitus was explored. The reactions of each individual to the alterations of different forms of capital and their links to each other within the interviews were determined. The above process was started after conducting the first interview and continued until the last interview.

As soon as more than one interview was conducted the comparison process between the interviews started. The similarities of different interviews were determined and a cluster of codes was formed. Since according to Boeige (2002) the same group means people with similar experience of the same phenomenon, therefore the similarities and contradictions between all the interviews conducted were observed. This comparison was done and coding was done until no more codes were required to cover the relevant themes. That implied that all the themes that said something about the research questions of this thesis were covered. This process resulted in a rigorous analysis of the habitus of all the respondents and resulted in formation of the major themes of whole data. According to Glaser (1965) constant comparative methods forces a researcher to reduce his or her terminology that is themes where all the other themes converge. This helped in understanding and theorising the similarities and differences of those themes emerging from the perspectives of the respondents interviewed.

3.8.2 Secondary criteria

- Explicitness – have methodological decisions, interpretations, and investigator biases been addressed?

Throughout the research, the investigator maintained his neutrality; that is, the researcher got out of his skin (Aguilar 1981) so that his personal beliefs did not influence the perspectives of the participants. The researcher used his insider status to his advantage, as the respondents were very comfortable expressing their views explicitly during the interviews. The use of two analytical techniques, phenomenology and analysis of the narratives, for this research were used after serious consideration as to which approach would best address the research questions. It was concluded that the analysis of the narratives of the participants and the critical incidents and the common themes in those narratives would best explain the phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian professional and migrant in Australia.

- Vividness – have thick and faithful descriptions been posted with artfulness and clarity?

During the data analysis, care was taken to clearly link the descriptions to the basic theories of the research; that is, the reasons behind the disemdedding and crisis of habitus among the participants and the efforts employed by them to resolve the crisis in an attempt to re-embed themselves in Australia and use of theories of acculturation and sense-making to explain that process. As mentioned above, the constant comparative analysis technique was used to achieve clarity and vividness of emerging themes and their interrelationships.

- Creativity - have imaginative ways of organising, presenting and analysing data been incorporated?
  NVIVO8 software was used to organise and analyse the data.
- Thoroughness - do the findings convincingly address the questions posed through completeness and saturation?

The findings definitely address the lived experience of the highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers in Australia. The technique of constant comparison was used to find relationships between the themes and the relationships between those themes were also put into diagrams during the analysis process. The conclusions were actually detailed explanations of those themes, convincingly addressing the purpose of the research. The interviews were conducted until saturation was achieved.

- Congruence - are the process and the findings congruent? Do all the themes fit together? Do findings fit into the context outside the study situation?

The basic theory, methodology themes and findings all fit together. The findings can also have applicability to other migrant communities. Some of the respondents were re-interviewed, not only to present the findings of the study but also to make sure that data was accurately interpreted and presented. The results of revisiting the respondents confirmed that the research has not strayed from the core idea of explaining the phenomenon of being a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional or a manager in Australia.

- Sensitivity - has the investigation been implemented in ways that are sensitive to human nature, cultural and social contexts?

Cultural and social contexts are the major foundations of this research. A significant degree of care was taken to maintain cultural sensitivity issues. As the researcher also migrated from South Asia and had full understanding of the South Asian culture, this also helped to maintain a good rapport with the participants of the research. There was a level of trust between the participants and the researcher and that trust was due to the understanding of the human nature of the participants belonging to South Asia, and their cultural and social norms.

3.9 Ethical considerations

To ensure that high ethical standards were maintained in this research, approval was gained from the Curtin University human research ethics committee. To achieve this, particular issues were addressed. According to Orb, Eisenhauer, and Wynaden

(2001), ethical issues are present in any kind of research. The research process creates tension between the aims of the research to make generalisations for the good of others and the rights of participants to maintain privacy. They further explain that ethics pertains to doing well and avoiding harm and any harm can be prevented through application of appropriate ethical principles. Furthermore, these researchers also mention specifically that, with respect to qualitative research, potential ethical conflicts exist in relation to how a researcher gains access to a community or group and in the effect the researcher may have on the participants. Ramos (1989) also mentions that a qualitative researcher can face three types of ethical issues. Firstly, the participant/investigator relationship itself, within which are divulged many confidences. Secondly, the investigator's subjective interpretation of data. Finally, is the more loosely defined 'emergent design.' Ramos further explains that the qualitative investigator is less in control of the research process than the laboratory scientist, and can only guide decision-making as well as the researcher is guided by the emerging data categories and the questions that are unknown at the outset. She also concludes that the impact of these general characteristics of the qualitative paradigm should discourage wholesale application of standard research ethics to the qualitative mode.

Ethical issues should not be overlooked in qualitative research. Davies and Dodd (2002) argue that understanding ethics while conducting qualitative research requires trustfulness, openness, honesty, respectfulness, carefulness and constant attentiveness; it should not be just a form filled out for the ethics committee and forgotten later on. Smythe and Murry (2000) summarise basic principles and standards governing the ethical treatment of human participants in social science research. However, they also concede that these standards cannot be generalised for every research setting. The summary given by them is as follows:

- Free and informed consent: free consent means that individuals voluntarily consent to participate in research and are not induced to do so using any form of undue influence or coercion. All the participants of this research fit in this standard. The purpose of the research was explained to each participant in detail before the commencement of the interview.

- Privacy and confidentiality: it is the right of the individuals not to have personal and identifying information about them disclosed without their permission. All the participants of this research were assured that their confidentiality and anonymity were maintained at all times.

- Protection from harm: research is considered ethically unproblematic in this respect when it poses no more than minimal risk to research participants. This standard applies more to psychologists.

- Avoidance of conflict of interest: conflicts of interest generally arise from the potentially conflicting roles that researchers can find themselves in when they are also involved with their participants in some other capacity outside of the research. The researcher had no such role in this research, therefore no such conflict arose.

- Avoidance of deception: individuals cannot be expected to provide free and fully informed consent if they are systematically misled, at the outset of participation, about the purpose of the research. As mentioned above, the purpose of the research was explained to the participants in detail.

Smythe and Murry (2000) have also given some other standards that are more relevant to psychology and are not discussed here. In this research, all of the above-mentioned ethical considerations were adopted very carefully. The participants of this research were fully informed and briefed about the purposes of this research, data storage and handling rules and they were assured of their confidentiality and privacy.

3.10 Conclusion

The research topic requires an in-depth understanding of the events associated with this phenomenon. There is also a need to fully understand the consequences of those events on the professional lives of the participants. To achieve this, the research is located within the interpretative paradigm and involves the application of qualitative techniques for data gathering and analysis. The employment of semi-structured interviews not only allows accessing the lived world of the respondents but also enables the gathering of rich narrative texts.

The analysis of the narratives would reveal the common themes and critical incidents in the lives of the participants as highly skilled migrant professionals and managers in Australia. The critical incidents are important as these incidents shape the perceptions and perspectives of the participants about answering the questions related to their unmet expectations in Australia. These perspectives would emerge from the common themes that would be found in the interviews of the participants of this research. Some subtle differences would also be revealed in the analysis of the interviews by the use of constant comparative analysis. The links between the common and slightly different emerging themes led to the final conclusions of the whole analysis process. Furthermore, this analysis sheds light upon the uniqueness of the lived experience of the challenging phenomenon from the South Asian perspective with respect to the new biographies of these migrants, starting from their day of arrival in Australia. These biographies are the reality for the participants in which they have lived. This reality is the answer to the research questions of this thesis.

In the next chapter, an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon is undertaken utilising the within-method triangulation (Denzin 1978) of the two qualitative analysis techniques of phenomenology and analysis of narratives. These techniques are utilised to explain the disembedding experience of the participants and its link to the crisis of habitus. Secondly, the process of resolution of the crisis through acculturation and sense-making processes to become re-embedded in the Australian work environment will be discussed.

Chapter 4

Analysis

4.1 Introduction

In the last chapter the research paradigm and methodologies used for the analysis were discussed in detail. This chapter will first examine the habitus of the professional lives of the participants of this study and, later, look at the processes of acculturation and sense-making in resolving a crisis of habitus. It will conclude with a discussion about the extent to which the respondents are able to re-embed themselves into the work environment of Australia. This re-embedding relates closely with how the participants resolved the crisis of habitus they experienced. A conceptual model will also be presented in this chapter.

4.2 The home country habitus

A key element in understanding the experience of being a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional and manager in Australia is the home country conditions. Highly skilled professionals and managers are generally people with tertiary qualifications and, before arriving in Australia, spend most of their lives in their home countries. They successfully acquire immigration based upon their qualifications and job experience which is mainly achieved in their home counties.

Before migration takes place, the professional and personal lives of the participants revolve around their local habitus which is inherited over time and composed of cultural, economic and social capital (Bourdieu 1986). They bring this habitus to their new home country which has a deep impact on their personal and professional lives. Therefore, the analysis of the career journeys would be incomplete without looking at their home country context. Furthermore, the cultural context plays a vital role in forming perspectives about their struggles and achievements in the host society. Therefore, the main goal of this section is to illuminate the home country habitus of the participants. An important aspect of this is that all their achievements

revolve around educational attainments, as this is according to the norms of the society to which they belong. This section will examine how education is a key ingredient of the structure of the societies to which the participants of this study belonged and how this forms their home habitus (Figure 2).

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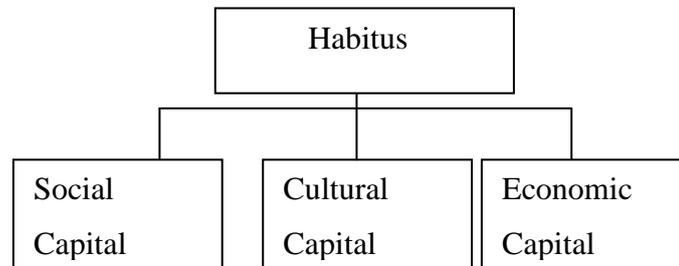
Figure: 2 Habitus classification

It was observed by the researcher in Pakistan that when individuals achieve high status based upon their educational qualifications, such as acquiring a high status job, it can impact upon their social networking and they will be able to build networks with people who are believed to belong to higher classes of society. The social capital of those highly skilled people further helps them to progress in their professional lives and build more economic capital. The following subsections will explore these forms of capital with respect to the home country conditions of the participants.

4.2.1 Home cultural capital

In this section the cultural capital of the potential highly skilled migrant professionals and managers will be explored within the context of the home country (Figure 3).
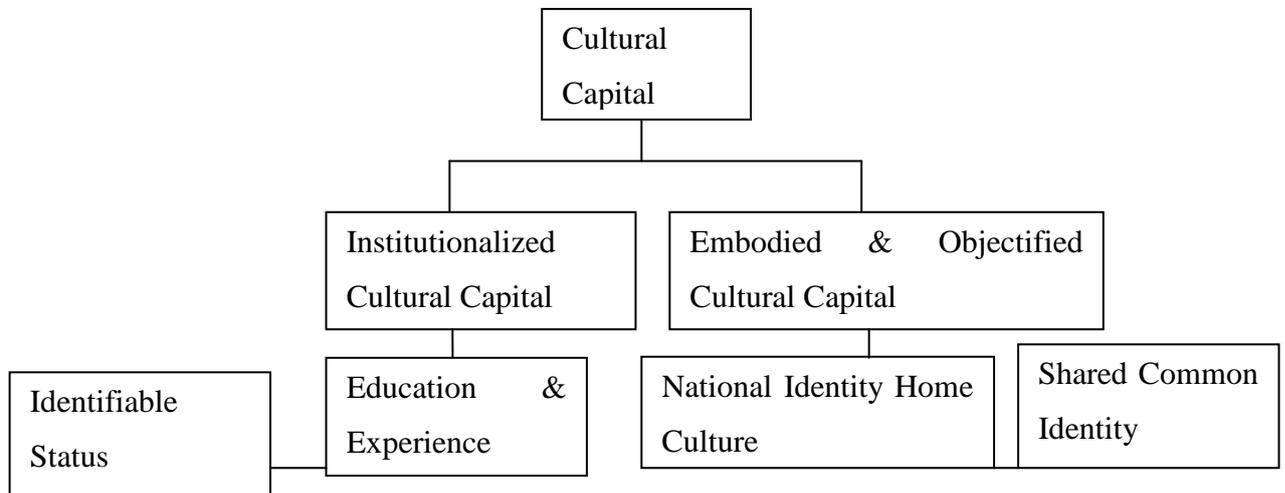
Figure: 3 Forms of cultural capital

The researcher observed that the educational qualifications and achievements based upon education are very important elements in a person's professional identity. Certain professions like medical doctor, an engineer or a computer scientist are very highly valued. Furthermore, parents prefer to influence their children to earn degrees in such professions to bring more pride and status to the family. It seems that there is no question that education is more than just a mere asset: it is actually an identity which also brings status and pride that gives a faceless person a face.

Observations of family dynamics reveals that someone who has achieved higher qualifications, or is in a well-regarded profession, are often used by other families to guide and counsel their children so that they can understand the importance of education and how it will improve their lives. There is a widely-held belief that they could be an example to their children and that high achievement academically could ultimately led to better economic attainment and status improvement in society. It is clear that parents compare their children with other children amongst their relatives and close family friends. This is how they influence them to get a better professional education, as this education will not only bring pride but also status to the family.

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Therefore, whenever any one person achieves a high status in education his achievement becomes a benchmark for the extended family and, conversely, it is very humiliating for a family if a child achieves less than the others.

According to Bourdieu (1986), people also consider education as an investment; that is, conversion of economic capital into cultural capital by acquiring a degree and then again converting that into economic capital through earnings after acquiring a job. In this research, field observations suggest that the realities go further than just a return on investment in acquiring the degree in two important respects. Firstly, observations suggest that in caste and status-oriented societies which are also male-dominated, some families or tribes are considered high class and only through better educational qualifications can a person compete and raise themselves up to gain a respected occupation. Secondly, all professions are not considered respectable. Even if someone is educated that person will not be afforded any respect if they are doing casual work, for example driving a cab, working as a security guard or working for cleaning services. These are considered low class work. This means moving to a low skilled profession will result in loss of respect and dignity, not just for that person but their whole family. Although education is an investment in cultural capital that can be converted into economic capital through earnings, if they are not able to gain any return on that investment due to joblessness that person might be able to gain economic capital through other means, such as low skill jobs, but will lose respect and dignity in his or her home community.

In discussions with some potential migrants it was clear that getting a white-collar job means gaining respect. It means improving one's status and having social prestige. It was also observed that in many cases highly skilled jobless people would rely on family support or financial loans rather that entering so-called disrespectful professions. This is an established reality that for a person who has not inherited much economic capital, education is a big asset to that person to achieve higher status in society. This status also impacts upon a person's social contacts and networking – their social capital.

4.2.2 Home social capital

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network; that is, mutual acquaintance and recognition or being a member of a group (Bourdieu 1986). Furthermore, a school, family name and/or belonging to a class or tribe can be a source of social capital.

Field observations suggest that good educational achievement is a foundation which then leads to other achievements. To join the club of high status and build the necessary social capital it is necessary for a person to first attend a prestigious educational institution. As mentioned above, parents try to influence their children's future career and this applies to selecting the educational institutions they attend. One aspect of studying in renowned institutions is that, later, one becomes a member of the alumni of these institutions which also lays the foundation of building up good networking and social capital. Another important point observed is that even parents with low income resources try to find ways and means to send their offspring to good educational institutions by taking out loans in an effort to secure their future. A person's social network will depend upon his or her educational and financial achievement. Good achievements in these sectors can lead to good social networking which, in return, could lead to better jobs. It is difficult for a person with low qualifications to socialise with people who are highly qualified. A person with a high school diploma will be considered low status compared to the one with a university degree. Interestingly this can have an impact on a person's socialisation in the extended family as well, as one participant during discussion pointed out:

> *I was really disappointed when my sister-in-law decided to marry a person with very low qualifications. All our family is quite highly qualified and I cannot bear the presence of that coolie [sic] in my home. Therefore I have cut off all my ties with my sister-in-law and her husband. I don't have very good relations with my mother-in-law any more since she supported this union.*

The above example is important to understand the social life of the participants in this research. South Asian societies tend to follow the philosophy of mixing work life with personal life. Both these lives overlap and one's education and professional

position in an organisation has a great influence upon their social capital. Sometimes, as seen in the above example, even family ties are affected. As respondent 20 living in Australia for eight years mentioned when comparing the differences of socialisation between Australia and his home country:

The socialisation in our country and in Australia is a bit different. In our culture we usually invite people at home but here most of the socialisation we carry on is at the work place. For example, once a week or a month you can go for a party or drinks.

In South Asian cultures it common for people to invite their colleagues to their home for tea or dinner. This is considered a very important step in building up social capital and improving the work relationships in one's organisation. At a personal level, these relationships help to convert both social and cultural capital into economic capital by climbing the career ladder.

4.2.3 Home economic capital

Field observations indicate that for the participants in this research, economic capital is interwoven with social and cultural capital. However, there are two types of economic capital: one that is inherited and one that is acquired by one's own effort (Bourdieu 1986). Therefore, those people who receive any financial asset as an inheritance or a gift from their parents are in a better position when they are struggling to achieve some initial professional attainment compared to those coming from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Economic capital is also built up over a period of time based upon a person's educational background and job experience.

Field observations clearly suggest that children – especially boys – are expected to take care of their parents when they grow old and retire. They are expected to provide part of their salary to their parents even if they are not physically living with them. Therefore, if a person hails from a financially stable family the idea of migration to another nation becomes attractive at an early age as soon as the minimum requirements for eligibility are met. Parents might even provide the finances required for the migration process, as well as for the initial time spent in

Australia. However, an educated and skilled person with meager economic capital would not only provide for their family but also save money for processing migration. Therefore, such persons will take longer to achieve their aim in migrating to Australia. Furthermore, the chances of the person in the latter category, being married with children, are higher compared to the person who migrates at a younger age and this person would have more responsibilities that would burden him or her economically.

For participants in this research, the age at which one migrates to Australia has an impact on the professional careers in the adopted country. There are two key reasons to understand the economic capital of potential skilled migrants planning to immigrate to Australia. Firstly, when a person applies for skilled immigration they must pay all the fees in Australian dollars, which are even higher if an immigration consultant is hired. As the currencies of South Asian countries are not as strong as Australia, the process of immigration represents a financial burden for the applicant. This burden was expressed by individuals while in conversation with the researcher in Pakistan. Secondly, the potential migrant's economic capital, whether inherited or acquired or converted from cultural and social capital, plays a role in his or her age at the time of immigration. Finally, the immigrant also brings different volumes of economic capital when they arrive in Australia to survive in their initial days. For a lucky few who get a job in the initial few months, the depletion of this capital is less compared to the others who are up for longer periods of struggle, as expressed by the respondents of this study. Different forms of capital that collectively form a potential highly skilled South Asian migrant professional's habitus are interlinked (figure 4).

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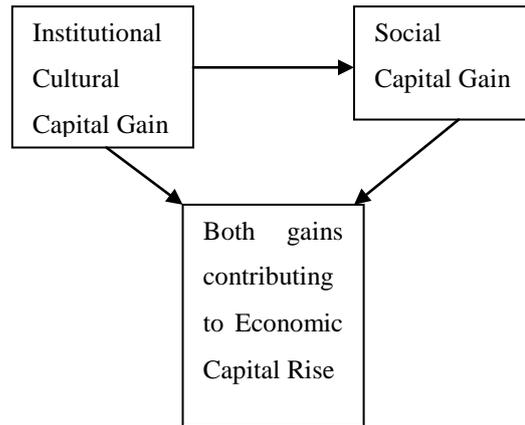
Figure 4: Link of capitals in home country context

In this research, the analysis indicates that people build up their institutional capital and the first step towards building that capital is to acquire education from a well-recognised institution and, sometimes, getting into those institutions depends upon the economic capital inherited from the parents. As they complete their professional education and move forward in their careers, their institutional capital keeps on building and the economic capital is also acquired simultaneously in the form of savings and assets. As the cultural capital and the economic capital of a person changes, it also impacts the social capital. A better position in an organisation means better social capital which can help in achieving more in the professional careers. Therefore, the overlap and inter-conversion of different forms of capital constitutes the basis of the home country's habitus of the participants in this research which is then taken to Australia where this habitus is not necessarily in tune with the new environment, an issue which will emerge in the following sections.

4.3 Disembedded migrants

The participants in this research experience a crisis of habitus that may be characterised as 'disembeddedness;' that is, they are uprooted from their inherited social conditions and thrust into an unfamiliar environment. In this environment there is an unexpected shift in their cultural capital and the social and economic capitals are in crisis. Since they find it difficult to engage in social networking, they cannot convert the social and cultural capitals into economic capitals. It will be

revealed in the proceeding sections about the crisis of the habitus, that when the participants express dissatisfaction about their professional achievements they face a situation of unmet expectations. This is the reality of their disembeddednes which they face in their new home country.

4.3.1 The crisis of habitus

Interviews with the participants in this research suggest that they bring cultural capital, not only in the form of their qualifications but also through defining characteristics such as language and accent. They bring their social capital in the form of links with the home country and economic capital in the form of the savings they need for their initial time in Australia. Adapting these forms of capital to their new country environment poses many different kinds of challenges. The participants actually face crisis of habitus in Australia (Zipin and Brennan 2003) as the different forms of capital change and alter.

This crisis of habitus is, firstly, cultural. In this case, the cultural capital (education) upon which the participants previously relied alters. Furthermore, embodied cultural capital (related to his or her ethnicity and cultural background) becomes far more important than institutionalised cultural capital. Secondly, the crisis is also social in that they do not have a local network to socialise in, resulting in a loss of social capital. Finally, they experience economic crisis. The savings they bring with them start depleting which results in a loss of economic capital. This is the reverse of their experience in their home country (Figure 5).

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              │ The Crisis of Habitus│
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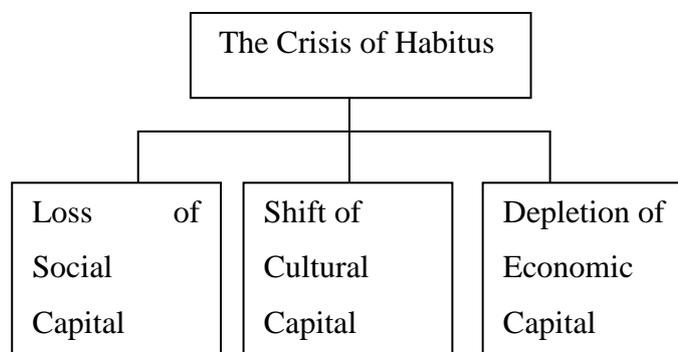
Figure: 5 The crisis of habitus

4.3.1.1 The crisis of cultural capital

The participants in this research brought with them cultural capital in institutional as well as embodied forms. Institutional form is education received from universities and embodied form is all about the ethnic embedding of a person into his or her culture. When the participants were in their home countries, cultural capital existed but the education acquired is the most significant. Once they leave their home countries and become permanent residents of Australia, the overseas skills of most of them become redundant; that is, they experience non-recognition of overseas acquired qualifications and experience. It is a common feature of the interviews that respondents report that embodied forms of cultural capital take on greater significance than expected (Figure 6). This means that they must come to terms with identity grounded in ethnicity rather than the more familiar education and social/occupational status. Two important factors that emerged from the analysis of the interviews were that ethnic background and gender play a significant role in the crisis of cultural capital. This role will be examined in the following sections.

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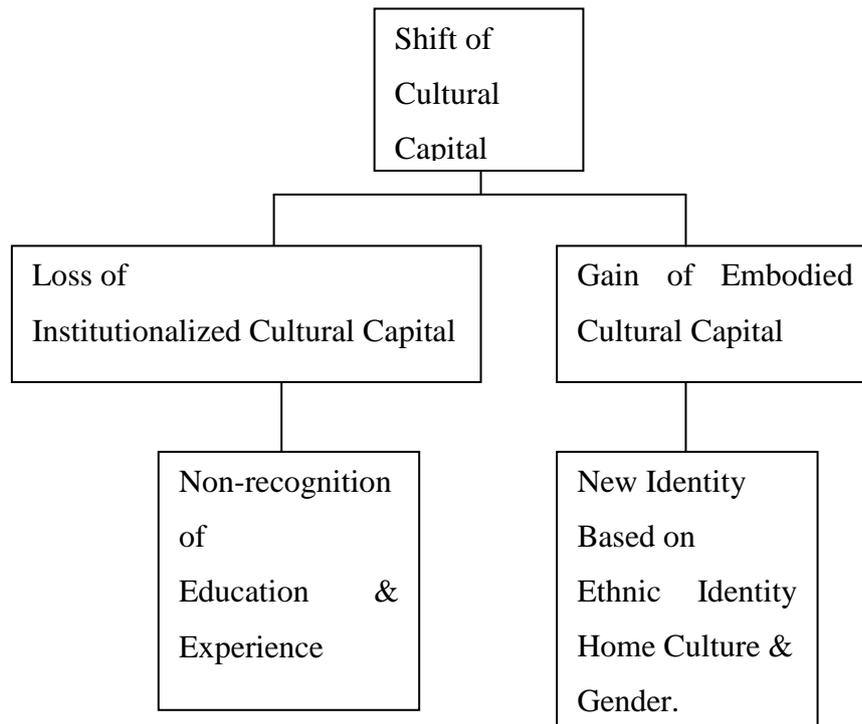
Figure: 6 Shift in the cultural capital

4.3.1.1.1   The shift from institutional to embodied cultural capital

The shift from institutional to the embodied cultural capital is a reality which the participants of this study faced at different stages of their professional career. As they arrived in Australia, they were confident that their overseas qualifications and skills would be recognised in Australia. When organisations did not recognise those qualifications and experience, the only explanation to them was that they held a non-Australian degree and/or experience. They know that they cannot change their nationality but can acquire an Australian qualification, so they enroll at a local university to get a local degree. They acquire this institutional cultural capital hoping to overcome this problem of a lack of institutionalised cultural capital. For example respondent 1 mentioned that:

> *I understood that they do trust my educational background but the main thing was that they did not give me the status I deserved as avionics engineer but made me just a trainee because I needed to fulfill certain licensing requirements which were very complex and complicated ... I thought that this would be the way I will spend rest of my career.I said no myself and quit the job and went back to university and did a bachelors and masters in software engineering.*

The above respondent realised that he might end up spending his whole career in Australia as a trainee engineer. The reason was his educational and career background which, of course, he could not change, therefore he went to study at university. When one looks at this experience in any skilled migrant's story, this is not an easy path as the majority of professional and managerial migrants are already mature-aged people with families to whom they are responsible. Once anyone goes back to university that person has to find casual work to maintain an income. Many migrants do have hope that an Australian qualification might enhance their career prospects and employers might then ignore their overseas background, but that period is still very difficult for them. As they had never undertaken a low skilled job in their home countries, having to work in such jobs is tiresome and humiliating at the same time. As respondent 1 put it:

During my studies to support my family I took over the role of labour. I started to drive a taxi. I spent about four years in university and that was a very hard time emotionally for a person who was an engineer and a supervisor now working as a cab driver, picking up the luggage of the customers and facing lots of negative attitude.

Due to these kinds of experiences, a strong sense is evident in the responses of participants that ethnic background or race plays a role in professional underachievement. For example, respondent 21 from Sri Lanka said:

I expected that I will give some of these skills to this country. I expected that this country would be able to make use of them, recognise them, and put me at an appropriate level. But to my surprise, this did not happen. Even I got the job after passing the public service exam as there was no other way ...My experience was ignored and I found it very frustrating so I would attribute that to some kind of prejudice based upon my background or color or it could be through fear that my experience and my past background would be a threat to the senior management at high levels if I was taken. So I would suggest it's either a huge failure on my part or huge defect in my character, which I don't think I have, or it is huge manifestation of some kind of prejudice in the organisation.

The main reason the above respondents felt frustrated was what they perceived as a lack of recognition of their skills and experience by Australian employers. Their education and experience seemed redundant and they had to start in a job at a lower grade and one of them also had go through an entrance exam. It seems that embodied forms of cultural capital works against them in interviews, therefore anonymity helped in proving their skills in the public service exam. However, they would never be satisfied with their position in the organisation or the position they hold when they eventually retire. For these participants then, whose identity revolved around educational qualifications and professional attainment, they were now forced to face a challenge quite unknown to them. The ground rules of the game have changed. They come from a country where, despite tribal and class

divisions, they are in a majority and know the ground rules of progress but, as a migrant, the ground rules change and they have to experience their new identity as a migrant minority in a different manner. One participant who described this dilemma stated that:

> *But the expectations that you see from your own colleagues are still higher, then you question yourself that how much more do … what I get reminded of (very well said by Mohammed Ali the great boxer when he came to Australia in an SBS interview) that in his time he thought it was so unfortunate that every black man has to be Mohammed Ali to get any respect from the white people and he said it on the national television and what he said was absolutely right. When it's absolutely true when what you have is hundred times better than your equals, but still there are expectations. (Respondent 18)*

The above respondent clearly believes that race plays a role in one's career progress as a migrant. It seems that new forms of cultural capital become more significant than those in the home country. To make sense of this, the belief develops that ethnic background plays a role in one's failure. It is a common perception amongst the participants that race plays some role in different stages of their professional lives in Australia. Despite having this belief, most of the participants never explicitly declared that Australia is a racist society. Some of them were even not sure that any event that stopped them from achieving any goals might have been a race issue. It is interesting to note that when participants expressed their opinions about society at large, they praised the locals. For example, they stated that they found Australians very welcoming to new migrants. One such respondent who was generally quite happy with his colleagues and superiors still had some concerns:

> *When I go to the senior board meetings people see with suspicious eyes whether I can do this job, sometimes I can see in some people's eyes that what I am doing here and I am not one of them and I can see that subtle differences, where they are questioning. They won't say it directly but they are questioning and thinking that what this person is doing here. But once*

you start working and prove yourself then they don't have any say and they don't want to say anything but I think that, up to a certain level, they would welcome you but once you start climbing the ladder after, there would be a glass ceiling. (Respondent 4)

It is clear that the participants are not saying that they are experiencing any kind of overtly racist attitudes. It seems to be more a sensitisation resulting from the redundancy of institutional forms of cultural capital and an increasing importance of embodied cultural capital, meaning that even culturally appropriate messages or gestures used by local people can have an impact upon them. The participants in this research developed the perception that they have greater pressure placed upon them to prove their professional skills compared to the locals. Furthermore, for some respondents, it was frustrating for them to find people with lower qualifications and lesser experience working at higher positions, or as their superiors. As respondent 4 mentioned:

I come across many people from different universities working at senior positions but sometimes I think that they don't understand the basic nature of the job, but still they are there as they are locals. They don't have qualifications, all they have got is experience and still after working for say fifteen, twenty years they don't understand basic reports and still working. Nobody is questioning them, everybody is happy with them but if I do something like that everybody will start looking at me and they would expect a lot out of me.

Therefore, this struggle to build new forms of institutional cultural capital confronts the participants in their professional lives. In conclusion, this leads to an understanding that since it is impossible to change the embodied cultural capital, efforts should be channeled to build institutional cultural capital by acquiring local qualifications.

4.3.1.1.2   The role of Gender in the crisis of cultural capital

While the experiences of the participants did not vary according to cultural and national diversity, gender appears to play a role in how the crisis of cultural capital unfolds. It was observed in interactions with female respondents that the migration decision was actually made by their husband's, who were generally keener to come to Australia. Secondly, it was also observed that the career decisions of female migrants are dependent upon their husband's opinions and choices. Therefore, female skilled migrants also face a crisis of cultural capital similar to their male counterparts, but with additional pressures. As this respondent, a female doctor, commented:

> *Probably entry was not that difficult as I got into the work field. But as far progress is concerned that's an issue......Sometimes they want to hold you for two years because their doctors are not going to turn up or they will assign you some all those stupid [sic] rotations that they would think no Australian graduate is going to do. Because they know that you have to do it you are pretty much forced to do it because you can't go anywhere else. We have got this person and if he is not going to do such and such rotation he will not get his registration. Although I am working and although my husband is very supportive, everything is ok. But there are a few…….being a Muslim I cannot go beyond this limit or I would not try to cross these limits. But if I am a male, for example, I can still socialise with them or talk to them and try to be more communicative with them. (Respondent 13)*

The women in this research reported having to conform to certain norms which are different for the men. As participant 15 commented, even if a female is working as a professional or manager there are gendered expectations arising from her religion, especially that she be modest, in the sense that she cannot be more outgoing or a more social person. Furthermore, it was observed that the women are expected to be homemakers as a first priority, making it doubly hard for them to pursue their careers. This is especially so for migrants as there is little, if any, extended family support. For example, a respondent from India said:

I worked in West Indies and Jamaica and after that we came to Australia. Actually I did not choose Australia but my partner was not able to get a job in West Indies so we felt that he would have better prospects in Australia. So he applied for immigration to Australia and I followed him, my spouse. (Respondent 19)

Women not only have to conform to the cultural values of modesty as defined by their cultures, but also give their spouses priority when it comes to professional progress as a migrant.

Summing up the crisis of cultural capital, the shift between embodied and institutional cultural capital is a very critical event in the lives of the participants of this study. Furthermore, this event has an impact upon their mindsets and career trajectories.

4.3.1.2 The crisis of social capital

Analysis of the interview data suggests that when the participants arrived in Australia they had limited understanding about how organisational socialisation works. It is quite natural for skilled migrants to understand very well that in the process of migration they will lose physical contact with their network of friends and extended family but their expectations about the social life of Australian organisations seemed, at times, to be unrealistic. It is these unrealistic expectations that are at the core of the crisis of social capital.

4.3.1.2.1   Expectations and consequences

The participants in this research fully comprehend that leaving behind their social capital is the very first compromise in their lives as migrants. This understanding is very simple and straightforward and can be considered quite realistic. For example, as Respondent 1 said:

I was mentally prepared that I might not work in Australia on the same status and I might not come back to Pakistan for years and I will lose 80 percent of my social contacts.

It is clear from this comment that many skilled migrants are aware that the social capital built over the years that might have helped them in enhancing their cultural and economic capital will be lost. However, the reality of organisational life is not as simple and straightforward as this and those interviewed had little awareness that this loss will have a significant impact on their professional lives. In the home countries the professional lives of the participants revolved around knowing the right people to get a better position in organisations which, in turn, also depended upon their socio-economic status. Therefore, it is important to understand the expectations the participants have about their social capital when deciding to migrate. In an interview with a prospective migrant in Pakistan who expressed an interest in moving to either Australia or Canada, the participant stated that:

> *I want to go to a country where there is an equal opportunity for everyone and hard work is valued. I believe a country like Australia or Canada can give us that opportunity based upon our work not upon who we are and what is our background.*

It is apparent that some skilled migrants would give up their social capital in the hope of equal opportunities. Furthermore, interviews with participants in their home country reveals a strong belief that developed (Western) nations are democratic and fair societies. Indeed, it seems there is evidence of a perception that Western nations are some kind of utopia; with little ethnic discrimination. There is a common belief that a hard working person can climb the ladder of an organisation without marketing themselves and without building interpersonal relationships. The reality, however, is quite different. To know how those realities are different and what the crisis of social capital is, this section will explore the social experience of the participants in organisations. As Respondent 8 realised after living in Australia for twenty four years:

> *I suppose in career you expect when you come here and do your job and you automatically get recognition and you automatically sort of rise up the ladder in the organisation … but I think that probably organisations are already top*

*heavy and may be not going that fast. Maybe you have to market yourself a
bit more, maybe because of those things it didn't automatically happen as I
expected that it will automatically happen ... I was happy with my work, I
was probably the only person doing my work at that time but some things
have happened since then. Our group has grown a bit and, although I
introduced a lot of those things, I didn't get the job to look after those things.
I didn't get the promotion to do those things although all the ideas are mine,
a lot of that was started by me. As work grew, now five persons are doing the
same work but I am only one of those five or six, not on the top of that, so
that's caused me some discomfort. You learn to live with the situation but I
am not happy about that. So I wouldn't say at this point that I am happy with
the job.*

This reveals a lot about the crisis of social capital. This person believed that they
would receive recognition automatically, without making any effort. The reality is
otherwise. This respondent used the term of 'marketing oneself' to imply that he did
not realise that there are certain rules he should have followed to promote himself in
his organisation. The interview data suggests that the participants tended to find
themselves so far out of their familiar surroundings that, on arrival in Australia, they
felt as though they were in unknown territory or, as was more graphically described
by participant 1, as a '*new planet*' in which the social capital is limited to a few
acquaintances from their own culture. Therefore, an effort is required to build that
capital and break any social or cultural barriers that exist. This crisis again has links
to the embodied cultural capital of the skilled migrants as many participants are of
the view that their ethnic and cultural background can be a barrier to their entering
the inner circles of the organisations. For example, Respondent 3 mentioned:

*I realised that, as a migrant, if you want to succeed in your profession there
are a few things you need to keep an eye on. The first is networking. You
cannot go stronger on that because of the social aspect, we cannot integrate
socially too much, and the other is language barrier, not the academic or
grammatical but the accent and the third one is cultural. So these are the
three/four points which segregates you among the mainstream and you are*

not able have the networking that keeps you going in your professional career. However, as a migrant you should know these are the limiting factors.

The above individual says that as a migrant one should be aware of the limiting factors which are based upon a person's embodied cultural capital. The problem is that this is only revealed to them once they start living the life of a migrant. Furthermore, the above respondent has linked this belief to the inability to form social capital. This also represents how social and cultural capital are interlinked.

When the crisis of habitus is looked at as a whole, everything is interlinked. When a person is unable to resolve the crisis of social capital and cannot build networks required for professional achievements, that person also lags behind in building cultural capital. Therefore, when certain barriers are experienced by the skilled migrants in building their cultural and social capitals, it is hard for them to move on to the next step; that is, conversion of one form of capital to another, cultural to social or social to cultural, as well as both forms into economic capital.

The participants in this research also considered the role of ethnic background in the crisis of social capital. Through the prism of being new to Australian culture, participants believed they had a responsibility to develop an understanding of the Australian work culture with respect to socialisation. None of the participants reported being shunned from any office socialisation event because of their ethnic background. However, in some instances they are themselves reluctant to become a part of those events, due totheir own cultural constraints. At the same time, some of them were happy that their colleagues understood what their cultural constraints were and showed some cultural sensitivity. Respondent 7 stated:

I really have two lives at home.I still lead my life in a very traditional Indian manner but when I come to work it's very different, I mean it's no different to any native born Australian. My relationship with bosses has been generally extremely good.

While respondent 6 stated:

> *I don't take alcohol and everybody knows that in this in this circle. I have some restrictions on my food and everybody knows that but I have not felt that as a hindrance in any way.*

Examining the above two remarks, Respondent 7 has learned to live two lives, an experience he describes as 'kind of a double life'. In the work environment they try to wear the Australian cultural hat and at home, or with the people of same cultural background, they revert to the home country culture. Respondent 6 is quite happy that their work colleagues respect their cultural background. Therefore, it can be concluded that role of cultural background cannot be ignored within the context of the crisis of social capital.

4.3.1.2.2 The role of gender

The crisis of social capital is somewhat different for the women in the sample. Coming from male-dominated societies, the expectations are quite different. The women interviewed do pursue a professional career but are also expected to be good homemakers. Because of the male domination, the career decisions of women depend on the encouragement and consent of their husbands. With respect to building social capital, it can be an issue for the South Asian females due to their cultural values. They need their husband's approval to make friends, especially from the opposite gender. Even migrating to Australia is a choice made by their husbands. For example, respondent 14 stated:

> *I came to Australia from Pakistan three and half years ago. It wasn't really my choice. I had migrated because my husband was migrating to Australia so I had to move along with him....I want to move forward and I have to make more friends........ I don't know if it happens with others. That's how it happens in my organisation; if you want to progress you have to know the right people at the right time. I still feel reluctant to go to these parties. The last Christmas party that I went to I was quite reluctant but my husband said,*

don't feel shy just go there and if you want to move forward and this is what
you want to do then you have to go and be yourself. So I said, OK I will.

The above respondent demonstrates the general ambition of the women interviewed to build social capital. However, it seems they will only do this with their husband's approval. In the societies where the women interviewed originate, if the husband would not approve of them going to a social event she would have to withdraw from such events. The question also arises: why there is a tendency for women to be reluctant to go to such parties where social capital can be built? It may be because that in their own culture women going to such parties where alcohol is served (even if she does not drink) may be considered as being immodest. Therefore, when one looks at the crisis of social capital, it has a clear gendered dimension. The following remark is helpful to further understand the issues of female respondents:

Respondent 13 stated:

As a migrant in my first year I was not doing any work. I was mainly focusing
on my domestic jobs and I started studying for my exam... I have been
brought up in a different environment with different concepts.

In the above quote, the participant is expressing that her upbringing requires her to conform to certain standards of modesty within her culture. It is evident from the data that the women in this sample are in a disadvantaged position compared to their male counterparts when it comes to building social, cultural and economic capital. The women had to conform to certain norms imposed upon them due to cultural constraints. This presents an interesting phenomenon. Although the women interviewed believe that men have a better chance professionally, at the same time men are also not satisfied with their professional attainment.

4.3.1.3 Crisis of economic capital

As the participants in this study face a crisis of cultural and social capital, they also face the crisis of economic capital. The reason behind this crisis is that they are not able to convert their institutional cultural capital into economic capital through their earnings. Secondly, they also lack any social networking owing to the fact that they

lack referees who could recommend them for a job. For example, Respondent 1 mentioned in his interview:

> *When I came here I had only Au$5000 in my pocket. In the very first week I was able to realised that I might not find job in accordance with my qualification and experience. When I came to Perth I even had less money than my initial arrival in Australia.*

The researcher did observe that most of the participants were very reluctant to clearly state that they were getting low on finances with the passage of time. They wanted to focus more on the issues of non-recognition of skills and the reason behind this could be the cultural background, in which it is considered immodest to mention one's poverty. However, there are a few examples. Respondent 18 from India mentioned that:

> *I had come with only two hundred dollars in my pocket and my job in Sydney was not paid, it was only as an observers post. So I survived in that hospital for six months with only two hundred dollars. The Philipino colleagues taught me how to make noodles in minimum amount of time and money.*

Respondent 21 said:

> *We were quite well off in Sri Lanka, if I may say so, having our own property, servants and good life style……..Eventually when I came here I was very unhappy and that worked against me to some extent as I suffered from some kind of depression of sorts. We were only permitted to bring only Au$2000 from our country so that too played and it was a sudden drop in every aspect, financial, social and economic and every aspect of life changed dramatically.*

As is evident from the above examples, that crisis of economic capital is quite significant in the initial days as a migrant. However, it can get worse in the face of non-recognition of skills and joblessness. Nonetheless, the situation of economic capital crisis can ease for the migrants who make the compromise of accepting low

skills jobs, or a job which does not match their experience and qualifications. For example, Respondent 1 mentioned that:

The very first compromise that I made was that I will keep looking for a proper job but at the same time I took a labour job as a chain operator to fulfill the basic requirements like food and rent etc.

In the above example, the participant considers accepting a low skilled job as a compromise. Low skilled jobs can ease the economic crisis to fulfill the basic requirements of life but cannot fulfill the hopes and expectations of the participants when they are facing a crisis of habitus.

While the sample is very diverse in terms of nationality and culture, the crisis of habitus experienced has many common features. As concluded in the discussion about the home habitus of the skilled migrants, the different forms of capital are also interlinked in the Australian environment. It is actually the shift between the cultural capitals, the loss of social capital and the gradual loss of economic capital that makes it different in the two environments and leads individuals into a crisis. In terms of cultural capital, the crisis is characterised by a switch in importance between institutional and embodied cultural capital. That then leads to sometimes strong, yet subtle, perceptions about the role of race and ethnicity in professional achievement. The participants come to Australia with a certain set of expectations, particularly relating to the desire to achieve something different, or more than would be possible in their home country. Often though, these expectations are not met which is frequently due to an evident redundancy of social capital and they need to find ways and means to fill the gaps to build their cultural capital again. At the same time, they face a crisis of social and economic capital. The highly skilled migrants from South Asia are disembedded from their inherited social conditions and face a crisis of habitus in their adopted home country, Australia. No matter what they achieve during the span of their career, it is an ongoing challenge and effort for them to re-embed themselves and resolve this crisis of habitus. Another issue that is revealed during the analysis in both cultural and social crises of habitus is that a gendered aspect does exist. The women not only believe that their male counterparts have

better chances of professional advancement, but they also look for the approval of their spouses to make any decisions about their careers.

4.4 The resolution

Participants' stories are actually their narratives, which gave them a chance to talk in detail about their challenges and struggles after coming to Australia as highly skilled migrants. These narratives start with ambitions and expectations and, as the journey continues, there are examples of unmet expectations and there are often overlapping common themes in the data represented, like unmet expectations due to non-recognition of overseas acquired skills and education. However, the endings of the narratives depend upon how different individuals resolved their crisis of habitus and the individual career implications. Therefore, the effort of the participants who took part in this research was to achieve some resolution to the crisis of habitus to become re-embedded in the Australian work environment.

4.4.1 Motivations

When there is a crisis, it needs to be resolved. The story of the participants of this study started in their home country. Motivations to migrate are at the root of this story and this story culminates with the resolution of the crisis. This section will look at the motivations of the participants of this study.

The general perception about skilled migrants is that their motivation to migrate is economic. This implies that they are not satisfied with their economic capital in the home country and wish to increase the volume of this capital when they migrate to Australia. Still, this does not represent the whole picture. More in-depth analysis of the motivations of highly skilled migrant professionals revealed that there are many other factors as well. To elaborate on the above mentioned factors, the discussions with some potential migrants from the field visit of the researcher to Pakistan are worth mentioning. For example, one man who wanted to migrate gave the following reason for his desire to migrate to Australia:

Although I am doing a great job at an executive middle management position, it is a very hard earned position in a society where corruption prevails. Therefore, I want my kids to grow up in a place where there is less hypocrisy and more equal opportunities.

A similar sentiment was expressed by another participant of this study. As Respondent 17 remarked:

When we speak about our background in our country, it's not easy life. There you have to struggle every day to meet your needs, especially because of the widespread corruption. It's very difficult to do a specific thing or a specific job and also the politics that are in the organisations. I thought that I will get somewhere in Australia.

As the researcher also came to Australia as a migrant, many people in Pakistan were also interested in asking about what challenges can be faced by a migrant from South Asia. Their questions are mostly related to economic and cultural capital. Following are some of the frequently asked questions:

- *How is the job market in Australia and how long does it usually take for a migrant to get a job related to his profession?*
- *How much finances are enough for the period of joblessness?*
- *Does everyone really need to do some kind of casual work, how is that experience and how much can one earn in casual jobs?*

The above questions also reveal a few things about the potential highly skilled migrant professionals. Firstly, they are not able to comprehend what challenges a skilled migrant can face in Australia which was quite evident from the data collected. Secondly, they have the hope that their skills will be recognized. Finally, they are quite reluctant to revert to casual jobs as they come from a society where these jobs are considered quite demeaning.

The major motivation for the skilled migrants behind choosing Australia was better opportunities. However, the field observations also revealed some factors which must be mentioned. There was a group of people who were not satisfied with jobs or professional attainment. They felt that the move to a developed country might quench their thirst for growth. Another group of people who were quite successful with their careers also wanted to migrate as they too were not satisfied with their professional lives which could also impact on their personal lives. Nevertheless, both groups converged when it came to identifying one shared feeling; that is, dissatisfaction.

The majority of the respondents wanted better opportunities for themselves. However, the concern for the next generation's future sometimes even surpassed their individual expectations. As Respondent 15 said:

> *I chose Australia just for my kids, for the education of my kids because there is a lot of competition in my country. The ones who have education from abroad can get very high positions and the people who are locally qualified cannot get many high positions. So I chose Australia because it's an English speaking country. If I like to send my kids overseas for study I could have sent only one kid but I have three kids; it was better to move to Australia and have them educated here.*

It is clear from the above comment that there is a belief among the participants that the impact of their achievements as highly skilled professional migrants will not be just personal but would also benefit their families in the long run.

The interviewees of this research were at different stages of their respective careers, starting from beginners to retirees as well as people who voluntarily retired at an early age to start their own businesses. Therefore, the point here is that for a highly skilled migrant professional from South Asia the crisis of habitus is an ongoing crisis throughout professional life. Furthermore, whenever the participants of this study faced the challenge that posed a crisis to them at any stage of their professional career, they made an effort to resolve it. It is therefore imperative to consider that re-

embedding effort in depth. The participants of this study are different individuals who analyze every situation and reach certain conclusions in their narratives. These conclusions can be considered as significant milestones in the narratives of the highly skilled migrant professionals. The conclusions which they reach actually reveal the way they have resolved the crisis of habitus. During the resolution phase, some participants enhanced their cultural capital, some enhanced the social capital and some made an effort to enhance both. The result of this effort can lead to some re-embedding. The following sections will discuss the resolution processes of the participants. These processes will be further sub-classified into differentproperties of the sense-making and acculturation processes.

4.4.2 Sense-making

Sense-making is a process that can explain the resolution of the crisis faced by the participants with respect to the efforts of re-embedding which can lead them to different career trajectories. The basic idea of sense-making is about reality, which is an ongoing accomplishment that emerges from efforts to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs in the environment (Weick 1993). A skilled migrant from South Asia comes to Australia with certain expectations; sometimes those expectations are realistic and sometimes quite unrealistic. As the migrants who were the target of this research are highly skilled professionals, their own analysis represents a certain level of intellect when they analyze the challenges encountered by them during their professional and nonprofessional careers. Therefore, the process of sense-making is used here to determine the different frames the analysis of the migrants fall into. The analysis in this section will represent the meanings given to different situations by the participants of this study in their narratives at different stages of their careers based upon different properties of the sense-making process which are applicable to this research as defined by Weick (1995). These properties are shown in Figure 7.

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                          ┌─────────────────┐
                          │  Sense-Making   │
                          │  Process        │
                          └─────────────────┘
           ┌──────────┬─────────┼──────────┬──────────┐
    ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐ ┌────────┐ ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐
    │ Identity │ │Retrospect│ │ Social │ │ Extracted│ │Plausibility│
    │          │ │          │ │        │ │ Cues     │ │          │
    └──────────┘ └──────────┘ └────────┘ └──────────┘ └──────────┘
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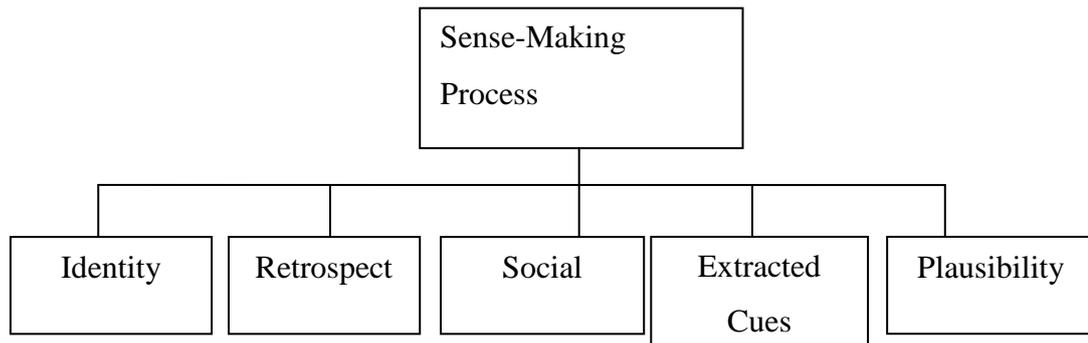
Figure: 7 The sense-making process

The process of sense-making is not as gendered as the acculturation process. Acculturation is a cultural journey, whereas sense-making is quite a reflective process in which individuals make sense of their organisational environments. However, the social property of sense-making can have a gendered perspective as discussed in detail in the previous sections about social capital crisis. The main aim of this section is look at the conclusions the participants made about those experiences as part of the resolution process. It was discovered by the researcher during interviews and discussions that gender had no impact upon conclusions of the participants with respect to professional attainment in Australia when overseas skills and experience were not recognised.

4.4.2.1 Identity

Identity is the property of the sense-making process which is very much embedded in the process of resolution of the crisis of habitus by a highly skilled migrant from South Asia. According to Weick (1995), it is about the discovery of a person's thought process based upon who he or she is, or his or her actual identity. In the case of the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, they are able to make sense that they are carrying an embodied cultural capital with them which gives rise to their new identity in their new homeland, Australia and this identity also has a deep impact on how they think and make sense of the situations and the work environment around them. The feeling of this identity is very strong among them and it does exist

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no matter what stage of their career they belong to at a certain point of time. Identity is part of the essence of their experience in Australia.

As migrants do initially feel uncomfortable with a shift of the focus to their embodied cultural capital from institutional cultural capital, which in many cases leads to anxiety and disappointments. The process of sense-making is about coming to terms with your embodied cultural capital which is about the highly skilled migrant identity. For example, Respondent 1, who runs his own small business, found a way to keep his identity hidden. He stated in his interview:

> *I assessed my capabilities and came to the conclusion that this not the right approach, because knowing that I am doing my best to help my customers sincerely I realised that I am not fulfilling their requirements. I took another strategy of hiring Australian staff (born Australian) with good communication skills. I started to convey my knowledge through my staff members by staying at the back end. However, if any situation arises which they are not able to handle I approach the customers myself. The person at the front end is only like a programmed machine with good communication skills.*

The resolution of the crisis of the above respondent reveals that, after realizing that he cannot change his accent and identity, he decided to go behind the scenes. At times though, he needs to interact with the customers as well. Since he owns the business, this gives him an opportunity to hire people with whom, according to his perspective, the local customers will feel more comfortable. However, when looking at the sense-making process of identity, it is not just physical appearance which is important but identity is also based upon a person's discovery of how and what he thinks. This thought process is generated from the realization of the switch between the embodied and institutional cultural capital. The following quote provides an insight into the effect of this switch. Respondent 13 stated:

> *The main thing is the general example they give that if you are sitting among two other Australians and you three are going for the same specialization,*

although you have got all the credentials you have got experience, you have got interest, everything is there, but still they don't know you because your skin color is different because you are not from here and because you haven't worked with them….So this type of stupid [sic] things which I think because where the selection is done is through the interview process not through any…. let us say that don't have any beginners exam which I sit in and prove myself that I know this thing. No matter what I do, still I am not an Australian and my so-called degree is not equivalent to the degree here, although I have cleared my AMC (Australian Medical Council) exams. Since my primary degree is not from here, so there is still a gap or margin.

The above respondent is a medical doctor; based on her identity she has resolved the crisis of habitus by understanding that she cannot join the training program of her choice as she is an overseas qualified doctor who also looks different from the locals. This identity is not a gendered identity; rather, it is an ethnic identity that is South Asian.

In conclusion, this quote also reveals a very distinct factor. Once the overseas qualified professionals realised that they can only join certain specializations or areas according to the undefined rules, they either join those or go for their own businesses and are their own bosses. Therefore, the realization of identity based on embodied and institutional cultural capital shift leads to a resolution of crisis of habitus where the participants of this study developed a mindset in which an individual believes that certain attributes cannot be changed and one should try to find solutions within restrictive parameters of the recruitment system of Australian organisations. The participants of this study have actually looked back at their experiences to come to these conclusions. All the data is retrospective, which is another property of the sense-making process.

4.4.2.2 Retrospect

In the sense-making process, retrospect is to learn about one's own thinking from what you said earlier (Weick 1995). Therefore, the participants of this study have gone through a learning process when they evaluate and compare their earlier views

and their current conditions with respect to their professional attainment. When the narratives were analyzed in relation to retrospect, an aspect of the South Asian skilled migrant experience is revealed. Most of the skilled migrants who were not satisfied with their positions in their respective organisations found different ways to resolve their crisis of habitus. This led them to a set of conclusions. Therefore, it is really important to examine those conclusions which can provide answers in retrospect. The property of retrospect goes beyond the property of identity in the process of sense-making. Retrospect provides the overall picture of being a highly skilled migrant professional and manager from South Asia in Australia. Although all the data can be considered as looking at the events in retrospect, the purpose of this section is to look at some specific conclusions which are the essence of the experiences of the participants of this study. To further examine the property of retrospect, some of the comments given by the respondents of this research offer greater clarity on how the process of looking at your experience in retrospect helps resolve the crisis of habitus. Respondent 14 stated:

> *I had an MBA degree and I had been working in a bank. I almost knew everything to do in a bank and I will go towards middle management. So if I go to Australia, which is a big country, and that had big marketing institutions within the banks, I would go straight go into some role as a marketing coordinator…….I do ask people why they have told me that people who are born here they take jobs at a very early age, that is 20 or 21. They start doing jobs in the field in which they want to go ahead in. So they have more experience than me. So I might have only one and a half years experience from back home, which is a third world country, which does not go along with the experience they wanted here. They would also have young people coming which would have massive experience as compared to me and they know the people here and they talk the same language and they can approximately be the same person they need.*

When the above respondent looked at her experience in retrospect she discovered a gap that she can use to justify her staying behind in the race of professional attainment. According to her perspective, the locals in Australia have more local

experience as they start experiencing the Australian job market at a younger age, unlike the highly skilled migrant professionals from South Asian countries. This perspective is acquired by looking at what she said or believed earlier, before migration, which has actually turned out quite differently after migration. This reflects the process of looking at experiences in retrospect. This is the way she has resolved her crisis of habitus. However, a point to note here is that no highly skilled migrant professional and manager can have the same local experience as the native-born Australians as they arrive here after gaining job experience in their own home countries. Although the above respondent might have accepted this as an unchangeable reality, at the same time it would be a very unrealistic expectation from potential Australian employers to expect new migrants to have local experience. As respondent 12 mentioned:

> *So on paper the rules are different but practically there are discrepancies. They insist that I should compete with their fresh graduates, it's totally unjustified. If I am going to be compared I should be compared with the people of same experience and same age group and then they should rate that you meet the standard or not. Unfortunately they haven't developed any approach to rectify this problem. Experience, well anybody can have, they can develop a mechanism for that and there is no organisation to access your experience and all they insist on is what Australian experience or qualification you have.*

The above examples are from the participant's experiences in the early days following migration which almost every migrant goes through and the conclusions are very similar. However, it is imperative to observe that when the participants try to find a resolution to the crisis of habitus after spending a considerable number of years in Australia, they start to evaluate their success in two categories. Those categories are personal and professional. This is one way to resolve their crisis of habitus. The reason for this is that they look at things in retrospect and discover they did not have the career that they expected. Therefore, they look at other ways to find some satisfaction and resolution. Some further comments taken from different interviews will help clarify the understanding of this process.

Respondent 21 from Sri Lanka said:

> *My expectations about Australia, I can divide it into two. One is at a personal level, my personal expectations….. I worked my way up from the class one level but it was a hard struggle at this stage and at this stage all my experience of personnel management, of management of people, that should have been accepted and recognised, that should impacted when I was judged in the work place. But that didn't happen and I had to fight all the way, that is at the personal level. At the level of my family, my children have done extremely well here, they got better opportunities as compared to their native country. I would be happy to say that.*

Respondent 1 from Pakistan said:

> *I am very happy that I migrated to Australia, despite some negative things happened here. I am very happy that I have rights here and I fully understand my obligations. Back home I might have been more independent but people depending on me were suffering.*

Respondent 20 from Bangladesh said:

> *It could be so many things it's not very straightforward to say why? Three countries, three professions but the same person. I feel good now but I am frightened that there is nothing permanent, that's the one. As a migrant, my life is secure but my job is not secure from job security. It was better over there but from a life security point, Australia is better.*

The above three examples make it clear that when the participants looked at their professional careers in retrospect, dissatisfactions existed and they sometimes felt insecure in their jobs. Nonetheless, they also acknowledged other aspects of their experience of migration which were positive and were able to count their blessings for the opportunity to live as a highly skilled migrant professional in Australia. Therefore, to resolve the crisis of habitus and re-embed themselves they would look

at their lives as a whole, not just professional attainment and satisfaction related to that.

When the participants of the study look at the events of their experiences in retrospect, it became a kind of self-discovery and this self-discovery helps them to resolve the crisis of habitus. When they struggle to face challenges in the Australian job market they are actually on the road to re-discovering the newly formed identities which did not exist in their home countries habitus. The resolution of the crisis is coming to terms with these new identities. This happens when they reflect upon their experiences and develop an understanding, when the shift in their cultural capital's identity has taken place, from institutional to embodied, and when they were able to achieve some of their goals after this switch. For example, Respondent 2, who wanted to become a principal in a school and was in a very similar role in his home country, looked back at his experience in retrospect, the reason he gave for joining a religious organisation is as follows:

> *As I was working in supervisory role overseas, that was my ambition when I came here. But when I came to know that I am not even accepted as teacher, that was a huge disappointment for me and my family. And the three/four years that I spent I was under pressure that I am moving back and not moving forward in my profession, but after I moved to this sector that gave me a lot of professional support and satisfaction that I was looking for and ultimately I got that.*

Respondent 3 concluded that since he is a migrant he cannot overcome many of the shortcomings of his social and cultural capital. Therefore he concluded:

> *I have started to think to develop or start my own business. For the last few months I have not applied for any job because I am a bit reluctant to go again into an employee/employer relationship. For my own business I don't think its negative, I feel I can do much better for the profession and the society with my own business rather than just working for someone. I would be more flexible and be able to give more time to my family. Another thing is,*

according to report of institute of engineers, seventy five percent of the jobs are not advertised and those jobs are filled by networking and references and good relationships and socialising with the bosses.

As he believes that his cultural shortcomings will prevent him from networking and socialisation, he who was a victim of downsizing would be better off starting his own business.

Respondent 20 from Bangladesh concluded, looking at things in retrospect:

In my opinion we come over here, we give the best service to Australia. When the word 'skilled migration' is used this means only the skilled people can migrate over here so they are taking people who are best in their country, so, as a migrant, from my understanding I was in a very good position over there. I come over here and find everything to be secure but job is not secure so once you lose the job it's difficult to get back on the track. This might not be the case for the next generation so as a migrant it's really hard.

The above respondent is somewhat disillusioned by the process of skilled migration and, since his expectations have not been met, he, like many other skilled migrants, has found resolution of the crisis of habitus in the hope for the next generation.

Retrospect can be considered as the property of sense-making process which looks at the overall experience. Every individual who migrates to Australia based on skills goes through the process of looking at events in retrospect. The participants of this study, as mentioned by respondent 20, believe that they are not ordinary people with ordinary skills. Rather, they believe that they are people with specialized knowledge, with expertise in specialized fields. Therefore, they have to come to a conclusion and reach some kind of resolution to the crisis of habitus. This is also actually a part of their effort to re-embed in Australia in which they weigh gains and losses during the span of time in the new home country.

4.4.2.3 Social

Socialisation is a very important property of the sense-making process. As in the sense-making process, a person's conclusions very much depend upon who that person socialised with and how that socialisation process took place (Weick 1995). The participants lose their social capital once leaving the home country, which adds to their crisis of habitus. The question to answer here is what brings about the resolution of the crisis; that is, the conclusions the participants reach depending upon their organisational socialisation. The crisis of social capital has already been discussed in detail, therefore this section will examine the conclusions of the participants related to the process of socialisation in their organisations. This socialisation does help them in the resolution of the social capital crisis but the extent of this resolution can be different depending on the person. Another angle of this resolution is that socialisation also provides the skilled migrants from South Asia a basis for organisational networking which can help them move forward in their professional careers. Looking at the remarks made by the respondents will help in understanding the resolution of the crisis of habitus and the social aspect of the process of sense-making. Beginning with the gender aspect of thisdiscussion, a female participant, Respondent 13, stated:

> *When you are communicating with your colleagues on your professional grounds and one is social communication. I find it really difficult to crack jokes like they do, to intermingle with them like they do. So whenever they are doing this type of activity it's certainly hard. Their jokes are sometimes beyond our spectrum and scope you can't really think about…ok you are going to say something like that to your colleague. The professional communication is ok but in the social communication there is a big gap - you really can't come any closer to the way they communicate. Maybe because I am a female and female in my culture is different as compared to female in their culture.*

The above respondent has reached a resolution in which she has put communication into two categories; that is, professional and social. She has a level of discomfort that is hard for her to overcome. Hence, she will have to stick to just strictly

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professional communication as more social communication will demand a great leap for her and she might feel immodest according to her cultural norms.

When mentioning the term resolution of the crisis it does not mean that the participants achieve some sort of integration or assimilation in their organisational environment. The main idea here is that there is a stage during their experiences in Australia when they decide what path they will take as far as social capital is concerned and that path can be regarded as that person's resolution. There is one category of people who have rejected the idea of socialisation as their resolution. To further understand the process of the social resolution of the crisis, it will be useful to consider the following quote by Respondent 18:

> *Somehow, unfortunately, I have never been able to build up any rapport, except for professional pure working relation, only as and when required. Beyond that there is hardly any relation. I don't know whether it's got something to do with what I see every day being done to my junior colleagues, the overseas doctors, or don't know what it is but I think that subconsciously it has affected me, that I don't feel like going close to any one of my professional colleagues beyond work. Definitely it's the observation over the years, the way the overseas young people are being treated that's, I think, has put me off.*

The above comment reveals an aspect of socialisation as part of the sense-making process. Despite being a senior level employee, he believes that he is still an outsider and the newly arrived skilled migrants in his profession are being treated in a similar manner, thus he prefers to remain an outsider. One aspect of the sense-making process is, the more a person socialises in the organisation, the more likely that the status of that person is raised from an outsider to an insider. Therefore, here is a person who has resolved to remain an outsider compared to Respondent 10 (in an above-mentioned quote) who decided to join his colleagues in the pub to learn about the after hours politics and gain the status of an insider. Similarly, another respondent also mentioned the importance of social contacts. Respondent 5 stated that:

I had good contacts with the persons who worked with me and who even left our company and are with other companies now through email etc. In a way, that's very good for what I am doing as an expert. Like we talk about problems even outside the organisation and discuss the whole industry….. Every day we are trying to find more efficient ways to improve our methods. It's extremely important stay in touch to know how other people are doing things.

According to the above remark, the socialisation process can also go beyond the organisation and can give an individual the status of an insider of the whole industry of his or her specialization. The perspective of individuals who did not struggle for longer periods of time can also provide another angle to the social property of sense-making. As respondent 9 concluded:

When I found a job in Australia the first time I would say that I had no interpersonal relationships over here in this industry, but I got a job purely based upon the curriculum and also based upon the interview….. In this particular instance I did not have any interpersonal relations in this industry.When I see the overall experience in this industry and when I talk to my colleagues, yes interpersonal relationship and networks work to find a job, but the rich ingredient which I would like to highlight is that one should work hard and have the right experience then, probably, you can find a good job based on networks and your interpersonal relationships.

The above respondent's experience has helped him to believe that if he works hard and has the right experience he can still achieve his goals without networking in the industry, which is quite different from many other respondents who are no longer confident about their overseas skills.

This contrasts with how socialisation can affect a person and how it affects a person's sense-making of happenings or events within their organisations. Socialisation is an important aspect of the whole process of resolving the crisis of habitus. It is clear that socialisation is a factor when the participants try to build new

social capital in Australia. It also comes into play in the acculturation process when migrants must come to terms with the Australian local culture. Finally, it also plays a significant role in the sense-making process as, in this process, proper socialisation can give an individual the status of insider in the organisation where he or she works. Therefore, some participants who are able to break this barrier can experience a positive impact on their professional careers, rather than for some of them, who remain isolated. The process of sense-making is all about making sense of the working environment and looking for answers, depending upon one's situation. Individuals also extract cues from their environments with which they interact to reach to their conclusions.

4.4.2.4 Extracted Cues

The property of extracting cues is about what a person singles out and embellishes, as the content of the thought is only a small portion of the utterance that becomes salient because of context and personal dispositions (Weick 1995). Therefore, this property represents the selective perceptions that individuals can have about different issues which they face during interaction with their work environments. Those participants who are able to get into their area of specialization are not satisfied as they feel that their skills are not fully accepted by their employers and they try to find ways to fill the gaps. The realization that a gap exists sometimes becomes a very salient perception that, instead of applying for jobs in more organisations, they join Australian educational institutions to gain local qualifications. As Respondent 1 expressed:

> *As the department of immigration recognised that skill, and exactly that skill, was required in that industry, they will also always look for an Australian role or experience, which was also quite impossible for me as new migrant.Therefore, I decided to fill the missing Australian component in my resume.*

This perception of filling the missing Australian component became so important for the above participant that he did not contemplate losing valuable experience by quitting his job and becoming a full-time student, as he mentioned:

When I finished my degree there was another problem: now I was 40 years old. When I tried to get a job in the software industry I never realised that when I was asked about my experience in that industry.I told them that I am a fresh graduate, but now my age became a big block in my progress. I thought that I had my done my best, it was really hard for me to raise a family and study at the same time. I was really deteriorated, disappointed and demoralized.

Therefore, after working with one organisation where his overseas skills were not fully recognised, the above respondent took the cue from his environment that, if he completely focused on his education, there will ultimately be some recognition. However, due to this selective perception of just viewing the situation from one angle, the reality for him turned out quite differently. This participant resolved his crisis by starting his own business which did not require any of the qualifications acquired in his home country, as well as in Australia. As it was previously observed, every individual does not follow the same path as the above participant and, hence, remain persistent with their jobs and organisations. These individuals do have hope that their organisations will recognise their contributions and, in the case of non-recognition, they form certain perceptions. Respondent 8 declared:

Once I settled in the job I expected a progression in the career and that didn't happen so that was a little bit disappointing...you have to market yourself a bit more maybe. Because of those things it didn't automatically happen as I expected that it will automatically happen.... I didn't get the promotion to do those things, although all the ideas are mine, a lot of that was started by me.As work grew, now five persons are doing the same work but I only one of those five or six, not on the top of that so that's caused me some discomfort. You learn to live with the situation but I am not happy about that. So I wouldn't say at this point that I am happy with the job.

This participant believes that he did not get the managerial position he deserved due to a lack of marketing capabilities and, at the same time, he hoped for automatic progression. Since this is his personal selective perception it might not represent

some other factors, like the performance appraisal methods of his organisation which could have played a role in his lack of progress. These examples came from respondents who extracted cues from their environment and who focused mainly on qualifications and skills. However, some participants also expressed a firm belief that non-recognition is all about ethnic background. A skilled migrant from India expressed the following thoughts**:**

> *Since I am a Christian and my name is Western, therefore, before the interview, nobody knows my true identity. The moment I walk in the room for an interview I can see the surprised look on the face of the panel that what how come it's a guy with a different skin color and that changes everything.*

Therefore, in an environment where migrant individuals are struggling they can also extract cues by observing people's reactions, even though, in this case, it was not a verbal cue but some sort of facial expression. Another participant, also from India, discussed his experience about learning how ethnic back ground could play a role in a person's life as a migrant. Respondent 7 said:

> *I think once I got the Australian citizenship I really felt that I was an Australian and, soon after that, I was flying to the US and this American lady sitting next to me asked me where did I come from and I said to her, I am Australian. She said yes, yes you come from Australia but what you are, just looking at my face and that jolted me - that you can change your nationality on paper but people do want you to have another label. I think that has struck, right since that flight. I think most people who have an accent or who have got a physical appearance that is different from the mainstream in the country do have to face this throughout their life. I think Australian accent is extremely important. I think our children who have an Australian accent will have much easier life than us.*

The above participant has learned a valuable lesson by interacting with the environment that, even if one obtains Australian nationality, it is just a piece of paper. Moreover, there is also hope for second generation migrants that they might

be able to achieve what the first generation has not. This, in a way, is also selective perception as the next generation can have an Australian accent but will still have a South Asian appearance.

The experience of the migrants in this study is like a journey and different people who are part of this journey reach their perceptions and perspectives due to the experiences they have in Australia. For some participants, their initial days were not very challenging but they did develop their understanding about certain challenges they faced as migrants at later stages. For example, Respondent 3 stated:

> *So we came to Perth and, luckily, in the third week of my arrival I found my job as well. Most of the settling pressures are linked with your earnings and with your job situation; if you are lucky enough to find a job quickly the pressure goes off. That's what happened to me.*

The above participant found a good job initially, but experienced downsizing related to joblessness at a later stage. As respondent 3 also expressed when he experienced joblessness due to downsizing at a later stage:

> *They basically exploit people's feelings and exploit migrant's situation. As a migrant you don't have much leverage to tackle the situation and, as a migrant, you are mainly on the receiving end, so that's what basically happens. So I am beginning to feel that if I go to another small company and their attitude may be the same and I would be again on the receiving end.*

By 'receiving end,' this participant implies that, as he has less choice as a migrant, his employers have taken advantage of his situation by giving him no choice but to take whatever is offered to him. This participant, although he felt lucky initially, now felt that he had been exploited because he is a migrant. He also expressed his decision to start his own business. Therefore, after interacting with his environment he resolved not to go into an employee/boss relationship as he felt exploited. The data from the interviews of the participants who took part in this research revealed that, by extracting cues from their environment, their perspectives would lead to a

certain mindset. This is a critical point which forms the perspective that they considered that they could never be on the same level with the local Australians with local degrees. This perspective also comes from the people who have achieved in their professions, as they consider themselves just lucky. This implies that the participants have lost trust in the fairness of hiring mechanisms in the Australian job market. The formation of this perspective starts to form as the first people with whom they interact are their own countrymen. This interaction leads to the sharing of stories of the struggles and challenges faced by them after arriving in Australia. As some of these stories are quite disappointing, individuals new to Australia start preparing themselves for the non-recognition of education and experience in the Australian job market. Therefore, if a few skilled migrants get a job in their profession, they do not feel very confident about their skills and extract a cue in which they consider themselves lucky. The following quotes from some skilled migrants verify this mindset:

Respondent 6:

> *I have a good impression about the migration……. In terms of getting a job I was very easily absorbed in the job... things change with time but doesn't matter who comes here, he has to keep at least a few years to establish himself to achieve that position. So everybody has to go through that one thing. Second, my feeling is that once you come here you have to get some degree…… I think I am one of those who easily absorbed in the job as compared to the many.*

Respondent 10:

> *I think that the first job that I got was probably at the back of my previous experience. I realised that they actually looked to find a candidate for quite some time. They actually put an ad in the national newspaper a couple of times and they couldn't find someone with the kind of experience they were looking for. That actually was the subject of my postgraduate thesis.*

Looking at the above quotes it can be concluded without any ambiguity that the participants lose confidence in their skills which is not only because it is reflected in

the general perception among the people from their home country. This is also because they have met people with first-hand experience of the hardships faced. Therefore, this leads them into the perception that either they were lucky or that their potential employers had no other choice which is why they were hired. Furthermore, this conclusion also reveals that the crisis faced by the participants is not an individual issue and, despite some diversity of experiences, the non-recognition of skills in Australia affects every skilled migrant in one way or another and adds to their crisis of habitus. To resolve that crisis they sometimes conclude that race has played a role, some will start their own business and others will consider themselves lucky individuals.

4.4.2.5 Plausibility

Plausibility is a thought process in which a person believes that what they think is enough for them to carry on with their work (Weick 1995). Therefore, plausibility can subsume other forms of reasoning. The narratives of the participants reveal that they use different processes of acculturation as well as properties of sense-making to resolve their crisis of habitus which is also an effort to re-embed them in the Australian work environment. Furthermore, this is a process of either accepting or rejecting local norms and practices. It is quite obvious from the data from this research, as found in the themes in various comments made by the respondents, that this acceptance and rejection can be also selective. Therefore, when a participant embarks on the journey of exploring the norms of the Australian work culture, this journey has an impact on the thought processes. During this journey, when the participants realised that the skills acquired from the home country are not receiving the acceptance that was anticipated, they begin to look at more of their so-called weaknesses as compared to the strengths. Mostly these weaknesses come from the embodied cultural capital rather than the institutional one. As a result of considering their cultural and ethnic attributes as their weakness, skilled migrants turn to plausible sense-making which was quite evident from the interviews with the respondents. For example, Respondent 1 made a comment about his accent. He said:

I was very confident my accent had also slightly changed. I still believe that by living here for years you can brush up your English language skills, but you cannot change your accent. When I talk to someone he might say that I was talking to an Indian guy. It is not an abuse to me anymore, I know that it can be refined, it cannot be changed.

This respondent has resolved that he can refine his accent but cannot change it. This represents a very plausible concept as native-born Australians still recognise him as an Indian male and he still believes that his accent has become refined. Secondly, the above respondent has used the word 'abuse' for being recognised on the basis of one's embodied cultural capital. This represents a very strong sentiment, but the person is saying that he has learned to live with his cultural attributes. This acceptance represents the resolution and, the part in which he declares that his accent is refined, represents plausibility, associated with this resolution. As a first-generation migrant, he is using plausibility in the process of sense-making by saying to himself that it does not matter if he obtains recognition or not, it is a milestone that his accent is refined.

The phenomenon of being a highly skilled migrant professional and manager in Australia from South Asia is quite complex and plausibility adds to that complexity. It has been established that many participants feel that their full potential has not been recognised and they do not feel satisfied with their positions within their organisations. At the same time, they believe that Australian society would not be comfortable if they held a privileged position and for this they often provide plausible reasoning. For example, Respondent 21 mentioned:

I understand that I worked in social security, therefore came across great deal of some of the most disadvantaged and underprivileged of the community…their attitudes and perceptions of who I am, because of my background, and so that led to sometimes open conflict as well that they would threaten me and things like that. In that line of work, one can expect this. As I said, those people are in desperate situation. They perceived that because of the color of my skin and my accent the fact that I am there and I

seemed to be in a more privileged position than they are...because of the fact that I am not one of them so-called Australian.

The above quote also reveals a very plausible resolution as the respondent believes that, being in a service organisation, the resentment of the locals is justified, as he held a more privileged position. Therefore, in way, a highly skilled migrant professional from South Asia, even after getting a job, can feel apologetic for their position. In the process of resolution of the crisis of habitus, it is important to look at the losses of a skilled migrant. A South Asian highly skilled migrant professional feels disappointed and there is a loss of self-esteem as a result of those disappointments, but that is only a part of the whole phenomenon of being disembedded. There is also another consequence to this whole process. To understand that, one has to go back to the home habitus. The qualifications or degrees earned in their home countries bring a sense of pride to them, although these qualifications and degrees do not guarantee the expected recognition in Australia. This can lead to plausible thinking by the skilled migrant that being in a good position can be a source of resentment for less privileged locals as well as the idea that it could be just sheer luck that this position was allocated.

Looking at these narratives utilising both the theories of the processes of acculturation and sense-making, it can be concluded that the resolution of the crisis of habitus is quite a diverse process for the South Asian highly skilled migrant professionals. However, all this diversity does converge at a certain point. The point is that every skilled migrant comes to terms with the switch in cultural capitals. They eventually realised that they have to re-write their biographies which were concluded in the resolution process of the skilled migrants.

4.4.3 Acculturation

Acculturation process will help in understanding the extent of integration of the skilled migrants within the Australian work culture. The process of acculturation is divided into four categories: integration (accept old culture, accept new culture); assimilation (reject old culture, accept new culture); separation (accept old culture, reject new culture); and marginalisation (reject old culture, reject new culture)

(Sakamoto 2007). A highly skilled migrant professional and manager from South Asia can experience one or more of these categories during his or her professional journey in Australia. These categories also represent the resolution of the crisis of habitus. The extent of the effort exerted by each participant is different. Furthermore, they have justifications for their actions depending upon their conditions. An in-depth look into the acculturation process reveals that the participants of this research are integrated to some extent. There was also evidence of separation and marginalisation, but there was no evidence of assimilation. The following subsections will examine these categories of the acculturation process (Figure: 8).

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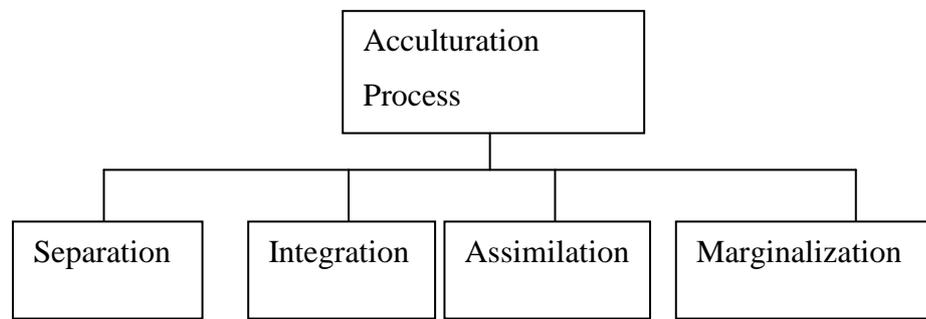
Fig: 8 Acculturation process

4.4.3.1 Separation

As the different categories of acculturation are linked to the embodied cultural capital of a person, when a participant of the study decides in what manner he or she will handle the cultural issues in the workplace, the culture of a person belongs to the embodied cultural capital. This happens when a skilled migrant's narrative decides what part of the embodied cultural capital is related to ethnicity and other cultural traits that can be comfortably carried to the workplace. Secondly, as migrants try to build new cultural capital in the new home country, they also decide to what extend it is possible for them to accept the local, embodied cultural capital; that is, the cultural norms in the local society that they can adapt in the workplace. For example, Respondent 1 stated that:

> *I liked to socialise with my colleagues in my previous job but due to some cultural constraints, for example I might fund an afterhours party and not attend it if drinking (alcohol) is the main part of celebration. I can't be a part of that. In my culture the concept of celebration is different. The cultural gap always existed, it is not created by the management but it is always difficult to overcome that one.*

In the above example, the respondent is making an effort to resolve both the crisis of cultural, as well as social, capital by economically contributing to a staff party which will help him to believe that he is still part of an office social event, even if he does not attend it. He concluded that some cultural issues can never be resolved. Therefore his experience is a clear case of separation. As another migrant experiencing similar separation experience said in his interview:

> *I realised that as migrant if you want to succeed in your profession there are a few things you need to keep an eye on. The first is networking, you cannot go stronger on that because of the social aspect, we cannot integrate socially too much, and the other is language barrier, not the academic or grammatical but the accent, and the third one is cultural. So these are the three/four points which segregates you among the mainstream and you are not able have the networking that keeps you going in your professional career. However, as a migrant you should know these are the limiting factors. (Respondent 3)*

This is a person who again believes, just like the last example, that someone's embodied cultural capital prevents that person from building any social capital in the organisation. Therefore, this is also a case of separation as the above migrant points out, that as a skilled migrant a person should be able to live with his or her shortcomings. However, these conclusions are not reached without efforts to resolve the crisis of habitus. Furthermore, by concluding that cultural gaps can never be overcome, an individual drifts away from the mainstream office environment without even making a noise and this drift also makes that individual chronically

disembedded due to the separation from the effort to re-embed in the Australian work culture.

4.4.3.2 Integration

The participants of the study also tried to find a middle ground where they can accept both home and host cultures, to have an integration experience rather than to assimilate, which can be too difficult for them. Furthermore the integration experience also gives them a chance to resolve the crisis of habitus to some extent. A skilled migrant from India, although not being very satisfied with his professional position, gave some tips for migrants to break the social barrier. Respondent 4 said:

> *With respect to what society expects from you, you need to know what game is on, what are day to day issues. You can't be just reading news about your own country, you need to know what things are happening in Australia, how it is affecting other people... if like what footy game is on, it is expected. It is not compulsory but it helps you to talk to other people as this society is much into sports and all that and their lifestyle. If you are able to talk like that it breaks the ice, you become more comfortable with them and they feel more comfortable with you.*

The above example illustrates the effort made by one individual towards the resolution of the crisis of the social capital. This represents an effort to integrate in the workplace culture of Australian society. This also represents an effort to re-embed in the Australian office environment. As mentioned in the above quote, activities like these might increase the level of comfort of the participants and this may also solve their crisis of habitus. However, this does not represent satisfaction as far as professional attainment is concerned. As the above migrant also expressed in his interview, people with lower qualifications and skills are holding better positions than him in his organisation and he was not very happy with the laid back Australian culture. In the effort to resolve the crisis of social capital it is important to understand that sometimes the unintentional cultural insensitivity experienced by a skilled migrant can lead to disappointments. Therefore, a simple socialisation event involving alcohol is something very usual in the Australian work environment but,

for a person coming from a Muslim background, it is a great leap to become part of such activity. For example, Respondent 10 mentioned:

> *What I have realised is it's an important part of Australian life when you are working on Friday evening, you go with you mates and have a few drinks and there are things that are discussed and shared during those sessions. Coming from Muslim back ground we are not part of those discussions. That is something I learned quite late in my career in Australia; that people shared certain things that they basically build trust on those discussions that happen in pub and I have gone with my colleagues if someone is joining us. If there is some success in some project or if someone is leaving and going to pub on Friday evening. I always joined them, to have some non-alcoholic drinks.*

The above quote is a good example of integration. The above respondent was able to re-embed himself in the inner social circle of the office and build up a network, or social capital, by adapting to an aspect of local culture without giving up his own culture. If Respondent 10 is compared with Respondent 1, it can be seen that both of them have made an effort to become part of the social circle in their respective jobs, but with a different approach. This different approach has led to different results. Respondent 1 left his profession to fill in the missing Australian education gap to earn a degree from an Australian institution and ended up starting his own business in a field not related to his degree. Therefore, Respondent 1 has achieved a resolution by giving up the actual ambition of succeeding in his own profession. However, Respondent 10 was able to break the social barrier and continues to work in his own profession. Therefore, one can conclude again that in the habitus of a person, different forms of capitals are so interwoven and connected to one another that the lack or loss of one form can result in the loss of another.

Participants in this study undergoing the process of becoming familiar with the Australian work culture come to a realisation that they have to find a way to steer their way to any position in the organisation by not only keeping their own cultural identity but also adapting to some of the local norms. While looking at their narratives this can be considered a very critical point; based on this realisation what

decision will they make? Firstly, there is a group of migrants who believe that since this cultural gap is hard to overcome some professional sacrifice has to be accepted in an effort to retain their cultural identity. This is a group of skilled migrants who, because of their belief, start retreating from the mainstream environment of their office culture. For example, Respondent 8 from India said:

> *You are little bit afraid of those things because you are new you don't know how to be taken, how it's going to affect your career and how it's going to affect what they think of you, all sorts of things. So those things I think I held back for too long. If you don't know how to do it you don't know how to ask, you don't ask, you don't demand... so I think I held back and kept quiet for long. For a very long time I did not make my opinions known... for a long time, whether it was about work or personally. So I think those things don't work in your favor if you don't communicate.*

Although the above skilled migrant is admitting that living in his cocoon did not work in his favor over the long run, it has become a part of his regret as he is not professionally satisfied. Hence, this is the story of those who have certain issues about the local culture and they retreat without making a noise. The meaning of retreating without making any noise can be further explained by some examples already mentioned in this chapter when people declare that certain gaps will always exist. After this realisation, they try to earn local degrees in their bid to either enhance their qualifications or change professions. Furthermore, another consequence of this critical event in a skilled migrant's life can also be a bid to start one's own business. As respondent 19 mentioned:

> *I am happy in general practice because partly I am my own boss and I don't have to answer to anybody and I enjoy what I do and it's less stressful.*

Therefore the justification given for owning a business is that this way a person can be his or her own boss; that is, the only way to avoid local employers or bosses. Therefore, the process of integration can put a person on a different path of crisis resolution. There is the path in which individuals become a part of the work

environment by showing some flexibility, retain their culture and adapt some local culture as well. Secondly, there is the path in which people do make an effort to integrate, but do not show much flexibility and, often, retreat into their cocoons.

4.4.3.3 Marginalisation

Evidence of marginalisation is apparent in the experience of one participant. This experience will provide an insight into how a person can reject both host and home country cultures. To understand how a participant experienced marginalisation in the quest for professional attainment, it is necessary to have a look at a quote from the interview which will be explained in detail subsequently. Respondent 2 said:

> *Before I moved here I was expecting that I will get a full time job very soon, but it did not happen...How can you get local referees when you don't have a local experience, that was most difficult time for me to organise referees... Due to problems that I faced in the public schools when I was working there from my bosses, colleagues and students and sometimes from the community, everywhere did face some sort of problems, so after working for three years I decided that I cannot continue this way and that's going to affect even my professional carrier....I moved back to Perth and started looking for a job in this sector. First I got job in a different school, it had completely different atmosphere. The people dealing with me had a totally different attitude. I felt that I am in a different planet maybe so that's the difference that I felt, that was before this school that was also an Islamic school.*

Before coming to Australia, the respondent worked in a supervisory position in his home country. His entire career before coming to Australia was in the mainstream of his profession so the organisations he worked in were part of the culture of the majority in his nation; that is, without any religious affiliation. However, after facing discrimination and the realisation that he would never be able to gain a high position in any mainstream Australian organisation, he joined an Islamic organisation which was not mainstream as that was the only place where he could get such a high position. In later follow up, the researcher discovered that this participant has left Australia for a Middle Eastern Arab nation where he was offered a high position.

Therefore, if individuals resolve their crisis of habitus by rejecting both home and host country's culture, they find themselves in a marginalised situation. The above individual drifted away from the mainstream with a belief that he could never grow professionally. His reason to leave Australia could have been due to the realisation that marginalisation can make a person even more stagnant, as one is left with only a few options to join the mainstream workforce again.

4.4.3.4 Acculturation process for South Asian female skilled migrants

The process of acculturation also poses a different challenge for women from South Asia as the South Asian traditional cultural norms expect them to be more careful in their office socialisation. As mentioned by one respondent in one of the above mentioned quotes, those double standards for male and female socialisation leaves the women a step behind their male counterparts. As a result, women might not be able to market their professional achievements. It is observed that the office or work life of any person does not end just in the office environment, but sometimes also ends up in a pub for social drinks and after office hour's politics. For women coming from a traditional South Asian background, participating in such activities might be taken as immodest behavior. Therefore, assimilation is even harder for women. Respondent 15, in her discussion with the researcher, commented:

> *I was attending a conference party evening even without my husband and a gentleman asked me to join him in dance. When I politely refused he still insisted by saying that he could teach me, it is really hard to sometimes explain your culture to the locals.*

The reason this woman refused to dance was that it would have been considered immodest in her culture to dance with a male person who was not related to her. This also represents a lack of understanding from the local's point of view, who could not understand that, for this woman, attending this event was already a big leap and a dance for her would be going too far.

From the above discussion it can be noted that being a highly skilled South Asian migrant professional and manager is not just about getting skills recognised by the

immigration department of Australia; this is just the first step and launching a successful professional career as a subsequent result of that is a completely different story. In reality, this phenomenon goes beyond this simple theory. This is actually the story of people who have lost their horizon and they wander aimlessly to find a new identity in their adopted homeland. Therefore, the issues raised in this research are very significant in answering questions about lack of assimilation and integration of highly skilled migrant professionals from South Asia in the Australian work environment. The acculturation process is a journey for the participants of this study which explores the different paths a participant can take in the effort to resolve the crisis of habitus. The sense-making process is about the conclusions of the participants which are the final conclusions which they reach on the path of resolution. The following section will explore the interaction of these two processes with respect to the conclusion trajectories of the participants of this study.

4.5 Sense-making and acculturation matrix

The processes of sense-making and acculturation help in explaining the path to resolution of the crisis of habitus. Sense-making is an ongoing process in which individuals can reach different conclusions at different stages of their careers. However, their final conclusions can be regarded as their resolution. This resolution puts them in different categories and these conclusions can have an impact upon their adaptability in the Australian work environment. In this section, a sense-making acculturation matrix (Table 2) is presented and explained which not only shows how these processes interact with each other but also the different trajectories of conclusions in which the participants of this research can be grouped. This matrix also represents the commonality of the final conclusions of the participants. Some participants had just one final resolution conclusion and some had more than one but, at the same time, those were often overlapping. Furthermore, some individuals with similar conclusions also experienced different acculturation processes. This is because the participants of this study reached their conclusions after interacting with their environment and through making sense of the events in that environment. This interaction also involved an analysis of their successes and failures as well as the reasons behind them. The next step after reaching the conclusions is to make efforts to take a path of resolution of the crisis of habitus. This path had different

trajectories, as some participants did not adapt to the Australian work culture and remained separated. Some of them worked towards integration and one participant took the path of marginalisation. Therefore, it can be concluded that individuals with a similar set of beliefs can follow different paths without altering their final conclusions.

Acculturation	Sense-making Conclusions				
	Loss of Confidence in skills	Personal and Professional goals are different	Migrants will always be different	It is better to be your own boss	I have been lucky
Separation	P1 P13P18 P12 P21	P20 P21	P1 P3 P7 P8 P18	P1 P3	P3 P9
Integration	P15 P19	P15	P4 P5 P14 P15	P19	P6 P10 P11 P16 P19
Marginalisation	P2		P2		

P = Participant

Table: 2 Sense-making acculturation matrix

4.5.1. Conclusion trajectories

In this section different conclusion trajectories of the participants from the matrix will be discussed.

4.5.1.1 Loss of confidence in skills

Some participants came to the final conclusion that their overseas, and sometimes even locally acquired skills, would never be recognised in the Australian job market. For some participants this type of conclusion was very discouraging and some also lost hope of career progression in their organisations which also led to their separation. However, a few participants having the same conclusion integrated and one participant ended up marginalised.

4.5.1.2 Personal and professional goals are different

Analysis of the interviews also revealed that some participants reached more than one final conclusion to resolve their crisis of habitus. Some participants realised that their overseas and local skills can never be equal to the locals and expressed loss of confidence in their skills. Therefore, they looked at other positive things that happened in their lives, not just professional achievements, but also their next generation's education and the quality of life in Australia.

This conclusion trajectory was also combined with the one in which individuals believed that differences between locals and migrants will always exist. Participants who experienced separation, and the ones who experienced integration by partly adapting to local culture, were found under this trajectory. Despite this conclusion, one individual made the effort to join the socialisation culture of the organisational work environment.

4.5.1.3 Migrants will always be different

The individuals, who believed that they could not change their cultural and physical attributes, and that certain gaps exist between them and the locals will always exist, fall into three categories. Firstly, there were those who experienced separation due to this conclusion. Secondly, some individuals analysed the situation and decided that, despite certain unchangeable gaps, they can find a middle ground where they can adapt some local culture that did not conflict with their home country culture, and this led to their integration. Finally, there was one participant who lost confidence in his skills and believed that migrants will always be different and this individual experienced marginalisation.

4.5.1.4 It is better to be your own boss

The participants who believed that there will always be a glass ceiling decided to start their own businesses. One participant in this category initially felt lucky as he did not have to struggle a lot initially to get a job, but later experienced downsizing and blamed it upon his migrant status. He concluded that migrants will always be different and therefore decided to start a business. Furthermore, he experienced separation. Another separated participant also combined his conclusion with being

different as a migrant and lost confidence in his skills and also started his own business. Another participant experienced integration but lost confidence in her skills. She also decided to start up a business.

4.5.1.5 I have been lucky

In the presence of a strong belief that overseas skills and education is not given the same value compared to local skills, those participants who did not have to struggle for longer periods of time to acquire professional recognition believed that they had been lucky. This conclusion did have a positive impact on the path of resolution of the participants. Out of the seven participants who believed that they had been lucky, five were integrated and two were separated. Therefore, for the individuals whose overseas skills are recognised earlier, the chances of integration are higher. Furthermore, the crisis of habitus has career implications for the participants.

4.5.1.6 Career implications

The story of the highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers is a journey. This journey starts when a person plans to migrate to Australia from a South Asian nation. Later, this journey continues in Australia where the highly skilled migrant professionals re-write their life stories based upon career achievements. When writing about the career implications of this process for the participants, the point to note is that it is their belief that an Australian qualification is necessary to gain acceptance within Australian organisations. Furthermore, some participants might not acquire a local qualification but this does not alter their view, which is based upon their experience. Filling this gap did not always help as some migrants reached Australia at a mature age and when the local organisations not only look for local degrees but also local experience. They can acquire a local degree and, if during that time period they do low skilled casual jobs, by the time the degree is finished they are older than the local fresh graduates. This generates a very complex situation in which the job experience from the native country is not given any weight in the selection process and a mature aged person is not treated as a fresh graduate. In this case, the attitude of potential employers totally defeats the main purpose of the skilled migration process. As far as the social networking to market them professionally is concerned, these migrants again face the dilemma in which nobody

is there to mentor or guide them. Therefore, as was sometimes seen in this research, this can lead to perspectives that cultural gaps can never be overcome. Therefore, it is concluded that the careers of the participants in this research are not only affected by the non-recognition of skills acquired from their home country, but also by the indifference of colleagues and employers to their cultural struggles. The perspectives that led the participants of this study to believe that they cannot have the same level of achievements as the Australian born locals actually represents a trust deficit between the highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers and the hiring bureaucracy, or the human resources divisions of Australian organisations. These skilled migrants might contribute to Australian society in a productive manner by working for the professions in which they have not specialised, but at the same time leave the Australian organisations at a loss for not having a diverse work force, from both a technical and cultural perspective. These migrants also bring overseas experience which can hold value for organisations when this experience and expertise could be coupled with Australian expertise. Furthermore, in these times of globalisation, the sustainable survival of the organisations that hold a discriminatory or vague policy towards skills brought by highly skilled migrant professionals and manager could be very low.

4.6 Conceptual model

Based upon the overall lived experience of the participants of this study, the following conceptual model has been developed (Fig 9a). This conceptual model shows how the participants of the study went through different phases upon migration to Australia, finally reaching different resolutions to the crisis of habitus. This model also shows the different factors that influenced this process; that is, gender, motivations and unmet expectations, which have all been discussed in detail in this chapter.
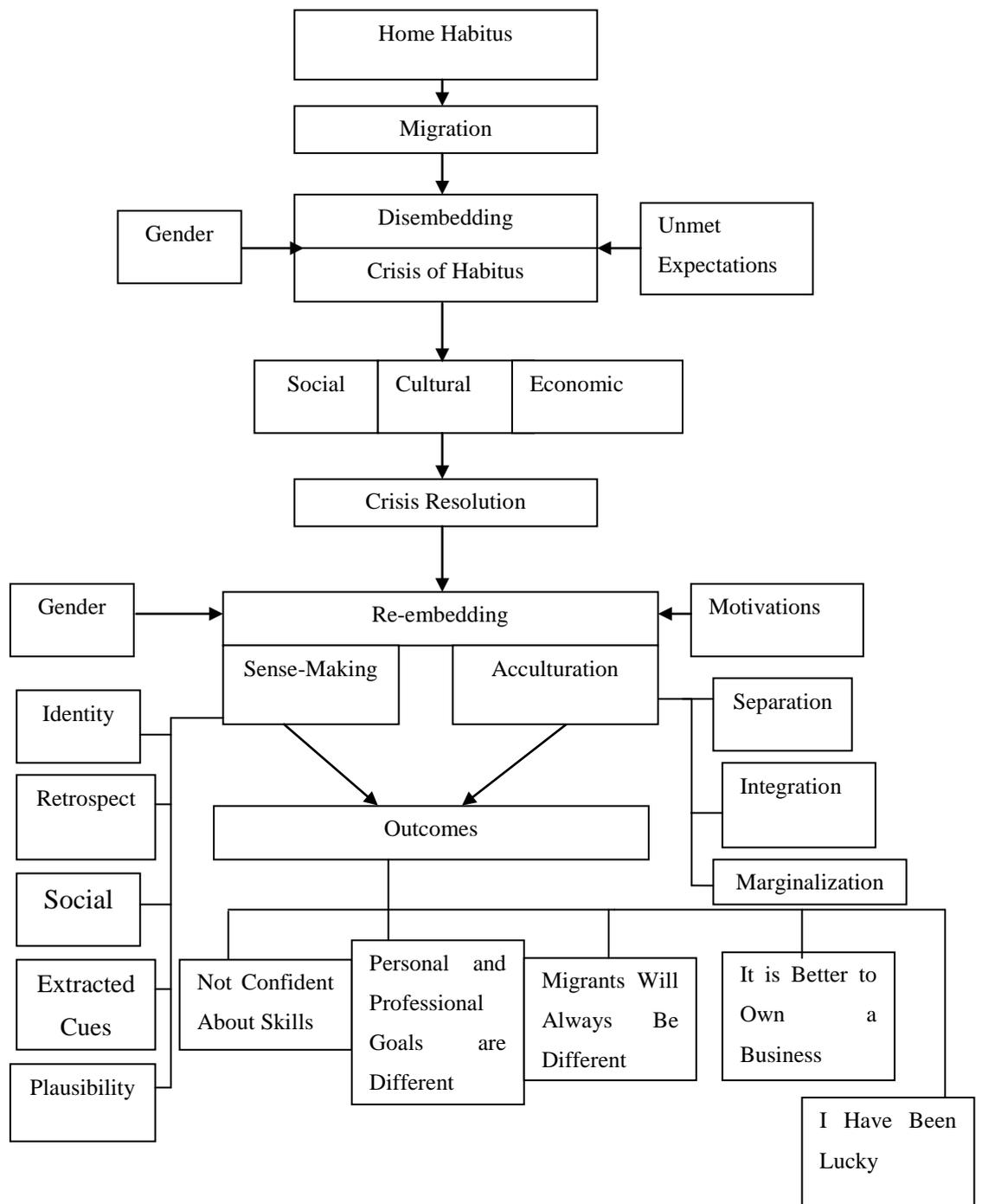
Figure: 9a Conceptual model

| Not Confident About Skills	Personal and Professional Goals are Different	Migrants Will Always Be Different	It is Better to Own a Business	I Have Been Lucky
Marginalization		Marginalization	Integration	Integration
Integration	Integration	Integration	Separation	Separation
Separation	Separation	Separation		
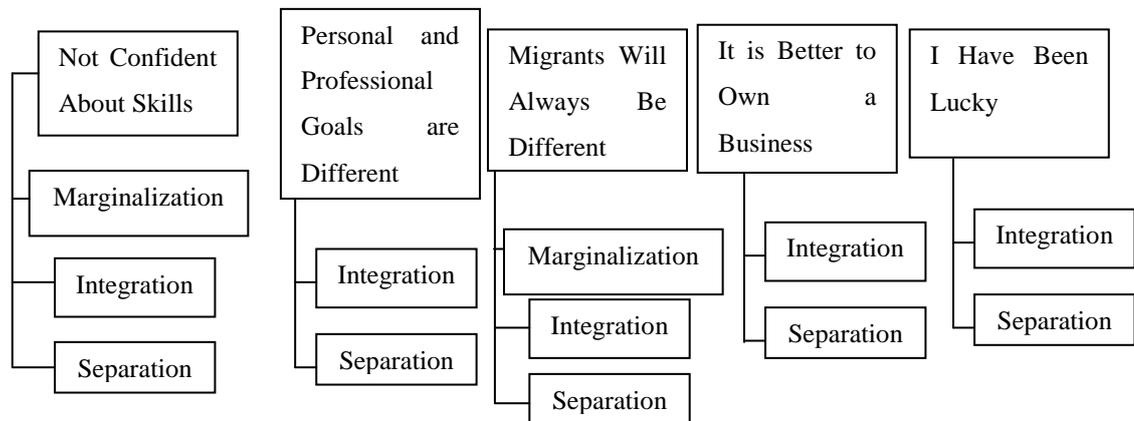
Figure: 9b Conceptual model

The above model conceptualises that participants of this study have a belief system that is based upon their migrant identity, an identity that can impact upon their efforts to advance their professional careers in Australia. An examination of the sense-making acculturation matrix (Table 2) shows clusters of the majority of the participants in the separation and integration processes. This represents that the majority of the participants want to partially adapt to the Australian workplace culture by keeping some of their own cultural capital. However, this effort can lead to integration or separation. Whenever they face any issue regarding their career advancement, it strengthens the belief that they did not get the chance they deserve because of their embodied cultural capital. In particular, to further understand this point the experience of the marginalisation of one participant who took part in this research can be examined. He based his resolution on two conclusions: loss of confidence in overseas qualifications and a belief that migrants will always be different. Therefore, despite the major evidence of separation and integration, there is also a chance of marginalisation based upon the conclusions of the participants of the study.

4.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this research can be summed up as a response to the question of what it is to be a highly skilled migrant professional and manager from South Asia in Australia. The research of this thesis unlocked the window to provide a clear view of

the real challenges faced by them and the efforts associated to resolve those challenges. Although the main focus of this research was the professional lives of the skilled migrants, this research also successfully revealed the consequences of the struggles of skilled migrants within their everyday professional and personal lives. The use of the theories of habitus and disembedding really helped to explain the phenomenon of being a skilled migrant from South Asia in Australia. The theories of sense-making and acculturation successfully explain how the skilled migrants resolve the crisis of habitus and re-embed themselves within the Australian work force. However, there are also implications for employers, or the potential employers, of the highly skilled migrant professionals. It is quite obvious from this research that, due to a lack of recognition of overseas-acquired skills, an air of distrust develops between the migrant employees and local employers. Secondly, the indifference of local employers to the struggles of highly skilled migrant professionals adds to this atmosphere of distrust. It might be debatable whether the situation faced by highly skilled migrant professionals is created intentionally or unintentionally by born locals. Despite that, there is a need to overhaul the whole process of accommodation of skilled migrants in Australian organisations. This overhaul needs to done at both technical and social levels, as looking at only technical skills is equivalent to just looking at a portion of the whole picture. When policy makers and organisations begin to consider the broader scenario, including the flaws and loopholes in the system of skilled migrant settlement as identified in this thesis, only then can the key purpose of better utilising overseas skilled people to overcome the local skills shortage will be fulfilled.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

In this thesis the researcher has explored the experience of the participants who were highly skilled professionals and managers of South Asia. These professionals arrived in Australia as skilled migrants. The perspectives and stories of the participants of this study were based upon their experiences as they interacted with Australian work environments. These perspectives were focussed on their struggle to achieve professional recognition. The narratives of the participants were analysed by utilising a combination of theories to improve the understanding of the unique challenges faced by them.

The theory of habitus (Bourdieu 1986), which comprises different forms of capital processed by an individual including cultural, social and economic, was utilised in this research. This theory helped to explain the reasons behind the disembedding(Beck 1997) experience of the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers from South Asia. Upon migration, their habitus alters and they get disembedded from their inherited social conditions and face a crisis of habitus (Zipin and Brennan 2003). To explain this phenomenon this thesis utilised an interpretive or qualitative paradigm for data collection and analysis. The rich narratives of the participants of this study were analysed not only to explain the disembedding experience but also to explain the process of the resolution of the crisis of habitus, which is an effort to get re-embedded in the Australian work force. Theories of acculturation (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936) and sense-making (Weick 1995) were utilised to explain this resolution process in the life of the participants.

In this chapter, the limitations of the research, its relevance to the existing literature, and contribution to the existing research will be discussed. The theoretical implications will also be examined. Furthermore, the conclusions based upon the achievement of objectives laid out in the introductory chapter of this thesis will be

explained. In the last section of this chapter, the possibilities for future research will be explored.

5.2 Limitations of the research

This section will examine the methodological limitations of this study. The limitations mentioned in the literature will also be discussed. Furthermore, how the researcher overcame those limitations will be explained. A combination of analysis of narratives and phenomenological analysis techniques were used to analyse the data of the research.

In a narrative enquiry the stories of the participants are important, however one limitation that is mentioned in relation to this technique is that participants can construct stories that can support their interpretations of themselves and they might exclude experiences of events that undermine the identities they currently claim (Bell 2002). However, this limitation did not undermine the study as the sample of participants who took part in this research included people from diverse backgrounds and the analysis pointed out both the commonalities, as well as the diversities, of the Australian experience of the respondents. Furthermore, the purpose of the narrative enquiry was to go beyond the specific stories to explore the assumptions inherent in the shaping of those stories and it also provides an opportunity to the researcher to look through the window of the people's beliefs and experiences (Bell 2002). The researcher achieved this by getting into the world of the participants and through developing an understanding of their perspectives in relation to their experiences as they attempt to gain professional recognition in the Australian job market.

Phenomenology is about determining the essence of the lived experience of the participants of the study. One limitation mentioned in the literature about this technique is that the researcher can stray from the main ideas to be explored if English is not the first language of the respondents (Dahlberg 2006). The researcher was able to overcome this limitation as, being from South Asia, he had a very good understanding of the culture and languages of the region. Furthermore, the interviewees were all highly skilled migrant professionals who were quite proficient in English and all the interviews were conducted in English. Another limitation of

phenomenology as in any human experience, different individuals can give meaning to their own subjective constructions (Dukes 1984). This thesis represents the perspectives of the participants of the study in the way they viewed their lived experiences.

Interviews with twenty-one respondents were conducted for this study. The interviews were conducted until saturation point. Furthermore, for a phenomenological study a small sample size is preferred as, strictly theoretically, even one subject can provide an essence of the phenomenon. This claim is startling but not unreasonable as the aim of the phenomenological study is to uncover the necessary structural invariants of an experience and those invariants are fully discoverable in any individual case (Dukes 1984). However, in this thesis, the researcher was able to uncover both the similarity and diversity of experiences while analysing the data, as explained in detail in the analysis chapter. With the analysis of narratives, this method requires close collaboration with the participants due to the time commitment required which makes it unsuitable to work with a large number of participants (Bell 2002). The researcher was able to closely collaborate with the participants of the study due to his similar cultural background.

The researcher also faced problems in finding participants who were willing to grant interviews, especially female participants. The researcher, being form South Asia, did understand this issue as, culturally, the South Asian societies are not that politically liberated and people feel reluctant to express their disagreements with the policies. Therefore, despite being in Australia and the fact that this thesis is related to the professional attainment of highly skilled migrant professionals, the researcher did get many refusals to grant interviews. The reason being that any person who had unmet expectations could criticize the policies and gaps in the skilled migrant program and, according to the researcher's assessment, some people, despite the assurance of confidentiality, were reluctant to do so. With respect to the female participants, it was also revealed in the interviews that, culturally speaking, South Asian females are required to walk a step behind their husbands and certain cultural constraints inhibit them from interacting with unknown male persons. However, despite these limitations, ultimately both male and female respondents who

participated in this research were not only willing to be interviewed but also told their stories explicitly.

5.3 Comparing findings to the existing literature

The idea of looking at the highly skilled migrant settlement from the angle of disembedding and the crisis of habitus represents a novel approach as there is little evidence in the extant literature in which these concepts have been used, as in the context of this research. However, many findings from this study significantly support the existing research about skilled migration experience. This section will discuss the relevance of the findings of this research in relation to the existing literature on highly skilled professional migrants.

5.3.1 The Loss for Home Country not a gain for Australia

As the highly skilled migrant professionals arrive in Australia, the main goal of the Australian skilled migration scheme is to compensate the skill shortage within any of the specific fields outlined by the immigration department. Therefore, the brain drain for the home country should be a brain gain for Australia. In the literature review it was discussed in detail that, often, when the skills of the migrants are not fully utilised, it actually turns out to be a brain waste for the host nation (Salt 1997). The findings of this thesis do confirm this idea. When the overseas skills of the migrants are recognised they look for other avenues. Sometimes they also accept jobs that do not require their qualifications or skills and this de-skilling leads to a brain waste for Australia.

Most of the respondents interviewed, whether working in their relevant fields of specialisation or not, believed that their skills and potential have not been fully utilised in Australia. The evidence from the literature suggests that not only are the unemployment rates high among the skilled migrants, specifically from Asia (Randall 2003), but discrimination is also faced by them when they apply for jobs (Varma 2002; Castles 2002). These issues were expressed by the participants interviewed for this thesis. The majority of the participants in this research expressed a feeling that prospective employers were not interested in their overseas experience or qualifications. This gap, between the immigration policies and the

hiring policies (Ward and Masgoret 2007; Watson 1996; Mellor 2004) for highly skilled migrant professionals has been identified in the literature. Therefore, one of the findings from the study was that highly skilled migrant professionals from South Asia in Australia believed that it is imperative for every skilled migrant from their region to acquire an Australian qualification to gain acceptance within the Australian job market. Secondly, even those highly skilled migrant professionals and managers who were employed based on their home country qualifications had the same advice for the new migrants, as they considered themselves the lucky ones.

This finding also represents that any sort of joblessness experience faced by highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals leads them to a state of mind in which they believe that this is because of their ethnic background. Some of the participants of the study also took this belief a step further by expressing that, when an organisation has to go through downsizing the first people to suffer are the migrants. Another factor that was observed that some participants were reluctant to state explicitly was that they faced some sort of discrimination based upon their ethnic background. However, they did remark that this could have been due to discrimination, but they were not completely sure. This represents a paradox, as the respondents of this study come from countries where there is less political and economic stability, compared to Australia. Therefore, they do not want to be unappreciative of the stable life they live in Australia. It was observed by the researcher that although the majority of the respondents were not quite satisfied with their professional achievements, at the same time they wanted a way to appreciate Australia generally. Therefore, this led them to comment that, generally, Australia is a good country for skilled migrants to settle and society here is very tolerant. However, when they compared their professional success in both the home country and Australia, they expressed their dissatisfaction for the non-recognition of skills in the Australian job market.

5.3.2 A manifestation of non-recognition of skills

The majority of respondents of this study did express a view that their overseas-acquired skills were not recognised in Australia. According to the majority of the participants, a feeling of depression and disappointment engulfed them when they were struggling to get their skills recognised. The highly skilled migrant

professionals and managers from South Asia regretted working for low skilled jobs, even though they were sometimes compensated well. Therefore, it is concluded that as economic advancement in Australia is part of the agenda for the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, they also want a job in their particular fields of specialisations which could be intellectually rewarding. When they did not gain the desired recognition even after acquiring a local Australian degree that situation would, at times, also contribute to their depression and disappointments. The anxiety and depression, and the resultant stress due to the non-recognition of skills, has also been identified in the extant literature (Bhugra 2004; Rachel Lev-Wiesel 2004; Bhattacharya and Schoppelrey 2004). A factor which also added to feelings of disappointment in the participants of this research was the belief that if a developed nation like Australia recognised their skills, this would imply that they were very special, highly talented professionals in their home countries. The South Asian migrant professionals and managers also expressed their regrets when they were treated as fresh graduates and their previous experience in the home country was ignored. Although the psychological consequences of the non-recognition of overseas skills is beyond the scope of this thesis, this important manifestation cannot be ignored and needed to be mentioned in this chapter.

Therefore, the practice by Australian organisations of either the non-utilisation of skills or allocating to lower positions than the ones held in the home countries of highly skilled professionals and migrants from South Asia, reinforces the findings from the extant literature. As in the existing literature, there are many examples which not only point to the de-skilling (known as brain waste) but also the mismatch between the immigration policies of Australia and other nations which encourage the immigration of highly skilled professionals.

5.4 Contribution

Little evidence was found in the existing literature that a combination of the theories of disembedding/re-embedding and habitus, with reference to the crisis of habitus and the theories of acculturation and sense-making, have been used to explain the settlement issues of highly skilled professional migrants and managers in the organisations of the host countries. This research has revealed the reasons behind

disembedding of highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers from their inherited social conditions and how this leads them into the crisis of habitus. Finally, this research has explored how they resolve this crisis to become re-embedded into the Australian workforce.

One of the findings in this thesis is that answers to all the above questions revolve around the habitus processed by the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers from South Asia. The existing researchers have linked habitus to the careers of professionals in general (Mayrhofer et al. 2004). There was also evidence in the extant literature on research about general migration which looked at positive and negative aspects of habitus, predominantly from the social angle of the lives of the migrants (Wacquant 1998; Kelly and Lusis 2006). This research extends the research on migrants as a means to contribute to the advancement of knowledge in this field in two ways. Firstly, the focus of this research is more specific in comparison to previous research to include only highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and migrants living in Australia. Secondly, it also looks at all the aspects that form a person's habitus, including cultural, social and economic, unlike previous research in which the focus was only on the social aspect. Furthermore, this research has also explored the crisis of habitus (Zipin and Brennan 2003) based upon an in-depth analysis of the features of both the migrant's home country habitus and the habitus they possess in Australia, which is quite an under-researched area with respect to highly skilled migrant professionals and managers. The following sections will look at the contribution of this thesis to the existing research from different angles.

5.4.1 Methodological contribution

There is little evidence in the existing literature about exploration of the highly skilled migrant experience by focusing on participants from the region of South Asia in Australia. It has been also recognised in the extant literature that the skilled migrant research should go beyond just economic or socio-cultural factors (Syed 2008). Firstly, this research used mixed qualitative methodology (Morse and Niehaus 2009) by combining the techniques of phenomenology and analysis of narratives to understand the phenomenon of disembedding and the related

phenomenon of re-embedding by the participants of the research. The analysis of narratives was utilised to understand what different narratives given by highly skilled South Asian skilled migrant professionals can reveal. This research investigated a phenomenon that could not be entirely described by using a single method (Morse and Niehaus 2009). Furthermore, this research did go beyond just economic or cultural implications and explored the complexities associated with the professional lives of the participants. The concept of the crisis of habitus was used to explore the experience of the participants and this concept was previously used within higher education research (Zipin and Brennan 2003). However, it was discovered by the researcher that this concept was also applicable to the participants of this study. The concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1986) and the crisis related to that can be regarded as the bridging link to all the other theories utilised in this research and this idea differentiates this thesis from other research conducted about highly skilled South Asian professional migrants and managers in Australia. The concepts of sense-making and acculturation were utilised in this research to explain the process of resolution of the crisis of habitus which the participants of this study faced.

5.4.2 Theoretical contribution

The theories used in this research have focused on some areas of social sciences and management; that is, disembedding/re-embedding crisis of habitus, sense-making and acculturation, and there is little evidence in the existing literature about the context used in this research. The focus of this research was the region of South Asia and all the participants of the study originated from the different countries of this region. This research has laid the foundation to look at the skilled migrant experience through a method where the focus was about knowing what it really means to be a highly skilled migrant professional and manager from South Asia and Australia. The participants of this study were not only from diverse professional backgrounds working in supervisory roles but also had varying years of experience, starting from one year to approximately thirty-five years. The combination of the theories helped to analyse the narratives of the participants to arrive at certain conclusions that can have implications for management researchers. In this section, the theories employed in this research will be discussed in detail.

5.4.2.1. Findings about habitus

When a person is up-rooted from their inherited social conditions, that individual can be said to be experiencing disembedding (Beck 1997). The concept of disembedding required more in-depth investigation in relation to what social conditions were changed and why the participants experienced the phenomenon of disembedding. Therefore, this is where the research in this thesis filled the gap by utilising the theory of habitus (Bourdieu 1986) which is formed by the various types of capitals processed by the individuals. The analysis of the interviews of the participants revealed that when the different forms of capitals possessed by them were altered, they experienced a crisis of habitus which disembedded them from their inherited social conditions. Although the various forms of capital are interlinked, it was discovered that cultural capital played a more significant role in this phenomenon compared to social and economic capital. This is the major finding of the study: that an alteration in cultural capital as part of the participants' habitus had a deep impact upon their professional and personal lives, as well as their perspectives about professional attainment in Australia for highly skilled migrants from South Asian region.

It was discovered that the majority of the respondents believed that they do not get the positions they deserve because their ethnic background plays a decisive role in either the selection process or, at the time of promotion, to higher managerial positions. This research used the concept of switch between two sub-forms of cultural capital which played a part in the development of the ethnic role perspective among the participants of this study, as when the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers are in their South Asian home countries, their institutional cultural capital, which constitutes education and experience, gives them their identity and they then progress in their organisations based upon their skills and experience. The other from of cultural capital they possess in the home country is their embodied cultural capital which is about ethnic background and other cultural attributes. This form of capital takes on more significance after migration to Australia.

The participants of this study were embedded into the cultures of their home countries and, after coming to Australia, they competed with people who were born

and educated in Australia; therefore, a rejection by a potential employer meant to them that their overseas skills and experiences were not recognised. Experiences like this led some participants to conclude that, since the department of immigration recognised their qualifications and experiences equivalent to the Australian qualifications, they are not receiving recognition because of their ethnic attributes. Furthermore, this type of experience also led to the belief that they might be considered a misfit within Australian organisational culture. An analysis of this situation led the researcher to the conclusion that, as the participants are quite confident and proud of their professional skills which brought status and recognition to them in their home countries, a sudden switch between the institutional and embodied cultural capitals had a deep impact upon their careers in Australia. This switch also impacted on the attitudes of the participants who took part in this research. Furthermore, it also had an impact upon the social and economic capitals which also formed the habitus of the participants.

Therefore, it can be summed up that when the professional attainment expectations of the participants were not met, they realised that they had a new minority identity in Australia which was not very significant in their home country. This realisation led those to conclude that the opportunities available to them were not equal to those available to local born Australians. However, a very popular belief was found among the participants that it is really important to fill the institutional capital gap by acquiring a local degree. This was also the opinion of the participants who did not acquire an Australian degree after migrating. Therefore, the participants' new minority identity disembeded them from their inherited social conditions and the switch between the two forms of the cultural capital explained the core reason behind their crisis of habitus.

Another aspect of the crisis of habitus discovered in this research was related to the social capital of the participants. By migrating to Australia, they lost all of their social networks which also helped them to build cultural capital as well as economic capital. Therefore, another struggle that the participants faced was that they found it hard to build networks among the local born professionals and managers as they believed that it would be hard for them to break the cultural barriers that existed

between them. Therefore, many respondents expressed their discomfort with joining their colleagues for any formal or informal socialisation events as they felt like a cultural misfit at those events. The role of religion cannot be ignored, as was found in this research, since alcohol is prohibited in Islam. Therefore, attending an organisation's event where alcohol was served made many Muslim participants uncomfortable to attend. It was also discovered that participants of this research were more comfortable with people from similar cultural backgrounds. A redundant cultural capital and non-existing social capital contributed to the crisis of habitus for the participants of this study which also had an impact on their economic capital. As institutional cultural capital is a way to gain employment in a person's respective profession, social networks are also required by a person for advancement in their organisations and professions, a fact recognised by most of the participants of the study. Proper recognition and advancement in any profession can then guarantee better financial compensation for an individual. Therefore, the participants of the study did express that they also faced financial issues due to the non-recognition of their skills, especially in their initial days as migrants. In conclusion, by using the concept of the crisis of habitus for the highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals in Australia, this research has explained the essence of the lived experience of the participants. Explaining the crisis was the first part of the research. The second part of the research tackled the issue of the resolution of the crisis of habitus based upon the narratives of the participants.

5.4.2.2 Crisis resolution

This research utilised the theories of acculturation (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936) and sense-making (Weick 2001) to explain the process of resolution of the crisis of habitus by the participants of this study. The participants wanted to resolve this crisis in order to re-embed themselves in the Australian workforce. The combination of these two theories helped the researcher to understand the process by which the participants of this study interpreted the events that happened to them as migrants, to reach certain conclusions based upon their habitus. These theories also helped to answer the question about, why certain participants took different paths and measures to find their resolution, despite having very similar views on the reasons for the crisis of habitus. From the angle of acculturation, the participants believed

that their employers expected them to either integrate (accept old culture, accept new culture) or assimilate (reject old culture, accept new culture) within the Australian work environments but, in most of the cases, they tried to integrate. However, some participants did take the path of separation (accept old culture, reject new culture) and a very few also chose marginalisation (reject old culture, reject new culture).

From the sample studied in this research it was found that the majority of the respondents wanted to find a solution in which they are able to keep some aspects of the culture of their home country and are also able to adapt some aspects of Australian organisational culture. Therefore, most of the respondents went for integration solutions. It was found while analysing the interviews that most of the participants were initially highly tolerant of the local born Australians, at the same time they expressed their dissatisfaction with the cultural insensitivity of colleagues and employers in Australia as they believed that the employers and colleagues who have lived all their lives in Australia do not realised that they are migrants who require time to adjust to the new environment and that they might feel uncomfortable in certain situations. Therefore, to integrate within the new culture some participants found solutions where they can compromise between the home country culture and Australian culture. For example, some Muslim participants who felt uncomfortable with alcohol still attended office events as they believed that they have the option of drinking non-alcoholic and still be part of the organisation's social events. This is recognised as important as these events were quite necessary for them to market themselves and build social capital which could later be converted into cultural and economic capital. Similarly, acquiring a local degree and starting one's own business was also found to be a part of the resolution process. The majority of the participants also concluded that, as they cannot change their embodied cultural capital such as their accent and ethnic appearance, they should learn to live with it, especially when it impacted their professional careers. At the same time, they hoped that the next generation who will be brought up in Australia will not face the challenges they faced. Some female participants who took part in the study also expressed their belief that their cultures imposed more so-called moral restrictions, so it was even harder for them to build reasonable professional social capital. They also were of the view that, culturally, their husbands' careers were a priority when

the decision to migrate to Australia was made. Therefore, it can be concluded that the crisis of habitus is also gendered to some extent.

Sense-making theory was used to explain how the participants of this study interpreted their new Australian work environment as, through the process of sense-making, individuals rationalise their behavior based upon how they have interpreted the environment in which they exist (Salancik and Pfeffer 1978). It was found in this study that the sense-making process for the participants was based upon their identity (Weick 1995) which was based upon their cultural capital. It was also about looking at the events in retrospect (Weick 1995) and the socialisation experience (Weick 1995) in the workplace. At time the sense-making process also got into plausibility (Weick 1995). Identity was about the realisation by the participants that they have an ethnic minority status in Australia which is part of their cultural capital and that, according to their perspective, this can impact on them getting a breakthrough in employment and progressing in their professions. Therefore, identity was also about the understanding that embodied cultural capital can overshadow one's institutional cultural capital. The reason the participants arrived at such conclusions was found to be past experiences and through looking at events in retrospect. Certain feelings would then develop among the participants that their full potential and experience was not being utilised in Australia and, sometimes, when the experience was not considered to be intellectually and professionally rewarding. The participants also realised that they need to socialise in their organisations to market themselves and to build better networks for progress within their professions. However, some participants gave up on this idea by concluding that they will always remain an outsider, unable to penetrate the inner circles of their organisations. Both of the participants who believed that they could not achieve their goals, as well as the ones who believed they had been successful to a certain extent, had some plausible conclusions. Participants with unmet expectations only considered that their embodied cultural capital was responsible for all the non-recognition of their institutional cultural capital as they firmly believed that there is no weakness in their experience or qualifications. At the same time, the participants who were successful believed that they actually got lucky, or that their employers hired them because there were no locals available. Therefore, these conclusions are a result of the sense-

making process that occurred in the minds of the participants of this study after taking cues from their interaction with the Australian work environment.

This concept of the resolution of the crisis of habitus is about human nature and individuals trying to find answers to the challenges they face. This means that, as a first step, every individual tries to find answers to major events that can affect his or her professional and general life. However, those answers, in the case of highly skilled South Asian skilled migrant professionals and managers, do not provide solutions but actually raise more complex questions for them. The non-recognition of overseas acquired skills raises dissatisfaction among them and their feeling of a rudderless ship adds to their anxiety. As economic and political instability within the home countries and their concern for the wellbeing of the next generation kept the participants of this study away from the idea of returning to the home country, they had to find ways to answer the complex questions and find ways to achieve some kind to satisfaction. However, the resolution of the crisis of habitus was a kind of moving on experience for the participants of this study. As the majority of the participants of this study did not regret their decision to migrate to Australia, at the same time they decided to accept that they have to live with the shortcomings of their embodied cultural, capital that they cannot control. Therefore, they did believe that the general stability of the Australian environment and the welfare provided to the citizens was a positive angle to consider when living here. Looking at the experiences of the second generation of skilled migrants would be an interesting area for future research which, at this time, is beyond the scope of this research.

5.5. Conclusions

The conclusions of this research are based upon the conclusion trajectories of the participants of the study. The main idea was to explore the perspectives and beliefs of the participants from their narratives. These conclusions are the essence of the lived experience of participants in Australia. The main research question of this research was:

- How does migration to Australia affect the employment experiences of South Asian professionals and managers?

To further understand the challenges faced by the participants of this study, and to understand the real issues faced by them, the main research question was divided into sub questions.

5.5.1 Research Sub Questions

The main research question was sub-divided into the following sub questions:

- To what extent do current theories about the effects of migration on career trajectories provide a useful framework for analysing and understanding the experiences of professionals and managers from South Asia in Australia?
- What is the nature of the experience of being a migrant professional/manager from South Asia in Australia?
- What are the career challenges faced by South Asian professionals and managers when they migrate to in Australia?
- How do South Asian managers attempt to overcome the challenges of their new career environment?
- In what ways can South Asian managers be assisted in establishing a career, following migration?

This section will examine the conclusions that were drawn as the result of this research with respect to the above research questions.

5.5.1.1 To what extent do current theories about the effects of migration on career trajectories provide a useful framework for analyzing and understanding the experiences of professionals and managers from South Asia in Australia?

A theoretical model (Figure: 9, Chapter 4) was presented in the analysis chapter of this thesis. This theoretical model is a useful framework to analyse the experiences of professionals and managers of South Asia. This model can also be helpful in future research when applied to other migrant communities from other regions of the world. This model provided the complete overview of the experiences of the participants of the study. The model commences with home habitus and moves to the event of migration leading to disembedding and the crisis of habitus. Secondly,

the resolution process which, according to the analysis, depended upon the professional attainment of the participants. The experiences of the participants with respect to their career trajectories led them to certain conclusion trajectories. These conclusion trajectories are a useful frame work to understand how the perspectives of the participants depend upon their treatment in the Australian job market and organisations. The conclusion trajectories of the participants were divided into to five categories based upon their professional experience. Those five categories are as follows:

- Some participants concluded that their skills are not recognised, as preference is given to the job applicants possessing local qualifications, which results in a loss of confidence in the skills acquired in the home country. This type of conclusion is a result of the non-recognition of skills by Australian organisations and it also leads to a belief that every skilled migrant professional should try to acquire a local qualification to live up to the expectations of prospective local employers.

- Some participants who were not satisfied with their achievements decided to categorise their personal and professional goals separately. Therefore, despite de-skilling due to menial jobs, they tried to find their resolve in other factors which they believed were also achievements, like owning a house and better education for kids.

- Some participants of the study after experiencing roadblocks to their careers due to their cultural attributes, believed that migrants will always be different.

- Dissatisfaction with the professional attainment in the organisations also motivated a couple of participants of this research to start up their own business to avoid local bosses.

- Another example of the loss of confidence among the participants which can also be regarded as a trust deficit is that the participants who had successful and early job settlements, and had struggled less compared to their contemporaries, considered that they were just lucky.

5.5.1.2 What is the nature of the experience of being a migrant professional/manager from South Asia in Australia?

According to an analysis of the narratives of the participants in this study, it can be concluded that they had a firm belief that highly skilled professionals and managers from South Asia have to work extremely hard for the glass door to be opened for them and to step inside their relevant profession. Furthermore, that step does not guarantee that the ride would be smooth, as the participants of the study firmly believed that standards of performance judgment are different for them compared to born locals, therefore they need to work much harder to prove themselves. However, they still remained unsure that they had gained the confidence of their Australian employers. These issues were also discussed in detail in the literature in which the local employers are not confident in skilled migrant's overseas qualifications and experience and some apprehensions about culture of migrants also exist (Watson 1996; Varma 2002; Castles 2002; Ward and Masgoret 2007). Such an atmosphere of mistrust between highly skilled professional migrants and local employers can lead to dissatisfaction among the migrants. This dissatisfaction can lead to decisions in which an individual can go for a change of profession. As a consequence, that individual can end up working for a job totally different than the one he or she was assessed by the immigration department for, which defeats the purpose of immigration.

5.5.1.3 What are the career challenges faced by South Asian professionals and managers when they migrate to in Australia?

This study has revolved around the career challenges faced by the participants of the study. Their stories in Australia start with unmet expectations and, most of the time, end with that. It is concluded that, when the participants expressed in the interviews that they did not have very high expectations with respect to their career in Australia, these low expectations led to the belief that they would need some time, usually a few months, to gain employment, but that they would still be able get into their respective professions and continue to grow and prosper and would be able to make choices for themselves. This did not actually happen for most of the participants and they had to face non-recognition of skills in the Australian job market. This non-recognition led them to make decisions which they would have not made under ideal

circumstances. Those decisions included doing low skilled jobs to keep supporting their families and accepting lower ranking positions in the Australian organisations compared to what they held in their home countries. Non-recognition of their skills also led them to acquire local degrees. The down side to acquiring local degrees as expressed by the participants was that they had to compete with younger local fresh graduates and it was really disappointing for them when their experience from the home country was not considered very valid. The participants believed that once they acquired local degrees it would enhance their cultural capital and their home country's experience would no longer be redundant. Another belief among the participants was that starting their own business would be the only way to get rid of the discrimination they faced and a few were successful in their business ventures.

5.5.1.4 How do South Asian managers attempt to overcome the challenges of their new career environment?

The attempts by the participants of this study to resolve the crisis of habitus in an effort to re-embed themselves into the Australian work environment has been covered in this study in detail. The actual essence of the experience of the participants of this study was those efforts which they made to overcome the challenges that they faced in Australia as highly skilled migrants. After coming to Australia as migrants, the attempt to re-embed in the Australian work environment, according to the majority of the participants, is an ongoing challenge which would continue until they retire from their jobs. One participant of the study used the metaphor of "lost horizon" in the discussion with the researcher. According to this participant, the highly skilled migrant professionals move in a direction to which they cannot see the end. Their attempts to overcome the non-recognition of skills varied from acquiring local degrees, to improving their workplace socialisation, to starting their own small businesses. The point to note here is, despite these attempts to integrate, skilled migrants develop a mindset in which they would always be uncertain about what kind of future they might have in their own profession or organisation. This feeling of uncertainty develops due to the trust deficit that exists between them and their employers, or potential employers. Therefore, whenever the participants of the study faced any stumbling block in their professional progress, they developed the belief that this treatment was linked to their race; that is, their

embodied cultural capital. The main effort by the participants of the study was to integrate so that they were able to keep some aspects of their home country culture and try to be part of Australian work culture as well.

The analysis of the interviews of the female participants revealed that gender is also a significant challenge. The unique issues faced by female migrants have also been discussed in the existing literature (Iredale 2005; Cardu 2007; Foroutan 2008) which was confirmed in the findings of this research. In addition to the challenges that are faced by their male counterparts, women also have to confirm to the standards imposed upon them by their South Asian cultures. For example, they wanted to seek the approval of their husbands for their career decisions and felt that they would be judged for being immodest if they socialised more with their male colleagues. Therefore, some female respondents expressed that they had an additional baggage of challenges to overcome compared to their male South Asian counterparts.

5.5.1.5 In what ways can South Asian managers be assisted in establishing a career following migration?

This question describes the practical significance of this thesis. It can be concluded from this research that the issue of assisting highly skilled South Asian migrant professionals and managers is not just about showing cultural sensitivity from the prospective employers and colleagues, as this does not cover the whole picture. The main issue is of the 'trust deficit' which was found among the participants of this study. This trust deficit is a result of the non-recognition of the migrant's foreign qualifications and skills by Australian managers. As the participants of this study came to Australia with a belief that they will access equal opportunities, there is a need to find ways that both the hiring bodies of the organisations, as well as the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers, are satisfied. Firstly, there is a need to understand that treating experienced migrants as fresh graduates does not fulfill the purpose of skilled migration. Secondly, skilled migrants can be offered on-the-job training workshops and diplomas which can help them in improving their understanding of the systems underpinning the Australian work environment. When unemployed migrants go to Australian universities to fill the missing gap of a local education and must work in low-skilled jobs, this is also a kind of brain waste. A

solution to this dilemma can be that organisations can allow their migrant employees to earn part degrees while they are still on the job; this way they will gain more local experience and knowledge enhancement at the same time. Finally, there is a need to help migrant managers to understand work place socialisation so that they are successfully able to build their networks and social capital. However, this also needs to be done in an organised manner as it was found that most of the participants believed that they would never be able to establish a good network as they cannot break the cultural barrier. Therefore, it is the job of the organisation's management to help the highly skilled South Asian managers and professionals through programs that can reduce their misgivings about the Australian work environment. This will also be true for skilled migrants from other cultural backgrounds.

5.6 Policy implications

It is evident from the literature review that the gap between the policy of the department of immigration and the Australian organisations' hiring policies has been identified. In the Australian context the legal framework is very limited in providing a policy which will form the basis for managing cultural diversity which leads to the absence of an integrated approach to manage diverse migrant employees at an organisational level (Syed and Kramar 2010). The main idea of this research is to go beyond this identification of the policy flaw. Due to the crisis of habitus, the highly skilled migrant professionals and managers of this study have lost their horizon. It was a horizon where they believed that they will need to make some adjustments to assimilate and integrate in the new homeland but the extent of crisis they faced was beyond their imagination. It was quite evident from the narratives of the participants that there is no significant role played on the part of the organisations to help them resolve the crisis of habitus. Therefore, the participants of the study were very much on their own to learn through their experiences (which were not very pleasant sometimes) and to proceed to make an effort to resolve this crisis and re-embed themselves into the organisations. Realistically, a new skilled migrant cannot produce any local experience or education from an Australian institution, therefore such demands from them contributes to their disembeddedness, rather than easing the crisis they face in Australia. The real challenge for the management of organisations is to devise programs for highly skilled migrant professionals and managers to ease

their path to resolve their crisis of habitus and to successfully re-embed them into the Australian work environment. However, this step comes after providing an equal opportunity to all the overseas qualified skilled migrants when competing against the locals. If skilled migrants are not hired at all, this becomes a brain waste for Australia. As a result, describing Australia as a multicultural country with equal opportunity for all becomes just a political mantra.

5.7 Future research

The combination of theories utilised in this thesis can become a basis of research to explore the habitus of other skilled migrant communities by looking at their home country habitus as well as the evolving habitus in Australia. This research used the home country habitus as a starting point and explored what type of alterations in the home country habitus of the participants of the study led them into a disembedded state and into the crisis of habitus. Therefore, to replicate this research in other migrant communities, it will be interesting to see how the home country and Australian habitus differs among different communities. This research not only adds a new avenue to the existing management research but also provides an opportunity to widen the scope of this study.

This research can also be more useful for future research if modified in different ways. As the researcher himself belonged to South Asia, he was able to provide a detailed look into the home country habitus of the participants by visiting his home country and by having discussions with potential migrants. Therefore, this research can be modified by exploring the home country habitus of many other migrant source nations. The data collected in this research was based upon the narratives of participants and the conclusions of the participants were based upon their real life experiences. These conclusions led the participants to generate certain opinions about the Australian job market, as well as the workplace culture, especially with respect to gaining access to job opportunities and promotions within the organisations. Another way to enhance this research will be to study the potential employers and the hiring machinery in Australia; that is, investigating the opinions of the people who, according to the participants, did not recognise their skills. The concerns of the participants cannot be ignored or regarded merely as myths or, to

some extent, as plausible and, at the same time, the need to gain an understanding of how this category of migrants are perceived by potential employers in the Australian job market.

5.8 Concluding remarks

This thesis lends support to the argument that successful organisational accommodation and progress of non-English speaking, highly skilled migrants in Australia is not a simple process. This process has to be conceptualised as an evolutionary process of resolving a crisis of habitus. This resolution takes the highly skilled migrants to a domain where they experience their ethnic minority identities in Australian organisations. Furthermore, this also has an impact upon their career decisions as presented in the conceptual model presented in this thesis. While this is qualitatively driven research, it has the potential to inform further. Based upon the theories and conceptual model, empirical research can be employed to further understand the issues faced by highly skilled migrants in Australia and other nations. Considerable work remains to be done with respect to these issues, for the advancement of management theory as well as to establish a better foundation to explore integrated policies for skilled migrants from different regions of the world.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Information Sheet

Information Sheet   **School of Management**
Thesis Title
Resolving a crisis of habitus: the experiences of professionals and managers from South Asia in Australia
Research Summary
The goal of this research is to explore the experiences of the South Asian migrant managers in Australia. The main objectives of the research are to investigate the effects of migration on South Asian managers and the challenges faced by them as migrant managers. The results of this research will help in understanding the real issues faced by the migrant managers from South Asia after joining the Australian work force, before and after achieving any success in their careers.
Your role in the study
You are invited to become a part of this research. You will be asked questions about your experience as a South Asian migrant manager in Australia. The interview will approximately last for 45 minutes, at a place and time convenient to you. The interview will be audio taped, with your consent. You are free to withdraw from the interview any time without any explanation.
How your personal information will be handled
In accordance with the Curtin University Research and Ethics Committee standards on research practice your confidentiality will be fully respected. Your name and personal details will not appear in any published materials.
If you have any questions about my research or your participation, do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor at the following contact details:

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Thank you for participating in this research.

Appendix 2

Consent Form

School of Management

Consent to participate in the research on the experiences of the South Asian migrant managers in Australia.

I acknowledge that:

I understand that the investigator of the study will adhere to usual standards of confidentiality in the collection and handling of my personal information and the provisions of the West Australian Privacy Act 1988 will apply to the way my information is handled. Individual results will not be released.

I voluntarily and freely give my consent to my participation and the recording of the interview required for the research.

I understand that aggregated results will be used for research purposes and may be reported in academic journals and other research publications.

I,……………………………………………………. agree to participate in the above study. I have read and understood the attached information sheet and have retained a copy of the signed document. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study by the investigator. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

Signature……………………………………………

Date………………………

Researcher…………………………………………..

Appendix 3

Interview Questions

Following questions were asked from interviewees during the interviews:

1. When did you come to Australia?
(Prompt: Why did you choose Australia to migrate?)

2. What is your country of origin?

3. What was your first year experience as a migrant?
(Prompt: How was the socialisation experience at the workplace and generally?)

4. What were your expectations about Australia and how do compare it with reality?

5. Did you find any communication problems at your work place and generally?

6. What do you miss about being a manager in your home country?
(Prompt: How has this affected your work in Australia?)

7. Describe your working relationships with your colleagues?
(Prompt: (a) Relationship with bosses (b) Subordinates (c) and people working at the same level or position)

8. Did your being a migrant have any impact upon your entry and progress within your organisation?
(Prompt: What led you or motivated you to start your own business?)

9. How important interpersonal relationships are to your job? (e.g. networks, friendships and contacts)

10. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your working experience in Australia?