NAMASTÉ NEW ZEALAND: INDIAN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES IN AUCKLAND

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The present research sought to increase our understanding of the economic integration of immigrants from India by examining, in a descriptive and predominantly qualitative study, the experiences of seven employers and 20 employees from the Indian subcontinent. This research is part of a larger project which is looking at the settlement experiences of the five main immigrant groups in New Zealand after 1986/87: immigrants born in Britain, China, Korea and South Africa, as well as those from India. The project seeks to explore the settlement outcomes of these immigrant groups, both in terms of labour market engagement and business success, as well as social and cultural outcomes.

Although Indians have been arriving in New Zealand for the last 150 years, numbers remained relatively low until the mid-1980s. Between 1986 and 2001, the Indian population in New Zealand more than quadrupled in size and, by the last census in 2006, there were 104,600 people of Indian ethnicity living in the country. Over two-thirds of New Zealand’s Indians live in Auckland, the majority in and around the suburbs of Avondale, Lynfield, Hillsborough and Sandringham.

In this study, participants were born in India and have arrived in New Zealand after 2000. They worked in a variety of industries but mostly in either retail or accommodation and food. They predominantly identified as Parsee or Hindu, and as English-speaking in addition to their own language.

While the responses to the interviews revealed diverse and sometimes contradictory experiences, some overall impressions were able to be drawn. The findings suggest that many of the participants chose to live in New Zealand for lifestyle reasons: in order to enjoy a better standard of living; to better educate their children; and to live in a clean, safe environment. Asked to reflect on their migration experiences, participants told us that:

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1 Given the increased importance of Asia as a source of immigrants to New Zealand, our research focused on those immigrants from the Indian sub-continent rather than Indo-Fijian immigrants. However, census data often fails to differentiate between these two groups. Consequently, unless otherwise stated, all census data cited in the report reflects those of Indian ethnicity in its broadest sense.

2 Industry statistics in New Zealand are compiled using the Australia and New Zealand Standard Industrial Classification (ANZSIC) 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2010a). Accommodation and Food Services includes businesses involved in providing accommodation for visitors, such as hotels and motels, as well as cafés, restaurants and takeaway food services.
• They generally enjoyed a better lifestyle in New Zealand than they had in India. Participants reported that they had a good standard of living with easy access to amenities and facilities, although some felt life was more stressful and hectic here.

• They were satisfied with their children’s educational experiences in New Zealand. In particular, they felt their children were less pressured at school and had better opportunities for study and work.

• Participants’ daily lives pre and post-migration have gendered themes.
  o Both pre and post-migration, men’s lives revolved around their careers. Pre-migration, men talked about working long hours but having active social lives and less pressure to help out at home due to the availability of extended family and paid help. Post-migration, men reported that their social lives were more limited and their domestic responsibilities increased. While some men were more stressed in their pre-migration jobs, others felt New Zealand’s working environment was more pressured.
  o For women who were in paid employment in India, their pre and post-migration lives were more similar and involved balancing the needs of their husbands and children with the demands of their paid work. However, many noted the added pressures of life in New Zealand due to the lack of domestic help. For women who were not engaged in paid work in India, life in New Zealand was quite different. They had to adjust to entering the work force for the first time while also juggling family life. However, many relished these new responsibilities and spoke of gaining independence and confidence.

• The majority of our interviewees reported experiencing some kind of discrimination, much of it in the work-place.

• Almost all planned to be living in Auckland in three years’ time and also anticipated that their children would remain here.

While employers and employees held many views in common, the research also revealed some differences between these two groups.

EMPLOYERS

Between them, the seven employers interviewed for the study owned a total of eight businesses. Six of the businesses owned by participants were in the accommodation and food or retail industries, with the remaining two in other services and rental, hiring and real estate services.
Established between 2000 and 2008, they employed an average of three paid employees and over two-thirds had a family member working in their businesses without wages or salary. Employers reported working between 35 and 80 hours per week, an average of 52 hours per week.

Participants gave a range of reasons for starting their New Zealand businesses, including a desire to be self-employed, redundancy from a previous job and because self-employment offered better financial returns. All employers had worked as paid employees prior to starting their own businesses.

There is some evidence of downward occupational mobility in the transitions participants made between their work in India and their first job in New Zealand. When comparing interviewees’ employment in their home country to their current employment, many have shifted into work that is quite different from their pre-migration employment. Although this small study cannot determine the extent to which Indian employers are obliged to go into business ownership because of difficulties they experience in obtaining employment in the New Zealand labour market, our data suggest that employers did experience some degree of labour market constraint that compelled them to set up their own businesses.

Participants did not report significant difficulties during the set-up phase of their businesses and most problems were relatively minor and specific to their particular enterprise. Three participants had joined a local business association. Asked what advice they would give to immigrants starting businesses in New Zealand, participants suggested that others start small and save for a deposit first; have prior work experience as an employee in New Zealand; have confidence; and build good customer relationships. All employers said that they used the internet to support their business.

The research also explored the networks and relationships that employers depended on. All participants employed at least one Indian employee (either paid or unpaid) but English was reported as the main language used to communicate with staff. In regard to suppliers and

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3 Section 3(2) of Article 343(2) of the Official Languages Act, 1963, provides for the continued use of English in official work in India (see http://www.india.gov.in/knowindia/official_language.php). Given English has the status of a 'subsidiary official language' of India. It is perhaps unsurprising that English is the main language spoken in the workplace.
customers, the majority were ‘Kiwi’\(^4\) but many were also Indian, Chinese and British as well as a range of other ethnicities.

**EMPLOYEES**

The majority of employees’ first jobs in New Zealand were in the accommodation and food or retail industries while the remainder worked in manufacturing and agriculture, forestry and fisheries. Only 25 percent of participants were still employed in their first job and of those who had received assistance in finding this work, many said that their friends or family had offered them work, introduced them to their employer or provided them with the information they needed to obtain the job.

A quarter of participants also said that they had sought advice from family and friends in order to find their current jobs, although a substantial proportion had responded to print or online advertisements. Respondents were very proactive in finding employment: many approached employers directly either by door knocking, cold calling or applying for in-house jobs. Employees worked mainly in retail (45%), while the remainder were employed across a range of industries: manufacturing; accommodation and food; health and social services; education; or financial and insurance services. Three respondents also worked second jobs as sales workers in the retail industry during their weekends. Interviewees had been in their current jobs between one month and seven years with an average of two and a half years; 75 percent worked full-time and 25 percent part-time. Only 10 percent of participants were employed by other Indians and they worked mainly with non-Indian colleagues. Seventy percent of employees had participated in some form of training since they arrived in New Zealand, the majority of which was provided by their employer.

When we compare our interviewees’ occupational status in their home country with their first and current New Zealand positions, we can see that they have experienced considerable downward occupational mobility during their transition into the labour market in New Zealand. In India, 30 percent of our participants were employed either as managers or professionals while in New Zealand, that proportion fell to five percent in the first job before rising to 20 percent at the time of interview. However, while none of the participants were employed as

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\(^4\)The term ‘Kiwi’ is generally used by participants to refer to Pākehā New Zealanders. However, its meaning can also vary according to the context within which it is used and may refer to anyone who is a New Zealander, whatever their ethnicity.
sales workers in India, 80 percent worked as sales workers in their first job and 50 percent in their current jobs in New Zealand.

The most common difficulties employees experienced when finding work in New Zealand were: lack of local experience; problems with credential recognition; being overqualified; no suitable job opportunities; and not knowing people in the industry. When asked what strategies they would recommend to new immigrants, interviewees suggested that they should do their utmost to gain New Zealand qualifications or accreditation, have appropriate training and be patient, flexible and positive.5

Sixty-five percent of employees said that they were either ‘happy’ or ‘very happy’ with their current job and 80 percent said that their job made good use of their skills and experience. However, only 45 percent of participants reported that their current job made good use of their qualifications. Their explanations for these responses suggest that although they are often not using their formal qualifications in their current jobs, they are able to make use of a range of transferable skills and experiences acquired over the course of their working and personal lives. Forty percent of interviewees were actively looking for another job at the time of their interviews, most in Auckland but 10 percent overseas.

5 Each of these responses offers suggestions for migrants to promote labour participation. However, the framing of this question may have precluded additional comments by the participants that were directed toward policy-makers/programme providers in the host country who offer assistance to recent immigrants seeking entry into the paid workforce.
INTRODUCTION

Historical records show that Indians have been living in New Zealand since the mid-1800s, albeit in very small numbers. The 1881 census recorded six Indian men living across the country and, by 1886, this number had reached 46. However, it was not until the turn of the twentieth century that larger groups of Indians began arriving on New Zealand shores. Most of these early immigrants came from the western Indian states of Gujarat and the Punjab, forced out by increasing rural poverty, under-employment and land shortages. Many came via other British colonies, such as Australia, Fiji and South Africa, having heard tales of economic opportunities and New Zealand’s relatively relaxed immigration laws (Leckie, 2007). By 1920, the Indian population in New Zealand had reached 671, mostly men who found employment as hawkers, rural labourers and domestic workers (O’Connor, 1990; Leckie, 2007). While the 1920 Immigration Restriction Amendment Act stemmed the migration flow between India and New Zealand, those who stayed in New Zealand began to put down more permanent roots (Bernau, 2005). Families became established and, by 1956, the Indian population had reached 4,500 (Statistics New Zealand, 2011). Employment diversified, with many Gujaratis engaged in market gardening and shop keeping while Punjabis found work as dairy farmers or as labourers in agricultural areas (Roy, 1978).

Despite these early arrivals, the numbers of Indian immigrants remained relatively low until the mid-1980s. The removal of the traditional source-countries preference from immigration policy in 1986 enabled immigrants to be selected on their own merit, rather than by country of origin. The policy changes placed emphasis on immigrants’ education, professional, business and entrepreneurial skills. As a result, non-European immigrants began to flow into New Zealand and, in the five years between 1986 and 1991, the ethnic Indian population doubled in size (see Table 1). Since then, the population has continued to expand. By 2006, there were 104,600 people who identified as Indian living in New Zealand, making it the second largest Asian ethnicity behind Chinese (147,600) (Statistics New Zealand, 2011).

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>13,916</td>
<td>29,823</td>
<td>40,401</td>
<td>62,187</td>
<td>104,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Post-2006, Indian immigrants arrived in New Zealand from various countries, including the United Kingdom, South Africa and Malaysia. The main immigration streams, however, continue to be from the Indian subcontinent and the island nation of Fiji. The Fijian Indian population has a long history in Fiji, arriving in the late nineteenth century to work on sugar cane plantations of the then British colony (Friesen, Murphy & Kearns, 2005). Much of the Fijian migration to New Zealand took place after the 1987 military coup in Fiji and, until the late 1990s, Indian immigrants of Fijian origin outnumbered those from India (Johnston, Poulsen & Forrest, 2008). However, since then, immigrants from India have increased in number, more than doubling in size in the five years between 2001 and 2006 (see Table 2). Just over half of the India-born population had arrived in New Zealand between 2001 and 2006.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>6,500</td>
<td>9,459</td>
<td>12,807</td>
<td>20,900</td>
<td>43,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is these recent India-born immigrants who are the subject of this research. Our report concentrates on the experiences of immigrants who were born in India and arrived in New Zealand after 2000. This research is part of a larger project which is looking at the settlement experiences of the five main immigrant groups in New Zealand after 1986/87: immigrants born in Britain, China, Korea and South Africa, as well as those from India. The project seeks to explore the settlement outcomes of these immigrant groups, both in terms of labour market engagement and business success, as well as social and cultural outcomes.

In Auckland, the Indian community is now a sizable one, such that the impacts of New Zealand's immigration and settlement policies on this community can begin to be researched in more systematic ways. This report highlights both the positive and negative aspects of the migration process for India-born migrants and what can be learnt from their experiences. Despite the fact that most Indian immigrants speak fluent English, they face significant settlement challenges, such as finding employment, adjusting to different work and home environments, and learning the intricacies of New Zealand's socio-cultural norms. In addition to the experience of immigration expressed by research participants, there is also increased evidence of the presence of Indian migrants in the larger urban landscape. In some areas, as with Chinese migration, there is evidence of impact on residential patterns (the emergence of nascent, Indian inflected ‘ethno-burbs’ such as Blockhouse Bay (see Friesen, 2008), Papatoetoe and Sandringham), on business activity (in the ‘ethnic precinct’ concentrations of Indian businesses.
in, for example, George Street and Dominion Road), and on the cultural landscape of the city (evidenced in the construction of Hindu temples such as BAPS Shri Swaminarayan Mandir in Avondale and Bharatiya Mandir in Sandringham). This report provides much needed information on Indian immigrant experiences and offers insight into the things that may help or hinder their pathway to successful settlement.

**INDIANS IN AUCKLAND**

Indians have been living in Auckland for over 150 years and New Zealand's first notable Indian association was founded in Auckland in 1938. By this time, many Indians had found work as self-employed greengrocers and began opening businesses in and around the central city (Leckie, 2007). In the 1940s and 1950s, shops also began to appear on Great North, New North, Sandringham, Dominion, Manukau and Mt Eden Roads. Fifty years on, these dairies and fruit shops now sit alongside spice shops, Bollywood video stores and cinemas, and other specialist Indian merchandisers. Temples, such as the large mandirs in Balmoral and Eden Terrace and the three Sikh gurdwaras in South Auckland, punctuate Auckland’s skyline. In 1993, the ornate Mahatma Gandhi Centre opened its doors for the first time, providing a centre point for the Auckland Indian community and a venue for its most important social, cultural and religious events.

Indian newcomers continue to settle in Auckland. At the time of the 2006 census, 71 percent of people of Indian ethnicity in New Zealand were residing in Auckland, a total of 74,442 people. It is important to note that the Indian population in Auckland is diverse, in terms of ethnicity, birthplace, religion and language, as well as employment. While many are still engaged in occupations made so familiar by their predecessors, Indians are also now employed across a wide range of industries, from manufacturing and information technology, to engineering and medicine. The wave of migration after the 1980s has also seen arrivals from all over India, not just the western states. Recent arrivals are well-educated and urbanised, arriving primarily from metropolitan locales such as Mumbai, Delhi and Chennai (Pio, 2005b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3 Auckland's Resident Ethnic Indian Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Indians now form a distinctive part of Auckland’s cultural, economic, ethnic and residential make-up. The following maps illustrate the distribution of India-born migrants across the Auckland area based on 2006 census data. Figure 1 shows the percentage of a particular Census Area Unit (CAU) born in India while Figure 2 indicates the actual headcount. It is important to note that the flows illustrated here encompass both temporary residents, such as those on a student visa, as well as permanent residents. The most significant populations are found in the Avondale/Roskill Ward and the Eden/Albert Ward (Nayar, 2005). Indeed, Sandringham and the adjacent suburbs of Mount Albert and Mount Roskill have the highest concentration of Hindu and Gujarati speakers in the whole of New Zealand (Holt, 1999). Indians make up 17.62 percent of residents in Hillsborough West, 13.4 percent of Lynfield North, 12.9 percent of Akarana, 11.84 percent of Onehunga North West and 11.51 percent of Sandringham East. In addition, there are also residential concentrations of Indians in Papatoetoe and Manurewa.

Figure 1 Distribution of the India-born in Auckland as a Percentage of the Total Population

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6 Auckland includes the four previous Local Territorial Authorities: North Shore City, Auckland City, Manukau City and Waitakere City.
7 Census Area Units are small geographical areas which together make up territorial authorities. They usually contain 3000-5000 people.
Figure 2  Distribution of the India-born Population in Auckland by Number
METHODOLOGY

The broad aim of the research is to better understand the experiences of Auckland-based\(^8\) immigrant employers and employees from the five source countries that are the focus of the Integration of Immigrants Programme: the United Kingdom, the People’s Republic of China, India, South Africa and the Republic of Korea. In order to achieve this objective, we developed employer and employee-specific surveys\(^9\) which sought information about the nature of immigrant transitions into their new lives in New Zealand. This information was gathered through in-depth, face-to-face interviews with participants that lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. The interview schedule included a range of closed questions such as age, marital status, previous education and employment as well as a number of more open questions where the participants were encouraged to respond in greater detail. Although the key focus was the economic integration of participants, we were also interested in a number of inter-related issues. The interviews, therefore, included questions about the hopes and dreams immigrants had before they arrived in New Zealand; their leisure activities and community involvement; their retirement intentions; their home and family lives; and their opinions on, and possible experience of, discrimination in this country.

The interviews were undertaken in 2009 and early 2010 with seven employers and 20 employees from India. The employer interview included questions about the reasons for business start-ups; the main business activities undertaken in participants’ business(es); the number of paid and unpaid employees as well as the legal structure of their organisations. Another area of interest concerned interviewees’ business networks, including their membership of business organisations and information about their customers, suppliers and business associates. Employees were asked about their first and current jobs in New Zealand and the extent to which these jobs were commensurate with their qualifications and experience prior to migration. Participants’ strategies for entering the labour market were explored, as well as any difficulties encountered, the ways in which they overcame these problems and the assistance (if any) they received in order to do so.

Participants were selected using the following criteria: currently resident in any one of Auckland’s then four main cities, Manukau, North Shore, Auckland or Waitakere; born in India; and granted permanent residence in New Zealand in 2000 or later. Further criteria for

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\(^8\) As well as British and South African participants based in Hamilton.

\(^9\) Available on request from T.Cain@massey.ac.nz
employers were that they were GST registered and had at least one employee (paid or unpaid, full or part-time). Employees could be employed on a full-time, part-time or casual basis.

Participants were recruited using the snowball technique. The interviewer relied on her personal networks of friends and contacts within the Indian community in order to find suitable interviewees for the study. This proved to be a key factor in the recruitment of participants: the interview noted that new immigrants were more willing to take part once they knew the interviews were being conducted by a friend, or a friend of a friend. The interviewer also proposed that, in recognition of their time and expertise, each participant be offered a supermarket voucher which, while not considered as payment by interviewees, acknowledged their contribution to the research project. The interviewer's facility with both English and Hindi was crucial in recruiting participants and many chose to be interviewed in both languages.

Despite this level of trust, the prospect of audio-recording caused unease and all participants preferred not to have their interviews recorded. Many felt they would be able to talk more freely and openly without the distraction of a recording device. Instead, the interviewer took detailed notes during the interview. This has meant that the depth and quality of interview material has been somewhat compromised, as the interviewer has had to maintain a balance between talking with the interviewee and writing notes. As a result, it has been difficult to obtain in-depth conversations and detailed quotes and, in many cases, information has been sparser than we would have hoped.

Unlike the previous studies on Chinese and Korean immigrants, it proved challenging to recruit 20 suitable Indian employers for this study. After extensive searching, only seven were willing to be involved. The interviewer cited several reasons for this response. Firstly, many employers (such as dairy owners) immigrated to New Zealand some time ago, making them ineligible for the study. Secondly, Indians do not usually start a business immediately after emigrating – they often work as employees for a number of years before deciding to start up their own business. Thirdly, many employers were reluctant to be interviewed due to the concern that personal and business information might be misused. And lastly, it proved challenging for the interviewer to convince business owners to take part in a one hour interview given pressures on their time.

Given that only seven employers agreed to take part in the study, it is more difficult to compare the results produced from these interviews with the results from the 20 employee interviews. Comparing percentages between the groups is not straightforward. For example, although four employers might answer 'yes' to a particular closed question and thus have a response
percentage of 57 percent, 11 employees would have to answer ‘yes’ to the same question in order to have a similar percentage. This should be kept in mind when reading the report. Unfortunately, there are also instances of missing responses, where one or more participants were not asked, or did not answer, certain questions during their interview. Whenever this has occurred, it has been noted in the text or in a footnote.

Despite these concerns, however, the predominantly qualitative nature of the study did not depend on having a representative sample as the aim was to highlight some descriptive elements of the integration experience of recent India-born immigrants. Doing so has allowed us to conceptualise the range of immigrant experiences and the information gathered in these interviews nonetheless provides valuable insights into the transition experiences of employers and employees from this immigrant group. In the report, we further contextualise our interview data by referring, where appropriate, to results for those of Indian nationality from Waves One and Two of the Longitudinal Immigration Survey: New Zealand (hereafter LisNZ). This comprehensive survey tracks 7,000 permanent residents for the first three years of their settlement in New Zealand (for more information on this survey, see Department of Labour, 2009b). Interview notes and transcripts were translated, where necessary, into English for analysis, which was undertaken using SPSS¹⁰ and NVivo.¹¹

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¹⁰ SPSS is a computer program used for statistical analysis.

¹¹ NVivo is a computer program used for qualitative data analysis.
INDIAN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES

KEY CHARACTERISTICS

The employer and employee groups are similar with respect to age. Employees range from 24 to 51 years old and have an average age of 38, while employers range from 29 to 46 and have a mean age of 39.1 Looking at the length of time participants had been in New Zealand since obtaining permanent residence, employees have a mean of 6.8 years while employers have a longer average residence at 9.5 years. However, participants may have been in New Zealand for considerably longer than this. As discussed later in this section, interviewees may have studied or worked here temporarily before applying for permanent residence. In terms of gender, just over 71 percent of employers are male and just under 29 percent female; for the employee group, the proportions are reversed with 25 percent male and 75 percent female.

Table 4 Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EMPLOYERS (%)</th>
<th>EMPLOYEES (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to industry, the majority of employers are found in two groups – retail trade, and accommodation and food. Retail is also the most popular industry for employees, with nearly half engaged in this sector. The remainder of employees are spread across a range of industries including: manufacturing; accommodation and food; health care and social assistance; construction; education; agriculture, forestry and fishing; and financial services. According to the 2006 census, the industry sectors in which most recent Indian immigrants in Auckland are employed are retail trade and manufacturing, followed closely by accommodation and food. It is interesting to note that although employees are now engaged in a wide variety of industries, the majority of their first jobs in New Zealand fell into these three industry sectors (see page 49).

12 Three employees and one employer did not wish to disclose their birth date.
### Table 5  Industries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation and Food</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Care and Social Assistance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial and insurance services</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Services</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common category in which employers (57.1%) and employees (40%) were granted permanent residence was the skilled principal migrant category. This was followed closely by the skilled secondary category (42.9%). A small percentage of employees (15%) also entered through family sponsorship and five percent through other categories.

### Table 6  Category of Permanent Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Principal</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Secondary</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Sponsored</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5(^{13})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, none of the participant employers entered New Zealand through the business category. This is also the case for participants of Indian nationality in Wave One\(^{14}\) of the LisNZ.

\(^{13}\)Total does not add up to 100 percent because of missing responses to this question.

\(^{14}\)In the Longitudinal Immigration Survey, New Zealand migrants were interviewed at 6 months (Wave One), 18 months (Wave Two) and 36 months (Wave Three) after they had taken up permanent residence in New Zealand.
Unlike participants from Korea and, to a lesser degree China, very few Indian participants in the survey entered New Zealand using investor, entrepreneur and long-term business visas. This may reflect the fact that Indian immigrants are able to capitalise on their English language skills, employment and educational credentials to earn the required points to enter New Zealand as a skilled immigrant. By contrast, immigrants entering under the business category were able to invest their capital in a business and operate it for two years without having to sit the English language test. Over half (56.8%) of Korean immigrants in the LisNZ used the business category as their way to gain permanent residence in New Zealand. Although not reflected by the participants in this research, many Indian immigrants in the LisNZ also entered New Zealand through family sponsorship, particularly women (Table 7).

### Table 7 Category of Permanent Residence for Participants of Indian Nationality in the LisNZ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>MEN (%)</th>
<th>WOMEN (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Principal</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Secondary</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Sponsored</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>44.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Suppressed for reasons of confidentiality

Around a third of employers (28.6%) and employees (35%) had entered New Zealand prior to obtaining permanent residence. Some came as tourists (one employer and one employee) while others came on a temporary work visa (one employer and three employees) or as students (two employees). When the employees in our study were asked how long they had spent working in New Zealand prior to obtaining their permanent residence, the average response was just over 12 months. These rates are significantly lower than those for the Korean participants interviewed in our previous report, amongst which 92.9 percent of employers and 95 percent of employees had entered New Zealand on temporary visas and had worked in New Zealand for an average of two years before obtaining permanent residency (Meares, Ho, Peace & Spoonley, 2010b).

However, while the results from this study show that two-thirds of participants obtained permanent residence before arriving in New Zealand, they may not be typical of Indian immigrants in general. Results from the LisNZ show that nearly 80 percent of Indian
immigrants had spent time in New Zealand before gaining permanent residence and a large proportion of these people (73%) had been employed. The remainder entered as students or tourists. This illustrates the increasing tendency for immigrants in OECD nations like New Zealand to work or study in the destination country before becoming permanent residents (Bedford, Ho & Bedford, 2010; Department of Labour, 2009a; 2009b).

Table 8  Temporary Visas to New Zealand

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entering New Zealand on temporary visa:</th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tourist</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turning now to education levels, just over 60 per cent of all the participants in the study had bachelor’s degrees or higher qualifications, significantly greater than the 16 percent of Auckland’s New Zealand-born population. According to the 2006 census, recent Indian immigrants are the most highly qualified of the five main immigrant groups in New Zealand; nearly half had a Bachelor’s degree or higher qualification. This is compared to 34 percent of recent British immigrants and 22 percent of recent Korean immigrants.

Table 9  Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree or Higher</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of participants were married. In terms of religion, most participants were Parsee or Hindu. Ten percent of employees were Muslim and 15 percent said they held other religious beliefs. With respect to ethnicity, many participants describe themselves as Indian, although a
significant number identified themselves by their religious faith or by their specific Indian ethnicities such as Parsee, Zoroastrian, Maharashtrian, Punjabi and Gujarati.

Table 10  Marital Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Facto</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/Separated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11  Religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parsee</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12  Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Employers (%)</th>
<th>Employees (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other(^{15})</td>
<td>14.3(^{16})</td>
<td>45(^{17})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{15}\) ‘Other’ ethnicities identified include Parsee, including Zoroastrian Parsee, Maharashtrian, Punjabi Indian and Gujarati.

\(^{16}\) Total does not add up to 100 percent because of missing responses to this question.

\(^{17}\) Total does not add up to 100 percent because of missing responses to this question.
LANGUAGE

There is a minimum standard of English required for most immigrants entering New Zealand through the skilled or business visa categories (Department of Labour, 2009b), reflecting the general consensus in the literature that English language proficiency is an important predictor of employment post-migration (Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2006; Foroutan, 2008; Winkelmann, 1999).

Overall, Indian immigrants are competent English language communicators. All of the participants who answered the question on language said they could read a newspaper, write a letter and hold an everyday conversation in English. In contrast to other Asian immigrants such as those from China and Korea, many also said that English was one of the languages they spoke best and that it was often spoken at home. When asked to rate their English language proficiency, over half of all participants said that they spoke, read and understood English ‘very well’. Nearly 60 percent of employers and 55 percent of employees reported that they could speak English very well while the remainder said they could speak it well or quite well. Similar percentages were reported in regard to how well participants were able to read and communicate in English. None of the participants said that they were poor or very poor communicators in the English language.

HOME COUNTRY EMPLOYMENT

Participants were asked about the last job they had before they migrated to New Zealand. From the information supplied, it looks as though only two of the employers owned their own businesses in India before migrating to New Zealand while others were executives, managers, housewives and students. Male employees were scientists, accountants, engineers and managers while female employees were lecturers, administrators and secretaries, web programmers, students and housewives.

Only five percent of employees were managers prior to migration, while a significant proportion were professionals (25%) and clerical or administration workers (30%). Nearly 30 percent of employees who were in paid employment prior to arrival in New Zealand were managing other

18 Participants were asked to assess their level of spoken English on a scale of one to five, where one is ‘I speak English very well’ and five is ‘I speak English very poorly’.
workers as part of their job. Another 28.6 percent of employers and 25 percent of employees were not involved in paid work in India – they were either students or housewives. All of these participants were women. Employers worked longer hours in their pre-migration job compared to employees: employers worked an average of 56.7 hours while employees worked an average of 40.4 hours.

**ASSETS AND INCOME**

Overall, the results from this section of the survey paint a picture of relatively low to middle incomes and varying degrees of financial hardship after the participants’ arrival in New Zealand. Employers had higher rates of home ownership than employees – 71.4 percent compared to 55 percent. All of the employers who owned their own home had mortgages while, for employees, this figure sat at 91.7 percent. Only 28.6 percent of employers and 35 percent of employees contributed to a superannuation scheme. While only 14.3 percent of employers owned assets (other than their own home) in New Zealand and overseas, the figures for employees was considerably higher. Some 50 percent of employees owned other assets in New Zealand and 35 percent owned assets overseas. ¹⁹

We also asked participants how well their total income met their everyday needs and found that there were significant differences between the groups. While 71.4 percent of employers said their income met their needs ‘very well’ or ‘quite well’, only 30 percent of employees replied the same way. Employees were more likely to say that their income adequately met their everyday needs (65%). Encouragingly, only 3.7 percent of all participants said their income ‘quite poorly’ met their needs, while no one stated that the lowest scale of ‘very poorly’ applied.

When asked whether they were financially better or worse off in New Zealand than immediately prior to their migration, however, more employees (70%) than employers (42.9%) responded ‘much better off’ or ‘a little better off’. This indicates that although employers felt that their income better met their everyday needs than it did for employees, employees felt better off in New Zealand than in India. Only five percent of employees stated that they were ‘a little worse off’ and 14.3 percent of employers felt ‘much worse off’. Nearly a third of employers and 20 percent of employees said that they regularly used their savings, or interest from savings, to meet their everyday needs for things like housing, food, clothing and other necessities. Employees were also asked to indicate their personal income bracket, with options ranging

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¹⁹ One participant did not answer this question.
from $1-5,000 through to $100,000+. Thirty percent of participants did not wish to answer this question but, of those who did, two-thirds earned $35,000 or less before tax in the 12 months prior to the survey. Only 14.3 percent of participants who answered the question earned more than $50,000 per year.

Turning now to income support, one employer and six employees had received some form of government assistance in the previous 12 months. The majority of employees receiving assistance claimed the accommodation supplement (66.6%), while the remainder received working for families (16.6%) and paid parental leave (16.6%). None of the participants had claimed the unemployment benefit in the last 12 months.

The information presented so far in the report has been drawn from the closed questions in the interview schedule. Overall, our data shows that participants are predominantly married, well-educated and skilled immigrants who are employed across a range of occupational groups but concentrated mostly in retail. The research also points to the residential clustering of the Indian community and the survey findings highlight good fluency in English, relatively low to middle levels of income, and evidence of downward shifts in occupational status since arrival in New Zealand. The following sections discuss the findings from the more detailed open-ended questions where participants were encouraged to talk more freely with the interviewers. Three broad areas are covered under these findings: hopes and dreams; experiences of discrimination; and relationships, home life and leisure.

HOPES AND DREAMS

Participants were asked about the hopes and dreams they had for their migration to New Zealand. Our interviewees’ most common responses were lifestyle, wanting a better future for their children, and to live in a clean, pollution-free environment. These migration motives (or very similar ones) also appear on the list of the most common reasons given by participants in the LisNZ (Department of Labour, 2009b). Participants also talked about wanting to live in a safe country that was free from corruption while others thought New Zealand would provide employment and educational opportunities.

Migrants who move for lifestyle reasons are being increasingly defined in the academic literature as ‘lifestyle migrants’ (see, for example, Benson & O’Reilly, 2009). The phrase has been used to describe retirement migration (to warmer, sunnier destinations) and urban to rural migration. However, more recently the definition is being enlarged to include those who seek better opportunities for themselves and their children in terms of escape from heavily industrialised or urbanised cityscapes or a search for residential, educational or recreational opportunities that may not be available in the source country.
a) **LIFESTYLE**

References to lifestyle were primarily focused on having a better quality of life, with more access to amenities and facilities, less stress and being able to spend time with their families. Participant response included statements such as:

- *A much better standard of life – [New Zealand has] got a lot of facilities such as public swimming pools, tennis courts.*

- *Better lifestyle – we wanted to live in a developed country. For example, water is available here 24 hours; it’s a luxury in India. It’s hassle-free in New Zealand.*

- *Away from the rat race, Indians are very competitive. Because of the over-population you have to fight to get good jobs.*

- *Better living standards. Back home we did not have a house, we lived in a sanatorium. Since me and my husband were working, my husband worked in Bombay at [a hotel] whereas I had to live with my in-laws in Ahmedabad. I worked there and my son was looked after by my in-laws. My husband would come and visit once a month.*

- *Better living. Financially you will be better off - in India I spent a lot of time on my work and earned very little. Quiet and peaceful in New Zealand.*

b) **CHILDREN’S EDUCATION**

Many participants said that improving their children’s educational opportunities was a key motivation in their decision to migrate to New Zealand. Some commented that the educational opportunities were better in New Zealand, especially when compared to the ‘quota’ system in India. The quotes below illustrate these sentiments.

- *Came for a better education for the children.*

- *Children’s educational opportunities are better in New Zealand.*
Good education for my daughter. I don’t have to pay a hefty sum in donations. She will get world class education. Auckland University is very famous; she can then explore the world. My son would have a wider choice of fields he can specialise in.

I came for the better life and future prospects of my children. In India, there are quotas for the scheduled caste and tribes - thus even if a person has got 50 percent he will get admission into engineering because he is a scheduled caste and the boy who has scored 90 percent won’t get admission ... so admission is not on merit which is very frustrating for parents.

c) A CLEAN ENVIRONMENT

Part of wanting a better quality of life also included a desire to live in a clean and pollution-free environment. Many participants felt that New Zealand offered this lifestyle.

I want to live in a country without pollution.

New Zealand is clean, pollution-free country.

New Zealand has no pollution and is a safer environment than India, no corruption, riots, no water shortage in New Zealand.

d) A SAFER ENVIRONMENT

Participants also spoke of wanting to live in a safe place, free not only from crime but also from corruption. In this sense, safety also extended to wanting to live in a more democratic country where the government looks after people and where there is less greed and bureaucracy.

Corruption is very high in India.

Crime-free society.

No corruption, less greed in New Zealand.
Less corruption, less bureaucracy.

The government should take care of us when we retire. In India they don’t. Hassle free living style in New Zealand.

e) EDUCATIONAL AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

In addition to hopes for improving their children’s education and employment prospects, participants also wanted to improve their own levels of education and work through their migration to New Zealand. Not surprisingly, these comments were more marked for younger migrants or for those who were students in India.

Better opportunity for higher studies.

I would have the opportunity to do further studies in my field as there is no reservation of seats system in New Zealand. In India, there is a system of certain quota of reserved seats for the scheduled caste thus we common people have to get very high marks to get admission to college.

I hoped to find a good job.

Construction was my childhood dream. My father wouldn’t support me. So I came to New Zealand to work in the construction field.

DISCRIMINATION

We asked the participants about their perceptions and experiences of discrimination since arriving in New Zealand. The overall results suggest that the majority of our participants have experienced some form of discrimination since they arrived in New Zealand. For our respondents, most of these experiences happened in the workplace. Some interviewees felt that despite their qualifications and experience, they were overlooked for positions and treated unfairly by managers and staff at their workplace. The quotes below illustrate these experiences.
In the start, there were problems. When I started my job, I had more experience than my manager. I used to make suggestions frequently on how we did things in India. Some people in the office took offence to that as they did not like being told how to run the business. I was made redundant and the General Manager post was given to the lady who was not at all helpful to the staff.

I know I have a very high education and degrees but I still have to prove myself because I come from a developing country. They don’t think I will fit into the office environment. Sometimes they have never had Indian clients. Their clients may want a fair skinned person.

At work, my colleague who is British, gets paid much more than me even though I am performing much higher than him.

I overheard my employer telling someone else “there should be less Asians on the checkouts, they should be arranging displays in the bakery”.

These perceptions and experiences of discrimination extended beyond staff and work colleagues. Some participants felt that clients would not give them business due to their immigrant status, while others experienced verbal abuse or felt ignored by customers.

I feel at work some clients don’t give me a lot of business because I am an Indian and I am an immigrant. They don’t trust I can deliver the goods.

When I started in the real estate business, [someone] who I knew wanted to sell a house. The Kiwi woman wrinkled her nose at me and said, “I wouldn’t list it with you”. This was very insulting to me.

At my Burger King job, I have been cursed “bloody Indian” when a customer got angry.

At checkouts, the customer will look at your name and then behave. If you wish them “good morning”, they won’t reply.

Many participants also expressed their frustration with trying to find employment and felt that
they were discriminated against because they were Indian.

*When looking for a job, my wife was told “only white people will be given more of a chance”.*

*When the resumé says I am from India, I won’t get a job. I see the same ads coming up after a few days even though I have the qualifications and I was rejected.*

Given the nature of these comments, it is not surprising to learn that when participants were asked about their perception of the level of discrimination in a range of different circumstances, the workplace topped the list. Sixty percent of employees believed that immigrants faced some discrimination at work, while the rate for employers was similar at 57.1 percent. However, a further 15 percent of employees felt there was ‘a lot’ of discrimination at work, bringing the total percentage of employees who thought that immigrants face some or a lot of discrimination at work to 75 percent. These results, coupled with the experiences expressed in the quotes above, warrant concern and are supported by research conducted by *The Global Indian*, a leading Indian magazine in New Zealand. Their survey found that almost two in three Indians felt they had been discriminated against during the recruitment process or at work (*The Global Indian*, 2006).

With regard to discrimination in the media, 28.6 percent of employers felt there was ‘some’ discrimination while for employees, this figure was 35 percent. Just five percent of employees thought there was a lot of discrimination in the media in New Zealand. When asked whether they thought immigrants experienced discrimination in organisations such as banks or government departments, 14.3 percent of employers felt there was ‘some’, while the percentage for employees was higher at 25 percent.

Results differed, however, with regard to participants’ beliefs about the discrimination immigrants experience on the street. Only 14.3 percent of employers believed that immigrants experienced some discrimination on the street while 40 percent of employees felt that immigrants experienced some or a lot of discrimination in this area. While this result is much lower than for the Korean immigrants in our previous study, it is still concerning. Furthermore,
42.9 percent of employers and 40 percent of employees\textsuperscript{25} felt they had experienced some form of discrimination because of their immigrant status.

**RELATIONSHIPS, HOME LIFE AND LEISURE**

Although the Integration of Immigrants Programme focuses largely on the labour market experiences of immigrant employers and employees, we are also very interested in other aspects of our respondents’ lives. For example, we asked several questions about participants’ home lives and the way they spend their leisure time and, in this section, we discuss a number of common themes that emerged from interviewees’ responses to these questions. To begin, we provide a brief introduction to the family members and networks present in New Zealand prior to participants’ arrival, those who migrated with them and those who have arrived subsequently.

**RELATIONSHIPS**

While two-thirds of all of participants migrated with family members, the survey results suggest that it was not unusual for the husband to arrive first, get a job, and be followed at a later date by his wife and children. This happened in nearly 30 percent of cases in this study.

In the years following migration, 42.9 percent of employers and 60 percent of employees had other family members migrate and join them in New Zealand. As discussed above, many of these newcomers were participants’ wives and children, while others were siblings, in-laws, uncles, aunties and cousins. Only 10 percent of participants assisted people outside the family to migrate, including family friends and very distant relatives.

Interviewees were asked what friendships and relationships were important to them in New Zealand. The majority spoke about the significance of friends and family although a few said that they had few relatives or friends in New Zealand.

*Friends are very important and they are now family. We help each other out in difficult situations.*

*Friends circle – they are helpful. Social get-togethers are very important.*

\textsuperscript{25} Three employees did not answer this question.
We don’t have real friends in New Zealand. We just know a few people.

When asked what friendships and relationships were important to them overseas, most interviewees talked about their family members and friends who were still living in India. Later in the interviews, many commented that they missed these family and friends.

I miss meeting up with my family and friends.

No emotional support and guidance from elderly family members.

We were also interested in the ways in which interviewees kept in touch with friends and family, both here in New Zealand and overseas. The majority of participants said that they maintained their New Zealand relationships face-to-face or on the telephone. Only a small percentage of participants (7.4%) used email to maintain their New Zealand relationships. Looking at respondents’ overseas relationships, the most common way of communicating with friends and family was the telephone (90% of employees and 100% of employers), followed by email (70% of employees and 42.9% of employers) and Skype® 26 (15% of employees and 14.3% of employers).

HOME LIFE

We asked interviewees to tell us about their daily lives, firstly in India and then in New Zealand. The common themes that emerged from an analysis of employers’ and employees’ responses were strongly gendered. Men’s lives in India and New Zealand tended to revolve around their paid work. In India, men often worked long hours. Despite this, many spoke of enjoyable social lives and less pressure to help out at home because of extended families and servants. The lack of friends or a social life in New Zealand was an issue that came up often. There were mixed responses to work stress in New Zealand: while some men found work in New Zealand less stressful, others found it more pressured. Obviously, this was dependent on their personal experiences of work in both India and New Zealand.

For women who were in paid employment in India, their daily lives pre and post-migration were similar in the fact that they involved balancing the needs of their families with the

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26 Skype is a software application that allows videoconferencing over the internet.
demands of their work. However, like some of the male participants, many commented that one significant difference between life in New Zealand and India was the lack of help with childcare, housework and cooking. This impacted on their daily lives and the time spent with family and friends. A number of the women did not work in India but had taken up jobs in New Zealand in order to provide extra income. These women had extra challenges and responsibilities that they had not had prior to migration.

We look first at men's daily lives in India and New Zealand. Deepak\textsuperscript{27}, a manager in India and owner of a café in New Zealand, finds life less stressful in New Zealand.

\textit{Very hot and humid conditions [in India]. Life is easier here. You are your own boss.}

Ashwin, who worked in the IT industry in India and who owns a computer business in New Zealand, felt that life in New Zealand was more relaxed and peaceful.

\textit{In India, I used to work longer hours but somehow I did not find it as hectic because we had servants to do the housework and a driver. Worked Monday to Friday and half a day on Saturday. Started work at 9:30am and finished at 7:00pm every day, and went to bed at 11:00pm. There was a lot of corruption in business. We struggled in recovering our payments in our business. There were also huge traffic jams we faced on a daily basis of up to two hours.}

\textit{In New Zealand, life is much better, no tensions. In New Zealand, we don’t have persons or servants to do all the odd jobs. I start work at 9:30am to 6:00pm and go to bed at 11:00pm. Life is more relaxed here, less pollution and traffic is more peaceful.}

Sanjay, however, was typical of other male participants who felt that life in India was more relaxing because they had more time to spend with friends and less pressure at home due to support from an extended family. He worked as a scientist in India and works in sales in New Zealand.

\textit{My job in India was more relaxing. I did not have so much work pressure. I could take longer lunch breaks and could talk longer on the phone. I was working Monday to Saturday from 10am to 6pm; I had flexibility of work timings. I could socialise with friends much more till late in the evening. I lived in a joint family and everything was taken care of.}

\textsuperscript{27} All names used are pseudonyms.
Even though I work less hours in New Zealand [8am-5pm], my social life has come to a standstill as I don’t get the time to socialise with friends. After 6pm, everything shuts down here. Friends are also busy over the weekend with housework. Here it is a question of survival, I have to pay the rent, my wife is expecting for the second time.

We turn now to women’s daily lives in India and New Zealand. Prior to migration, women talked about managing their paid work, housework and childcare responsibilities, often with the assistance of paid help or extended family. After migration, women talked about the added pressures of life without this kind of assistance. Like the men in this study, many also spoke about their lack of social lives in New Zealand.

Amrita, a lecturer in India and a tutor and merchandiser in New Zealand, described her daily routine pre and post-migration. She worked long hours in India, but felt she was now also ‘a maid’ in New Zealand.

>In India] Woke up at 6am and cooked breakfast and got ready. Leave at 10am for work, commuting time one hour to my job. 11am to 4pm – work giving tuitions and teaching computers. 5pm I come home. From 6pm to 8pm, lecturer at law school. 9pm, I come home. No working on weekends.

>In New Zealand] Get up at 5:30am and make breakfast and pack lunch for husband and daughter. Drop children to childcare. Get home at 2pm. After collecting my son, collect daughter from school. Cooking and cleaning, then sleep at 10pm. On weekends I work as a merchandiser. Saturdays – 5am to 8am in the morning; Sunday evenings I work 5pm to 8:30pm.

Now I am a maid – on call servant – a cook. In India, it was all taken care of.

In India, Nisha worked 9am to 5pm and half a day on Saturdays but had a maid to help with the housework. In New Zealand, however, she feels life is busier.

> I work in the evenings when the family is home and I work on Saturdays too so I only get Sundays with my family. It’s quite hectic because we don’t have help here with the housework.
Shreya also felt there was less time for family and social gatherings in New Zealand.

*In India, I had an 8am-4pm job, so I interacted and ate with my family. I could barge into any friend’s house. We were socialising much more in India, every month there would be festivals.*

*[In New Zealand] I feel I don’t have much time for my family because we all have different shifts. We only meet on Sundays. We hardly meet up with friends. I come home at 10pm.*

For those women not involved in paid work in India, their pre and post-migration lives were quite different. However, several participants commented that despite the busier workload, they have enjoyed gaining confidence and independence in New Zealand.

Varsha, who was a housewife in India and a baker in New Zealand, explains.

*I was a housewife in India. I only looked after the house. I lived in the Punjab, North India. In my family girls don’t work. My father pampered me very much.*

*In New Zealand I had to start working for the first time. I now have a greater responsibility as I look after my home and work. I enjoy this because I meet many more people. I have grown in confidence and now I have earned respect from my family back in India as I am working and helping my husband financially.*

Shanti, who was a housewife in India and is a checkout operator in New Zealand, describes the difference between her daily routines.

*In India, we have elders’ support and servant systems. I got more time to myself. I had a more relaxed life in India. I woke up at 7am, and did part of the household chores.*

*In New Zealand, you have to do everything yourself. I don’t get time for myself. I do all the household work with no help. I depend on myself and my husband. I have gained more confidence living and working in New Zealand.*
Participants were asked what activities - other than work - they regularly made time for over the course of a week. Interviewees said that they enjoyed sporting activities, such as swimming, basketball, badminton and squash. They also liked to watch movies, both English and Indian, either at home or at the cinema, and do family-oriented activities such as going to the beach. Religious activities were also important to many participants, such as prayer meetings and visiting the temple. However, participants also noted that there was a lack of time for leisure and religious activities and prioritised their children’s sports and activities over their own.

*We visit the temple once every few months.*

*Temple every Saturday. Attend religious functions.*

*I can’t do my Friday prayers [namaz] anymore because I am working at that time.*

*No time for religious, sports, cultural activities.*

*Weekends watch Hindi and English movies on DVD.*

*Every Saturday night watch movies at our friend’s house.*

*Don’t have time for sports or to go to Indian festivals.*

*Take my son for swimming and cricket.*

*Take my son to soccer on weekdays. Take him for cricket on weekends.*

*The only activity I have time for is to watch my daughter play netball. I don’t socialise much as my husband works in the night too.*
INDIAN EMPLOYERS

Between them, the seven employers interviewed for the study owned a total of eight businesses established between 2000 and 2008. Only one participant started their initial business the same year they obtained permanent residence, while two started their businesses one to two years later. The remaining three interviewees established their businesses five to six years after they were granted permanent residence. Two of the enterprises were sole proprietorships and four were partnerships. The remaining two were private limited companies. With respect to industry, six were in retail (4) or accommodation and food (2), with the remainder in other services (1) and rental, hiring and real estate services (1). One of the retail businesses also provided technical support services. Both of the women employers owned businesses with their husbands.

The businesses employed an average of three paid employees, the majority of whom were not family members. However, 71.4 percent of employers had a family member working in the business without wages or salary and these were mostly wives. Employers work long hours: between 35 and 80 hours per week in their businesses, with an average of 52 hours per week. Half work 50 hours per week or more.

STARTING OUT

Participants gave a range of reasons for establishing businesses in New Zealand. Two said they had always intended to start a business in New Zealand while others said that they had a desire to be self-employed. Other reasons included a partnership dispute, a redundancy from a previous job, knowledge of a particular industry, and because self-employment offered better financial rewards.

It’s good to be your own boss. My earlier business gave me the confidence to start this business.

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28 Two women and five men.
29 One employer did not provide information on when he arrived in New Zealand.
30 One employer said his wife worked in his business 36-40 hours per week, while he worked there on the weekends. These hours were not included in the average figures.
Redundancy from old job. Sick and tired of old job. Racism at old job.

In contrast to the Chinese and Korean immigrants in our previous reports, none of the participants had undertaken any form of training in New Zealand before they started their own businesses. These results mirror the data from the LisNZ which showed that just 3.2 percent of Indian immigrants completed a post-school qualification between Wave One of the survey, six months post-migration, and Wave Two which occurred 18 months later. For Chinese immigrants, this figure stood at 12.7 percent.

Interviewees were shown a long list of organisations and individuals and asked which were most helpful to them during the start-up phase of their businesses. Two of the participants commented that no one provided them with business help while the remaining participants listed friends, their bank, an accountant and assistance from business partners.

**Employment Transitions**

All of the employers had worked as paid employees in New Zealand prior to owning their own businesses. These jobs included working at fast food restaurants (2), a supermarket (1), as a hairdresser (1) and in industries related to their previous experience in India (2). One employer did not wish to talk about his previous job. There is evidence of downward occupational mobility between their work in India and their first job in New Zealand (see Table 13). Of the seven employees we interviewed, two were not in the labour force immediately prior to their migration from India. The remaining five were all managers in some capacity (one was self-employed with 20 employees), responsible for as many as 50 staff. Immediately after their migration, none of the participants found managerial work, while there was an increase in the proportions of technicians and trades workers, sales workers and labourers.
When we compare participants’ employment in their home country to their current employment in New Zealand, only two employers were engaged in business activities directly related to their previous work experience in India. For example, one participant worked for a company in India and now owns a similar repair and wholesale business in Auckland; and one participant who owned a business in India now owns and manages a similar business in New Zealand. Two participants were not in the work force in India – one was a housewife and one a student. Initially, the housewife found work in New Zealand but now runs a business with her husband; while the student in India went from working in a supermarket to being involved in restaurant and Indian food businesses in New Zealand. The remaining employers embarked on different employment paths in New Zealand compared to their work in India. For example, one participant was a manager/team leader of a finance-related company in India but now runs a retail business in Auckland. However, given the nature of the interviews, it is difficult to say if and how participants used their previous work experience in these new ventures in New Zealand.

One of the key policy and academic questions about immigrant business owners, and an important focus of the Integration of Immigrants Programme, is the extent to which business ownership is the result of migrants’ thwarted labour market ambitions. This small study cannot conclusively answer this question. However, of those in paid employment pre-migration, all started their own businesses after experiencing some downward occupational mobility in the transition between India and their first job in New Zealand. In addition, business ownership was perceived as a pathway to improved financial security.

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31 Due to low participant numbers, this information is reported as a total figure rather than percentages.
32 Totals exceed the number of participants because responses indicate management role and business ownership pre-migration. In addition, while all of the participants who were in paid employment pre-migration managed staff in some capacity, two also identified other occupations.
You have more money when you start your own business.

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

We asked respondents about the difficulties (if any) they experienced in the start-up phase of their businesses and also about the strategies they used to overcome these obstacles. Participants did not indicate that they had many problems and those who did experience difficulties did not go into much detail about them. Unlike other Asian immigrants, none of the Indian employers had difficulties communicating in English. Similarly, none of the seven employers had any difficulty obtaining finance although one participant said that they had trouble setting up a bank account for their company because they were new immigrants.

The small number of participant employers produced some conflicting information about the kinds of difficulties that were experienced. One participant said that they had trouble attaining accurate information from the landlord of their business premises, commenting that the landlord was not very forthcoming. However, no further explanation was given as to why this was the case. Another participant said that finding suitable business premises proved challenging and that they had some issues obtaining resource consent and a code of compliance. However, as quoted below, another participant noted that 'council requirements were no problem', and, in fact, was particularly positive about the help they received from various organisations or agencies.

The New Zealand government are very helpful compared to India. Council requirements were no problem. Whatever problems you have with the IRD or council, they were very helpful.

Another employer had difficulties employing staff due to a problem with visas, commenting that the New Zealand government ‘took their own sweet time’ in processing the visas and resolving the issue.

The absence of details regarding difficulties in establishing businesses in New Zealand suggests that our seven employers had few serious problems in this area. However, the largely positive

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33 Given English has the status of a subsidiary official language of India that is often used for official work, these findings are, perhaps, unsurprising.
responses might also have been due to a failure, on the part of the interviewer, to probe deeper into the employers’ comments, asking for clarification, explanations or examples to elicit a more detailed response.

**ADVICE**

Participants’ responses to the following question provide an insight into their perceptions of the challenges immigrant business owners face and the strategies they believe will lead to success.

If you were giving advice to another new migrant starting up in business in New Zealand, what are the three main things you would say?

Their advice was varied and ranged from financing and 'starting small', to the skills required to be a successful business owner. Here are some of the responses:

- **Double check all the information given to you by your Chartered Accountant.**
- **Get a job first and learn the Kiwi way – the culture, the work ethic.**
- **Start small – don't invest all your resources in your business.**
- **Have at least 20% deposit for your business.**
- **This is a country where businesses can survive. Honesty is the best policy; you must deliver on what you say. When sending a quote always attach the terms and conditions.**
- **He should be more courageous to start, otherwise do a job. You need confidence to set up your own business.**
- **He needs to have good customer relation skills. Don’t get involved in any illegal matters. Work on quality.**
**BUSINESS CONTACTS**

**EMPLOYEES**

We asked employers about the ethnicity, religion and languages spoken by and with their employees, suppliers and customers. Each question has a number of possible responses and the total figures, therefore, do not add up to 100 percent. For example, all of the respondents in the study employed Indian workers, 33.3 percent employed Kiwis, 16.7 percent employed Chinese and 50 percent employed people of other ethnicities. However, this does not mean that 100 percent of all the staff employed by respondents were Indian, only that all respondents employed at least one Indian employee.

Participants’ employees all spoke English and each said that the main language they use to communicate with their workers is English. With regard to religion, four of the participants (57.1%) did not know their employees’ religion or did not answer the question. The remaining employers stated that their employees were Hindu, Parsee, Catholic and Gujarati.

**SUPPLIERS**

Turning now to the ethnicity of participants’ suppliers, 85.7 percent had at least one Kiwi supplier, 42.9 percent had at least one Indian supplier and 28.6 percent had at least one Chinese supplier. In addition, more than 50 percent had suppliers from other ethnicities, in particular from South Africa and Britain. Participants reported that all of their suppliers spoke English.

**CUSTOMERS**

Interviewees’ businesses all had Kiwi customers while 57.1 percent had Indian customers, 28.6 percent had Chinese customers and 28.6 had British customers. Over half of employers said that their customers were also of various other ethnicities. Not surprisingly, employers reported that all customers spoke English, further supporting the conclusion that Indian businesses operate within an English-speaking environment. Indeed, all participants thought it was very important to speak English in their business.
**OTHER CONTACTS**

We also asked participants about their business contacts and relationships, both in New Zealand and overseas. Only two said that contacts from home were important to the running of their businesses here in New Zealand. For example, one employer explained that his brother-in-law in India helps him out with IT support because the technicians in New Zealand ‘don’t know what they are doing’. Only one participant said that they travelled internationally to support their business, either to India or elsewhere, although this trip was not made within the previous 12 month period.

In contrast to the lack of importance afforded to overseas contacts, 85.7 percent of employers said that their New Zealand contacts were essential to their businesses. Many said that they were important for sourcing information, getting referrals and gaining more customers or clients.

*My contacts are very important. They spread the word about the service I offer. That is how I get more clients.*

Interestingly, only one stated that these local contacts were members of their own ethnic community. This was in contrast to our Korean and Chinese employers who relied heavily on contacts from within their own communities to support and help them in their businesses (Meares, Ho, Peace & Spoonley, 2010a; 2010b).

Three of the participants had joined local business associations that were directly related to their business: the Motor Trade Association; the Real Estate Agents Authority; and the Restaurant Association.

**USING THE INTERNET**

All of the employers interviewed used the internet to support their business. The most common purposes were to search for information about products or services; to place advertisements for their businesses; and to buy materials or products. Employers also used the internet for banking purposes.
When certain parts are not available through our New Zealand contacts I go on to the internet and import them from the UK. It was a much cheaper option. The part came in ten days.

Properties are advertised on the internet so internet is a must. We undertake a lot of communication with current and potential clients and customers. We also source a lot of information on properties.
INDIAN EMPLOYEES

INITIAL JOBS

Employees were asked a number of questions about their New Zealand labour market experiences, in particular about their initial and current jobs. Looking first at employees' initial jobs, none had arranged this work pre-migration. A significant proportion (65%) had been granted permanent residence before they started work while the remaining participants took between five months and two years and an average of just over a year before they became permanent residents.\footnote{One participant did not answer this question.} With respect to industry, the majority of participants worked either in retail (50%) or the accommodation and food industry (35%), while the remainder worked in manufacturing (10%) and agriculture, forestry and fisheries (5%). Although 75 percent of the participants had found their initial job within the first two months, 15 percent took between six and eight months.

When we compare our interviewees' occupational status in their current New Zealand job with their first job and their home country occupations (see Table 14), we can see that they have experienced considerable downward occupational mobility during their transition into the labour market in New Zealand. In their first job, participants worked predominantly as sales workers (80%), even though none had worked in sales in India. The remainder worked as labourers (10%), professionals (5%) or clerical or administration workers (5%). Fifty percent remained as sales workers in their current job although some found better sales roles or were promoted within their companies. In India, 30 percent of our participants were employed as either managers or professionals, while in New Zealand, that proportion fell to five percent at the first job before rising to 20 percent at the time of interview. However, it is interesting to note that three participants, who were professionals or administrators at the time of the interview, worked second jobs as sales workers in the retail industry, usually on the weekends. This brings the percentage of participants who work in sales to 65 percent.
Table 14  Employees’ Occupational Mobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>INDIA (%)</th>
<th>FIRST JOB (%)</th>
<th>CURRENT JOB (%)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians and Trades Workers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and Personal Service Workers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and Administrative Workers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Workers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in the labour force</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An examination of occupational data from the LisNZ provides some context to the experiences of our research participants. The data supports the suggestion that Indian immigrants experience downward occupational mobility over the course of their migration to New Zealand. For example, 17.2 percent of Indian LisNZ participants were managers prior to migration and 50.9 percent were professionals. These percentages dropped to 11.2 percent and 28.2 percent respectively at Wave One of LisNZ. Conversely, the proportion of sales workers, technicians and trades workers and labourers all increased at Wave One. While only 5.2 percent of Indian participants in LisNZ were sales workers prior to migration, 15.4 percent were employed in this occupation at Wave One. Similarly, only 2.6 percent of Indian participants were labourers pre-migration, yet 14.4 percent found work as labourers in New Zealand at Wave One.

Data from Wave Two of LisNZ shows little change in occupation status among Indian immigrants. At Wave Two, the percentage of Indian managers had increased marginally to 11.7 percent since Wave One, while the percentage of Indian professionals had dropped marginally to 26.6 percent. The percentage of Indian sales workers had actually increased between interviews, rising from 15.4 percent at Wave One to 17 percent at Wave Two. This was particularly the case for Indian women. While the percentage of male sales workers had dropped (from 13 percent to 9.3 percent), the percentage of women sales workers increased by seven percent (from 20.5 percent to 27.5 percent). The percentage of technicians and trade workers remained steady between waves, while the proportion of labourers decreased slightly from 14.4 percent to 11.2 percent.
The relatively high incidence of downward occupational mobility among skilled Indian workers in New Zealand has been discussed elsewhere (Trlin, Henderson & North, 2004). Evidence suggests that Indian immigrants are not able to make good use of their experiences and professional qualifications upon migrating. It is common for Indian immigrants to take on jobs well below their skill-set, especially within the first years of settlement.

We turn now to our employee participants’ assessment of their first jobs in New Zealand. With respect to their initial jobs being a good match for their qualifications, only 20 percent of interviewees agreed or strongly agreed that this was the case. Just over half (55%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement while 15 percent neither agreed nor disagreed. A slightly larger proportion thought that their initial job used their skills and experience (35%), while 35 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed and 20 percent neither agreed nor disagreed.

The group also felt that they were not working in their preferred occupation during their first jobs. Just five percent thought they were working in their preferred occupation while 70 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed that this was the case. However, when asked whether their first job provided them with opportunities for career development, the group were more evenly divided (45% agreeing or strongly agreeing and 45% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing).

Only 20 percent of participants thought their first job measured up to their expectations while 40 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed and 30 percent were ambivalent. When looking at job satisfaction, however, 45 percent agreed or strongly agreed that they were satisfied with their initial job while 30 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed. The majority of participants felt they were treated fairly (70% agreed or strongly agreed) while just 15 percent disagreed. However, only 20 percent were satisfied with their pay (5% strongly agreed and 15% agreed).

Forty percent of the interviewees had received assistance in finding their first New Zealand job. When asked about this help, most participants said that their friends or family had offered them work, given them advice on finding work or introduced them to their employer. Around a third of Indian participants in the LisNZ (26.3% of men and 34.1% of women) also obtained their first New Zealand job through friends and family.

_friend who was a baker took my resumé. The owner was an Indian, he knew how Indians struggle to get jobs when they first arrive, and he offered me the job._

35 Totals do not add up to 100 percent because of missing responses to the questions on initial job satisfaction.
My friend was very useful; she spoke to the manager at Foodtown.

Friends recommended where to go.

Only 25 percent of our employee participants were still employed in their first job. Those who were not were asked why they had left. Many said they left because they were promoted or had found a better job. Others said they left because they wanted full-time work or because they wanted a job better related to their qualifications.

I left because I got a better job as a head baker.

I finished my course and wanted to find a job related to my studies.

I finished my studies. It was a part-time job.

It was not related to my field of work. I was not qualified for this job.

The remaining participants expressed dissatisfaction with their first jobs: disagreements with their employers; lack of job satisfaction or difficulties with work visas.

I got injured on the job – there was a hassle about the injury between my manager and me. The way they treated me was not good. My last rib was quite swollen. I was off work for more than one month.

I wanted to leave that job. This is the kind of job they want people to take up from other countries such as India, China and Korea.

They did not help with my work visa.

CURRENT JOBS

We now turn our attention to interviewees’ current jobs. In terms of industry, and as mentioned previously, 45 percent are in retail trade, 15 percent in manufacturing, 10 percent in health and social services, 10 percent are in accommodation and food and five percent in construction, education or financial and insurance services. With respect to occupation, the largest proportion
(50%) are sales workers, followed by technicians and trades workers (15%) and clerical and administrative workers (15%). The remainder are managers (10%) and professionals (10%). Participants’ workplaces have between one and 200 employees and an average of 54 workers. Sixty-five percent of the workplaces employed 40 employees or less. Interviewees had been in their current jobs for between one month and seven years and an average of two and a half years. Seventy-five percent were full-time and 25 percent part-time. They worked an average of 34.5 hours per week, 20 percent worked 20 hours a week or less, while 75 percent worked 40 hours per week or more. Twenty-five percent of participants managed between two and 12 other employees.

STRATEGIES

Interviewees were asked about the strategies they used to find their current job. Thirty-five percent said that they responded to a newspaper or magazine advertisement and 25 percent to an online advertisement. A quarter of participants said they found their current job through family and close friends and 20 percent sought the assistance of an employment agency. A further 45 percent said they also used other strategies such as looking in the yellow pages, calling or door knocking businesses, approaching the employer or business owner directly, and applying for in-house roles when a vacancy came up. When asked about the most successful strategy, 40 percent claimed ‘other’ methods were the most effective, such as the ones described above. A further 25 percent cited responding to online advertisements, 20 percent to utilising close family and friends and 10 percent to responding to newspaper or magazine advertisements as successful strategies.

Respondents were also asked what three strategies they would recommend to new immigrants looking for work in New Zealand. The most frequent advice was to gain New Zealand (or NZQA) qualifications or standards, to have appropriate training and to study or up-skill. Other common advice was to keep trying and be flexible, while being patient and staying positive were deemed important, as well as being willing to find employment outside your field of expertise. One participant even suggested ‘dumbing down’ qualifications in order to find work. Other advice included: being fluent in English; to build networks; learn to drive; and to learn about Kiwi culture.

36 This figure is elevated by the workplace with 200 employees. The median number of employees is 20.
37 Total does not add up to 100 percent due to multiple responses to this question.
You can’t expect to get into your field of work immediately. Be willing and open minded to get into whatever job you get. Study and get qualified to New Zealand standards because processes are quite different here to India.

Everyone should get their NZQA done before coming to New Zealand. Being fluent in the English language is very important. You should have minimum one year work experience in India before migrating to New Zealand. I feel it would make it easier to find a job.

Must have proper training and qualifications in the field where there is a shortage. You must speak good English. Honesty and sincerity - your attitude is very important, you must have a positive attitude towards the work.

Knock at the doors – don’t get frustrated. Make friends – networking helps. Mingle with Kiwis as well. How Kiwis speak English [accent] it is quite different. Find out what topics interest them – this helps you build networks. You must understand the culture and language of the land.

When respondents were asked what strategies they would use if they were searching for another job, the internet assumed far greater importance than it did when participants talked about obtaining their first job. Nearly three-quarters said that they would either place or respond to an advertisement online. A similar percentage (78.9%) said they would respond to a print advertisement. Just over half of respondents said they would register with an employment agency and nearly a third said they would approach family and friends.38

DIFFICULTIES

Seventy percent of respondents reported having difficulty finding work in New Zealand. The most common barriers identified were: lack of New Zealand experience (92.9%); no recognition of qualifications (57.1%); being overqualified (42.9%); no suitable job opportunities (35.7%); and not knowing people in the industry (35.7%).39 The lack of local experience and problems with the recognition of skills or experience were also the two most common difficulties identified by Indian participants in both Wave One and Wave Two of the LisNZ survey.

38 Total does not add up to 100 percent due to multiple responses to this question.
39 Total does not add up to 100 percent due to multiple responses to this question.
We are new to New Zealand so don’t have experience. I have a double Masters so I am over qualified. I don’t know people personally who are in my profession. I don’t know how to approach them.

I had the same experience in tourism from India. However, I did not get the job because I did not have the New Zealand experience. They recruited a Kiwi woman just because she was nicely dressed, over smart, could talk well. She had no travel experience.

I never got the hours I wanted. For example, I wanted the day shift from 9am to 5pm but I got 10pm to 6am or very early start or late finish. When I applied for the Office Assistant’s job I was told I was not qualified or over qualified.

They did not recognise my work experience. They told me my work experience does not match the New Zealand industry.

JOB SATISFACTION AND EVALUATION

Despite the fact that participants felt they were often over-qualified or lacked New Zealand experience, over half said that their education (55%) and work experience (60%) were personal attributes that helped them gain their current jobs. Another 60 percent also claimed it was their English language skills and 20 percent their personal contacts and networks. 40 When asked to rate how they felt about their current job on a scale of one to five, where ‘one’ is very happy and ‘five’ very unhappy, only five percent chose ‘very unhappy’. A quarter chose a neutral ‘three’ while the majority (65%) chose the most positive responses (‘one’ or ‘two’).41 The following quotes are illustrative of the largely positive assessment of interviewees’ job satisfaction.

I am working in the field I have experience in thus I am enjoying my work. I am getting good clients for my company and feel I am playing a positive role in the company’s development.

I love teaching. I got an opportunity in my own field. I can meet like-minded people there and I can prove myself that I am competent in what I do.

40 Total does not add up to 100 percent due to multiple responses to this question.
41 Total does not add up to 100 percent because of missing responses to this question.
I am quite happy in my current job because it's a very easy job and every day I deal with hundreds of people. Lots of people contact which I like.

It's the one on one contact with the customer. I meet people from all walks of life - I enjoy that.

Using a similar scale, where ‘one’ is very important and ‘five’ is very unimportant, 60 and 65 percent rated their current job at the positive end of the scale in terms of the interest or challenge of the work and possible career development respectively. Related to this, 80 percent of participants said that their current job made good use of their skills and experience. In contrast, however, only 45 percent of employees said that their current position made good use of their qualifications.

I don’t use my qualifications currently.

It’s under-utilising my qualifications.

I majored in Economics and Political Sciences. This is not relevant to my job today.

I have done a Bachelor’s of Science degree in India. My current job working in a pharmacy is totally different.

I have managerial and administrative skills, but it’s completely wasted because my current job is sales related which anyone can do. So my skills are completely wasted.

Other responses suggest that although some participants are often not using their formal qualifications in their current jobs, they are able to make use of a range of skills and experiences acquired over the course of their working and personal lives.

The skills in banking help me in handling the cash.

I have used my computer skills in my current job.

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42 Total does not add up to 100 percent because of missing responses to this question.
43 Total does not add up to 100 percent because of missing responses to this question.
My previous experience helps me understand my current job better.

Others are using both their formal qualifications and their skills and experience in their New Zealand work.

I have done Masters in Law and I’m teaching commercial law. What I learnt plus taught in India has helped.

I am involved in marketing which I have studied in my Bachelor’s Degree. I use my operations and management skills too.

When asked how long they intended to stay in their current jobs, 30 percent said for some time or for as long as they can, while five percent wished to leave immediately. Others said they wanted to leave in between two months and two years (the average figure was just under 10 months) and 35 percent were not sure or did not know when they wanted to leave. Forty percent of interviewees were actively looking for another job, most in Auckland but 10 percent overseas.

BUSINESS CONTACTS

Unlike the Korean and Chinese employees in our previous reports, the Indian employees in this study do not work as closely with employers and co-workers from their own ethnic group. For example, only 10 percent of participants were employed by other Indians and none of the participants spoke their native language with co-workers. In contrast, 75 percent of Korean participants were employed by Koreans and 60 percent of Chinese participants were employed by fellow Chinese. Indian participants mainly worked with Kiwis (84.2%), but also a range of other ethnicities including Indian (47.4%), Chinese (42.1%), British (42.1%) and South African (15.8%).44 Nearly 80 percent said they also worked with co-workers of other ethnicities. The majority of participants did not know their colleagues’ religious beliefs. Thinking about participants’ working environments, 95 percent of respondents said that they came into contact with people other than their colleagues in the course of their working day. Most of this group

44 Total does not add up to 100% due to multiple responses to this question.
(95%) said that they come into contact with people of several ethnicities, languages and religious groups.

Although only five percent of respondents said that contacts from their home country were important in their current job, this number rose to 30 percent for New Zealand-based contacts. Half of these New Zealand-based contacts were from the Indian community. When asked to explain the ways in which their local contacts were important, interviewees said that they provided referrals or prospective customers, and offered advice and support on work-related issues. Only three participants had joined a group, club or organisation related to their work.

TRAINING

Seventy percent of employees had participated in some form of training since they had arrived in New Zealand. The majority of this training (71.4%) was provided or funded by employers: some was compulsory (such as food safety courses or fork lift driving lessons), while other courses were for up-skilling purposes (such as computer courses or Team Leader training). A number of participants also invested in their own training or education in order to improve their employment prospects. Only 14.3 percent were engaged in training at the time of the interview.

I'm doing a Graduate Diploma in Rural Studies at Massey University to get extra skills and have an edge over competitors.

I've done a National Certificate of computing at MIT to up-skill myself in computers.

I've done a Diploma in Business Administration for better job prospects.

Almost all the respondents who had undertaken training believed that it had been useful to them for a number of reasons: it provided them with skills and knowledge; it enabled them to get an edge over others; and it was essential and useful for their job.

Local training does help because it improves my knowledge of the local industry.

45 These contacts could include co-ethnics and others.
The training was helpful because I was promoted as Manager.

Quite useful. I can implement the learnings in my every day job.
INDIAN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES

HOPES AND DREAMS: AN EVALUATION

Employers and employees were asked, at the end of the interview, to consider the hopes and dreams they had identified earlier and to reflect on the extent to which these had been realised post-migration. We start by discussing the two main themes identified by participants - lifestyle and children's education, before discussing other themes.

a) LIFESTYLE

Many participants were satisfied with their New Zealand lifestyle.

Better living conditions, better working conditions.

I am not disappointed, my dreams are realised.

Standard of life is good, lots of free facilities.

There are a lot of opportunities we would not have had in India.

Others had more mixed views about fulfilling their dreams of a better lifestyle in New Zealand.

No, my hopes are not realised. We were living in a dream world, now reality is different. We never expected it to be so hectic. My life here is more stressful and hectic.

Difficult to save money in New Zealand. Future is not secure monetary wise for the children.

b) CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

Many interviewees were happy with their children's education in New Zealand and believed their children have more opportunities here. However, one respondent felt that the education system was somewhat lacking in comparison to India.
My daughter is doing well I am happy with her progress. It is a good kindy and the education is good.

The children have a lot of different educational opportunities.

My daughter is doing well. She has achieved a lot; she's studying to be an oral health and hygiene dental nurse.

I am not happy with the education system. We cannot afford extra classes and I feel children don’t do anything at school. In India, all children had a lot of homework, they went for tuitions.

ATTAINING AND MAINTAINING ACCEPTANCE AND SATISFACTION

Respondents were also asked several other questions which together provide some insight into the way they felt about their lives in New Zealand. For example, they were asked whether they felt accepted in New Zealand and, if they did, how long it took them to feel this way. Just over 90 percent of participants who answered the question felt accepted here and nearly half (46.7%) of these interviewees said that they felt this way within six months. The remainder took an average of two years and three months to feel accepted. However, it should be noted that six participants did not answer the question on feeling accepted and 12 did not state the number of months it took to feel accepted.

Participants were also asked how satisfied they were with their current life. Just over 70 percent of employers and 75 percent of employees said that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their current life. Participants in the LisNZ were also asked about their levels of satisfaction with life in New Zealand at Waves One and Two (six months and 18 months post-arrival respectively) and their responses were slightly more positive. The percentage of Indian immigrants who were either satisfied or very satisfied at both waves was around 89 percent although the proportion rose slightly between Waves One and Two.

Examining the data from a comparative point of view, however, provides a more nuanced picture. The proportion of Indian immigrants in the LisNZ who were very satisfied with their lives in New Zealand was considerably lower than for those born elsewhere (28.6% compared to 43.4% in Wave One; 22.8% compared to 39.4% in Wave Two). There were also slight
gendered differences in satisfaction levels for Indian immigrants as well as in the changes that occurred in these figures between Waves One and Two. In Wave One, 30.3 percent of Indian men were very satisfied, a level which dropped to 24.5 percent at Wave Two. Correspondingly, the proportion of Indian men who were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied at Wave One was 1.4 percent but was too small to report for confidentiality reasons at Wave Two. The percentage of Indian women who were very satisfied with their New Zealand lives dropped from 27.6 percent at Wave One to 20.0 percent at Wave Two. Compared to men, however, levels of dissatisfaction among Indian women rose between waves, going from too small to report at Wave One to 4.2 percent at Wave Two.

These results indicate that Indian women are less satisfied with life in New Zealand compared to Indian men. This was particularly true for Indian women aged 30 and over. While this group had similar levels of satisfaction to women aged less than 30 at Wave One, at Wave Two, there were significant differences between the groups. The proportion of Indian women aged 30 and over who were very satisfied with life in New Zealand was almost half that of those aged less than 30 (16.5% compared to 31%). Similarly, 5.5 percent of Indian women aged 30 and over were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied while the number of Indian women less than 30 who felt the same way was too small to report.

Indian women's relative dissatisfaction may be due to the significant changes they have undergone in their work and home lives since they left India, as described earlier in the report. For some Indian women (especially older women who had well-established lives in India), the transition from their pre-migration lives into their post-migration lives can be very difficult, especially when it involves significant downward occupational mobility, the loss of social status and a change in gender roles. The majority of our interviewees have had to adjust to life without the support and guidance of elders, extended family and paid domestic help, and some have entered the labour market for the first time. Data from LisNZ also suggests that Indian women have not experienced any increase in occupational mobility between Wave One and Wave Two of the study. The percentage of Indian female professionals actually decreased between waves (going from 34.2% at Wave One to 28.8% at Wave Two), while Indian female sales workers increased from 20.5 percent at Wave One to 27.5 percent at Wave Two.

As Pio (2005a; 2005b) notes, in India, status is primarily afforded through birth, marriage and social networks and, secondarily, through work. However, as an immigrant, work becomes one of the only paths to recognition and achievement. The failure to secure employment, despite high education levels and experience, can be disheartening, stressful and even shameful. Pio's
research on Indian women aged over 35 in New Zealand shows that employment is central to both feelings of acceptance and to identity negotiation; and work provides meaning, money and movement into the host society. Initial negative employment experiences and the non-acceptability/recognition of qualifications can quickly detract from the positive aspects of migration and lead to feelings of dissatisfaction.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when asked what, if anything, they would change, the responses centred on employment: either changing jobs or working fewer hours to spend time with family and friends.

One of the most common responses to this question was a desire for work-related changes. Many wanted to find jobs which better suited their qualifications or were less stressful and time-consuming.

I would like to change my job. I would like to work in a science related field.

My job in banking. I want another position where the stress is not there for selling.

I would like to get a job suiting my qualifications.

My job – I would like to join a big corporate/multinational company.

However, respondents also frequently talked about wanting to spend more time with their children and families.

I would like to work less hours and spend more time with my family on the weekends.

I want to spend more time with the children. Right now I am busy studying and working.

I would like to reduce my hours of work. I would not work on Saturdays and spend more time with family.
Participants also wanted to improve their social lives. This included making more friends, spending more time with existing friends and indulging in hobbies and activities outside of work.

I want to have a better social life and spend more time with friends.

Socially, I would like more friends. I would like to indulge in more sports activities.

I wish I could work part-time so I have time for my hobbies and keeping in touch with my friends.

Other comments included: a desire for a higher salary; more holidays; less discrimination against Indians in the workplace; better weather; and to move away from New Zealand.

**POSITIVE MIGRATION OUTCOMES**

In a question which sheds further light on the participants' overall perceptions of their migration experiences, interviewees were asked about the three most positive and the three most negative things to have come out of their shift from India to New Zealand. Respondents described a wide array of positive consequences of their migration. The most frequently mentioned outcomes were centred on lifestyle and living standards, children and family, the natural environment and improvements in participants' personal sense of independence, confidence and achievement.

Better lifestyle, not crowded and no corruption. People are very friendly.

Good standard of living. We are living in a beautiful, clean environment. The government system is good – things can get done over the phone.

Kids have a good lifestyle here, no pressure of studies. My lifestyle is better here. Cars were a luxury in India; in New Zealand cars are affordable. Leisure activities are affordable.

More time to spend with family. I have better opportunities and a better lifestyle in New Zealand. For example, in India I couldn’t afford to buy a house so soon or have a car.
My confidence has grown and my English has improved. You are running the household by yourself.

I am more self-confident. I have discovered that I have hidden skills such as painting and gardening. I now make decisions independently with my husband and do not have to consult with extended family.

**NEGATIVE MIGRATION OUTCOMES**

The negative consequences of migration described by participants fell into five often inter-related areas: missing family, friends and household support in India; lack of friends, social life and time for family; work stress and low earnings; food; and discrimination.

I miss my cultural activities and friends. I miss all the support there [in India], from family and maids.

I miss my family and friends. I had to start over and take a few steps back in my job.

I have lost contact with family and friends. It’s very lonely here, you can’t enjoy time with friends all of the time, people are very busy here. I miss shopping for Indian clothes and eating a variety of Indian food available in India.

Less time for family and friends, limited time for leisure activities. Financially less better off than in India. Life is very hard, doing housework, looking after kids and a business. No support from family or maids.

I miss the variety of Indian food available in India.

My social life has decreased immensely, all places shut by 6pm. Discrimination – employers openly discriminate against people who don’t speak fluent English.

My social life has gone down. Frequency of meetings and number of friends has decreased. I have no time to myself.
Not many job opportunities. Discrimination - because I am an Indian not a Kiwi. I do not get treated on par when applying for a job.

Overall, everything has gone wrong for me. We are struggling to meet our ends. I had to use up my savings as the salary was not able to take care of my everyday needs. I am working many more hours but my basic expenses are not being met. I can’t save – the tax rate is too high.

I feel my husband could get a better job, his qualifications are not realised.

Pay is less compared to my experience and qualification. More stress in the workplace – I have a performance review every week.

WHERE TO NOW?

We asked participants a number of questions about their future plans: what work they thought they would be doing in three years; where they would be living in three years; and whether they think their children (if they had any) would be living in New Zealand over the next ten years. Employers’ most common response to the question about work plans during the next three years was that they would continue to run their own businesses. One hoped to be retired and one wanted to get into another line of work. For employees, the response was mixed. Some said they wanted to continue in their current positions while others wanted to stay in the same industry but in a different role. Some wanted to change jobs altogether.

Almost all the participants planned to be living in Auckland or elsewhere in New Zealand in three years’ time, while a small number were not sure and just one was contemplating a shift overseas. None of the participants talked about returning to India. With respect to interviewees’ opinions about their children’s plans, most said that their children were likely to remain in New Zealand although some said that they did not know and several mentioned that their children might go to Australia or live overseas.

Lastly, we asked respondents about growing old and retiring. Although the response rate to this question was poor (five responses were missing), of those who answered, 81.3 percent of employees and 66.7 percent of employers said that they imagined themselves retiring in New Zealand.
CONCLUSION

This report provides an insight into the experiences of recent India-born immigrants to Auckland. Understanding what challenges these immigrants have faced since arriving in New Zealand and understanding how they have responded to these challenges is important. It is only then that we get a sense of what works and what does not. The immigrants we spoke with struggled with occupational down-shifting and the challenge of adjusting to quite different family routines, responsibilities and gender roles. Unlike the Chinese and Korean immigrants we interviewed in our earlier reports, our Indian participants did not rely extensively on co-ethnic contacts and pre-existing networks, at least not in terms of employment. Their mostly fluent English language skills enabled them to obtain employment in more conventional ways.

This does not mean that finding employment has been smooth sailing for our Indian participants; far from it. Many spoke of the difficulties of finding work in Auckland and, in particular, of having to face discrimination, accept employment below their skill level and deal with the stress of establishing economic security. In this sense, they are more like other English-speaking immigrants, such as those from South Africa and Britain. They arrive in New Zealand as well-educated and highly skilled newcomers. Yet, unlike these groups, their employment outcomes are not as rosy. The stories described in this report illuminate the widespread presence of discrimination and point towards a general unwillingness to employ immigrants who do not as readily blend into New Zealand’s dominant Pākehā/European culture. What is admirable is our participants’ persistence and resilience despite these barriers. Many have demonstrated a pro-active approach to job hunting, embraced the chance to up-skill and retrain, and have shown a determination to make their way back up the occupational ladder.

Economic considerations have not dominated our interviewees’ reasons for choosing to move to New Zealand. Rather, they came with the hope of enjoying a better standard of living, for their children’s education, and for safety and the environment. Were these hopes and dreams fulfilled? Yes and no. The positives include lifestyle, access to facilities and amenities (such as clean water) and the education their children are receiving. However, part of enjoying a better standard of living must include economic factors. Obtaining a secure income, working reasonable hours in a suitable job and having time for family and friends are all important elements in the pursuit of quality of life. And it is these factors which were noted by our participants as some of the more negative migration outcomes.
These negative outcomes require attention because many relate to employment transitions and the reaction of the host community. It does not appear that Indian immigrants are finding work commensurate with their education, experiences and abilities. This has implications, not just at an economic level, but in the way immigrants come to feel accepted and valued. Those who find appropriate work are not only more likely to enjoy a good quality of life and integrate more readily into their communities but also to remain in New Zealand and contribute to the country’s economic future.

The material here provides insights into the experiences of Indian immigrants as they settle in Auckland and establish their lives locally. There are important lessons to be learnt. More could be done to recognise immigrant experiences and requirements, especially within the initial two years of settlement. Employers could be more sympathetic and welcoming to Indian employees and more attention could be given to explicit workplace policies which address the recruitment of immigrants. After all, migration is not simply about the adjustments made by the immigrants themselves; it is also about the way in which host communities adjust to the new residents in their midst. Addressing the issues brought to attention in this research is important to ensure better settlement outcomes for both Indian immigrants and their host communities.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


