

'NEW ZEALAND EXPERIENCE(S)':
BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES OF
PROFESSIONAL MIGRANTS ON
WORKING IN NEW ZEALAND

Research Report Series 2004/2

Patrick Firkin
with Ann Dupuis and Carina Meares

Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme
Albany and Palmerston North

ISSN: 1175-592X
ISBN: 1-877355-01-1

© Patrick Firkin - 2004.

Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme
Massey University
Private Bag 102 904
North Shore Mail Centre
AUCKLAND

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	1
INTRODUCTION	3
OVERVIEW	3
REPORT OUTLINE	4
METHODOLOGY	6
INTRODUCTION	6
BIOGRAPHIC-NARRATIVE-INTERPRETIVE METHOD	8
THE INTERVIEW	8
THE ANALYSIS	10
FRAMING THE FINDINGS	12
THE PEOPLE & THEIR BIOGRAPHIES	14
INTRODUCTION	14
COMMON ISSUES	14
INTERVIEW 1 – STEVEN	15
INTERVIEW 2 – YONG	18
INTERVIEW 3 – DINESH	19
INTERVIEW 4 – JERRY	21
INTERVIEW 5 – CHARLES	23
INTERVIEW 6 – JANE	25
INTERVIEW 7 – RAM	28
INTERVIEW 8 – PAULA	31
INTERVIEW 9 – MELODY	34
INTERVIEW 10 – DOENA	36
INTERVIEW 11	41
INTERVIEW 12 – SARALA	42

A THEMATIC ANALYSIS	46
INTRODUCTION	46
NEW ZEALAND IMMIGRATION POLICY	46
PROFESSIONALS, MIGRATION AND WORK: THE LITERATURE	49
A GENERAL OVERVIEW	49
NEW ZEALAND RESEARCH	51
PROFESSIONALS, MIGRATION AND WORK: THE STUDY FINDINGS	55
WORK AND WORKING	55
THE STRUGGLE THAT IS SETTLEMENT	60
PROFESSIONALS, MIGRATION AND NON-STANDARD WORK	64
A BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS	69
INTRODUCTION	69
BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACHES	70
BIOGRAPHICAL FLOW	70
BIOGRAPHICAL WORK	72
BIOGRAPHICAL FLOW, BIOGRAPHICAL WORK AND MIGRATION	73
CONCLUSION	77
CONCLUSION	78
THE 'BNIM' METHODOLOGY	81
REFERENCES	84
OTHER RESOURCES	87

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research programme on *Labour Market Dynamics* has been funded by the New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology from the Public Good Science Fund. The assistance of the Foundation in both the launching and maintenance of the *Labour Market Dynamics* Research Programme is gratefully acknowledged, as is the continuing support of the host institution, Massey University.

In terms of this particular study I am indebted to the thirteen men and women who generously shared their time and who so willingly and freely provided the stories that are at the heart of the research. The particular approach that I have adopted in the report means that those stories are more available to others than is often the case and, accordingly, I hope that the accounts I have rendered here do justice to the originals. I have endeavoured at all times to treat the participants' stories with the respect they deserve and if I have made any errors in reconstructing, representing or retelling your narratives, I apologise in advance. Like others who have read this material I was often moved by your experiences – what you have coped with and how you have responded. Just as many of you were motivated to take part in the research by a desire to make things different, I hope that this report will contribute to a broader and better understanding of the experiences of migrants. I hope, too, that it will help inform efforts to improve your future experiences and those of others.

I am also extremely grateful to my colleagues Ann Dupuis and Carina Meares. Both embraced this project and gave of their time, experience and knowledge, particularly to the analysis process. The demands of the methodology employed in the study mean that I could not have completed the project without their participation. The final report owes much to them, therefore, and the unusual authorship is intended to reflect this. The work of Lisa Peterson in transcribing the interviews must once again be acknowledged for this study.

Finally, as this report is likely to be the last *Labour Market Dynamics* publication that I will be involved in I want to thank the team members, and in particular Ann Dupuis, Anne de Bruin and Paul Spoonley for giving me the opportunity to be part of the Programme. That opportunity has allowed me to develop and extend my knowledge and skills in many areas. Lastly I want to say a special thank you to Eva McLaren for the knowledge and practical advice and assistance she has brought to the various projects we have been involved in, and, especially, for the tireless support and encouragement she has offered me at all times.

Patrick Firkin

INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

The Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme (LMD) is an interdisciplinary research project designed to explore and explain various dynamics of economic and labour market participation and related changes that are occurring.¹ The LMD is funded by the New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST). The first phase of the initial research programme sought to explain how individuals made decisions about access to, and participation in, the labour market, with particular emphasis on the life cycle of the household. This was initially focussed on three regions: Hawkes Bay, Waitakere and Tokoroa. While a new project exploring pathways to sustainable employment in the uncertain world of work commenced on 1 July 2003, the research reported on here represents the final qualitative inquiry of the second phase of the initial programme. That phase investigated aspects of non-standard work (NSW) in New Zealand² and as part of this the LMDRP has undertaken a number of research projects. For instance, forthcoming reports will contribute to developing a quantitative picture of NSW in this country based on statistics developed by Jamie Newell (Monitoring and Evaluation Research Associates). A range of other qualitatively-orientated studies have already been completed. These involve research with three particular groups – accountants (Perera, 2003), office temps (Alach and Inkson, 2003), and midwives (Firkin, 2003). As well, the experiences of a group of 40 knowledge workers in the greater Auckland area and 20 in the Hawkes Bay have been explored and compared (Firkin et al., 2003).³ Complementing and contrasting that last study is a recent report on the experiences of those in more traditional, lower-paid, contingent and/or precarious NSW (McLaren et al., 2004).

By way of completing the set of experiential snapshots that the LMDRP sought to build up, this report explores NSW in relation to migrants, and more specifically those migrants with professional qualifications or backgrounds. As such, the study is focused on the migrants' viewpoints and is qualitative in nature using a biographic-narrative-interpretive method. It is based on twelve unstructured interviews.

Professional migrants can interact with NSW in various ways and for a number of reasons all of which have implications for their, and their family's, settlement experience, in both the labour market and personal/familial domains. There are, for instance, occasions when NSW plays a positive role in the settlement and labour market experiences of professional migrants, and some of those interviewed for this study illustrate such instances. However, there are also many instances of migrant professionals having few, if any, alternatives but to engage in non-standard (and standard) work that is well below their qualifications and outside their experience, and which is often characterised by poor pay and conditions. While clearly such work can be a starting point or stepping stone, for many people further opportunities do not emerge. This study also recounts the stories of

¹ A list of all previous LMDRP publications is provided at the end of this report. A similar list is also available on our website: <http://lmd.massey.ac.nz> where many of the publications are available for downloading.

² Various discussions and reviews of the literature on non-standard work are presented in Butcher (2002), Firkin et al. (2002; 2003) and McLaren et al. (2004).

³ An earlier report was also released that focused solely on the Auckland sample.

people who find themselves in circumstances like these. Such accounts are also familiar from the many media accounts of doctors, engineers, scientists and the like, who end up flipping burgers, delivering pizzas, driving taxis and so on.

While it is not unusual for the final report of a study to give the impression that that “was how it was”, I want to follow a trend noted by Davidson (2003) to be more openly reflexive about the process. It is more realistic, and I would argue, more helpful, to provide an outline of the various shifts that occurred, together with something of the rationales behind them, in the initial development of this project. This is important since this study’s final form is somewhat different from that which was initially proposed. The original idea was stimulated by the difficulties professional migrants often face in gaining employment that reflects their expertise and background. This is captured in the rather clichéd notion of ‘doctors driving taxis’ (or flipping burgers and so on) as noted above. As a result of these difficulties professional migrants often find themselves in all manner of other work – much of it outside and/or below their qualifications and experience. A great deal of this work is also non-standard in nature, hence our interest. Thus, the research began with the intention of recruiting professional migrants who now drove taxis for a living (as non-standard employees or self-employed owner drivers⁴).

Given the particular orientation of the research and that its launch inadvertently coincided with an unexpected burst of publicity on issues to do with migrant taxi drivers (and taxi services more generally) as well as announcements of substantive changes to immigration policy targeted at the very group focused on in this research, it is unsurprising that the project generated quite a deal of interest. It was also unfortunate since I was already beginning to understand certain problems with the project as originally conceived. In particular, I realised that a focus on migrant professionals driving taxis would limit our sample in various ways – for instance the sample could be restricted according to the types of non-standard work, the time periods since participants had immigrated, and the gender mix of participants. This would ultimately affect the quality of the research. Thus, I made the decision to broaden the inclusion criteria to migrants with a professional background who had worked in any form of work in non-standard ways. The result is, I believe, a sample that comprises a mix of genders, ages, countries of origin, family circumstances, and work circumstances, backgrounds and histories. As such, the research better serves its overarching objective of exploring NSW via the experiences of professional migrants.

REPORT OUTLINE

Outside of this introduction and the concluding chapter (which together serves as a summary of the research), the report is made up of four main chapters. Three of these chapters are devoted to various forms of analyses and reporting. Chapter Three begins this process by presenting detailed accounts of the twelve cases. Following some introductory remarks regarding the interviews as a group, each case is presented by giving a short introduction, a chronology of the life events drawn out of the interview, and a summary of the told account. The last is augmented by some commentary and discussion. This chapter serves not only as a means of sharing the interviews with the reader, but also as one form by which to present the findings.

The next two chapters, while continuing the reporting process, each represent different approaches. Chapter Five adopts a thematic analysis with the presentation of research findings in each theme-set preceded by a review of relevant literature. The chapter opens

⁴ The definition we use of non-standard work in the LMDRP (which will be expanded on latter in the report) includes self-employment.

with a discussion of immigration policy and recent changes. Then, a series of themes is canvassed around the experiences of migrant professionals trying to engage in the New Zealand labour market. Within this context, their experiences as foreign professionals are specifically discussed. A theme that explores some paradoxes of professional migration is then explored. These paradoxes are, firstly, how those qualities that help get a person entry into a country count against them once they arrive and, secondly, how the usual association between education and employment is broken in the cases of many migrant professionals. The discussion then turns to the issue of New Zealand experience before opening up to an exploration of issues more generally related to settlement. Under the heading of 'The Struggle that is Settlement', topics such as courage, motivations, knowledge, opportunity and discrimination are considered. The last includes discussions around accent and how some migrants can reframe discriminatory experiences. A further major theme in relation to the study and the overall LMD is then considered through an examination of NSW in relation to professional migrants. Although central to this study, the findings regarding NSW have been deliberately placed at this point so that the preceding material serves as a rich context in which to understand people's involvement in alternative working arrangements.

By way of providing a different approach to the analysis and reporting, Chapter Six adopts a biographical perspective. Although different, this necessarily connects with the preceding analysis. Using concepts and theory from the sociology of health and illness, the biographical analysis develops notions of biographical flow and biographical work by which the process of migration can be explored. It is argued that this approach provides some means of linking individual and social levels of analysis. Biographical material from the interviews is used to illustrate and substantiate this analytical approach.

Before moving on to the findings of the study, the next chapter deals with the methodology used in this research, the Biographic-Narrative-Interpretive Method or BNIM. It explores the interview and analysis processes in some detail as these are specific to BNIM and quite different in some respects from the usual methods employed in previous LMD research and in many other qualitative approaches. The various ways that the findings are reported are also outlined in that chapter. Importantly it also considers some surrounding issues regarding the choice of method and its appropriateness within policy-orientated research.

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide an overview of the methodology used to conduct the research – the Biographic-Narrative-Interpretive Method or BNIM.⁵ Before turning to that detailed discussion, however, I want to begin by briefly considering a number of more general issues regarding the choice of methodology.

Previous Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme (LMD) research has traditionally been undertaken using semi-structured interviews and thematic analysis. The decision to employ an alternative methodology emerged from an ongoing desire to find innovative ways to inquire into social life that would allow participants to engage in research in a personally meaningful way so that rich, textured and layered data would be gathered for analysis. From such a starting point it was hoped that an account could be produced that would be accessible and interesting to a wide readership, while at the same time contributing to a more informed policy process.

While employing BNIM does signal a deliberate and definitive turn to biography for the LMD, a review of earlier research in this programme reveals an implicit interest in, and use of, biography. The first phase of the LMD involved people providing abbreviated accounts of their work and personal lives over the preceding ten-year periods (see Shirley et al, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d, 2001e). The more recent research on non-standard work (NSW) has necessarily inquired into how people become involved in alternative working arrangements and their experiences over time. Both of these studies would seem to support the view that the move to using BNIM represents more a refinement on how we approach the gathering and analysis of biographical material rather than a radical shift. That said, the particular interview method and means of analysis used in this research together with a maintenance of the case study form in the report and the inclusion of a biographical analysis are more significant shifts for the programme.

Support for the choice of a biographical approach to migration orientated research can be found in the literature. For example, Hoerder (2001) argues for a life course approach in this type of research, though he insists that it be a sophisticated and nuanced rather than linear model, in order to account for the complexity of lived experience. Rosenthal's (1997) argument also acknowledges the complexity of life, which she believes is not adequately captured by notions such as identity. Instead she prefers the idea of biography and consequently promotes biographical approaches to research, and BNIM more specifically. Rosenthal illustrates her argument with empirical material. Further examples of BNIM being used in relation to migration can be found in the work of Breckner (2002) and SOSTRIS Working Paper No. 4.⁶ Indeed, Breckner (2002:214) argues, "that it is mainly the biographical context in which the dynamics of the migratory experience develops".

⁵ Given that the content and style of this chapter needs to reflect the diverse readership that the report is likely to attract, any readers particularly interested in the methodology are directed to a short appendix providing additional information and references at the end of the report.

⁶ This report contains seven articles focusing on ethnic minorities and migrants in the context of individual nation-states and a further article that overviews this aspects of the research programme. See Methodological Appendix for full reference details.

A further and important issue that needs to be canvassed concerns the usefulness of a research approach such as BNIM to a project with an explicit policy focus. By way of considering this question two prominent international applications of BNIM to social policy related research can be cited. They are the Cultures of Care Project, and the Social Strategies in Risk Societies (SOSTRIS) Project. The former explored the experiences of people engaged in primary care-giving roles. It was initially based in Britain before being extended to East and West Germany.

Using notions of individualisation and reflexivity the latter explored the meanings of social exclusion in contemporary European societies. Six categories of risk were specifically focused on: the early retired, single parents, ethnic minorities and migrants, unqualified youth, and ex-traditional workers. As well, agencies thought to be providing innovative responses in relation to social exclusion were examined. SOSTRIS involved seven European nations (Britain, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain and Sweden).⁷

The SOSTRIS team saw several key benefits from a socio-biographical approach (Chamberlayne and Rustin, 1999), many of which relate to this study. For instance, there is an agreement, implicit in a great deal of qualitative inquiry but explicitly made by the choice of this method, that social policy and practice should be based on an understanding of individual's experiences. Such an understanding is very much the goal of BNIM given that it is focused on issues in terms of the implications and experiences for individual citizens and, consequently, closely considers individual agency and strategy. This level of detail is all too easily lost, hidden or flattened out in statistical or other aggregated methods, or a result of the scale and nature of policy interventions, many of which are on a large scale. BNIM, it is argued, is able to maintain a focus at the level of individual experience while, with careful application, still being meaningful in terms of larger or broader considerations. As the SOSTRIS team found, "the most important findings of the socio-biographic phase of the project were obtained from *detailed analysis of particular life-histories, not from aggregating or averaging the findings from each of them*. ... The findings of the project thus 'insist on complexity' and on 'individuality' more than they establish standard patterns" (Chamberlayne and Rustin, 1999:10 - emphasis added). Thus, as Chamberlayne and Rustin (1999:12) point out later, working between the individual and collective levels in this way "involves a major change in policy thinking". The shift is essentially to a 'bottom-up' view that starts with individual lives as a means of understanding social life and change, and as a basis for policy and programme development. Individual lives are, after all, where policy is lived and experienced.

Within the context of the SOSTRIS project Breckner (2002) applies these general themes to the specific case of migration. In doing so she concludes that despite the similarities, in terms of social positions and biographical challenges, within the migration process, each is experienced and responded to differently (Breckner, 2002:225). While recognising that social policy could easily be overwhelmed by the diversity of experiences and strategies, it is essential that both the societal and personal circumstances of migrants be considered. Allowing for only the former has equal but different risks in that individuals become allocated to categories and the problems associated with each of these are already known. Consequently, Breckner (2002:226, emphasis added) argues that the development of sound and effective policy to deal with the problems people encounter during migration requires "a careful exploration of the *peculiarity and typicality* of migration experiences with regard to their biographical significance emerging in the stories" that people tell. It is this which is attempted here.

⁷ See the Methodological Appendix and the "Other Resources" section of the Reference list for further details of SOSTRIS.

Finally I want to address the very pertinent issue of using an approach such as this with people for whom English is their second language. Firstly, it must be pointed out that coming from a non-English speaking background need not imply that a person does not have an excellent command of English. Indeed many of the interviewees were highly competent English speakers. For the others, a brief screening telephone interview was used to ensure that people would be able to take part in an interview based research programme and would feel comfortable doing so. All those who took part offered long and full accounts of their various experiences. Interestingly, many of those who took part were prompted to offer to participate based on a newspaper article that asked for migrants who were willing to literally "tell their stories". This was obviously hugely appealing as many of the phone calls I received contained some explicit reference to a desire and willingness to do just that. Thus, at the outset, people were ready to engage in a dialogue along the lines of a biographical-narrative interview.

BIOGRAPHIC-NARRATIVE-INTERPRETIVE METHOD

As Miller (2000) clearly recognises, there is a strong affinity between narrative and biography, and they have been employed both together and separately in many disciplines across the humanities and social sciences. Indeed they are often considered trans- or cross-disciplinary endeavours. Importantly, however, as Ruth and Kenyon (1996) point out in relation to biography, there is not one single biographical method or approach, something that Riessman (1993) affirms concerning narrative as well. As well, there are "different levels of generality in the answers obtained from the study of lives by narrative or biographical approaches" (Ruth and Kenyon (1996:9). From this broader biographical-narrative context come biographical-interpretive methods (Chamberlayne and King, 1997). With foundations in German phenomenology and hermeneutics, biographical interpretative methods make individual meanings derived from individual biographies central in any analysis (Chamberlayne and King, 1996). BNIM, as developed by Rosenthal (1993) and used in this study, is part of this category.

The Interview

Any interview approach that is aimed at eliciting or provoking a narrative or story can be considered a narrative interview approach and there are many interview forms that such approaches can take (Wengraf, 2001:111). The specific interview method that Wengraf outlines and which has been employed in this study falls within what he describes as a "lightly structured depth interview" (ibid.). More specifically, he outlines an approach "which starts from a single initial narrative question, and a particular focus of such a question – part or all of the individual's life story, their biography" (ibid.). As the name suggests, this approach does not structure the interview around a question schedule as such – regardless of how loose such a schedule might be. Rather, a single question is asked that serves as the basis for eliciting a narrative from the interviewee (called the biographer) around the specific issue under consideration. In this research the single question aimed at inducing narrative (or SQUIN) was:

Tell me the story of how a (professional occupation) from (country of origin) comes to be in (current non-standard work) in New Zealand.

As such, this is a request for a partial biographic narrative focusing on a specific issue (Wengraf, 2001:122).

Such a question is necessarily prefaced with some additional remarks which outline the approach being used. Specifically, people were encouraged to tell the above story, from any starting point and up to the present, including the events and experiences which were important for them, and taking as much time as they need. In addition, participants were told that the interviewer would not interrupt, but simply listen and take notes. The interviews were audio-taped. Given that this approach is very different from the usual question and answer format and that it can be hard to orient oneself to producing a narrative in this fashion, the interviewer was also required to support and encourage the person in the telling of their story

The initial question serves to prompt an initial narrative, which in BNIM terms is highly significant in the analysis. At the end of the initial narrative, and based on the notes taken, the interviewer then asks a series of questions which are structured to elicit further narratives. These serve to provide further information, to focus on issues of interest, and clarify material already collected. It is important to note two points about this. It must be reinforced that further narratives are being sought. As well, it is not necessary for the narrative to make sense to the interviewer since it is the interviewee's account and its meaning and relevance for them that is important. In asking these follow up questions every effort is made to follow the order and use the words of the interviewee in the initial narrative. By way of ending the interview a final question is asked around any other material they wish to add, thereby giving them a chance to raise issues that the interview process may have provoked. Finally, demographic and other data are collected and more structured questions can be asked.

Although they have adapted the BNIM approach into their own method - the Free Associative Narrative Approach - Hollway and Jefferson (2000:34-36) remain committed to the key principles of the BNIM interview process. They summarise these as the use of open ended questions; a commitment to eliciting stories; avoidance of 'why' questions; and the use of respondent's ordering and phrasing in any follow up questions.

By way of transitioning to a discussion of the analysis process, I want to make two points. Firstly, in addition to the key principles outlined above I would add another that applies to both interviewing and analysis. This is the responsibility on researchers to treat narratives in a respectful fashion. While this might seem obvious and true of any interview data, I make this point since some will claim that unlike information gathered in other ways, narratives are just 'stories' people tell. This is indeed true, but often 'stories' is used in a pejorative sense to devalue an individual's narrative and the approach in general. However, as Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000:72) point out, a narrative is not a copy of the world but a representation or interpretation of the world and while not open to proof, a narrative none-the-less expresses the truth of a point of view that is located in a particular time and space and contained within a larger context. It should be remembered, therefore, that whatever our reaction to and evaluation of a narrative, it represents the experience of the story teller - "the reality of a narrative refers to what is real to the story-teller". It should thus be treated accordingly. This respect extends to how we analyse the narrative. Such a view should not be taken to imply a simple acceptance of the narrative. Rather, that our engagement with it should be undertaken in a manner that is open and informed.

The second point is to note that following the interview, like many other approaches, the interviewer records impressions regarding the interview. In this study the first set of impressions and the like were recorded immediately following the interview. Similarly the transcription process involves a process of attaching recollections and impressions to the text. As Chamberlayne and Rustin (1999:24) put it in respect of their project, "the transcribed narrative and the interviewer's supplementary memories of the interview, then became the resource of data on which interpretation and analysis were based". In terms of transcription, the interviews were initially transcribed by a typist and these drafts were

them refined by the interviewer. It was during this process that further notes, observations and reflections regarding the interview were made.

The Analysis

This data is then analysed using a lengthy and detailed approach. As a first step the interview transcript is prepared by transforming it into two accounts. In one, the recounted story is organised into a chronology of lived experiences that is sometimes referred to as the lived story. This differs from the told story in that a person may not recount events in sequence and the lived story rests on verifiable events as data. The Biographical Data Chronology (BDC) serves as the basis for one part of the overall analysis.

The second account remains in the form of the told story but is restructured by breaking it down into segments according to three criteria or types of changes – changes in speaker, topic or the way a topic is spoken about. All but the last are fairly self-evident and need no further comment. The third change refers to what are known as textsorts. Wengraf (2001) identifies five textsorts – his DARNE typology – and these have been employed in this study. They are description, argument, reporting, narrative, and evaluation (the first letters of each giving DARNE). Table 1 outlines the definitions of each. An interview transcript rendered according to this structure is called the Told Story Sequentialisation (TSS) and serves as the basis for the second form of analysis.

Analysis of both the BDC and TSS is conducted by a group of researchers. They approach the analysis initially 'blind' to the whole life history and told story. Instead they consider each life event or each segment of the told story as it emerges without reference to what follows. In respect of the analysis of biographical data, this is designed to generate hypotheses about what might occur and the meaning of events within the various contexts – societal, generational, age, family and milieu - that the person was living through. These can be compared with subsequent events or segments so that those hypotheses that are supported (wholly or partially) are retained while the others are discarded. As Breckner and Rupp (2001:297) summarise it, the process is designed so that the researchers "acquire insight into the variety of possibilities inherent in social contexts" and are then "able to identify those chosen, ignored or rejected by the interviewee".

Analysing the told story in this way – that is, through a process of hypothesising – is aimed at determining how the interviewee makes sense of their life in the present through considering the topics that are presented (what is talked about and left out; how much depth/detail is accorded each topic; and the relationships between topics – both in order of telling, other connections) and how they are talked about (in terms of textsorts). Hypothesising tries to account for all the possibilities (in terms of events in the BDC and segments in the TSS) of what might come next in the person's life or story. Only those supported by subsequent interview data are retained.

Table 1 – Categories of Textsort

The DARNE Typology

D = Description

The assertion that certain entities have certain properties, but in a timeless and non-historical way. No attempt is made at story-telling/narration. There is a sort of timeless 'anthropological present' about the described person, a situation, whatever.

A DESCRIPTIONS is a *de-historicised* moment of a *possible* Narrative

A = Argumentation

The development of argument, theorising and position-taking, usually from a present-time perspective, often from a past-perspective, often a blend of the two. It is generally in a stand-alone form (not explicitly connected to the content of a particular narrative). Only sometimes is it in the form of an explicit 'disagreement' with an explicit counter-position, though one is usually implicit.

An ARGUMENT is an *expanded* Evaluation

R = Report

This is a form in which a sequence of events, experiences and actions is recounted, but in a relatively experience-thin fashion, such that it appears to be recounted from some distance. Very often, it provides an overview of a range of events some of which are then singled out for detailed narrative treatment. Very often, it covers a relatively long period of time. The difference between this and the next category is one of degree.

A REPORT is a *thin* Narrative

N = Narrative

The telling of a story by which event Y followed event X, and event Z followed event Y, either for causal reasons or just 'because they did'. The story is not told in a very 'thin' way, like a bare (police) report, but rather in 'rich detail', and sometimes even in the present tense by the narrator virtually 'reliving from close up' the sequence of events recounted. Often there are words in 'direct speech' as said by the actors in the story episode being narrated.

A NARRATIVE is a *rich* Report

A NARRATIVE is a *re-historicised* combination of Descriptive and describable moments

E = Evaluation

The easiest way to think of this is as the 'moral of the story' – of a thin report or a rich narrative – stated explicitly as such, usually before or after the story-sequence in question.

An EVALUATION is a *condensed* Argument

There may also be text segments that can be thought of as **Mixed Category Categorisations**. That is, they are made up of two types of textsort (as above). It may be possible to distinguish predominant from subordinate components of the mixture in terms of the relative dominance of the components in the 'flavour' of the text structure sequence identified.

Source: Wengraf (2001, 243-255).

It is worth quoting at length from the erudite summary of Chamberlayne and King (1996:99) to assist in understanding the second stage of the analysis:

This stage examines the temporal and thematic ordering of the account, the modes of discourse, and the patterns of interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, and makes detailed analysis of key text segments which are of particular salience to the interpretation of the text.

They continue:

Each analytical step is conducted in a sequential process of hypothesis building. This is based on the selectivity of social action, which regards any social action as a choice among others. ...units of data (a biographical item, a theme in the narration) are investigated for their potential biographical or textual meanings.

Given that the interview represents a present day perspective, analysis must also consider what might have transformed the original experiences over time. A parts/whole approach (Scheff, 1997) is used and while careful attention is given to micro segments of the narrative, there is always consideration of the relationship of those parts to the larger narrative.⁸ A grounded approach – rather than a straightforward or pure application of grounded theory – is also employed in some forms of analysis by moving from the particularities of single cases towards higher, more general and more abstract theorisation (Wengraf, 2002).

While the analysis also recognises that the account that is rendered is affected by the interview process, it is founded on the belief that alternative and more significant influences – what Rosenthal calls the structuring principle of the story, its gestalt – are assumed to guide the selection and way of presentation of the story (Breckner and Rupp, 2001:297). An overall aim of this process is to reconstruct this gestalt sense of biography that can be thought of "as a comprehensive, general pattern of orientation" such that "the narrated life story represents the biographer's overall construction of his or her past and anticipated life, in which biographically relevant experiences are linked up in a temporally and thematically consistent pattern (Rosenthal, 1993:62).

Thus far there has been independent analyses of the lived life and told story. They are, however, also drawn together for comparison. The goal is to consider how the two are connected. The various forms of analyses serve as the basis for a variety of ways in which the findings can be considered. This is the subject of the final section. Before moving on to that it should be noted that given this rather intensive process, not all the interviews can be subjected to such a complex and group orientated analysis. In this study all the cases were prepared according to the above protocol. However, only half were analysed by the research team. These were chosen for the richness of their narrative and to represent a cross-section of case types. The others were analysed in depth by the lead researcher working independently using adapted forms of the above methods.

Framing the Findings

Having analysed individual cases as outlined above, the question then arises of how these can be drawn together. Chamberlayne and King (1996) suggest, for instance, that one case can be selected and discussed as being 'typical' or that a typology of key or common case features – what I consider a 'virtual' exemplar – can be derived from several cases. While many of the cases that form this study share various aspects I do

⁸ While the initial analysis is blind to forthcoming parts of the narrative, and obviously to the whole story, eventually the complete account is available and the parts can then be related to it as a whole.

not think that any represents a typical case. Given the variety of circumstances covered by the various cases in this study, a coherent and useful typology is not impossible but may be difficult to develop. Neither approach is useful, I believe, in terms of productively reporting the findings of this study. This does not mean that I have not compared cases not only for similarities but also in relation to what respects and degrees they differ as Breckner and Rupp (2001) suggest and demonstrate. Indeed, this has been the basis of the first approach to reporting the findings presented in Chapter 4. Here I develop a thematic analysis, a widely recognised approach amongst qualitative researchers and one also identified by Chamberlayne and King (1996).

A slightly different approach that comes via the work of Miller (2000) is presented in Chapter 5. In his examination of life history research Miller categorises three types of research – realist, neo-positivist and narrative – which he differentiates in the following way: "While the former two approaches vary in starting points from which they begin to deal with data – the realist approach using an inductive, grounded theory building logic and the neo-positivist approach employing a deductive, theory-testing logic – each shares a common stand-point on the nature of the reality they are trying to comprehend". That reality, while it may not ever be totally comprehended, does exist in some sense. The narrative approach takes a view that 'reality' is malleable and multiple but never completely fluid since it is affected by wider social structures and the interview interaction (Miller, 2000:130). Unlike the other approaches analysis in this method is not aimed at comprehending reality but on "the manner in which the respondent has negotiated his/her unique view" (Miller, 2000:129). Thus, the focus of the analysis becomes how interviewees make sense of their past experiences and current situation in terms of the present – where the present includes the interview itself. Thus, sense-making becomes a vehicle of analysis. In order to achieve this I draw on biographical concepts honed in the field of health and illness. These I further develop for application to this study. In this way sense-making can be seen as biographical work.

A third approach to presenting the findings, which is undertaken in the next chapter, is the reproduction in this report of summaries of the interviewees' stories. While these are my renderings of their accounts, and are much abbreviated, they offer the reader a more detailed opportunity to engage with the whole stories that people shared with me. As part of my rendering I have tried to signal what I consider to be the structuring principles of their narratives and other key issues.

Before turning to those stories I want to make one final and important point. Earlier in this chapter I discussed Breckner's (2002) argument that social policy needs to be founded on research that can uncover both the particular and the typical. Though I have described the three forms that the analysis takes in the rest of the report, I want to reinforce that these are complimentary analyses. Each is inter-related with the others and only collectively do they provide what Breckner calls for.

THE PEOPLE & THEIR BIOGRAPHIES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is devoted to providing a summary of the interviews. Each is divided into two parts with the first providing some basic demographic information and outlines the life chronology that was developed from the interview. The second part presents the told story as recounted by the interviewee. Interwoven with this is some commentary that reflects on the interview process, attempts to highlight significant issues, and suggests what the structuring principle of the life story might be. Before turning to the stories, however, some common issues regarding the interviews in general need to be canvassed.

COMMON ISSUES

While the following chapters that deal with reporting the analysis of the interviews are focused on the content of those stories, this section deals with common issues relating to the interview and research process.

An initial issue in this regard concerns how the primary question appeared to orient the interviews in particular directions. That is, people were obviously drawn to an account that emphasised their work and their time in New Zealand. While some people chose to open up their narratives to a richer account of their lives prior to migration, many required some prompting in this regard. Although the work theme was central to the research and is important in people's lives, most of those interviewed seemed to integrate this well into a wider discussion of their experiences. In addition, the question seemed to, at least initially anyway, orient narratives around the experiences of the individual who was being interviewed with varying degrees of reference to and inclusion of family members (spouses/partners and children). Again, though, most often people gradually expanded their stories to include these people and their experiences.

Although the literature often refers to the universal quality of story-telling in humans, the experience of this research suggests that some cautions need to be noted. As other BNIM researchers have noted (e.g. Wengraf 2001) not everyone feels comfortable or appears able to engage in this type of research. My own experience in this study would support this. It is not that any of the participants in this study were incapable of telling stories, but rather that some people clearly felt more comfortable answering questions. That said, just as in other LMD research where a more semi-structured approach was used it was not unusual for participants to provide answers that easily became stories. Certainly, one or two did struggle in this mode, but most provided narratives in response to some questions. Any difficulties may also be partly explained by issues, present in any research, such as the willingness of people to divulge personal information and their degree of comfort with that process varies between individuals. This is a product, in part, of any relationship that the interviewee and interviewer can establish. To tell stories rather than simply answer questions may be even more demanding in these regards. The use of a narrative approach rather than a question and answer format may also mean that

interviewees with some research expectations may take time to readjust. A final point returns us to the role of language difficulties in hindering narrative accounts. This has partly been addressed in the previous section, though it cannot be entirely discounted. The openness of the method in allowing interviewees to structure their accounts certainly appeared to offer people opportunities to talk around issues that they found difficult to easily express and so find an account that satisfied them. The ability to encourage and leave open the spaces for this was crucial I believe.

Finally, I want to make a brief comment regarding the names used in the report. Except for two cases (interviews 9 and 12) where the participants wanted their real names to be used, all the remaining names are those preferred by participants or selected by the researcher to protect their identities. The completely anonymous style of recounting interview 11 reflects the desires of those interviewees.

INTERVIEW 1 – STEVEN

The Lived Life

Steven is in his late 40's and is from South Korea where he worked as an accountant. He is married and has two children, both of whom are now in their twenties. At the time of the interview he had been in New Zealand for around 11 years. A colleague within the university introduced the researcher to Steven.

Steven had trained and worked as an accountant prior to his arrival in New Zealand. His fairly stable work history up to this time involved only a couple of changes in employers and contained two extended periods out of Korea when he was sent by his employers to postings in Saudi Arabia and Germany. Following the last overseas posting Steven took on a new job, organised through a friend, which kept the family in Korea for a further six years. During this period Steven's father died. Some time after this the family decided to immigrate and eventually selected New Zealand.

Upon arriving the initial decision to rent a property was quickly replaced by a move to purchase a home. For Steven, the first year was spent undertaking a course in English at a local polytechnic. During this time the family decided to bring all their assets to New Zealand. Following the English course, Steven and his wife decided to buy a fruit shop. After two and a half years and considerable losses they closed that business. They also put their house on the market as a first step in preparing for relocation. However, they experienced some difficulty selling the property and in the interim Steven saw an advertisement for taxi drivers and after taking the appropriate courses he then began work as an employee taxi driver. After about six months he bought his own taxi and became an owner-driver. A trial of running a second car and employing a driver proved problematic and he quit this after a year. He continues to drive his own taxi working twelve hour shifts, six days a week. Both his children are at university. His wife works part-time in a catering company.

The Told Story

From a personal perspective I must acknowledge how lucky I was having Steven as the first person I interviewed. He proved to be a wonderful narrator. As I nervously tried to engage in the sometimes counter intuitive processes associated with this interview approach, he took me on a short initial account before opening up more fully into a rich

narrative. He was a considerate narrator, providing me with the necessary contextual information but also willing to be open about his personal experiences.

Steven's initial narrative takes us very quickly through arriving in New Zealand, studying English, the unsuccessful business venture and the preparations for a further relocation. No mention is made of his decision not to practice accountancy. He then provides more detail about how he became an owner/operator taxi driver. Interestingly, in this he omits any detail of the period of buying a second car and employing a driver. All this is a fairly neutral or factual account. Having encapsulated his account he then wonders if I might be interested in why he chose New Zealand as his second country.

This part of Steven's narrative begins with a brief overview of Korean society necessary for what he will later tell me. In these remarks Steven explains that in Korean culture the eldest son is responsible for the family. Despite these responsibilities, Steven observes that some migrants from Korea have left their parents in Korea. He also notes that there can be difficulties between the women in the family. Having established these points Steven then notes that his circumstances are different. Firstly, after a dispute over how the inheritance would be spent following his father's death, Steven tells of giving up these related rights as the eldest son in return for also giving over responsibility for caring for his mother to one of his brothers, a medical professional, whom Steven felt was well suited to the task. Part of the resolution for this involved a decision to immigrate to New Zealand. Secondly, Steven moves immediately into a discussion of the other motivation for migrating, talking of his children's unhappiness at having to return to Korea after a period in Germany. They found the large class numbers difficult to cope with after the small classes and excellent facilities in Germany. However, it is an obligation outside the family that takes immediate priority and Steven goes to work for a friend. It will be six years before the family immigrates "for my health, for my children's education and to solve all family problems". He then elaborates on the inheritance issue that created a fissure in the family.

It is important to point out in relation to this aspect of Steven's story that he admits there is an "every day" account that he gives people about his reasons for migrating – that he came to New Zealand to benefit his children. While this is true, he reveals that the main reason relates to family issues following his father's death. It is likely that people will have both public and private versions of accounts regarding aspects of their lives. The possibilities and privileges associated with interviewing in depth is that circumstances sometimes allow us to share in the latter.

The very personal motivation and circumstances for migrating that he identifies serves as a motif for many of his experiences post migration. In order to resolve the family conflict he hands over both obligations and entitlements to a brother. As part of this process he migrates and in doing so is also able to respond to the needs of his immediate family. It would seem to be difficult for Steven to return to Korea given the circumstances of his leaving so there is some pressure to succeed here or move elsewhere. Succeeding in New Zealand ultimately requires making further concessions, mainly in giving up his professional career. Although he is mostly positive about his circumstances there are glimpses of the cost and sense of loss in making these concessions. At every point there are competing demands, often generating great tension. The motif is one of making concessions in order to achieve, of accepting particular losses to make other gains; it is tied to close relationships – father to eldest son and brother to brother, then father to children.

The decision to immigrate involved consideration of three countries - Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Since Australia was not well known to them or those they knew, they were left with a choice between the last two. New Zealand won out "because of the fine weather and small population and excellent circumstance". Interestingly, while up to this

point Steven's second narrative has indeed canvassed the period before arriving in New Zealand and the issues and events surrounding the family's migration, he then carries on to provide a second and more detailed account of some of the issues and events around their time in New Zealand.

Arriving in New Zealand, Steven recounts that he and his wife "didn't expect to get a proper job". Rather their experiences of living overseas had prepared them for the fact that they might have to do any and all sorts of work. This they didn't mind, he says. Following a narrative pattern he used before, Steven then engages in a brief contextualisation, talking about the small number of Koreans who were in New Zealand when he arrived, the growth in Korean immigration to New Zealand, and about how Koreans often have little knowledge of life in other countries, especially in the West. Inferring a gullibility on their part and a misrepresentation on the part of immigration brokers, Steven says that most Koreans believe what they are told that they can easily get work in New Zealand. He goes on to acknowledge that many potential immigrants from Korea possess wealth and qualifications that, in earlier immigration regimes, would assure them entry. While they also possess reasonable abilities in writing and reading English, they often struggle with hearing and speaking. While many see this as a problem for the host country, Steven firmly locates it as a problem for the immigrant. It is one of many issues that migrants must contemplate and face, leading him to conclude, "all immigrants are very brave people".

Steven takes this as a chance to return to discussing his work as a taxi driver. This second account is more emotive and he explains that he is not very happy working as a taxi driver given the various and ongoing problems with passengers. There is an ambivalence in his evaluation of taxi driving, however, as it does provide a reasonable income, is better than many unskilled jobs and self-employment has its advantages. "As an Asian immigrant with not enough English capabilities, taxi driver is not very bad to make money to survive". Steven believes that many other Korean taxi drivers feel similarly negative but he counters their complaints with his view that very few other opportunities are available to them.

From this point on Steven's interview is more orientated to my questions as I tease out further narratives. He talks of preferring to have little to do with the Korean community in New Zealand as they must be careful who they associate with since they don't know anything about people's past lives. It is here that we learn a little about Steven's decision not to practice accountancy in New Zealand. This was prompted by a realisation that he would not get a senior position in this country because of his poor spoken English and lack of New Zealand experience and knowledge. He feels it is too late to start again. The alternative – to open a small bookkeeping practice which likely would serve Korean small business owners – is unappealing. It turns out that he did intend to practice when he arrived and was going to take the necessary courses at university after completing his English language course. However, once he had had a chance to read the textbooks he realised that the language requirements were beyond him. Thus, he and his wife opted for self-employment.

Steven's migratory experience is built around leaving behind much of the past – not only in breaking ties with his family, but also in not involving himself much in the Korean community in New Zealand. He sees himself as a New Zealander. In a similar vein to this point he has omitted almost any reference to his accounting background in relation to his time in New Zealand. It is only in response to some direct questions on the subject that he raises it at all. This despite acknowledging my interest in migrants who aren't working in their professions and expressing some ambivalence about working as a taxi-driver.

The interview then turns to his experiences of taxi-driving – the stresses in getting to know the job and area, and the discrimination he faces at times. Steven thinks it unlikely

that he will engage in any other employment besides taxi-driving. The alternatives are other small business opportunities that would likely not return any more but bring greater risks. His income is good, but there are long hours and he encounters various problems from time to time because of his ethnicity. His financial goal is to get his children through their university studies and then his work as a taxi-driver will be more than adequate for he and his wife. It is as part of this discussion that we learn that he employed someone to drive a second taxi that he had brought. This was a fellow Korean but the move was unsuccessful and he sold the cab. Though he could still afford to do so again, he would only reconsider if he found a reliable person. Later he talks about how he got into taxi-driving in more detail and that he moved from the company he originally worked in because of discrimination. Steven notes that many of his fellow drivers are from professions in Korea and believes that there are too many now. Although he earlier recognised that people with these sorts of backgrounds often end up in small businesses when they can't get work in New Zealand associated with their profession, he feels that the Korean small business market is rather saturated.

As to recent changes in immigration, Steven believes that the move is not racist but is the New Zealand government simply doing what it believes is right. That said, he doubts he would be accepted as a migrant with such a policy. Despite some very negative personal experiences (which he recounts), Steven has a fairly positive impression of New Zealand and considers himself a New Zealander.. He also recognises that migrants as well as the receiving country have parts to play in successful settlement. What he used to think may have been racist he now views as more a response to strangeness, an outcome, perhaps, of our isolation. As a consequence he doesn't think New Zealanders have a very open mind to people from other countries. Here and at other points in his account there are efforts to make sense of what are essentially discriminatory experiences, but in other terms. This is echoed in many other accounts.

INTERVIEW 2 – YONG

The Lived Life

Yong is a 47 year old man from South Korea. He is a qualified engineer. He and his wife had been in New Zealand for almost 10 years when interviewed. They have no children. Another interviewee referred us to Yong and he agreed to take part.

Having gained a Bachelor of Engineering, Yong has spent his entire working life up to the point of immigration working as a mechanical engineer. For periods of three and two years he had worked in his profession on overseas placements in Saudi Arabia and Indonesia respectively. In the early 1990s he and his wife decided to migrate from Korea, and at the end of 1993 they arrived in New Zealand. Yong spent the first two years after arriving studying at a polytechnic for a Certificate in Engineering. Following this he spent seven or eight months of job searching during which time he approached around 60 companies without ever getting an interview. As a result Yong decided to stop seeking work in engineering. Instead he considered self-employment and eventually settled on taxi-driving. He has been working as an owner/operator for the last seven years.

The Told Story

Yong's initial narration was quite short and so his interview became something of a question and answer session. Despite perhaps not being a natural story-teller, Yong was happy to answer my questions and the interview opened up as we progressed. In his opening account he immediately recognised the need to tell something of his background,

though this turned out to be limited to a short recounting of his professional education. By situating himself as a qualified engineer he can then explain why the first two years after settling in this country were spent studying engineering. Very briefly he then acknowledges the extreme difficulties he had even getting an interview in this field which forced him to look for some form of self-employment. While a friend he spoke to was involved in tour-guide work, Yong did not think he was suited to this and he agreed with the friend that taxi-driving might be more agreeable. Around half the short opening narrative concerns this transition into taxi-driving, his approaches to a number of companies, choosing two servicing his area, and opting for one based on his reaction to the owner. He ends on a positive assessment of his work as great for offering opportunities to meet lots of people and providing flexibility to take breaks and holidays when he wants them. Later he says he also likes the driving.

Though they are most often not in a true narrative form, I will now consider Yong's story as it is recounted in response to my questions. I was interested, first of all, in his decision to immigrate and the background to this and in response Yong recounts his prior experience of life overseas via work postings. He also acknowledges that he had family who settled here for a time and were positive about it. This is the point where Yong reveals that they do not have children, so this is not a reason he can give for immigrating. Instead he was seeking some relief from the stress placed on workers, both in terms of long hours and high demands. The large population is also a negative in his view. Stress seemed to preoccupy him in Korea given the connection he makes with working hard and surviving financially. He is pleased that in New Zealand he can finally relax.

The importance of having a life that he feels comfortable with is a key theme in his narrative. It was not only the principle reason for migrating but ultimately guided his decisions to give up the search for engineering work, to become self-employed and, within that, to take up taxi driving. He does not find taxi driving stressful and anticipates doing it for some time yet. Like the other taxi driver, Yong also notes that others in their position – as professionals now working as taxi drivers – are dissatisfied but Yong says it depends on the person. Like Steven, he too can recount difficulties with passengers. Self-employment is important for immigrants he feels since, as happened with him, opportunities are not always available within the migrant's specialist area of work. He also acknowledges a likely preference for New Zealanders to want to employ young indigenous graduates over immigrants. While saying he is content in taxi driving he does express a sense of loss for a profession he had been involved in for many years and is unlikely to return to.

INTERVIEW 3 – DINESH

The Lived Life

Dinesh is in his mid forties and married with one child. He comes from India and is an accountant. When interviewed he had been in New Zealand just over 18 months. A migrant assistance programme of the local chamber of commerce arranged for Dinesh to take part in the study.

After receiving a Bachelor of Commerce from an Indian university in the late 1970s, Dinesh worked in the accounting field up until the family migrated to New Zealand at the beginning of 2002. Apart from a couple of changes of employers during his working life prior to migration, the significant event in Dinesh's employment history over this time is a period working in Kenya. Upon arriving in New Zealand Dinesh updated his computer skills with a polytechnic course on the accounting package favoured in New Zealand and

undertook a WINZ⁹ employment seminar for migrants. The seminar led to a year long contract doing part-time work collecting door-to-door for a charitable trust. During the period of this contract Dinesh continued to try and get work in the accounting field making numerous applications but never even receiving an interview. At the end of his contract work he again approached WINZ and was advised of work in customer service at a petrol station. With limited options he took on this full-time permanent shift-work position. He had been in the position about six months when interviewed but was still trying to get work in the accounting field.

The Told Story

Like Yong's story, Dinesh's initial narrative is a short one. Similarly, his interview was orientated more to questions and answers. Even these questions did not stimulate narratives of any depth. This appears to be in part because of his desire to convey his anger and frustrations with the difficulties he has experienced getting work in his profession. He indicates that this was a strong motivation for taking part in the research, together with a hope that it might help him understand why things had turned out this way and to offer some possibilities for improving his circumstances. It proved to be the main orientating principle in this interview.

Like others, he starts his account with arriving in New Zealand and a brief review of his work and study since arriving. Half of the short opening narrative is taken up with describing how dissatisfied he is with his current job, describing the difficulties he has encountered applying for work and not being given any opportunities.

From this point it becomes necessary for me to provide a number of questions in order to flesh out Dinesh's story. Thus what follows is an account ordered by my questions rather than Dinesh's imperatives. Dinesh and his immediate family migrated to New Zealand for the education of his son. Although he actually wanted to migrate elsewhere, he did not qualify for that country but did for New Zealand. That said he was pleased to be accepted in New Zealand as the education system is viewed positively.

Dinesh did not anticipate the problems he has encountered in trying to get work. Each time the issue was raised he became quite animated in comparison to the telling of other details. This included showing the large folder of letters declining his applications. The problem, he believes, that stands in the way of him getting work is a lack of New Zealand experience. He is disturbed that he cannot even get interviews or have his CV properly considered. Nor can he get work at lower levels in his profession given his qualifications and experience, something he is more than willing to consider. The vagaries of the various bureaucracies involved with migrants also frustrates him. Such was his despair that he wondered what the point of staying was, apart from the obvious benefits to his son, and he has stopped applying for accounting jobs. He sees his work future as "zero". He says that his anger and frustration boils up at times and better to ventilate in a situation like this (the interview) than let it affect his family.

Given the level of income for his current job – “not enough but I can survive” - Dinesh is interested in any work that might pay better. He would like to advance his accounting qualifications in a New Zealand context but can see no point without work since employment would be necessary for the practical components, funding and to allow him to focus on the study.

Migrants who have been in the country for longer periods are no help according to Dinesh as they do not feel obliged to help others in circumstances that they might have been in

⁹ This is the Department of Work and Income, New Zealand.

previously. Dinesh talks of the changes in lifestyle etc that migrants experience and the need for them to mould themselves to the circumstances of their new situation.

INTERVIEW 4 – JERRY

The Lived Life

Jerry and his family are from the Philippines. At the time of the interview he was in his early 40's and married with two children, aged six and eight years. He worked as a senior public relations executive for a large corporation before immigrating to New Zealand about nine months ago. Jerry's participation in the study was arranged through the migrant assistance programme of the local chamber of commerce.

Jerry was born in the Philippines. He went to university but left prior to completing his undergraduate degree - with a major in communication - to take up a work opportunity. This role as a communications assistant would help him move into a public relations position with one of the largest corporations in the Philippines. He remained with this company for 20 years, rising through the ranks of the public relations division to a senior position in a regional office, until he left to migrate to New Zealand. During the later part of his career he was selected to spend six weeks in Florida on a Rotary exchange programme. Jerry's wife is an engineer and had lived and studied in the United States. They have two children, who were aged six and eight at the time of the interview. One of the children has special needs (as Jerry describes it). After arriving in New Zealand the family purchased a home and the children started school. Jerry began applying for jobs. Initially these positions reflected his background and experience. During this time he obtained weekend work at a budget hotel through a friend and got a short contract doing a piece of business orientated writing. He also completed a computer course to update his general skills and both he and his wife completed training as ESOL teachers. Just prior to being interviewed Jerry was taken on by a major airline as a customer services officer at the international airport. Although this was a permanent position, it was only part-time and involved shiftwork and rosters. His wife was doing telephone interviewing for market research.

The Told Story

Jerry begins his account by responding to our question very precisely with what seems like a prepared account appropriate for an interview like this. It is one that obviously tries to link his past with the present (and his likely future) and present a positive view of the transition from public relations executive to customer services officer – the need to adjust expectations in a new country, to draw on experience in a generic fashion, and use this as a starting block. There also emerges an enduring theme of his story – in relation to work and his life more generally – that of "life as a never ending learning process".

Jerry then turns to discussing some of his early work experiences. His 'eye-opening' job as the overnight manager in a budget hotel seems to quench his hunger for experiences of New Zealand life. This seems to prompt a brief return to his enduring theme, with the observation that the nine months since arriving have been a learning experience for him, his wife and their family. He then returns to recounting other work and study that he, and his wife, have undertaken. As a senior executive in the Philippines he had many people to carry out the mundane work but here in New Zealand it is obvious to him that he will need these sorts of skills, hence the computing course. The training as ESOL teachers is

clearly something that was done with the future in mind. In keeping with his motto, he is always investing for the future and always looking to be one of the better prepared.

An important element he now discusses is the importance of networks (something he is acutely aware of coming from what he calls a "relationship industry". While he was well known back home, here "nobody knows me from Adam ... so I have to build that up. In my previous job I built that network for twenty years. It doesn't take you just a few months to do that".

In summary he does not see that migration necessarily disadvantages people, but that it is premised on being able to positively reframe what occurs and having the desire and resources to do this both intellectually and practically (by doing courses etc). In this regard he notes that their material circumstances, enhanced by a sizeable retirement payout (somewhat diminished by unfavourable exchange rates!) are such that they can make such commitments. That said he quickly adds that they still need to work to survive.

Though it appears at this point that Jerry is summing up his narrative, he moves to a wider discussion – since "you [the interviewer] may ask the question later" – of the background to their migration. The rationale for this begins with a familiar theme – migration to benefit children. In this case there is an added incentive in that Jerry and his wife were looking for a positive environment for their son who has special needs. Then he acknowledges that after so long in one job with one company he was looking for a change, for a more relaxing lifestyle and perhaps to fulfil a dream to write for a living, though he recognises that this is a long-term dream somewhat hampered by being in a new country. A healthier environment was a further consideration. Jerry also talks about life in the Philippines and how his family lived in the home of his parents-in-law and household helpers were employed. The move to New Zealand is an effort to "try it out to be by ourselves". Although he moves on from this quite quickly to draw his opening narrative to a close, this is a pivotal idea in Jerry's story and one he will return to. In essence he has now underpinned his theme of a "learning experience" with a desire, couched in very positive terms, to "break free" (from his work, and from their way of living) that might be usefully understood as "new beginnings".

The interview now turns to Jerry answering some questions. In these answers we find out that he had applied unsuccessfully for about 50 jobs based broadly around his public relations/communications background but at various levels of organisations. It was through a friend that he learned of the upcoming airline opportunities, confirming his earlier assertion regarding networks. In recounting the application process for this job he reiterates the connections between his past working life and this role. He has come to recognise that he will have to start at a lower level and work his way up. He reports enjoying the people contact in his last job and is looking forward to that aspect of this job. His affable nature in the interview sits comfortably with this assertion.

Next Jerry outlines the process of migrating from his wife's first suggestion, through their discussions with friends (some of whom were migrating as well) and the application and subsequent wait for a decision. Because he wanted to do a complete twenty years with the company (and maximise any entitlements), the family waited an extra year to leave for New Zealand arriving just before the expiry of their visa. He describes it as not a very difficult decision - a "no-brainer" - again citing quality of life reasons including, this time, the issue of safety. A little later he does concede there were periods of soul searching "deep into the night". This section also provides an opportunity for him to revisit his working situation and the demands placed on him by his work and how this influenced his decision. He remains in contact with his work, even overseas.

Having established friends in New Zealand, through the Philippine ex-pat community, he does not feel any homesickness as yet. He feels that "New Zealand is where we live. It is

now a home for us" and held onto this even during what he now reveals as some bad times during his job seeking. Instead, he used his highly reflective nature to work out in his mind why things were happening the way they were. We can easily see these processes in the couple of examples he gives. Initially he had hoped to trade on his background and skills and also to fulfil his dream of a new beginning in journalism. However, he recognised that his lack of specific experience and a very different culture and media environment meant this was not possible at present. In terms of public relations he came to realise that he couldn't assume the same level in a new country as he didn't have the skill set valued in this context. Hence his shift to consider customer service roles which, he assures, mirror many of the responsibilities he had in his senior role in the Philippines. Once again the links between past and present are maintained even within the context of, and desire for, change.

The changes that the family have undergone have been quite significant as well. Here, perhaps, there is more discontinuity with the past, but that is part of what they were seeking after all:

When I arrived in the evening I would go straight to my TV set in the room, within the bedroom. CNN or sports channel. I don't have time to talk with my wife. If there was something substantial she might try to catch my attention and we would sit down. It's quite different here. Our set up is very small and compact and just enough for us. So it's better communication now and I appreciate my children more. I think I'm more relevant to their lives, now than ever before. Because before they were more exposed to their mother or grandparents, or even helpers. Now I'm there. So I think that's a very important development for the growth of my family in the apartment here.

It hasn't been easy, however, and Jerry spoke of the struggle and stress involved. That said, it seemed to have been largely positive.

In a later part of the conversation Jerry talked about noticing the expectations on workers in New Zealand to be multi-skilled and have a broad array of experience. This self-sufficiency, he noted, also extended to the nuclear nature of families in this country. In both cases he found this a marked but positive contrast to his work and home life in the Philippines and, in respect of the latter, this was very much part of what he is talking about above. As regards work, this helps explain the disjuncture between his work in the Philippines and in New Zealand - via the need to upskill and start at a lower level of any organisation.

As has been noted, this is a story about fresh beginnings through breaks with the past and new learning experiences in all sorts of areas. These beginnings are not simply forced on him by the current situation he encounters in New Zealand, though this is obviously a factor, but are also the result of his (and his family's) desires for change. They have not come to New Zealand to recreate their existing lives here, but to forge a new style of life. The breaks cannot be complete however, since he must retain aspects of his past in order to make sense of the present. As part of this whole process Jerry is highly reflexive in both his account and how he describes himself during his time in New Zealand.

INTERVIEW 5 – CHARLES

The Lived Life

Charles and his wife, who had lived and worked - in senior roles within the hotel industry - in various parts of Africa immigrated to New Zealand from South Africa just over two years prior to being interviewed. He is in his early seventies, his wife a little younger. One of their two adult children immigrated and settled in New Zealand a short time before them and they joined under the family re-unification scheme. Charles volunteered to participate in the study after reading about it in a local newspaper.

Travelling with his father, who had gone there for work, Charles arrived in Africa in 1950. In those early years he spent most of his time in Uganda, though he entered the hotel industry in Kenya. Much of his working life was spent in Zimbabwe- for considerable periods when it was known as Rhodesia - though he also worked for extended periods in South Africa. Charles held a number of senior management positions in the hotel industry throughout his career. He married and had two children. His son immigrated to New Zealand about three years before our interview and Charles and his wife joined him in New Zealand under the family quota category. They had been in New Zealand just over two years when interviewed. They have purchased a home and receive a modest pension. Both Charles and his wife have sought work since arriving. He has been largely unsuccessful in securing anything but some short-term promotional work, which his wife joined him in. He was partway through another short contract, this time doing market research, when interviewed. His wife has got permanent work in church associated social services and has done some consulting for a hotel project.

The Told Story

Charles initial narrative was not a long one. He was focused very precisely on my interest in work after migration and outlined his short work experiences and gave a flavour of the negative responses he has more frequently had. In this he acknowledges that to succeed he feels that you need to downplay your background - your experience and qualifications - such that you "delete all the letters after your name, and not be too pushy".

Although his life before migrating does not feature in his initial narrative my inquiry about his background and the decision to migrate allows an opening for an overview of his rather rich life history. It is a story of numerous moves following work opportunities within and between countries. It is a narrative that allows a certain conclusion to be reached - "we travelled quite a lot and so got quite used to moving. For us, personally, migrating was an easier prospect". It was still a large undertaking, he concedes, despite this and having a son already here. So he understands how big a thing it is for other younger people he knows of. This opens up some recounting of the experiences of others, particularly the struggles of some especially those with families: "it's a great thing for a family ...generally speaking it works out well, but it must be a strain".

Given our particular interest in this study I was keen to clarify his engagement with paid work. My question revealed that working was necessary since although they owned their house, their overseas pension was worth very little and they relied on some family assistance. His wife has had more success than him in that regard, having got a permanent position, and he wonders if women find getting work easier than men given that this has characterised a lot of the cases of people he has known. This returns him to his own work situation. In general terms he indicates that after migration he would not expect a similar job. To this he acknowledges the additional age-related drawback he faces, and which also confronts his wife increasingly. He clearly indicates that non-standard work (our term for the sort of work he is describing) is important for allowing him opportunities to be periodically employed. Thus, this interview represents a slightly

different perspective – that of the older, retired migrant. Paid work is still important in this account however.

Before migrating, Charles and his wife spent an extended period of time here getting a feel for the country. While they remain impressed with the country they are "perhaps now not quite so impressed as we were when we first came out". Though Charles is happy to talk about his own experiences this is a story made up of many stories. Charles knows of many others who have migrated, beginning with his son. Thus, to augment his own experiences, he draws on and recounts many of these stories. Obviously these enrich the research, though we are more distanced from such accounts and directed away from Charles own account. However, as he acknowledges several times, sharing among migrants and potential migrants is very important - they relied on their son and others, and are happy to do the same for others. One story that he refers to on occasions is his son's who immigrated with his family. He arrived without a job but well qualified in human resources though "I think in the field of human resources it's probably more difficult because people expect you to have some local knowledge and New Zealand experience". While applying for appropriate jobs he took work as a waiter and barman, to keep his morale up, "plus the fact that if you are brand new to the country you pick up all sorts of, well you get a feel for it, and so". He eventually got a senior position at a large international company.

INTERVIEW 6 – JANE

The Lived Life

Jane and her family come from South Africa and had been in New Zealand just over six years when interviewed. She is in her mid forties and is married with two teenage children. In South Africa she was a secondary school teacher as was her husband. Jane offered to take part in the study after reading an article in a local newspaper.

Both Jane and her husband worked for many years as secondary school teachers in South Africa. Jane taught geography and German while her husband has a background in commerce and accounting. They have two children who were born in the mid 1980's. After deciding to immigrate and going through the process for New Zealand, Jane's husband arrived in Hamilton early in 1997, ahead of the family. He immediately began applying for teaching jobs. When none eventuated he considered work in a service station as an interim measure but was declined as too qualified. He then began looking outside teaching but drawing on his commerce background and applied for and got two jobs simultaneously - one a full-time permanent position with a bank and the other a contract accounting position that paid slightly more and was located in Auckland. He took the latter. However, after one month a dispute over pay saw him quit and re-approach the bank for work. Although the original job was filled, they offered him a position in a Northland town which he accepted.

A few months after his arrival, Jane and the children joined her husband in Northland. Jane immediately began looking for work herself and got some relief teaching. However she settled on a full time position at a local supermarket, firstly as a packer and then as a check-out operator, for the remainder of that year. The following year, 1998, she got a one year teaching contract at a local school and was able to get her full teacher registration in New Zealand as a result. In the beginning of 1999 the family moved to Auckland after Jane's husband got a transfer with the bank. Jane continued to apply for teaching positions without success. She also attended a 10 week part-time re-training course to improve her chances. Jane then got another supermarket checkout operator job

in March that year. After a few months she moved into a similar position with a large chain store. In this company she took every opportunity for training and the following year moved into a role in the advertising department and then as a buyer's assistant. Both were located on the North Shore, a considerable distance from her home in Southeast Auckland. The year before our interview she had moved within the company again, this time into a staff training role, at the same location.

The Told Story

For Jane the interview is an opportunity to tell it like it is, or like it was for them. That said, it is not a bitter or vindictive narrative. Rather she wants to present a "real" account not what people might want to hear. Jane's initial narrative is not extraordinarily long but she canvasses a great deal of information, and doesn't just provide a chronology. As part of that she spends a little time on the background to their migration but mostly covers her and her husband's work experiences. Within this initial account the primary concern was to be able to teach wherever they migrated to. Not only was this the profession they wished to continue with, it was the way they supported their family. This meant an English speaking country and they were lead to believe, by a private immigration consultant, that not only was the New Zealand culture similar to their own but that there were plenty of jobs for teachers. They were able to quite easily get sufficient points by being teachers to migrate to New Zealand, something that only reinforced an impression that jobs were readily available. Unfortunately the information regarding teaching posts was historical rather than current. Jane presents the outcome of this on her husband's situation as 'disappointing' and, at this point, just says that he subsequently got a job at the bank. It seems that despite her husband's difficulties, which at this point aren't entirely recounted, the couple decided that Jane and the children would still come as she would be under less pressure to get work. However, in acknowledging that she too faced the same difficulties as her husband we are given more insight into their shared experiences - "secondary school teaching jobs were not that available and secondly as a foreign teacher you were not that welcome because schools feel that you don't understand the culture, you don't have the background, you don't understand how schools work here, you don't understand the children". Though she did get a contract job after a while at a local school, and this allowed her full registration in New Zealand, it did not help her get a teaching job once the family moved to Auckland. Hence her involvement in a short retraining course. But despite numerous applications she still had no success. One principal told her that there was such competition for jobs, and applications from so many foreign trained teachers that they often did not even get considered. Even if she was considered she was frequently told she lacked New Zealand background and such.

Thus she found herself in a position where "I just got to the point where I got sick of it. I got sick to be told that you don't have any experience. I got sick to not even have my application looked at. I just got sick of the whole thing" so she got a job in a supermarket. Her story moves us quickly to a shift to a job in a large retail chain which she positively describes as providing opportunity and being open to everyone. She recounts her moves within that organisation and the training opportunities she has taken up. She ends her initial narrative with the observation that: "At least now I am teaching people again, even though it's different. Even though I am not earning what I could earn as a teacher, I have some peace in myself which is worth a lot more". Indeed, there is a constant tension in her account that is, perhaps, emblematic of her experiences, and comes from her having the tenacity and will to overcome adversity but at the expense of her teaching hopes and ambitions. She adds after a pause that it is hard to move away from your area of expertise as you are considered too qualified by some employers – and here we learn about that her husband was rejected for service station work just because of this – or a risk by others since you will likely leave once you get what you are really looking for. This leaves the person in a no man's land – without money or a job.

In what follows, we get a much more detailed account of various experiences only briefly touched on so far since Jane's initial narrative is a tightly packaged account of the family's experiences in New Zealand. While there are hints of the struggle and emotion that are an integral part of it, most of that emerges in the subsequent parts of the interview.

The reasons for migrating were, firstly, personal and, secondly, related to various aspects of South African society. Jane cites, for example, concerns over their personal security and safety, especially for the children, the education system and the long-term employment prospects. So, although they had good jobs with good incomes, the future did not look so good for their children. We then get some more detail on the actual process of migrating, particularly the husband's experiences. He went to Hamilton initially, where they had friends and stayed with them as he searched for work. His first job was in Auckland so he moved there. There is some discussion of the very dubious practices of the company he initially worked for in relation to new migrant professionals and after not being paid he approached the bank that had also offered him a job to see if they had anything. They could only offer him a lower level position but he took it given that the family were due to join him shortly - "with two degrees and a diploma he started on the sort of wages that the tellers were starting on. But he took it because we had to start somewhere".

This takes us to the family's arrival in Northland and her work and job search experiences in such a small place and then to the move to Auckland. Her supermarket work was on a rostered basis (not Monday to Friday) and she deliberately organised a weekday off to allow her to spend a whole day job searching. She makes some telling observations at this point, arguing that teaching is not a job, it's a career, but her New Zealand experiences have been so damaging - "to be told over and over and over you are not good enough" - that she decided she would not teach ever again. Her experiences caused stress in the family and her husband struggled to understand why she would work in a supermarket when she could ultimately be a teacher. Even in her efforts to use her background but not directly in teaching she came up against the demand for "New Zealand experience". Like others she asked "where are you supposed to get this Kiwi experience if you are not allowed to start?" She also asks why prior experience need be so completely devalued in New Zealand. One of her closing remarks is that migrants need opportunities and support initially.

Thus she decided to move out of teaching and look for opportunities with a large chain store. Her husband was also moving into more senior positions with the bank. They own their own home and have gradually become "settled". Her experiences were such that had she been able to afford it she would have readily returned to South Africa in those early years. She talks about the immigration agent, a New Zealander living in South Africa, who advised them. Like many other clients they found the picture he painted of New Zealand inaccurate and misleading. While they also sought out information from other sources, "reading up and living it is two things". Jane also highlights what she sees as the official versus the public position. The former may be encouraging to migrants, but her day-to-day experiences of the latter are the opposite - "if the population doesn't want that, the immigrants here, then the government should listen to that ... Not tell them 'you're welcome'". Now that she is settled here she is less forgiving of the attitudes of New Zealanders but worries that many migrants don't want to offend because they see themselves as "guests". So, she thinks, they have a positive public story and a less flattering, and often quite sad, private story. Part of her motivation was to ensure that a less flattering story such as hers was part of this research. At this point Jane wonders about New Zealander's attitudes to outsiders, whether it is visibly different ethnic groups, those more inconspicuous groups who reveal themselves through their accents, and/or those whose culture somehow differentiates them. She is pleased with the government's changed policy towards skilled migrants and thinks they could go even further. A

frustration for Jane is the tendency for some migrants to expect and get government support soon after arriving. Despite their own experiences and difficulties this was something they never contemplated.

As an aside Jane reveals some of her daughter's school experiences in New Zealand. After arriving in Auckland she was placed in the lowest class at the local school. Already an outsider she was ostracised even more when she excelled at schoolwork. She became depressed and was keen to return to South Africa when she had finished school. However, after her impressive efforts in that first year she was appropriately placed the following year which resulted in a very positive transformation. At an already stressful period, this was yet another major difficulty to cope with for the family.

Jane agrees that women do seem more willing than men to engage in lower skilled, lower paid work. But that does not mean that that is where their aspirations lie. It is simply a matter of necessity and a response to circumstances – "women are prepared to do it because they have to put food on the table". In drawing the interview to a close, Jane talks about migrants having to be creative, resourceful and resilient people. Thus, since her husband was deemed "overqualified" to pump gas, she didn't mention her own background and qualifications when applying to work as a shelf stacker or checkout operator. Later, when she sought promotion she used these to her advantage. Accordingly, she sums up the migrants' lot as having to "grow a thick skin ... focus on something there and work towards it ... find a way". That is what she has done but it doesn't stop a lingering discontent that despite what she has achieved it is still not what she expected and would really love to do – teach.

INTERVIEW 7 – RAM

The Lived Life

Ram is in his early forties and comes from India. He holds qualifications in accountancy, law and management, and has worked at a senior level in human resources management in the banking sector. Although married with a teenage daughter, Ram's family have not joined him to settle in New Zealand. He had been in the country about 18 months when interviewed. Ram offered to be part of the research after reading about it in a local newspaper.

After his university studies Ram gained employment with an Indian bank. His prior and subsequent studies earned him an undergraduate degree in human resource management, a law degree, a Masters degree in public administration, and registration as a chartered accountant. He worked for the bank for around twenty years rising to a senior management position in charge of a large staff and network of branches. During this time he married and his daughter was born in the late 1980's. In 2001 Ram's secretary completed the paperwork for New Zealand residency on his behalf and in March of that year he resigned from the bank after 20 years service. After a couple of months of not seeking work, Ram travelled to South Africa at a friend's invitation and shortly after accepted the offer of a six month management contract with a large international vehicle dealership in Botswana. Early in 2002, at the end of that contract, Ram returned home to India. A couple of months later his residency application to New Zealand was approved. Initially, however, he returned to Botswana to consider an offer of a further 12 month contract but soon decided to fly to New Zealand. He arrived in April 2002 and after having his property stolen while living in backpacker's accommodation he decided to return and booked a flight for one month's time. During that period he looked for any type of work and secured a job making sandwiches for a service station franchise. This was shift work

and not full time employment. He then decided to postpone his return a further three months and began searching for work more in keeping with his background and experience. Shortly after this he started a computing course and an introductory social work course and later began voluntary work at a migrant resource centre. The social work course was completed at the end of 2002 but to obtain full credit for it he needed some placement experience. This was available through his voluntary work. At the end of 2002 Ram had made inquiries regarding getting his law qualifications recognised in New Zealand and began one of two necessary papers in 2003. His social work placement and the computing course came to an end in mid 2003. Shortly after he got a full-time position at the migrant resource centre and was able to finally give up the sandwich making which he had kept up all this time. He was then appointed co-ordinator for a migrant assistance project he had developed earlier in the year and which was subsequently approved for funding. This was with the same migrant resource centre and he was continuing with this job and his law related study when interviewed.

The Told Story

Ram's story represents the longest initial narrative of all the interviews. It is also unusual in that it follows more closely a chronological account that, unlike many others' accounts, begins well before he arrives in New Zealand and which considers, unprompted, many factors relating to his migration. It is a personal account augmented by analytical reflection prompted, perhaps, by his involvement in work and policy related to migrant employment. Such a rich account offers the insight that such stories are not chronologies. Even being well through out and detailed does not mean a story simply recounts a life as lived. Rather it is a woven representation of those events and experiences.

Ram's account is also unusual for other reasons. For instance, we find out immediately that migration was never something he planned or even thought of. This may account for how completely unprepared he is for life in New Zealand. That said, many of those I spoke with who had prepared were still confronted with considerable challenges and much that was unexpected. We also learn about a crucial element in his story; "I am a Hindu. ...in our religion we believe that destiny is the biggest factor ... destiny takes care of everything" though, as he points out, this is in a much larger and more complex sense than "where is your next meal ... where you will go next day". Thus, destiny becomes a principal motif in Ram's account.

To complement his assertion that migration was not something he ever thought about Ram reveals the very unusual circumstances of his residency application which was filled in by his secretary. In fact she prompted the whole process feeling that this was something he should experience, though he reports feeling very settled and comfortable where he was. Despite these sentiments there was some discontent, after so long with one employer. Thus, having realised the benefits he would be entitled to if he left the bank after such lengthy service, when the bank appointed him to undertake some change management in a distant area, he decided to quit. After enjoying a couple of relaxed months he became restless. Much later in response to a question he indicates that he had thought he might engage in some form of self-employment given his diverse background. And so emerges another important theme in Ram's story – the importance of work, whether this is before migration or after. However, when a close friend suggested working in Africa he treaded warily and went on a holiday to see if he liked it. At the end of his trip he made a presentation to a company offering him a six month contract and was appointed. When this was finished he decided to return home before considering a further contract. While back in India his New Zealand residency was approved. Again he reiterates his complete lack of engagement in this. While everyone else was excited for him and keen that he should take up the opportunity, Ram asks, "What is so big in it? I don't know. ... I was not so excited. ...I was not knowing where New Zealand [was]". So

he decided to return to Africa first to see what was on offer there. Once more he was confronted with many people insisting he should take up the New Zealand opportunity, as he could always return if things didn't work out. The voices of others, as will be seen, are very important in Ram's story. However, there is a paradox here in that Ram often appears very independent and gives a sense of aloneness. This paradox provides an ongoing tension.

Finally Ram decided to heed their advice and travelled from Africa to New Zealand, arriving in April 2002. He recounts vivid reactions to that arrival - the airport was surprisingly small to him; the streets were empty (it was a Sunday); he had no accommodation organised and settled on a backpacker's hotel not really aware of what this was. On his second night he was robbed at that hotel and immediately booked a flight home.

As he tells it, this initial period clearly represents the first clash of his past and with his present. People are telling him that he needs New Zealand experience, local networks and to write his CV a particular way. For Ram this means "if I have to learn how to write a CV, that means certainly I am not an HR Manager anymore. So I removed my cap first". He had already learned in his brief job searching to that point that his previous experience and qualifications could be more an impediment than a help. "So I changed my strategy ... If I tell I'm HR Manager ... they started keeping their distance. So I said, no, I don't want to disclose anymore what I was. I will simply go and ask for a job as if I am nothing". This marks a deliberate strategy of severing of the past, to a degree and for a time, since we will later see that Ram is now reconstructing ties with the past through his efforts to practice law. Eventually this approach landed Ram a job making sandwiches – a radical change in every respect from his previous work experience.

Although still planning to return to Africa, a chance encounter changed Ram's mind. A friend with a similar background gave him a plan that he decided to trial for three further months. The input and influence of this friend is interesting. As Ram puts it: "every time when I made an intention to leave something or other, either friends or circumstances force me to remain here". The plan involved taking on some computer training and doing a New Zealand based course that in some way connected with Ram's previous experience. Ram chose to do a social work course building on his human relations background. He continued applying for more suitable jobs and started voluntary work. All this, his friend assured him, was aimed at gaining New Zealand experience in various ways. These steps did lower his dissatisfaction and he saw some future in New Zealand. It was hard and demanding work combining everything, however. The results were admission to the local social work association and a free computer for the high standard of his work on that course. In relation to the other jobs he applied for Ram later talks of getting quite far through the selection process in a couple of cases but failing because of his lack of local experience, his age and his recent arrival in the country. In more general terms he feels that employers may be cautious about the ability of migrants to fit into an organisational culture and they may be wary of employing what they perceive as over-qualified people. The large number of small businesses in New Zealand is another issue he identifies as is the reliance on networks and not on advertising. He recounts his own realisation after six months of frantic job searching that he needed to lower his sights and become more selective in what he applied for.

Something of a momentum seems to be building now, beginning with the offer of work at the migrant centre. At the same time he was keen to improve his prospects and use his law qualifications so he inquired about practising in New Zealand. Although it was quite expensive to register with the Law Society and he had to complete two university papers, he was able to borrow the money and was successful in gaining entry to the Law School at Auckland University. He was able to undertake these studies by having time off from work. He describes moving into law as something he is passionate about and it is clearly

a driving force for him as he plans how to arrange a period of supervision with a qualified lawyer in the following year. Ram's employment also improved with the offer of a co-ordinator's position managing a project he had developed to assist migrants into work. This was a project that he had developed and clearly is a product of his own migrant experiences.

At this point Ram suggests that that is his story. However, he wants to ensure that his relative success at the time of the interview should not obscure the "trouble", "heartburning", "distress" and "regrets" he has experienced. To emphasise this he talks of the jobs he missed out on, reiterating the negative reaction he got for his qualifications and experience but, "I do a short course in Auckland [and] it is valued more than my doctorate degree overseas". He also talks about changing his "attitude" after realising that Auckland was very different to India in many ways. Though it took some time to adjust, Ram is positive about the lifestyle in New Zealand now. In short he sees the problems that migrants face as threefold: the cultural vacuum they find themselves in, unemployment, and social upheaval. The cost of housing is another that he adds. In closing he suggests that employment is the biggest issue for professional migrants and that this can cause financial and emotional stress and personal and family distress. He believes that success is a very individual thing and that, consequently, people should not measure themselves against him for instance. Although he may be "stabilised" now, this was preceded by plenty of hard times that are now not visible. He intends to carry on and get recognised as a lawyer here. Once he has completed three years he will return to Africa for a time. He ends wondering what can be done to overcome these problems.

Ram's story is now shaped by questions, though these are few given his lengthy self-directed account. In response to a question concerning the immigration changes Ram says that he agrees with them that may well balance out demand and supply in the labour market. However, he acknowledges that it will be interesting to see the actual effects. It is here that he also points out the paradox of migration – that all the things that gain you high points for an application (e.g. age, qualifications, experience etc) count against you once you arrive in a country which every year produces its own batch of young graduates looking for work. This paradox will be noted by others. He also observes that NZQA approval of qualifications can be misleading for migrants as this does not guarantee their acceptance in the labour market. On this last point he voices some mystification as to why overseas qualifications are so difficult to get recognised in New Zealand. For various reasons, many alluded to above, Ram feels that the employment situation is not good for migrants. Some settling problems are to be expected but these are often much greater than anticipated. This was his experience but hope and hard work saw him through: "at the end of the day it is the one who is remains perseverant and also to fight back, perhaps is the one that survives here".

As the interview closes and I am gathering some demographic details, Ram reveals that he is married and has a teenage daughter. This is an unexpected revelation as he has made no mention of this elsewhere in his narrative.¹⁰ His family remain in India and have only visited for a short time since he has been in New Zealand. It seems they did not enjoy the lifestyle here and Ram is keen not to dislocate his daughter from her community at this time.

INTERVIEW 8 – PAULA

¹⁰ Hence my omitting this in the chronology section at the beginning of this case.

The Lived Life

Paula is in her late twenties and from Brazil. She came to New Zealand on holiday just over two years ago and applied for residency almost immediately, remaining in the country throughout the process as she had heard that there could be problems that are best managed in person. This mode of arrival is a feature that makes Paula's story somewhat different from others. Paula, an architect who studied in Brazil and Portugal and has worked in the former, is one of the two single people interviewed for the study. Her participation was the result of her reading an article about the study in a local newspaper.

After spending a year on an exchange programme in Japan, Paula undertook a six year undergraduate degree in architecture, graduating in 2000. She worked full-time for a year as an architect following this. However, having managed to complete large numbers of papers in the initial years of her degree, she had also been able to undertake a considerable number of varied work opportunities during the latter years of her degree that enhanced her work experience. One year of her degree was also undertaken in Portugal. Professionally she has contributed to a published book and has been involved in research that has been presented internationally. In addition to architecture she took some design courses, becoming involved in furniture design and manufacture. Paula arrived in New Zealand for an extended holiday in the middle of 2001 and immediately began the residency process. Once she was able she looked for work, initially hoping to use her architectural background. She has had to do a range of jobs, however as it has proved difficult to get work in her field. She did manage to get some voluntary work assisting an architect and paid employment as a draughting assistant. This has been supplemented with various other jobs - cleaning, catering and café work. In 2003 she began her Masters degree in Architecture.

The Told Story

Paula's opening narrative is a short compressed account of her migration experiences that touches on all the main issues – why she came, the process of applying for residency and her work experiences, both in her profession and more generally. She found New Zealand tranquil and with less violence than Brazil. Her architect's eye saw "too many houses ... that looked the same" so she felt that she could contribute professionally here. This signals an aesthetic dimension to Paula's account and experiences. It is a strong link between past and present, not just in terms of work but in how she views life. An interesting point is that although New Zealand fulfils a desire for security in terms of safety, it fails to bring much security in terms of work.

Unfortunately, it proved harder to get work than she thought and Paula describes the two architecture-related work experiences she has had. One, a voluntary position, was quite positive but came to an end when the architect retired. The other involved more of a draughting role. Paula felt she could have actually managed the whole project but was grateful for the opportunity. Then, after six months, she discovered that she was being underpaid – "I was receiving exactly the same amount as a friend when we were cleaning". At the same time the company decided to restructure her role into a contracting rather than employee relationship. Paula recounts her education and experience at this point – "I invest in my career" – to emphasise the unfairness of this: she talks of her undergraduate degree taken in Brazil and partially in Portugal and alludes to her current Masters study; in Brazil she was involved in many projects; she has contributed to a published text; she has been a team leader; and she is especially well qualified in CAD.¹¹ When she confronted her boss with concerns over her pay his response was that "You

¹¹ CAD stands for Computer Assisted Draughting.

are being asked to be paid like a Kiwi" for the reason he (and others) took on foreign architects, regardless of their qualifications and experience, was "that they really need experience and so they accept it to be paid less".

After this experience, Paula says she preferred to focus on her Masters, especially after a short holiday home to Brazil. Since she still needs an income she started looking for part-time work out side of architecture. Here we learn very briefly about her involvement in furniture and interior design in Brazil. With this background she thought that she might get work in furniture retail. But the responses from advertisers emphasised local retail experience – over-emphasised it in Paula's opinion. They were not at all interested in the overseas experience and references she had. So just prior to being interviewed she saw an advertisement for café staff, that said no experience needed. "So I say at least this one they will not say no, because I am feeling real down". It also fitted well with her studies which continue for another year. Bringing her story to the present also brought the initial narrative to a close.

There were many details I wanted to clarify so there was a period of questions and answers. In this we learn about her initial decision to holiday in New Zealand but how this changed when she arrived and decided to try and stay. She wanted to save as much money as possible – what she would have used for a tour and sightseeing – and remain in Auckland to oversee the application process. Her qualifications were accepted as part of this process and independently by the university so that she could enrol in her Masters. Through the internet she was aware of the requirements for registration for overseas architects – two years supervised experience and two university papers.¹² However, what was not evident in the information she found was how hard it was to get work within the profession to fulfil those requirements. This was as a result of peculiarities of the profession and the wider issue of New Zealand experience. Once more the question of paradox is raised implicitly – what got you the points to settle is devalued once you are trying to settle. Indeed there is the once more the very strong discounting of prior and foreign experience, even such rich and varied experiences as Paula has had which could only add to her profession in New Zealand.

Paula describes her two other overseas experiences – in Japan at the end of her secondary schooling and Portugal as part of her degree.¹³ Once the interview returns to her architectural background, Paula becomes much more narratively engaged, as opposed to just answering questions. She tells of cramming papers into the early years of her degree so that she could work more in the latter years. Her desire for frequent change saw her involved in many projects, including as a team leader at one point. She worked for a council, a heritage protection organisation, on a large public project, and did research into slum dwellings. As well she was involved at the same time in furniture design study and projects. When she returned for her holiday she was able to immediately get work in this area. As she points out, she has done a lot, is very qualified and skilled and is always looking for new challenges. Thus, she doesn't want to be just doing mechanical drawing but using her creativity. Here in New Zealand "I have something to say, I feel like I'm not using my skills. That's why I feel sad". Thus, being able to work in her profession provides not only practical and personal benefits to her, but answers her desire to contribute to her new home. It also allows her to fulfil her personal aesthetic need in creating a life here.

Aware that networks are important she has tried to get to know other migrant architects already in the profession. However, their experiences are far from reassuring. One, who has been here many years, is used to mentor and train new architects but never himself

¹² It is worth noting that architects can work without being registered (but, obviously cannot call themselves registered architects). Indeed, Paula met some New Zealand trained architects in senior roles who were not registered.

¹³ This connection is the result of Brazil once being a Portuguese colony.

gets promoted. Nor does he feel that he is listened to with regards to projects but notes that his ideas can be pilfered by others in the team. His accent is a critical factor he believes. Another overseas architect described the situation in his company when a job is advertised of CVs being disregarded if they were from people with foreign names. At this point she mentions meeting a senior local architect who admits to not being registered. But being registered is important to Paula. She raised the problems she and others have had with getting work given the emphasis on local experience with the professional body but received no reply.

Not wanting to in any way jeopardise her residency application, Paula relied on savings until she could legally work. This meant that it has been quite a struggle financially. Unable to get architectural work she has done a range of low skill, low pay jobs. When interviewed she had decided to focus on her masters and the barrista work fitted with this well. The Masters she believed will make her "more or less equal. I can say I have a degree from here, from New Zealand, not from overseas". Over the coming year she hoped to get into some form of architectural work. Longer terms she is hoping that her Master's focus on concrete as a medium for residential building may get her work. Otherwise she may have to get - not an easy thing to do she says - and work on her own small commissions with external supervision. In light of her past and likely future struggles within her profession, Paula now reveals that she has been taking some short business courses as well in the hope that she can start a small importing business in New Zealand - "I am conscious that I need some parallel things because it would be too hard to survive on my architecture and things".

In closing, Paula talks of being estranged professionally in New Zealand but she remains because of the tranquillity and safety. New Zealand is not a very welcoming place she feels and this may be due to her accent which is a crucial issue for others as well. Though she considers herself visibly different as well, her difference is especially apparent when she speaks. For instance, when she writes she gets better responses that when she makes telephone inquiries. She is sure that this has stopped her getting work. As well, Paula provides more second-hand accounts of selection processes that disadvantage those from overseas and first-hand experience of how foreigners are valued and treated. Paula believes that it is unsurprising that migrants struggle when they have to cumulatively face issues of accent, questions of discrimination, the undervaluing of qualifications and prior experience from overseas, as well as the over-valuing of local experience. It is a matter of giving migrants an opportunity to show what they can do rather than automatic refusals. Like others she notes the need to be persistent. As a single person she realises that she doesn't have to manage all this with a family.

INTERVIEW 9 – MELODY

The Lived Life

Melody is in her late thirties, single, and from China. She came to New Zealand nine years ago to study accountancy at university, but decided to stay after qualifying. As such this represents a slightly different mode of entry into the country. Her involvement in the research came about after she saw an article on the study in a local newspaper.

Melody was born in China and has an older and younger sister. She gained a science degree and worked in a research centre and then an exporting company in a more business orientated role. She moved to New Zealand when she was 29 years old in order to study accounting - China had completely changed its accounting system to the Western model and Melody wished to train in the new system but such training wasn't

available in China at that time. While Melody was at university her younger sister also came to New Zealand to study. They both attended Massey University in Palmerston North and their parents spent a couple of years in the country with both daughters. After getting her degree Melody stayed in New Zealand in order to complete the study and work requirements for becoming a chartered accountant. She moved to Auckland to facilitate this, travelling back to the university when required and to sit exams. Melody's initial job search was a general approach to businesses for graduate-entry positions but this yielded no interest from employers. She then began looking for jobs that drew on her migrant background and she obtained work in the Asian section of a large bank. About six months before being interviewed Melody had decided to set up her own business and has recently taken on an assistant. She is heavily engaged in the business community.

The Told Story

Overall Melody appeared happier answering my prompts and questions than engaging in lengthy self-generated narratives. This may have been because she still feels that her English is heavily accented. It may also reflect what seems to be her very pragmatic approach to life more generally.

Melody begins with some background to her move to New Zealand. Although her personal employment circumstances played a large part, at the same time China was radically changing its accounting system to the Western model and no training in this was available in China. To have such training would be a great asset. Her initial plan to simply get her undergraduate degree was modified after she learned of the additional requirements for becoming a chartered accountant. Her first work experience provided that component and she studied and passed the necessary exams during this time as well.

Given that Melody's migratory experience is somewhat unusual I was interested in her decision to remain in New Zealand after finally completing all these requirements. This was clearly an issue of importance and interest to Melody as she embarked on a lengthy and detailed explanation of her decision making process after returning to China for a holiday at the end of 2002. She was excited by what she found in China, both in terms of opportunities and remuneration. Her sister had returned after completing her degree in New Zealand and had a senior position, but Melody noted that it might be difficult at this later stage to achieve such rapid success. It took Melody six months to decide that her personality and goals were better suited to setting up her own business in New Zealand. While this might not bring the same benefits in the short-term, they fulfilled a long held dream to be her own boss, rather than always an employee, no matter how senior. While she could do this in China, she considered that this was not the best time. Instead she saw benefits in opening a business in New Zealand - "There is so many Asians come here and I am the first qualified chartered accountant of new immigration. I was the first to qualify from China, so I have plenty of opportunity in my particular group. I actually want a big business." Even if she eventually decided to return to China she felt she would lose nothing by doing this in New Zealand. So about six months earlier she had started a business. She now employed an assistant and was looking for bigger premises in order to expand. A little later she considers the possibility that she might set up a branch of this business in China. Indeed she is keen to be at the forefront of greater links between China and New Zealand at various levels.

Despite having made these decisions it is clear from the comments that Melody then makes that she is adaptable and pragmatic in her decision making. If things do not work out in one place or one way she is willing to consider other options. However, that does not mean that she would not give it a very determined try. As she admits in response to a

question, it is her career that is the central factor around which other things circulate. In this sense work is an even more central motif in her narrative and life.

It is now that we learn more about her determination as she recounts the difficulties she had with her studies.

I still remember first time I went to lecture, the only word I can understand is goodbye. ... That's true. So, I can understand but I am not good at lecture. I just studied at home. ... Occasionally the tutor took name down and said I have to participate and sometimes I went to lecture as well, I copied the notes but so I am better off just study by myself.

As she later observes in relation to her studies, but it could equally apply to other aspects of her experiences, such obstacles do not stop her. This also clear in her recounting of her job search. This took place in Auckland (with her flying back for final examinations). After having little success in her initial job search she tried to work out why she was not being successful. Once again age features as she thinks that prospective employers would see her as appropriate for more senior positions as she believes they would see graduate positions are for younger people. Also her prior work experience and qualifications may count against her as well - "I am telling people, I have got a degree, I had a good, wonderful experience and all that, they don't want it, you are overqualified". So she began to tailor her applications more specifically to each job she was seeking - "Just try to market myself to the right person and that way you appear not to be too overconfident". She also started to seek out jobs that would want someone with her background and so turn her disadvantages to advantages. Like others, New Zealand experience was raised as an issue with Melody as well. Hence her willingness to enter the job market at lower levels in order to build up such experience as a means to getting more senior positions. As not everyone who migrants encounter is nice, there is a need Melody believes for migrants to work and try harder and to be strong and positive. In this regard she was keen that her real name be used so that her case can be an example of a migrant contributing to New Zealand society in various ways and as the result of their own efforts and persistence.

Given that Melody's desire to contribute to the research was based on wanting to present a positive set of experiences regarding immigrants – what they go through, what they subsequently contribute, and the potential they possess for future contributions to New Zealand. This was for the government, society more generally and other migrants as well. Accordingly, there is a sense that she expects that others can achieve and overcome through hard work and the like. Melody's account is one of struggle, hard work and success, despite significant hurdles. She suggests that migrants need to be thick skinned, try hard and do better. In this respect her attitude of turning disadvantages into advantages is a key theme. She is rightly proud of her accomplishments - for instance noting that she is the first person from China to graduate as a chartered accountant. The sense of opportunity that migration through hard work offers is part of the reason she is not happy with the changes to government policy which she sees as closing New Zealand off.

INTERVIEW 10 – DOENA

The Lived Life

Doena is in her mid forties, married, with two children. She comes from Sri Lanka where she was a secondary school teacher. Her family had lived in New Zealand for around six

years when interviewed. She responded to an article in a local newspaper and volunteered to be part of the research.

In Sri Lanka Doena trained as a secondary school teacher, and her husband as an industrial chemist. They both had many years experience in their professions before migrating. They have two children born, aged around eight years and four years when the family came to New Zealand. Doena reports that they considered Canada, Australia and New Zealand as possible destinations and eventually arrived in 1997. Both of them began applying for jobs after their arrival. The husband kept this up for six months before starting a university course in his specialist area. He also helped in the laboratory in his spare time. After the course he obtained a job in his field.

Doena began her job search by applying unsuccessfully for various teaching positions. Since she did not have any luck she started doing voluntary work with migrant/refugee families. After a year without getting teaching work she undertook a six month course for overseas trained teachers. At the end of this she continued with her search for teaching work. Early in 1999 Doena started a university computing course part-time. She had continued her voluntary work throughout this period but now changed organisations. Up to this point she had applied and been rejected for a large number of teaching positions. In the middle of the next year and just over halfway through the course she began searching for work again, this time in the computing area. Throughout her job search to this point she had never received an interview. After only a month on this strategy she changed the parameters of her job search and began to look for any work opportunities even in the semi and unskilled category. Very quickly she got work in electronic assembly. After two years in this work she successfully applied for a promotion to supervisor which she had been doing for over six months when interviewed.

The Told Story

At the outset of the interview Doena wanted to be sure of what I was interested in - feelings, actions or what - and I reassured her it was whatever and however she wanted to tell me. Doena's opening account is very focused on the issue of work and provides an intense but short overview of her difficult work experiences. She begins by establishing the equivalency and acceptability of her qualifications and the failure to initially get any employment, even after 150 or so applications. This led her into taking the course for overseas teachers. From this she learned the differences between the New Zealand and Sri Lankan systems but is quick to reassure me that, as professionals, all the overseas teachers were capable of the transition. A period of applying for teaching jobs, again without success, saw Doena decide to change tack. With minimal explanation she describes starting a university course in computer programming. But then, only half way through she stopped to search for work in this field. Again she had no luck and then reaches the conclusion that she should just look for any work.

Rather than turning to this next stage in her job search, Doena takes an unexpected turn and talks briefly about the various forms of voluntary work she has been involved in during this whole period. She did this "because I did not want to waste my time". Only now does she return to her more general job search that quickly resulted in her getting a full-time and permanent job - initially on a night shift and then rotating between morning and afternoon shifts - on a production line in an electronics company. This is the source of a narrative that describes the highly qualified and multi-national character of much of the workforce. She compares this with the lower qualifications of the supervisors. There is also a reference to difficulties she and others had with a much younger New Zealand born supervisor.

Getting this job, and the various aspects she recounts are obviously pivotal to Doena making sense of her situation since she now declares "I realised the situation". In reflecting on her own experiences and talking to others Doena posits the idea that it might be migrants' accents that are the greatest impediment to their getting work. However, this doesn't stand up to scrutiny when she considers that it wasn't a problem in her voluntary work. Instead she sees that in terms of paid employment there are not enough jobs for everyone so it is only fair - "if I think in my country, same situation, I do the same" - that New Zealanders should get first preference - "if somebody come to my company, if there are two I give first preference to my country people". Now that she has made sense of what has happened to her and that she and her husband both have jobs - even if her job is far removed from her professional background - she declares herself "satisfied" and draws her opening narrative to a close.

The remaining narratives are in response to my questions and I first asked about the decision to migrate. Her initial response is that this was prompted by a desire to get away from the violence and danger of the civil war in Sri Lanka. This was especially frightening for children and she then develops the children's education as the main thing behind their migrations. This is reinforced when a little later she tells how they decided upon New Zealand. With insufficient points for Australia they were guided by a friend already in this country who recommended an Auckland school. Another issue was the corruption in various areas of social life in Sri Lanka. This affects people's access to all sorts of things such as healthcare and education as well. It is clearly a critical and intense issue:

I do some part-time job at moment, delivering papers, sometimes in the wintertime, cold and rain. I always curse my politicians. Because we had good jobs and good everything. We didn't do this type of job in there, because we had good standard in there, good houses, jobs and everything, our relatives and everything. But why we still here, if we have the same country like this, we won't come here. Who made us come here? Our politicians because they are the ones who made the corruptions and not only war. Actually I don't blame New Zealand, I blame my own country, my politicians, they are the ones who made us to come here.

It seems then that there are a number of inter-locking reasons for their migration.

An intriguing aside that emerges as Doena recounts her friend recommending New Zealand in terms of education is the fact that this friend was also a teacher from Sri Lanka. She had retrained in New Zealand and still struggled to get work, as did another Sri Lankan teacher she knew. Although these experiences didn't appear to affect Doena's belief that she could get a job teaching, she does acknowledge that these stories meant she never saw the point of doing New Zealand teacher training.

The interview then moves into a brief discussion of her husband's experiences. This is of interest since he tried for six months to get a job in his field without success. He realised that he might benefit from doing a New Zealand based course in his field. During the course he also helped in the laboratories on a voluntary basis out of hours. A referral and recommendation from his course supervisor ultimately lead to him getting work.

Although they clearly had friends in this country Doena recalls that she and her family based much of their expectations of New Zealand on a New Zealand Immigration Service publication. They were quickly disabused of the picture painted in the this book.

Actually when I read that book I thought everything we can get it from this ... And we thought, okay, after we go there we would find good jobs ... but the picture has changed after one month. Frustrated actually, after one month, two months. Because of that book. I think still I have or I throw it away that book, I hate that book.

She is also critical of the fees charged by the service to settle here, thinking that it would mean that they would be provided with various forms of assistance. Instead she came to realise that it was a processing fee (though they did get a three month subscription to the Service's magazine). This discussion about how very different the reality of life in New Zealand was compared to the how it was portrayed brings Doena back to recapping her understandings of why things are the way they are. Against the background of her 'New Zealanders first' thesis, which she is adamant is not discrimination, she now adds that for migrants "if you try, if you try, if you try, you can get a job". Of course this may not have been the job you imagined or wanted but, with your foot in the door, you can show your talents. As proof of this she talks of getting a promotion against ten others (none of whom were New Zealand born) who had more qualifications but less specific experience. In this story she tells of how her boss, himself a Sri Lankan was scrupulous in his process so that no claims of favouritism could be levelled if she got the job.

As I was curious about an earlier comment she had made regarding accent, among some closing questions aimed at clarifying various details of her story I offered her the opportunity to expand on this issue. In response she recounts being told by a senior teacher that he always sorted applications by surname, removing those that were 'foreign'. Hence, she says, the tendency for people from overseas to adopt a European first name. His advice was to speak to the head of department as he always picked out the applications of people he had personally spoken to. Unfortunately, Doena's experience was that she could never get past the school secretary - "because of our accent on the phone I think". She then spoke of a meeting with various parties at the end of the course she went on for overseas trained teachers. There the question was asked why so many migrant teachers can't get work to which one principal replied that he had to consider his pupils and pick people whose accent would not be hard to understand. (Apparently the reply from the teachers was that migrant children seem to cope with Kiwi accents.) This discussion evokes a memory of a placement at a school during that course. The behaviour and attitude of some of the children was quite a shock to her. Now, having been a parent of children in the system for a number of years and become knowledgeable about and used to the New Zealand culture more generally she feels she could cope with teaching. Thus, despite some earlier sense of being settled it is clear that Doena would still like to teach. Unfortunately, her first step in this direction - applying to renew her registration revealed that changes to regulations in the time she has been away from teaching mean it is even less likely she will be able to return. The ambivalence as to her future in relation to teaching demonstrates, I believe, how difficult it can be to break those connections to our past that give us some sense of who we are. It is not easy for everyone to readily reconstruct themselves or to make sense of the dislocation between past and present, even after a disjunctive event like migration. This is conveyed in the underlying dissatisfaction or unhappiness I sensed in Doena's narrative despite some assurances to the contrary.

There is a brief discussion of how voluntary work can help migrants. This is especially true in terms of it providing some sort of 'New Zealand experience' through exposure to workplace culture, practices and the like. Doena also reveals that her long efforts to stay with teaching in New Zealand relate to a level of insecurity and uncertainty in work in this country that she is not used to. In Sri Lanka people tend to want, and are able, to stay in one job or profession all their lives. In a short exchange about Doena's impressions of the New Zealand education system for her children she once more reiterates how corruption in Sri Lanka would have limited their chances. Consequently, she thinks there are more possibilities here in New Zealand.

In concluding what she wanted to say Doena returns to two key issues for her - discrimination and accent. In respect of discrimination, once again she reiterates that what she and other migrants face is not discrimination in her terms. Rather, it is a lack of knowledge about others and their cultures, and a consequent preference for a New

Zealander because this is their culture and country – "I don't think it's discrimination. If they understand who you are, until that, they do discriminate. First chance I think they were afraid to give us a job because they don't know. They think: they come from other country and what's their culture?" There is, here, a subtle change in her argument that introduces the importance of time in the country, the value of particular experiences and a sense of acculturation. In regard to the issue of accent, Doena emphasises the difference between language and accent problems by pointing out that Sri Lankans use British English, and use it well. As a consequence they struggle to understand New Zealand accented English which is one of many variations between and even within English speaking countries and regions. This, she feels, is more easily overcome than people want to admit.

From her story I think it is readily apparent that *understanding*, is very important to Doena. In an overall sense understanding represents a very deliberate reflection on why she finds herself in these circumstances and the development of an acceptable rationale that she can articulate in her life and story, to herself and others – what I refer to *now I understand*. For Doena, this understanding does not involve discrimination, as she defines it, but a preference for the indigenous population, and an appreciation of migrants over time. In a second sense, understanding relates initially to the issue of accent which gradually gains importance in her account. Because of the difficulties people have with her accent she comes to realise that she apparently cannot be easily understood. However, she clearly expands this beyond accent to take on a wider significance in her references to foreigners cultures and backgrounds not being known or appreciated. Without being too obtuse, the two senses can be taken together to produce the rationale that Doena *now understands that New Zealanders don't understand her*.

In relation to a specific question regarding the recent changes to immigration policy Doena appeared to have mixed views. On the one hand, when considering their own poor experiences and how these failed to match expectations set up by the Immigration Service information they were given, Doena thought the changes were good. They would mean that people would have work and wouldn't have to suffer the struggles and indignities that she, especially, has been through. On the other hand she recognises that it may well stop lots of people coming here and make things very hard for them to migrate.

By way of closing Doena reflects on the shortages of teachers that she has been aware of and wonders why she and her overseas colleagues were never accepted. She looks back on the course they did as a waste of time and money, especially since she thinks no-one on it got work. In her final remarks she wonders whether she will return to teaching but is put off by the additional tests, especially in respect of English language requirements, that she would have to complete without any guarantees she could get work. Perhaps it would be better and easier to just stay where she is and try for another promotion.

Although the primary and sustained focus of this interview was on Doena and her experiences, we have, vicariously, learnt about her husband's experiences. This presents us with two contradictory outcomes within the same family - the husband's struggle but ultimate success in getting work that reflects his background (qualifications and experience) and Doena's extended struggle, including a range of strategic and tactical manoeuvres, that has ended with her in work, but of a very different kind and quality to her background. Other cases also present such different outcomes but none have a couple who both fit our categorisation of professional but have very different experiences.

INTERVIEW 11

The Lived Life

This couple are in their forties and come from India. They have two children – a son nearing the end of his secondary education and a younger daughter. The husband is a specialist surgeon who has worked predominantly for Missionaries. The wife, who was the principal applicant in the residency application, has a Masters degree but has mostly worked in administration, fundraising and other ancillary roles in relation to her husband's employment. They had been in New Zealand 10 months at the time of interview. I was approached by the wife after she read an article about the research in the local newspaper. While keen to share her own experiences she was particularly interested in having her husband's story told. As he was a migrant doctor, this was very relevant to the study especially since, unlike many earlier migrant doctors, he had come fully aware of the restrictions on his ability to practice but hoped to find work that utilised his wider background and skills. This interview was somewhat different from any of the others in that both the husband and wife were present and contributed. Thus it fell outside the strict model of biographic-narrative interviewing as presented in the methodology section. However, it is possible to construct this in terms of a "couple's" biographic-narrative of their migration story.

This couple chose New Zealand as their primary migration destination and the family arrived in Wellington in February 2003. The husband immediately got casual work as a caregiver and the wife shortly after got temporary employment in a reception role. She briefly tried caregiving herself but "couldn't take it". After about three months the family moved to Auckland as the husband tried to gain temporary registration with the Medical Council. As part of this he had already found a supervised position as a GP in a rural town. However, regulations prevented this and he had to again turn to casual caregiving, which he was still engaged in at the time of the interview, while applying for more appropriate positions. The wife had worked in a temporary administration position with a charitable organisation while the family were in Wellington. She was given office work by a friend following their move to Auckland, but she too kept looking for suitable work. Initially, though, she was forced to take an assistant's job in a bakery before getting a part-time telephone interviewer position with a market research company.

The Told Story

As was indicated above this is a slightly different told story, being a couples' account of their migratory experiences. That said, it is a very orderly dual account. As the husband described it, he could provide more 'objective' facts while his wife added more of the emotional side. And that was how it progressed largely, with an orderly discussion involving both parties.

Despite acknowledging that he was aware of the difficulties migrant doctors faced trying to practice in New Zealand, the husband's initial story is very much structured around that theme. His initial narrative begins with their arrival in the country and their first work engagements but then outlines the ultimately unsuccessful efforts he and others made to help him get temporary registration. This failure returned him to caregiving work and he engages in a detailed account of the negative impact of this on he and his family. Since he views the Western system of medicine very positively he also outlines the efforts he has made and the obstacles encountered in just trying to get some exposure as an observer to ophthalmic practice in this country. He ends his opening narrative by evaluating their migration by contrasting the image so often portrayed of New Zealand

where "apparently everything is beautiful, everything is clean ... we have been lead to believe so much" with "the raw deal" they have been given - in the work they have had to take, the money they have had to spend (which would have provided for their retirement), and the overall struggle they have encountered - that has meant "our spirit is broken" and they may have to return home.

Being asked about their reasons for immigrating offers the wife an opportunity to enter the conversation and she draws a lengthy picture of the situation regarding higher education in India that they sought to escape for their children's benefit. Briefly, admission to university has been made more available to those previously disadvantaged castes and tribes. This has meant that those from higher castes (and as Christian, although they do not recognise the caste system, this means they are assigned to the forward castes) must have very high marks to gain entry or be able to pay exorbitant fees. Countries like New Zealand also offer much more varied degrees. This discussion of education allowed the wife to then turn to her husband's situation during which she became very angry and upset. She describes how people talk of transferable skills even if people's original qualifications aren't recognised - though she struggles to see why this should automatically be so. She too acknowledges that they may return home given their dire financial and emotional situation and since her son is old enough to remain and study. They both declare that they should have been told before coming of the reality of the employment situation. She then recounts her own difficulties finding suitable work.

Like others the wife accepts that New Zealanders have first call on jobs but believes that the expectation of her and her husband are not unreasonable. She tells stories of her efforts to locate jobs for her husband and the rejections because he is overqualified and lacks job-specific or New Zealand experience. He joins in this as well. Oddly, she observes, he has never been considered too qualified for caregiving - "so when it suits you, your experience and your qualifications doesn't matter, but it doesn't suit you, you are over qualified".

From this point on the interview takes more of a question and answer format and there are briefer comments from both parties. They talk about the very positive impressions they got regarding New Zealand and the encouragement they felt they received to immigrate. This is also a clear desire to succeed and a desperate need to feel that they are contributing to the society they have entered in ways that are meaningful and satisfying to them. Given their experiences they now try to warn people off doing what they did. As with their initial narratives, in their responses to questions there are continual upsurges of frustration and anger at their experiences. Ultimately there is a sadness and weariness that permeates the interview.

INTERVIEW 12 – SARALA

The Lived Life

Sarala and her husband Panini migrated from India with their daughter just six months before being interviewed. This was their second attempt at settling in New Zealand as about two years prior to this time they had arrived but only stayed about a week. As such we have a further variation on the standard model of migration. Panini was a university lecturer in commercial law while Sarala had worked in medical reception, typing and administration. Sarala offered to take part in the research after reading about the study in a local newspaper. Although the interview was with Sarala, who did not perfectly fit into our categorical definition of a professional, it was enlightening in regards of their migration

experiences. Although gathered second hand, the experiences of Panini, who does fit the category of interest are valuable contributions to the study.

Given that this was an interview very focused on work and work experiences and with life in New Zealand, there are not a lot of markers to the lives this couple lived in India. Panini has a university background in both accountancy and commercial law and taught the latter as an Assistant Professor. Sarala has worked for about 10 years in medical reception and medical secretarial work at large facilities and hospitals in India. They had, as Sarala described it, a small family - "my husband, me and my daughter" who was nine when they arrived in New Zealand. Their extended family lived elsewhere in India. As acknowledged above, they had moved to New Zealand two years ago but only lasted a week before a combination of factors - family and health related - saw them return home. On this occasion Panini had arrived a month before the family. Initially he attempted unsuccessfully to get accountancy related work. However, after a month he took a job as a customer services person in a service station. This was a considerable distance from his home and so after a time the owner arranged for a transfer to a closer branch. Having arrived a month later, Sarala spent the first month settling in and getting their daughter enrolled in school. She then began looking for work with little success. After about three months she got called for an interview for a clerical/administration position with a health provider after applying unsuccessfully for a related job. At the time of the interview she was one month into a twelve month fixed term contract.

The Told Story

Although Sarala's initial narrative was somewhat brief she proved to be a very willing and able story-teller as she provided rich narratively oriented accounts in response to my prompts. Her main accounts are focused very much on employment. After outlining her background she explains that the first month or so after migration was spent settling in. After that her job search proper began and continued for a couple of months without success. She tells of struggling to understand her numerous rejections, since she met the criteria outlined in the advertisements, and wondering if there was something wrong with her or the society she had moved to. It was especially puzzling for her that she could be rejected without even an interview when she held all the advertised requirements for jobs. As she was keen to work for a particular healthcare provider recommended by a senior doctor in India her efforts were quite narrowly focused. Despite her efforts not to "lose my persistence ... I didn't want to loose my focus" all the rejections did mean that she "lost confidence ... out of frustration I believe". So began a re-evaluation of herself and her strategies. Part of this involved a WINZ course which prompted a revision of her CV, approach to inquiring about jobs, and how she dressed for and approached interviews. In respect of the later she noted that "Because I don't know these places I went along with my husband for the interview. They told me that you should be more independent. [That] you come along with your husband means that it shows that you are dependent". She also considered English language training, mainly because of her accent not her language abilities, but the costs were prohibitive. Unexpectedly she received a phone call regarding a receptionist position, a job she had not applied for but with an organisation she had made previous applications to. The interview went well and she took up a 12 month contract.

It is interesting that much later, near the end of the interview, and not at this point, that Sarala reveals that during the time she struggled to get work she considered retraining. Given her background she applied for and gained entry to a nursing programme. However the costs and need for a loan put her off and she was saved from making a decision by getting her temporary job. She has deferred the acceptance for a year. It is the pressure of not getting work that often makes migrants consider such options when they may not always be wise in the longer term, but which only hindsight reveals.

At this point Sarala's comments become more general and she notes the wealth of talent, expertise, knowledge and experience that migrants bring to a country, and how many give up so much to migrate. If she had not got this job she wonders if she too might not have become one of those who consequently regrets the decision to migrate. She had been reluctant to consider other lower skilled work as she found it hard to understand why she should not use her skills and experience over other work in which she has neither. This opens up a discussion of her husband's situation. Having arrived a month before to find somewhere to live, he had applied for jobs in the accountancy field. Having had no success, he got what she describes as a "break" at a Mobil station - "it is completely different to his field but it is life, so to live the life naturally, one has to get into that market". It allows him to gain experience in the customer relations area, although he would like to work in accountancy or to teach or something akin to that. However, he has "the same problem with the language. He speaks very good English but accent is completely different". Accent is an issue that she will return to and is prominent in her narrative.

The interview now turns to their reasons for migration. Unlike others in this study, Sarala and her husband's decision to migrate was based on a desire to experience change after lengthy periods in their current work - she talks of routine and monotony. They were separated by distance from their extended family already in India so this was less of a wrench than for others. This represents a different motivation for migration from others but in line with the aspiration of Jerry and his family for instance. It would seem that the actual changes they have experienced have been more severe and more widespread than they may have imagined.

It is here that their first abortive attempts is recounted and integrated into her story. As she tells it, they were less prepared for the significant economic and emotional impact, and in a short time they were affected by unhappiness, illness and loneliness. Obviously, as they reflected on this they realised that, despite the expense, they had not given it a sufficient trial and that to be sure they should return before their visa expired. This 'first go' at migration, even if it was only brief prepared them in some ways for their second attempt. The earlier experience meant a different approach, however, and Panini arrived a month early to establish a home and hopefully get work. Because of its shortness, the first attempt could not prepare them for the problems they encountered in the work sphere however, even though Sarala and her husband were able to get work reasonably quickly. Achieving this was obviously critical - "Once we got job we had some confidence that we can live up here".

It transpires that Sarala had high expectations that her background and experience would easily be recognised here but was quickly disabused of this. Rather she realised that all too easily one could be forced into low-quality, low-skill work and become frustrated. To her this means a kind of breaking of the continuity of life in relation to her work that she had imagined being retained in New Zealand. Interestingly, she quickly moves on from negative possibilities - "we should not hear them. The negative ideas, their impressions, we should not carry them" - given the huge impact they can so easily have. It is important to always be positive and to keep trying. That said she recognises the negative impact on her husband of the work he is now doing. Although positive in terms of New Zealand work experience - which she earlier was critical of, saying employers "expect New Zealand experience and until somebody gives you the break, how do you get the experience? It is the major problem to the migrant I believe" - this is a radical and difficult change for him and "he feels very bad about it sometime". Here is some very real evidence of just the kinds of negative effects Sarala spoke of above since not only does he feel bad about it, but it is a job they need. More positively she believes that it will just take time for him to get where he would like to be. The shift work nature of his job does allow the care of their daughter to be better organised since both of them work and the kindness of his first

manager has enabled him to shift branches from the North Shore to closer to his inner city home. This kindness is a practical example of the positive view they have of ordinary New Zealanders.

In closing, Sarala emphasises their desire to be independent and to contribute to society but how the work problems make this difficult. She wonders if efforts and support at the outset might not reap rewards a little later. Having earlier identified 'New Zealand experience' as a major obstacle to migrants getting work she now isolates 'accent' not language as the main problem as it hinders everyone regardless of their background and experience. It is a sign that New Zealanders perhaps don't easily accept outsiders.

A theme running through this interview follows the adage 'accentuate the positive, eliminate the negative'. There are moments when the negatives of Sarala and her husband's experiences leak into the narrative and occasionally they threaten to overwhelm it. But each time she manages to re-work the narrative to evaluate or argue in some way the positive angle. This is perhaps easier for her given her success in finding equivalent work. Her husband's experiences are harder to restructure and it would be especially interesting to hear his account.

A THEMATIC ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the first of two devoted to reporting the findings of this study. As the name indicates, the structuring principle for the chapter is around themes that emerged as part of the analysis. Rather than isolate these findings from other related research I have opted to preface each set of findings with a short outline and overview of relevant literature that allows the theme to be contextualised. While the literature does not always neatly align with my thematic categories this approach will, I hope, be of benefit to the reader.

The first section in this chapter considers the reactions and evaluations of those interviewed to recent changes to immigration policy. It is situated early in the chapter as the review and discussion of immigration policy in New Zealand that precedes the findings is an important means of contextualising the whole study. Like other studies of professional migrants the main focus in this report was on employment issues and a labour market focus is the subject of the next section which examines the particular difficulties that professional migrants face in getting their qualifications recognised and being able to work in their profession. As part of that section the theme of the 'paradox of migration' is explored as is the issue of 'New Zealand experience'. Since the research approach adopted in this study allowed participants to set the agenda somewhat, the interview content and analysis also canvassed a much wider terrain than work and employment. Thus, the chapter then opens up to a wider set of issues that are grouped under the heading of 'The Struggle that is Settlement'. Canvassed here are short discussions under the headings of courage, motivations, knowledge, opportunity and discriminations. The last briefly looks at the issue of accent and how some migrants reframe the issue of discrimination. Finally, the issue of non-standard work (NSW) can be considered in relation to migration. Although this is a central concern of the study, it has been reported on last as the understandings that emerge from these outcomes are enriched and informed by the preceding literatures and findings.

NEW ZEALAND IMMIGRATION POLICY

While it has always been closely tied to labour market considerations, immigration policy has tended to be used in relation to short-term labour market conditions, rather than as part of any longer-term economic development or population strategy. As such it was characterised by a list of priority occupational categories and, up until the 1980's, it was essentially based on discriminatory principles adopted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and reaffirmed following the Second World War (Ongley and Pearson, 1995). This meant that, traditionally, "a strong preference was maintained for British migrants over continental Europeans and for Northern or Western Europeans over Southern Europeans" (Ongley and Pearson, 1995:773). However, a need for semi and unskilled labour in the 1970s saw the first wave of what have been called 'visible' immigrants (Spoonley, 2003) with the arrival of Pacific peoples.

A review and subsequent legislative changes in the mid 1980 saw a gradual liberalisation of immigration policy. Part of this involved the introduction of a non-discriminatory approach "emphasizing economic and occupational criteria, family links, and humanitarian considerations" (Ongley and Pearson, 1995:766). This was aimed at meeting the country's economic and social requirements through by developing New Zealand's human capability base through the selection of skilled migrants who could benefit New Zealand. Eventually these changes would allow an opening up of source countries and saw the arrival of the next collective of visible immigrants, Asian peoples, in two waves: "the first in the early 1990s involving Koreans, Taiwanese and Hong Kong Chinese, followed by the second wave which has seen PRC Chinese and Indians dominate net migration flows" (Spoonley, 2003:7). Each wave has been subjected to intense racialisation.

Various policy mechanisms were also introduced as part of these reforms. These included a points system, an increase in targets for permanent residents, and the introduction of General Skills and Business categories. Despite these shifts, problems and criticisms were continually being raised regarding immigration policy. For example, there were concerns that inadequate monitoring of the Business category migrants meant that the required investments may not always have been made (Ongley and Pearson, 1995). Other concerns were focused on the crude selection mechanisms that failed to adequately and efficiently match either labour market shortages with migrants, or acceptance for immigration with eligibility to work as managed by gatekeeper organisations (Spoonley, 2003). Consequently there were ongoing efforts at policy fine-tuning with adjustments primarily on the criteria for and structure of points allocation but also regarding English language requirements. In short, the General Skills Category "is designed to attract skilled migrants who are likely to secure employment, settle with relative ease, and make a positive contribution to New Zealand" (Benson-Rea and Rawlinson, 2003:60). How successful the policy has been in this regard is, according to Benson-Rea and Rawlinson (2003:61), dependent on how successful migrants are at settling and gaining employment in New Zealand. This report contributes to understanding the experiences of a small group of migrants in those processes.

Despite the focus on skilled migrants that has been gradually strengthened within immigration policy there have been ongoing concerns at this group's levels of unemployment and underemployment. Various factors have been cited in this regard. For instance "a small but growing body of research indicates that employer and organisational discrimination might be a factor (not the only one) in the integration of migrants, especially skilled ones" (Spoonley, 2003:8). As well, employers have been critical about migrants' accents, non-English speaking backgrounds, and their lack of New Zealand experience. The gate-keeping activities of professional organisations have made the recognition of overseas qualifications a further and considerable issue.

Considerable media attention and political interest is periodically focused on the experiences of professional migrants as they settle in this country. A particular concern has been the difficulties – extreme in some cases – that people in this category have faced getting work that in some way reflects their background skills, qualifications and experience. There emerges in such cases, a picture of well educated and qualified people with considerable experience in their fields being forced into work well outside their backgrounds, often requiring limited skills and of low quality and reward and with poor security. From these reports have come rather clichéd but none-the-less accurate portrayals of engineers, doctors, scientists and so on "flipping burgers", "driving taxis", "delivering pizzas" and working as cleaners, caregivers and so forth.

In July 2003 the Minister of Immigration announced further changes to New Zealand immigration policy in respect of skilled migrants. These were aimed at moving from a passive approach that simply processed received applications, to one that actively

recruited the skilled migrants New Zealand requires. In the press release that outlined these changes, the Minister identified that one goal was to end the 'professional-driving-taxi' scenario (Dalziel, 2003). It occurs, according to the Minister, because migrants have gained "residence by meeting the required points, rather than ensuring their skills and talents could be utilised in New Zealand" (ibid.). The new policy introduces a system whereby applicants who meet a points threshold can submit an expression of interest in applying for residence. These expressions are then ranked according to their points score, with regular selections made from those who are in the highest ranks. The points system differs from the previous regimes in that while points are still available for skilled employment in this country, work experience, qualifications and age, it is also possible to accumulate bonus points. These are available for "employment in areas of identified future growth, or absolute skills shortage, or within identified clusters ... for employment outside Auckland and for New Zealand qualifications gained in New Zealand over at least two years" (New Zealand Immigration Service, *no date*).

In all but one case, those interviewed as part of the study had settled in this country by way of the General Skills Category (GSC) and according to the GSC regimes in place at the time of migration. While in other parts of this chapter, various experiences of those processes are recounted, I want to now report on the interviewees' reactions to the latest changes to immigration policy. Half of the people interviewed made some reference to the changes to immigration policy that had been announced just prior to the study commencing. Such reactions will be of interest to policy makers and the like.

Not surprisingly given the difficult and challenging experiences people had, there was a generally positive view of these changes, with one person wanting them even tighter. This was structured around the belief that it was better to "be cruel" at the outset and limit immigration opportunities rather than being "kind" then and accepting lots of people who experienced the "cruelty" later when they couldn't get meaningful and appropriate work, if at all. A couple of those interviewed put this in very strong terms. Further positive outcomes of these policy shifts that some people anticipated might be that those migrants who do arrive could be better assisted and they and the communities they settle in will consequently benefit. Underlying this is the perception that there is a dissonance between the policy, and the labour market and society more generally. While the policy gives the appearance of a society that is open and welcoming towards migrants, this is not how the labour market functioned in the experiences of those interviewed. Nor does it reflect the attitudes and actions of the society, which is in many ways and at many levels unwelcoming and even hostile. There was a suggestion that earlier policy may have been more focused on bringing money rather than people to the country and that the changes are aimed at managing unemployment and welfare issues rather than resolving other matters. Extending this argument, I would suggest that since it only attacks one aspect of migration – policy – it is fair to say that other aspects – as addressed in this chapter and such as reception, discrimination and the like – are not changed or necessarily challenged.

A couple of people were more ambivalent about the policy, with one person suggesting that while he could see the rationale for the changes from a New Zealand perspective and thus understand them, it would be hard for outsiders to not see it as racist. Another person thought it was a sensible move so that others would not have to endure what they had but she knew of potential migrants who had struggled to get work before migrating. Given the difficulties that people already in the country experienced, she wondered what hope those outside would have. Finally, implicit in her comments was a view that in restricting numbers of migrants, such changes also limited the chances for people to leave oppressive or corrupt regimes and unsafe countries.

Only one person was against the changes. Though she thought they might benefit New Zealand in the short term, Melody did not think that the policy was a positive long-term

approach to migration within a global context. For her it signalled a closed and unwelcoming society and meant that we could be excluding people or limiting contacts that could ultimately benefit the economy and society. She also thought it unfair in respect of how it treated those with applications in train.

PROFESSIONALS, MIGRATION AND WORK: THE LITERATURE

A General Overview

This section begins an exploration of work related issues emerging from the labour market experiences of highly skilled migrants and particularly in relation to their professional background. Issues in this regard generally related to how overseas qualifications and experience were treated and valued in New Zealand and the implications for migrants in being able to work in their profession. From this starting point a wider discussion of issues around migration are also canvassed.

The international mobility of professionals is not a new phenomenon but it is one that is growing, both in specific terms and as a component of global migration streams and "this increased level of mobility is one manifestation of the internationalisation of professions or professional labour markets" (Iredale, 2001:8). While it is not germane to the current task, nor possible within the restraints of space, to outline in any detail the current theoretical debates regarding professional migration, some mention of the broad parameters of those discussions is appropriately offered. To this end I briefly outline three broad theories of professional migration that have been identified and discussed by Iredale (2001).

Firstly, there is human capital theory, a micro level approach that explains migration as the result of people moving to find work more appropriate to their education and training. Clearly they now do this inside and outside national borders. Alternatively, at the macro level, is the structuralist neo-Marxist approach that allows for the effects of structural factors such as race, class, gender as well as differentials between rich-core and poor-peripheral nations. However, Iredale (2001) notes that institutional factors, various types of agents and the role of unions (and the like) are excluded from such an analysis. In order to make up for these shortcomings some have suggested that any theory must consider a mix of macro and micro elements, "including the new international spatial division of labour, the nature of careers, the role of intra-company labour markets and the lubrication provided by recruitment and relocation agencies" (Iredale, 2001:9). In a similar but distinct vein, a third body of theory can be identified. This is the 'structuration' approach which incorporates consideration of structural, institutional and individual elements and which recognises that both the state and the private sector are engaged in labour recruitment and that individual and institutional agents play crucial roles in various ways.

As noted earlier, professional migration has been positively affected by the internationalisation of the professions whereby there has been a move away from nationally defined standards and norms of professional regulation to more internationally orientated standards and procedures. Iredale (2001) identifies several reasons and types of shifts in this regard. Firstly, the emergence and strengthening of regional blocks (e.g. European Union, North American Free Trade Agreement) has provided one basis though there is considerable variation on how such arrangements affect professional recognition. Secondly, international agreements and bodies (World Trade Organisation, General Agreement on Trade in Services) can have a similar effect. The global activities of

professional groups and associations is a third factor, although this is uneven among professions. A fourth factor is the development of new skilled labour markets that are fairly independent of national controls. The information technology industry is probably the most obvious example of this.

Iredale (2001) also develops a typology to categorise professional migrants that is useful, to a point, to consider here. Table 2 lists the categories she identifies. Some elements of this typology help elaborate the make up of the sample in this study. For instance, the nature of source and destination categorises migration experiences according to where people moved from and to, often in terms of less or more developed countries. Clearly, in this study, there is a common destination country, New Zealand, although people did consider other destinations as part of their migration plans. The source countries were Brazil, China, India, South Africa, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Philippines and Zimbabwe. Similarly, the nature of the profession is useful in characterising the sample. Those who were interviewed in this study worked in accountancy, engineering, public relations, medicine, hotel management, secondary school teaching, management, law, architecture, and university lecturing. No background appeared to offer a particular easy, smooth or efficient entry into the professional workforce at some level. Length of stay is worthwhile briefly considering in relation to this study. Iredale identifies this on a permanent or circulatory/temporary basis. Except for a woman who initially came to this country to study, another woman who arrived on a holiday and immediately applied for residency, and a man who was unsure of how long he would settle here, all the others who were interviewed intended at the time of arrival for their stay to be of a permanent or extended duration. Despite these intentions, one couple reported that they were likely to return to their country of origin because of difficulties getting suitable work.

Table 2 Typology of Professional Migration

<p>Motivation</p> <p>Source and Destination</p> <p>Channel or Mechanism</p> <p>Length of Stay</p> <p>Nature of Profession</p> <p>Mode of Incorporation</p> <p> Advantaged</p> <p> Neutral</p> <p> Disadvantaged</p>
--

Source: Iredale (2001)

While elements of Iredale’s typology are useful, given that the emphasis seems to be on the work orientation of migration, it is not entirely suited to our purposes. This may appear contradictory given that the present study is itself work focused. However, the issue here is the relationship of work to wider migratory experiences. Elements in Iredale’s model seem to presuppose work as the primary or a principal factor in migration. This is most clear in relation to the category of channel or mechanism by which people migrate and

that Iredale subdivides into: “the internal labour markets of multi-national corporations; the movement of staff within companies to service off-shore work; the role of international recruitment companies and smaller agencies or ethnic networks; and recruitment by other means such as the internet” (Iredale, 2001:17). None of these channels or mechanisms applied to those in this study but rather they used more general processes. That said, work background is not irrelevant to those processes since employment qualifications and experience are important factors in the General Skills Category under which all but one of those interviewed were admitted. The types of mechanisms and channels may also have less relevance in light of the motivations for migrating of those interviewed.

In terms of motivations, Iredale identifies the following categories: 'forced exodus' covers various circumstances where professionals cannot remain in their countries; 'ethical immigration' stands in opposition to force exodus and covers migration prompted by moral or ethical imperatives; 'government induced' migration refers to the practices of governments to deliberately attract highly qualified migrants; and 'industry led' migration is driven by employers. While none of those interviewed in this study reported circumstances that could be construed as being 'forced' to migrate, some did appear to include an 'ethical' dimension in their decision. For some, their choice of New Zealand was sometimes based, in part, by the view they formed that this country was keen to attract overseas professionals (government induced). More commonly, the motivations for this group were *not* based on work related issues, though these were clearly factors in any decisions. Rather, motivations most often centred on a desire to give children opportunities not available in their country of origin. These included education and general security and safety concerns. Personal motives along similar lines were also prominent.

Finally, drawing on the work of Portes and Borocz (1989), Iredale (2001) identifies the mode of incorporation as a critical factor. This considers the nature of migrants' integration into the destination countries. There are three types of reception according to Portes and Borocz. Firstly, there is an advantaged reception where for various reasons a migrant experiences upward mobility in their professional and civic life. Then there is a neutral reception where people become incorporated into the primary labour market at a level appropriate to their experience and qualifications. Finally, there is a disadvantaged reception that can be the result of the policies and programmes of official quarters, closed shop practices, as well as race, legal and other discrimination. Consequently, people can end up unemployed or in low skill work. Such a reception often characterises more closed societies in contrast with open, accepting and flexible migrant destinations (Iredale, 2001:19). While useful at some level, Portes and Borocz acknowledge that it is difficult to compress the range of experiences that migrants have into three categories. In respect of those interviewed it is hard to justify rating any of their experiences as truly advantaged (when compared to their country of origin), even those who had been here some time and were quite settled. It is certainly easier to characterise most of those in this study as having had a disadvantaged reception, particularly in respect of their labour market experiences. That said, some – though not all, it must be added – found their reception at the everyday level quite positive. Interestingly, many of those interviewed formed the impression, prior to arrival, that because the government was very welcoming and encouraging then so too would be the society. However, their experiences after arriving were often quite the opposite.

New Zealand Research

This discussion of reception leads neatly into consideration of how professional migrants have settled in New Zealand. Recent shifts in New Zealand's immigration policies reflect the growing international mobility among professionals just discussed. They are part of our efforts to attract "highly skilled or wealthy migrants to meet the needs of a restructured post-industrial economy" (Ongley, 1996:13). Recent analysis of data from the

last two census reflect the impact of these efforts and show that, on average, migrants were better qualified than New Zealand born and that the qualifications of recent migrants were higher than longer term migrants (Boyd, 2003; New Zealand Immigration Service, 2003). In this section I briefly review the literature from more qualitatively orientated inquiries into the experiences of these highly skilled migrants as they enter, or try to enter, the New Zealand labour market.

Oliver (2000) researched the employment experiences of professional migrants. She found that the migrants she interviewed were intelligent, active and determined job searchers who used a range of strategies to secure employment. Not surprisingly, migrants found their search for work taxing and demeaning in that their substantial experience and qualifications often counted for nothing in this country. Also “there was a strong sense of dissonance at having so much to offer and being so evidently unwanted” (Oliver, 2000:25).

In terms of the barriers people experienced in their job searches, Oliver (2000) identifies four general categories – personal, cultural, economic together with systems and society. The first category covered a lack of ‘smart’ job search skills and people being unfamiliar with New Zealand culture both generally as well as in relation to the labour market and workplace. This meant that migrants lacked the same networks as residents, and were unfamiliar with local practices and knowledge regarding their professions. Other issues in this category were a lack of New Zealand experience that was interpreted to mean that employers wanted people who could do the job with minimal training and supervision. Migrants were viewed as also lacking local knowledge. Although some migrants accepted this position, there was a degree of ambivalence as it was sometimes viewed as protectionist. Oliver suggests that other research points to New Zealand experience being a convenient way to mask other types of discrimination. Despite some obvious discrimination many of those in Oliver’s study often preferred to blame themselves and preferred not to characterise the reasons behind their negative experiences as discriminatory. However, there was a recognition that not just New Zealand employers, but New Zealand society more generally had a “fear of the unknown”. Not unexpectedly then, Oliver also identifies various cultural and religious factors as impeding employment. In summary she suggests that, “the greatest barrier to professional migrant employment was employers attitudes, especially stereotyping of these cultures and a negative attitude towards employing people other than native English speakers” (Oliver, 2000:30).

While a common reason for failing to get a job was given as ‘poor English’, many of those interviewed actually possessed good English ability. The issue was in fact their accents, which could be very strong at times. Accents became a means to exercise discrimination and stereotyping under an apparently reasonable label. On this issue, but from an employers’ perspective, the Equal Employment Opportunities Trust (2000) found that 65 percent of the human resource practitioners and recruitment consultants they surveyed discriminated against job candidates based on them having a non-New Zealand accent. Other groups, relevant to this study, were also subjected to discrimination: those from a different culture (53 percent); Asia (39 percent) and Pacific people (20 percent). The types of discrimination these groups (and others) experienced included a belief that applicants wouldn’t ‘fit in’; stereotyped views; a preference for particular kinds of people; a failure to recognise overseas qualifications and foreign names; and a refusal to interview or short-list based on particular criteria. Age was also an important factor as people sought younger employees. While not necessarily associated with migration status, given that many professional migrants are older when they make the transition they can face this additional hurdle.

Returning to Oliver’s (2000) study she also identifies the economic climate is a factor – difficult economic times reduce opportunities but even in more prosperous periods the level of competition among businesses favours employees who can “hit the ground

running” and not need training and support. A range of what Oliver describes as systemic and societal factors are also canvassed. These include the quality of immigration policies and practices and the variable quality of immigration consultants. If poor, both can adversely affect migrants’ experiences and opportunities. Also important are the attitudes and policies of employers and professional bodies that can be protectionist and practice gatekeeping to varying degrees. The tendency for jobs not to be advertised in the country was another significant factor. Finally, Oliver (2000) outlines the impacts of long-term difficulties getting work. At best this was highly stressful and at worst it had a devastating effect on individuals and families. Migrants might return to their countries of origin or attempt to find work, with or without their families, in other countries. Various negative psychological impacts are cited. Oliver also notes that migrants felt that programmes of support and assistance for migrants would be beneficial.

Basnayake (1999) surveyed Sri Lankan migrants regarding their experiences in getting work in New Zealand. A large proportion of this group (75.4%) had a professional background, with a further nine percent having had technical roles. From a list of issues, respondents were asked to select the three main barriers to finding employment. The most frequently selected barrier was a lack of New Zealand experience (70% of respondents chose this) while a lack of understanding by employers of people from other countries was the second most frequent choice (56%). Other issues selected by at 30 percent of respondents were: a lack of New Zealand qualifications (47%); non-recognition of overseas qualifications (41%); limited English (33%); and bias/racism (32%). Migrants in this study were fairly evenly divided as to whether New Zealand was a place where diversity was valued. Just under half of the respondents reported being discriminated against during their job search. While a number of people did not elaborate several people identified ethnicity, skin colour, accent and foreign name as reasons for this discrimination. Employers (65.5%) and recruitment consultants (56.4%) were prominent sources of discrimination. Nearly 30 percent of migrants experienced discrimination from the general public, while for 20 percent, employees and Work and Income were other significant sources. A third of respondents in this research experienced problems getting their overseas qualifications recognised. A similar proportion of migrants in work were doing so outside their profession. Of the professional migrants in work only just over a third were in similar or higher level positions.

The Ethnic Affairs Service (1996) of the Department of internal Affairs explored qualification, training and employment issues in relation to recent migrants to New Zealand in their *High Hopes* report. This involved both a postal questionnaire and in-depth interviews. In general, migrants were concerned at the inadequate and inaccurate information they received from various sources (ranging from informal through to official). This meant that migrants faced additional and unexpected difficulties in settling. Discrimination was cited as a problem in relation to settlement. Competency in English was also seen as vital. That said it was felt that even fluent English speakers could be viewed as having poor English competency if they spoke with an accent and came from a non-English speaking country (Barnard, 1996).¹⁴ A large proportion of those surveyed also experienced difficulties finding employment. The major issues in this regard were:

- Difficulties getting existing qualifications recognised;
- Employer prejudice (here, once more the association between accent and discrimination is raised);
- Lack of New Zealand work experience;
- Being too qualified for the available jobs;
- Poor English language skills; and
- Financial difficulties.

The report acknowledges that few migrants immediately got jobs that equated with their qualifications but that over time they moved to more appropriate positions. Those more

¹⁴ Barnard’s thesis is associated with the Ethnic Affairs Service research and so is incorporated here.

likely to be working in equivalent work were people who had spent longer in New Zealand and those fluent in English. Issues related to recognition of overseas professional qualifications included the wide variation of requirements, processes and attitudes between professions and their administrative bodies. Further issues mentioned were communication, and the time, costs and demands (e.g. sitting examinations) around getting prior and overseas credentials recognised. Barnard (1996) also notes that some migrants felt that there should be greater clarity about the role of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority and that it should have a more integrated and co-ordinated role with the New Zealand Immigration Service and professional bodies and associations. Participants also felt that better post-arrival support and assistance was needed for migrants.

Though less descriptive in nature, the findings of Benson-Rea et al (1998) echo much of what has already been said. They found that the professional migrants from the former Soviet Union whom they canvassed in their research experienced similar obstacles to adapting into the New Zealand labour market. These included an inadequate level of English language; a lack of New Zealand work experience; no social networks; problems with getting their qualifications recognised; and inadequate professional levels. Age, a lack of suitable opportunities, being over-qualified and lack of perseverance were other cited obstacles. For a group of migrants from Asia, interviewed as part of the larger study, the perceived barriers or factors affecting employment were a lack of communication skill; fluency in English; lack of inter-personal skills; lack of New Zealand work experience; cultural differences; and a range of other actors/obstacles. Overall, a lack of accurate and appropriate pre-arrival information, particularly in respect of the labour market, hampered the employment prospects of both these groups by creating a mismatch between the expectations of highly skilled migrants and the reality of their labour market experiences (Benson-Rea and Rawlinson, 2003). Similarly, greater post-arrival support is advocated.

Benson-Rea and Rawlinson (2003) expand on the information issue arguing that it is information at the meso-level that is critical during the actual settlement process, since it would help set realistic expectations among migrants and initiate the skills matching process (between employer demand and employee supply) before departure. Therefore, it would ultimately ease settlement and labour market entry. The meso level is

the intermediate context for economic and political actors, as well as individuals, and covers companies and specific local conditions. In terms of sources of information it includes such groups as immigration agents and consultants, business firms, recruitment agencies, skills organisations, trade bodies and business associations (Benson-Rea and Rawlinson, 2003:72)

Despite the importance of this sort of information, there is limited access to it prior to immigration and the authors argue for more to be done in this regard.

In research exploring the experiences of migrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea, Ho and Lidgard (1996) found that over half of those surveyed or interviewed had found no paid employment in New Zealand. Less than half of the group who had found work were in jobs in some way related to their background skills and experience. Although these migrants believed that the New Zealand government was actively encouraging people to migrate, they found little planning, preparation information and support available to meet the needs of new arrivals thereby reiterating the sense of dissatisfaction about information and support identified elsewhere.

As part of their call for balanced research that focuses on both employer/business perspectives as well as migrant experiences, Benson-Rea and Rawlinson (2003) summarise the position well. They argue that,

the attraction and integration of new migrants to the benefit of the individual, the firm and the wider labour market will be a function of a number of factors. These include the skills possessed by migrants on arrival (or those subsequently gained), the capacity of labour market institutions to place migrants in appropriate jobs, and, finally, the attitudes of the business community to this supply of skilled labour (Benson-Rea and Rawlinson, 2003:62).

We now turn to presenting some findings around just these issues, albeit from one perspective, that of the migrant.

PROFESSIONALS, MIGRATION AND WORK: THE STUDY FINDINGS

Work and Working

In this section the findings from this study in relation to the work related experiences of professional migrants are canvassed. These findings bear close similarity with those presented in the preceding section. As such, they reinforce the importance and universality of these experiences. It is hoped that the form they take here can augment our understanding of the issues confronting professional migrants.

Professions

My initial analysis on the issues of professional recognition and acceptance seemed to suggest that this was a 'missing theme'. That is, despite the prominence that such issues get in other research, it was not as prominent in the interview material from this study. However, more careful reflection showed that what was missing was a great deal of discussion on the vexed issue of recognition from professional bodies. Instead, what could be drawn from the interviews regarding this issue was more related to people's efforts to get work in their profession. Before turning to this discussion I want to firstly background the cases, then note some exceptional cases and finally outline the limited references to professional bodies.

Whereas most of the interviewees belonged to specific professional occupations (accounting, engineering, medicine, and teaching) three had more general backgrounds. These were in the areas of hotel management, human resource management (though this person, Ram, had qualifications in law and accounting, it was in this area that he had mainly worked) and public relations. Though a teacher by preference and recent employment, Jane's husband also had qualifications and experience in business.

Only one person, Steven, made no concerted attempt to enter his profession of accounting after migration. Though he had intended to do so upon arriving he found that the study necessary to get equivalence in his qualifications would likely be very problematic due to his English language competency. Although he could have practised at a lower level, primarily within the local Korean community, he decided this was not something he was attracted to and consequently he and his wife bought a business. Charles, too, made no effort to enter the hotel industry. However, as an older migrant, his circumstances are different and he was already aware that he might struggle to get any sort of work. Melody's circumstances also merit some mention in this context since she came to New Zealand with existing qualifications and experience but for the specific purpose of retraining. Her decision to stay after finishing university was premised on needing work experience to complete her accounting qualifications. Despite her New Zealand based education she still struggled to get employment, initially, but did manage this within her field and has since moved into self-employment.

Issues to do with professional bodies were significant in only two cases. In the first instance, the only doctor interviewed had been aware at the outset that of the requirements and huge obstacles to his gaining medical registration in New Zealand. Consequently, he had hoped to use his more transferable skills in medical administration to get work. However, after arriving a friend was encouraged by the success of other migrant doctors to get GP work in rural communities. Though they managed to arrange such a placement and supervision, it transpired that the temporary registration necessary for this was not open to people with his immigration status and so he was forced back into caregiving work. These events, together with no apparent alternatives to this type of work and a failure even to get a voluntary observer's position in his field, were all parts of a generally negative migration experience in New Zealand. Consequently the doctor's interview (with his wife) often contained references to the poor treatment in this country of overseas professionals, especially in medicine. The only other person to specifically mention their professional body was Paula. She, too, had entered the country aware of the requirements for registration. While registration is not necessary to work as an architect, even for New Zealand graduates, to become registered requires two years of work under the supervision of a registered architect. It was getting employment in order to accumulate this amount of supervised practice that was the biggest problem for Paula and she felt the professional body was not involved enough in assisting with this process.

Apart from Melody and Charles all the other participants, including Steven, wanted to some degree to enter their profession upon arriving in New Zealand. That said, as already noted the specifics of the doctor's case are somewhat different and Steven abandoned this before actively trying to do so. The remaining people, however, made considerable efforts. These efforts usually began with attempts to enter at or near the level that they had been in before migrating. When this was not possible – and no-one achieved it – they then began one of two strategies. These involved either looking for employment at lower levels or in associated work (for instance, from being an accountant to working in accounts related roles), or looking outside their profession. The latter strategy also involved looking for work at lower levels. The hope was that any lower level work outside the profession would provide the much vaunted New Zealand experience that all employers demanded, and that this sort of employment or work at lower levels within their wider professional boundaries would ultimately lead to jobs that were more commensurate with their experience and qualifications.

Rather than trying to group the remaining cases I will instead briefly outline the experiences of people individually.

- After arriving in the country Yong spent some time getting a New Zealand based qualification to complement his prior experience and overseas qualifications. However, this did not lead to any work despite numerous applications. He thus began to consider other options including self-employment and ultimately decided to buy and drive his own taxi.
- Dinesh could not get work as an accountant or in an accounting role despite a huge number of applications that never lead to even one interview! He was thus forced into completely different work at a much lower level serving in a gas station, having spent a year after first arriving doing door-to-door collecting for a charity.
- Jerry quickly came to realise that he could not enter public relations work at the same level he had been in but was happy to take a customer services position with an airline. He saw this as related work albeit in a different industry and at a much lower level but that it offered the opportunity to eventually move higher in the organisation.
- The doctor's efforts to work in his profession have already been canvassed. His attempts to get work in some form of medical administration were also

unsuccessful and he was forced to take a job in a loosely related field but at a significantly lower position as a casually employed caregiver.

- Both Jane and her husband easily obtained provisional registration as teachers but struggled to get work in this field. Though Jane did get a one year contract – that allowed her registration to become unconditional – her husband could not get teaching work and called on his other background in business to get contract accounting work and then an entry level position in a bank. Unable to get any other teaching work, Jane took work in a supermarket while searching and eventually got some promotions into a training role with a large retail chain.
- Doena, too, was a teacher who was also easily able to get provisional registration, but similarly struggled to get work in the profession. After years of unsuccessful attempts she firstly started some retraining but then got employment on a factory production line. Because her registration lapsed during this time, she now faces a new set of challenges to get registered if she chooses to pursue this. Her husband, an industrial chemist, undertook a local course and through this was recommended for work in his field and with equivalence to his experience.
- Like others, Ram quickly came to the realisation that he was not going to be able to work in his profession, as a human resource manager, in New Zealand. Though he hoped to get work in customer relations of some sort, the only work he could initially get despite substantial door knocking was making sandwiches – a radical departure in every respect from his past. He did eventually draw on his background somewhat to get work managing a project in migration and was taking some significant steps towards being able to practice law in this country.
- Over and above her criticisms of the professional body associated with architecture, Paula had difficulty getting work as an architect. She got one position as a draughting assistant but believed she was being exploited and under-utilised. There was also some voluntary work with an architectural firm. Aside from this she was forced into a range of low skilled casual work, such as cleaning, waitressing and so on.
- Sarala's husband, while he had worked as a university lecturer in India, sought to use his business background to get work in accounting in New Zealand. However, a complete lack of any such possibilities saw him quickly opt for work in a service station.

Apart from issues to do with professional bodies, the most commonly cited reasons for people experiencing problems getting into their professions was a lack of local experience generally and in relation to their field. The reverse of this is clearly that their overseas and prior experience and qualifications are undervalued in this country. Language, and more specifically accent, was also cited as were some other discriminatory practices. All these issues are discussed separately later in this chapter. Aside from these matters most people could not readily identify why they could not get jobs as they appeared to meet the requirements but more often than not could not even get interviews.

In summary, it can be seen that most people were quickly disabused of the notion that they could resume their work lives or careers after arriving in New Zealand. Almost everyone was forced into a somewhat different work path with considerable reduction in status and often major changes in the nature and quality of the work they were doing. While some might still be able to positively re-frame their circumstances and there still existed the possibility that the work they were in could offer positive opportunities in the future, many were in work that would give them “New Zealand experience” and a source of income but that offered little else in the long-term.

The Paradoxes of Migration

This section examines some of the paradoxes that emerge in the migration experiences of the professionals interviewed. One of the major themes in this regard essentially captures a contradiction inherent in the immigration process. It was explicitly described by a couple of interviewees – indeed the idea of paradoxes comes from one of those interviews – but the same ideas were implicit in several other cases. The paradox concerns the contradictions between the requirements for migration and the value placed on these once the migrant has arrived. The former involves the awarding of points under the general skills category points according to various areas, including education, occupation and so forth, with higher points based on the level of education and particular occupational groups. A certain points total is required to gain entry. However, once people arrive in the country they find that New Zealand seems to be a place where overseas qualifications and experience are undervalued or discounted. Thus, precisely that which enabled people to gain entry to the country is that which is problematic, or at least of very much reduced value, once they arrive.

This situation is exacerbated in that the time taken to gain professional qualifications and consolidate that with experience means that, as was the case for many of those interviewed, many migrants are not young graduates looking to launch their careers. Rather, they are older and more established within their field (and in their personal and family lives as well). Thus age can become an intertwined issue. On the one hand, it may be that employers could be reluctant to take on an older employee, whose experience and qualifications are an unknown quantity (and quality). Alternatively, it can also become an issue in that migrants may be reluctant to "start at the bottom again" at their age in order to get the experience and recognition to overcome the devaluing of their original experience and qualifications.

Adding to the irony is that although there may be this devaluing or discounting in relation to their entering their profession, when migrants try to enter lower skill or level jobs, their past experience and qualifications may count against them in different ways. As some of those interviewed were told, they were over-qualified for jobs such as serving in supermarkets or service stations. This produced a tendency to be selective about one's background in order to get work. However, being excluded because of one's qualifications did not necessarily always apply, especially if the jobs were difficult to fill or less desirable positions.

A further dimension implicit in this paradox is that qualifications and experience, the latter particularly, allow a person to build up networks within a particular work-sphere. It is well understood how critical networks are in relation to employment – for example, through contacts alerting a person to job opportunities or being a means by which employers can judge prospective employees. Migration necessarily involves a person moving from a place where they will often have a high network density, to one where they will often have no networks at all, or at best very limited networks. Thus, at a time when they could use the richest networks, they have a marked poverty in this regard.

As with a theme that is explored shortly, New Zealand experience, people found it hard to understand why there was this automatic devaluing of their prior qualifications and experience. It showed a complete lack of respect to some of those interviewed. Nor could they understand the mismatch between a welcoming policy orientation that seemed to actively seek out and tried to attract well qualified migrants and their very different lived realities. It seemed to some that this might be a protection for local workers and that there needed to be more balance in weighing up the value of prior or overseas versus local qualifications and experience. They suggested that if this attitude within the local labour

market was to persist, then perhaps the policy needed to better reflect it. Shortly the interviewees' views on recent changes to immigration policy are canvassed.

The responses of interviewees to this rejection or undervaluing of their professional backgrounds mirrored their reactions to demands for New Zealand experience (as outlined shortly these include trying to get lower level or ancillary jobs, moving into low skill, low pay and/or non-standard work, downplaying qualifications and experience and so on). As well, it was apparent to a couple of migrants that qualifications gained in New Zealand might overcome this problem. Thus, one woman thought that advanced qualifications obtained in this country might put her on a more equal footing. Yong's experiences show that other factors can still work against the overseas professional who takes the time to gain local qualifications. Ram's interpretation of his experiences suggests that this local preference might be somewhat extreme. He believed that introductory social work and computing courses completed locally were far more valuable for getting work than his overseas degrees and experience in law, management and accounting.

Melody presented an interesting and alternative perspective on this issue by arguing that sometimes what is perceived locally as a disadvantage needs to be used to advantage. While this might not always be possible or easy, in her case she sought out work in business organisations dealing with people from her region of origin. However, she too was selective about how she presented her prior work history since, having decided to retrain, she was now an older graduate seeking entry level positions.

Another issue in relation to the migration of professionals to New Zealand and their experiences of the labour market raises a further paradox of sorts. This paradox emerges in large part from the cumulative effect of the negative issues canvassed throughout this chapter – the demand for New Zealand experiences, the other paradox of migration, and the role of NSW in relation to migration. It is explicit in Doena's story and experiences, and while less obvious in others, it is undoubtedly a feature of many others. The central feature of this paradox is the usual understanding that people have regarding the relationship between education/training and employment – that is, low skilled work is generally associated with poorly qualified people while higher education is thought to generate greater opportunities and that these are in higher paid and skilled work. However, the plight of many professional migrants may mean that low skill areas within workplaces may actually be populated by very well qualified people. Such outcomes for this group sever these commonly accepted associations or correlations.

Finally, such circumstances also have interesting implications for a view of migration that places it as part of a national response to demand for better qualified workers as part of a knowledge society. Yet experiences like those of Doena mean that for many of those selected on this basis or thought of in these terms, it may take considerable time for them to actually contribute in this way or on this level, if they are able to at all.

New Zealand Experience

The most representative theme, in terms of frequency of mention and strength of comment, was the issue of New Zealand experience. This reflects its presence in other research on labour market experiences of migrants as outlined earlier. Such was the prominence of this issue that, through a play on words, it has been integrated into the title of the report. It relates to the clear and repeated preference of New Zealand employers for local work experience. For most of those interviewed it came as a shock to find how strong this requirement was.

There are variations on how this is defined but it is a demand for either general or specific New Zealand experience. The former is a requirement to have worked in some capacity within the local labour market as compared to the latter where the demand is for local

experience within a specific profession or industry. Such can be the obstacle that this represents to migrants, even in its former, more generic form, that they can be effectively excluded from the labour market. The latter form represents a significant barrier to gaining employment in people's chosen profession. It seems that the degree of preference for New Zealand experience while high in all the professions that the interviewees were associated with, was especially marked in certain cases, such as teaching.

There is a certain irony in relation to the demand for New Zealand experience that escapes no migrant. How, they ask, are we to get this New Zealand experience if we are excluded from the labour market because we do not have it in the first place? It thus becomes a Catch-22. Usually the answer is to try and enter the workforce at points of less resistance. This might mean looking for work at a much lower level of the profession or in an ancillary professional role. Alternatively it might mean looking for work in other areas and where there are few people willing to work or the largest numbers of openings. Unfortunately, this often translates into low skilled, low paid forms of work, jobs that are hard to otherwise fill, and/or in non-standard arrangements. Some saw voluntary work as one way to accumulate New Zealand work experience of a sort. Working for migrant related organisations was another strategy.

To be continually refused work because of this issue generated a great deal of anger and frustration. It also made some people very desperate and despairing. One woman sarcastically suggested that she had seen an advertisement for a massage parlour worker and thought that that might be the depth she would have to sink to, to get work. However, she immediately wondered if she would need New Zealand experience for that too! In another case a woman was attracted to a casual waitressing job specifically because the advertisement indicated that no experience was necessary. After numerous rejections within and outside her profession she felt it was something she was finally 'qualified' for and that would not be another knock back.

Some of those interviewed accepted that a degree of preference for New Zealand experience was reasonable, but that it often went beyond this. They felt that some balance was needed so that New Zealand experience as well as other experience was considered. Often it seemed to be an excuse for not employing a migrant who in all other respects fulfilled the stated requirements of a position. Indeed, many of the interviewees had had countless rejections for jobs that cited a lack of New Zealand experience as the primary reason for declining their application. For most it served to even exclude people from an interview. There was a suggestion from some that this served as a protection for local workers

The other issue that this heavy preference for New Zealand experience raises is that it significantly discounts a migrant's prior work experience, regardless of how extensive and substantial this might be, since it is New Zealand based experience that is the gold standard. We have here, the paradox of migration as already discussed. In relation to the issues of New Zealand experience and the paradox of migration it would be fair, I believe, to characterise the strength and importance of their place in people's immigration experiences as very high. They could also be rightly seen as quite unexpected by most people, certainly in intensity.

The Struggle that is Settlement

Without doubt, migration is a huge and complex undertaking that produces many challenges and makes many demands. This is true of even the best-case scenario. Accordingly, it is not surprising that a strong sense of struggle, in various areas and to varying degrees, pervaded the interviews in this study. This might be in practical senses

through to more emotionally orientated coping. Often these are intertwined. This sense of struggle can be thought of as mediated by a number of elements that are now outlined. These are the 'bravery' or courage that characterises migrants; the motivations that prompt migration; the amount of knowledge people had prior to migration including the sources of that and how useful it proved; the desire to be given a chance; and experiences of discrimination especially in relation to accent and how people reframe this as not racist in nature.

Courage

This sense of struggle was presented explicitly in such terms in many of the interviews. At other times, it was approached a little more obliquely as the interviewees recounted their experiences and spoke of the need for perseverance, strength, and resilience. They needed to develop a thick skin and become "hard-nosed". There was also a requirement for lots of hard work. It was important, as well, to keep focus, not losing confidence, and have supports. The last can be hard if people are isolated in the receiving country. They had to cope with and overcome hardship, focus on positives not negatives and, indeed, sometimes try and turn negatives into positives. Overall, they had to develop and employ a range of different strategies and keep re-evaluating them. As one interviewee put it, summing up these various sentiments: "Migrants are brave people", a view agreed to by all those who were interviewed.

The issue of work illustrates this given that it is a very complex practical matter, with many dimensions, that featured as a common area of struggle for the interviewees. They might have struggled to get work in their profession or any work at all. Many had applied for, literally, hundreds of positions, seldom if ever even getting an interview. Often people had to gradually lower their sights and widen the parameters of their search. Any work they might eventually get often represented a radical negative change from what they were used to. It might also fail to offer any prospects for improvement in the future. Work difficulties could have implications for people's financial position and might also impact on their self-esteem that can flow on and affect the well being of whole families. Such was the cumulative effect of poor work outcomes that in one case the family was considering returning home after only a few months in the country. In other cases the senses of frustration, anger, and sadness that people's struggles had generated was palpable in the interviews. Two particular factors that exacerbated the struggle in relation to work are the requirement for New Zealand experience and the paradoxes of migration (as discussed earlier).

Motivations

Given this sense of struggle it is interesting to briefly contemplate the reasons or motives for migration. For, despite the difficulties that people encountered, these motives remained powerful enough to see people persevere, persist, as well as transform and endure in all sorts of ways. It is a useful task in respect of the group who took part in this study since their motives counters a view of migrant professionals as always being motivated by professional or employment considerations. In only two cases was this partially true – for one woman, the decision to stay in the country after studying was premised on business opportunities; another couple were looking for change in their lives, which included their employment. For the others, as will be seen, non-work motives were primary.

This was especially true of families with children, since children were the most often cited reason for migration. This was usually in order to provide them with better educational and, ultimately, work opportunities. Allied to this was a desire for a better quality of life more generally. The idea that families migrate to New Zealand "for the children" suggests that to outsiders New Zealand is seen as a positive place to bring up children. That parents would go to these lengths for the good of their children indicates a very powerful

sentiment, one that should be easily recognised and appreciated in the host country and by its people.

It is interesting to add three further observations to the theme of children as a motive for migration. Firstly, as one interviewee put it, "doing it for his children" was the story he usually told people when they asked why he had migrated. This might be for many reasons. For instance, as noted above, it is likely to serve as a very commonly understood and legitimising motive. Alternately, it can be an account that is used as an alternative to much more complex and personal motivations, ones that are often far less easily communicated. This was very much the case for Steven. Secondly, even if children are somehow the primary reason for migration, this can often be intertwined with other equally important issues. Thus, Doena tells of migrating for her children's welfare but this opens up the whole question of political corruption within her country of origin. Thus children's welfare becomes a proxy for other factors. Finally, although not considered in this study, it would be interesting to consider the impact and implications for children in the cases where parents had had very pronounced struggles to get work and settle, yet where migration was motivated by issues related to the children.

For those without children, the search for a 'better life' would probably best capture their motivations. In such terms New Zealand is seen as a safe and secure country that is also attractive for various environmental, political and social reasons. On a more personal level, migration in general offered some people the chance to fashion a new personal and/or family biography.

Knowledge

It might be thought that proper preparation could alleviate many of the problems that people encountered and thus reduce their struggles. Not unexpectedly, then, all but one of the interviewees gathered information before coming to New Zealand. Sources included official publications, consultants, friends and family, and the internet. Much of what people obtained from the first two was, not unexpectedly, positive and painted a very different picture from the lived reality. This was especially true of the official information that some people felt painted a necessarily positive but somewhat misleading picture, especially in relation to employment.¹⁵ This became problematic when people based their planning on such literature.

Even if people were in some way prepared for the struggle that lay ahead, the nature and size of issues, especially around employment, were much greater than expected. This may have also been exacerbated in that most of those interviewed had a positive expectation that New Zealand was a tolerant and open society. While some found this to be the case on an individual level, it did not seem to be necessarily so in terms of employment, as already discussed. In addition, the fact that New Zealand immigration policy seemed to be encouraging and welcoming, and based on people gaining points according to certain criteria implied to the interviewees, as potential migrants, that New Zealand was keen to have skilled and qualified people. However, they found quite a mismatch between policy and everyday life.

A final point in this issue relates to the New Zealand Qualifications Authority assessment and acceptance of their qualifications. While most seemed to understand that this related only to the immigration process, there was an assumption that this would in some way reflect the status of their qualifications more generally. The fact that no such implications proved to be even remotely true was at the very least surprising to most.

¹⁵ It should be noted that those interviewed had been in New Zealand for between 10 years and 9 months. Thus, they had been exposed to a wide range of literature and information that would have changed over time. However, both recent and more long-standing migrants complained about the information they received.

Opportunity

Common to all the interviewees was a desire to make a contribution to the society they were now part of. This seemed to be an implicit part of the whole immigration process. To do so required that they be given some sort of opportunity. In this regard, the title of Ho and Lidgard's (1996) piece, "Give us a chance" well captures the sentiments of the migrants in this study. Tied in with this was the hope that any such opportunity would reflect who and what they were – that is their background, experience, qualifications and so on. They certainly did not want to be a burden or to be dependent, on welfare for instance, though there was a sense that they were being forced towards such circumstances by the difficulties they encountered in the labour market.

Discrimination

It is interesting to see how the question of discrimination emerges and is described in the interviews. Some anecdotal and second-hand accounts were provided of employers sorting applications by surnames and discarding those that appear foreign. As well, some of those interviewed reported their own and others' experiences of discrimination through particular agencies. As has been briefly alluded to already, some people described different responses to them as migrants. It was common, for instance, to recount positive experience from a day-to-day, face-to-face level, but to encounter problems with organisations, and with individuals as part of organisations. Since many of these are the same people, there is an obvious contradiction or certainly a tension between these two sets of experiences. That said, this did vary and one woman suggested that good everyday experiences might be the 'story' migrants develop and tell, or the version of events they emphasise, because that is what New Zealanders want to hear.

Accent

One area that people did commonly comment on was the effect their accent had on their experiences. Migrants are often classified as coming from English speaking (ESB) and non-English speaking (NESB) backgrounds. A status as non-English speaking is used to designate those countries where the first language is other than English. However, this need not indicate that English is not taught or used in these countries. As many of the interviewees from NESB indicated they were often taught English but were frequently limited in their exposure to the spoken language, but had good reading and writing skills. Others, despite also being from NESB also spoke English and my experiences via the interviews was often of sophisticated English usage, though some struggled a little more than others. Certainly all those who were interviewed demonstrated sufficient spoken English competence to participate without problems. As was evident in comments in the interviews, however, this was accented English. And here we have another critical issue regarding migrants' experiences – their perception of discrimination based on accent. Thus it is not so much their language competency as the fact that they speak with an accent – one that is very distinct at times – that can have a negative effect on their experiences.

Ironically, as migrants pointed out, they too have to deal with accents. In their case, however, it is the Kiwi accent that they must come to understand. Their children have to immediately cope with this in school. Since they manage this, it is hard for them to see their own accents as anything but a temporary difficulty as people adjust (on both sides), and one that reduces over time.

Literature in the field of migration often refers to visible migrants. The issue of accent means that even those who do not readily appear 'different' can now still be recognised as such, as one woman put it, "as soon as I open my mouth". It also meant that they could be identified in circumstances where there was no face-to-face contact (such as phone inquiries).

The issue of accent was frustrating for many of those interviewed for several reasons. For instance, migrants were often told not to simply rely on sending in a CV in order to get a job. Instead they were encouraged to make phone contact to register interest and to speak with key people. However, the experience of such approaches was that their accents served to signal their 'otherness' and so they often could not get through gatekeepers such as secretaries and the like, or they could get no further in the process.

Re-framing an Issue

A small number of those interviewed chose to reframe the discrimination they experienced. Thus it became an issue of New Zealanders not understanding different cultures, and making assumptions. An interesting argument emerged in a couple of cases that the desire for New Zealand experience and the devaluation of overseas qualification and experience can be seen as a natural and reasonable protection of the local workforce and not a discriminatory issue. Along these lines there emerged an impression, from some of those who had been in the country a long time, that New Zealand was first and foremost a place for those born here. Thus, opportunities in any areas of life should be available to this group first and that migrants would be able to take up what was left. This was seen as an acceptable state of affairs, and something they would expect and accept in their own countries. It was not seen in discriminatory terms but as a form of pragmatic realism.

PROFESSIONALS, MIGRATION AND NON-STANDARD WORK

Having established some background in relation to the more general labour market and settlement experiences of migrant professionals, and presented findings from this study in relation to those issues, it is now possible to move into an informed discussion of NSW in relation to this group. This is prefaced by a brief overview of some relevant literature on NSW.

Changes to labour markets, however they are conceptualised, are associated with changes to the structure and organisation of work. Whereas after the second world war until the mid 1970's work was organised according to stable, predictable and rational bureaucratic structures, from the 1970's technological revolution and growing international competition have made longer-term planning more difficult rendering the standard bureaucratic model almost redundant. Kalleberg and Schmidt (1996: 253-254) describe this well in their observation that organisations are changing from structures built around jobs to shifting work that needs to be done. The outcome, Beck (1992) argues, has been the development of uncertain and insecure forms of lived experience including the emergence of new and different forms of working arrangements and the growth of other pre-existing forms. Thus, instead of working full-time for a single employer with the assumption of ongoing employment, there is a growing trend towards self-employment, part-time work, irregular and less predictable hours, and less security and continuity of job tenure. Similarly, reliance on direct employment is decreasing and, instead, labour requirements are outsourced or employees provided by intermediaries. A complex web of relationships and arrangements emerge because of the numerous exchanges among individuals, teams and employers.

A number of ways have been suggested for conceptualising and making sense of these shifts and trends with the resulting arrangements and relationships variously characterised as 'non-traditional', 'atypical', 'flexible', 'alternative', 'market-mediated', 'vagrant', 'vulnerable', 'precarious', 'disposable' or 'contingent' (Kalleberg, 2000:2). For simplicity's sake, the term 'non-standard' has been used by the LMD in its various reports

as a general descriptor of the variations on work arrangements that are being examined. As a starting point, NSW can be defined as work that is no longer characterised by certain features that have been regarded as standard. Whatman (1994:356) suggests that standard work is employment characterised by being permanent (i.e. an expectation of continuing employment) and fulltime (30 hours or more per week); comprising regular hours over the whole year; and being undertaken for someone else (an employer) and primarily at an employer's premises. Implicit in such a set of criteria is that standard work refers to one job. In respect of regular hours Tucker (2002) notes that "the criteria of 'done in daylight hours' and 'on weekdays'" could be added. The former essentially refers to shift work and the latter rostered work. Brosnan and Walsh (1996) appear to support this inclusion with their definition of standard hours as between 7 am and 6 pm, Monday to Friday. Brosnan and Walsh (ibid) also help clarify the criteria of work being done primarily *at* a employer's premises by suggesting that the work occur *on* the premises or *out of* them. As well, Carroll (1999) adds a category that can be thought of as 'overwork' to the mix. This is defined by an individual working more than 50 hours each week. Finally, it should be noted that NSW can be characterised by a mix of these features. That is, for instance, a part-time position may also be for a temporary period, may involve shiftwork and can be one of two other jobs a person has.

By drawing together these various definitions we have deliberately created a very broad and inclusive definition of NSW that easily draws in working arrangements that are commonly accepted as non-standard – that is, part-time, casual and temporary work, self-employment and contracting, multiple-job holding, teleworking, and contract-company employment¹⁶, while also allowing for greyer or more marginal attributes – such as shift and rostered work, as well as overwork – to also be considered. These more 'marginal attributes' are included here as the interviews seemed to indicate that they often represented quite foreign working arrangements for many professional migrants.

Since NSW has always existed, it is probably more accurate to note that the last 20 years has seen an increase in the proportion and consistency of NSW (Zeytinoglu and Metushi, 1999:1). Indeed, the persistence and growth in some areas have made certain forms of NSW quite common and widely accepted (part-time work is an obvious example). By some estimates, about 25 percent of jobs are in non-traditional employment areas (Management, June 2000) and in a range of possible employment forms that defy traditional career assumptions (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996:6). In a New Zealand context, Carroll (1999) shows that although separate categories of NSW account for small proportions of the workforce compared to the 43 percent in standard work, collectively they total more than half of all workers. As prior LMD research has implicitly and explicitly demonstrated, the experiences of NSW differ across groups and within groups. Important considerations are the background of the individual (work, experience, qualifications and so on), their present circumstances (for example, having to care for a child), the generalities of the non-standard working arrangements the person is engaged in, and the specifics of their employment.

While migration can be usefully considered in a number of ways in relation to changes to the labour market and work, the focus of this project has firstly been on the connection between NSW and migration and, in particular, to the experiences of professional immigrants. This group can interact with NSW in various ways and for a number of reasons. These engagements can be voluntary or enforced and may be closely or marginally related to an immigrant's background or experience. They might be undertaken for a range of reasons such as offering an entry into the New Zealand workforce and a means to gain local work experience. The resulting experiences might be

¹⁶ This is where the employee is employed by a company but within a separate business. For example, cleaning is often undertaken by employees of a separate cleaning company who perform this work within businesses that they have contracts with. To the 'outside' eye these cleaners will appear to be part of businesses that, in actual, they have no direct employment relationship with.

positive or negative or various shades between. Obviously then, there are a wide range of possible experiences that can then affect the settlement process.

There are obviously plenty of occasions when NSW serves a positive role in the settlement and labour market experiences of professional migrants, and some of those interviewed for this study illustrate such instances. Such accounts are not likely to be as frequently reported or generate as much interest as the more often cited experiences of migrant professionals forced into non-standard work, well outside their background and experience and often of low skill and with low pay. These are the prompts for reports of doctors, engineers, scientists and so on, flipping burgers, delivering pizzas and driving taxis.

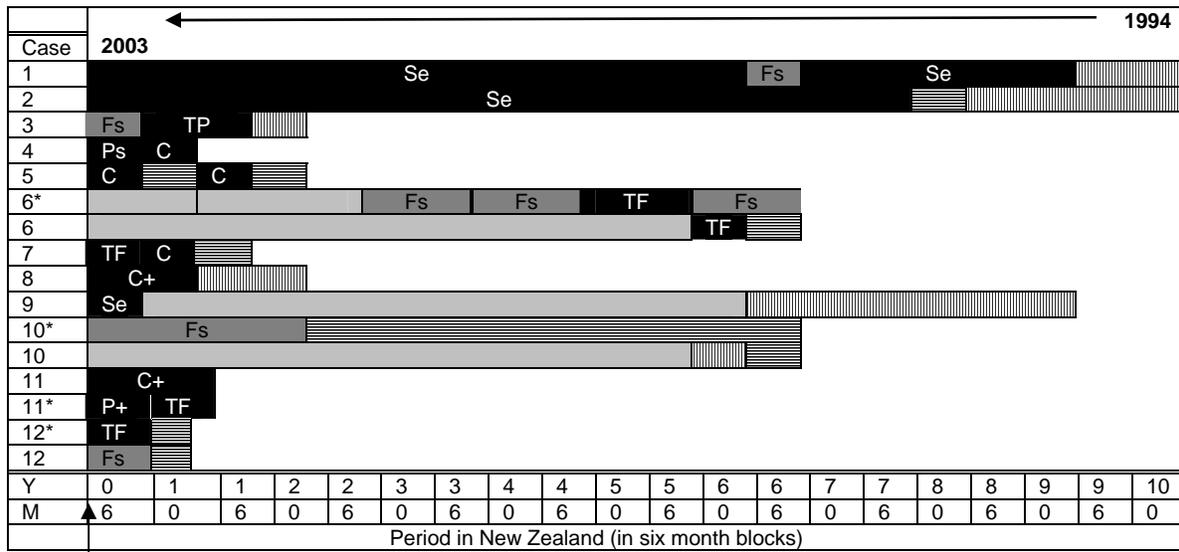
Some of these permutations are evident in a study of the experiences of Indian and Chinese migrants across the period 1998 to 2002 (Trlin et al., 2004). In response to difficulties getting any work or employment that reflected their background those interviewed in this study sometimes took any jobs that were available. These typically involved part-time work that may have had some relationship to the person's pre-migration employment but which was more usually unskilled or semi-skilled. While this could be the basis for better employment opportunities – moving into full-time employment and work of a better quality or fit with people's background – it could also be a long-term trap, with a negative impact on skills, health and well-being. Being longitudinal, this study allows some picture to emerge of the shifts in proportions moving between standard and NSW over time. An alternative strategy involving NSW that was used by people in this study, particularly those from a non-English speaking background, was to engage in self-employment, though for some this was done reluctantly. Ho and Lidgard (1996) also note the tendency towards self-employment amongst their sample of Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korean new settlers.

For those who participated in this study working in non-standard ways often represented a major shift in terms of both the work content and how it was organisation. As the work histories of each person have been outlined in the case presentations, I have attempted in Figure 1 to rather crudely represent these in graphic form. This is intended to illustrate the prominent place of NSW in the employment histories of the interviewees since arriving in New Zealand. In Figure 1 the left hand column of the table (after the case number) represents the most recent six month period. In all but two cases, the first jobs people got in New Zealand were NSW in some form. The exceptions were Melody, who re-trained here, and Doena's husband who, after not being able to get a job in his field undertook a course and got recommended for a full-time permanent position through a lecturer. Melody later chose to move into self-employment from a standard job. Aside from these two exceptions, of the others who had been in the country longer than two years, NSW in the form of self-employment had become permanent for two, and had lead to standard work for another couple. The remaining person was entrenched in a permanent full-time shift-work position.

What is not apparent from Figure 1 is how this engagement with NSW relates to people's professional background (and here I exclude cases 11* and 12* from consideration since they do not precisely fit the criteria for professionals that we have been using). Of the 14 cases to consider in only four instances was some aspect of the NSW that people engaged in related to their profession. Apart from Melody's deliberate choice to start her own accounting firm, which has a strong, direct and ongoing connection with her profession, in the other cases any relationship could best be described as limited or tenuous. For example, Jane got a one year teaching contract but none of her other NSW engagements were related to teaching; her husband got some contract work in accounting, a field he had some background in but which was not his first choice of work, which was teaching; and Paula got some casual work doing draughting in an architectural practise but also had to do many other forms of NSW to make a living. For the remainder,

the NSW they engaged in had little to do with their profession though Ram drew on aspects of his background in the project work he eventually got, as did Jerry in his customer relations role. However, it is hard to make any such tenuous links for those professional migrants who spent time making sandwiches; cleaning; caregiving; assembling electronic components; driving taxis; pumping gas; and working in a supermarket, restaurant or café. Such experiences, especially if they become long-term, can have very negative consequences for the people involved and are what contribute to concern on various fronts (media, politicians and so on) about how professional migrants are treated in this country.

Figure 1 Work-Type Profiles of Professional Migrants Since Arriving in New Zealand



Interview point

KEY

	Period of Non-Standard Work of some sort
	Period of Non-Standard work characterised by Shift and/or Rostered Work
	Period of Standard Work
	Period of Job Seeking While Not in Paid Work of Any Kind
	Period Out of Paid Work But Not Seeking – Usually for Study (except #8)
*	Where a couple's data is available indicates the wife's work history
TF	Temporary or contract work that is full-time
TP	Temporary or contract work that is part-time
Se	Self-employment
Fs	Full-time, permanent employment with shift or rostered work component
C	Casual work
P	Part-time work
Ps	Part-time permanent employment with shift or rostered work component
+	More than one job of this nature in the period

NOTES

This figure is illustrative only. Periods in particular jobs or other activities are assigned to six-month periods by approximation.

A BIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION¹⁷

If, as Ochs (cited in Horsdal, 2004:1) observes, “narrative is a sense-making activity” then it is possible to construe biographical narratives as making sense of one’s life. This is the orientation, I believe, that Miller (2000) gives the Biographic-Narrative-Interpretive Method (BNIM) in comparing it with other life and family history research methods. And it is, I would suggest, an orientation readily apparent in the case summaries I have presented earlier in the report. Although the manner of these interviews may have provided an opportunity to reflect and make-sense, it is more likely that much of what is presented will have been developed before and elsewhere. That said, the interviews provide an opportunity to rehearse these ideas, to refine them, and to use them in relation to a specific context (structured around the experiences of professional migrants on working in New Zealand). Thus, the interviews can be seen as part of a larger and ongoing sense-making process that we all engage in.

The question of how these might be used by the researcher then becomes crucial. One possibility is the individual case study but, while rich in detail, this does not lend itself easily to wider understandings. Alternatively there is the thematic analysis, which can undoubtedly produce worthwhile and useful findings. Indeed this is the hope I have in presenting just such a set of findings in the preceding chapter. Clearly this does not exhaust the analytical options and, like others (e.g. Wengraf 2002), I am interested in exploring alternative possibilities. I am particularly intrigued by Wengraf’s idea of constant comparison – a two-ing and fro-ing between individual cases, larger structural considerations and theoretical propositions. This seems to respond to Breckner and Rupp’s (2002) call for an approach that takes account of the particularities and the typicality of cases. In such an approach the cases do not simply serve as the basis for extrapolation of general findings. This tends to obscure by conflation, the individual experiences that provide its basis. Rather, in addition to this process there is a continual return to the cases to see what the extrapolated ideas mean for them. It is along these lines that I wish to offer the following biographical analysis that must necessarily be closely associated with the earlier thematic analysis. The latter tends towards the social in orientation while the former is more individually orientated. Clearly a biographical analysis needs some strong sense of the typical or larger picture in order that it can be adequately articulated. Just as important, I would add, is the need for any aggregated analysis to have access to the particularities of cases since these give that larger picture greater depth.

¹⁷ In presenting this alternative and complementary analysis some theoretical preparation and contextualisation is necessary. However, as I am mindful that as this research report is intended for a wide readership I need to be careful not to over-burden the reader with theory. This tricky balance is what I shall attempt to achieve. As part of this I have opted to apply the model I develop across most of the cases. The cost of this is some superficiality in comparison to the depth that might be obtained from the detailed application in one or two cases. However, the benefits are a more engaging portrayal of how the model might work and the insights it could offer. Other formats are likely to be employed to present a version of this chapter that incorporates more detailed theory and application.

BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACHES

Biographical Flow

My starting point is a body of empirically informed and tested theory within the sociology of health and illness that employs the concept of biography. Although not directly, simply or entirely applicable to the arena of migration, I believe this does offer fruitful possibilities that I will argue for as the discussion progresses. I will also offer some further enhancements based on this study and other Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme (LMD) work. This approach is supported in large part by Rosenthal's (1997) biographical analysis of identity in relation to migratory experiences and Breckner (2002), who uses notions such as biographical continuity, discontinuity, transformation and turning point, in her migration related research. Again, I hope to build on her work, particularly by drawing attention to the idea of biographical flow and biographical work in relation to migration. Although Breckner's illuminating analysis considers the latter implicitly, I want to provide more theoretical substance to the notion.

Biography has had a prominent place in the health and illness field for a number of years since Bury (1982) suggested that chronic illness represented a biographical disruption. A biographical disruption is "a discontinuance of an ongoing life, a 'critical situation'. The current of daily life is obstructed, perhaps blocked altogether" (Faircloth et al., 2004:243). It is a time of rethinking one's biography and self-concept (Faircloth et al., 2004) to varying degrees. The elements of this, as Williams summarises them, are:

First, there is disruption of the *taken-for-granted assumptions and behaviours*, and the breaching of commonsense boundaries. ... Second, are those disruptions in the *explanatory frameworks* normally used by people, necessitating a fundamental rethinking of the person's biography. ... Third, there is the practical response to the disruption which involves the *mobilisation of resources* in the face of an altered situation (Williams, 2000:43).

In later work, Bury (1991) draws attention to the importance of meaning and context in relation to biography and for understanding disruption. Meaning in this sense can take two forms – the practical consequences of the disruption and its symbolic significance or connotations. The context is the social setting in which it occurs "including the resources – physical as well as social, temporal as well as financial, medical as well as cultural – available to individuals as well as families" (Williams, 2000:43). Bury is also concerned to highlight the differential nature of how illness impacts on people and families, thereby disturbing a direct relationship between illness and disruption (Faircloth et al., 2004). Part of this necessarily includes a temporal dimension or the timing of when things occur relative to our lives.

Many others have taken up this idea. Carricaburu and Peirret (1995) have explored its utility in research work with HIV positive men. In finding that "interviewees could endow their present life with meaning ...by relating the present situation to [their] reconstructed individual and collective pasts" Carricaburu and Peirret (1995:80) argue that illness does not always disrupt, nor necessarily disrupt all of a person's life. It is certainly a time of biographical confrontation and re-organisation – a time when people rework their sense of identity (Carricaburu and Peirret, 1995:85) – but that this could have the additional or alternative effects of reinforcing specific aspects of biography and fostering biographical continuity. Importantly, they highlight the social and collective dimensions of illness and people's lives.

Faircloth et al. (2004:244), whose work explores the impact of stroke, argue that disruption is not inevitable since "different symbolic significance may be attached to this experience dependent upon specific biographical contingencies of the given participant".

Although stroke may cause physical disruption, this was not always translated into biographical disruption. While some people's lives are indeed disrupted, "others may 'bracket off' the impact, maintaining a sense of coherence" before and after the event (ibid.). Instead, the significance of illness depends on how the issues are taken into account in the person's biography. By way of conceptualising this process they introduce the concept of biographical flow – "We have suggested that instead of disrupting a biography, an illness such as stroke can be integrated with various social contingencies in constructing a biography that continues to flow across time and space" (Faircloth et al., 2004:256).

The idea of biographical flow in a life is a useful one I would argue. If the present is seen as the tip of the flow – much like the head of a lava flow – rather than as a point on a river, then the past lies behind that point and the future becomes a trajectory or, to maintain the metaphor of flow, a possible course. The person's life is immediately and necessarily placed amidst the terrain of social life or structure that will obviously have an impact on that future course (as it has done so in the past). Knowledge of that terrain together with their biographical experiences to date enable people to varying degrees to predict and plan their likely course. Of course, the unknown and the unpredictable can easily disrupt. In the case of migrants, they arrive in a new country with a substantial personal history. Although knowledgeable about where they have come from, the act of migration places them in a radically different social terrain, one that they and their biographical flow must now negotiate. The stories in this study represent the accounts of the subsequent flows and negotiation.

The notion of biographical flows would benefit, I believe, from the addition of a further theoretical component that arises from an issue ever-present in LMD research into non-standard work (NSW). That issue concerns how we might usefully conceptualise how people integrate and manage the various aspects, elements or dimensions of their lives (in terms of both paid work and other areas). In a previous report on NSW among knowledge workers (Firkin et al., 2002) the notion of a work-life mosaic was introduced to try and capture this process. The mosaic was chosen because it so well captures the combining of pieces, many of which may be very different in size, shape, colour and composition. The edges of some pieces are sharp and clear while others are less so. In a mosaic some of the joints can be close and neat and others less so. We can visualise a person's life as just such a mosaic with some combinations of activities fitting neatly together while others require more effort or concessions in order to make them fit. Similarly, the distinctions between some components can be very clear in some places and less distinct in others.

Although useful in some respects, the notion of a mosaic suffers from a fatal flaw in that it is necessarily static and so fails to capture the dynamic nature of peoples' lives. Consequently, in later work (Firkin, 2003; Firkin et al., 2003) a configurational approach, drawing on the work of Norbert Elias, was introduced. This proposes "a model of interdependence, a field of tension ...that is created between that phenomenon and the directly opposing one" (Tabboni, 2001:16). Thus, what happens in one area needs to be considered in relation to the other and tension and interdependence are essential ingredients of each and the whole. Importantly, the perfect or ideal integration may never be achieved. Rather, it is an ongoing and reflexive process.¹⁸ The benefits of adopting a configurational approach are that it maintains something of the mosaic nature of our lives – that they are composed of various activities – while better conceptualising the dynamic nature of the process across time whereby we try and at times struggle to manage and integrate these components. The emergent conceptualisation is one of configuring lifestyles. That is, people are always living lives that are composed of many

¹⁸ While this is not the place to debate this matter in detail, I must note that the configurational approach would also need to take account of those factors outside reflection.

interdependent aspects, many of which are in tension with each other to varying degrees; people are consequently always engaged in managing those tensions to configure their lives in some meaningful and functional way.

Introducing a biographical orientation allows the elements or dimensions of people's lives – the mosaic pieces – to be conceived of as biographical threads. However, what fits better with a biographical flow is the idea of different biographical currents. Thus, our biographies are made up of many currents (work, relationships, physical health and so on) that are inter-related but are often in some sort of tension with one another. At various times particular currents will be prominent and heavily influence that flow. Our work identities are an obvious example of this and their prominence in this study is not simply a reflection of the study's objectives but their place in people's lives more generally. In broad terms the inter-play of these biographical under-currents influences our overall biographical flow.

One further theoretical development is required to bring the configurational approach within a biographical framework. What is needed is a means to understand the process of configuring in biographical terms. Faircloth et al. (2004) make a critical, albeit blindingly simple, observation, I believe, in identifying such a means. In their study Faircloth et al. (2004) argue that biographical flow is contingent. However, they are careful to show that such contingency is not simply and directly due to various factors – in their study these were age, co-morbidity and pre-existing knowledge – but is the result of how people *subjectively took account of these factors*. As Archer (2003:134) puts it, “in reports of empirical work it is frequently found that the effect of structure upon agency is represented as a *two-stage process*”. That is, structure works directly on agency. In Faircloth et al.'s (2004) terms what has been neglected is any recognition and understanding of how “people *subjectively took account of these factors*”. For Archer (2003) what is missing is consideration of what she terms agential mediation. Both, I would argue, can be usefully thought of in terms of biographical work.

Before moving on to elaborate the notion of biographical work I want to make one further point. Following the evolving approach adopted by the LMD to theory development in this area, I want to suggest that biographical work need not replace configuring lifestyles. Rather, the latter seems to nicely capture the day-to-day practices we engage in while the former encompasses larger and deeper processes. It is not necessary, however, to stick hard and fast to such a division and both are useful and necessary for adequately conceptualising what is occurring. In this sense configuring lifestyles may be seen as very practical biographical work, though not all the things we do to manage our lives need necessarily fit well the larger perspective we have on who we are.

Biographical Work

As part of a later analysis, Bury introduced the notion of 'legitimation' as “the process of attempting to repair disruption, and establish an acceptable and legitimate place for the condition within the person's life” (Bury, 1991:456). Carricaburu and Peirret (1995) argue that legitimation is a term already overburdened and they preferred the notion of biographical work. This is the “review, maintenance, repair and alteration” of one's biography as a result of some disruption (Corbin and Strauss, 1987:264)¹⁹ or, as Carricaburu and Peirret (1995:70) put it, “what a person must do in order to face a new situation” that threatens biographical continuity. Others have used the notion of biographical work more generally and beyond the health sphere. Given that some of the research cited above questions whether illness must necessarily disrupt biography, and

¹⁹ It should be noted that Corbin and Strauss use this in relation to a very specific and detailed conceptualization of the disruption process.

that biographies can be impacted by circumstances and events beyond health alone, it seems that an alternative and wider sense of biographical work beyond repair-like notions may be useful.

Fischer-Rosenthal (1995:256) offers just such an alternative, defining biographical work as “the interpretative work of orientating one’s self over a life-time and in the midst of social change”. Later he elaborates, describing biographical work in terms of the symbolic process that individuals engage in to achieve

“a flexible balance which both allows and reduces contingency, both creates and transcends consistency ... by reflexively structuring their experience and activities. It enables them to practically orient themselves, while dealing with events ongoingly as they go through life” (Fischer-Rosenthal, 1995:261).

Essentially, what Fischer-Rosenthal is describing I believe is the ongoing process by which people interpret, understand and explain what is happening in their lives. As Williams puts it, “timing, and context, norms and expectations, alongside our commitment to events themselves, anticipated or otherwise, is crucial to the experience of our lives, ... and the meanings with which we endow it” (2000:55). It is, in short a sense making enterprise that informs and reflects on action. The idea of biographical work in these terms offers, I would argue, a rich view of what Faircloth et al. (1994) refer to as ‘subjectively taking account’ and a fleshing out of Archer’s agential mediation – the third dimension to the usual but deficient two-stage process of empirical analysis (Archer, 2003:134). It provides a way of conceptualising the ongoing process by which people configure their biographical flow within the social terrain they are part of.²⁰

By way of drawing this brief theoretical excursion to a close and before exploring how the ideas from a biographical orientation towards exploring health and illness might be applied to the study of migration, I want to firstly summarise the argument thus far. What has been arrived at is the idea of biographical flows that are composed of various currents. These currents interact in various ways. Experiences and events may affect biographical flows in different ways, depending on the biographical work that people engage in. Possibilities explored thus far include biographical disruption, continuity and reinforcement. People engage in all sorts of biographical work to make sense of, and cope with, their circumstances, and to respond in some way.

BIOGRAPHICAL FLOW, BIOGRAPHICAL WORK AND MIGRATION

Clearly there are differences in the nature of illness and migration. While the unexpectedness and lack of control associated with re-location of refugees might parallel an illness experience, those interviewed in this study were voluntary migrants. As such they were able to undertake considerable thought and planning as part of their migration. In contrast no-one would choose to become ill and illness does not allow such preparation, though we might have time to do these sort of things over the course of an illness once diagnosed. Even with planning and forethought, migration brings with it considerable disruption in various areas of life as people physically move countries, encounter new cultures, and try to establish new homes and gain entry to new institutions (such as schools and labour markets for instance). As such, it is reasonable to suggest

²⁰ I must add at this point that the picture I have thus far painted of biographical flow and work is a very rational and reflexive one. Space does not allow me, nor is this the place, to consider other dimensions that disrupt this very settled conceptualization. This is the subject of my own work outside of the LMDRP. That said, this provisional view is sufficient for these purposes.

that migration generates circumstances that disrupt and Breckner identifies it as one of the most discussed features of migration (2002:217). This is especially true in relation to employment, given the effect migration had on the ability of people in this study to get work that reflected their qualifications, background and experience. However, several questions arise about maintaining this approach. For instance, does migration always go as far as to challenge people's biographical flow to the point of biographical disruption? Alternatively, is disruption the only or primary way that migration can or need be biographically understood (Breckner, 2002:226)?

Answering these questions necessarily involves exploring migrants' biographical work as they cope with the impact of migration on their biographical flow and the biographical disruption, continuity and/or reinforcement that occurs. As part of this discussion I will introduce an additional category, that of biographical revision. Williams (2000) discusses this idea in terms of the chronic reflexivity of late modernity where selves are continually problematised resulting in an ongoing process of biographical assessment and revisions. While acknowledging this aspect, I want to also use the idea as a way of describing an alternative response to biographical threats or challenges that does not automatically lead to disruption.

Importantly, the following discussion hinges on the interaction of biographies and the social terrain they are part of. Thus, outlining the biographical experiences of individuals as has already been presented and is briefly undertaken below, necessarily involves people living in, coping with, and responding to the social and cultural milieux they now find themselves in as migrants. Some key and influential aspects, particularly in relation to work, can be drawn from the earlier thematic analysis. Particular issues include a requirement for New Zealand experience, closed professions and various forms of discrimination and add up to a rather hostile employment environment. There is also the issue that although most people gathered information from reliable sources before migrating, they generally found a significant discrepancy between the reality and how it was portrayed. Given that these have already been discussed in detail I go no further in repeating them here. Consideration of individual experiences must also take account of the milieux that people previously occupied, often for lengthy periods of their lives, and from which they are now separated. However, in drawing attention to the place and importance of context I do not want to be seen to simply advocate a two-stage analysis. Rather the whole point is to offer a way of exploring how people subjectively take account of these factors or mediate them.

From the interviews, it does appear that biographical disruption is a reality for some people. Dinesh's case is a very clear example of this I believe. After more than 18 months in the country he has been unable to get work in his profession as an accountant, or even in the field of accountancy at a lower level. This is despite considerable effort and numerous job applications. Instead he has worked part-time doing charitable collecting and was employed at the time of interview as a full time attendant in a service station. Given the manner in which he recounts his story and his own evaluation of it, it is difficult to justify an interpretation other than one of biographical disruption. Indeed it is possible to go as far as to suggest biographical rupture.

A sense of disruption is also evident in the doctor's account. As he was aware of the restrictions on, and requirements for, overseas doctors working in this country, he arrived not expecting to work in this field but hoped to utilise other more transferable health related skills and experience. However, he has been unable to get any work outside of casual and part-time caregiving. Such is the sense of biographical disruption – again rupture would not be overstating the outcome – that he and his wife are looking to return to India. Although the parental and familial currents of Dinesh's and the doctor's biographies are still prominent – both migrated in part for the opportunities that would be available to their children – their overall biographical flow is still heavily disturbed by the

negative work related experiences they have had. The disruption to their work biography has meant that their lifestyle and wellbeing has also been severely disturbed. Although in both cases the children have benefited from the migration this is not enough by itself to repair or make up for such a rupture.

Both Jane and her husband also experienced rupture relating to their work biographies. Given his wider background, her husband was able to repair this fairly quickly but at some material cost. Jane, like Dinesh and the doctor, has never been able to gain work in her profession. Given that she has been in the country much longer than both of them we are able to explore a larger period of biographical work. For a considerable time, Jane remained tenacious in her efforts to get teaching work. However, eventually she decided the cost was too high and we have a rupture of her work biography. The reconstruction she undertakes is lengthy and, when interviewed, she has achieved a great deal in moving from checkout operator to staff trainer. This success is given a sense of continuity with her earlier biography by an acknowledgement that she is now, in some way, involved in educating once again. However, the rupture is not entirely healed as there is still a sense of loss with associated anger that she cannot teach. Part of the biographical work evident in Jane's account relates, as in the cases of Dinesh and the doctor, to the children in the family. Jane and her husband had also migrated primarily to offer their children a more positive and secure future. This must have been a constant tension when held against the work difficulties they encountered. It may have also generated further strain in terms of the parental currents of Jane and her husband's biographies when their daughter endured major difficulties during the early years after migration. Fortunately, this could be successfully resolved.

For some there has been a disruption but the circumstances and responses suggest that a slightly different understanding is needed. Steven, for instance, was intending to work as an accountant but after studying English realised that his language skills would make study for the necessary qualifications rather difficult. He did not apply for accounting jobs but rather opted to start a business. Eventually, after the original venture failed and having resisted any thoughts of going into the accounting field at any level, he ended up becoming a self-employed taxi-driver. Thus, there is a disruption to the flow of his work biography. However, his response is to revise that biography by opting for self-employment. Revision would appear to be a further form of biographical work that can occur. In Steven's case this type of biographical work is assisted by the motivation to deliberately disrupt other currents of his biography. By giving up any inheritance entitlements after his father's death in exchange for his brother taking up those familial responsibilities that Steven would usually assume as eldest son, he created something of a discontinuity with the past. Revisions of his work biography in the face of difficult employment prospects help sustain this break, since they make the migration successful in other regards. As well, another goal of migration was the opportunities it offered for his children and this serves as further support for necessary revision in terms of employment. This does not mean that revisions are always entirely successful as Steven is, at times, ambivalent about his work.

In coming to New Zealand as part of a deliberate move to radically transform her work biography, Melody's case represents a more deliberate and voluntary biographical revision. This is perhaps more in keeping with Williams' use of the idea. Charles' represents a different case as his overall biography is, in many areas, being challenged by age. It is thus being disrupted in areas and revisions are necessary. However continuity and reinforcement are not excluded simply because people age. Indeed they may be essential as we age. Migrating at this point in life means that work biographies are more open even if opportunities are fewer. There is less biographical work necessary to make sense of contract promotional or market research work, than would be the case for a person in the middle of their professional working life. That said, Charles

acknowledges the need to give up his prior work identity as a manager in the hotel industry in revising that aspect of his life.

Something more than revision occurs with Yong. Whether it encompasses reconstruction or could be described as repair is a question that would require more analysis than current circumstances allow.²¹ Unlike Jane, he seems to portray his experiences as more biographical disruption rather than rupture. This comparative difference may be partly because the time that he sought work before opting for a different path was considerably less than Jane. Although he did try and work in his profession after obtaining New Zealand qualifications in the field, Yong ended up in the same form of self-employment as Steven. The disruption is more apparent in his case, compared to Steven, in that he had applied unsuccessfully for numerous engineering jobs. However, the move into self-employment is not by itself sufficient to attend to the affects on his work biography of not being able to get an engineering job. Other biographical work is necessary, especially since he does acknowledge a sadness that he had to give up engineering. Specifically, the urge to migrate was based on a desire for less stress in his life. Any response to the disruption of his employment biography can be aided by maintaining a more general sense of biographical continuity through such personal goals. Thus, deciding to give up seeking engineering work reduces the stress and uncertainty associated with that search. There is, for him, only minimal stress in driving taxis and the freedom of self-employment appears to enhance this. Hence a sense of disruption rather than rupture. The importance of a low stress life for Yong was such that I viewed the move into self-employment as more of a biographical repair than reconstruction.

Ram's case represents another instance of biographical rupture in relation to work, something he recognised soon after arriving. However, his case is very different in that he had virtually no preparation for migration and so did not gather information regarding New Zealand that could influence his expectations. Instead there was an anticipation of complete biographical continuity. Also, while he had a family, they remained in India so his biographical work had to manage an independent life in New Zealand while retaining some sense of being part of a family. While Ram is not alone in having a religious faith as part of his biography, the centrality of this in biographical terms is significant since the idea of destiny pervades his sense-making activities. It also provides a sense of continuity and reinforcement of biography in what would otherwise be extremely disruptive circumstances as he faced enormous challenges in settling in New Zealand. Having recognised early on that who and what he had been outside of New Zealand counted for little, Ram eventually began to reconstruct his work biography. In doing so he maintained some sense of continuity through taking courses that "built on" his background to a degree. From casual sandwich making he gradually constructed a meaningful work life that had some limited resonance with his past. When interviewed Ram was engaged in some interesting biographical work as he 'reached back' into his past as a means of reinforcing his present and likely future biography within the context of his life in New Zealand. This reaching back involved him undertaking study to allow recognition of his overseas law qualifications and to enable him to practice this in New Zealand. The way he spoke of this it seemed a very important and positive objective for Ram. Thus it could represent something of a healing of the rupture over and above the reconstruction he has already engaged in.

Like Jane, Doena was unable to get work as a teacher and so also experienced a biographical rupture. She responded to this by trying to reconstruct her work biography around retraining but even this was unsuccessful. Given the importance of work, both

²¹ At this point I want to emphasise that what I am looking at here is not the physical or practical disruptions but the effects on biography. Thus, unexpectedly losing a job that one hates may create significant practical and material disruptions and challenges but be seen as less disruptive biographically if the person had for some time been contemplating a change in job or career, for instance. Hence the question of whether the level of biographical consequences can be resolved by repair or the more radical reconstruction.

materially and emotionally, and the effects of not being able to get meaningful work, Doena set about getting any employment she could and easily found low skilled factory work. The importance of work is given added weight by the need to help support a family. Her lengthy search for work was aided by the relatively quick success her husband had in securing appropriate work. She has since been promoted to a supervisor's level and hopes for further opportunities for advancement. Despite these prospects Doena is unhappy at having had to give up teaching and there is a sense that she too, like Ram, would now like to "reach back" and re-engage with teaching. However, new regulations, her time away and the earlier difficulties make this unlikely. So she is forced to develop a personal understanding of New Zealand society that makes sense of her current circumstances and thereby offers some biographical integrity. This understanding is that New Zealanders should get first preference - "if somebody came to my company, if there are two I give first preference to my country people".

Some of those interviewed managed a sense of continuity and occasionally even biographical reinforcement despite difficult and challenging circumstances. For instance, despite difficult employment circumstances in her profession, Paula appears to be trying to maintain a sense of professional biographical continuity by studying in New Zealand. It is her hope that this will assist her in eventually establishing some settled employment. It must be said that this sense of continuity is precarious in terms of work but strong on an aesthetic and emotional level.

Jerry perhaps represents the most creative and sustained example of efforts to forge biographical continuity and even reinforcement. He does this by characterising the work he has obtained in New Zealand as a customer services representative in relation to his previous role as a public relations executive. Although obviously at a much lower hierarchical level, Jerry is easily able to identify the many ways in which the positions are alike. In this way a sense of continuity between present and past is developed despite the clear disjunctures. This is further reinforced by the motives for migrating. These revolve around wanting to change their lives, in particular how they lived and functioned as a family, especially Jerry's role as a father. So, in this light, changes are part of the biographical work that is being undertaken in many areas and are to be welcomed or certainly not avoided. However, some sense of continuity is maintained on other levels through connections with the past.

CONCLUSION

It is intended that these brief vignettes will have illustrated the concepts of biographical work and biographical flow, and the latter's associated typology of effects. The aim was to flesh out the theoretical material that had previously been offered. Future work will more fully explore – both in depth and detail – this approach with selected cases from the study. In doing so, it is hoped to generate analyses like those presented by Rosenthal (1997) and Breckner (2002) but with additional theoretical frameworks on which to build rich accounts.

CONCLUSION

As part of a larger programme of study to explore non-standard work (NSW) in New Zealand, this research is focused on the experiences of professional migrants. In order to better understand and contextualise the findings in relation to NSW, the study necessarily explores wider settlement and labour market experiences.

Twelve interviews were conducted for this study. All but one of these was with an individual. In the exceptional instance, a couple jointly participated. In three other cases data on a spouse was also provided by the interviewee and, where appropriate, this was used in the analysis. Three interviews were with single people with the remainder of those who participated being married (though in one case the partner was not living in New Zealand). Ages of participants ranged from late twenties to early seventies with the majority being in their forties. Those interviewed had been in New Zealand between 10 years and a few months. Countries of origin were Brazil, China, India, South Africa, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Philippines and Zimbabwe. The professional backgrounds of those involved included accountancy, engineering, public relations, medicine, hotel management, secondary school teaching, management, law, architecture, and university lecturing.

Although, like previous Labour Market Dynamics (LMD) research, this study remains within a qualitative paradigm it employs a different approach to the interview process and subsequent analysis. That approach is the Biographic-Narrative-Interpretive Method (BNIM) which uses a lightly-structured depth interview process that seeks to prompt an initial narrative around a person's life (or some aspect thereof) using a single question. Follow up questioning aims to draw out further narratives but is structured around the flow and content of the opening narrative. A third set of questions may address areas of interest to the interviewer. The interview is then used to develop a chronology of events and the told story is broken down into segments according to certain criteria. Analysis is conducted on each segment by researchers blind to the whole life story. The aim is to build up an understanding of the individual's life by exploring what happened and what could have happened in light of the various contexts (e.g. social, cultural, economic) and relationships (e.g. family, neighbourhood, community) they are part of.

Utilising the data and analyses derived from this research approach, the findings of the study have been presented in three ways. Firstly, each case is presented at some length. Even though these represent researcher-generated renderings of the interviews, it is intended that these will allow the reader closer contact with the original interview contents and the whole stories that people recounted. These can be read in their own right or as a result of prompts and references in other parts of the report. Secondly, a thematic analysis has been conducted. This is a fairly standard way in which analysis is conducted and reporting is presented. A number of issues are canvassed in this way. The first is related to recent changes to immigration policy. Not surprisingly given the difficult and challenging experiences people had, there was a generally positive view of these changes, with one person wanting them even tighter. A couple of people were, for various reasons, more ambivalent about the policy. Only one person was against the changes as they did not see them to be a positive long-term approach to migration within a global context. While the new policy addresses some aspects of migration experiences it is fair

to say that other aspects, as addressed in the report (e.g. reception, discrimination and the like), are not changed nor necessarily challenged.

A number of other issues are discussed in relation to issues around professionals, migration and work. All but two of those who took part in the study made some effort to enter their professions once they had arrived in New Zealand. In this regard, only two people specifically mentioned problems related to professional bodies. For the others it was language difficulties (particularly around accent) and a lack of New Zealand experience (both generally and in relation to their profession) that were significant and persistent obstacles. Consequently, most people were quickly disabused of the notion that they could resume their work lives or careers after arriving in New Zealand. Almost everyone was forced into a somewhat different work path with considerable reduction in status and often major changes in the nature and quality of the work they were doing.

Experiences such as these in relation to professional employment are part of what has been termed in the report as the paradoxes of migration. One of these highlights the contradictions that arise between the requirements for gaining residence in a country – including level of education, work qualifications and experience – and the much lower value placed on, or discounting of, these once the migrant has arrived. They may, in fact, hinder people's efforts to get work. Thus, that which enabled people to gain entry to the country becomes problematic once they arrive. This situation is exacerbated in that the time taken to gain professional qualifications and consolidate that with experience means that, as was the case for many of those interviewed, professional migrants are often older and more established within their field. Thus age can become an intertwined issue. A second paradox arises from the usual understanding that people have regarding the relationship between education/training and employment. Essentially this is that low skilled work is generally associated with poorly qualified people, while higher education is thought to generate greater opportunities and that these are in higher paid and skilled work. However, the plight of many professional migrants may mean that low skill areas within workplaces may actually be populated by very well qualified people. This seems a huge waste of human capital at a time when the notion of a knowledge society is so prominent.

The most representative theme, in terms of frequency of mention and strength of comment, to emerge from the experiences of these professionals was the issue of New Zealand experience. There are variations on how this is defined but in general it is a demand, expressed as a clear and repeated preference by New Zealand employers, for local general or specific work experience. The former is a requirement to have worked in some capacity within the local labour market as compared to the latter where the demand is for local experience within a specific profession or industry. Such can be the obstacle that this represents to migrants, even in its former more generic form, that it can effectively exclude them from the labour market. The latter form represents a significant barrier to gaining employment in people's chosen profession. For most of those interviewed it came as a shock to find how strong this requirement was and it generated considerable difficulties. This has been a prominent theme in other research on the labour market experiences of migrants. There is, of course, a certain irony in relation to the demand for New Zealand experience that escapes no migrant. How, they ask, are we to get this New Zealand experience if we are excluded from the labour market because we do not have it in the first place?

From these work related issues the report opens up to a set of themes around settlement more generally. These highlight the struggle that settlement often represents across a number of areas of life. Migrants must, therefore, be "brave people" (as one interviewee put it) who are strong and resilient, and who must persevere. All those who were interviewed just wanted the opportunity to make a full contribution to New Zealand society. Although the migration of professionals is often seen in light of work and

employment motives, all those interviewed had non-work reasons for coming to New Zealand. For those with families concerns for their children's wellbeing – be that in terms of education, security, safety and/or future employment – lay behind the decision to migrate. For others, the search for a “better life” briefly encapsulates their motivations. Most of those who were interviewed gathered information on life in New Zealand from various sources (including official ones) prior to arriving. However, the accuracy and quality of that information varied markedly. Often too, the lived reality bore only a limited resemblance to the information available. The interviews provided some interesting observations on migrants' experiences of discrimination. For some, this was reframed as a lack of understanding or information. In terms of labour market discrimination some thought of this as a natural and reasonable way of protecting the local workforce. Others distinguished between experiences at different levels of society describing a more welcoming response among individuals compared to the negative reactions among potential employers. As in other research, accent was a prominent issue in relation to discrimination since, in this study, many people felt clearly discriminated against, not due to their language competency, but because they spoke with an accent.

Finally the question of NSW in relation to professional migrants is addressed. For all of those interviewed NSW played a role, often a significant one, in their employment after migration. This was particularly the case in relation to their gaining some initial entry to the labour market. Despite the prominence of NSW in employment generally, it offered little in respect of people's professional employment. Indeed, in only four instances was some aspect of the person's NSW related to their profession.

In addition to providing a distinct set of findings, the thematic analysis also serves as a means of contextualising a third form of reporting that adopts a biographical orientation. Drawing together a range of conceptual and theoretical work around biography it becomes possible to conduct a meso-level discussion. That is, biography becomes a way to bridge the distance between individual experience (the micro-level) and structural descriptions (the macro-level) without necessarily having to lose detail and significance by favouring either extreme. It also introduces a temporal dimension to the analysis. Through notions of biographical flow it is shown how people's biographies are continuous/discontinuous, reinforced, disrupted or even ruptured by migration and subsequent experiences. As a consequence people engage in various forms of biographical work – such as reorganisation, retrieval, repair and revision. This is illustrated in the relevant chapter through a number of vignettes drawn from the interviewees' experiences.

While some of the thematic findings, such as the reaction of those interviewed to the latest changes to immigration policy, are specific to this study, many echo those of other research. In doing so they reinforce the commonality of experiences among migrants and add weight to the need for attention to those common issues that negatively affect their settlement. The novel contribution of this research lies, I believe, in two areas. Firstly, there is the presentation of lengthy summaries of the interviews which allows readers to engage more intimately with their experiences. The second area is the use of a biographical orientation to try and bridge the gaps that often arise between a reliance on individual cases and a common preference for more structurally oriented analysis. More work in this area is clearly needed and will benefit not only the understandings we gain through research but also the value of these in the policy process.

THE 'BNIM' METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this short appendix is to serve as a resource for the reader interested in the Biographic-Narrative-Interpretive Method (BNIM) employed in our study. I have already noted in the methodological section that only a brief review has been given of what is essentially quite a complex process. It is not my intention to go into more depth on that process here. Rather my goal is to outline a range of references that describe the BNIM method or similar approaches. Some of these have been referred to in the methodology section and the others are additional references.

While there are numerous sources for discussions on various aspects of biographical narrative research, my primary aim is to outline here those that relate specifically to the BNIM. That said, many long and short accounts of the development of biographical and/or narrative approaches exist. Relatively brief overviews can be found in Chamberlayne, Bornat and Wengraf, 2000; Rustin, 2000; and Ruth and Kenyon, 1996.²² For accounts focused on such methods in a German context, where BNIM was developed, see Apitzsch and Inowlocki (2000) and Chanfrault-Duchet (1995). A more general account of biographical research is provided by Roberts (2002) who explores a range of background issues and considers different approaches including BNIM, albeit briefly. Miller (2000) explores different ways of researching life stories and family histories including the use of BNIM. Interestingly he compares realist, post-positivist and narrative approaches to this form of research with BNIM as the representative method for the last category.

The selective nature of this appendix should not be taken as implying that BNIM is the only or 'best' way of doing biographical-narrative orientated research. As always, the choice of method must be based on sound reasons that consider a range of issues. Based on just such a process, BNIM was the method chosen for this study. These are the sources that guided not only that choice, but also the subsequent use of BNIM.

BNIM was primarily developed from within a German context by Gabriele Rosenthal. As a result many of the texts that outline that process and the method are not available to an English audience. As Chamberlayne and King (1996) observe, her approach is itself composed of the narrative interview method of Schutze, Oevermann's objective hermeneutic textual analysis and Rosenthal's own thematic field analysis. Here, too, language barriers limit the access to this background material. However, Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000) have tried to remedy this by bringing a summary of Schutze's unpublished but highly influential work into an English language text. In doing so they add their own insights from using an approach similar to BNIM in its interviewing style and provide some additional advice regarding interviewing in a narrative fashion according to Schutze's principles. An English translation of some relevant material by Oeverman et al. (1987) is available and Chanfrault-Duchet (1995) provides a brief but more general overview of Oevermann's hermeneutic approach to analysis that has been employed in BNIM.

²² Please note that these are intended as a way into exploring the emergence of biography and narrative approaches. As such they provide an overview and a huge array of further references.

The major English language source that outlines BNIM is Rosenthal's outline in the first volume of the series on *The Narrative Study of Lives* (Rosenthal, 1993). A short overview of the method is also provided in the "Question and Method" chapter of Rosenthal's (1998) account of her research into the Holocaust. Her work with Daniel Bar-On also provides a brief account of the method (Rosenthal and Bar-On, 1992) as does an earlier article (Rosenthal, 1991). Each is useful in that they cover the general principles but often highlight different aspects.

A range of resources are available by other authors. Tom Wengraf (2001) provides the most detailed and comprehensive guide to using BNIM in a text predominantly focused on this approach. Not only does he present in some detail the preparations and procedures for interviewing and analysis using BNIM, but he also shows how to compare cases and then generate meaningful outcomes, as well as thoughts on writing up the whole process. Importantly, he also engages in a detailed theoretical discussion. Part of this involves situating the method in relation to other approaches so that an informed choice can be made regarding its appropriate employment in a particular project. Thorough accounts of the BNIM approach as used in the Social Strategies in Risk Societies (SOSTRIS) project are provided by Breckner (1998) and Breckner and Rupp (2002). Miller's (2000) text is another that provides some guidance in the use of BNIM but it is less detailed than others.

Numerous examples of the method in action, as it were, can be found in the SOSTRIS working papers (Nos. 2-8, 1998-1999)²³. Not only do these demonstrate BNIM being used to inquire into a range of issues across a number of countries, they also illustrate the many ways that the analysis can be used and presented. Annexes to various of these working papers discuss other related but more philosophical or methodological issues such as the turn to biographical methods in the social sciences (Rustin, 1999); realism versus subjectivism in biographical research (Wengraf, 1999); comparative interpretation of cases (Wengraf, 1998); and moving from individual life histories to sociological understanding (Rustin, 1998). A text that provides a summary of the SOSTRIS project findings in various areas is also available (Chamberlayne, Rustin and Wengraf, 2002). It also contains appendices on the method (Breckner and Rupp, 2002) and an alternative perspective on analysis (Wengraf, 2002). Chapters in this text (Rustin and Chamberlayne, 2002; Chamberlayne, 2002) together with the final SOSTRIS working paper (Chamberlayne and Rustin, 1999) are key sources for arguments concerning the use of biographical methods in social policy orientated research. Such arguments are implicit in many of the texts, chapters and articles acknowledged or pointed to here.

Another rich source of material is a text edited by Prue Chamberlayne, Joanna Bornat and Tom Wengraf (2000). As the title to their text suggests, it is a book that considers *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science* more generally. Thus, there are chapters devoted to general discussions exploring and developing theory and methodologies around the contemporary (re-)emergence of narrative and biographical approaches to research with in a social science context. All three authors were involved in SOSTRIS but the empirically focused chapters in this text are not all devoted to reports from that project. Instead, a range of research is reported, including material from another major social policy project that used BNIM – the Cultures of Care project, carried out in the UK and East and West Germany.²⁴ Other sources to review of the Cultures of Care project and its use of BNIM are two pieces by Chamberlayne and King. The first (Chamberlayne and King, 1996) uses BNIM as an example of the use of biographic approaches in comparative social policy research. In another article, Chamberlayne and King (1997) provide an overview of the method illustrated by material from the Cultures of Care project.

²³ See the list of "Other Resources" that follows the reference list for this report.

²⁴ See the list of "Other Resources" that follows the reference list for this report.

Finally, the interested reader might also like to review a research approach that arose out of BNIM. Developed by Wendy Hollway and Tony Jefferson, the free associative narrative method has been outlined in numerous places but the fullest account is their text *Doing Qualitative Research Differently* (2000). The authors have also used this in social policy related research in the area of fear of crime. Although they have adapted the BNIM approach they discuss aspects of its theoretical and methodological foundations.

While not exhaustive I hope that this appendix is a useful resource to those as interested as I am in the theory and practice of biographical inquiry, and in particular the Biographic-Narrative-Interpretive Method, and its application to policy orientated research.

REFERENCES

- Alach, P. and Inkson, K. (2003) *Temping: A Study of Temporary Office Workers in Auckland*. Research Report 2003/02 – Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Apitzsch, U. and Inowlocki, L. (2000) "Biographical Analysis: A 'German' School?", in Chamberlayne P, Bornat J, Wengraf T. (eds), *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science – Comparative Issues and Examples*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Archer, M. (2003) *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arthur, M. and Rousseau, D. (eds) (1996), *The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle for a New Organisational Era*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Barnard, R. (1996) *What Issues do Recent Immigrants Face in New Zealand?* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington.
- Basnayake A. (1999) *Employment Experiences of Sri Lankan Migrants in New Zealand*. Auckland: Equal Employment Opportunities Trust.
- Beck, U. (1992), *Risk Society - Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.
- Benson-Rea, M. and Rawlinson, S. (2003) "Highly Skilled and Business Migrants: Information Processes and Settlement Outcomes", *International Migration* 41(2): 59-79.
- Benson-Rea, M., Haworth, N. and Rawlinson, S. (1998) *The Integration of Highly Skilled Migrants into the Labour Market: Implications for New Zealand Business*. Wellington: New Zealand Immigration Service.
- Boyd, C. (2003) *Migrants in New Zealand: An Analysis of Labour Market Outcomes for Working Aged Migrants Using 1996 and 2001 Census Data*. Wellington: New Zealand Immigration Service.
- Breckner, R. (2002) "Migrants: A Target-Category for Social Policy? Experiences of First-Generation Migrants", in Chamberlayne, P., Rustin, M. and Wengraf, T. (eds), *Biography and Social Exclusion in Europe – Experiences and Life Journeys*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Breckner, R. (1998) "Appendix: The Biographical-Interpretive Method – Principles and Procedures" in *SOSTRIS Working Paper No. 2 – Case Study Materials: The Early Retired*. London: Centre for Biography in Social Policy, University of East London.
- Breckner, R. and Rupp, S. (2002) "Appendix A: Discovering Biographies in Changing Social Worlds: The Biographical-Interpretive Method", in Chamberlayne, P. Rustin, M. and Wengraf, T. (eds), *Biography and Social Exclusion in Europe – Experiences and Life Journeys*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Brosnan, P. and Walsh, P. (1996,) *Plus ça change...: the Employment Contracts Act and non-standard employment in New Zealand 1991-1995*, Working paper 4/96, Industrial Relations Centre, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Bury, M. (1982) "Chronic illness as biographical disruption", *Sociology of Health and Illness* 4(2): 167-82
- Bury, M. (1991) "The sociology of chronic illness: A review of research and prospects", *Sociology of Health and Illness* 13(4): 451-468
- Butcher, A. (2002) *A Review of the Literature on Non-Standard Work and the New Economy*. Working Paper No. 9 – Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Carricaburu, D. and Pierret, J. (1995) "From biographical disruption to biographical reinforcement: The case of HIV-positive men", *Sociology of Health and Illness* 17(1): 65-88
- Carroll, N. (1999) "Non-standard Employment: A Note on Levels, Trends, and Some Implications", *Labour Market Bulletin*, 101-121.
- Chamberlayne, P. (2002) "Conclusions: Social Transitions and Biographical Work", in Chamberlayne, P., Rustin, M. and Wengraf, T. (eds), *Biography and Social Exclusion in Europe – Experiences and Life Journeys*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Chamberlayne, P. and Rustin, M. (1999) *SOSTRIS Working Paper No. 9: SOSTRIS Final Report – From Biography to Social Policy*. London: Centre for Biography in Social Policy, University of East London.

- Chamberlayne, P. and King, A. (1997) "The biographical challenge of caring", *Sociology of Health and Illness* 19(5): 601-621.
- Chamberlayne, P. and King, A. (1996) "Biographical Approaches in Comparative Work: the 'Cultures of Care' Project", in Hantrais, L. and Mangen, S. (eds), *Cross-National Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. London and New York: Pinter.
- Chamberlayne, P., Rustin, M. and Wengraf, T. (eds) (2002) *Biography and Social Exclusion in Europe – Experiences and Life Journeys*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Chamberlayne P, Bornat J, Wengraf T. (eds) (2000) *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science – Comparative Issues and Examples*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Chanfrault-Duchet, M. (1995) "Biographical research in former West Germany", *Current Sociology* 43(2/3): 209-219.
- Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (1987) "Accompaniments of Chronic Illness: Changes in Body, Self, Biography and Biographical Time", *Research in the Sociology of Health Care* 6: 249-281.
- Dalziel, L. (2003) *New skills category to drive immigration programme*. News Release, Minister of Immigration, July 1st. Retrieved on 15/01/04 from <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/ViewDocument.cfm?DocumentID=17208>.
- Davidson, C. (2003) "The mix of methods : common research techniques used in evaluation" in Lunt, N., Davidson, C. and McKegg, K. (eds), *Evaluating Policy and Practice: A New Zealand Reader*. Auckland: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Equal Employment Opportunities Trust. (2000) *Recruiting Talent*, Auckland: Equal Employment Opportunities Trust.
- Ethnic Affairs Service. (1996) *High Hopes. A Survey of Qualifications, Training and Employment Issues for Recent Immigrants in New Zealand*. Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs.
- Faircloth, C., Boylstein, C., Rittmen, M., Young, M. and Gubrium, J. (2004) "Sudden illness and biographical flow in narratives of stroke recovery", *Sociology of Health and Illness* 26(2): 242-261
- Firkin, P. (2003) *Midwifery as Non-Standard Work: Rebirth of a Profession*. Research Report 2003/01 – Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Firkin, P., McLaren, E., Spoonley, P., de Bruin, A., Dupuis, A. and Perera, H. (2003) *Non-Standard Work: Alternative Working Arrangements Among Knowledge Workers. An Expanded Analysis Across Two Regions: Auckland and Hawkes Bay*. Research Report 2003/4 – Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Firkin, P., McLaren, E., Spoonley, P., de Bruin, A., Dupuis, A., Perera, H., Cremer, R. and Overton, J. (2003) *Non-Standard Work: Alternative Working Arrangements Among Knowledge Workers*. Research Report 2002/1 – Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Fischer-Rosenthal W. (1995) "The problem with identity: Biography as solution to some (post)-modernist dilemmas", *Comenius* 15: 250-65.
- Ho, E. and Lidgard, J. (1996) "Give us a chance: the employment experiences of new settlers from East Asia", in *Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand – Proceedings of the Seventh Conference*, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Hoerder, D. 2001. "Reconstructing life courses: A historical perspective on migrant experiences", in Marshall, V., Heinz, W., Kruger, H. and Verma, A, (eds), *Restructuring work and the life course*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T. (2000) *Doing Qualitative Research Differently. Free Association, Narrative and the Interview Method*. London: Sage.
- Horsdal, M. (2004) *The bodies, the minds and the stories – A discussion of ontological and epistemological Perspectives on narratives of personal experience*. Paper presented at ESREA Life History and Biography Network Conference, 4-7 March, Roskilde University, Denmark.
- Iredale, R. (2001) "The Migration of Professionals – Theories and Typologies", *International Migration* 39(5): 7-26.
- Jovchelovitch, S. and Bauer, M. (2000) "Narrative Interviewing", in Bauer, M. and Gaskell, G. (eds), *Qualitative Research with Text, Image and Sound. A Practical Handbook*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Dehli: Sage.
- Kalleberg, A.L. (2000) "Non-Standard Employment Relations: Part-time, Temporary and Contract Work". *Annual Reviews, Sociology*. Retrieved on 14/01/02 from <http://soc.annualreviews.org/cgi/content/full/26/1/341>.

- Kalleberg, A. and Schmidt, K (1996), "Contingent Employment in Organisations", in Kalleberg, A., Knoke, D., Marsden, P. and Spaeth, J. (eds), *Organisations in America*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Management (2000) *Challenges for Outsourcing*. Retrieved on 31/07/01 from <http://tiki.knowledge-basket.co.nz>.
- McLaren, E., Firkin, P., Spoonley, P., de Bruin, A., Dupuis, A. and Inkson, K. (2004) *At the Margins: Contingency, Precariousness and Non-Standard Work*. Research Report 2004/01 – Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Miller, R. (2000) *Researching Life Stories and Family Histories*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage
- New Zealand Immigration Service. (2003) *Skilled Migrants: Labour Market Experiences*. Wellington: New Zealand Immigration Service.
- New Zealand Immigration Service. (no date) *About the Skilled Migrant Category*. Retrieved on 07/04/04 from <http://www.immigration.govt.nz/Migrate/AbouttheSkilledMigrantCategory.htm>.
- Ongley, P. (1996) "Immigration, Employment and Ethnic Relations in Spoonley, P., Macpherson, C. and Pearson, D. (eds), *Nga Patai – Racism and Ethnic Relations*" in *Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Ongley, P. and Pearson, D. (1995) "Post-1945 International Migration: New Zealand, Australia and Canada Compared", *International Migration Review* 29(3): 765-793.
- Oevermann, U., Allert, T., Konau, E. and Krambeck, J. (1987) "Structures of Meaning and Objective Hermeneutics" in Meja, V., Misgeld, D. and Stehr, N. (eds), *Modern German Sociology*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Oliver P. (2000). *Employment for Professional Migrants to New Zealand – Barriers and Opportunities*. Wellington: Centre for Operational Research and Evaluation, Work and Income NZ.
- Perera, H. (2003) *Non-Standard Work in the Accounting Profession in New Zealand: Some Preliminary Evidence*. Research Report 2003/03 – Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Portes, A. and Borocz, J. (1989) "Contemporary immigration: theoretical perspectives on its determinants and modes of incorporation", *International Migration Review* 23(3): 606-630.
- Riessman, K. (1993) *Narrative Analysis*. Newbury Park, California: Sage.
- Roberts, B. (2002) *Biographical Research*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Rosenthal, G. (1998) *The Holocaust in Three Generations. Families of Victims and Perpetrators of the Nazi Regime*. London and Washington: Cassell.
- Rosenthal, G. (1997) "National Identity or Multicultural Autobiography. Theoretical Concepts of Biographical Constitution Grounded in Case Reconstructions", in Lieblich, A. and Josselson, R. (eds), *The Narrative Study of Lives, Vol. 5*. Newbury Park, California and London: Sage.
- Rosenthal G. (1993) "Reconstruction of Life Stories: Principles of Selection in Generating Stories for Narrative Biographical Interviews" in Josselson, R. and A. Lieblich (eds), *The Narrative Study of Lives, Vol. 1*. Newbury Park, California and London: Sage.
- Rosenthal G. (1991) German War Memories: Narratability and the Biographical and Social Functions of Remembering", *Oral History* 19(2): 34-41.
- Rosenthal, G. and Bar-On, D. (1992) "A Biographical Case Study of a Victim's Daughter's Strategy: Pseudo-Identification with the Victims of the Holocaust", *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 2(2): 105-127.
- Rustin, M. (1998) "Annex I: From Individual Life Histories to Sociological Understanding" in *SOSTRIS Working Paper No. 3 – Case Study Materials: Lone Parents*. London: Centre for Biography in Social Policy, University of East London.
- Rustin, M. (1999) "Methodological Annexe B: A biographical turn in social science?" in *SOSTRIS Working Paper No. 6 – Case Study Materials: Ex-Traditional Workers*. London: Centre for Biography in Social Policy, University of East London.
- Rustin, M. and Chamberlayne, P. (2002) "Introduction: From Biography to Social Policy", in Chamberlayne, P., Rustin, M. and Wengraf, T. (eds), *Biography and Social Exclusion in Europe – Experiences and Life Journeys*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Ruth, J.-E. and Kenyon, G. (1996) "Biography in Adult Development and Aging", in Birren, J., Kenyon, G., Ruth, J.-E., Schroots, J. and Svensson, T. (eds), *Aging and Biography – Explorations in Adult Development*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.
- Scheff, T. (1997) *Emotions, the social bond and human reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Shirley, I., Firkin, P., Cremer, R., Eichbaum, C., de Bruin, A., Dewe, P., Dupuis, A. and Spoonley, P. (2001a) *Transitions in the Hawkes Bay Labour Market: Unpaid Work and Paid Work*, Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Shirley, I., Firkin, P., Cremer, R., Eichbaum, C., de Bruin, A., Dewe, P., Dupuis, A. and Spoonley, P. (2001b) *Transitions in the Hawkes Bay Labour Market: Education and Training*, Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Shirley, I., Firkin, P., Cremer, R., Eichbaum, C., de Bruin, A., Dewe, P., Dupuis, A. and Spoonley, P. (2001c) *Transitions in the Hawkes Bay Labour Market: Welfare and Unemployment*, Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Shirley, I., Firkin, P., Cremer, R., Eichbaum, C., de Bruin, A., Dewe, P., Dupuis, A. and Spoonley, P. (2001d) *Transitions in the South Waikato Labour Market: An Ethnographic Study*. Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Shirley, I., Firkin, P., Cremer, R., Eichbaum, C., de Bruin, A., Dewe, P., Dupuis, A. and Spoonley, P. (2001e) *Transitions in the Waitakere Labour Market: An Ethnographic Study*. Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation Research Programme, Albany and Palmerston North: Massey University.
- Spoonley, P. (2003) *The Contemporary Political Economy of Labour Migration in New Zealand*, Paper presented to Sociological Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand, 9-10 December, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand.
- Tabboni, S (2001) "The Ideal of Social Time in Norbert Elias", *Time and Society* 10(1): 5-27.
- Trlin, A., Henderson, A. and North, N. (2004) "Skilled Chinese and Indian Immigrant Workers", in Spoonley, P., Dupuis, A. and de Bruin, A. (eds), *Work and Working in Twenty-First Century New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Tucker, D. (2002), *Precarious Non-Standard Employment – A Review of Literature*. Wellington: Labour Market Policy Group, Department of Labour.
- Wengraf, T. (2002) "Appendix B: Historicising the 'Socio', Theory and the Constant Comparative Method" in Chamberlayne, P., Rustin, M. and Wengraf, T. (eds), *Biography and Social Exclusion in Europe – Experiences and Life Journeys*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Wengraf, T. (2001) *Qualitative Research Interviewing. Biographic Narrative and Semi-Structured Methods*. London: Sage.
- Wengraf, T. (1999) "Methodological Annexe A: Contextualising subjectivity in the exploration and presentation of cases in biographic narrative research" in *SOSTRIS Working Paper No. 6 – Case Study Materials: Ex-Traditional Workers*. London: Centre for Biography in Social Policy, University of East London.
- Wengraf, T. (1998) "Annexe II: SOSTRIS at the level of the comparative interpretation of cases" in *SOSTRIS Working Paper No. 3 – Case Study Materials: Lone Parents*. London: Centre for Biography in Social Policy, University of East London.
- Whatman, R. (1994), "'Non-Standard' Work in New Zealand – What we Know" in *Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand* – Proceedings of the Sixth Conference, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Williams, S. (2000) "Chronic illness as biographical disruption or biographical disruption as chronic illness? Reflections on a core concept". *Sociology of Health and Illness* 22(1):40-67
- Zeytinoglu, I. and Metushi, J. (1999) "Changing Work Relationships. Enacting Gender, Race/Ethnicity and Economic Class", in Zeytinoglu, I. (ed), *Changing Work Relationships in Industrialised Economies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin's Publishing Company.

OTHER RESOURCES

Websites regarding the two projects mentioned in the report that have utilised BNIM are:

Cultures of Care

<http://www.open.ac.uk/shsw/Research/rpculturesofcare.html>

Social Strategies in Risk Societies - SOSTRIS

<http://www.open.ac.uk/shsw/Research/rpSOSTRIS.html>

The SOSTRIS reports each contain separate reports from the seven participating countries as well as a composite report. They canvas the following areas:

SOSTRIS Working Paper 1 (1997): Social Exclusion in Comparative Perspective

SOSTRIS Working Paper 2 (1998): Case Study Materials – The Early Retired**

SOSTRIS Working Paper 3 (1998): Case Study Materials – Lone Parents**

SOSTRIS Working Paper 4 (1999): Case Study Materials – Ethnic Minorities and Migrants

SOSTRIS Working Paper 5 (1999): Case Study Materials – Unqualified Youth

SOSTRIS Working Paper 6 (1999): Case Study Materials – Ex-traditional Workers**

SOSTRIS Working Paper 7 (1999): Case Study Materials – Unemployed Graduates

SOSTRIS Working Paper 8 (1999): Case Study Materials – Innovative Social Agencies in Europe

SOSTRIS Working Paper 9 (1999): SOSTRIS Final Report – From Biography to Social Policy

*** Working Papers 2, 3 & 6 also contain methodological appendices by Breckner, Rustin and Wengraf as listed above.*

Also of interest to some may be:

International Sociological Association (ISA) Research Committee on Biography & Society.

Information about this can be accessed via <http://www.ucm.es/info/isa/rc38.htm> which gives access to the committee's newsletter.



IN PRINT & ON LINE

**The Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme
has produced a number of research reports and working papers.
A list of these and other related publications is provided here.**

**LMD research papers and working papers
are available in print form and on line.**

*While listed here, copies of other publications, from journals and such,
are not available through the LMD team.*

HARDCOPIES

Can be obtained from:

Eva McLaren

Research Manager

Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme Phone: (09) 414 0800 ext. 9452

School of Social and Cultural Studies

Fax: (09) 441 8169

Massey University

E-mail: E.G.McLaren@massey.ac.nz

Private Bag 102 904

North Shore Mail Centre

Auckland

DOWNLOADS

Can be accessed from the LMD website*:

<http://lmd.massey.ac.nz>

**Only those publications underlined can be downloaded.*

PUBLICATIONS

Research Reports

The Hawkes Bay Labour Market: General Report – 1997.

I. Shirley, J. Brooks, R. Cremer, P. Dewe, C. Eichbaum, D. Rauniar and P. Spoonley, 1998.

The South Waikato Labour Market: General Report – 1998-99.

I. Shirley, J. Brooks, R. Cremer, P. Dewe, C. Eichbaum, D. Rauniar, P. Spoonley and A. Bartley, 2000.

The Waitakere Labour Market: General Report – 1998-1999.

I. Shirley, R. Cremer, P. Dewe, D. Rauniar, P. Spoonley and D. Wilson, 2000.

Families, Work and the Welfare State. Work Histories.

P. Barrett, 2000.

Transitions in the Hawkes Bay Labour Market: Education and Training.

I. Shirley, P. Firkin, R. Cremer, C. Eichbaum, A. de Bruin, P. Dewe, A. Dupuis and P. Spoonley, 2001.

Transitions in the Hawkes Bay Labour Market: Welfare and Unemployment.

I. Shirley, P. Firkin, R. Cremer, C. Eichbaum, A. de Bruin, P. Dewe, A. Dupuis and P. Spoonley, 2001.

Transitions in the Hawkes Bay Labour Market: Paid Work, Unpaid Work and Other Transitions.

I. Shirley, P. Firkin, R. Cremer, C. Eichbaum, A. de Bruin, P. Dewe, A. Dupuis and P. Spoonley, 2001.

Transitions in the South Waikato Labour Market: An Ethnographic Study.

I. Shirley, P. Firkin, R. Cremer, C. Eichbaum, A. de Bruin, P. Dewe, A. Dupuis and P. Spoonley, 2001.

Transitions in the Waitakere Labour Market: An Ethnographic Study.

I. Shirley, P. Firkin, R. Cremer, C. Eichbaum, A. de Bruin, P. Dewe, A. Dupuis and P. Spoonley, 2001. Non-Standard Work: Alternative Arrangements Amongst Knowledge Workers.

P. Firkin, E. McLaren, P. Spoonley, A. de Bruin, A. Dupuis, H. Perera, R. Cremer and J. Overton, 2002.

Midwifery as Non-Standard Work – Rebirth of a Profession.

Patrick Firkin, 2003/1

Temping: A Study of Temporary Office Workers in Auckland.

P. Alach and K. Inkson, 2003/2.

Non-Standard Work in the Accounting Profession: Some Preliminary Evidence

Hector Perera, 2003/3

At the Margins: Contingency, Precariousness and Non-Standard Work

Eva McLaren, Patrick Firkin, Paul Spoonley, Ann Dupuis, Anne de Bruin and Kerr Inkson, 2004/1

Working Papers

- Hawkes Bay: A Survey of Employment Policies and Business Requirements.
P. Dewe, P. Spoonley and A. Bartley, Working Paper No 1, 2000.
- 'We Might Call Them Once'. Mediating Supply and Demand in Regional Labour Markets?
A. Bartley, R. Cremer, A. de Bruin, A. Dupuis and P. Spoonley, Working Paper No 2, 2001.
- 'A Great Place to Work?' A Comparative Analysis of Three Regional Labour Markets.
P. Firkin, R. Cremer, A. de Bruin, A. Dupuis and P. Spoonley, Working Paper No. 3, 2001.
- Self-employment and the Older Worker.
A. de Bruin, P. Firkin, Working Paper No. 4, 2001.
- The Growing Insecurity of Work.
E. McLaren, Working Paper No. 5, 2001.
- 'Doing the Books' Social Capital Between Spouses in Business-Owning Families.
P. Firkin. Working Paper No. 6, 2001.
- 'Entrepreneurial Capital: A Resource-Based Conceptualisation of the Entrepreneurial Process.'
P. Firkin. Working Paper No. 7, 2001.
- Women Combining Paid Work and Parenting.
L. Byrne. Working Paper No. 8, 2002.
- A Review of the Literature on Non-Standard Work and the New Economy.
A. Butcher. Working Paper No. 9, 2002.
- The Law and Alternative Working Arrangements
Graham Rossiter and Fiona McMorran. Working Paper No. 10, 2003.
- The Relevance of the Notion of 'Work-Life' Balance to Non-Standard Workers
Ann Dupuis and Anne de Bruin. Working Paper No. 11, 2004
- Adolescent Transitions from School to Employment
Carl Warner. Working Paper No. 12, 2004.

Other Publications

- de Bruin, A., Bartley, A. and Dupuis, A. (2000) "The Role of Education and Training Providers: Regional Insights on 'Matching'", Submitted to *ACCESS: Critical Perspectives on Education Policy*.
- Barrett, P. and Spoonley, P. (2001) "Transitions: Experiencing Employment Change in a Regional Labour Market", *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations*, 26(2): 171-183.
- Dupuis, A., de Bruin, A. and Firkin, P. (2001) "Human Capital Acquisition: Constrained Choice in a Regional Labour Market", *ACCESS: Critical Perspectives on Cultural and Policy Studies in Education*, 19(1): 57-78.
- de Bruin, A. and McLaren, E. (2002) "Toward Understanding Social Capital of the Self-Employed: An Exploration of Networks of the Self-Employed" in D. Forsyth and N. Bluhm (eds), *Small Enterprise: Accessing the Global Economy*, Proceedings of the 15th Conference of the Small Enterprise Association of Australia and New Zealand Inc. 22-24 September 2002, South Adelaide, Adelaide, School of Commerce, Flinders University. CD Rom.
- Lunt, N., Spoonley, P. and Mataira, P. (2002) "Past and Present: Reflections on Citizenship within New Zealand". *Social Policy and Administration*, 36(4): 346-362.
- Spoonley, P., McLaren, E. and Hanrahan, S. (2002) *Human Capacity Building: Emerging Skills and Training Needs in Waitakere City*. Report prepared for the Regional Commissioner, Work and Income (Auckland North). Massey University, Auckland.
- Spoonley, P., de Bruin, A. and Firkin, P. (2002) "Managing Non-Standard Work Arrangements", *Journal of Sociology*, 38(4): 425-441.

- Spoonley, P., McLaren, E. and Lysnar, P. (2002) *Developing the North Shore: Strategic Considerations for Economic Development*. A Report prepared for the North Shore City Council.
- Firkin, P. (2003) "Entrepreneurial Capital", in A. de Bruin and A. Dupuis (eds), *Entrepreneurship: New Perspectives in a Global Age*, Ashate: Aldershot, pp. 57-75.
- de Bruin, A. (2003) "Electronic Entrepreneurship" in A. de Bruin and A. Dupuis (eds), *Entrepreneurship: New Perspectives in a Global Age*, Ashate: Aldershot, pp. 76-91.
- de Bruin, A. and Firkin, P. (2003) "Elder Entrepreneurship" in A. de Bruin and A. Dupuis (eds), *Entrepreneurship: New Perspectives in a Global Age*, Ashate: Aldershot, pp. 92-108.
- Firkin, P., Dupuis, A. and de Bruin, A. (2003) "Familial Entrepreneurship" in A. de Bruin and A. Dupuis (eds), *Entrepreneurship: New Perspectives in a Global Age*, Ashate: Aldershot, pp. 92-108.
- Beynon, P. and Spoonley, P. (2003) *Economic Development Trends and Opportunities: North Shore City*. A Report Prepared for Enterprise North Shore.
- de Bruin, A. and Hanrahan, S. (2003) *The Screen Production Industry In The Auckland Region: Towards Understanding Human Capacity Issues*. A Report Prepared for the Auckland Regional Economic Development Strategy.

Conference Papers

- Bartley, A., Dupuis, A. and de Bruin, A. (2000) "Regional Labour Market Dynamics and Economic Participation: the Mediation Role of Education and Training Institutions", *Labour Employment and Work in New Zealand*, Proceedings of the Ninth Conference, 23rd and 24th November, 2000, Victoria University of Wellington.
- de Bruin, A. and Firkin, P. (2001) "An Exploration of Ageing and Self-Employment". A Paper presented at the Small Enterprise Association of Australia and New Zealand, Wellington.
- de Bruin, A. and McLaren, E. (2002) "Toward Understanding Social Capital of the Self-Employed: An Exploration of the Networks of the Self-Employed", SEAANZ, Forthcoming proceedings of the SEAANZ 2002 Conference, Adelaide.
- Spoonley, P. (2002) "The Future of Work: The Significance of Non-Standard Work in the Twenty-First Century", *Labour Employment and Work in New Zealand*, Proceedings of the Tenth Conference, 21st and 22nd November 2002, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Alach, P. and Inkson, K. (2002) "The New Office Temp: Alternative Models of Contingent Labour", *Labour Employment and Work in New Zealand*, Proceedings of the Tenth Conference, 21st and 22nd November 2002, Victoria University of Wellington.
- Spoonley, P. (2002) "Managing Activities and Spaces", *Social Science in the 21st Century*, Proceedings of the SAANZ Conference, 5th – 7th December, 2002, Christchurch, Canterbury University.
- Spoonley, P. (2003) 'Aligning Demand and Supply in Waitakere: From Research to Implementation', *Connecting Policy, Research and Practice Conference*, Wellington Convention Centre, Wellington, 29-30 April, 2003.
- Spoonley, P. and McLaren, E. (2003) 'Employment Futures: Non-Standard Work and the Adequacy of Labour Policies in New Zealand', *Connecting Policy, Research and Practice Conference*, Wellington Convention Centre, Wellington, 29-30 April, 2003.
- Dupuis, A. and de Bruin, A. (2003) 'Conceptualisations of the Work-Life Nexus of Non-Standard Workers'. Paper presented at the 15th Annual Meeting of the Society

for the Advancement of Socio-Economics (SASE), Aix en Provence, France, June 26 - 28, 2003.

Perera, H. (2003) 'Non-Standard Work in the Accounting Profession – A Growing Trend?' Paper presented at the *European Applied Business Research Conference* in Venice, 9-13 June, 2003.