The shifting identity of the professional workforce in Australian organisations: the Indian immigrant experience

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my father Dr. Satish Deep Chand, who taught me to remember that all things are possible for those who believe.
Acknowledgements

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my principal supervisor, Dr Gregory Teal, for his astute vision, and his expertise and endless encouragement. It is difficult to adequately express how grateful I am for his thorough and attentive supervision. Through his insightful critique, he sometimes challenged my thinking and I feel privileged to benefit from the experience, knowledge and suggestions he offered.

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Statement of Authentication

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

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<tr>
<td>CAQDAS</td>
<td>Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSAM</td>
<td>Continuous Survey of Australian Migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWB</td>
<td>Counter-Productive Workplace Behaviour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESB</td>
<td>English Speaking Background</td>
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<td>IT</td>
<td>Information Technology</td>
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<td>SAP</td>
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ABSTRACT

Evidence suggests that highly-skilled immigrants bring social and economic dynamism to a country (Gertler 2001). Australia is one of the ‘people scarce’ countries which make efforts to invite skilled immigrants from more ‘people abundant’ countries. Australian immigration policy focuses strongly on bringing skilled immigrants from overseas (DIAC 2011, Ressia 2010). Maria (1982, 1) defines an immigrant as ‘an individual who crosses the boundaries of their own socio-cultural groups and undergoes a process of integration into a new society’. Scholars and policy-makers point to evidence that these highly-skilled immigrants often face challenges integrating into organisations of the host country (Teelucksingh and Galabuzi 2005). There seems to be a significant gap in the immigration literature relating to the integration of immigrants in the workplace ‘after’ inclusion (Creticos and Schultz 2006) and more so, relative to immigrant professionals from India. This study attempts to fill that gap by engaging immigrant Indian professionals from different Australian organisations.

Most research on cultural diversity in the workplace in Australia has looked at unskilled immigrant labour even though the pattern of immigration in Australia has changed significantly. Many immigrants are now working in management and professional roles. Australian organisations have culturally diverse workforces, not just in low-wage and low-skilled positions, but higher up in the organisational hierarchy, even if cultural minorities generally remain under-represented at higher levels.

To a large extent research on diversity in organisations has centred on the persistence of gender inequality. Relatively few studies deal with the racialised character of many professional workplaces, especially in the Australian context. This research critically examines the experiences of perceived discrimination, exclusion after inclusion, and prejudice faced by immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations. It focuses on the challenges of emotional labour as it can be difficult to conceal true emotions and to display the emotions required by the job. Embroiled in
this conflict between the required and true emotions, job burnout and stress may occur. The present research examines the adjustments and struggles faced by immigrant Indian professionals and whether these factors also play a role in their integration within organisations.

The principle research question which drives this research is:

Are immigrant Indian professionals vulnerable to prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusion after inclusion in Australian organisations and does prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusion after inclusion have an impact on emotional labour? In particular my research goal is to analyse the perceived experiences, if any, of inclusionary and exclusionary organisational practices and how they impact the emotional labour of immigrant Indian professionals. Discrimination and exclusion is difficult to measure and, as such, researchers rely on respondents’ perceptions. Although there may be a difficulty in assessing whether perceptions of discrimination are representative of actual discriminatory actions, whether the perceived discrimination is ‘real’ or not, it is an important psychological reality for immigrants. Perceived discrimination has strongly and consistently been found to be a psychological stressor (Mirchandani 2003).

Drawing on a qualitative approach I have used in-depth interviews to reveal the stories and experiences of immigrant Indian professionals to Australia. A major element driving my choice of research design is the assumption that many of the exclusionary practices which may take place are informal and may include a collection of interpersonal dynamics and institutional practices that set up advantages for some employees but disadvantages for others. I have sought to gather data that is often veiled and hidden, intentionally or otherwise. I have attempted to explore whether stereotyping of and exclusionary practices toward immigrant Indian professionals persist in Australian organisations outside the framework of formal policies and regulation. This thesis does not examine policies of organisations per se, but focuses on the experiences of immigrant Indian professionals and their perceptions of practices that may persist regardless of policy.
The findings indicated that, due to tougher legislation against discrimination in the workplace, it now exists in subtle forms in Australian organisations. This includes ridicule, withholding information, social isolation, passing remarks and making unfair accusations, each causing the ethnic minorities a lot of stress. The data indicates that the interviewees perceive that there is a devaluation of their skills, knowledge and qualifications, at a time when the country is in competition with other migration nations for scarce and in-demand human capital. With the increasing diversity in the work environment, Australian organisations need to make proper adjustments regarding worker’s interests and needs, and to make sure the work environment is equitable and inclusive.

This study will allow better recognition and understanding of the dynamics of the Indian Diaspora in Australia and the dynamics of their inclusion in Australian organisations. The Australian workplace continues to become more ethnically diverse at all levels of occupation, with people from ethnic backgrounds making up considerable additions to the workforce. However, the examination of exclusionary or discriminatory practices and the relationship between work stress, acculturation and its impact on emotional labour has not been well researched.

Many of the reports of discriminatory practices towards Indians or stigmatisation on the basis of accent, skin tone or national origin are anecdotal in nature and this study, especially by conducting interviews with immigrant Indian professionals, seeks to better comprehend and elucidate such practices as perceived by these professionals, and their impacts on Indian professionals in Australia. This will provide organisations with information to improve the alignment between organisational discourse and organisational practice. It is expected that the findings generated by this study will encourage and promote greater awareness and understanding so that the immigrant Indian professionals may be better understood and served.

Keywords: exclusion, inclusion, perceived discrimination, cultural diversity, acculturation, emotional labour, integration, immigrants
PART I: INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter lays the groundwork for the study, beginning with the background to the research. Additionally, it establishes the aim and scope of the study, the research questions, research significance, motivation and definitions. Finally, the chapter provides an overview of the entire study.

1.1 Background to the study

Important changes have occurred in the pattern of Indian international immigration since 1945 (Varma 2007, 539; Madhavan 1985, 462). During this time Australia has become a significant destination for Indian immigrants, particularly skilled immigrants. Highly-qualified professionals such as doctors, engineers, scientists, administrators and teachers constitute 50 per cent of the total flow of Indian immigrants to developed countries, compared with only 10 per cent to developing countries (Varma 2007, 539).

Until the 1950s Australia had a ‘White Australia’ policy of immigration (Price 1999). By the 1950s this policy was relaxed by formally agreeing to favour immigrants from certain European countries, and especially from Britain. Australia’s immigration policy has shifted over the last sixty years. The original intention of policy was to build up the population for defence purposes. By the 1950s and 1960s its aim was to bring in workers to build up Australia’s manufacturing industries. Immigration policy had become more diffuse by the early 1990s by encompassing humanitarian, social as well as economic (skilled immigration) objectives. Over the last two decades the policy has been emphasising skilled immigration to a large extent (Phillips 2006; ABS2012c). As a result, Australia today supports a culturally diverse and socially unified nation and has a truly global immigration policy. Figure 1 in the following page shows the top ten citizenship origins of immigrants to Australia (2012-2013), given by DIAC (2013).
India was one of the largest source countries for Australia with an outcome of 40,051 places or 21.1 per cent of the total immigration policy, up from 29,018 in 2011-2012. In terms of regions, the Indian sub-continent now provides 29.2 per cent of the immigration policy (DIAC 2013). Figure 2 shows the increase in growth of immigrants from the Indian sub-continent and decrease from UK and North Asia in 2012-2013.
Present-day Australia acknowledges the breadth and diversity of Australian society, reaffirming the Government’s steadfast support for a culturally diverse, but cohesive country. The multicultural policy of Australia addresses the importance of the economic and social benefits of diversity and the need to balance the obligations and rights of all who live there (DIAC 2013).

Australia is a multicultural country. However, many immigrants to Australia experience prejudice, discrimination and racism on a regular basis (National Anti-Racism Strategy 2012). The Racial Discrimination Act in Australia (AHRC 2014), aims to ensure that ethnic and racial minorities are treated fairly and not discriminated on the grounds of race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin, and also immigration status. This Act covers situations where a person feels that because of ethnicity or race they have been refused employment, given less favourable terms, denied equal access to training opportunities or harassed in the workplace. Job applicants, trainees, employees on probation, part-time, full-time, casual or permanent employees are all intended to be protected by this Act (AHRC 2014).

The Australian Government also committed to develop and implement a National Anti-Racism Strategy for Australia in 2012. Dr Helen Szoke, the Race Discrimination Commissioner (2011-2013) stated that it was built on the assumption that racism exists in Australia (Szoke 2012). Research indicates that people born overseas, especially those who are visibly different because of their skin tone or dress – have greater chances of encountering prejudice and discrimination and face higher levels of racism than other people from culturally and linguistically diverse background in Australia; especially in the workplace (Dunn, Forrest, Ip, Babacan, Paradies and Pedersen 2008). The National Anti-Racism strategy aims to set out a series of high level initiatives to combat racism.

The Racial Discrimination Act 1975 is one of the important ways that Australia attempts to meet its obligations under the Convention. In 1995 the Racial Discrimination Act was extended to make ‘racial hatred’ unlawful. Racial hatred “is doing something in public based on the race, colour, national or ethnic origin of a person or group of people which is likely to offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate” (Racial Discrimination Act 1975).
Skilled immigrants are a significant cohort of the workplace in Australia. 76% of immigrants in this category are of working age and this cohort is responsible for 57% of Australia’s annual population growth (ABS 2012a). The Australian government considers addressing skills shortages in particular areas as a ‘high priority’ (DIAC 2013; ABS 2012b). According to the Department of Employment (2013), employers recruiting skilled workers in 2012-13 filled a higher proportion of their vacancies than they have at any time over the last six years and generally had a big field of applicants to choose from.

Skilled immigrants find Australia attractive as a destination because of the opportunities it presents to them, and Australian policy-makers are interested in increasing the numbers of skilled immigrants and this is certainly echoed in policy debates (Cobb-Clark and Connolly 1997, 671). Many of these immigrants are looking for higher paying jobs and a better future. In keeping with such facts, it is safe to believe that the hiring of immigrant professionals and working alongside them should be based on objective criteria which will not restrict their possible contribution to their employing organisation, nor inhibit their career development and professional achievement within them. However, the existence of legislation, as well as organisational policies and mission statements on equity, non-discrimination and cultural diversity, does not mean that exclusionary practices do not take place both while hiring and after employment. A study conducted by Australian National University researchers, Booth, Leigh and Varganova (2007, 15) to measure, labour market discrimination across different minority groups in Australia found statistically low call-back rates in fictional resumes with foreign-sounding candidate’s names. This implies that, in order to obtain an interview call, ethnic minority candidates would need to apply for more jobs than Australians with ‘Anglo’ names.

Cameron, Joyce, Wallace and Kell (2013), report on findings from a research project based on surveys conducted on samples of onshore, highly-skilled, professional engineering immigrants. This survey explored employment and workforce-participation issues since the immigrants arrived in Australia. The findings of the research painted a dismal picture in which Australia is suffering from engineering skill shortages nationwide, and yet highly-skilled immigrant engineers are either unemployed or not working as engineers. Additionally, the domestic education
system of this country is not producing the number of engineering and technically qualified personnel who can meet the current demands compounded by large infrastructure projects and a renewed resources boom (APESMA 2010).

Extensive research is now being undertaken on exclusion after inclusion of skilled immigrants and consequentially, the under-utilisation of human capital, which is a focal point of my study. Being undervalued, under-utilised or facing problems with promotion are enduring problems faced by immigrants in the workplace, along with feelings of being perceived as an ‘outsider’, say Butcher, Spoonley and Trlin (2006). In their research project conducted on immigrants in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch using focus groups they concluded that discrimination after employment can be subtle and contribute to exclusion from networks and formal/informal groups in an organisation. This is what one of the respondents in their study had to say:

‘The Asians that come here to New Zealand, there is quite a bit of discrimination against them. I mean some places are openly discriminating … And that is basically the same apartheid as we had in South Africa … And some of those Asians are incredibly intelligent … And they have come from a country that is way ahead in certain fields, and now are here’ (Butcher, Spoonley and Trlin 2006, 55).

Unfortunately, an employee’s capacity to perform decreases if they feel emotionally worn out at work and when they perceive themselves to be misfits or ‘outsiders’ (Ozcelik 2013). A survey of manufacturing plant employees revealed that immigrants and other minorities in organisations were less frequently included in organisational social networks or decision-making (Mor Barak and Levin 2002). Exclusion from social networking in organisations is further discussed in section 4.2 of the data analysis chapter. It can hold an employee’s career back and cause stress and emotional strain on the immigrants (section 4.3).

According to Kunda and Van Maanen (1999, 67), a worker is deemed to be loyal and committed to the workplace only if they can express a passion and addiction for the job as well as express an addiction to working at it. If immigrant employees are
treated as ‘outsiders’ by the very people they think consider themselves as ‘insiders’, their efforts will be frustrated and hence may not feel engaged within the organisation. This research aims to explore whether these metaphors are being challenged by a feeling of racial or ethnic isolation and ‘tokenism’ in the workplace which ultimately lead to the unwillingness or struggle to put forth required and appropriate emotional labour. Emotional labour may be defined as ‘the effort, planning, and control needed to express organisationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions’ (Morris and Feldman 1996, 987), and is an essential theme of this research.

1.2 Aim and scope of the study

To a large extent, research on diversity in organisations has centred on the persistence of gender inequality (Martin 1999). Relatively few studies deal with the racialised character of many professional workplaces and how racial/ethnic minorities experience ‘emotion work’ (Wingfield 2010). The main aim of this research is to understand and examine the significant relationship between the ethnicity of immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations and their perceptions of inclusion and the consequent impact on their emotional labour. Fox and Stallworth (2004) report on emotional responses to exclusion to be stress reactions, serious thoughts of quitting and even work avoidance.

Most research on cultural diversity in the workplace has looked at unskilled immigrant labour even though the pattern of immigration in Australia has changed significantly. Many immigrants are now working in management roles. Australian organisations have culturally diverse workforces, not just in low-wage and low-skilled positions, but higher up in the organisational hierarchy. The Australian economy depends to a great extent on skilled immigrants due to skill shortages in a broad range of sectors such as medicine, engineering and teaching and, as a result, a soaring need to expand and build a productive, diverse workforce (Mirchandani 2004). Regrettably, research exposes the reality that immigrants are being ignored or excluded by their colleagues or managers at work on a frequent basis (Lewis and Gunn 2007). Discrimination because of ethnicity or foreign accent or just being
‘different’ to mainstream Australian Anglo-Celtic culture can be very stressful for immigrants and can lead to negative job satisfaction and commitment (Junakar, Paul and Yasmeen 2004).

Although anti-discriminatory legislation has continued focus in Australia, a significant number of skilled immigrants, find it difficult and at times stressful to participate in an appropriate work environment (Cope and Kalantzis 1997). Stephenson and Lewin’s (1996) research on workforce diversity programs pointed out the ‘obstruction’ caused by the ‘human preference for the familiar’ reflected in expressions such as ‘like seeking like’ and ‘birds of a feather flock together’, or the underlying fear of the ‘difference of others’ and the desire to ‘expel’ those who are different (168). Racism may exist in a subtle form in Australian organisations in the form of isolating the individual, ridicule, unfair accusations, cutting jokes at their expense, or withholding information (Hoel, Rayner and Cooper 1999).

There is a paucity of theoretical and empirically based research on exclusionary practices and its impact on emotional labour among immigrants, especially immigrant Indian professionals in Australia. This in turn creates a deficit in understanding how to work with distressed immigrant Indian professionals and other minority professionals who work in predominantly ‘White’ work environments. Thus the major aim of this study is to provide empirically-based insight and understanding of how minority professionals function in majority ‘White’ work environments. Specifically, the research identifies and explores a number of stressors which relate to immigrant Indian professionals’ ethnic and cultural identity as perceived by them.

Research on the causes of stress experienced by professionals in organisations has increased over the years (Parkes 1986). Moritsugu and Sue (1983), believe that there are unique stressors faced by minority status employees. Ford (1985) states that minority status in the context of "race-related stress is an unavoidable reality for minority professionals working in large, complex, predominantly White work organizations" (p. 288). Limited empirical research has been conducted examining ethnic or minority status stressors in workplaces (Moritsugu and Sue 1983; Chang 2001). The researcher believes that it is important to examine the nature of stressors faced by immigrant Indian professionals in Australian work environments. Such
information could benefit many Indian immigrants entering work environments by informing them of subtle demands (e.g., minority status/ethnicity related stressors) in their work environments.

Minority or out-group status is one potential stressor and so are discrimination and racial barriers such as accent, skin tone, English speaking skills and overseas qualifications. These can result in subtle forms of discrimination and hostility, which can potentially cause stress to an immigrant employee (Essed 1991).

The present research has adopted a qualitative approach to explain the above-mentioned phenomena from the point of view of immigrant Indian professionals working in a variety of professions and organisations in Australia. There is a rapidly growing Indian community in Australia. According to the 2011 census, about 295,362 people in Australia were born in India and there were 390,894 responses for Indian ancestry. In 2011-12 Indians were the largest source of permanent migration to Australia. The influx of teachers, doctors and other professionals from India formed 15.7 % of the total immigration policy in 2011-12 (Velayutham 2013). Large numbers of Indian software professionals also began arriving in Australia from the 1980s (Indian Community in Australia 2012).

Twenty Indian professionals employed in various Australian organisations were selected for this study. In-depth face-to-face interviews, in the form of accounts by the respondents provided reliable and rigorous data. The qualitative data was then analysed using manual analysis and thematic analysis as well as NVivo10 to code and identify common themes.

1.3 Research questions

The principle Research question is as follows:

Are immigrant Indian professionals vulnerable to prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusion after inclusion in Australian organisations and does this inform the performance of their emotion work?
To fully address this principle question it may be broken down into a number of subsidiary questions, the answers to which will help in understanding the principle question and to fill in the research gaps identified earlier.

• In what ways and why do Australian organisations exclude immigrant professionals?
• In what ways and how are immigrant professionals exposed to exclusion even after inclusion?
• What are the experiences if any, of immigrant Indian professionals of inclusionary and exclusionary organisational practices?
• What are the impacts of exclusionary inclusion upon the emotional labour of immigrant professionals?
• Do the immigrant professionals themselves have any role to play in self-exclusion?
• What are the strategies adopted by immigrant Indian professionals in response to exclusionary practices?
• What are the implications for Australia?

The pattern of immigration in Australia has changed significantly. Most research on cultural diversity in the Australian workplace has looked at unskilled immigrant labour. Many Indian immigrants are now working in management roles. The significance of these research questions is that, although the pattern of immigration in Australia has changed, most of the research carried out in Australia on cultural diversity in the work force has not looked at skilled immigrants or professionals, and even less on the increasing numbers of Indian professionals. The study has broader implications for understanding the situation of immigrants in the workplace and for the dynamics of culturally diverse workplaces more generally.
1.4 Significance of the findings

The contributions of this study are manifold. Theoretically and empirically, only a limited amount of Australian writing documents the perceptions and experiences of exclusion after inclusion by Indian immigrants, particularly professionals. Very little research has been done on how ethnicity or racial status affects worker’s emotional labour on the job. As Mirchandani (2003) noted, most studies in this vein have only occasionally considered race. Chase (1995) contends that organisational norms generally dictate that professionals should be courteous, amiable and agreeable. Consequently, if workers experience stress or aggravation, they are expected to hide these emotions so that they do not get in the way of their work (Scheff 1984). Yet, while immigrant professionals appreciate that the workplace ‘rules’ about how workers are supposed to manage their feelings and mandate displays of amiability, they also argue that this ‘feeling rule’ is difficult to maintain given the discrimination they perceive they have come across in their workplaces (Wingfield 2010).

My study aims to analyse and identify possible exclusionary practices followed in Australian organisations and the impact of such practices on the emotional labour of immigrant Indian professionals. Given the growing demands and interventions that organisations have for emotional expression that conforms with or is regulated by organisational goals, it is important to conduct research that may contribute to developing this. Another gap in the literature is that we know a fair amount about anti-discrimination legislation and cases have been brought forward to the anti-discrimination tribunal, but we know very little about the informal practices in organisations with regard to discrimination against skilled immigrants. This research aims to develop such a literature.

There is little empirical research on immigrant Indian professionals in Australia, their employment and career strategies. This study will allow a better identification and understanding of the dynamics of the Indian Diaspora in Australia and the dynamics of their integration into Australian organisational life. The Australian workplace continues to become more ethnically diverse at all levels of occupation, with people from ethnic backgrounds making up a significant addition to the workforce. However, a detailed investigation of minority group members and the potential
relationship between work stress, acculturation and its impact on emotional labour has not been well researched.

Many of the reports of discriminatory practices towards Indian immigrants or their stigmatisation on the basis of accent, skin tone or national origin are anecdotal in nature and this study, especially by conducting interviews with immigrant Indian professionals, seeks to better understand and explain such practices and their impacts on the Indian immigrant community. This will provide organisations with directions for improving the alignment between organisational discourse and organisational practice. It is hoped that the findings which will be generated from this study will encourage and promote greater awareness and understanding so that the immigrant Indian professionals may be better understood and served.

1.5 Definitions

The specific key terms used in this research are set out below, derived from the review of the literature:

- Immigrant: ‘an individual who crosses the boundaries of their own socio-cultural groups and undergoes a process of integration into a new society’ (Maria 1982, 1).

- Ethnic Group: ‘a group of people who retain distinctive and common characteristics, such as physical appearance, language, lifestyle, and religion, and share a sense of identity with the group, in a manner not constituting fully distinctive and independent ways of living within a multi-ethnic society’ (Berry 1979, 421).

- Exclusion after inclusion: the definition adopted here is that provided by Carbado, Fisk and Gulati, ‘subtle institutional practices and interpersonal dynamics that create systemic advantages for some employees and disadvantages for others’ (Carbado et al. 2008, 87).
• Emotional labour: the definition used for this research is the one widely accepted as proposed initially by Hochschild, ‘a publicly displayed investment and passion for the work a professional employee does and the work relations they forge’ (Hochschild 1983, 191).

• Psychological contract: Commonly used definitions are those provided by Schein and by Kotter, and these are adopted here, ‘a set of unwritten reciprocal expectations between an individual employee and the organisation’ (Schein 1978, 92), or ‘an implicit contract between an individual and the organisation which specifies what each expects to give and receive from each other in their relationship’ (Kotter 1973, 7).

• Ontological position: refers to how the researcher perceives the world; whether it is ‘objective and external’ and therefore not a part of the researcher’s world, or is a ‘socially constructed’ world which implies the intricate role the researcher plays in deciphering the ‘messages’ of the participants (Hussey and Hussey 1997).

• Epistemology: is about the relationship of the researcher to that or those being researched (Jennings 2001, 45), and deals with constructs like the status, value, and creation of knowledge and the nature of reality (Girod-Seville and Perret 2001, 56).

• Methodological consideration: is concerned with the techniques that the researcher should use, or chooses to use, to gather data (Jennings 2001, 62).

1.6 Overview of the thesis

There are 5 chapters to this thesis. Chapter 1 introduces and provides the aim and scope as well as the definitions and overview of the thesis. It also details the research questions that are addressed in this thesis.
Chapter 2 reviews the literature on ‘Exclusion after inclusion’ and ‘Emotional labour’. It provides detailed background information required to understand the present study. I focus particularly on the experiences of immigrants of colour throughout the world, who are professionals and have immigrated to develop their careers and growth opportunities. In particular I have attempted to analyse studies detailing the experiences of immigrants who are professionals in Australia.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology is concerned with the overall research methodology. It explains the research design and the methods used to investigate the research problems. This chapter rationalises and justifies the use of qualitative research and gathering rigorous data with the help of in-depth interviews.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis presents and discusses the qualitative data collected using face to face in-depth interviews on twenty immigrant Indian professionals working in a variety of Australian organisations. The aim of this part of the research is to use manual data analysis; to codify it into relevant themes; and then to apply NVivo 10 to code and analyse the data.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion analyses the findings in light of the collected data and extant literature and answers the research questions. The implications and contributions of the research are also discussed. The thesis is summed up and limitations as well as suggestions for future research are also mentioned.

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1.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an overview and the background of the study. It has also outlined the objectives of the research questions developed for the purpose of providing specific and detailed answers to the aim of the thesis. The research aims to investigate immigrant Indian professionals’ perceptions of exclusion after inclusion and the challenges thereof to manage their emotional labour. The research reveals that there are different ways of managing - some attempt to assimilate culturally, some respond by moving out of the organisation, some respond by acquiring additional educational and professional qualifications, and some respond by striving to achieve opportunities in the workplace. The objectives of the study have been to contribute to the knowledge on integration of immigrant Indian professionals with particular reference to the Australian workplace. This chapter also presents the significance of the study. Next, Chapter 2 presents the literature review on exclusion after inclusion and emotional work experienced by racial/ethnic minorities, with special reference to the Australian labour market and workplace.
PART II: BACKGROUND
CHAPTER 2: EXCLUSION AFTER INCLUSION AND
EMOTIONAL LABOUR LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Research shows that the world of and around organisations is changing very quickly, and organisations are being challenged to respond to these changes and to invent new approaches to their management. One of the significant changes, in Australia and many other countries is the increasing cultural diversity of the professional labour force (Turner 2007).

The objective of this chapter is to incorporate a comprehensive review of the literature on the integration of immigrants, especially in the context of exclusion after inclusion and its impact on emotional labour. The review helps to determine the factors needed to formulate the conceptual framework that addresses the research questions. Existing literature on immigration includes various dimensions such as the importance of immigration to the growth of a country (Hall 2005), the impact of immigration on the labour market (Ramamurthy 2003), immigration policies and their evaluation (Reitz 2001), assimilation of newly arrived immigrants in the labour market (Akcapar 2010), and the brain drain as well as brain gain issues related to immigration (Docquier, Lohest and Marfouk 2007). Of these, this research relies in the main on the integration/assimilation literature relating to workplace outcomes of skilled immigrants, because that is more connected to the main focus of this research. The theoretical framework for this thesis is presented in two parts. The first part focuses on a set of issues that are situated within the notion of inclusive exclusions or discrimination after inclusion (Carbado et al. 2008, 95). In an attempt to review the inclusion literature, a definition of inclusion has been provided followed by an Inclusion/Exclusion framework by Shore, Randel, Chung, Dean, Holcombe and Singh (2011). Subsequently the emerging literature on exclusion after inclusion is
outlined. The concern of a significant body of current analysis with regard to
discrimination is on the dynamics that exclude immigrant people from the labour
market as well as with those dynamics that situate them into hierarchical workplaces
and labour market structures (Carbado et al. 2008, 95).

Put in another way:

‘although determining precisely what happens before and during the moment in
which a prospective employee is excluded from an employment opportunity
remains crucial to antidiscrimination theory and practice, employment scholars
are beginning to pay more attention to what happens to that person after one is
hired and becomes an employee’ (Carbado et al. 2008, 92).

In other words, what happens after inclusion? What forms of discrimination towards
skilled immigrants are significant in the labour market and in organisations and how
is discrimination deemed to occur in organisations today? What are the
consequences, both for the skilled immigrants who face forms of inclusive exclusion
and for the country at large, and what are the challenges potentially faced by skilled
immigrants?

The second part suggests that highly-skilled immigrants bring social and economic
dynamism to a region (Gertler 2001). As a result Australian policy-makers have
focused on attracting diverse streams of skilled immigrant professionals (Van
Tubergen and Maas 2004). Nevertheless, scholars point to growing evidence that
these highly-skilled immigrants often remain unemployed or underemployed and,
once they are included in the work force, continue to face significant challenges
(Teelucksingh and Galabuzi 2005). The second section of this study therefore
addresses immigrant Indian professionals' perceptions of exclusion after inclusion
and the challenges thereof to manage their emotional labour. The research on
emotional labour has only occasionally considered race (Mirchandani 2003). Taken
together, the literature review shows that race matters in understanding how emotion
work is structured and how emotional labour is performed in professional settings.

As cultural diversity increases in Australia, organisations that wish to be competitive
will find that they are at an advantage by having a diverse body of individuals (Cox
Research demonstrates that when employees feel psychologically safe and appreciated they will be more engaged in their work (Chalofsky and Krishna 2009). Perceptions of inclusion are particularly important for minority employees. Lee and Westwood (1996) suggest that new minority groups require comfort and security as well as psychological security in a workplace. However, new or recent minority workers are often devalued and feel excluded and rejected as a result of subtle discriminatory practices. In common day-to-day interactions, being treated unfairly because of one's ethnic/racial status produces wide-ranging impacts on mental and physical well being such as psychological distress, anxiety and depression (Yuan 2007). Emotional labour refers to the effort, planning and control needed to express organisationally desired emotions during interpersonal transactions (Morris and Feldman 1996). The display of positive emotional labour can be challenging, especially in the case of minorities, due to their heightened visibility, the unique challenges they face, including learning culturally situated feeling rules that may be very different than their own.

This chapter has five sections. Section 2.2 discusses the concept of exclusion after inclusion. Section 2.2.1 looks at the issue from an Australian perspective. Exclusionary practices, and perceptions thereof, impact upon emotional labour and Section 2.3 discusses the concept of emotional labour expected of employees in a workplace; in particular professionals. Section 2.3.1 details the substance and style of emotional labour for professionals in the workplace, with a strong focus on immigrants. Section 2.3.2 sketches out the concept of a psychological contract which is now of increasing interest to organisational researchers. Section 2.4 combines the discussion of exclusion after inclusion and emotional labour. Section 2.5 concludes the chapter. These also consider how ethnic minorities carry out emotion management to curtail feelings of frustration and irritation with racialised perceptions and stereotypes.
2.2 Exclusion after inclusion

A great deal of research has focused on the discrimination of immigrants in the selection process in organisations and only recently has there been a focus on exclusion after inclusion. Diversity management has been heralded as ‘second generation’ equal employment opportunity (Teicher and Spearitt 1996). People have a very strong negative feeling about being excluded from groups, either socially or in the workplace. Perceptions of exclusion harm not only the individual employee, but also the organisation (Dipboye and Colella 2005). Exclusion on the basis of race has long been recognised as a reality. Past studies have generally shown the discrimination against African-Americans as well as Latin-Americans in US workplaces (Tidrick 1973). As a result, the inclusion literature is still under development. In reviewing the inclusion and diversity literature, I have made an effort to examine the inclusion challenges of immigrant employees in organisations, with a focus on Indian immigrants who are professionals. Inclusion can be defined as:

‘the degree to which an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the work group through experiencing treatment that satisfies his or her needs for belongingness and uniqueness’ (Shore, Randel, Chung, Dean, Holcombe and Singh 2011).

Past work done on assimilation of immigrants into the workplace has mainly focused on immigrant groups and their orientation into the dominant culture (Berry 2006). However the contemporary view suggests that acculturation is an interactive process between the host group and the immigrant groups in organisations (Bourhis, Barrette, El-Geledi and Schmidt 2009). Therefore, it is a case of both groups preferring assimilation and integration. Oerlemans and Peeters (2010) did research focussing on acculturation orientations of host community (Dutch) workers and immigrant employees from ‘non-western’ cultures. Their subjects belonged to higher occupational and professional levels. Their findings revealed that Dutch employees want immigrants to completely adapt to the Dutch culture and ignore or keep aside their cultural heritage. Immigrant employees on the other hand prefer to sustain aspects of their culture and retain their unique identity, and at the same time adapt to
the host culture (Wido, Oerlemans and Peeters 2010). They concluded that if the immigrant professionals do not assimilate to the host culture, poor inter-group work relations as well as exclusion can occur.

In a field experiment conducted by Oreopoulos (2011) in Canada, it was revealed that discrimination towards immigrants often begins with recruitment, when people with non-English names applied for jobs. Unfortunately, formal inclusion may then lead the way for informal exclusion. Discrimination issues experienced by immigrants in other countries are also common in New Zealand (Spoonley and Bedford 2012). For instance, some immigrants are employed in jobs for which they are overqualified (Poot and Stillman 2010). According to Trenerry, Franklin and Paradies, in Australia; ‘race-based’ discrimination remains very high and may be on the increase (2012). Discrimination not only has economic costs, but may also lead to poor performance, health issues, increased absenteeism and turnover (Girling, Liu and Ward 2010).

A framework developed by Shore et al. (2011), effectively illustrates ‘an optimal level of inclusion’ in Figure 3.

**Figure 3: Inclusion/Exclusion framework**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Belongingness</th>
<th>High Belongingness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Value in Uniqueness</td>
<td>High Value in Uniqueness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exclusion</strong></td>
<td><strong>Assimilation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual is not treated as an organizational insider with unique value in the work group but there are other employee or groups who are insiders</td>
<td>Individual is treated as an insider in the work group when they conform to organizational/dominant culture norms and downplay uniqueness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Differentiation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Inclusion</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual is not treated as an organizational insider in the work group but there unique characteristics are seen as valuable and required for group/organization success</td>
<td>Individual is treated as an insider and also allowed/encouraged to retain uniqueness within the work group</td>
</tr>
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</table>
In Figure 3, Shore et al. (2011), present a $2 \times 2$ framework of inclusion in which they suggest that a feeling of inclusion is created when people who are unique and different also have a sense of ‘belongingness’ to the organisation in which they work. The inclusion cell in Figure 1 depicts that groups who adopt the integration-and-learning perspective value diversity and a unique individual is accepted into the group. As a result, career optimism develops in the ‘unique’ individuals. The group performance is also high.

On the opposite end is the low-’belongingness’ or ‘low-uniqueness’ cell that the authors term exclusion. In such a situation a unique individual is treated as an ‘outsider’ and their contribution to the group performance is not valued. This feeling of exclusion can have negative effects on the individual. They may suffer from stress and health issues as well as the desire to leave such an organisation.

Shore et al. (2011) go on to highlight the assimilation cell, which is characterised as having a high level of belongingness but a lower level of uniqueness. This cell depicts an individual who has the fear that they maybe ‘discriminated’ against or ‘stigmatised’ and hence they try their best to assimilate within the group by sacrificing their uniqueness. Such behaviour may lead to a sense of belongingness by the group, although emotional exhaustion may result as they are acting in a manner counter to their personal values. This may lead to a façade of conformity.

The final cell in the model corresponds to differentiation. This includes people who value their uniqueness and flaunt it. This comes at a cost of not being considered as an organisation or group insider. Race-based stereotyping may result and the individuals may have a feeling of isolation. Organisations which adopt such a practice do so by, for example, not offering permanent employment to such employees (Shore et al. 2011). The expression of anti-immigrant sentiment is now subtle and indirect, and can involve prejudices towards ethnic minorities during recruitment, or creating barriers for subsequent career progress in organisations (Aslund and Skans 2010).

More recent trends in discrimination theory emerged when Carbado et al. (2008, 85) predicted that research will increasingly address ‘after inclusion workplace issues’,
and they posed the question, ‘What happens, in other words, after inclusion?’ Their study focuses on African-Americans in organisations in the US. They found that although law firms in the US include African-Americans as associates (i.e., as institutional workers), they ‘bar’ them in large numbers from partnership (i.e., as institutional leaders). Carbado et al. (2008, 95) note that although racial and ethnic minorities are hired in workplaces, in many instances they face discrimination.

Exclusive discrimination takes place when members of racialised groups are not treated equally in terms of employment, compensation and promotion opportunities. A more fitting definition of workplace exclusion against immigrants would be along the lines of Dipboye and Halverson (2004, 131) who stated that it occurs ‘when persons on a “social category” are put at a disadvantage relative to other groups with comparable potential’. Non-English speaking background (NESB) professionals in Canada faced such discrimination when some teachers felt that ethnic discrimination was the reason behind their inability to obtain permanent teaching positions even after working as substitute teachers for many years and some female immigrants in technical and engineering professions reported similar experiences (Azuh 1998). Jupp, Roberts and Gumperz (1982) mentioned that immigrants are expected to behave according to the norms of the dominant population and are judged by demonstrated differences which reinforce the stereotype. The immigrants are forced to learn in an environment of survival, along with all its associated pressures and stressors.

Moreover, when employees are a visible minority in the workplace, they may experience social isolation as well as stereotyping and prejudicial treatment (Mortisugu and Sue 1983). Stereotyping occurs when people hold ‘beliefs’ about a group of people (Brislin 1993). In his work on stereotyping, Fernandez (1981) surveyed 4300 managers in 12 companies of the US and found that 60% of white males and 46% of white females carried stereotypic beliefs about ethnic minorities in their workplaces. In his 1984-85 data of 9000 managers in 13 companies, he found the majority of employees held racist stereotypes about minorities (Fernandez 1988). Brislin (1993) believes that stereotyping can lead to prejudice, for example, a professional who resents a new colleague because of their skin tone, nationality or religion. The present researcher is interested in examining racial/ethnic prejudice, or
exclusion in the workplace, in the context of immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations.

Discrimination can also be influenced by an immigrant’s type of racial/ethnic attachment. Reitz (2003) explains that there are two types: the ‘internal aspects’ of racial/ethnic attachment as well as the ‘external aspects’. External aspects such as an individual who does not blend in physically and stands out as a foreigner may be the target of discrimination. This kind of discrimination is based on perceptions resulting from visual markers that a person is different from us. Native-born and immigrant visual and auditory signs, such as speaking with an accent, skin colour, and dress, are usually noticed and attempts can be made to manipulate and control these differences (Collins 1991). According to O’Neal (1999), the Blacks in North America are often normalised as the ‘other’. A study by Li (2000) supports the view that in Canada, visible minorities such as Blacks, East Asians and South Asians, are more prone to discrimination than those of European descent.

Fernandez (1981) is correct in observing that overt discrimination has now adopted a covert form. It is subtle and a uniquely modern phenomenon which occurs every day. Kinder (1986) observes that the new age form of discrimination is reflective of a ‘resistance to change’ in the racialised status quo of existing organisations. It is not blatant, but practised in an undercover manner. The attack can be indirect and secret and is shown by actions and speech. Fernandez (1988) states that although such discrimination is difficult to see its destructiveness is apparent. The ways in which exclusive practices are displayed towards racial/ethnic minorities are not necessarily overt. Modern-day exclusion is more subtle and insidious (Essed 1991). Intermittent episodes can cause pain, are difficult to identify and can occur unpredictably.

Consequently, due to exclusion and discrimination, there exist specific types of stressors which immigrants have to face at work. One of these is a minority or out-group status. This can often result in feelings of isolation, stress and lack of interpersonal networks (Mortisugu and Sue 1983). Exclusion is often expressed in subtle forms of aggression, verbal rejection or hostility (Essed 1991). In addition, a ‘token’ status can be linked to a minority employee, indicating that the person got the job because of affirmative action rather than their qualification or merit (Ezorsky 1991).
In 1977 Kanter developed the theory of tokenism, after studying minorities at a Fortune 500 company. She concluded that a ‘token’ suffered from stress and isolation and other similar barriers. Tokens can suffer from three consequences which can result in poor job performance. The first is a sense of ‘heightened visibility’. The token often finds themselves the subject of scrutiny by the dominant culture people in the workplace. The second consequence is polarisation. This means that their similarities with the group are minimised while any difference is highlighted tremendously. The last is stereotyping. The token is subject to the majority’s assumption of the role that the token would fit within the organisation (Kanter 1979).

Gottlieb (1983) observes that a sense of ‘inclusion’ in the work environment allows an employee to have social and emotional support which can help in ameliorating stress. In his study on professionals, Fernandez (1981) found the opposite, i.e., exclusion occurs with a large number of African-American professionals in US workplaces. In Australia, immigrants from Vietnam, the Indian subcontinent, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines are the most distinctive to Australian eyes and the objects of the greatest prejudice (Callan 1983). This implies that prejudice and exclusion increase with the social distance between minority and majority. From an employee perspective, research shows that individuals who perceive that diversity is supported and encouraged in their workplace are likely to hold positive attitudes towards work and the organisation, their job and career (Tsui, Pearce, Porter and Hite 1995). Conversely, other studies reveal that employees who do not feel valued because of their race and ethnicity believe that this negatively affects their job and career satisfaction and involvement (Hicks-Clarke and Iles 2000).

It thus appears that minority group members in the workplace face many barriers such as exclusion and isolation, their qualifications and performance questioned as well as a lack of mentors (Wentling and Palma-Revis 1997). Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1993) conducted a study of 748 managers and their respective supervisors in three companies in the US. They found that race created a performance evaluation bias. A black manager’s job performance had a lower chance of being attributed to ability than their white counterparts. The reasons provided for
the excellent performance of a black man were either the easiness of the job or good fortune.

According to Schuck and Liddle (2004, 251), until the 1980s, the glass ceiling referred to ‘the invisible barriers through which women could see elite positions, but could not reach them’. It was not until 1991, that the definition changed to encompass artificial barriers imposed on immigrant professional employees which would prevent them advancing within the organisation (Wickwire and Kruper 1996). It is a term which now describes the exclusion of racial/ethnic minorities in organisations (O’Leary and Ickovics 1992). A well-known study by Roth (2006) on Wall Street documented that managers were predisposed to hire, mentor and allot the most attractive job openings to employees who had similar characteristics to themselves.

Research indicates that ethnic employees in organisations have more negative than positive experiences as compared to natives (Ibarra 1995). In any organisation, employees who belong to the minority culture are viewed as less important and less powerful (LaFromboise, Coleman and Gerton 1993). Greenhaus and Badin (1990) found that African-Americans in US workplaces had less job satisfaction than Caucasians. They concluded that the experience of exclusion from decision-making or even information networks played a very important role. Numerous studies indicate that exclusion in the workplace is mostly felt by racial/ethnic minorities and that this eventually led to stress as well as the desire to leave (Mor Barak, Cherin and Berkman 1998).

In a study done by Hawthorne (1997), it was found that NESB immigrant doctors and engineers may have very limited access to employment in their respective fields. In addition, though sometimes NESB professionals are more highly qualified than their local counterparts, they do not receive a return for that and end up encountering greater hurdles of integrating into the Australian labour market (Kler 2006). Research reveals that immigrants from Asia face a significantly higher chance of exclusion from meaningful employment compared with skilled people who are native to Australia (Syed and Murray 2009). Even if they are able to speak English
fluently, immigrants from India, the Philippines and Hong Kong suffer from unemployment or workplace integration issues (Khadria 2004).

Booth, Leigh and Varganova (2009) showed in their study that immigrants who have accents and non-Anglicised names, especially Asian immigrants, are treated unfavourably in the Australian labour market. Biases regarding names can represent an obstacle for immigrants and exclude them from entry into organisations (Dietz 2010). Activation of stereotypes towards applicants can occur, reducing opportunities for them to be hired. In fact, foreign names can impose an ‘ethnic penalty’ on immigrants and affect them negatively during the pre-screening phase (Petersen and Dietz 2008). Arai and Thourise (2009) indicated that ethnic names may cause employers to exclude candidates because of biased assumptions about the candidate’s skills and abilities.

According to the similarity-attraction model proposed by Byrne (1971), people are attracted to individuals who reflect similar attitudes, values and beliefs. This theory posits that people are attracted to people who are similar to themselves. A study done by Leong (2001) found that ‘westernised’ Asian-Americans in the US are treated in a more favourable manner by their supervisors. This suggests that ethnic minorities in the workplace may be disadvantaged in relation to not only employment, but compensation, performance appraisal and promotions as well.

Kanter described the experiences of minority ethnic groups in the workplace and experience of ‘institutional racism’ (Kanter 1979). In keeping with this, research indicates that Asian-Americans and Asian immigrants working in US workplaces earn less than Caucasians. Although their qualifications allow them inclusion into high paying jobs and industries, they eventually face a glass ceiling and various obstacles which hamper their career development (Zeng 2004).

A culture which encourages exclusion is likely to harm organisational outcomes including group effectiveness, motivation and job satisfaction (Stevens, Plaut and Sanchez-Burks 2008). According to Thomas (1997), millions of dollars are spent on law suits related to exclusion and discrimination in the US. On the other hand, effective utilisation of diverse work groups can increase the competitive advantage of
organisations (Horwitz and Horwitz 2007). The literature tends to show that minority group members within organisations are the most affected by factors such as prejudice, racism, stereotyping and discrimination, while the dominant group has more access to defining organisational performance and wield greater power and influence (Ragins 2008). The workplace is centred on people coming together and trying to achieve a common goal. Inclusiveness, by contrast, enhances well-being as well as the quality of the workplace. This helps in building a stronger self-identity as well as enhancing a worker’s ability to cope (Glynn 1981).

People from ethnic minority groups are vulnerable to counter-productive workplace behaviour (CWB) (Lewis and Gunn 2007). The implications for such findings have profound importance because individuals and organisations can be negatively affected, as can a country’s social and economic aspirations. The Australian economy largely depends on skilled immigrants so the need to develop a diverse workforce which is at the same time productive is quite high (Mirchandani 2004). CWBs are not always easy to identify and can be subtle and covert. In a study done by Lewis and Gunn (2007, 652) on 247 public sector employees, 35% of the ethnic respondents reported prejudice compared with 9% of the white respondents, who reported prejudice. These negative behaviours emanated from both line managers and colleagues. What is more, 30.9% of ethnic respondents compared with 8% of white respondents implied that they had been either ignored or excluded by colleagues. Notably, the racial/ethnic groups reported higher levels of racial/ethnic bullying than the white respondents.

Fox and Stallworth (2004) reveal that stress and serious thoughts of quitting work and absenteeism are often the responses to such CWB. If immigrants perceive discrimination based on ethnicity and accent, their well-being is affected (Wated and Sanchez 2006). Immigrants often feel excluded because of the localised nature of Australian speech, which may contain ‘powerful dialogues of exclusion’ (Wagner and Childs 2006, 60). As immigrants usually have culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, which are quite different to mainstream Anglo-Celtic culture, inclusion and adjustment problems, are likely to arise.
Studies on exclusion after inclusion have been mainly theoretical. It has been identified that more research is needed to explore the relationships which exist and the dynamics which occur in an inclusive environment (Stevens et al. 2008). Theories of inclusion propose that being inclusive may mean acknowledging differences and being open to alternative opinions (Ferdman, Avigdor, Braun, Konkin and Kuzmycz 2010). Immigrants are challenged to cope with adjusting to unfamiliar association patterns and alongside accomplishing organisational goals (Shoobridge 2006).

Bilbow (1997) noted that racialised differences make life challenging for immigrants in work settings. By visually appearing more like the in-group and less of an outsider, the transition into the same playing field as others can be eased. Goffman’s (1959) ground-breaking seminal work, ‘The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life’, discusses how, in social interactions, people are constantly putting on a mask and playing roles in order to present themselves positively. He says that it is through role-playing that people get to know one another and learn about themselves. In other words, how we see ourselves is very much dictated by how others see us. In the midst of such performances, immigrants often control their irritation and stress and role-play to gain acceptance (Zaidman and Drory 2001). People who are high self-monitors change their identity through the use of verbal and non-verbal communication and, for example, the way they dress. They are like ‘Chameleons’, able to change their self-presentation to gain social acceptance. Not surprisingly, high self-monitors stay within the same company and experience more promotions (Kilduff and Day 1994). Managing their impressions like this is especially important for immigrants because they can be crippled by invisible barriers in the workplace. Even though organisations have created policies to prevent outright discrimination towards immigrants and racial minorities, prejudices on a personal level still exist (Reitz 2003).

Fitting in with the dominant culture can mean suppressing one’s culture and personality (Ward, Bochner and Furnham 2001). Unfortunately, those who are doing the fitting in are found to ask fewer questions or make suggestions (Carr-Ruffino 2006). On the other hand, intercultural effectiveness occurs when an individual can
fit in and behave according to the needs of the situation (Ward and Rana-Deuba 2000).

Milliken and Martins (1996) conducted research on racial/ethnic minorities in the workplace and concluded that employees who are different from the majority race/ethnicity in an organisation have fewer chances of a positive evaluation and are less satisfied than the natives. In a similar study done by Gelfand, Kuhn and Radhakrishnan (1996) in which data was gathered from 98 supervisor-employee pairs in a large East Coast US organisation, results showed that ethnic minorities are sometimes unable to predict their supervisor’s behaviour and have less frequent communication with them. This then lowers job satisfaction and performance.

Igbaria and Wormley (1992) focused on the role which race plays in relation to professionals. They found that black professionals found it hard to advance professionally in their organisations. In their study, which highlighted the experiences of 69 black-white employee pairs at a managerial level, they found that black managers got less support from their supervisors as compared to their white colleagues. They were not satisfied with their careers.

Past work done on assimilation of immigrants into the workplace has mainly focused on immigrant groups and their orientation into the dominant culture (Berry 2006). However, the contemporary view suggests that acculturation is an interactive process between the host group and immigrant groups in organisations (Bourhis et al. 2009). Therefore, it is a case of both groups preferring assimilation and integration.

For the present research, a fundamental question emerging from this literature is to explore the impacts of exclusionary inclusion upon the emotional labour of immigrant professionals and whether immigrant Indian professionals attempt to cover or put aside aspects of their cultural identity to be able to participate on a more equal footing in Australian organisations.

The feeling of ‘equity’ is very important in the workplace. Equity acknowledges differences and the value of diversity (Wilson 2004). Employees who feel equity feel more integrated within the organisation (Eriksen 2002). Opposite to equity is the feeling of discrimination, since expectations for equity influence racial
minorities’/immigrants’ perceptions of discrimination (Banerjee 2008). Organisational success often relies on workplace harmony. The workplace can be harmonious when there is positive interaction and understanding among the workers (Estlund 2005). However, lack of interaction due to cultural differences will hamper organisational success (Dore 2010). Career success of immigrants leads to their integration into their organisations. Satisfied employees are more productive and better-performing (Lin 2001; Saiyadain 2001).

A number of researchers have also described organisations that discriminate based on appearance, albeit without identifying them precisely or necessarily as discriminatory work practices. Research shows that the belief of the superiority of lighter-coloured skin still exists and can cause discrimination (Kerr 2005). Blair, Judd, Sadler and Jenkins (2002) suggest that negative perception of a darker skin colour continues. In her notable study, Barbara Flagg (2008, 2010), for example, tells the story of Keisha Akbar, a female African-American scientist employed as a researcher by a small research firm in California, US. Keisha likes to wear African clothing styles and materials, wears her hair in an African style, and sometimes converses in ‘Black English’ with other black employees, while always using ‘standard English’ with other employees (Flagg 2008, 2011). As the firm grew, it intended to promote the original members of the research team to departmental head posts. Despite excellence in the technical aspects of her work, Keisha was not selected to run a department. Flagg explains that the managers making the decision believed that Keisha:

‘lacked the personal qualities that a successful manager needs. They saw Keisha as just too different from the researchers she would supervise to be able to communicate effectively with them. The firm articulated this reasoning by asserting a need for a department head who shared the perspectives and values of the employees under her direction’ (Flagg 2008, 2011).

In this example, the research firm developed a work culture that disfavoured Keisha’s African-American appearance or identification signals. Keisha seems to have heightened her visibility, stereotyping and isolating herself by adopting an African-American persona with her ethnic clothing, braided hairstyle and ‘Black
English’. She might have sent the message that she did not share the same ‘perspectives and values’ as the mostly white employees who she would be supervising (Flagg 2008, 2011). Individuals low on ‘belongingness’ but highly-valued for their uniqueness were placed in the cell corresponding to differentiation in Figure 1 of Shore et al.’s model discussed previously. People who put a higher value on their uniqueness are more likely to publicly display those unique elements, as in the case of Keisha Akbar, at the cost of not being considered or treated as organisational insiders. As a result, they are subject to isolation and race-based stereotypes. One way that organisations have put differentiation into practice is by not making permanent employment offers to such individuals.

Keisha Akbar’s case is pertinent to the present paper, in particular, in identifying potential informal sources of ‘inclusive exclusion’ and pressures for cultural homogenisation. Flagg’s study focuses on the experience of a black professional, but states that different sets of rules apply that may be true for employees who are in the minority within other professional settings. If applied to the research on which the present paper is based, one can say that there may be a creation of additional emotional labour for immigrant Indian professionals as they struggle to bring their emotions into line with acceptable display of feelings (likability, pleasantness, no anger at any cost, and concealing feelings of aggravation or unhappiness about race-related issues) that may apply to them.

Emotional display rules have been shown to influence employee expression and interaction (Hochschild 1979, 563; Grandey, Rafaeli, Ravid, Wirtz and Steiner 2010, 389). Le Espiritu (2003, 25), for example, argues that Asian-American men, for instance, who are often stereotyped as passive, acquiescent, and non-combative, may find themselves subjected to feeling rules that require emotions of complacence and geniality, while white colleagues are permitted to show a range of emotional expressions. The data presented later in this thesis indicates that some Indian professionals working in Australian organisations feel that they face stigmatisation based on their perceived cultural characteristics, and also feel pressure to conform to feeling rules in such a way that conceals or submerges facets of their cultural identity. Feeling rules, which are the guidelines that govern emotional labour, prescribe how an individual is to direct his or her efforts to achieve the desired and
appropriate emotional state (Hochschild 1975). Professionals in the workplace quickly learn that there are feeling rules that they are expected to follow. Feeling rules may also be implicitly racialised within professional workplaces, imposing additional restrictions on the emotional labour from ethnic employees (Mirchandani 2003).

Rodriguez (2006, 1737) has stated that organisations can subtly and covertly create a racialised climate for minorities in their workplaces. These may be in the form of adherence to norms about appearance, social interaction, or familiarity with unspoken expectations of behavioural norms. Access and integration can potentially facilitate as well as reinforce discrimination. Assimilation is being asked of minorities who are integrated into workplaces and given a formal, if not always enacted, equal basis. To get ahead in one’s place of employment, aspects of one’s identity or display of identity may require adjustment (Carbado et al. 2008, 93-95). Thus, Keisha is put in a position in which she may feel pressure to compromise her racial and cultural identity (Flagg 2008, 23).

Based on a semi-structured interview of twenty Latino professionals, Fritz (2013) identified the degree to which they put in extra effort to meet social emotional demands in the US workplace. She chose a sample from different work environments. The study revealed that eighteen of the interviewees felt discriminated because their accent led to a perception of being ‘stupid, ignorant and uneducated’. In 2011 the percentage of Latinos who were identified as working as professionals in the US constituted 7.1% of the population (US Department of Labour 2012). Fritz found that Latinos who are in a minority in the workplace are affected by being positioned as a ‘token’. This affects their relationship with co-workers and also influences their job satisfaction and their job performance (Fritz 2013).

Fritz (2013) also found in her study that immigrants are stressed because some co-workers find foreign accents humorous or distasteful. Her interview with one Latino professional revealed the following:

‘The friction started really awfully when he (the boss) mocked my accent in a meeting. We were in the meeting with a teacher, my peers and parents and he
decided to imitate my accent and to make fun of it, which I did not take well.
The whole room was silent and he looked at me and said, well she knows I’m
kidding and I said, I’m not laughing am I? I walked out of there, went to my
car and I was in tears; I was so destroyed by it. I talked to him about it and I
said it was really not cool to do that, I did not think it was cool and he said, I
was just kidding and I said it was not a joke’ (Fritz 2013, 41).

This study by Fritz (2013) supports Kanter’s theory of tokenism. It makes a
significant comparison between Latino immigrant professionals in the US and
immigrant Indian professionals in Australia. Factors such as language proficiency
and accent can often lead to prejudice and a perception of being discriminated
against in the workplace. Besides dealing with commonplace issues such as
workload and work schedules, immigrants are found to be struggling with
communication skills, language proficiency, accent and discrimination. These extra
challenges are very stressful and can create health concerns as well as low job
satisfaction (Pasca and Wagner 2011).

A foreign accent, as mentioned earlier, is a perceived disadvantage (Hosoda and
Stone-Romero 2010). Even if immigrants are proficient in speaking English, there
may still exist a bias against them. Unfortunately, these prejudices towards workers
with foreign accents are more notable for immigrants who hold or desire to hold
professional jobs (Hosoda and Stone-Romero 2010). Such prejudices can limit access
to employment as well as reduce self-esteem, cause dissatisfaction at work and stress
for the immigrant (Wated and Sanchez 2006).

Hence, we can rightfully say that immigrants face great challenges in workplaces
such as isolation or the inability to blend in well with their colleagues. This
perception of racism and prejudice can cause low job satisfaction and even health
issues (Pasca and Wagner 2011). Studies also show that people who identify
themselves as having a strong accent often suffer from a feeling of lack of
belongingness in the US (Dovidio, Gluszek, John, Ditlmann and Lagunes 2010). This
feeling of discrimination can affect an individual psychologically as well as
physically (MacDonald and Leary 2005).
Allport (1954) attempted to understand prejudice and racism and proposed that they were related to an individual being excluded for reasons of physical traits, culture and ethnicity. Kanter, in her landmark book, Men and Women of the Corporation, discussed the phenomenon of ‘homosocial reproduction’ in organisations, which is the tendency of the dominant group to hire and promote people who are like themselves in looks as well as thoughts (Kanter 1977). Similarly, in a qualitative study done by Essed (1991), on 25 women of colour in US and the Netherlands, it was concluded that black women were not often selected as leaders and felt demeaned as well as not provided with intellectually stimulating tasks. They felt an increasing intolerance towards their ‘Black English’ and, to add to that, management did nothing about the resulting exclusion.

Racial discrimination and exclusion is a bitter reality for many racial and ethnic minorities. Discrimination, whether real or perceived, has negative effects on both the physical as well as emotional well-being of immigrants (Kessler, Mickelson and Williams 1999). Perceived discrimination is equally important as it is a cognitive appraisal of the extent to which an encounter or particular event is harmful (Major, Major, Quinton and McCoy 2002). Kessler et al. (1999, 208) contend that ‘given its high prevalence, wide distribution, and strong associations with mental health, perceived discrimination needs to be treated much more seriously than in the past in future studies of stress and mental health’. Harmful health effects can obviously result from overt acts of exclusion, although the continuing accumulation of injustices and slights may affect the emotional well-being of minorities as well.

The work lives of 828 black and white managers in three firms in the US revealed that black managers experienced fewer acceptances, less freedom to do their job as well as smaller number of promotional opportunities. This resulted in immense dissatisfaction on their part (Greenhaus, Parasuraman and Wormley 1990). Research reveals that ethnic minorities and immigrants feel an expectation to assimilate and also suppress their individuality to try and assimilate. This can put them under huge strain and pressure (Thomas 1992). Rosen and Lovelace (1994) claim that minorities have to fight stereotyping, discrimination and harassment on a regular basis in organisations.
Similarly, a survey done on 300 industrial firms in the US determined that immigrants and other minority individuals faced personal discomfort because of their differences with the majority (Morrison, Schreiber and Price 1995). Studies have shown that when there is a high level of cooperation, positive cross-ethnic relationships develop. This then leads to higher self-esteem, self-acceptance and success. On the other hand, in organisations where a high degree of exclusion exists for minority members, communication is minimal and a lot of geocentricism and stereotyping exists (Johnson and Johnson 1989).

A prominent stream of literature has argued that the way in which employees perceive the organisational environment results in their attitude towards job effort, performance and involvement (Brown and Leigh 1996). Needless to say, this equates to higher productivity and competitiveness of the organisation. As explained in Figure 4 below, when employees perceive that their values and self-interest are appreciated in an organisation, they identify their own personal goals with that of the organisation and invest greater effort in the job Brown and Leigh (1996).

![Figure 4: Hypothesized model](image)

Mono-culturalism and diversity ignorance can lead to reduced employee morale, high turnover and absenteeism, as well as a reduced labour pool. Pegg (1997) conducted a study of eleven ‘women of colour’ participants in a corporate setting. The heritage of the women included African-American, Asian-American, Hispanic and Native American. Written reflections, followed by face-to-face interviews helped explore the experiences of these women of colour in an organisation dominant by whites. One of her participants, Alexandra, a Hispanic woman, was confronted with the resentment of her co-workers, who felt that she was hired because of her minority status. Later, when lay-offs were written about, a comment by a co-worker was ‘You probably won’t have to worry because you are a minority’ (Pegg 1997, 61). April, an
African-American, stated: ‘As a person of colour, there is always discrimination, but you decide what you will ignore and what you will pay attention to’ (Pegg 1997, 80). Beverley, an African-American woman, experienced difficulties in advancing within her company. She describes her frustrations: ‘I’ve noticed that there are a lot of opportunities to do work-related projects that will make you become visible in the company. I have realised that this does not hold totally true for many minorities. I have, on several occasions, asked different people in management positions to allow me the opportunity to work on a project. My requests were noted but not totally regarded until it was put on paper. I almost feel that putting things on paper is sort of a threat to management. They start to look at you a certain way; as if you are a ‘troublemaker’ (Pegg 1997, 98).

Pegg’s study was designed to listen to the voices of eleven women of colour. She concluded that an organisational culture which accepts and appreciates inclusion succeeds in releasing the full creativity and participation of all employees (Pegg 1997). In line with this call, organisational scholars (Cortina 2008; Ogbonna and Harris 2006) argue that more attention should be given to subtle forms of discrimination which take place in every-day workplace interactions. Subtle discrimination and exclusion can disempower ethnic immigrant minorities as they reproduce a system of inequality. It is inconspicuous and hence often not dealt with according to a country’s anti-discrimination laws (Fleming and Spicer 2007).

In another 2003 study, Harlow concluded that black professors had to manage their display of emotions and hold back on feeling irritated and frustrated with racialised stereotyping and perceptions of students. The professors in her study had feelings of intense emotional labour expressed variably through curtailing feelings of annoyance, irritation or sadness in order to get positive student evaluations, and anxiety about job security and salary in general.

Bonding with colleagues at work is essential to integration. Derlega, Metts and Sandra (1993) relate bonding with self-disclosure and sharing the same interests with workplace mates. Social support is acquired and integration improved when people share thoughts and feelings of pressure, trauma or depression with others who belong to the same group or circle (Pennebaker 1997). Breaking down of racialised
stereotypes and closing the gap between co-workers is possible with bonding. It exposes the individual to many views and experiences, and to communication and sharing (Newell, Tansley and Huang 2004).

Although initial access to the workplace is important for immigrants, potential discrimination does not end at the moment of access. Inclusion ‘in’ does not necessarily indicate that there will not be discrimination. Studies indicate that when individuals encounter differences between themselves and the dominant group culture in the organisation they may be subject to discrimination, stereotyping, prejudice and devaluation of skills, competencies and knowledge. The literature tends to show that the career experiences and outcomes of minority group members tend to be less favourable than those of the majority.

The literature review on exclusion after inclusion examines the experiences individuals have when they encounter differences between themselves and the dominant group culture in the organisation. It is clear from this literature that in the organisation, those who are different than the dominant group (minority group members) seem to be the most affected. Historically, formal, institutionalised exclusion represented the typical form of discrimination. Today, discrimination is subtle and may occur after inclusion (Sander 2006). More subtle forms of exclusion include ridicule, isolation and harassment, all of which can lead to considerable levels of stress (Hoel, Rayner and Cooper 1999). Thus, when employees perceive a disadvantaged workplace, it can affect their performance outcomes in a negative way (Cox 1993). Perceptions of inclusion are extremely important for minority individuals and those who report feeling included also report being more committed to their jobs (Mor Barak 2008). Importantly, inclusion has a strong impact on the engagement of minority employees. Future research should seek to understand the unique mechanisms that can remedy negative experiences for ethnic minorities in Australian organisations.

A multicultural social order targeted at inclusivity would create an atmosphere for appreciating differences. Now, the pattern of immigration to Australia has changed significantly over the last two decades as Australian immigration policy has increasingly sought highly-skilled immigrants (Varma 2007, 539). Many Indian
immigrants are now working in professional and management roles. Yet, in Australia, there are limited legal obligations on organisations to manage diversity, other than meeting the formal requirements of anti-discrimination legislation (Syed and Kramar 2010, 96). The following discussion attempts to identify these changes and analyse the impacts, in a context in which organisations generally meet formal obligations but may still embody considerable constraints to developing effective management of cultural diversity.

2.2.1 From the Australian perspective

According to Bertone (2004), an immigrant worker is still stereotyped in Australia. It does not matter whether they work at unskilled labour or are in managerial positions. Sometimes discrimination takes place, particularly for Asian immigrants, due to a lack of willingness on the part of the employer to recognise a qualification gained in Asia (Junankar and Mahuteau 2005; Parr and Guo 2005). On paper, Australian anti-discrimination laws are considered to be very stringent. The National Anti-Racism Strategy of Australia targets the objective to build a strong, resilient and vibrant community in Australia and celebration of inclusiveness in the workplace. The aim of the National Anti-Racism Strategy is: “To promote a clear understanding in the Australian community of what racism is, and how it can be prevented and reduced” (National Anti-Racism Strategy 2012, 3). This Strategy sets out a series of high-level initiatives to combat the interpersonal and systemic discrimination and vilification encountered by immigrants to Australia. In 1975, The Australian Government ratified the Racial Discrimination Act 1975 with an aim to promote equality before the law and prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, colour, descent and national or ethnic origin. In 1995, the Act was extended to make ‘racial hatred’ unlawful (Racial Discrimination Act 1975).

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The Racial Discrimination Act 1975 (AHRC 2014), aims to ensure that people of all backgrounds in Australia are treated equally and have the same opportunities. The Act protects against discrimination in getting a job, terms and conditions of a job, training, promotion or being dismissed. The Act covers all types of employers, including: the Commonwealth and State governments; the private sector; as well as contract and commission-based work; and recruitment and employment agencies. It is stated clearly that employers have a legal responsibility to prevent discrimination based on race or ethnicity and should have policies and programs in place to prevent racial discrimination in the workplace (AHRC 2014). However historically, discrimination against women and various minority groups has been a feature of Australian society. Even today it remains a significant impediment to ‘income mobility’ (Argy 2006, 15).

Andrew Markus and Arunachalam Dharmalingam of Monash University authored a study, produced by the Scanlon Foundation, in which they detailed findings in the last decade on recent immigrant experience of Australia. The survey in the study was based on 2,300 highly-educated and skilled immigrants who arrived between 1990 and 2010. 42% admitted to discrimination in Australian organisations, on the basis of ‘skin colour, ethnic origin or religion’ (Markus and Dharmalingam 2011). Research reveals that ‘racialised discrimination’ in the Australian workplace is thinly disguised. Employers often complain that immigrants, especially those from NESB countries, do not ‘present’ well, do not show sufficient ‘initiative’ and lack assertiveness (Ho 2004). To add to this, few settlement policies focus on skilled immigrants (Liebig 2007).

In 2007 the Australian Government, in a move to try and revamp its ethnic policy, renamed the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs as the Department of Immigration and Citizenship. This was an outcome of intense debate regarding
‘who is a true Australian?’ and the fear that competing immigrant value systems were tearing the country apart (Johnston 2007)

Furthermore, Kramar (2004) goes on to state that exclusion and discrimination of ethnic communities exist as a part of everyday life in Australia. Very few organisations have incorporated an integrated approach to diversity management. This view can be further reinforced by a survey of 229 large organisations conducted by Sammartino, Nicholas and O’Flynn (2004). This survey was conducted on senior managers. Their study reveals that

‘20 per cent of Australian firms had the bare essentials to develop the diversity management competencies required to achieve a sustainable competitive advantage’ (7).

Syed (2007 and 2008) and Watson (1996) claim that people from NESB countries in Australia struggle for promotion and suffer a higher unemployment rate than their Anglo-Celtic counterparts. The career path of immigrant employees in Australia is not entirely dependent on their skills. Lack of fluency in spoken English, lack of awareness of local laws and foreign qualifications all play a part (Syed and Kramar 2010). Misztal (as cited in Syed and Kramar 2010) claims that women of a non-English speaking background in Australia experience lower income job and lower status as compared to their Australian counterparts.

Leveson, Joiner and Bakalis (2010) explored the relationship between cultural diversity and commitment via employees working in a large multinational organisation in Australia. The sample comprised employees from ten different countries. They found that ‘in-groups’ and ‘out-groups’ often formed based on language differences. The in-groups were formed based on ‘verbal communication not being misunderstood’ by colleagues.

Equal Employment Opportunity programs and approaches can differ from one organisation to another even in a similar industry or labour market. Therefore the position an organisation will take is to a great extent dependent on the choice of management style. Policies may not be implemented in the same way in all
organisations, whether they are related to equal employment opportunity, anti-discrimination or diversity management (Burgess, Henderson and Strachan 2010).

Hawthorne (1994), as cited in Hawthorne (2005), tracked NESB engineers over a three-year period and recounts what one Indian electrical engineer who was working in Western Australia had to say:

‘It does not go beyond a phone call. While they are asking questions they come to know that I do not have an Australian degree, I do not have Australian experience, so then they sort of switch off. They say “We are looking for someone with Australian experience” or “Send in your resume. We’ll get back to you.” So I tried to get more time on the phone to say please, give me the chance to be interviewed. I don’t want anything else except that you consider me on the same level [as local engineers]. But they say “No. You do not know any of the Australian standards; you don’t have experience in that.” I did go to the library and pick up a copy of the standard wiring rules – and it is exactly the same as our Indian standards. … Both are based on the British system’ (Hawthorne 1994, 58 as cited in Hawthorne 2005).

Australia’s dependence on skilled immigrants is very high and is known as one of the three classic immigration countries, the others being Canada and the US (Van Tubergen and Maas 2004). Therefore, increased cases of perceived discrimination based on ethnicity and a foreign accent can deter immigrants from selecting Australia as a destination. Although increased efforts to eradicate discrimination against minorities has been introduced by way of tougher legislation, research still points towards immigrants and ethnic minorities being targeted by negative behaviours (Murdoch and Taylor 2002).

Fox and Stallworth (2004) believe that due to tougher legislation against outright racism in the workplace, it now exists in more subtle forms in organisations. These include ridicule, withholding information, social isolation, passing negative remarks and making unfair accusations, causing the ethnic minorities a lot of stress (Hoel, Rayner and Cooper 1999). Research proves that there is devaluation of skilled immigrants in Australia. In an analysis by Borooah and Managan (2002) on
Indigenous Australians, people of Asian origin and ‘White’ people, in professional and managerial jobs, racialised disadvantage against Asian men and women is clearly demonstrated. Such a scenario has been endorsed in the findings of Burgess, Henderson and Strachan (2007):

‘Subtle forms of discrimination continue somewhat insidiously in organisations with systems and practices that seemingly fulfil equal opportunity prescriptions or anti-discrimination legislation or managing diversity recommendations, yet with outcomes that continue to demonstrate that people remain unfairly disadvantaged, based on unrelated and unalterable attributes or characteristics’ (Burgess, Henderson and Strachan 2007, 21).

Likewise, research done by Kaspura (2011) on respondents in the age group of 25 to 39 years from China, Iran and India, Srilanka and Philippines, has highlighted a paradoxical situation where, on the one hand, it has been reported that Australia suffers from engineering skills shortages and yet there are professional engineer immigrants who are forced to waste their skills and degenerate their careers. It was revealed that immigrant engineers have high unemployment rates or are not working as engineers at all. OECD (2012, 22) reports that the ‘skills of immigrants are not being tapped to their full potential … even though competition between destination countries to attract and retain talent is gathering pace’.

Australia faces competition with other migration nations for human capital in different professions and it is alarming that 2011 saw an estimated 70,000 retirements from the engineering profession (DIAC 2012). Kaspura (2011), on the other hand, reported that out of the overseas-born engineers who arrived recently in Australia, only 46% were employed as engineers, while the rest were either unemployed or employed in non-engineering occupations. At about the same time DIAC (2012) reported that 68% of the total immigration policy was filled by skilled immigrants who were professionals in their own countries and that the largest source country was India.

OECD (2012, 14) has further reported that 36% of immigrants to Australia with a University degree hold low or medium-skilled jobs. Constable, Wagner, Childs, and
Natoli, (2004) examined this issue and reported that non-utilisation of skills in Australia of professional and well-qualified immigrants may be due to non-recognition of their qualifications and lack of local work experience. Misko (2012) further states that other factors responsible for this situation include employer behaviour or discrimination. This is usually communicated to the applicant in a disguised manner, for example, by saying they do not have the appropriate local work experience. Surprisingly, such responses are rare towards immigrants belonging to Anglophone countries like the US, New Zealand, Canada and the UK (Misko 2012).

Cause for concern arises here because these very skilled immigrants, who arrive in Australia, can be well-utilised to support the growth and economic development of the country. Such findings point to unacceptable levels of skills wastage of skilled and highly-qualified immigrants, especially in the fields of medicine, accountancy and engineering. Needless to say, these unique challenges faced by employees of colour bring with them cultural discomfort in the workplace as well as a negative impact on emotional labour, as discussed in section 2.3 below.

### 2.3 The dynamics of emotional labour

An average full-time professional spends around 42% of his or her waking hours in working (Hines, Durham and Geoghegan 1991). Studies indicate that professionals and executives work longer hours and enjoy less leisure time than an average worker (DeCarlo and Gruenfeld 1989). For many professionals, work provides not only income and self-expression, but more importantly a sense of fulfilment and accomplishment. This in turn influences a person’s sense of well-being (Warr and Wall 1978).

Consequently, work conditions are perceived to be stressful when employees are unable to fulfil their work values, needs or interests. A significant amount of distress ensues if employees feel incongruence between themselves and their work environments (Ford 1985). Occupational stress can then lead to depression, anxiety and even ‘nervous breakdowns’ (Yates 1979). Hence, it is very important to control
factors within organisations that cause physiological or psychological distress (Cooper 1978).

‘Managers and professionals soon find out that in return for high salaries, and a relatively privileged position in the workplace, they are expected to bring to the job not only their intellectual capacity and knowledge, but more importantly, a readiness to put forth a form of “emotional labour” (as cited in Hochschild 1983, 82) – ‘a publicly displayed investment and passion for the work they do, the work relations they forge, and for the company that employs them’ (Kunda and Van Maanen 1999, 65). According to Hochschild’s definition (1983, 7), emotional labour is the management of feelings to create bodily and facial displays compliant with social requirements. It deals with emotions which an employee might feel, or pretend to feel, to meet the requirements of their job.

Ethnographic research establishes that the emotional labour of managers and professionals reflects passion for the job expressed in appropriate attitudes and gestures. Workers employed in professional environments soon realise that such conviction must be worked at persistently to build a successful career (Kunda and Van Maanen 1999, 77). When there is a high level of convergence between the expected emotional expression at work and their experience of the same type of emotions, it is thought that individuals may be well situated for the jobs they hold (Morris and Feldman 1996, 1000). For organisations, then, it is not enough to simply have a discourse of inclusion, rather, it is important that employees perceive a convergence between this discourse and their actual experience within the organisation. Emotional labour occurs when, according to Hochschild (1990), expressed emotions satisfy rules relating to the display of appropriate emotions, but clash with inner feelings.

According to Morris and Feldman (1996, 990), individuals who ‘experience positive emotions more often than negative find that emotional labour which entails the display of positive emotion do not have to keep an eye on emotional experience, because there will be less frequent discord between their real emotions and emotions on display’. An employee is said to exhibit positive emotional labour if they are connected with others and connected with their work in the organisation. This
ultimately leads to commitment and less surface acting. If there is lack of connection in the work domain, workers form the intention to move on, or disconnect with their current workplace and ultimately there is emotional exhaustion (Ozcelik 2013).

From the organisation’s viewpoint, mitigating negative emotional labour amongst employees has a positive impact on the profitability and growth of an organisation (Karasek and Theorell 1990). An organisation saves considerably on employee health care costs as well as getting better output from motivated workers (Jex 1998). Research indicates that stressed workers are often very dissatisfied with their jobs (Chang 2001). Researchers have identified that immigrants are especially vulnerable as they are exposed to many stressors not usually experienced by local nationals. Moving to a foreign country may mean change of identity and values leading to disempowerment. As a result immigrant workers may experience depression, anxiety and a sense of helplessness (Aroian and Norris 2003; Messias and Rubio 2004).

Emotional labour theory is important because it deals with how employees feel or pretend to feel as they try to fulfil their job requirements. Positive emotional labour is beneficial to the organisation as it will result in efficiency and better quality of work as well as good interpersonal relationships. According to Schaubroeck and Jones (2000), false or counterfeit emotional labour can be the cause of psychosomatic disease, involving both mind and body among employees in organisations. If what the employee is feeling is identical with the ‘emotional expectations’ of the workplace, no negative side effects will take place; in fact, such feelings will result in job satisfaction (Wharton 1993).

Only recently there has developed an interest in ethnicity and emotion. The effect of race on an employee’s emotional experiences work has, however, been very little examined (Harlow 2003). Gee and DeCastro (2001) are of the opinion that ethnic minorities may have to engage in additional emotional management. Morris and Feldman (1996) stated that emotions at work are partially determined by social environments. Emotional regulation can result in burnout. Immigrants may have to regulate their emotions frequently to meet the demands of their employing organisations. According to Gross (1998), the management of emotions by the use of acting can have detrimental outcomes for an employee. In such a case, rather than
adjusting the perception of the situation or the situation itself, the employee manipulates his or her emotional reaction to the situation. As a result of this emotion management technique, employees have to work harder to mask the emotion which they are actually feeling, suppress their true feelings and show an acceptable expression (Grandey 2000).

If we imagine this situation in a workplace scenario, a particular event may induce or cause an emotional response such as anger or sadness in an employee. A behaviour that can follow but which can be deemed as unacceptable can be crying, complaining or even physical attack. However, in a work environment, the display rules demand that emotional labour regulates the response, which can be deemed as inappropriate.

According to emotion regulation theory, such regulations can result in burnout and even job dissatisfaction. The reason behind this is that individuals must inhibit or suppress feelings (Ekman and Friesan 1975). This bottling up of emotions can tax the body over a period of time, resulting in physical illnesses such as high blood pressure and even cancer (Smith 1992). Emotional labour or regulation of emotions in the workplace on a continual basis may show the employee has goodwill towards the organisation, but may be detrimental to the employee’s health (Gross 1998).

Gross and Levenson (1997) talk about two studies in which participants were asked to suppress their emotions of sadness or disgust. This is possible as people are able to suppress their emotions to prevent others seeing how they feel. They concluded that this can be dysfunctional for the individual’s health and stress management. Emotional events at work such as exclusion from a group, discrimination or tokenism have an immediate impact on an employee’s emotions. If the event interferes with the goals of the employee, the event may be deemed stressful. In such situations the employee experiences the need to maintain the appropriate appearance and hence regulates emotion. These findings are supportive of how work events (such as discrimination, a rude remark, stereotyping) may create more emotional labour for immigrants and have a cumulative effect on stress and well-being. This proposition is explored in the interviewees conducted for this study in which immigrant Indian professionals describe events and how they relate those events to overall emotional labour and stress.
According to Ashforth and Humphrey (1995), a workplace and people’s experience within it is ‘saturated with emotions’. Positive experiences at work originate when there is a sense of belonging. They also suggested that the workplace environment has a very important role to play in understanding emotional labour and the type of emotional labour they experience. For instance, support from fellow workers and managers can translate to job satisfaction, less stress and even high performance (Schneider and Bowen 1985; Watkins and Holmes 1999). Abraham (1998) found that when employees receive the support of social networks in the organisation, job dissatisfaction is lower. A person is disengaged when hiding his or her thoughts and feelings during role performances (Kahn 1990). As emotions affect workplace attitudes, immigrant professionals often struggle in the workplace to maintain a façade of positive and enthusiastic emotional labour, especially if they are suffering from stigmatisation or xenophobia in the workplace.

Emotional labour refers to the effort, planning, and control needed to express organisationally desired emotions during interpersonal transactions (Morris and Feldman 1996). These display rules are normally required of professionals working in organisations. This can be challenging, especially for racial minorities, as it is sometimes challenging to conceal emotions of stress and disappointment and display emotions required of the job. What develops is an element of ‘depersonalisation’, detached responses to co-workers and a desire to evaluate oneself negatively (Maslach and Jackson 1981). The display of positive emotional labour can be challenging, especially in the case of minorities in the workplace, due to their heightened visibility and the unique challenges they encounter, more of which is discussed in section 2.3.1.

Essed (1991) believes that minorities in organisations face ‘unique’ stressors. Minority status ‘could often lead to alienation, social isolation, heightened stress, and decreased social structure resources available to the stressed individual’ (Mortisugu and Sue 1983, 163). Ethnic minorities in workplaces often encounter an ‘out-group’ status and prejudice from the majority ‘in-group’ members. Majority status is membership of the predominant ethnic group in the workplace (Mortisugu and Sue 1983). Unfortunately, race-related stress is an avoidable reality faced by minority professionals and something with which they have to contend on a daily basis (Ford
Pierce (1991) wrote an article titled ‘Stress in the Workplace’ and stated that ‘neither income level, educational attainment, occupational status, nor gender confers immunity against race-related stress’ (27).

Unfortunately, too, not much research has been conducted which looks at race stressors in the work environment. The present research proceeds from the belief that it is important to examine the nature of stressors faced by immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations. Such information could benefit many Indian immigrants entering predominantly white work environments by informing them of some of the realities of their work environments, in the hope they can be better prepared to cope with the overt (work requirements) and hidden demands (e.g., race-related stressors) in their work environments.

At work, professionals are often expected to regulate their emotions even in the face of any event which may negatively influence their well-being. The more the employee is faced with negative events, the more they will experience stress as they attempt to regulate their emotions (Bailey 1996). Thoits (1990) put forward an interesting theory by suggesting that emotion management can have a negative effect on employees. According to the Emotion management self-efficacy model (Thoits 2004) Figure 5, an individual will feel stressed when they are not acting on their internally felt emotions. Thus an individual may feel ‘inauthentic’ when hiding his or her true emotions and displaying acceptable workplace norms.

Figure 5: Emotion management self-efficacy model
A feeling of unauthenticity may then translate into psychological distress (Erickson and Wharton 1997). This proposition is explored in my study in which professionals who are Indian immigrants describe workplace events and how they relate to their emotional labour and stress.

2.3.1 The substance and style of emotional labour of professional’s in the workplace with a strong focus on immigrants

Hochshild (1983) put forward the idea that emotion can be symptomatic of how a person fares in their work environment. When individuals manage their emotions on the job, their emotions are turned into commodities; in other words, when emotion is sold for a wage, emotion management changes into emotional labour (Hochschild 1983, 7). However, what is concerning is that ‘burnout’ can occur if the feelings one has to depict at work are ‘inauthentic’ (Maslach 1976). Emotional labour can occur in any occupation, from low-status workers to high-status professionals. The pivot on which emotional labour revolves is the fact that emotions that are expected and those that are experienced can actually diverge (Harlow 2003).

The fact is that much of the academic literature on emotional labour fails to consider race and emotional labour. Thus, in 2003 Mirchandani wrote:

‘I document the fact that little or no attention has been paid to the racialised dimensions of emotion work. I argue that the exclusion of racial analyses is symptomatic of a uni-dimensional understanding of gender based on universalised conceptions of “men” and “women” underlying many studies of emotion work. While theorists illuminate the different forms of emotion work required in various professions, there is little understanding of the relationship between the occupation of workers and their social location within interactive race, class and gender hierarchies. A number of theorists have highlighted the difference which the gender or class characteristics of workers engaged in emotion work makes, yet there has been little analysis of how workers do emotion work in relation to simultaneously occurring gendered, class-based and racialised hierarchies’ (Mirchandani 2003, 722).
When employees interact well with co-workers, work stress can be reduced significantly (Dewe 1994; Kemper 1990). Until recently, the topic of ethnic minorities and their experiences with work stress leading to negative emotional labour in the workplace has not been a major focus of scholarly writing (Chiu and Kosinski 1999). In addition, most of the studies on the negative emotional labour which ethnic minorities undergo due to work stress have focused more on Hispanic-American or African-American employees. For Indians who have immigrated to Australia, a very small amount of literature relates to their emotional labour experiences, and even less on ‘professional immigrants’. This study addresses the need for targeted research to explore the impact of job stressors related to ethnicity on immigrant professionals from India.

A study by Kunda and Van Maanen (1999, 65) focused on professionals and how it is anticipated they will bring to the job not only their abilities, skills and technical know-how, but more critically a readiness to display suitable ‘emotional labour’. Thus what employees do with their feelings in order to comply with organisational and role expectations is emotional labour. In discussing professionals in organisations, the authors state that, ‘Managers and professionals are the people who represent the knowledge asset of an organisation. They help an organisation achieve sustainable competitive advantage and represent its intellectual capital and core competencies’ (Kunda and Van Maanen 1999, 65). Kunda and Van Maanen (1999) first drew on ethnographic data based on personal interviews as well as observations, followed by an interpretive analysis of a Silicon Valley firm which they named High Technologies Corporation Their findings reveal that, over time High Technologies Corporation underwent a number of changes, some of which had the effect of undermining the organisation’s original practice of valuing its professionals (Kunda and Van Maanen 1999, 64). Issues of financial performance led to the replacement of the original management team which in turn undermined the culture and the earlier policy of permanent employment and job security for professionals working in High Technologies Corporation. With these changes, the nature and commitment of emotional labour among professionals and management became much more linked to a traditional emphasis on economic returns. In other words, they were now being expected to commit to the firm, not on the basis of their professional identity but on
the basis of pure economic exchange (Kunda and Van Maanen 1999, 74). This is a critical matter because it allows us the opportunity to suggest how the emotional labour expected of professionals is to a very great extent dependent on affiliation and acceptance. While their study did not focus on cultural diversity, it could be assumed that issues of affiliation and acceptance, or their counter-parts of rejection and separation, are pertinent to minority professionals.

There are similarities between Kunda and Van Maanen’s (1999) study and the present paper, and their research serves as one source of inspiration for it. Both studies attempt to investigate just how managers and professionals are expected to bring to the job a publicly displayed investment and passion for the work they do. It differs from the present research in that their ‘change element’ did not encompass the changes associated with or brought about by ‘cultural diversity issues’ in the workforce, and the study was grounded in an ethnographic study of contingent work among technical professionals in Silicon Valley. While this research employs ethnographic techniques, it also examines the dynamics and consequences of cultural diversity.

Some authors have contended that social support assists individuals to manage workplace stressors and to enhance their perception of individual control (Cohen and Wills 1985, 325). Rousseau (1996) claims (as cited in Turnley and Feldman 2000, 33) that ‘psychological contract violations damage the very foundation of the relationship that exists between the organisation and the individual’ (the concept of ‘psychological contract’ is explained in section 2.3.2.). High Technologies Corporation went through a series of strong and sudden changes. With the downfall of the old organisational structure came transformations in both the essence and style of the emotional labour of the firm’s professional employees (Kunda and Van Maanen 1999, 73).

In another important study on emotional labour, Kimberly and Bouchikhi (1995, 12) suggest that, through the development of a strong sense of organisational identity, employers are successful in exercising a degree of control over the emotional labour of employees, thereby affecting productivity and profit. They conducted research on a retailer of software and computers that was founded in Paris in 1977 by four
individuals. The company, which grew slowly at first, more than doubled its sales between 1981 and 1982. By the year 1985, its market share positioned the company fourth among its competitors in France (Kimberly and Bouchikhi 1995, 10). The research was conducted based on interviews with one of the founders of the firm, who was then the CEO, as well as with nine employees. Additional data was collected from an analysis of information from the records of the company. A sampling strategy was determined based on the desire to identify how the company had developed over time and how the employees had experienced that evolution. By intentionally choosing interviewees with varying lengths of service, it was possible to investigate how the perceptions of employees regarding the company’s culture had changed over time (Kimberly and Bouchikhi 1995, 11).

The main aim of the interviews was to ascertain why and how the company had developed as it had. Some interesting insights emerged. The CEO’s description of the company reflected deep dedication and loyalty of the employees as well as a strong focus on fairness and egalitarianism in the work place. Employees commented on how the organisation had established a mechanism of support and displayed significant respect for its employees. This study provides compelling evidence that much of the challenge for today’s organisations in increasingly culturally diverse countries such as Australia lies in providing social support to the immigrants as well as full acceptance by established groups in order to encourage organisational commitment and organisational citizenship behaviour. Professionals immigrate largely to advance themselves and their families and to attain further advancement in career and salary. Not to be able to achieve this can be a charged or loaded issue.

Disengaged employees withdraw from the workplace rather than integrate (Endres and Mancheno-Smoak 2008; Shadur and Rene 1999). An engaged employee is a committed employee and is considered to be intellectually and emotionally committed to the organisation (Lockwood 2005). An employee who is willing to put in extra brain power, energy – including discretionary energy – into his or her work will drive innovation that in turn drives the organisation towards success (Eraydin, Tasan-Kok and Vranken 2010). This passion for work will take place when an employee is committed, enthusiastic and happy at work (Perrin 2003).
However, while providing some compelling empirical research as well as an instructive research methodology, Kimberly and Bouchikhi (1995) do not address issues of cultural diversity in organisations. It can be argued that every organisation is unique in that a particular set of circumstances surrounded its creation; every organisation has a particular set of connections to and relationships with the world it inhabits; and the configuration of people, events, resources and external connectedness is never precisely the same from one organisation to the next. This discussion shows that ‘whether real-time or retrospective, the more of this kind of research that gets done, the more apparent its potential for generating important insights into the fundamental engines of organisational development and change will become’ (Pettigrew 1990, 270). In particular, research that focuses on or integrates an awareness of the dynamics of cultural diversity will contribute to understanding organisational development and change.

Mirchandani (2003) pointed out that most studies in this vein do not really take into consideration workplaces as environments that are strongly shaped by race in ways that create different outcomes for white and minority workers. Very little research has been done on how ethnicity or racial status affects worker’s emotional labour on the job. Gee and DeCastro (2001) noted that racial and ethnic minorities may be required to engage in additional emotional labour because of their often ‘devalued’ minority status. When an employee feels anger, irritation or frustration but is expected to mask or manage these types of feelings, it can be very stressful and tiring. The psychological costs of emotional labour are many. The present research attempts to examine the ways in which racialised dynamics in Australian workplaces inform the performance of emotion work by immigrant Indian professionals.

Harlow (2003) has attempted to examine how racialised dynamics in the workplace influence the performance of emotion work. Her research on black University professors in the US reveals how their emotional labour is affected by racialised classroom dynamics. In instances where their knowledge is disputed by white students who often perceive them to be inferior or unintelligent to their white counterparts, they control their feelings of frustration, anger and resentment in order to display the expected emotional labour norms of calmness and professionalism, expected of them.
Professionals in the workplace are expected to be courteous, agreeable and cordial to their colleagues (Chase 1995). In a study conducted by Wingfield (2010), black professionals who were interviewed in a US organisation found that they were expected to be sociable and friendly to their colleagues and workmates irrespective of the racism they encountered in the workplace. Being a minority they stood out and, for this reason, felt that they attracted expressions of racialised bias. Despite the fact that African-Americans are not immigrants, they are often tokenised as a ‘race’ and face discrimination. They find it difficult and challenging to sustain a pleasant demeanour in the face of such exclusion (Wingfield 2010).

Sherrie is a 51-year-old senior black manager in a predominantly white workplace in Wingfield’s study (2010) on 25 African Americans in the US. She feels tokenised as well as isolated. She has this to say:

‘The general thing is being in an environment where you are the minority; being around Whites that tell you in many ways they don’t want to be around you. They don’t want you on their team; they don’t care what you have to say. There’s discrimination you feel and that you see, and it’s a constant presence’ (Wingfield 2010, 257).

Heightened visibility in the workplace may be very challenging to professional immigrants who struggle to maintain and exhibit the emotional labour that is expected of them. The present researcher considers it to be worth examining the implications of such ‘emotion work’ on minorities in workplaces. If emotional expression is constrained due to the racialised dynamics of the workplace, we can safely assume that minorities and ethnic communities may be held to different emotional standards than their native colleagues.

When people disguise their true feelings, their emotional labour revolves around rationalising the most ‘personal feelings, moods, attitudes and stances’ and to ‘contain these’ within the restrictions imposed by the organisational culture that arguably leads to a sense of ‘feeling false’ and being ‘mechanical’ and ‘no longer a whole integrated self’ (Ferguson 1984, 54). Undeniably, more subtle forms of racism have overtaken the traditional ‘more overt expressions’ (Fox and Stallworth 2004).
These subtle forms of racism involve social isolation, ridicule, withholding information, making unfair accusations and spreading rumours. This can lead to considerable stress (Hoel, Rayner and Cooper 1999). Therefore, while skilled and professional immigrants are more employable, serious issues can impede their employment experience and can eventually deprive Australia of the skills it has strived to encourage through its skilled immigration policy (Segal and Mayadas 2005).

2.3.2 Psychological contract

In keeping with this is the concept of a psychological contract, which Rousseau (1995, 289) defines as ‘individual beliefs shaped by the organisation regarding terms of an exchange agreement between individuals and organisations’. Others have elaborated the substance of these non-contractual but nevertheless consequential agreements:

‘A psychological contract emerges when one party believes that a promise of future returns has been made, a contribution has been given, and thus, an obligation has been created to provide future benefits’ (Sels, Janssens and Van den Brande 2004, 463).

While emotions have been a focus of interest for some time, during the past three decades the expression and representation of emotions in organisations has been of increasing interest to organisational researchers (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993, 88; Rafaeli and Sutton 1987, 24). There has been an increasing theoretical discussion and empirical research on ways in which employees express emotions in their work environments and on the relationship between an employee’s emotional expression and his or her productivity and work contribution (Rafaeli and Sutton 1989, 24; Fineman 2003, 45).

However, a variety of negative emotional labour outcomes can arise from the breach or perceived breach of the psychological contract (Robinson 1996, 577). Such outcomes include reduced job satisfaction, increased turnover, reduced organisational trust, reluctance to participate in organisational activities, reduced
commitment to one’s employer, and a decrease in performance (Robinson, Kraatz and Rousseau 1994, 141). Such breaches, as well as pressures to conform to organisational rules for the governance of the display of emotion, may be a source of employee stress (Domagalski 1999, 845). Thus, undermining of the psychological contract brings with it consequences for individual employees and the emotional labour that they are prepared or able to commit to their work and the organisation, and for the organisation itself.

Violation of the psychological contract can be an off-putting experience for the employee and can cause psychic costs (Robinson, Kraatz and Rousseau 1994). The present study draws on the assumption that when an employee will feel that they have been let down they may develop a negative attitude towards work or the organisation. Such an attitude is also deemed to affect organisational effectiveness. Research done by Turnley and Feldman (2000) suggests that, if the psychological contract is violated, employees may look for other employment, neglect their duties and responsibilities and disengage from organisational citizenship behaviour. Johnson and O'Leary-Kelly (2003) go on to suggest that an employee who feels ‘dishonoured’ because of a felt breach in the psychological contract may display increased absenteeism and lower organisational commitment. This can also have an impact on their emotional labour, by causing emotional exhaustion and emotional fatigue.

According to Robinson (1996), it is of utmost importance that employees’ trust and perception of contract fulfilment is maintained. When an employee joins an organisation, irrespective of their ethnic background, they expect to be treated fairly and without discrimination. If an employee perceives that they have been discriminated against they consider it to be a breach of the psychological contract (DelCampo, Rogers and Jacobson 2010). If an employee who belongs to a minority perceives that discrimination has taken place they become disheartened and lose faith in the diversity policies of the organisation (Jones, Jones, Latreille and Sloane 2008 as cited in DelCampo et al. 2010).

DelCampo et al. (2010) did a study on a sample of Hispanic business professionals in the US in order to explore whether they had experienced a psychological contract
breach and also if the level of ethnic identification increases the chances of such a breach occurring. They conducted the study with the help of a survey. The study revealed that a high number of Hispanic professionals have experienced a breach of the psychological contract. Their study validated two hypotheses. The first is that discrimination leads to the perception of a breach in the psychological contract and ethnic identification increases the probability of the psychological contract breach from taking place. Hispanic professionals believe that preferential treatment is given to locals and, despite the existence of laws and the promise of equal treatment, there exists discrimination (DelCampo et al. 2010). Quite in keeping with the present research, this study further goes on to prove that, ethnic employees and immigrants still come across unfavourable incidents and perceive that discrimination occurs in the organisation.

Chrobot-Mason (2003) came to the conclusion that breach of the psychological contract can lead to organisational cynicism. Therefore, an immigrant who sees a workplace free of discrimination in exchange for his/her work efforts forms a psychological contract. With increasing diversity of the workforce, managers are now coming to realise that there should be a focus on treating all employees in the same way. If the contract is violated, an affect can be decreased minority employee job satisfaction. Minority employees now have unique expectations from organisations and research shows that they no longer have the need to act and look like everyone else. Thomas (1991) went on to say that many workers in the US are no longer willing to drop their ethnic identity when they come to work. Employees of colour now focus on diversity initiatives adopted by the organisation (Chrobot-Mason 2003).

Davidson (1999) suggests that three out of four Fortune 500 companies have well-structured diversity programs. Cox (1994) argues that sometimes these programs are based on a one-size-fits-all approach. If poorly implemented, the chance is there will be heightened job dissatisfaction and hence the programs do more harm than good.

Irrespective, Chrobot-Mason (2003) believes that the promise of having a well set up diversity policy in an organisation is valued by minority employees. If the promise is not met, the failure is perceived as a breach of the psychological contract.
Sometimes, diversity promises may go unfulfilled as they are not given as much attention as other concerns of employment like pay and promotion. When setting up and executing diversity initiatives, managers are building expectations in the minds of minorities and therefore they should make every attempt to adopt and create laws and policies which they are willing to create and keep. Andersson (1996) argues that a broken promise can lead to feelings of despondency, disappointment, and mistrust.

2.4 Exclusion after inclusion and emotional labour

Several studies are based on emotional labour, but there is a gap in the literature that is applicable to the multicultural perspective and to emotional labour. Based on his findings, Cox (1993) arrived at the conclusion that employees are happier and more satisfied with their career if they are appreciated in the workplace, irrespective of what ethnicity or background they belong to. If employees feel welcomed and included, they value their organisation as having a positive atmosphere, which leads to job satisfaction, organisational commitment, individual well-being, and task effectiveness. It may also lead to a sense of belongingness and being ‘accepted,’ as an ‘insider’ (Hicks-Clarke and Iles 2000, 324). Cunningham (2004) adds that typecasting of individuals based on their ethnicity, prejudice and ethnocentricism is often present in intercultural work environments, which can lead to stress and job dissatisfaction.

Ethnocentricism, stereotyping and perceived cultural differences lead to work outcome disadvantages for minorities (Cox 1993). Contemporary understanding of discrimination is changing from its previously overt forms to more hidden and covert forms, embedded in daily interactions of people at work (Henry and Tator 2006). When ethnic employees or minorities in the organisation identify any form of exclusion in the workplace, the finding will affect their social outlook, and consequently their emotional demeanour. However, knowing that they must suppress their real feelings to align with the feeling rules of the organisation can lead to a significant amount of strain and anxiety. When an individual feels that they are socially supported in an organisation, they become more engaged (Maslach, Scaufelli
and Leiter 2001). Commitment is increased when employees identify congruence between the organisations goals and their own individual goals (Joo 2010).

Skilled immigrants enter into a country with hopes and aspirations that they will be able to experience equality and get employment opportunities. However, when they face exclusion, they are disappointed and face identity loss (Aydemir and Skuterud 2008). Inclusion in the workplace is clearly linked to a high level of job performance as well as increased commitment amongst minorities (Cho and Mor Barak 2008). When minority workers feel comfortable in the workplace where they spend a major portion of their lives, they will show a higher performance outcome. Roberts, Cha, Hewlin, and Settles (2009) state that when there is an alignment between an individual’s internal experiences and external expressions they will not have any identity conflict and feel valued in the workplace. This leads to commitment and engagement at work as well as positive emotional labour (Oatley and Jenkins 1992). Performance ratings; psychological well-being and also creativity are enhanced (Rothbard and Ramarajan 2009).

The under-employment of skilled immigrants is known as ‘talent waste’, ‘brain abuse’ or ‘brain waste’ (Liversage 2009). This means that social workers become hospital cleaners, teachers become teaching assistants and optometrists become taxi drivers (Wagner and Childs 2006). This pattern is damaging to individual immigrants as it leads to chronic disease, depression and stress. It also does no good to the host country as shortages in the economy are blocked from being filled by skilled immigrants (Wagner and Childs 2006). It has been found that foreign qualification recognition has the greatest impact on migratory success, as it is often devalued and rejected by the host country (Zikic, Bonache and Cerdin 2010). Doctors for instance must often complete difficult administrative procedures before they can practice (Al Ariss and Ozbilgin 2010). Social networking can help gain access to sparse employment opportunities although immigrants tend to be disconnected from professional networks or are not welcome to interact with positions of power in organisations. As a result, gaining valuable references is less likely to happen (Harcourt, Lam, Harcourt and Flynn 2008). The most significant barrier faced by immigrants is employment discrimination.
James and James (1989) demonstrated that lack of harmony with co-workers as well as lack of support is personally detrimental to one’s sense of well-being. When employees perceive that the organisation is accommodating to their psychological needs, they are more likely to invest time and energy in their work. Employee perceptions can be cultivated by an organisation by attempting to create involving and motivational work environments. An environment that is perceived as psychologically safe and meaningful relates to more job involvement and favourable work outcomes (Brown and Leigh 1996).

Hall (2010) did research using in-depth interviews with African-American educators who teach at traditionally white institutions in the US. The data was collected to help try and analyse their teaching experiences as multicultural educators. The results revealed that they viewed their experience as challenging. All the women felt that race had a major role to play in their encounters of hostility. Some of them developed physical ailments because of the stress. A lot of research has examined the marginalisation of African-American faculty over the past forty years in the US although Hall’s research goes further and examines the psychological impact on African-American educators, with effects such as chronic psychological and physical symptoms such as depression, anxiety and hypertension. Positive emotional labour is the outcome of personal wellness in the workplace and is based on one’s experiences and one’s evaluations of those experiences. Negative experiences can lead to emotional exhaustion, depression and headaches (Skovholt 2001).

Hall’s research suggests that race is a contributing factor to psychological well-being. This factor is particularly relevant to immigrant Indian professionals. The experiences of exclusion and prejudice are very important in defining the satisfaction quotient of immigrant Indian professionals in Australian workplaces. Discrimination, exclusion, racism and tokenism can have a major impact on the emotional labour of minorities in the workplace. For example, Pierce (1989, 4) commented that ‘All my professional life can be described as an effort to live as a Black in the US and in my professional career development of over 33 years, I cannot go more than 30 minutes in a day without being aware or reminded that I am Black’. The end result is strain and anxiety.
In order to feel that they are a ‘part’ of the organisation, immigrants must feel a profound connection to their organisation. This will then make them a ‘committed employee’ (Fleming, Coffman and Harter 2005; McLean Parks and Kidder 1994). Commitment will then lead to loyalty. However, employers are often sceptical about the commitment level because skilled immigrants may not be doing a job commensurate with their skills and qualifications (Krug 2008). Deci and Ryan (2000) suggest that less engaged immigrants may not be intrinsically motivated and may perceive the manager as being tougher on them; hence, their tendency to withdraw from rather than integrate with the organisation.

Increasing diversity in the workplace has resulted in an increased accountability to ensure inclusiveness of all employees. However, most of the research conducted to date has somewhat overstated the role of the workplace and de-emphasised other factors such as the cultural background of a person to understand the stress related to perceptions of exclusion. There is a strong need to understand the emotional labour that diverse cultural and ethnic groups undergo in a workplace, this, the present study attempts to acknowledge. To date, negative emotional labour has been attributed to work-related stressors rather than important aspects of individual work experience such as supportive relationships, adjustment issues, cultural values and even the acculturation process (Pasca and Wagner 2011).

Immigrants face the challenge of integration into a new society. Research shows that the greater an individual’s compatibility with the workplace the greater the positive emotional labour they experience (Lutz and White 1986). Immigrants may face situations at work where their psychological orientation does not match with the social system of the workplace. This creates a need for assimilation which can lead to a lot of stress for immigrant employees. This situation is made more difficult if they experience exclusion or a lack of compatibility (Pasca and Wagner 2011).

Research reveals that during the early years of resettlement, one in four immigrants report feelings of exclusion at work. For immigrants who are well qualified and have worked as professionals in their home country, regaining their lost professional identity is very important. A lot of evidence suggests that immigrants are often subject to discriminatory behaviour and negative reactions by their native-born co-
workers. This can lead to low self-esteem, anger, fear and distress. On the other hand, a supportive organisational environment can lead to self-worth and satisfaction (Amason and Schweiger 1994).

To gain competitive advantage, highly-committed and engaged employees are required. For this to happen there must be a positive relationship between employee motivation and contribution. An organisation will move ahead if it has engaged employees who are enthusiastic and passionate about their work (Macey and Schneider 2008). However, immigrants often lack self-confidence. They may have ideas to share but, because of cultural or communication barriers, they may not express them before others. This makes them demoralised and de-motivated and unable to contribute to innovation (Shalley, Zhou and Oldham 2004).

Existing literature confirms that immigrants are susceptible to a number of stressors which weaken their prospective ability to secure and do well in appropriate employment (Ramsay, Barker and Shallcross 2008). Immigrants experience a wide range of emotions and cognitions in their immigration experience. They face workplace challenges like new environment, language problems and discrimination issues, which have an adverse effect in their career development (Billett, Barker and Smith 2008). Research also proves that a number of employers in Australia demonstrate cultural bias and ethnic/religious biases. Many employers are worried that immigrants may not ‘fit’ into the workplace culture of Australian organisations. An ideal employee, according to Australian standards, would be one who can fit within the realm of Australian workplace culture (Wong 2010).

A significantly high proportion of educated and skilled immigrants face downward occupational mobility in Australia. Higher educational qualification holders are more likely to experience this than those who hold trade qualifications because of lower international transferability of education by Australian employers (Chiswick and Miller 2010). Discrimination can happen not only in recruitment and selection but also who receives training, what sort of training is offered and who is considered eligible for promotion, transfer and dismissal (Australian Human Rights Commission 2013).
This is difficult to fathom, sometimes, as Australian anti-discrimination laws are among the most stringent in the world. In spite of this, discrimination against immigrants remains and is an impediment to upward mobility (Argy 2006). Australian researchers argue that ‘ thinly disguised’ discrimination is common in Australian workplaces, when immigrants are viewed as ‘unfit’ for the workplace since they do not ‘present’ well or are unable to display sufficient ‘assertiveness’ or ‘initiative’, commensurate with Australian culture (Ho 2004). It is apparent that skilled immigrants are often well qualified but, when they enter into the Australian workforce, they face a range of disadvantages in terms of skill utilisation, occupational mobility and labour market integration. Integration of immigrants in the workplace in terms of various workplace factors has been overlooked. Thus, the ‘Australian workplace’ has been taken as a research ground in my research for investigating the journey of the integration process of immigrants. One aim of this study is to explore this very relationship between exclusion after inclusion and its impact on the emotional labour of immigrant professionals from India. This thesis examines the Indian professional employee’s perspective of attitudes in the workplace towards ethnicity and acceptance and there bearing on the employee’s emotional labour. To retain employees from a culturally diverse background, there has to be an element of organisational support which will inevitably lead to employee commitment and satisfaction in the work place.

2.5 Chapter summary

In this study I have two main research goals: a) to analyse whether immigrant Indian professionals are vulnerable to prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusion after inclusion and b) does this inform the performance of their emotion work? This chapter has presented background information pertinent to understanding the central theme of the research, which is an analysis of the perceived exclusion after inclusion of immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations along with the challenges they face in managing their emotional labour.

Exclusion and discrimination have been important topics for researchers over the years (Zanoni, Janssens, Benschop and Nkomo 2010). The weight of scholarly
research argues that blatant discrimination towards ethnic minorities is being replaced and supplemented by subtle, everyday forms of discrimination (Dovidio and Hebl 2005). In talking about ‘subtle’ discrimination it is important to note that its consequences for the emotional labour of professionals are not necessarily subtle (Deitch, Barsky, Butz, Chan, Brief and Bradley 2003).

As the literature discusses, individuals have different workplace experiences based on their race or ethnicity. Hill, Leinbaugh, Bradley and Hazler (2005, 374) suggest that race related or ethnic stressors are innately stress producing. The absence of the voices of Indian immigrant professionals, especially in Australia, signals a significant gap in the research literature. The rich descriptive data that emerges from this qualitative study will provide invaluable information to the field of literature on exclusion after inclusion and its impact on emotional labour. There is considerable literature on anti-discrimination laws, policies and procedures, however less so on informal practices within organisations. This research aims to capture the experiences and perceptions of immigrant Indian professionals and contribute to addressing the gap in existing research by analysing how indirect exclusionary practices and behaviours circumvent and undermine official policies.

The continually increasing heterogeneous composition of the Australian workforce places demands on organisations and their employees to learn to effectively manage the differences so as to achieve their business goals (Canas and Sondak 2008). It is suggested that inclusion after inclusion is the key to leveraging the potential strengths of a diverse workforce. An inclusive environment begins with behaviour involving respect, teamwork, sustaining a psychologically safe work environment and engaging in open communication (Ely and Thomas 2001). Inclusive behaviour also depends upon the capacity of individuals to behave in a way that fosters feelings of being respected and valued in the workplace. This relation is further explored in Chapter 4. Emotional labour theory is important because it deals with how employees feel as they try to fulfil their job requirements. Positive emotional labour is beneficial to the organisation as it may result in efficiency and better quality of work as well as good interpersonal relationships (Schaubroeck and Jones 2000). An employee's perception that he or she works in a supportive climate free of discrimination has been found to be related to job satisfaction, lowered stress and
turnover intentions (Schneider and Bowen 1985). In general, two propositions could be made based on previous emotional labour research. One, the organisational climate and feelings of inclusiveness contribute to the emotional labour engaged in by the employees. Second, surface acting or ‘wearing a constant mask’ relates to stress, withdrawal and negative work attitudes. Hence, it is very important to control factors within organisations that cause physiological or psychological stress (Cooper 1978).

This chapter provided an understanding of the ethnic components of emotional performance. It provided an overview of previous work done on exclusion after inclusion as well as emotional labour. It then proceeded with discussions specifically focusing on immigrants who are professionals. Of significance is the dialogue from the Australian perspective. Also examined were the racialised aspects of professional work environments and how ethnic minorities carry out emotion management to curtail feelings of frustration and irritation with racialised perceptions and stereotypes.

The following chapter (Chapter 3) discusses the method applied for this study. There are certain standards and rules that guide a researcher’s actions and beliefs. Such standards and rules are referred to as a paradigm. To gain an understanding of why and how I chose the methodological approach in this study, Chapter 3 provides a detailed description and the rationale behind the adopted methodology.
PART III: THE RESEARCH
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The literature review has established that during the early years of resettlement, many immigrants report feelings of exclusion at work (Poot and Stillman 2010). For immigrants who are well qualified and have worked as professionals in their home country, regaining their professional identity is very important (Gottlieb 1983). International evidence suggests that immigrants are often subject to discriminatory behaviour and negative reactions by their native-born co-workers (Callan 1983). This can lead to low self-esteem, anger, fear and distress. On the other hand, a supportive organisational environment can lead to a greater sense of self-worth and satisfaction. However, as also identified, there is a lack of empirical research on exclusion after inclusion and its impact on emotional labour, as they may relate to the experiences of professional immigrants, and in particular of professional Indians working in organisations in Australia.

The principle research question which drives this research is: Are immigrant Indian professionals vulnerable to prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusion after inclusion in Australian organisations and does prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusion after inclusion have an impact on emotional labour? In particular my research goal is to analyse the perceived experiences, if any, of exclusionary organisational practices and how they impact the emotional labour of immigrant Indian professionals.

Discrimination and exclusion is difficult to measure and, as such, this research relies on respondents’ perceptions. Drawing on a qualitative approach I have used in-depth interviews to reveal the stories and experiences of immigrant Indian professionals to Australia. A major element driving my choice of research design is the assumption that many of the exclusionary practices which may take place are informal and may
include a collection of interpersonal dynamics and institutional practices that set up advantages for some employees but disadvantages for others. I have sought to gather data that is often veiled and hidden, intentionally or otherwise.

Here in Chapter 3 the methodology and design surrounding the research is presented. In section 3.2 the choice of paradigm is detailed. In section 3.3 the research design is discussed. Section 3.4 addresses the ethical considerations while section 3.5 examines the research process. Section 3.6 addresses the limitations and section 3.7 summarises the chapter.

3.2 Paradigm: ontology, epistemology, methodology and methods

Any intellectual enquiry can be conducted within one or more paradigms. According to Burrell and Morgan (1979, 232), a paradigm is ‘essentially a worldview, a whole framework of beliefs, values and methods within which research takes place’.

A paradigm consists of the following components: ontology, epistemology, methodology, and methods (Scotland 2012). Positivism, as one approach to a paradigm, basically assumes that anything which is the subject of research can be investigated objectively and there is a certain authenticity and certainty to the investigation (Brand 2009). Post-positivism has developed to counter the more artificial aspects of positivism by assuming that reality exists but in an epistemological context in which we are only able to arrive at an approximation of that reality; there are natural limits on what we can know, due to those essentially ‘flawed human intellectual mechanisms’ and the ‘fundamentally intractable nature of phenomena’ (Guba and Lincoln 1994, 110). As a post-positivist researcher I have conducted this research to aim at understanding the phenomenon from an individual’s perspective and their ‘cultural context’.

Ontology is the view of how one perceives a reality. Positivist researchers believe that universal generalisation can be applied across all contexts (Wahyuni 2012). Post-positivists challenge this, especially when human behaviour is being studied. In
my research, I have attempted to study the social reality from the perspective of the people themselves, based on the view that reality is individually constructed and there can be as many realities as there are individuals. Perhaps reality can never be ‘perfectly apprehended’ (Guba and Lincoln 1994, 110).

Guba and Lincoln (1994, 108) go on to explain that epistemology asks the question: what is the nature of the relationship between the would-be knower and what can be known? Scotland (2012, 9) contends that:

‘Epistemological assumptions are concerned with how knowledge can be created, acquired and communicated, in other word what it means to know’ (Scotland 2012, 9).

As different paradigms have different ontological and epistemological views, their research approach uses different methodology and methods (Morgan 1979). According to Crotty (1998), methodology is about why and what data is collected as well as when and how it should be collected. Methods are the specific techniques and procedures used to collect and analyse data (Crotty 1998, 3). An overview of the four components related to the paradigm used in this research is given in the next section.

### 3.2.1 Interpretive paradigm and its application to this study

The interpretive paradigm suits the proposed research which aims to discover how people interpret and make sense of their worlds. In this research the interpretative approach gives voice to those who experience subtle forms of exclusion and live it on a day-to-day basis at work (Lee 1999). It is based on the principle that subjective perceptions construct reality and, as a result, predictions cannot be made, or putting it another way the objective of research is not to make predictions, but rather to gain understanding, which itself may be conditional. Researchers who concur with this paradigm are concerned with the social construction of meaning (Nicholsan and White 2006). People should be studied as active agents as they have free will, purposes, goals, and intentions (Hartmann 2009).

The interpretive paradigm is said to lie at the far end of post-positivism and is embedded in the belief that people’s perceptions construct reality (Wahyuni 2012).
Hennink, Hutter and Bailey (2011) add that because human experiences and perspectives are so subjective, social reality can have multiple perspectives. In the present research I have attempted to understand the subjective meanings that the respondents apply to emotional labour, feeling rules and exclusion after inclusion in organisations.

In Kunda and Van Maanen’s (1999) ethnographic study of Tech, which uses an interpretive paradigm, the notions of role distance versus role embracement emerge from descriptions of how the members of Tech coped with management’s attempts at cultural control. The present research provides an opportunity for the voice, concerns and practices of research participants to be heard with regard to perceived exclusionary experiences and the consequent emotional labour. It was important to uncover knowledge of how the respondents feel and think in the circumstances in which they find themselves, rather than judging whether those thoughts and feelings are valid. The research conducted and reported here differs from Kunda and Van Maanen’s in that an in-depth ethnographic study on a particular organisation was not conducted. Instead, interviews employing an ethnographic orientation were conducted with research participants from across a range of organisations, thereby collecting a ‘thick description’ of their everyday life workplace experiences.

According to Taylor and Medina (2013), the interpretive paradigm is a humanistic paradigm, strongly influenced by anthropology which aims to comprehend cultures from the inside:

‘That is, to understand the culturally different ‘other’ by learning to ‘stand in their shoes’, ‘look through their eyes’ and ‘feel their pleasure or pain’ (Taylor and Medina 2013, 54).

Just as ethnographers who immerse themselves within the culture they are studying using ethnographic methods of formal and informal interviewing, the present research also seeks to understand immigrant Indian professionals – their challenges, struggles and strategies of adjustment – by these means.

This is exploratory research because it examines an issue that up until now has received little systematic research attention. What I have examined will be difficult
to capture with a formal survey methodology, although this exploratory research can then lead to further research surveying a larger sample (Ambert, Adler, Adler and Detzner 1995; Silverman 2010). It is interpretive because, on the basis of the data, I can derive themes and the analysis will be based on their interpretation (Abbot 1990). One important challenge for me as a researcher is to get beneath surface descriptions and uncover deeper patterns. Some researchers may question the soundness of the research; however, for others it may mean useful information for analysis and investigation (Kimberly and Bouchikhi 1995, 9). Reality does not lie outside the individual and each person is subjectively involved in his or her experiences (Lee 1991). Because this paradigm focuses on understanding how humans make sense of their surroundings, this study lies within an interpretive framework.

The methodological partner for the interpretive paradigm in this research is qualitative methodology. Qualitative methodology shares its philosophical foundation with the interpretive paradigm which supports the view that there are many truths and multiple realities (Bogdan and Taylor 1975; Silverman 1993). The research tools used by interpretive inquirers overlap, or are often those used in other forms of qualitative research (Lee 1986). Collection of data is dependent on in-depth interviews, observations, and, if relevant, documentary analysis. Gaining an understanding of the situation from the perspective of those who experience it is what emphasised (McKerchar 2008, Peshkin 1988) is. The focus in this study, therefore, is on collecting qualitative data that I interpret and organise thematically by how the data relates to my various research questions, to my personal understanding of the issues, and by my reading and interpretation of the research literature. In qualitative research we need to interpret by developing an empathic understanding of the way the respondents feel and the motives behind their actions and, at the same time, making sure we remain objective (Bogdan and Taylor 1975).

Research methodology and research method are two distinct concepts. A research method consists of a set of specific procedures, tools and techniques to gather and analyse data (Wahuyani 2012). The methodology used in my research refers to the theoretical foundation of the method which is primarily in-depth interviews of the respondents.
In the next section I will discuss the research design. According to Wahuyani (2012, 72):

‘A research design then becomes important to connect a methodology and an appropriate set of research methods in order to address research questions and or hypotheses that are established to examine social phenomena.’

### 3.3 Research design

The research design helps the researcher take a decision whether or not to base data collection and analysis on interviews, observation, and examination of past records, experiments, formal surveys or a combination of these methods. Is an exhaustive small sample study better than a less rigorous larger sample? Should the research be qualitative or quantitative in nature? (Phillips 1971; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004, 15)

Creswell (2003, 5), offers three questions which are fundamental to the research design and they are listed in the following page.

1. What paradigms are being used by the researcher?
2. What strategies of inquiry will inform the procedures?
3. What methods of data collection and analysis will be used?

#### 3.3.1 Qualitative research

Considerable research on diversity and perceived ‘exclusion’ and discrimination at work is based on quantitative methodology (Halsey 1999). The present research, however, is based on ‘semi-structured interviews and uses a qualitative methodology. The benefit of qualitative methodology is that it allows an in-depth examination of the experience of humans (Schutz 1973). By adopting interpretivism in this research, ‘reality’ is seen as being socially constructed thorough the meanings that social actors ascribe to their experiences. It was developed as a process to analyse, interpret and explain the meanings that social actors construct to make sense of their everyday experiences in specific situations (Charmaz 2006). The aim of this research is to
‘discover’ or generate theory grounded on the data produced from the accounts of the twenty immigrant Indian professionals. In Grounded theory, the researcher collects and analyses data simultaneously, developing analytical codes as these emerge from the data in order to reorganise these data into categories. The researcher uses grounded theory to discover a potential explanation (Charmaz 2006).

As stated by Hooks:

‘Speaking becomes both a way to engage in active self-transformation and a rite of passage where one moves from being object to being subject. Only as subjects can we speak. As objects we remain voiceless — our beings defined and interpreted by others’ (1989, 12).

The present research uses a qualitative approach, informed by organisational ethnography (Silverman 2010), which includes using in-depth interviews to reveal the stories and experiences, many of which have not been brought to life. A major component driving my choice of research design is the assumption that many of the exclusionary practices which take place are informal. Other research has established the importance of informality alongside formal structures and practices in organisational culture (Srivastava 2006). They may include an array of interpersonal dynamics and institutional practices that establish advantages for some employees but disadvantages for other employees. I have sought to collect data that is often hidden and concealed, intentionally or otherwise. As Silverman (1993, 35) points out, ‘reality is supposed to be out there’. Thus it is a matter of finding the most effective method that can bring out information about this reality (Williamson 2006).

For the purpose of this research, in-depth interviews were considered as the best strategy for the exploration of personal, in-depth and nuanced understandings of a particular experience. The interaction is ‘a conversation with a purpose’ (Eyles and Smith 1988). As the quality of information gathered with the help of interviews is more important than the number of participants (Dunn 2005), twenty participants were chosen for this study. Dowling (2005) suggests that interviews as a method of qualitative research are useful in researching marginalised populations as interviews allow them an opportunity to have their stories and voices heard. For the present
research I chose to use semi-structured interviews. In this design, although there is a pre-set list of topics and questions, the order in which they are asked is dependent on the flow of the interview (Dunn 2005). Because of the complex and often private nature of the research topics, the openness of the semi-structured interview style proved to be beneficial.

It is often said that a bias can develop if the researcher’s ethnicity is the same as the respondent’s (Steier 1991). Douglas (1985) contests this by arguing that a researcher who may have lived through a similar situation as the one being researched has the benefit of giving fresh insight into the area being researched. I have been a real partner with the respondents and have been able to uncover valuable meaning. Donmoyer (2001) has very correctly stated that qualitative research is important for ‘truth-seeking’. To avoid a ‘biased’ viewpoint, Patton (1990) emphasises the adoption by the researcher of ‘empathic neutrality’. Therefore, as a researcher I understood that my empathy and intuitive insight can aid in the understanding of the human condition, although I must work with the data from a distance so as not be limited by personal assumptions and biases.

### 3.3.1.1 Data collection

A variety of methods of data collection are available in qualitative research, namely, observations, textual or visual analysis (e.g. from books or videos) and interviews (individual or group) (Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick 2008). Prior to data collection, informed decisions about sampling are critical to improving the quality of the research. In qualitative research, the type of sampling which is used is based on the methodology selected for the research, although some observers have concluded that all samples in qualitative research can be termed purposive (Coyne 1997). Especially when a small sample is required or when a comprehensive population is not available, purposive sampling is employed in order to represent all elements of a population (Hill, Burke, Brown, Macdonald, Morris, White and Murray 2010).

#### 3.3.1.1.1 Sampling technique used in this research

This study is based on in-depth interviews with twenty first-generation Indian immigrant professionals, who work in white-collar jobs in Australia. This profile,
which does not fit the stereotypical image of the low-skilled immigrant, is especially relevant to my study. Because of their professional work context and their ‘token’ status, my interviewees might be more vulnerable to forms of subtle exclusion and discrimination which can have a toll on their emotional labour.

To look for prospective candidates, the main sampling technique adopted was ‘purposive sampling’. Purposive sampling is chosen to identify and select persons of interest to the research focus, and the subjects are selected because of some specific characteristic (Wong 2008). ‘Purposive sampling is powerful because it selects information-rich cases for in-depth analysis related to the central issues being studied’ (Silverman 1993, 102). A variety of sampling techniques is available. The technique or techniques that the researcher should select depends on the requirements of the project, its objectives, and the funds available. The logic behind purposive sampling is that certain relevant characteristics describe the dimensions of the population.

In addition, snowball sampling was also used along with purposive sampling. The snowball technique is a method for developing a research sample where future subjects are acquaintances of existing subjects (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004). Consequently, the sample group appears to develop like a rolling snowball. Enough data is gathered to be valuable for research as the sample builds up (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004). Snowball sampling is good to use when the sample population is small relative to the general population or if the group has networks (Heckathorn 2011). Though this method has been criticised because there is no way of knowing whether the sample is representative of the population or not (Black 1999), it allowed me to reach a broad range of immigrant Indian professionals in different occupations. I began with respondents who I knew personally and asked them to refer me to others who fitted the criteria for the study. I recruited people by calling them, sending emails, and by mentioning this study in my personal conversations. The sample thus snowballs in size.
A full overview of the participants is available in Table 2 below.

**Table 2: Demographics of the sample population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Distribution Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Manager IS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakesh</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijay</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>IT Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mohit</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunil</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaurav</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Auditor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meena</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>SAP Consultant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nina</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Planning Analyst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neeta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarita</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Auditor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anand</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Architect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Corrective Services Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karan</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Manager Accounting &amp; Compliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopal</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinesh</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Corrective Services Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parul</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Regional Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reena</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>IT Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nitin</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruchi</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Business Analyst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A total of 20 participants were interviewed for this study. The data set consisted of 40% females and 60% males. The most represented age group was 35-45 years of age, making up 60% of the sample population as illustrated here in Figure 6.

**Figure 6: Gender Split and Age of the Sample Population**

![Gender Split and Age of the Sample Population](image)

### 3.3.1.1.2 Qualitative research interviews

In qualitative research, interviews are usually considered as the main method of collecting data. There can be three fundamental types of interviews: unstructured, semi-structured and structured (Berg 2009). In structured interviews a list of predetermined questions are asked. Follow up questions are not encouraged and hence this is a quick and easy method of interviewing. Conversely, unstructured interviews consume a lot of time as there are hardly any predetermined interview questions and participants can get confused. Semi-structured interviews on the other hand are very flexible and allow for discovery and elaboration of new information which had not been thought about earlier (Gill et al. 2008).

For the purposes of this research, in-depth semi-structured interviews were considered ideal because I wanted to allow an individual time and scope to discuss their perceptions and highlight their experiences of working in Australia. Semi-structured interviews combine the structured and unstructured approaches, use standardised questions and employ simple wording (Li, Jowett, Findlay and Skeldon 1995). Rubin and Rubin (2011) have correctly identified the need for keeping the questions ‘flexible and adaptive’ in order to allow new information to emerge as well as to adapt to an unexpected direction. The questions should be designed to reflect
the world from the perspective of the participants in the study, rather than a researcher’s perspective.

The first step was to screen the prospective candidate on the telephone. If they agreed, they were invited to attend an interview at the agreed upon meeting time and place. An essential first step was to build trust. During the phone contact, therefore, I explained to the prospective participants the intent of the study. Written informed consent was obtained from each respondent when we first met for the interview. They were told that the interviews would be audio-taped. They were also reassured that the only person who had easy access to the audio recordings was me, that their name and the name of their organisation would not be used in the study. Pseudonyms were assigned to protect their confidentiality. They were also told that, if at any point in the process, they decided they no longer wanted to continue participating in the research, any information gathered would not be used.

3.4 Ethical considerations and the data collection process

The privacy of the research participants was ensured during the recruitment process as well as during and after the study was conducted. All information obtained was confidential. I provided the participants with my contact information and the contact information of my supervisor if they had any questions or concerns before or after they participated in the research.

The interviews were conducted only after obtaining an ethics clearance from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Western Sydney. The process is illustrated in Figure 7 in the following page.
The respondents were briefed before the interviews commenced regarding the aim of the interview. I emphasised the fact that all their responses would remain confidential and anonymous. This gave the respondents some idea of what to expect and also increased the likelihood of honesty. They were then given a consent form to sign and their permission was taken to record the interview. The consent form clearly explained the study and that it was their choice whether they did or did not wish to participate in the research; it also explained their right to withdraw from the study at any time. It included the interview’s purpose and procedures, as well as the terms of confidentiality. I made sure the participants understood the consent form, gave them time to read the information and then sign the consent form. A digital recorder was used with each participant’s consent. All of the participants agreed to be recorded. I also took notes to be safe in case there was any issue with the recording.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with twenty immigrant Indian professionals, employed in a variety of occupations. Interviews were held in the respondents’ homes or at neutral locations and lasted between 60-90 minutes and were tape-recorded and then transcribed later. Respondents were promised anonymity and confidentiality of information and were informed that only pseudo names will be used in the writing of the research. Their real names are being kept in a separate file and were in no way connected to the interview transcripts. All data is being stored on a password-protected computer.
I decided not to focus on only one organisation but attempt to draw out the experiences and perceptions of twenty immigrant Indian professionals across a range of organisations. As a result, even though the sample size is small, there is inferential representativeness in the data. The sample sizes can be quite variable in exploratory research (Cooper and Schindler 2001). All of the respondents described themselves as employed in occupations at the professional level, where they were required to work closely with colleagues in inter-racial/ethnic groups, however in a dominant ‘White’ setting. As a result the workplace dynamics put the respondents in a position where they had routine interactions with co-workers from different racial/ethnic communities and increased the likelihood of the regular performance of emotion work.

I collected the same general areas of information from all participants. I used open-ended questions, with general questions first and sensitive questions later. Interview questions focused specifically on the ways in which immigrant Indian professionals negotiated emotional performances in their work environments. Respondents gave an account of their role and responsibilities and also discussed the racialised climate at those jobs. They also talked about situations where they had to either produce emotions in themselves or in their colleagues so as to work effectively, how often this happened and the types of emotions created. They also commented on the personal as well as professional toll on them in the attempt to follow organisational feeling rules.

‘Feeling rules are seen as the side of ideology that deals with emotion and feeling. Emotion management is the type of work it takes to cope with feeling rules’ (Hochschild 1979, 551).

Discussion on this allowed the respondents the opportunity to suggest whether the feeling rules remained constant for all workers regardless of race.

The analysis of qualitative data often begins by identifying themes which emerge as the data is coded. In other words, researchers organise, manage and salvage the most meaningful bits of data. This process of making categories and condensing the data
into units which can be further analysed is called coding (Gough and William 2000). The key themes which surfaced from my research are as follows:

1. Exclusion caused by strong barriers to meaningful employment in Australia
2. Self-imposed exclusion by immigrant Indian professionals in the Australian workplace
3. Exclusion from meaningful employment and its impact on emotional labour
4. The importance of immigrant socialisation in the workplace and its bearing on emotional labour
5. The emotional struggle: assimilate or give up one’s identity in the dominant workplace?
6. The costs associated with exclusion after inclusion

3.5 Qualitative data analysis

There are many different approaches to qualitative data analysis and Mason (2006) has labelled three possible approaches as ‘literal’, ‘interpretive’ and ‘reflexive’. The literal approach focuses on the use of grammar and language. The interpretive approach is where the researcher tries to analyse and attempts to derive meaning from the accounts of the research participants (Veal 2005). The final approach, the reflexive approach, focuses on the researcher and how they would contribute to the analysis and the creation of data. All three approaches (illustrated in Figure 8 in the following page) can be performed manually or the researcher can seek help from computer-assisted methods (Welsh 2002).
Figure 8: Approaches to qualitative data analysis

I used a combination of the three approaches. At the beginning, I manually analysed the data and then decided to use a software package for the full study. I chose NVivo 10 because it is simple to use. In order to do data analysis I transcribed the interviews and made any changes after cross-checking for errors. Qualitative researchers usually have records which are always changing, rich and growing, and built up from observations, interviews, documents or literature reviews. These are then transcribed, made into field notes or scanned. To handle such rich data NVivo helps in coding and developing of information (Richards 1999). NVivo helped me to synthesise my ideas. It was possible for me to import documents directly into the software and code them.

NVivo allows documents to be imported directly from a word processing package and codes these documents on-screen. Using software in data analysis is said to add rigour to the research (Richards and Richards 1991). This is achieved by using the search facility in NVivo. It allows the data to be searched in terms of attributes, for example, how many respondents perceived exclusion? Carrying out electronic research may yield more reliable results as it mitigates human error. Validity of the results is also ensured because it allows all instances of a particular usage to be found. Coupled with manual scrutiny techniques, data can be thoroughly interrogated (Richards 2002).
The role of software tools in qualitative research is becoming more important as the sophistication of various software packages increases. Many researchers believe that by using qualitative research software, the results of qualitative research are improved, the process is shortened and validity increased. Software can assist in data management, creation of coding categories and identifying themes (Berg 2009).

Not that this method of using computers in qualitative data analysis is free from criticism. Some have remarked that using CAQDAS which is computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, serves to ‘distance’ the researcher from the data and even the possibility of using quantitative analysis for qualitative data (Barry 1998). A term may also be expressed in various ways and therefore, if the data set is large, manual intervention is necessary to ensure that the same idea (expressed in different ways) is included in the analysis. Moreover, computer software does not go beyond data management and organisation. A researcher’s intellectual process is of utmost importance for the interpretation of the data (Berg 2009).

Therefore, in order to achieve the best results, I used both manual analyses of data as well as data analysis software. This involved naming and categorising pieces of data after a process of manually breaking down the data into discrete parts and closely examining it for similarities and differences (Devers and Robinson 2002). This technique was very important for generating categories. These categories were then clustered into themes, which developed into larger categories. NVivo 10 was used to support data organisation and analysis by: a) managing data, b) managing ideas, c) querying data, d) graphically modelling the data and e) creating a report from the data (Bazley 2007). The themes that emerged are presented in Chapter 4.

3.5.1 The role of thematic analysis in qualitative research

The coding of the data leads to thematic analysis. Thematic analysis allows the interpretive researcher to articulate or package the construction of meaning in such a way that ‘observations’ seem to emerge (Boyatzis and Boyatzis 1998). In my research I have attempted to produce themes that were then used for exploration. When there is a wide variety of information, then thematic analysis can be used to
ensure accuracy of understanding observations about people and situations. It allows
the research to develop a pattern from seemingly random information.

Boyatzis and Boyatzis (1998) further state that thematic analysis enables a researcher
to organise his or her observations or patterns into an observation. Strauss and
Corbin (1990) claim that a researcher must recognise what is important in the data
and, to be able to give it meaning, carries out thematic analysis.

For this research, the data was organised and prepared for analysis. Interviews were
first transcribed and then a detailed analysis was performed and material organised
into categories. The coding process was used to generate a description of major
themes. A qualitative narrative was also created to provide a detailed analysis of the
various themes. Finally an interpretation of findings was constructed.

3.6 Limitations

Limitations of the qualitative research conducted for this study could include
personal biases of the researcher and participants, the small sample size, absence of
specific workplace analysis and flaws in the interpretation of participant’s
experiences and perceptions (Nuttall 2006).

Personal experiences related to the topic under investigation are critical to qualitative
research and hence the personal biases of both the researcher and participants must
be carefully monitored (Shank 2006). To minimise the possibility of bias, interview
questions were carefully selected following the extensive literature review, post-
interview discussions were conducted with the Supervisor, and interview data was
carefully and systematically coded.

The focus of the thesis is on the perceptions and experiences of Indian professionals
of exclusion after inclusion and the impacts on their emotional labour. The research
intends to draw forth their particular as well as common experiences, based on an
exhaustive and systematic exploration of the interview content. The research captures
what formal policy has yet to deal with and does not claim to analyse the
organisations in which they work.
A sample size of twenty respondents was chosen for this study. However to overcome this limitation of small sample size, a diversity of Indian immigrants working in different professions and organisations were represented in the sample. This allowed for the identification of common as well as particular experiences and perceptions through an exhaustive and systematic exploration of interview content. Rich descriptions provided by the participants were captured for this study. Also, theoretical triangulation of data with reviewed literature guided the present research. It was a very challenging and sensitive task to interpret a participant’s perceptions and experiences. To overcome such challenges, I did not forget that software is a tool to organise and manage data and that discovering meaning is an ongoing process (Shank 2006).

3.7 Chapter summary

The principle research question which drives this research is: Are immigrant Indian professionals vulnerable to prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusion after inclusion in Australian organisations and does prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusion after inclusion have an impact on emotional labour? As identified in the literature review, there is a lack of empirical research on exclusion after inclusion and its impact on emotional labour, in particular of immigrant Indian professionals.

This chapter provided an account of, as well as the rationale for, the research process and design of this study. The chapter began with a description of the research paradigms which guided the study methodology including an outline of the characteristics associated with the positivist, post-positivist and interpretive research paradigms. Further, detailed description of the research design and methodology was shown to support the researcher’s choice of sampling data collection and analysis. Lastly, ethical issues such as voluntary participation, consent, privacy, risk and confidentiality and security of data were addressed in detail.

The following chapter documents the results of the research interviews, which will be used to answer the research questions of this thesis, posed in the first chapter.
To remind the reader, they are as follows:

Are immigrant Indian professionals vulnerable to prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusion after inclusion in Australian organisations and does this inform the performance of their emotion work?

To fully address this principle question there are a number of subsidiary questions, the answers to which will help in understanding the principle question and to fill in the research gaps identified earlier.

• In what ways and why do Australian organisations exclude immigrant professionals?
• In what ways and how are immigrant professionals exposed to exclusion even after inclusion?
• What are the experiences if any, of immigrant Indian professionals of inclusionary and exclusionary organisational practices?
• What are the impacts of exclusionary inclusion upon the emotional labour of immigrant professionals?
• Do the immigrant professionals themselves have any role to play in self-exclusion?
• What are the strategies adopted by immigrant Indian professionals in response to exclusionary practices?
• What are the implications for Australia?

Chapter 4 will delve into data analysis and uncover the experiences of twenty Indian immigrant professionals with perceptions of exclusion after inclusion and the consequent impact of these perceptions on their emotional labour in the workplace. In addition, the chapter will reveal patterns and subtleties among participants’ responses.

These patterns and subtleties are crucial. Patterns provide evidence that these are not isolated or anecdotal experiences and perceptions; not just individual experiences, but the experiences of a social group. Subtleties are crucial because much of the exclusion after inclusion takes place in indirect and informal ways (Mirchandani
Subtle exclusion is at the same time ambiguous because it combines disempowerment with apparent empowerment (Fleming and Spicer 2007). Equally, the perceptions and responses of individual immigrant professionals are nuanced and sometimes reflect their ambivalence about their experiences.

The focus of this study was to describe and analyse the lived experiences of a group of men and women who immigrated from India to Australia and are professionals and work in Australian corporate workplaces. Deep understandings were gained about the perceived experiences of these people relative to feelings of exclusion after inclusion and its impact on emotional labour. The incidents documented in the following chapter are the driving force behind the entire research process. The incidents are coded and compared, and then the data are clustered into categories which are then grouped around common themes. By listening carefully and openly to the research participants’ words, it is expected that the reader will gain valuable insights into factors which impact diverse people on a day-to-day basis.
PART IV: THE DATA ANALYSIS
CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the twenty semi-structured interviews that were conducted to acquire information about the experiences of immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations. The data analysis entailed several steps. Firstly, recordings were transcribed and notes taken during the interviews were organised. This enabled me to create a story and its context for each participant. Next, a transcript was read in its entirety and then I looked for patterns that emerged. The categorisation of all emergent patterns was done manually as well as by using NVivo10. A critical element of the study’s data analysis was to present the participant’s voice and essence of the experience in the way the participant intended the story to be heard. After the individual stories were written, the data was subjected to a review of the themes from all the narrations to determine commonalities within the entire group of participants. The data was analysed in terms of shared experiences. The third step was the examination of patterns related to my research questions and construction of the final findings.

Figure 9 in the following page illustrates the steps involved in data analysis of this study.
The data focuses on the perceptions and experiences of twenty Indian immigrants who are professionals in their field. The purpose of these interviews was to allow these professional immigrants to relate individual stories about their experiences of ‘exclusion after inclusion’ and consequent ‘emotional labour’ in the Australian workplace. Many immigrant professionals experience devaluation and denigration of their prior learning and work experience after arriving in Australia (Bertone 2004). The misperceptions of difference and knowledge often lead to a belief that the knowledge of immigrant professionals, in particular from developing countries, is deficient and inferior, and hence invalid. In order for their voice to be heard fully, I freely use direct quotations from the interviews of the participants. Any information which could have identified them was removed or altered as much as possible to ensure confidentiality. The participants and I decided that, although we wanted their stories to be as authentic as possible, all efforts should be made to preserve their privacy.

As mentioned before, data for this study was collected from twenty Indian immigrant professionals.
An Nvivo 10 snapshot of the participants is illustrated in Figure 10 below.

**Figure 10: Research participants**

As described in Chapter 3, categories emerged from the interviewees’ responses and the exhaustive line-by-line coding resulted in grouping the texts according to categories which were then divided into themes. While each participant’s
experiences were unique, several common themes emerged from this coding. These themes will be presented and explained at length in this chapter. The findings draw attention to the perceived experiences of exclusion and its affect on the emotional labour of immigrant Indian professionals.

Figure 11 below shows the various themes that the NVivo 10 analysis resulted in; represented by the nodes. The six parent nodes are:

- ‘Exclusion caused by strong barriers to meaningful employment in Australia’,
- ‘Self-imposed exclusion by Immigrant Indian professionals in the Australian workplace’,
- ‘Exclusion from meaningful employment and its impact on emotional labour’,
- ‘The importance of immigrant socialisation in the workplace and its bearing on emotional labour’,
- ‘The emotional struggle: assimilation or giving up one’s identity in the dominant workplace?’ and
- ‘The costs of exclusion after inclusion’.

A participant’s individuality must not be overlooked when interpreting the results of this research and generalisations about immigrant Indian professionals should not be based on the twenty interviews which were conducted. Instead, the data is intended
to serve as a guide of immigrant Indian professionals' experiences in Australian organisations. These interviewees' experiences should be used as a catalyst to encourage other researchers to look into the psychological experiences and processes of these Indian immigrants with more breadth and depth. This may not reveal a complete picture of the workplace experiences of immigrant professionals from India in Australia, but I hope that these stories will provide a deep insight and a better understanding of the real but often overlooked immigrant professional’s struggles, stressful experiences and uncertainty in Australian organisations.

It was established in Chapter 3, Research Methodology, that, to develop a deep understanding of immigrant Indian professionals’ perceived experiences of exclusion after inclusion and its effect on emotional labour in the workplace, I would use a qualitative approach in this research. Qualitative enquiry has allowed me to view each one of my respondents as a ‘unique individual’ with a unique interpretation and construction of their reality (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). Qualitative research has enabled me to identify and analyse how immigrant Indian professionals feel in the Australian workplace and why they feel as they do. Lindlof (1995) describes the distinctive relationship between the qualitative researcher and participant:

‘Qualitative researchers appear to undertake the very suspect course of seriously studying the sentiments of their human subjects. Rather than treating people’s utterances about themselves and their world as inaccurate accounts of social reality, or as outcomes determined by environmental forces, or as manifestations of cognitive processes, the qualitative researcher listens carefully to the utterances. The researcher moves about in the lives of certain people, and subjects and researcher become familiar to each other: they as something more (knowing, authentic) than human subjects, and he or she as possibly something less (exalted, authoritative) than a researcher’ (Lindlof 1995, 9).

It is very important to understand the meaning which my respondents derive from the various events, situations and experiences which they face and how their understanding or interpretation influence their emotional labour and consequent actions as well as their career and professional strategies. Narration, by respondents
provides a lot of detail in explaining the various events which ultimately shape the professional lives and impacts on the emotional labour of the respondents (Manning 1991).

In this chapter, I analyse the in-depth, semi-structured interviews of twenty Indian professional migrants. Qualitative research is known to inquire into deep and often intimate information from a generally small sample. Qualitative research aims at gaining an understanding of the way in which people behave, and why, and the way they think about immediate issues and not on what people believe on a larger scale (Ambert et al. 1995; Miles and Huberman 1994).

I believe that, although qualitative research has often been scrutinised over its methodology and rigour (Bogdan and Biklen 1992), it has allowed me to elicit meaning from the responses of the respondents, by recreating their experiences and by having them also reflect upon them. In qualitative research, the type of interviews conducted are also termed ‘qualitative’ to differentiate them from survey interviews. Qualitative interviews are like story telling where the details of what happened are recorded as well as the reactions of the respondents to various events (Weiss 2004).

In the present research the main aim is to explore the experiences of immigrant Indian professionals in some depth and to portray their thoughts and feelings, in order to understand their emotional labour in workplaces and work situations in which there are complex and often hidden forms of exclusion.

It is sometimes said that bias can develop if the researcher’s ethnicity is the same as that of the respondents (Steier 1991). Douglas (1985) contests this by saying that a researcher who may have lived through a similar situation as the one being researched has the benefit of giving fresh insight into the area under research. I found that the respondents; who shared the same ethnic characteristics as me felt comfortable during the interviews and that this facilitated a level of openness and allowed them to be willing to discuss and share their experiences. I was careful not to be biased concerning the interpretation of the findings of this research. In particular, I have not assumed that exclusion after inclusion is universal, nor that the experiences related by my interviewees express the experiences of all Indian professionals in Australia. I have been a real partner with the respondents and have been able to
uncover valuable meaning. Donmoyer (2001) has stated that qualitative research is important for ‘truth-seeking’, and this thesis attempts to do just that.

In section 3.5 it was mentioned that along with manual analysis of data I would be using NVivo 10 software to analyse and organise the qualitative data. Qualitative researchers are often in two minds about using software for data analysis. It is commonly accepted that in order to achieve a rigorous interpretation of the data, the researcher should combine both qualitative data analysis software and manual methods (Smith and Hesse-Biber 1996). In the present research, I have remained open to and made use of the advantages of each.

Qualitative data analysis consists of identifying, coding and categorising patterns or themes found in the data (Creswell 1994). The qualitative aspect of my research has allowed the emergence of several key themes. One is that overseas education and recognition in Australia is a controversial issue. Another is exclusion from meaningful employment and its impact on the emotional labour of immigrant Indian professionals to Australia. The third important theme is self-imposed exclusion by immigrant Indian professionals in the Australian workplace. The fourth is the costs of exclusion after inclusion and finally an exploration is made of the benefits of having skilled immigrant Indian professionals in Australia. Each category presented below uses excerpts from the participants to aid in illustration of the points. The participant’s own words are best for expressing their experiences.

4.2 Exclusion after inclusion data analysis

Section 4.2 examines the experiences of immigrant Indian professionals when they are affected by differences, particularly between them and the dominant group culture. As discussed previously, Australia is in need of skilled people. For this reason, Australia has been pursuing a policy of attracting skilled people from across the globe to meet its human capital requirements.

Immigrants leave their home countries with hopes of having a better life in the country of destination, places like Australia. But, after their arrival, they often face difficulty in getting included in mainstream Australian society as well as in their
workplaces. According to Trenerry, Franklin and Paradies (2012), immigrants perceive and experience avoidable and unfair practices in recruitment and selection, promotion, evaluation, remuneration and dismissal. Borooah and Mangan (2002) analysed occupational performance across three racial groups in Australia: Indigenous Australians, people of Asian origin, and ‘White’ people. They found that, in professional and managerial jobs, Asian immigrants in the Australian labour market suffered the highest racial disadvantage.

Section 4.2 analyses the experience of twenty immigrant Indian professionals and issues relating to ‘exclusion after inclusion’ into Australia and its organisations. The aim of this section is to provide the results of the qualitative analyses relating to exclusion after inclusion as related in their discussions. Section 4.2 is divided into two sections. Section 4.2.1 details with ‘exclusion caused by strong barriers to meaningful employment in Australia’ . Section 4.2.2 is a discussion on ‘self-imposed exclusion by skilled immigrants’. The section ends with a summary at 4.2.3

4.2.1 Exclusion caused by strong barriers to meaningful employment in Australia

On the surface it appears that university degrees and credentials can make an immigrant desirable in the labour market. A closer look shows that this may not always be the case, because foreign experience is often not recognised in countries like Canada, US and Australia and gatekeepers protect the entrance into many specialised disciplines – medicine and engineering, for example. Furthermore, not only are foreign credentials not recognised in these countries, many employers perceive foreign education to be below standard (Reitz 2003).

The node ‘Exclusion caused by strong barriers to meaningful employment in Australia’, encapsulates the idea that anecdotal accounts of physicians and engineers immigrating to Australia only to drive taxis or clean offices are common. Positions go unfilled while qualified professional or skilled immigrants remain unemployed or under-employed. Konno (2006) found that overseas nurses experience difficulty entering into Australian culture and often felt lonely and isolated. Having to be reassessed for their professional qualifications created significant anxiety and
frustration. A study done on five immigrant nurses in New South Wales by Omeri and Atkins (2002) reports professional negation, lack of support, a sense of otherness, cultural separateness and communication difficulties as emergent themes in the immigrant nurses’ experiences. These formed a distance between people from the dominant and non-dominant culture. Research done by Jeon and Chatterworth (2007) reveals that nurses from NESB countries have less chance of gaining employment in their chosen speciality and face exclusion.

Within regulated professions such as medicine and nursing, an immigrant’s ability to qualify to sit mandatory Australian exams was and remains critical to employment outcomes. This process excludes or significantly delays a large number of overseas-trained professionals from eligibility for employment in their professions (Hawthorne 2001). Misko (2012) undertook research on the role of qualification in workplace assimilation of foreign skilled workers in Australia. Her research revealed that other factors play a significant role in the labour market integration of onshore skilled immigrants in Australia. These included employer behaviour or discrimination which is usually disguised under considerations about relevant experience and good cultural fit, with employers preferring workers from Anglophone Countries like the US, UK, New Zealand and the Irish Republic (Misko 2012, 28).
A detailed analysis of the Node is divided into a discussion based on sub-sections as shown in Figure 12 below.

**Figure 12: Sub-nodes of ‘exclusion caused by strong barriers to meaningful employment in Australia’**

### 4.2.1.1 Exclusion due to non-recognition of qualifications

Skilled immigrants are a significant cohort of the workplace in Australia. 76% of immigrants of this category are of working age and this cohort accounts for 57% of Australia’s annual population growth (ABS 2012a). The Australian government considers addressing skills shortages in particular areas as a ‘high priority’ (DIAC 2012; ABS 2012b).

However, many skilled and professional immigrants with years of relevant work experience in their home countries are struggling to get an appropriate job commensurate with their qualifications. According to an ABS survey in 2012, only 53% were employed in the occupation nominated in their visa (ABS, 2012c). There has been a lack of recognition of their overseas qualifications. According to Ken Cruickshank, a Lecturer at Sydney University, around 1,200 teachers in NSW are not permitted to teach some mainstream subjects although they are qualified to teach them. Although they have the requisite qualifications, the official reason which is
given is that they do not have sufficient teacher training in the Australian environment (Baird 2000).

‘Salina Aktar, 41, has a Bachelor and Master of Education from Dhaka University, Bangladesh, but is not allowed to teach in Australia, except as a casual teacher of Bengali. Hien Tran, 44, trained as a home economics teacher in Vietnam, completing a four-year course at Ho Chi Minh University. Since coming to Australia in 1989, she has worked from home as a seamstress. All summer, she has travelled from Melbourne once a week to attend a bridging course at Sydney University so she can teach again’ (Baird 2000, 2).

In general it has been observed that employers feel more comfortable when they take a decision to hire someone with local education. This can happen even if the immigrant is a professional with higher qualifications from the home country. Not all exclusion needs to have roots in racism or even be intentional although this sort of systemic discrimination limits chances of new immigrants (George, Chaze, Brennenstuhl and Thomson 2012). Systemic barriers hinder immigrants from having their experience or credentials recognised, and as a result skilled and professional immigrants experience frustration, despair and humiliation. They feel that they have lost their occupational status and this is very damaging to their professional identity (Yakushko, Backhaus, Watson, Ngaruiya and Gonzalez 2008).

Mary is one of the respondents in my study. She arrived in Australia in 2009. Up to the time of the interview (August 2012), she was still struggling to get into the teaching profession. Despite having teaching qualifications as well as work experience from India, and these being recognised by the Department of Immigration, at the time of the interview Mary was doing a bridging course from TAFE to gain accreditation from the Australian Education Department. She misses teaching and feels frustrated with the situation she finds herself in. This is a path taken worldwide by 200 million immigrants to date; people who are prepared to step into an unknown future, in the hope of improving their standard of living (Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan 2011). Often the training and further study is similar to the education and extensive pre-migration experience they already have. It can also be
expensive and discouraging that skilled immigrants are not always able to work in their chosen profession (North, Trlin and Singh 1999). Mary had this to say:

‘I arrived in Australia in January 2009. I have done a bachelor’s degree in psychology and a teaching degree. I was teaching for 20 years in India. I applied for residency as the main applicant [rather than my husband] as teachers were in demand. According to the Australian requirements, when I came here I had to apply to the Department of Education. I sent all my papers and was called for an interview. A lady looked at all my papers and said your qualifications cannot be accepted in Australia. I showed her the letter which I had got from the Department of immigration. I said to her this is what the Australian government has given to me. She said to me that they do not know what they are doing and they do it for the sake of immigration purposes. She said to me that you have to go back to University and do a full course again to gain accreditation. I said to her we need to revisit this but she said to me I have looked at all your papers and your qualifications are not valid. I said to her that I have entered this country on the basis of this letter: the letter says that I am qualified to teach in Australia’ – Mary

Before arriving in Australia, Mary expected that she would find employment as a teacher commensurate with her qualifications and work experience, and was admitted to the country on that basis. However, she soon realised that it was not that easy. Despite being appropriately qualified and suitably proficient in English, she soon understood that without retraining or undergoing further study, she would not be accepted into the teaching profession. Lacking the support of her Indian social network, Mary was in need of a job as soon as possible. She was forced to take up work outside her chosen profession when she faced the following:

‘The lady from the Department of Education then said to me that the Department of Immigration assess qualifications just for immigration purposes. I said to her that I have come into the country as a teacher and today I’m on the streets because I do not have a job. I asked her to look at my certificates again and to tell me if even one of them were fraudulent. I told her that all of them have been attested by a JP here. We came here in January and
Mary’s experience is not surprising and confirms findings of studies on the difficulties faced by immigrants in relation to discrimination on account of foreign credentials (Becklumb and Elgersma 2008). The devaluation of foreign qualifications and degrees is one of the most frequently cited reasons for differential access and outcomes of skilled immigrants in the job market (Becklumb and Elgersma 2008). Mary is now obliged to study and gain another qualification, despite her already possessing a degree in Education as well as adequate work experience. She is also placed in a situation where, to provide for her family, she must work in a job which does not match her qualifications. She further expresses her discontent as follows:

‘I have authored several books which are still taught in Indian primary schools. Immigrants arrive with a lot of mental and emotional baggage and expect a fair go’ – Mary

Mary has expressed concern about her potential for upward mobility in Australia. She is confident of her professional capabilities, although she believes that those assets have not been fully recognised and rewarded. Immigrant teachers like Mary encounter numerous difficulties before they can pursue their professions in Australia. They are often required to do time-consuming paperwork and have problems with the bureaucratic systems. Often, the process of qualification recognition does not go smoothly and dissatisfaction with the red tape that goes with the institutional requirements that immigrant teachers must meet in Australia is one of the strongest barriers to career progression (Collins and Reid 2012).

Even after inclusion, there may be instances of exclusion faced by minority immigrants in the workplace. In a study done on immigrant teachers in Australia, Collins and Reid (2012) found that, once appointed to a school, perceptions of discrimination arise and are manifested by negative responses to their accent, especially if it is Indian or African. They report an immigrant teacher’s experience which is illustrated in the following page.
‘Yesterday, I got a new class, Yr 9 students; it happened that the other teacher was doing something else so they asked me to go to that class, and I came to the class and they started laughing. And I said why are you laughing guys? And they said, oh, your accent is so funny’ (Collins and Reid 2012, 51).

In another field, medicine, the government of Australia encourages hundreds of overseas trained doctors to work in the healthcare system where there is a dearth of medical staff. However, some of these immigrants feel that they are often stymied and find it difficult to practice. Susan Douglas is an experienced obstetrician and as the former head of Canada’s largest obstetrics department found it easy to get into a lecturing job in the ANU medical school in 2006. She is still struggling to get full registration so that she can practise medicine. This implies that the rules relating to foreign recognition of qualifications are bureaucratic and contradictory of the terms of the immigration policies (Hyland 2011).

Non-recognition of qualifications and under-employment may be a form of race-based discrimination, and can result in inequalities in job allocation or performance appraisal, remuneration, promotion or even tokenistic inclusion (Berman 2008). Reena is a Computer Engineer from India who arrived in Australia in 2005. She spoke of her frustration of having to re-start her career after arrival:

‘After landing in Australia in 2005, I got a job in a bank. I had been working in a bank in India, in the field of IT as I am a computer engineer. I had to start my career here at a lower position. It was very hard for me. You have to prove yourself to get to a position you have already enjoyed in India. They do not take your past qualifications or skills on face value. Over here, local education and experience is valued’ – Reena

What Reena said confirms to a reasonable extent that job outcomes of immigrants are not always determined by education, qualifications and recent work history in their home country. Reena has a perception that she is being penalised for not having local credentials and work experience. Non-recognition of foreign education prevents the integration of immigrants into mainstream society and organisations. Ho (2004) suggested that many highly-educated Chinese immigrants either remain jobless or
suffer from exclusion before and after inclusion due to their qualifications being devalued by Australian employers.

Junakar and Mahuteau (2005, 35) define a good job as ‘one that appropriately reflects the immigrants’ educational qualifications and their previous occupational rank’. They also observed that immigrants to Australia are more or less likely to find work, although they are less likely to secure a ‘good job’. As in Reena’s case, these difficulties can be attributed to unwillingness by employers to recognise overseas qualifications. The perceived barriers to employment in the present study were identified as a lack of recognition of foreign credentials, the delayed assessment of foreign professionals by governing bodies, a lack of Australian experience as well as a lack of Australian networks. Some participants found that the same credentials acceptable for immigration into the country were not recognised for entry into its work force.

The inadequate recognition of overseas education, skills and experience get in the way of the immigrants’ capacity to find a job which matches their requirements (Causa and Jean 2007). Not surprisingly, in Australia, immigrants from developing countries are those who face acute devaluation of their credentials (Ho 2004). Kler (2006) states that, in Australia, immigrants from Asian countries are more devalued by employers than ‘Whites’ or ‘non-Asians’.

Immigrants, especially those who are skilled, enter into a new country carrying the hope of gaining employment opportunities and experiencing equality. However, studies indicate that they often face feelings of insufficiency and identity loss when the workplace prefers workers who have been educated in the dominant culture (Aydemir and Skuterud 2008). Mary’s experience resounds in a study done by Beynon, Ilieva and Dichupa (2004) which reveals the humiliation, frustration and despair faced by immigrant teachers who go through the re-credentialing process in British Columbia. There, the British Columbia College of Teachers requires most teachers from foreign countries to complete academic coursework as well as classroom practicum.
Research done by Reitz (2007) reveals that, frequently, foreign credentials are denied because of the difficulties associated in evaluating them and is often a result of personal biases rather than an analysis done by qualified evaluation bodies. Unfortunately, domestic organisations rely on bureaucratised procedures, especially professions which require a licence or certification (Esses, Dietz, Bennett-Abuayyash and Joshi 2007).

A study conducted by Junankar, Paul and Yasmeen (2004) revealed that in Australia the unemployment rate among Asian-born immigrants (‘people of colour’ from countries including India, China, Korea, Vietnam and the Middle East) was higher compared to Europeans from non-English speaking backgrounds (including Poland, Russian Federation and Ukraine) and from English Speaking backgrounds (including the UK, Ireland, and North and South America). Junankar et al. (2004, 19) go on to state that this is due to discrimination based on appearance and accent as well as unwillingness by employers to recognise their qualifications. Bardiqi-Yassin (2007) gives an example of a skilled immigrant:

‘Both my husband and I are qualified I am still looking for work after six months and my husband was doing cleaning jobs at night so we can support ourselves, because of hard conditions we had to take our child back to our country because we have no means of supporting her here … I have ten years of experience on IT in my country and I never thought things are so hard here to find a job.’ – Skilled immigrant in Australia, 45

A fundamentally important part of the acculturation process for immigrants is finding a good job which matches their qualifications (Thomas and Rappak 1998). In Australia unfortunately, there exists a well-known stereotype of well-educated and well-spoken taxi drivers from different cultural backgrounds. This can be blamed on the high costs associated with obtaining recognition of qualifications or the difficult processes involved (Bardiqi-Yassin 2007).

Many immigrants have told painful stories of their conversion from professionals to cleaners or taxi drivers. This downward mobility of skills is known as ‘de-skilling’ (Bauder and Cameron 2002). According to Australia’s General Skilled Migration
policy (ABS 2012c), immigrants are primarily selected for their qualifications and skills. However contrary to this research reveals that once they are in the workforce, these skills are under-utilised in many ways. This underutilisation can be described as ‘brain waste’ (Mattoo, Neagu and Ozden 2005).

4.2.1.2 Exclusion caused by lack of local work experience or local education

Recent work history is given a lot of importance by Australian employers; say Thapa and Gorgens (2006). A large number of immigrant professionals face selection issues due to their lack of local work experience. Despite many immigrants gaining pre-migration qualification accreditation, they are still not preferred as prospective employees as they do not have host country work experience (Aydemir and Skuterud 2004). Due to the fact that Australian employers manifest sub-optimal recognition of qualifications gained overseas, immigrants suffer from lower payoff (Shah and Burke 2005).

Several studies indicate that during the recruitment process, foreign work experience is often devalued because of the difficulties faced in measuring it and also assessing the credibility of the information on which it is based (Hakak, Holzinger and Zikic 2010). According to Green and Worswick (2004), foreign degrees and foreign work experience do not possess the same degree of ‘worth’ as previously and degrees of non-western countries have approximately one-third the return compared to western degrees.

In professions like engineering and teaching which require applications to be submitted to a professional body for assessment, applicants experience finding employment to be a particularly onerous process. Much of the frustration described by immigrants in this study was a result of the mismatch between their employment expectations and employment realities. Literature confirms that Australian employers are generally unfamiliar with the process immigrants go through in gaining experience in foreign countries and, as a result, many of them have exclusionary attitudes and fears about immigrants. This leads them to select a domestically-trained person (Kler 2006). As a result immigrants soon realise that they have to look for a relatively junior role in an organisation and then find themselves overqualified for
the position. Under-employment makes them feel frustrated and this affects their workplace integration. Clydesdale (2011) found that immigrants from the US face little exclusion in Australian organisations while immigrants from South Asian countries such as the Philippines and India face greater exclusion. Dunn (2004) asserts that Australian employers are less accepting of Asian and Muslim immigrants. Syed and Murray (2009) note that immigrants from NESB countries earn less than their ESB counterparts and this ends in alienating them in the workplace.

This explains why the most commonly discussed barrier to employment according to the immigrant Indian professionals in this study was a lack of Australian work experience. Barriers which skilled immigrants face in accessing jobs in their fields or achieving success in the labour market have often been attributed to either their foreign credentials, lack of host country work experience or racism and discrimination (Buzdugan and Halli 2009).

One immigrant, who is an accountant by profession, explains his own experience with this barrier:

‘It’s a depressing situation. One of the prospective employers asked me about my Australian experience. I said I will get Australian experience if you give me a job. But then they say ‘I’m sorry, you need to get Australian experience before you can be considered for this job’. So this is a big problem we immigrants are facing here …’ – Sunil

Hyland (2011) reveals that some immigrants go so far as to drive taxis as, for example, Nasir Mehmood Baig who earned a medical degree in Pakistan. Those who are lucky enough to have their qualifications recognised may have to work up to 10 years in a remote area to which Australian trained doctors do not like to go. The assessment demanded of foreign doctors is much greater than that of the local practitioners, despite the fact that almost 40 percent of Australian doctors have been trained overseas (Hyland 2011).
4.2.1.3 Exclusion associated with a bureaucratic system of rules and regulations

Hyland (2011) further states that foreign doctors face a huge amount of red tape once they arrive in Australia. According to the Keane, Smith, Lincoln and Fisher (2011), the process is one of the most difficult to understand and has a reputation for causing immense frustration. In reducing the job-skill mismatch, skills assessing bodies can play an important role, but are often entangled by a bureaucratic system of rules and regulations. Mary, a qualified teacher from India, has this to say:

‘The lady at the Department of Education took a one man decision not to approve my qualifications. As I left her office, she had the audacity to tell me that I spoke fluent English. I will study and wait to gain a chance to re-start teaching’ – Mary

Mary, like many immigrant teachers and other professional immigrants in Australia, faces considerable difficulties before she can even get to work in Australia in her professional area. Some 200 million immigrants worldwide have undergone this process to date as stated by Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan (2011). One of the realities they eventually face is the process of qualification recognition and professional certification can be long-drawn-out. One of the most overwhelming issues which emerges with immigrant professionals in Australia is dissatisfaction with the red tape. For immigrant teachers, this requires getting their teacher qualifications recognised in Australia and undertaking courses to familiarise themselves with the Australian education system (Collins 2012). Extant literature asserts that most of the teacher immigrants complain about the time-consuming and detailed paper work they confront and the problems they have with the bureaucratic systems and processes they encounter in Australia (Kircheneim and Richardson 2000).

who received his medical training in India and passed the Australian medical council exam for foreign doctors. However, after he applied to the Royal Australian College of Surgeons, he lodged a complaint that his application had been dealt with in a superficial manner. He was not allowed to present his case fully and it was dismissed, not allowing him an opportunity to present evidence. This exhibits the power of courts and tribunals to dismiss complaints, compounding the already disadvantaged position of complainants (Thornton and Luker 2010).

Thornton and Luker (2010, 27) comment further on the ‘new racism’ in Australia:

‘Complaints are dismissed not because they are vexatious but because complainants are unable to meet the heightened burden of proof within a hostile climate where racism has been normalised. Their ‘failure’ has a chilling effect upon other complainants whose complaints are not conciliated. In addition, this means that the shaping of the jurisprudence relating to race discrimination in employment has become the prerogative of well resourced employer respondents, making it impossible for racialised ‘Others’ to counter. Despite the good intentions of those individuals and agencies who work for justice in the area, the case against the state in producing and sustaining racism is overwhelming.’

Sunil arrived in Australia after having completed his Master of Business Administration with specialisation in Finance and with work experience in a logistics company. The following transcript highlights his experience and resulting aggravation:

‘I have done my MBA and I also have two years’ experience in a Logistics Company from India, along with a Bachelor’s degree in Accounting. I was working there as an Accountant. I find it very difficult to get a job here because sometimes they say I’m over qualified for the job I’m looking for. The place where I’m working my seniors do not have the same qualification as I do and I am over qualified. Despite this they say your Accounting or MBA degree is of no value in Australia’ – Sunil
Sunil is one of many who face strong barriers to employment and promotion in Australia. A reality faced by many globally-mobile professionals is the hurdles they face because of lack of qualification recognition and red tape. Many times they have to do unnecessary paper-work and face a bureaucratic system of rules and regulations. This was a particularly frustrating circumstance for participants in this study as they were well-qualified and had worked as professionals in India. They perceived their work to be similar, regardless of their geographic location. Nonetheless, these skilled immigrants are often forced to find work in survival jobs outside their profession as they struggle to gain a job in their field of expertise.

4.2.1.4 Exclusion caused due to cultural difference

Cultural capital is often the breaking point for many immigrants. Studies show that employers prefer recruiting people who are like themselves culturally and that success in the workplace is dependent on an employee being able to follow cultural guidelines and not stand out (Kanter 1977). Therefore, it is reasonable to say that, if immigrant employees do not meet these expectations, they are more or less likely to be excluded. They encounter social exclusion due to racialised and cultural prejudices (Reitz and Sklar 1997). Most inequality occurs without a conscious attempt to discriminate. It may be due to the tendency for people to prefer to associate with those who are like themselves (Roth 2006). This implies that those who differ from the majority may experience isolation. Nitin, who holds a postgraduate degree from India, is working as a manager. He arrived in Australia in 2007. He spoke at length about observing such phenomenon at his place of work:

‘I think it is just human nature that people are generally more comfortable with someone who is similar to themself. For example, recently a colleague had a wedding and it just so happens that I think she invited almost all of the “Whitest” colleagues on the floor to her wedding and neglected the rest. I believe it is not an intent to exclude but rather they just get along better with each other. Sometimes I feel left out of the informal networking of information being spread about’ – Nitin
Nitin’s comments confirm what Byrne’s (1971) early work stated about individuals who are more attracted to individuals they perceive to be similar in attitudes to themselves. This finding is consistent with other research evidence which claims that Australian organisations are often reflective of cultural biases, especially against Asian immigrants (Syed and Pio 2010). Jones et al. (2009) suggest that a mismatch between cultures can influence the task or job performance, especially if the minorities feel less accepted.

A key concern of these observations is that Australia may be deprived of the skills it is trying to welcome into the country if there are discouragements and barriers in job search and employment. Immigrants who are highly educated and professionals can be a vital asset to Australia. However, this prospect can be lost in the challenges and barriers faced by them in the workplace. Such a workplace culture can compound feelings of frustration among the immigrant professionals, resulting in self-imposed exclusion as detailed in the next section.

4.2.2 Self-imposed exclusion by immigrant Indian professionals in the Australian workplace

Many non-Western immigrants to Western Countries face uneasiness and awkwardness when they interact with the locals or natives because of the fear of being stigmatised or discriminated against (Ross and Turner 2005). This is often amplified if there is a sense of insecurity and difficulty in communicating in the native language (Chiswick and Miller 2010). However, the role which an individual immigrant can play is vital for greater assimilation in the workplace. They may display initiatives to integrate or be less inclined and withdraw themselves. Once they meet challenges at work the immigrant employee’s attitude and subsequent behaviour may be positive or negative.
Figure 13 below provides an NVivo 10 snapshot of the topics discussed within the node of ‘self-imposed exclusion by immigrant Indian professionals in the Australian workplace’.

**Figure 13: Sub-nodes of ‘self-imposed exclusion by immigrant Indian professionals in the Australian workplace’**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Node</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<td>1. Self-imposed exclusion due to perceived communication and language barriers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5/07/20</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2. Self-imposed exclusion caused by perceptions of prejudice and racism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5/07/20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3. Self-imposed exclusion due to cultural differences</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5/07/20</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4. Self-imposed exclusion caused by perceived high levels of discriminatory practice</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5/07/20</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5. Exclusion from meaningful employment and its impact on emotional labour</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5/07/20</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6. The importance of immigrant socialisation in the workplace and its bearing on emotional labour</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5/07/20</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7. The emotional struggle: Assimilation or giving up one’s identity in the dominant workplace</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5/07/20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8. The costs of exclusion and inclusion</td>
<td>5</td>
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### 4.2.2.1 Self-imposed exclusion due to perceived communication and language barriers

Australian managers often comment that immigrants from NESB countries are usually ‘quiet’ in nature. Creative and constructive output is important in the Australian workplace and employers place great importance on it (Pennebaker 1997). Mohrman and Cohen (1995) suggest that interpersonally-oriented skills are important in Australian organisations. As some researchers have noted, English language proficiency may not always be the issue or problem, although the way English is spoken, including accent, syntax and idiom can cause social biases (Hosoda and Stone-Romero 2010).
As Karan’s narrative below shows, it is difficult to have social integration with the locals just by participating in the work life of the host society:

‘Here you are expected to talk about for instance their movies. We cannot relate to each other. If they are talking about Footy, I will not understand. Therefore, I think communication is more important than education skills to adjust in Australia. I would put communication as a prerequisite to get a good job. Sometimes I feel that I am just not able to be comfortable communicating to Australians. Even after seven years I feel this way. They have a different way of talking and include slangs I don’t understand. Sometimes this has stressed me out’ – Karan

Karan’s statement seems to suggest that some immigrants, irrespective of being highly-educated professionals, have problems in presenting themselves and experience inferiority because they speak a foreign language. It also indicates that, in terms of sharing interests, for example, in football (‘footy’) which is very popular in Australia, it may so happen that immigrants mostly may not like footy. Because of communication and language barriers and cultural divergence, Karan found it difficult to share interests or socialise with his fellow workers. Besides having to deal with work issues, immigrants must also deal with communication skills, accent, proficiency in English, discrimination and stereotyping. These challenges may pose impediments to forming workplace relationships, as shown by Sam’s narration:

‘The English which we speak is Indian English. I am not fluent in English. Therefore I might be left behind in conversation with Australians. I think people often think I am ignorant because of my strong accent, and I need to prove that I know what I am talking about. Their tastes and the social conversation is very different from mine. I approach people and say hello to them but if after many times the person ignores me then I am not pleasant with them either. If somebody does not want to say hello to me, so be it’ – Sam

Similar experiences are exhibited in the stories of other respondents. They face a form of cultural subordination if they have an accent or speak ‘Indian English’. Natives may sometimes find foreign accents distasteful or even humorous, especially
if one pronounces incorrectly. Lack of language proficiency as well as an accent often portrays one as stupid, ignorant and uneducated (Baumeister and Tice 1990). This can also lead to segregation among the immigrants and the desire not to become integrated with the local workforce (Rogstad 2000). In a study done on the Canadian work force, Wang (2006) discussed various kinds of ‘English problems’ faced by immigrants such as lack of vocabulary, inability to speak intelligently, lack of competency in expressing ideas and conveying meaning fluently or with appropriate manners, fear of speaking to native English speakers and the ability to conduct general daily talks. An interesting theme raised by almost every participant (similar to the present research) was that oral communication was a major challenge.

Accent is considered to be a particular obstacle (Hosoda and Stone-Romero 2010). Stereotypical attitudes are often activated because someone speaks with a foreign accent and may cause devaluing of the skills and talents of the minority employees in any organisation. In my research, Abdul is another participant who arrived in Australia in 2007. He is a commerce graduate and holds a diploma in computer science. He contends that the biggest barrier he encounters is his lack of proficiency in communicating fluently in English:

‘English is not my first language. At my workplace, people expect the same style of speaking, although their style of speaking and mine are different. I find it difficult to communicate effectively, even though I have the knowledge’ – Abdul

Abdul acknowledges that communication is a key aspect of skills which can influence his seamless integration into the Australian organisation. For immigrants, it is often easier to describe a task in their own language, but in English they need to look for appropriate words to express their ideas. Abdul goes on to say:

‘It does not matter how much of an education you have received in your home country. If you don’t have enough understanding of the language and culture here, even if you get a high-level position, you won’t be able to handle it. If your profession involves using English and dealing with people, then you will have to start from the bottom’ – Abdul
As demonstrated by Abdul’s comments, communication skills and a cultural understanding of the Australian workplace can be major hurdles in an immigrant professional’s assimilation and integration. According to Ingram (2009), people who have an accent are often thought of as those who ‘talk funny’. What also holds true is that the heavier the accent, the more discrimination one is subjected to at work.

For these reasons, the findings of this study suggest that immigrant Indian professionals with lesser command of English are more worried about their efficiency at work. Clegg (1983) suggests that lesser fluency in language and communication might result in productivity which is lower than expected because of the way such people react towards this belief. All these factors result in negative effects on their workplace integration.

4.2.2.2 Self-imposed exclusion caused by perceptions of prejudice and racism

Stereotypes in the workplace may reduce the cultural comfort of immigrants since racialised stereotyping negatively affects job satisfaction. Valentine, Silver and Twigg (1999) claim that employees who perceive discriminatory practices at their places of work are less satisfied with their jobs and have high turnover intentions. This implies that there is a negative relationship between perceived discriminatory practices and job satisfaction. In research done by Collins and Reid (2012, 52), a NSW male teacher from India recounts the following experience of racism:

‘There is racism, and especially from the students here they will laugh at you … the curry munchers, they’ll talk about you like that and the words sound differently from them, I heard at the beginning, I used to tell my head teacher, some Yr7, Yr8 when I had them for the first time, they’ll try to use the word curry muncher in front of me for me to hear, so I’ll turn around and give them a smile and say oh, I love my curry’ (Collins and Reid 2012, 52)

Racialised discrimination at work can act as a constraint to the work life of immigrants. If there is a lack of involvement of immigrants at work due to discrimination, they tend to disengage themselves (Dietz 2010).
Another of the respondents in this study, Dinesh, came to Australia in 2002. He contends that during his schooling in India, there was lack of exposure to developing listening and speaking skills as opposed to reading and writing skills. He described his experience and his feeling of discrimination due to stereotyping based on his cultural identity:

‘My English oral communication skills are weak, because it was so many years ago when I was learning English. At that time the emphasis was on reading and writing. All the things we learned are from books. As a result, whenever I am invited to Christmas parties and other social functions, I don’t go. This leads to assumptions such as: we Indians do not like to attend official social events. We have excluded ourselves. If they are having drinks on Friday night and want to go out I do not go. An e-mail invitation comes out but generally I don’t go. Therefore they assume that Indians do not want to mix. I think we should. I think that we should change. For the first generation Indians it will always be a problem.’ – Dinesh

Dinesh often chooses to self-exclude himself from interacting at work, because of his feeling of inequity. In reality, rather than equity, immigrants sometimes perceive discrimination because of their skin colour, accent or language. Studies have shown that the perception of prejudice and racism alone is enough to cause segregation amongst ethnic minorities. Zhang, Liu, Loi, Lau and Ngo (2010) find that social networking is imperative for career advancement but that immigrants often fail to establish work-ties and tend to lag behind local colleagues in their career progressions, which eventually affects their integration into the workplace. Interesting to note here is the revelation that first-generation immigrants may favour coping strategies that focus on self-improvement (e.g., as Dinesh believes that ‘he’ needs to change) rather than confrontational strategies (Lalonde, Majumder and Parris 1995).

Reena arrived in Australia in 2005 as a skilled immigrant. She is a computer engineer and brought with her years of experience working in the field of Information Technology.
The following account by Reena portrays how she feels herself to be apart and possibly inferior compared to her native co-workers:

‘I speak with a strong Indian accent. Although I am highly-qualified – a computer engineer and work in the IT department of the bank, I am unable to sell myself or effectively showcase my skills. I find this very frustrating. Despite my qualifications and work experience back in India, I had to prove myself here and start at a lower position. Once you prove yourself as capable they will promote you. Here local experience is of value and although I had advanced knowledge of IT, I still had to start at the lower level. I feel some people judge me for my accent and they don’t think I am smart’ – Reena

Reena is one of many who feel that accent is an impairment and hence communicates less as they believe it will hurt their acceptance and assimilation. She further adds:

‘I lack speaking ability. To work in a professional job, you have to have a certain level of ability to express yourself. You need to speak in a clear and logical manner. In terms of speaking I have big problems. For important matters I write an email afterwards, that way I have more time to think about what I want to say and organise my words first’ – Reena

Reena encounters barriers to integration mainly because of skill gaps in English and communication. She feels that she is not ‘equal to others’ because of her lack of competency in communication. Studies have found that individuals who identify themselves with having a strong foreign accent often experience lack of ‘belongingness’ in the country of migration. Because people are sometimes oversensitive they interpret certain comments towards them as racist (Dovidio et al. 2010). This can be a cause of great stress, which was the case with Reena. She avoided communicating as she was concerned about being disrespected or mocked. This is in keeping with research done by Groutsis (2003), who suggests that immigrants from NESB such as Asian regions, experience poor rates of recognition in Australia whereas immigrant professionals from North America, South and East Africa and UK experience favourable rates of recognition and acceptance.
The main obstacles faced by immigrants to getting a better job and fitting into the Australian workplace have been identified as language and culture. For better adjustment into the workplace and employability, fluency in English and less pronounced accents are vital in any professional position (Shields and Stephen 2002). Employers in Australia value more implicit forms of communication skills, such as confidence, tact, modesty, interaction skills, interpretation skills and effective face-to-face communication. Communication skills of immigrants have been found as one of the crucial determinants of employment success in Australia (Daly, Barker and McCarthy 2000).

According to De Meuse and Hostager (2001), there has been very little research done internationally on understanding how employees of colour are affected in the workplace by the unique challenges which they face. When employees receive care and feedback from colleagues in solving problems, bonding develops (Adler and Kwon 2002). A successful career is often linked with good interpersonal relationships with colleagues (Zhang et al. 2010; McHammon and Griffin 2000). Perceived discrimination in the workplace has long prompted employees of colour to have different perceptions of the workplace as opposed to their white counterparts (Cox 1991). As stated by Ibarra (1993), employees have social relations as well as instrumental relations at work. An example of a social relation can be going out for lunch or coffee together, while an instrumental relationship can be helping co-workers on projects or tips on promotion (Ibarra 1993). In the fear of feeling uncomfortable, and suffering from prejudice and stereotyping, immigrants like Indians prefer to be together and segregate because they feel comfortable working with people who are racially and culturally similar to themselves (Tsui and O’Reilly 1989). Social and instrumental relationships then fail to develop. Once the work becomes less attractive, the immigrants can become dissatisfied and, as a consequence, can create boundaries and hurdles for themselves in their work places as discussed in the following section.

4.2.2.3 Self-imposed exclusion due to cultural difference

Undoubtedly workplace integration guarantees successful incorporation of skilled immigrants in organisations. Recent research focuses on the importance of the
immigrant’s role in successful integration. Personal attitude and initiative play an important role toward integration (Akcpar 2010).

Meena has a Bachelor in Technology from India and was working as a SAP (System and Applications Product) consultant in a large multinational firm, working with companies and helping them to develop hi-tech services when she immigrated to Australia in 2009. Meena cites her feelings of inequity by blaming herself for creating barriers in the workplace. She demonstrates concern over her own limitations which have prevented her from forming strong bonds with her colleagues and workmates:

‘I have always been invited to the dinners and functions of the organisation. I could not be present at certain events as I want to reach home on time. I do not consume alcohol. I come from a very different culture and hence I feel I have problems in socialising. I exclude myself. I feel I have isolated myself from my colleagues. This has also hurt my social networking within the organisation. I have been unable to build strong relationships with my colleagues. Immigrant Indian professionals can be highly-educated; however often do not think about building relationships or developing soft skills. We should work on this’ – Meena

For some immigrants like Meena, their cultural identity creates barriers to building social structures and they miss out on knowing someone who may further their career prospects within the organisation. The social emotional experiences of immigrants in the workplace can be stressful because of the differences in societal customs, values and traditions of their home country (Pasca and Wagner 2011).

Karan who was referred to in section 4.2.2.1 is a Chartered Accountant and came to Australia in 2005. Language and cultural difference is an area of vulnerability expressed by Karan. A tone of doubt entered into his voice when discussing his communication skills and cultural adaptation:

‘There are subtle patterns of discrimination that I feel uncomfortable with because I don’t speak quite as fluently as others. There are little quirks within my communications skills that people notice. That’s where my frustrations lie. I
really get upset with myself for not pursuing steps for personal gain. Conversation at work often includes discussion about footy or T.V. serials, which I am unable to follow. I do not feel comfortable while interacting with native Australians. While talking they use slangs I do not understand. I’m afraid of the rejection. I am the barrier’ – Karan

Karan is less confident when advocating for himself. The fear of inadequacy plays a major role in Karan’s caution and lack of self-confidence. He feels stressed out and blames communication skills as well as cultural differences for his frustration. Karan has lived in Australia for many years. It would not be incorrect to state that immigrants generally struggle to overcome societal cultural barriers even when they immigrated a long time ago. The inability to cross the cultural divide prevents them from integrating into the workplace.

Nitin, an accountant by profession, who immigrated to Australia in 2007, reflected readily on his experience as an immigrant professional. He identified socialising at his workplace as a problem. He explained:

‘If you go into a meeting conversations are about Australian current affairs, sports, all these kinds of things. Skilled immigrants are very confident when they move from their parent country to come over here. But once they reach here, they get into a mode of ‘self doubt’. They start doubting themselves and their capabilities. You still need to know your surroundings to be capable in any job’ – Nitin

In Nitin’s view, the important issue is the notion of belonging. Aside from his perceptions about culture and communication, he illustrates his affinity with fitting in. Integration of immigrants is largely determined by the circumstances they face and then their attitude towards those circumstances. They may take the initiative and be affirmative to overcome shortcomings in skills and attributes or they may withdraw themselves. It is very important to display the right attitude and initiative for integration. When they display behaviour which is instrumental for seeking opportunities, they achieve successful integration (O’Reilly, Chatman and Caldwell 1991).
One of the research sub-questions this thesis attempts to answer is ‘do the immigrant professionals themselves have any role to play in self exclusion?’ This study found that having to use English as the main language for communication and professionally relevant cultural differences can impede immigrant Indian professionals from fully demonstrating and performing their actual professional qualities, skills and abilities. In Section 4.2.2.1 Abdul contends that the biggest barrier he encounters is his lack of proficiency in communicating fluently in English. English communication and a lack of understanding of the Australian workplace culture can influence an immigrant professional’s re-entry path. Performing job related tasks in a locally accepted manner was also a challenge, exemplified most effectively by Karan and Nitin’s stress experienced adjusting to their new roles in their respective Australian organisations.

4.2.2.4 Self-imposed exclusion caused by perceived high levels of discriminatory practice

Groups or individuals are often socially excluded or rejected because they are different. This can cause frustration and anxiety and they may seek safety through self-exclusion (Aguilera and Massey 2003). Participants in this study described numerous instances wherein they felt prejudged in the workplace because of their personal attributes preventing them performing at their optimal level.

Mohit has done a Bachelor in Electrical Engineering in India. To better integrate into Australian society, after working as a Systems Engineer for three years and facing several counts of perceived discrimination in rural Australia, he decided to do a MBA locally. Mohit’s account below displays failure in relationship building. He experienced job dissatisfaction and ultimately decided to leave it. His experience of racially offensive remarks prompted him to move to Sydney from the countryside, where he was the only Indian immigrant, and escape stigmatisation. He recalls:

‘I often went to the Pubs with my work mates because I felt they value you if you socially connect with them. When they sang songs and did karaoke’s I felt left out. They had local actors and jokes and I felt left out because I could not understand. I asked them later what it means and I felt I was spoiling their fun.}
So I would Google to find out instead. I felt that I was not a hundred percent with my White colleagues. When I would enter the lunch room, they used to call me “Tamil tiger” and they also told me to learn some manners like table manners and to say thank you. I earned respect by giving them respect’ – Mohit

Mohit’s frustration and discouragement is evident in his experiences. His ability to function fully within his work group appeared to be affected by the treatment he received from his co-workers. Everyday interactions were important signals for him, influencing his desire to integrate:

‘People made fun of me by calling me ‘Homer Simpson’. After work, if I accompanied my colleagues to a pub they had fun at my expense…Since moving to Sydney and leaving my job, I no longer go to pubs. I have made a large Indian friend circle and go to their house or play cricket or badminton with them. Here I have people of my cultural background. My life has totally changed for the better’ – Mohit

Mohit perceived higher levels of discriminatory practice while working in a small country town as opposed to Sydney. The perceptions which immigrants have about their place of employment are often based on their perceptions about the cultural comfort they feel at work. This then influences their job satisfaction and intention to remain with the job. In Mohit’s case, his experiences at work led him to believe that there was an underlying bias against him, and he chose to change his job. Studies show that Australians love to make jokes, but since the immigrants have different languages and cultural backgrounds, they often are unable to understand the point of jokes and feel that they are being ‘made fun of’ by Australian colleagues (Pennebaker 1997). In order to sort out misunderstandings, people need to communicate and develop shared understandings (Becker 2001). However, immigrants find it difficult to resolve such misunderstandings because of their level of communication. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that perceived vilification in the workplace can have profound impacts on the lives of immigrant Indian professionals, especially in relation to social exclusion and its affect on their well being and mental health.
A study which was done by Tucker, Wolfe, Viniell-Fuentes and Smooth (1999) established that employees of colour who were often the butt of racist and offensive remarks, causing discomfort to them in the workplace. This is in line with Aguilera and Massey (2003) that immigrants from countries like Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and India face challenges in bonding with colleagues who are native born, whereas they are at ease with groups that share their background. Such was the case for another interviewee, Abdul:

‘There have been comments about my nationality however in a joking manner and therefore I choose to ignore them otherwise it will become a serious problem for me. I’m a Muslim and yesterday a colleague made a comment about Muslims while we were watching cricket in the TV room but I chose to ignore it because I have to survive. I think I will always be treated different because I belong to a different country’ – Abdul

Abdul works as an Information systems Manager in a bank. Clearly Abdul’s comment here suggests that he experienced ethno-centricism and a feeling of racialised bias in the workplace. Abdul’s experience can be well explained by the theory of tokenism developed by Rosabeth Moss Kanter, referred to early in the study (Kanter 1979). Minorities are often considered as ‘tokens’ in the workplace and suffer professional challenges such as isolation, stress, the pressure to perform and conform especially in a dominant white workplace (Stroshine and Brandl 2011). According to Kanter (1977), ‘tokens’ suffer three possible consequences. The first is heightened visibility, where they feel that they are under the radar constantly, making them uncomfortable and anxious. The second is polarisation, which means that in a group, team or department; their differences are exaggerated, isolating them from their colleagues. The last consequence is slower or limited assimilation, wherein they are stereotyped and treated with prejudice (Kanter 1979).

4.2.3 Exclusion after inclusion data analysis summary

Section 4.2 includes a wide range of experiences that provide a foundation for deeper understanding of issues related to ethnicity, race and minority status and how these differences impact the immigrant Indian professional. The perceptions of exclusion
after inclusion reveal that some of the respondents experience difficulty socially integrating into Australian workplaces and often felt lonely and isolated. There is a struggle they experience due to lack of recognition of their overseas qualifications. These structural challenges are encountered even if the immigrant is a professional with high qualifications from the home country. Systemic barriers hinder immigrants from having their experience or credentials recognised, and as a result skilled and professional immigrants experience frustration, despair and humiliation, even after attaining employment. Under-employment makes them feel frustrated and this affects their workplace integration. Barriers which skilled immigrants face in accessing jobs in their fields or achieving success in the labour market have often been attributed to either their foreign credentials, lack of host country work experience or racism and discrimination (Buzdugan and Halli 2009).

The participants in this study expressed that they faced behavioural challenges and felt an expectation to assimilate and to suppress their differences in order to fit in; often resulting in their choosing to disengage emotionally. The following special problems were encountered: frustration due to exclusion caused by cultural differences, feelings of inferiority, racism, tokenism, stereotyping, prejudice, cultural subordination and segregation.

This section analysed the experience of twenty immigrant Indian professionals relating to 'exclusion after inclusion' caused by strong barriers to meaningful employment in Australia as well as 'self imposed exclusion' by skilled immigrants. Despite being highly-educated, most of the respondents in this study reported that they had either experienced problems with qualification recognition, issues with red tape or bad experiences in the form of negative responses to their accents or barriers to their promotion and negative responses to their cultural difference.

In summary, immigrant Indian professionals face particular challenges in the workplace, thereby affecting their interpersonal interaction. The above testimonies and discussion make known these very unique challenges which immigrants face when they move to a foreign country. The findings of this study suggest that the immigrant Indian professionals face difficulties in communication and may at times not speak up when an opportunity arises. Consequently, they miss out on
opportunities to learn from others and contribute their own ideas. This section reveals that having to use English as an additional language for communication can block the immigrant professional’s entry process and reduce their chances of participating appropriately to and in ways accepted by their targeted professions in Australia. It also makes known that, although strict policies on non-discriminatory practices exist in workplaces in Australia, racism exists in a subtle way and is quite complex.

This study was designed to listen to the voices of twenty professional immigrants of colour and to reflect with them on their significant perceived exclusion after inclusion experiences. From their critical issues and insights has emerged an understanding about the life-world of immigrants of colour within their corporate environments.

4.3 Emotional labour data analysis

There has been very little examination of the effect of race on an employee’s emotional experiences work (Harlow 2003). Gee and DeCastro (2001) are of the opinion that ethnic minorities may have to engage in additional emotional management. Morris and Feldman (1996) stated that emotions at work are partially determined by the social environment. Only recently has there developed an interest in ethnicity and emotion in the workplace.

Chapter 4 analyses the experience of twenty Immigrant Indian professionals and issues relating to ‘exclusion after inclusion’ into Australia and its organisations and their consequent impact on the emotional labour of Indian professional immigrants. The aim of section 4.3 is to provide results of the qualitative analyses relating to emotional labour. Section 4.3 is further sub-divided into five sections. Section 4.3.1 details with exclusion from meaningful employment and its impact on emotional labour. Section 4.3.2 discusses the importance of immigrant socialisation in the workplace and its bearing on emotional labour. The emotional struggle – assimilate or give up one’s identity in the dominant workplace – is discussed in section 4.3.3, while section 4.3.4 illustrates the ‘costs’ associated with exclusion after inclusion. Chapter 4 ends with a summary in section 4.4.
Workplace wellness is increasingly important in today’s organisations. Stress among employees will have negative consequences such as job dissatisfaction, workplace tension or tension between employees and supervisors, withdrawal behaviours and absenteeism (Sarafino 1998). It is important to develop a good understanding of the relationship between diversity, stress and negatives outcomes as the workforce in Australia will become increasingly ethnically diverse into the next century. Studies indicate that the psychological and physical cost for minority employees is very high (James, Lovato and Khoo 1994). The perception that an organisation values diversity is very important for employees with an ethnic identity as it increases their attachment to the organisation and their sense of self-worth is strengthened (Tyler and Lind 1992).

4.3.1 Exclusion from meaningful employment and its impact on emotional labour

Organisations demand that employees muster emotional labour that is appropriate to their occupations and display emotional norms appropriate to a given situation or context. Feeling rules, which are the guidelines that govern emotional labour, prescribe how an individual is to direct his or her efforts to achieve the desired and appropriate emotional state (Hochschild 1975). Hence the feeling rules of a particular job may require the necessity to stifle, rather than express irritation, anger and frustration when felt. When employees do this in the workplace in exchange for wages, they are performing what Hochschild (1983) terms ‘emotional labour’.

India today has the third largest pool of trained personnel in the area of science and information technology. There is a lot of emphasis on research and Indian higher education is accepted worldwide. The products of prestigious institutions such as the Indian Institute of Technology have been migrating in great numbers to Australia, US and Europe (Roach 2001). Immigrants with such qualifications feel marginalised both socially and economically when they are not able to get meaningful employment or face barriers to promotion and career advancement. A detailed study done by VicHealth (2007) found that people suffered from poor mental health and depression because they were being discriminated against. Discriminating against persons because of their ethnicity or race can result in poor health as well as having
social and economic implications (Rychetnik and Todd 2004). Discrimination is difficult to measure and, as such, researchers often rely on respondents’ perceptions. Although there is a difficulty in assessing whether perceptions of discrimination are representative of actual discriminatory actions, they are an important psychological reality for immigrants whether or not the perceived discrimination is ‘real’. Perceived discrimination has always been found to be a psychological stressor for immigrants (Dion 2002).

In professional workplaces, the corporate culture demands from such immigrants that they perform emotion management to control their feelings of anger and frustration in order to adhere to professional standards. As the feeling rules of organisations call for calmness and professionalism, employees are expected to work to bring their emotions in line with the expected feeling norms of their occupation (Harlow 2003).

The following sections will discuss the relationship between perceived discrimination and its bearing on emotional labour. In keeping with the research questions, the following part of this research will analyse the participants’ thoughts, feelings and perceptions. The goal is to gain a deeper understanding of their perspectives and to explore the specific issues they encounter at work, and to explore how the quality of their work lives is affected by their daily experiences.

The sub-categories of ‘exclusion from meaningful employment and its impact on emotional labour’ are illustrated in Figure 14 in the following page.
4.3.1.1 Exclusion and stress

There were a number of narratives in the interviews which indicated the general dissatisfaction some of the respondents feel in their professions, due to feeling excluded. Nina arrived in Australia in 2008 and has worked as a Planning Analyst in a large multinational company. She left the job due to the stress caused by the feeling of being excluded in the workplace.

‘Sometimes my boss did not even care if I made a comment in the middle of the discussion. In a couple of months I realised the culture of the organisation and decided to change my job. I used to be stressed and it affected my family life. My morale was down and I was always disappointed. Now I feel happy after changing my job. In my new workplace, the day I joined there was a welcome note at the reception and I was warmly welcomed. The culture and the objectives of the organisation are completely different to my earlier workplace. They know that they have to change to accommodate ethnic minorities and are putting effort towards it’ – Nina
Nina has a degree in Accounting and Financial Management and holds a Master of Business Administration degree from India. Her perceived sense of exclusion in the workplace is a reflection of what many of the other skilled immigrants who were interviewed face. She felt under-valued and grew tired of the extra effort she had to make to fit in. She has aspirations and wants to lead a productive life in Australia. However, her experiences in her previous workplace were frustrating and lonely. She sensed a lack of support by management and felt isolated and vulnerable.

Even after gaining employment, skilled immigrants often find themselves struggling with a new set of difficulties such as being perceived as an outsider or made to feel insignificant or unappreciated. Such incidents can lead to feelings of frustration, family breakdown and sometimes clinical depression. An employee’s job performance is often affected by such happenings, but most importantly controlling their real emotions and displaying emotions that are expected by organisations can cause a lot of stress (Kennedy and McDonald 2006).

Mohit (who was mentioned earlier in section 4.2.2.4) is 29 and has worked as an Electrical Engineer at a large mining firm in Tasmania. He worked in this position for 6 months before beginning a search for another job. He explains his decision to leave as fuelled in part by the ‘intolerable’ racial climate he claims to have experienced as the only Indian employee at his workplace. Working in a small town at a water treatment plant, he states:

‘People make assumptions; I struggled to make friends. They made fun at my expense and passed comments on my accent. The payroll lady even tried to convince me to leave the small country town as I needed a ‘life’. I was much stressed.’ – Mohit

He then moved to Sydney to work for a Mid Coast Water Service Provider as he did not want to live in small towns and their organisational environments any more. Mohit is specialised in a field of engineering not commonly found in Australia. He found Sydney is more multicultural and his immediate boss is Chinese, in contrast to the predominantly ‘White’ managers in Tasmania. He feels that in the city as compared to the country, the organisational culture is more accepting and a manager
will not impose his cultural beliefs. Such perceived discriminatory behaviour seems to imply that most likely the problem may be a ‘contemporary response to historical prejudices about the superiority of Western qualifications, people and languages’. If so, this is racism, that is, an ideological belief that races can be ranked in terms of superiority and inferiority (Miles 1989, 95). However, Pennebaker (1997) suggests that in Australia social relationships value self-disclosure, humour, making fun of one another and sharing interests. As a consequence, immigrants end up feeling alienated. Self-disclosure is important as it encompasses sharing personal thoughts, feelings and experiences, but lack of fluency in English, mismatch in communication and culture can keep immigrants away from self-disclosure and affect their bonding with Australian colleagues (Derlega, Metts, Petronio and Margulis 1993).

Mohit, being one of the few Indians in the country town, felt he stood out. He was of the opinion that his presence brought forward behaviours which expressed racialised bias. In this regard, immigrants are at a disadvantage as they are unable to resolve any misunderstandings because of their communication capabilities. As a result, Mohit found it difficult to adhere to the attitudes and behaviours expected in the role and this consequently affected his emotional labour and, in particular, his commitment to continue in the workplace. Emotional labour requires regulation of emotions at work in pursuit of organisational goals. It can be argued that he faced considerable pressure at work to conform to a set of unwritten but nevertheless powerful rules, which placed him in a situation of considerable stress (Domagalski 1999, 844).

Gross and Levenson (1997) talk about two studies in which participants were asked to suppress their emotions of sadness or disgust. This is possible as people are able to suppress their emotions so as to not allow others to see how they feel. The authors concluded, however, that this can be dysfunctional for the individual’s health and stress. Emotional events at work such as exclusion from a group, discrimination or tokenism have an immediate impact on an employee’s emotions. If the event interferes with the goals of the employee, the event may be deemed stressful. In such situations the employee experiences the need to maintain the appropriate appearance and hence regulates emotion. These findings are supportive of how work events
(such as discrimination, a rude remark, stereotyping) may create more emotional labour for immigrants and have a cumulative effect on stress and well-being.

This proposition may be explored by Mohit’s perception of display of emotion in the workplace:

‘When I believed that discrimination was taking place, I suffered from depression. My manager used to tell me that I should not “pollute” the environment and go home. There was a lot of emotional intensity. I could be triggered into reacting emotionally to stressful situations but decided to keep quiet’ – Mohit

The extract above shows how race matters in understanding the way in which emotion work is structured and performed in professional settings. Immigrants perform emotion management to contend with racialised workplace dynamics where their persona is routinely challenged. Knowing that the feeling rules of their organisations call for calmness and professionalism, they strive to bring their emotions into line with the expected feeling norms of their professions. They also do emotion work that allows them to maintain a sense of professionalism in the face of racialised perceptions of their native colleagues.

4.3.1.2 Perceived discrimination and anger/burnout

Emotion regulation can result in burnout. Immigrants may have to regulate their emotions frequently to meet the demands of their employing organisations. According to Gross (1998), the management of emotions by the use of acting can have detrimental outcomes for employees. In such cases, rather than adjusting the perception of the situation or the situation itself, employees manipulate their emotional reaction to the situation. As a result of this emotion management technique, employees have to work harder to mask the emotions which they are feeling, suppress their true feelings and show acceptable expressions (Grandey 1998). According to Hochschild (1983), jobs in which employees are required to readjust their emotional reactions to situations can have negative implications. Individuals who are required to constantly engage in altering their emotional labour for extended periods eventually experience burnout (Maslach and Pine 1977).
If we imagine this situation in a workplace scenario, a particular event may induce or cause an emotional response such as anger or sadness in an employee. A behaviour that can follow but which can be deemed as unacceptable can be crying, complaining or even making a physical attack. However, in a work environment, the display rules demand that emotional labour regulates the response, which can be deemed as inappropriate. The reason behind this is that individuals must inhibit or suppress feelings (Ekman and Friesan 1975). This ‘bottling up’ of emotions can tax the body over a period of time, resulting in physical illnesses such as high blood pressure and even cancer (Smith 1992). Emotional labour or regulation of emotions in the workplace on a continual basis may show the employee has goodwill towards the organisation, but may be detrimental to the employee’s health (Gross1998).

Mohit mentions a particular incident in which he was able to successfully negotiate a deal for building a water treatment plant. He was teased by a colleague who said to him: ‘How much bribe did you pay to get this deal?’ Mohit’s white colleague’s suggestion felt like an overtly racialised remark, undermining of his effort to cut a successful deal. Despite his irritation, Mohit was guided by his judgment that giving voice to his true feelings could have meant that he ‘might not be there long.’ Though he was angered by his colleague’s statement, he felt that if he showed his true feelings about his colleague’s racialised assumptions, he would do so at the risk of losing his job. Hence Mohit conformed to his sense of the emotional labour rule expected of him as a professional and hid his exasperation. Suppressing negative emotions can be detrimental and impact employee satisfaction and commitment. The negative outcomes of emotional labour are often emotional exhaustion and depression (Dormann and Zapf 2004).

What is challenging is that one key feeling rule in a professional work situation is that employees are expected to display a pleasant demeanour (Chase 1995). Even if workers are experiencing stress or aggravation, they are expected to display expressions of pleasantness and congeniality. However, is this possible to do given any exclusionary experience they encounter? Taken together, this shows that race matters in understanding how emotion work is structured and what types of emotion are acceptable and performed in professional settings.
4.3.1.3 Cultural difference/perceived vilification and the desire to quit

In Australia, relationships at work draw heavily on humour, making fun of one another and sharing jokes as well as interests. Immigrants often feel alienated in these respects. This may be due to mismatches in communication, language and culture which keep them from self-disclosure, and which ultimately affects the way in which they bond with their Australian colleagues (Pennebaker 1997). At the same time, it is also possible that Asian ethnic immigrants are considered to be the ‘out-group’ as they are most dissimilar in culture and appearance to the locals. This is justified by Wong’s research (2010, 198), wherein recruiters viewed ‘Asian Information and Communication Technology professionals as “them” and “they” and as people who would not fit into “our” way of life or enjoy our sense of humour’.

Lack of understanding may sometimes create misunderstandings between co-workers. Immigrants report that Australians like making jokes, but coming from a different culture and background, they don’t always understand the point of those jokes and feel they are ‘being made fun of’ (Weick 1995). According to Aguilera and Jackson (2003), immigrants from China, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka report feeling more comfortable with colleagues belonging to their own countries or culture. This may be exhibited in the form of ‘apathy’ towards native colleagues and avoidance of relationships. Immigrants with dissimilarities in language and culture often find themselves facing a huge challenge in building social capital in the workplace and hence undergo stress (Aguilera and Jackson 2003).

Research reveals that although Australians may be friendly as colleagues, they do not easily welcome an external person as a friend. They may not trust somebody who is unlike themself, has grown up in a different country and has a dissimilar culture and, hence, the major responsibility to be proactive becomes that of the immigrant (Putnam 2007). A majority of immigrants, especially ones from NESB countries, report that due to communication and language barriers as well as cultural divergence, they find it extremely hard to develop networks or socialise with their native colleagues (Adler and Kwon 2002).
Sunil, 36, who did his MBA in India, worked as an accounts payable officer in a government department, Health Support Services, in Sydney. At his workplace the managerial positions mostly comprised older white native Australian team leaders. According to Sunil:

‘I had to prove myself every day on the job. I left after one month and that one month will be forever embedded on my mind. It was very stressful. I was reprimanded for coming a minute late. My team leader made me sit next to her and stood behind me when I was working on the computer. She made me work as a data operator after a while, although I was qualified to do much more. I had a feeling that she did not like having me in her team’ – Sunil

His team leader would continuously shun him, telling him in many ways that she did not want him on her team. Sunil felt that he was not appreciated for the qualifications and work experience which he could bring to the job. He felt that he should have been given more responsibility. Consequently, he suffered from a sense of being under-valued, under-utilised and not being given the job responsibilities and duties he believed he deserved. He felt like an outsider and eventually decided to look for a new job. Routinely having to manage one’s emotions in the face of hostility, injustice and the perception of racism can lead to withdrawal behaviours in the workplace such as the intention to quit (Pasca and Wagner 2011).

The desire to quit has been on Vijay’s mind for quite some time. Vijay worked in corporate organisations since 1994 after graduating as an IT student in Melbourne. He has experienced separation between himself and the dominant culture at many companies he has worked in. He is now working in a large financial organisation in Sydney, and expressed concern about his chances for upward mobility:

‘I don’t think that I have enough appeal, if you may call it that. I do not think I can work through this company and it is very difficult for me to foresee a future. I feel glass barriers at every level. I have decided to look for different opportunities such as starting a business in mortgage broking’ – Vijay

Vijay is confident of his capabilities and questioned whether those assets have been appreciated and rewarded. When asked what has been his greatest frustration, he
responded: ‘It is unquestionably recognition and the inability to be accepted by the dominant group. In a recent work meeting my director introduced my team members by their full names and I was introduced as the IT technician. I felt it was very disrespectful.’ As a man of colour Vijay feels vulnerable to negatives perceptions and prejudice.

Due to heightened visibility, immigrants often find it difficult to adhere to and follow the feeling rules which are expected from professionals. Nina, whose excerpt appeared earlier, at the time of the interview in 2011 had just resigned from a predominantly white organisation which employed very few ethnic professionals. Her comments express the challenges she faced as a woman of colour in the organisation she had left:

‘I believe if you are an immigrant especially from a NESB country, then you face an added barrier or obstacle. You have to prove yourself over and over. You do the best you can, but you are constantly under a microscope’ – Nina

Nina expressed that she felt tired of being ignored and excluded although she disguised her feelings of anger and frustration. Hochschild (1983) states that emotional labour can lead to a worker’s alienation from his or her true feelings and hence can be problematic and dangerous. Researchers have found that employees who are a visible minority and experience social isolation as well as prejudicial treatment are at a higher risk of ultimately leaving the job (Deal and Kennedy 1982).

4.3.1.4 Surface acting and the struggle to maintain positive emotional labour

Immigrants’ failures and struggles in the job market have been well documented. It may seem that credentials and university qualifications can make skilled immigrants desirable in the job market; however, this may not always be the case. Harlow (2003) examined the experiences of minorities in the workplace and found that the emotional experiences they face are different to and more complex than those of their native White counterparts.

Neeta’s excerpt provides more insight into such an experience. Neeta has worked in an Australian government department, since 1999. She manages a team of about 50
Neeta and works at the Executive level. She finds her job very fulfilling. She has been very adaptive and tried to fill the ‘culture gap’:

‘I came without a mind block and I saw how others act and respond and learn. My experiences in India were very different. This was a challenge’ – Neeta

Neeta highlights the fact that the ‘surface acting’ or ‘wearing a constant mask’ enabled her to offer the required emotional display, although she adds:

‘Soon I had to seek assistance from my GP. It was very tough. It has been very stressful. Coming from the Indian culture especially as a female, I had to make a lot of adjustments. The ability to say no has always been an issue with me due to my cultural upbringing. To cope I have done courses like the “Art of Living” and keeping a journal has been a life saver, especially since the GP was ready to refer me to a psychologist. I have to make a conscious effort. People ridicule my techniques and consider it to be stupid and funny. Although I have reached this level in my career, my hard work is 200 times more than what a White Australian would have had to do. I had to demonstrate that I deserve this and I bring what you need to the role. I prove myself everyday … even now’ – Neeta

Neeta struggles to maintain the emotional labour norms expected of her position as a manager. In a way Neeta’s experience can be applied to any number of managers. Many professionals may struggle to constantly live up to a ‘certain’ image in the workplace. However, Neeta’s experience exposes the way this issue is specifically faced by a professional from an Indian background in an Australian workplace. There is the additional pressure to prove oneself. It can be postulated that there is a relationship between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion, especially when an individual is required to do ‘surface acting’, as in the case of Neeta. Surface acting denotes a modification in one’s outward emotional display to hide one’s true emotions. According to Hochschild (1983, 70):

‘the emotional labour required of professional workers may rest on a foundation of inherently racialised feeling rules, thus creating additional emotional labour for ethnic professionals as they struggle to bring their
emotions in line with the feeling rules (congeniality, pleasantness, no anger at any costs, and concealing feelings of frustration or dissatisfaction about race related issues) that apply to them.'

Taken together, the above examples illustrate some of the more informal and subtle forms of discrimination that contribute to negative emotional labour. It may not be necessarily racialised all the time, but the perceived discrimination is nevertheless a result of prejudice and a distrust of immigrants or outsiders. Whether actually experienced or simply perceived, the obstacles, barriers and difficulties as well as discrimination were real to the immigrant Indian professionals.

Several participants in this research felt that their mental health was affected due to their employment circumstances. Some of them also evaluated themselves as being over-qualified or over-experienced for their current job. Jones et al. (2009) believe that lower job satisfaction, stress and frustration ensues if workers are not matched with their skills, while challenging and interesting roles can be a very important source of job satisfaction. Drawing on a wide range of research on emotional and mental health, Erickson and Ritter (2001) claim that the management of anger, irritation and agitation is a form of emotional labour that is likely to be connected with augmented feelings of burnout and unauthenticity.

4.3.2 The importance of immigrant socialisation in the work place and its bearing on emotional labour

Research shows that employers see social interaction amongst all employees, irrespective of whether they are immigrant employees or locals, as important to the smooth functioning of the workplace (Hunter 2007). Holmes (2004) goes on to say that socialising amongst all employees leads to solidarity in relationships and is a very important factor in workplace participation. According to Burt (1998), social ties within organisations can actually facilitate career mobility. Closer workplace relations are associated with perceptions of increased employee productivity leading to lower stress and employee absenteeism.
The categories of discussion within this theme have been depicted in Figure 15 below.

**Figure 15: Sub-nodes of ‘the importance of immigrant socialisation in the workplace and its bearing on emotional labour’**

4.3.2.1 Inclusion and job satisfaction

What may often be perceived as minimal socialising often has an important function in the workplace. It shows solidarity in relationships and is vital to organisational participation (Holmes 2004). Perceptions of inclusion lead to higher positive outcomes such as lower turnover intentions and greater organisational commitment (Triana, Garcia and Colella 2010). If an organisation has social relations between and among employees of different races and ethnicities, it provides friendship and social support. On the other hand, exclusion from informal interaction in white dominated work settings can create major problems for immigrants (Cox 1993).

Rakesh, a project manager in one of Australia’s large banks, believes that social ties at work are not just sources of career progression but may also improve job fulfilment, feelings of belonging, trust and well-being in the workplace.
‘I have heard from people that you need to meet people and socialise to excel however I’m sitting there and not knowing what to talk about. I feel like I’m the odd one out. My firm belief is that we exclude ourselves. We are hesitant. I know that if I go and stand in a group where I do not know anybody I will be short of topics. I will go there; I will do my bit, say hello and walk off. They usually talk about games I have no idea about or some songs or some travelling they have done. I feel uncomfortable because I cannot contribute much to the discussion. I know this mixing is very important. It is useful; it may help you to come to know of further avenues. If you do not socialise, you may not get access to information which can fast track your career’ – Rakesh

Rakesh seems to suggest that to join a profession is like plunging into a community of people. The environment in which we live our professional lives can help to inspire, nurture and be a source of enjoyment or frustration and consequently shape our career expectations. It is a powerful indicator of who we are within an organisation and whether we are valued (Gersick, Connie and Dutton 2000). The potential outcomes of inclusion are job satisfaction, and enhanced job performance and organisational citizenship behaviour (Den Hartog, De Hoogh and Keegan, 2007). Social ties also require effort and nurturing. According to Ibarra and Deshpande (2007), networking at work can provide flows of information, socialisation, mentoring as well as resources.

Rakesh adds:

‘I remind myself I have to socialise. I do not have the knowledge to interact. I think it is crucial. I know this is going to affect my career. The informal discussions help to develop a bonding and make friends. I like working in this organisation because it quenches my thirst for knowledge. The major challenge that I face is my interaction is limited because I belong to another country. This is something I want to change. Sometimes I’m perceived as a snob. I feel that I am deprived of a number of opportunities because of my lack of knowledge of Australian culture. My interests are different and when I talk to people they cannot contribute. For Christmas parties for instance I don’t stay
more than twenty minutes. I meet people; I tick off the boxes and then I leave’ – 
Rakesh

Social interaction, whether it be at informal events or in work settings, is important as it can express solidarity in relationships (Holmes 2000; Mumby and Putnam 1992). Rakesh further observed that by ignoring the important social and interactive aspects of his work life, he may be creating problems for himself in the organisation:

‘Sometimes people think I’m rude. Once I attended a course in Kirribilli and during lunch one table had six people. When I sat at the table I realised that I was not familiar with anybody. I made a very bad move. I got up and I went to a different table. In the previous table there was one guy Paul who has done very well for himself and he didn’t like it. Now whenever I see him there is reluctance on his part. I say hello to him and I get a very reserved reply. I know that our paths are going to cross at some point in time. I know that there will be a time when I will need his guidance and I also know that he may be signing off on a position I wish to apply for. If that time comes I may lose out on an opportunity. So I create barriers if you like. We create hurdles for ourselves because of a lack of ability to embrace their values’ – Rakesh

Research reveals that networking is highly-correlated with future advancement and promotions (Brass 1984). Rakesh realises that establishing social and instrumental relations is positively related to advancement opportunities and regrets his self-created exclusion. Occupational stress can result from the nature of the relationships at work. Cooper (1978) contends that good relationships are central to organisational health. Individuals like Rakesh who believe they are different, or are perceived to be different, can be at a higher risk of displaying symptoms of distress and may experience social isolation and prejudicial treatment (Mortisugu and Sue 1983).

4.3.2.2 Disadvantages associated with lack of social capital

Undoubtedly (as stated in section 4.3.2.1), expansive networks can lead to the career progression of immigrants as well as integrate them into the social fabric of organisations. In the present business scenario, especially within the financial sector, jobs are insecure and there is a high turnover (ACELG 2013). Career moves are often
influenced by the number of contacts one has with people in positions of organisational power (Wittel 2001). In their study on faculty of colour entitled ‘Exploring Underrepresentation’, Turner, Myers and Creswell (1999) reveal that ethnic faculty often find themselves excluded from informal networks in universities. They reiterate that success often depends on associating with senior colleagues. However, without the benefits of such affiliation, the ethnic faculty struggle through the socialisation process alone.

Anand arrived in Australia 25 years ago and works as a chief architect in a bank. He talked about his difficulties in socialising:

‘To get to the high level you need to know the right people. We need to talk the same matters of interest to them, but very few Indians are able to do that. We don’t go out and talk rugby with them for example. We don’t like getting into the inner circles. People like it if we talk to them’ – Anand

Anand’s point is valid, because it reflects research done by Cooper (1978), which claims that poor relations and non-support, if experienced over prolonged periods of time, can result in job dissatisfaction. Newcomers from minority ethnic groups may need to work harder to set up their credibility and become part of the existing networks and relationships in organisations (Gao 2005). Anand correctly identifies that one avenue of establishing credibility is by displaying a level of commitment to assimilate in organisations. Anand provides further insight into his experiences:

‘The social aspect of the job does play a part, especially at the executive level. Immigrants from India often lack confidence. In the bank where I work, I am the chief architect, which is like the general manager and a high-level position. At that level there is a lot of politics. It’s not about what you know technically but it is more about relationships which matter. What matters is how good relationships you have with people. I lack that trait. In order to influence you have to make connections and I am unable to do it because of my Indian background. I’m not really happy with socialising’ – Anand

Anand’s comment shows that socialisation in the work place prevents insulation and isolation. He believes that establishing ties with the right others improves an
individual’s access to organisational influence and career mobility. Interestingly, all the respondents who expressed concern about their inability to form networks at work seemed to accept full responsibility for integrating into the Australian work environment. They spoke of ‘networking’, mixing with the natives and adjusting to life here. Anand was not comfortable with the idea of networking. Yet he was continuously reminded of the importance of networking by people around him, which eventually encouraged him to accept the idea and challenge himself to become comfortable with the notion.

In the workplace bonding may mean having a sense of inclusion and sharing a commonality with colleagues. Ruchi, a business analyst, notes that she is not fully integrated because she views her Indian culture to be very different to Australian culture:

‘I am unable to integrate with the Australian culture. I am unable to engage to the workplace because of this. I have started to feel aloof and realise that this is wrong. I am unable to concentrate on my work. I want to be a part of the organisation, otherwise I will miss opportunities to show my ideas and abilities to contribute more for the organisation’ – Ruchi

Ruchi feels demoralised because she can see local people share their new ideas because they are outspoken, whereas her timidity prevents her from doing so. She feels that she must become proactive or may not be able to add value to the organisation with her entrepreneurship and innovative ideas. Creating networks can be challenging for ethnic minorities because it is time consuming and also because of cultural differences. This may lead to a self-perception of being an ‘outsider’ (Deitz 2010).

Granovetter (1974) commented that in a job it’s not entirely about ‘what you know’, but also ‘who you know’. This provides access to important networks and employees sometimes can even tap resources like knowing about an unadvertised job. Lack of social capital in the workplace can put immigrants at a disadvantage (Salaff, Greve, Ping and Xu 2002). Aydemir and Skuterud (2008) were surprised to find that, although a number of immigrants had higher levels of education and more work
experience than their Canadian born counterparts, they made less money than them. This finding is consistent with Mirchandani’s (2004) finding that, despite having more experience and better skills, skilled immigrants experience wage inequality. This can be attributed to the inability to build a social network. Lack of information pertaining to career moves as well a lack of resources appear to be additional difficulties that a number of skilled immigrants face (Yakushko et al. 2008).

Sarita arrived in Australia in 2006 and since then has worked as an auditor in a government organisation. During that long tenure, she has faced both opportunities and barriers to advancement. She described the early years of her appointment:

‘In my present organisation, although I am a minority, I feel that once they recognise your potential, they value you. I am appreciated for my hard work; however I am not included in conversations other than work-related conversations. I am not invited, nor do I invite anybody to parties outside work. It’s hard to explain, but I feel alone and still have people around me. It is devastating and I don’t want to feel this way’ – Sarita

Sarita has learned how to control her emotions in order to function in her position and do well. ‘I had to make myself understand that I will not internalise my hurt. So I had to step back. As a person of colour there is exclusion, but you decide what you will ignore and what you will pay attention to.’

4.3.2.3 Outcomes of inclusion

Social support at work (for example, from co-workers, supervisors and managers) is very significant for emotional comfort. It plays a very significant role in the acculturation and adjustment of immigrants. Those immigrants who get more support from co-workers and management adjust better to their work environment and are more likely to feel satisfied with their jobs (Wang and Sangalang 2005).

Education and credentials do not always explain economic success in the labour market. Sociologists have long recognised that getting good jobs is not just ‘what you know’, but also ‘who you know’ (Granovetter 1974). The ‘who you know’ is important as it provides access to networks and can tap into resources like an
unadvertised job. A study in Los Angeles found that through personal contacts many Asians were able to get mainstream jobs (Sanders, Nee and Sernau 2002). Networks and social ties are important to immigrants. Those who do not have good ties in organisations may find it harder to rise up the career ladder. Furthermore, these ties can equip them with cultural know-how in their adaptation process (Salaff et al. 2002).

Issues related to race and class were examined by Rothenberg (1992), who described how race and class, and also nationality, can ensure inequality and skin colour can provoke immediate rejection. She proposed racism as prejudice plus also having the power to subordinate people of colour, consciously or unconsciously. Allport (1954) described how racism can lead to avoidance and distancing. This cycle is proven historically and results in the separation and exclusion of people from groups as a solution to avoiding conflicts that can arise from differences. This lack of support and inclusion assists and hinders their advancement (Wentling 1995). To the respondents in this study, the notion of stereotyping and resultant exclusion seemed to place them in a vulnerable situation in their organisations.

Bonding is very important from the social capital point of view. To be integrated, there must be ‘collective relations’ amongst the group members (Adler and Kwon 2002). When there is internal cohesiveness, the pursuit of goals leads to achievement. At work, this social capital exists when colleagues are able to trust one another and pursue collective goal (Leana and Van Buren 1999).

Sharing of interest with mates in the workplace is crucial for bonding amongst colleagues. When there is a loving and caring relationship as well as valued suggestions and feedback from colleagues in solving problems, it leads to a sense of belongingness (Zhang et al. 2011). Bonding at work promotes cross-cultural understanding, helps break down racialised barriers and closes the gap between co-workers (Aguilera and Massey 2003). For this to happen, it is vital to have information sharing, work-related communication and social exchange between work mates (Newell, Tansley and Huang 2004).
Song and Lin (2009) support this position by stating that establishing networks in the workplace helps in providing information to the employees about vacancies and training opportunities that might arise. They also contend that being associated with a powerful member can actually help them land a better role as well as develop quickly in their careers. Of course, social networks also help in the well-being of employees. However, to understand whether the issue of fitting into a dominant workplace culture is directly applicable to race, the next section discusses whether employees are being asked either directly or in a subtle way to shape aspects of their identity, whether it be appearance, accent or even name.

4.3.3 The emotional struggle – assimilate or give up one’s identity in the dominant workplace

The central normative question arising out of the literature review and specifically the framework developed by Shore et al. (2011) as explained in Section 2.2, is whether immigrants give up some aspect of their identity – for example language or dressing style – in order to fit into mainstream Australian society and its institutions. ‘Assimilation means being absorbed into the cultural tradition of the dominant society and consequently losing one’s historical identity’ (Garcia and Van Soest 2006, 14).

Figure 16 in the following page illustrates the sub-node of ‘the emotional struggle: assimilate or give up one’s identity in the dominant workplace’.
4.3.3.1 Transforming to change and its outcome

Parul, who works as the Regional Manager of a Construction and Development Conglomerate and has won several awards in her professional career in Australia, has this to say about her adaptation to Australian society and work culture:

‘I have closely studied the Australian work culture, mannerisms and way of thinking. This has helped me along with the fact that my partner is an Australian. He tells me what works and what doesn’t in Australian society. I have morphed under his guidance. He told me how to correct my speech, accent, dressing style and here I am now: a part of Australian culture and society. Either don’t make the choice to leave India, and if you do, you should try and become a part of where you are. You cannot complain about the differences all the time, it does not work that way’ – Parul

Parul arrived as a student in 1998. She has had sufficient time and resources to build connections in Australia. She is familiar with the cultural ways of mainstream Australian society and has adopted the attitudes and preferences of employers. She has been successful in communicating an identity that helps her in minimising social
boundaries, at the same time increasing her opportunities and success in labour market integration. In keeping with this, a study done by Fritz (2013) on twenty male and female Latino immigrants to the US shows that Latinos who have a strong connection to White American culture report less stress and anxiety and feel more comfortable in the workplace. Ronaldo, a Columbian made this comment:

‘You can keep thinking in your culture or absorb the new one. A lot of people live here, but they wish and they want to live in their country. Their mind is there and there body is here, so they are not happy, never will, because they have one for here and one for their own country’ (Fritz 2013, 51).

It is not difficult to see how social capital and networking is important to immigrants, especially to get affirmation from their work colleagues as they try to enter social networks in the workplace. Anand who works as a senior Architect in a Bank commented on his interest in cultural adjustment:

‘Indians who have joined the organisation where I work, including me, are not very outgoing. That’s where our culture is different. We tend to be reserved and can converse with the local Australians on only a few topics. Sometimes I feel I am too quiet for the conversation with my colleagues at work. I have made attempts to try and understand rugby so that I can join in conversations with Australians. You have to assimilate if you are an immigrant and also socialise and network at work. There are opportunities, but you need to grab them. I try to get noticed, so that people realise I am confident and capable. I constantly have to prove myself’ – Anand

To avoid stigmatisation, limited career advancement and isolation at work, members of racial minorities often try not to reveal and make obvious their difference or ‘otherness’ in an organisational setting. In a workplace, ‘being different’ can suppress career advancement and interfere with relationship building, which are critical for networking (Link and Phelan 2001). Visibility can be viewed as a key dimension of stigma (Crocker, Major and Steele 1998, 510). As discussed previously in section 2.2 of Chapter 2, Barbara Flagg (2008) illustrates the story of Keisha Akbar, a female African-American scientist who was not promoted because her
employers saw Keisha as just too different from the researchers she would supervise to be able to communicate effectively with them (Flagg 2008).

In the likelihood of acceptance, persons of colour and their native colleagues communicate openly and respectfully and make efforts to blur the distinctions between one another. Participants noted with gratitude those instances when this happened. Being excluded from the social environment at work is something which Gopal has not had to contend with. He said:

‘I am a Manager in a Financial Accounting Firm. People say that I don’t have an Indian accent. They also tell me that I do not behave like an Indian. I am proud that I don’t have a funny accent. My colleague told me that I do not shake my head like Indians generally do. I have always been praised in the office and I don’t have to prove myself all the time. I am quite fair and people at my workplace are surprised to know that I am an Indian, as they tend to believe that all Indians are dark skinned. As I was brought up in Delhi and studied in a Catholic English medium school. My English is very fluent. Coming from that environment has contributed to my acceptance here. I often go for coffee and lunch with my colleagues. I have never felt discriminated. I think that Indians who have a strong Indian accent suffer in workplaces in Australia and people find it difficult to communicate with them. I like Australian food. I cannot eat spicy food anymore’ – Gopal

Some immigrants experience the workplace as a source of humiliation and exclusion, while others like Gopal experience it as a source of personal confirmation and inclusion. It would be worth mentioning here that since Gopal developed traits and a style of speaking similar to the mainstream Australian Anglo-Celtic culture he did not perceive ‘inclusion’ or adjustment problems. Stephenson and Lewin (1996) conclude that there appears to be a ‘human preference for the familiar’. Young (2000) states that this may even emerge as ‘loathing’ of the ‘other’ and the desire to ‘expel’ those who are different. However, Gopal’s testimony exhibits a second process of subtle discrimination. This involves incidents in which ethnic minority professionals, who forego their ethnic identity to assimilate into the mainstream culture, are legitimised as individuals, whereas the entire cohort of individuals of
foreign descent is marginalised (Van Laer and Janssens 2011). As in Gopal and Parul’s cases, the individual is given a higher status by their co-workers because of their assumed exceptionality, but the cohort to which they actually belong is ostracised. Gopal and Parul are identified as ‘positive exceptions’ although, in doing so, their colleagues view other individuals of foreign descent negatively. Gopal for example, is told that he does not ‘behave’ like an Indian, does not have an ‘accent’ and does not ‘shake’ his head like other Indians do. Therefore, the marginalisation of the group is quite open. Here the ethnic minority professionals, who meet with ‘approval’ from the native majority, are classified as a sub-type (Fiske 1998). As opposed to the traditional process of blatant discrimination, this is different and subtle.

According to Ruff (2005), human rights and anti-discrimination legislation in Australia acknowledges that those who are different to the dominant work group, especially immigrants, are more likely to experience discrimination and exclusion. Acceptance creates a sense of connection and thereby prevents or lessens isolation, which often takes place if an individual is perceived as ‘different’ or ‘individuated’ (Pickett, Silver and Brewer 2002).

In section 2.2, Shore et al.’s (2011) Inclusion Framework displays the assimilation cell, which reflects situations in which an individual whose unique characteristic is readily apparent (such as race) chooses to downplay the manner in which they differ from the dominant work group. Likewise, although organisations increasingly consider employees who are unique or different as a form of human capital, may not treat them as organisational insiders (Lepak and Snell 1999). Ely and Thomas’s (2001) study on racially diverse work groups, pointed out that organisations which showcase diversity as a way of reaching particular markets, may not value ‘diverse’ members or minorities as part of the larger organisational culture and may subject them to isolation in the workplace. Sometimes such unique people are not made permanent employees.

From Ruchi’s narration in the following page, it is clear that reducing dissimilarity with others at work has been something she has constantly worked at.
‘When I came to Australia, my English was not that good. I work hard at adopting the Australian style of talking and practice fluency in English. I try not to behave conservatively like most Indians do. I try to think like an Aussie would. It matters … how one behaves. I also dress up to underplay my ethnic identity. I think one must blend oneself according to the country they are in. If not, you will not get far. One should be willing to change to adapt to the community you are now a part of’ – Ruchi

Ruchi has tried her best to act in a way that meets the expectations of the audience. This attitude is supported by studies which show that management usually favour employees who fit into the culture of the country and thereby the norms of the workplace. Accent, skin colour and dress are often signs of comparison. As they can be manipulated and controlled to a certain extent, it is often expected of immigrants that they conform and change these aspects to reflect the dominant culture of the country. Maintaining an ethnic identifiable identity can often result in social exclusion at work (Kanter 1977). This does border on ethnocentricism, or the belief that the dominant group’s values are better than those of ethnic minorities (Reitz and Sklar 1997).

It is may be that people who hold on to their ethnic identities create more social distance and isolate themselves from the mainstream, as well as hindering their success on the job. According to Bilbow (1997), any immigrant appearing to be ‘more’ different visually will find it difficult to minimise social boundaries and will feel cut off from the mainstream in their jobs. Nina has experienced the pressure to assimilate and conform to the rules of the dominant culture. She has often found herself adopting a cautious stance by repressing her full identity.

She expressed this with the following comment:

‘As a person of colour I feel isolated. Maintaining a high self-esteem requires a lot of work. It’s really hard getting people to accept me for me, instead of judging me based on my skin colour. If a White person is in a group, she/he wouldn’t have to process what is happening, why it’s happening and how we
are supposed to react to it ... then you begin to wonder about how unfair it is and such a waste of energy’ – Nina

Clothing in the workplace, for instance, can be seen as a tool for immigrants to display their desire to integrate into the dominant corporate and social structure. It is often observed that immigrants arrive with a suitcase full of clothing that is very different in style than that worn in the destination country, and this puts them into the category of ‘foreigners’ (Montagliani and Giacalone 1998).

In order to minimise the stigma of ‘otherness’, Ruchi tries to adopt behaviours that are positively viewed in Australia and create a good impression:

‘I have learnt how to dress like the natives. Indians, especially those who have just arrived do not dress appropriately. I believe you must blend into the culture, to get ahead in your career. I try to portray myself in a way that matches the expectations of my workplace’ – Ruchi

Immigrants face extra costs when they decide to move to another country, lodging and transportation, for example, as well as foregone earnings. Whether they face other psychological and physical costs in the process of assimilation and integration is a focus of discussion in section 4.3.4 below.

4.3.4 The costs associated with exclusion after inclusion

Inequities based on racialised and ethnic differences continue to exist, despite legislation. An organisation which has a ‘culture of inclusion’ allows its employees to work to their highest potential and achieve organisational objectives together (Pless and Maak 2004).

This section deals with the nodes detailing ‘the costs associated with exclusion after inclusion’ as shown in Figure 17 in the following page.
4.3.4.1 Emotional distress, sadness and feeling of worthlessness

When we talk about a culture of inclusion we think about organisational environment that allows people with multiple backgrounds, mindsets and ways of thinking to work effectively together and to perform to their highest potential in order to achieve organisational objectives based on sound principles.

‘Employment at the workplace is not necessarily congruent with the kind of social participation one normally associates with social integration. The job is not enough! If the work place is multicultural, this does not automatically mean that the workplace is a multicultural fellowship’ (Borchgrevink 1996, 53).

Minorities are usually expected to assimilate into a dominant work culture. Often, they experience barriers in advancement and not ‘being heard’ (Thomas and Gabarro 1999). Smith and Welch (1989) found that in upper management, immigrants and other minorities are often not represented or occupy positions which do not match their qualification.

In their study entitled ‘Exploring Underrepresentation’, Turner, Myers and Creswell (1999) focused on inequities for immigrant professors in higher education. This
study was conducted in the US on faculty members who were people of colour, identified as African American, Asian Pacific American, Native American, and Latino. Interviews were held and responses were tape-recorded and analysed using NUDIST software. The results revealed the prevalence of an ethnic bias and a feeling of exclusion after inclusion. This applied to high level academics as well. Respondents acknowledged that they felt a greater burden compared to their white colleagues and at times felt isolated. Covert and overt forms of racialised bias existed and over half of the interviewees reported being bypassed for promotion or advised to apply for a job somewhere else.

One of the immigrant Indian professionals interviewed for this research, Karan, an Accounting and Compliance Manager speaks of experiences which are reflective of the study mentioned above:

‘Once I deserved a promotion but did not get it. There were two of us who applied for the same job. I think the reason the Finance Controller chose my colleague was that they have the same background. Both of them are native White Australians. They have a lot in common. Both of them like football. Both of them like beer. I think I didn’t get the job because I am different. I cannot be a friend with the Finance Controller. I think the first generation Indians who immigrate will not be able to reach the highest position in an organisation.

Once, one of my colleagues who conducts interviews did not understand the name of the applicant because it was an Indian name he had never heard of. He said loudly that I don’t know where this applicant is from and therefore I don’t know whether he will fit into our organisation and I will not call him for the interview.

When you come to a new country you have to start and establish a new identity. We are professionals. Yes we have to work harder and one shouldn’t feel bad about it. We are lucky that we have had a chance to establish ourselves in Australia. A few months back I had a major problem with my new boss. He is from the UK. He tried to humiliate me. I complained about him to the Human Resource Department. He thought that as an Indian I would accept what he
said and remain quiet. He did not know that I would complain against him and bring him to justice. This has happened to me twice with two bosses. They are shocked when they see me react. Sometimes I feel really stressed’ – Karan

Karan’s experiences were of subtle yet persistent racism in the workplace. Analysis of his experience is indicative of the fact that Indian immigrants can face under-representation at work. His testimonial is well aligned with Turner, Myers and Creswell (1999) study which reveals that faculty of colour in the US often face stereotyping and negative treatment as well as a lack of representation in administrative positions. Asian Americans and other racial/ethnic groups are therefore subjected to a very difficult work environment. As one faculty member in their study remarks:

‘The role of the university is not to make you comfortable as an Indian; the role is to strip the Indian away from you’ (Turner, Myers and Creswell 1999, 44).

4.3.4.2 Acculturative stress

Several studies have been conducted to show the effects of discrimination against minorities in the workplace, including emotional distress, sadness and feelings of worthlessness, helplessness and powerlessness. Job satisfaction is reduced as a result of perceived discrimination in the workplace (Kirby and Jackson 1998). Willie (1989) has stated that:

‘the people who most severely experience the pain of dislocation due to the changing times are the racialised minorities who are talented and educated and integrated, not those who are impoverished and isolated’ (Willie 1989, 2).

This appears to be exactly what Sunil meant when he said:

‘I have done my MBA and I work in a government organisation as an accountant. I have 2 years’ work experience in a Logistics company in India. I am more experienced in SAP services and Oracle than my team leader, who is a slightly old native Australian. She has her set ways of working and is not at all flexible with me. She stresses me out and if I reach [the office] even a
minute late, she would get very upset. Oracle is new to the department and despite that people do not like asking me for help. I was not given the opportunity to work on it. I feel that my team leader is racist. After arriving to Australia, I have experiences with Natives who demean. My team leader did not work hard and mostly drank an array of tea throughout the day. I know I would not get support from HR if I reported discrimination. I feel like going back to India’ – Sunil

In keeping with the above extract, Wagner and Childs (2006) state that, in Australia, skilled immigrants often have to make a range of cross-cultural adjustments as their backgrounds are quite dissimilar to Australia’s Anglo-Celtic culture. Australian speech in itself may contain ‘powerful dialogues of exclusion’. The thinking is that immigrants are fortunate to be living in ‘the lucky country’ and should therefore be grateful regardless of the reality of their circumstances (Wagner and Childs 2006, 60). Employees who are in a minority because of their personal characteristics undergo anxiety, poor health status and even psychological distress because they are treated unfairly on a day-to-day basis in organisations (Barnes, León, Lewis, Bienias, Wilson and Evans 2008). Bhui, Stansfeld, McKenzie, Karlsen, Nazroo and Weich (2005) further state that workplace discrimination can even lead to depression.

Abdul’s account is another example of ‘acculturative stress’ caused by moving to another country:

‘I have been in Australia since 2007. I am a commerce graduate and a diploma holder in computer science and work as an Information Systems manager. The biggest challenge I face is the language barrier. My Australian manager uses a lot of Australian slangs while speaking and I don’t seem to understand them. I feel I need to learn about their history and culture in order to develop a connection with them at work. When I arrived here I spent a number of sleepless nights thinking that it will be tough for me to survive in the country if I am unable to understand the local culture or language. I think I will always be treated different because I immigrated from another country’ – Abdul
Even though many immigrants do have positive experiences it is very likely that they will face ‘acculturative stress’. Immigrants are vulnerable because they face language difficulties, disconnection from family and friends, discrimination at work and sometimes a job far below their qualifications. As a consequence they are not always able to succeed at work (Hovey and Magana 2000).

Gaurav who is aged 55 came to Australia to settle with his son. He provides this insight:

‘I work as an Auditor in a government department. I guess it will take decades to change the attitude of Australians towards Indian immigrants. I find very few Indians in middle and senior level management positions in my department. People who arrive from developing countries are often made to do manual or lower level work across Australia. I believe the feeling here is that if you employ hard working people, they may destroy the work life balance. In my department there seems to be an assumption that immigrants will do whatever work you give them. I feel this is sophisticated slavery. There is discrimination also in terms of networking’ – Gaurav

Gaurav’s account is another example of the perceptions that racially and ethnically diverse people have about their workplace arenas. Partaking in work which is appropriate and suited to one’s qualifications is directly linked with having a healthy mind and body. It offers a basis for assimilation as well as a feeling of fulfilment and economic independence (Pottie, Spitzer, Mohammed and Glazier 2008). Deskilling or discrimination can cause feelings of frustration and bitterness as well as depression or loss of sleep (Simich, Hayley and Khamisa 2006).

Neeta who holds a PhD from India and works as a Manager in a Government Department has experienced this form of stress induced by discrimination:

‘I had a problem with my boss who is a native of Australia. It stressed me out. I sometimes felt that she considered me ignorant and stupid. I felt she constantly undermined me. This used to affect me. I taught myself various techniques. I did a course on the Art of Living. I read a lot. I have a notebook by my bedside. I write down my thoughts. It has been a life saver whenever I am stressed out. I
was about to be referred to a psychologist. Being able to write down my thoughts on a piece of paper helped. This made the experience more objective. It has been a miracle and I love doing it’ – Neeta

In a qualitative study done by Siar (2012) on Filipino doctors, academics, scientists and executives immigrating to New Zealand and Australia, it was revealed that although they welcomed the economic security provided by these countries, their main motivation to immigrate was advancement in their career and profession, better quality of life, and better opportunities for the children and their education. A more diverse study of professionals working in the fields of finance, medicine and IT conducted by the Department of Trade and Industry in the UK established that immigrants from US, Australia/Canada, New Zealand, Far East, Japan, Malaysia, China, Singapore, Korea, India/Pakistan, Eastern Europe, and South Africa immigrated in the hope of gaining experience, exposure and to develop their careers (DTI-UK 2002). These studies clearly show that while wages are an important factor affecting the decision of highly-skilled people to move abroad, it is not always the most important factor. Therefore, immigrants facing problems in career advancement due to injustices in the workplace may think about leaving the organisation or suffer health problems and take a lot of sick leave (Alexis and Vydelingum 2004; Giga, Hoel and Lewis 2008). Sam, who works as an officer in a large organisation, offers an insight into such a struggle:

‘My qualifications were assessed when I immigrated here. The first hurdle which you come across is whether you have any local experience or not. It is understood that someone who has just arrived cannot have local experience. I came across this problem and therefore I had to do contracting initially. I contracted for two years. I arrived in Australia in 1993. For the next five years I worked in a small company. What I found was big companies were not very keen on giving me a break because I did not have local experience. They don’t want to take a risk. After that I joined a bigger company than the previous one which was much more established. I worked for that company for about seven years. However that company was sold eventually. That’s when I personally started thinking if this happened again in another five or seven years it would
be difficult. I was worried that I was getting older and did not have a stable job. I even thought of going back to India’ – Sam

Highly-skilled immigrants to Australia or New Zealand bring with them their institutionalised cultural capital (educational degree and training). Therefore, it is naturally assumed that countries which prefer skilled immigrant professionals would be able to provide ample job opportunities on an equal footing to natives, irrespective of race and ethnicity (Becker 1993). Bauder (2003) explains that despite this there is often devaluing of the cultural capital of immigrants. Medicine, law and teaching, for instance, often require immigrants to undergo training or sit an exam before they can be deemed to be suitable to work in one of those fields (Selvarajah 2004). This automatically puts the native workers in an ‘upper status’. Meena, who arrived in Australia in 2009 and who is an engineer by profession, has decided to complete an Australian degree in the hope of enhancing her credentials and finding a permanent job. She states:

‘I have done BTech from India and was working as a SAP Consultant in IBM, when I arrived in Australia. I got hired as a contractor in another multinational in Australia. However I decided to do a MBA from Australia and thereafter seek a permanent position. This degree will give me a better chance in the job market’ – Meena

Hawthorne (2001) conducted a study of 719 overseas-qualified registered nurses (93% females) who had settled in Australia between 1980 and 1996. She found that non-Commonwealth Asians were 70% less likely to be given a position of responsibility when compared to nurses from English-speaking countries. This means that immigrants might feel discriminated against because of their position or job opportunities. Even though discrimination or adverse treatment that happens to immigrants may be unconscious or perceived, the feeling of discrimination persists and exercises an influence on their workplace integration.

Professionals are able to perform analytical, conceptual, creative and intellectually challenging tasks by the application of theoretical knowledge and skills in a particular field. A diverse workforce can bring competitive advantages by utilising
the different experiences, resources, networks, attitudes, ideas and skills which they bring to organisations (Van De Ven, Rogers, Bechara and Sun 2008).

First generation professional immigrants encounter many adaptation difficulties arising out of cultural and social differences after entering the Australian workplace (Birrell and Healey 2008). This is disheartening as immigrant employees bring the expertise of their home countries which benefit Australian companies in global competition (Wang and Sangalang 2005). If immigrants are well acculturated into their work places, they will experience less physiological stress, family conflicts and have better life satisfaction. This then heavily influences their productivity and quality of work life (Stone 2008). Ignoring these problems can have an impact on stress, leading to low productivity and low satisfaction.

Deskilling, discrimination, hurdles to career advancement or xenophobia at work are undoubtedly harmful practices. They not only burden immigrants with stress but are also detrimental to the destination countries. Unemployment, under-employment, negative attitudes in the workplace and rejection of skilled immigrants can have profound impacts on the lives of immigrants. Finally, while the benefits of having skilled immigrants are many, it must be acknowledged that other countries are always out there to lure foreign talent and many are relaxing their immigration policies (Siar 2013).

### 4.4 Chapter summary

The primary objective of the qualitative analysis conducted for this study was to gather greater insight into and develop further understanding of the immigrant Indian professional’s perceived experiences of exclusion after inclusion and its effect on their emotional labour in the workplace. To facilitate this qualitative analysis, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty immigrant professionals from India. This chapter has provided a comprehensive discussion on the primary research question: Are immigrant Indian professionals vulnerable to prejudice and discrimination as well as exclusion after inclusion in Australian organisations and
does this inform the performance of their emotion work? The various sub-questions have also been addressed in detail.

The findings suggest that many skilled and professional immigrants struggle to get an appropriate job which matches their qualifications and their past work experience. Immigrants hoping to work in their chosen profession are often stymied due to lack of recognition of their overseas qualifications and the ‘red-tapism’ of the system. Despite the fact that overseas teachers bring with them years of training and experience, research as well as the respondents interviewed revealed that there is no centralised body for assessing foreign qualifications and, for example, often highly-qualified teachers are not allowed to teach in Australia. Immigrants are then forced to work in jobs far below their qualifications and to attend bridging courses or undertake a full degree to be able to teach again.

All of the participants perceived a greater number of barriers rather than advantages in career advancement. Interestingly, some of the participants emphasised the value of networking in order to gain ‘support from the right people’. They also observed that shared similarities with the dominant group of natives led to attraction and acceptance, which paved the way to career advancement opportunities. Most of the sample expressed feeling like outsiders because of their dissimilar backgrounds and interests.

Participants reflected on the importance of the communication skills they believed to be essential in the process of building rapport with professional contacts. Communication in terms of interpersonal skills holds great credence in the Australian workplace and, although immigrants acknowledge this fact, some face considerable trouble in adapting to the communication pattern and how it should be deployed by them. Because of language and communication issues, immigrants cannot involve themselves in the workplace and this impacts their motivation to work. As a result they are unable to build bonds with colleagues at work.

Other stories reveal that employment opportunities as well as the career progression of immigrant professionals were often hampered by employers strongly influenced by local qualifications or work experience. Although all immigrant Indian
professionals involved in this study are highly-educated, the tendency in Australia to undervalue their foreign qualifications results in disadvantages for them in workplace integration. Appropriate employment can be considered as a requirement to support the settlement of immigrants; however, there are strong barriers to employment creating systematic disadvantages to immigrants in the labour market.

The findings also show that perceived discrimination is a psychological stressor for immigrants. Evidence brought forward suggested that when skilled and qualified immigrants have a feeling of exclusion, they feel stressed and under-valued. At work, where people spend a large part of their time, race-based exclusion or discrimination can reduce commitment, morale and satisfaction. It was also deemed important to assess whether employees of colour feel comfortable enough to socialise in the workplace. Having networks at work often provides opportunities for career advancement as well as promotion. It was revealed that they often feel cultural discomfort when they differ from the majority of their co-workers both culturally and racially. Research shows that exclusion can often be self-constructed by immigrants due to the fear of being mocked or disrespected due to accent or skin tone. For some immigrants, their cultural identity creates hurdles to building social structures and they miss out on knowing someone who may advance them in their career prospects within the organisation.

In the present business scenario, career moves are often influenced by the number of contacts an individual has with people in power and a number of participants established that having ties with the right people improves access to organisational influence. However, whether the immigrants have to give up aspects of their identity to fit into the mainstream and be accepted is worth investigating. The respondents who felt comfortable in their workplaces were those who tried not to disclose and make obvious their differences. Therefore, it can be concluded that immigrants who do not meet the cultural guidelines and who stand out are more often than not likely to be excluded from promotional opportunities and mobility.

Chapter 5 which follows draws together the results of the qualitative analysis and its findings and discusses them in terms of the research questions and literature.
PART IV: SYNTHESIS AND FINDINGS
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study has examined the experiences of perceived discrimination, exclusion after inclusion and prejudice faced by immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations. It focused on the challenges of emotional labour caused as a result of the often stressful experiences and devaluation faced by these immigrants. To my knowledge, very few studies have discussed the experiences of immigrant professionals from India in Australian workplaces, particularly in relation to the phenomenon of exclusion after inclusion and its impact on emotional labour.

The objective of this chapter is to summarise and recap the investigations of this study regarding the experiences and challenges of immigrant Indian professional workers in relation to the research questions. The second objective of this chapter is to discuss the contributions and limitations of the research and its final objective is to suggest possible areas of future research.

This final chapter of the research has 7 sections. The second section provides the background to the research. The third section summarises the research findings in relation to the research questions. The fourth section details the theoretical and practical implications of the research. In the fifth section, the limitations are discussed. The sixth section presents the scope for future research and section 5.7 concludes the thesis.

5.2 Research background

To a very great extent, Australia relies largely on skilled immigrants from overseas. To address the consequences of its aging population and low natural birth rate, Australia has increased its immigrant intake. The total immigration policy outcome
for 2012-2013 was 190,000 places for which the major source countries were India, China and the United Kingdom. For the smooth running of economic activities, by filling shortages of skilled people, immigration in Australia is an integral part of its public policy (DIAC 2013).

As the need for skilled immigrants has been strongly expressed by key industry sectors in Australia, it would not be incorrect to say that immigrants are an important part of a growing number of labour markets and their successful inclusion and integration is crucial to the success of those sectors. This study therefore has explored aspects of the integration of immigrant Indian professionals after their inclusion in Australia and in the workplace. Understanding the integration of immigrants is important, especially in the workplace context, because poor workplace integration causes a negative impact on emotional labour. It can result in frustration, lower job output, stress, poor morale and aggravation (Mirchandani 2003). This study will allow better recognition and understanding of the dynamics of the Indian Diaspora in Australia and the dynamics of their inclusion in Australian organisations. Needless to say, this in turn impacts the economic, humanitarian and environmental objectives of Australian immigration policy.

To fulfil the aims of the research, this study adopted a qualitative research method of data collection. The research inquiry used semi-structured personal interviews to gather data on the experiences of twenty immigrant Indian professionals.

### 5.3 Findings of research in relation to research questions

This section summarises the findings of qualitative data presented and discussed in Chapter 4.

#### 5.3.1 Critique of immigrant Indian professionals experiences with exclusion after inclusion in Australia

This sub-section will comment on the results of the research into immigrant Indian professionals’ experiences which documented the unique challenges and struggles faced by them in a new setting. The literature review in Chapter 2 reminds us that
issues related to systemic discrimination and the devaluation of skilled immigrants are commonplace in countries like the US, Canada or Australia. Lamontagne (2003) remarks that the skilled immigrant, based on his or her expertise and credentials, are lured by promises of a good life and job to many western countries, but upon arrival face sometimes insurmountable barriers. A key finding is that the interview participants also experienced barriers preventing them from obtaining effective employment in their occupation of expertise due to the discretion of regulatory bodies, lack of local Australian experience and to perceived language barriers. The result is a large cohort of highly-educated and experienced immigrant professionals who are unemployed or underemployed in Australia.

Although some of the participants brought with them a great deal of human capital (in terms of experience and education), they did not attain a position commensurate with their qualifications. Such occupational degradation led to bitterness and a feeling of intense dissatisfaction. It was revealed that this can be caused by organisations favouring individuals with Australian educations, the non-recognition of foreign credentials or even the lack of proper assessment of foreign credentials prior to immigration, and accreditation procedures blatantly favouring Australian degrees, as in the cases of Mary and Sunil (section 4.2.1.3). Tough and sometimes unfair bureaucratic rules and regulations continue to exclude qualified immigrant professionals in Australian organisations as claimed by Clark, Stewart and Clark (2006). Non-recognition of qualifications and underemployment may be a form of race-based discrimination, and can result in inequalities in job allocation or performance appraisal, remuneration, promotion or even tokenistic inclusion (Berman 2008).

Problems can also arise in regard to language skills. The differences in accent, fluency and dialect can create problems for immigrant employees. As Karan, Sam and Abdul explain in section 4.2.2.1, irrespective of being highly educated, they have problems in presenting themselves and experience inferiority because they have an accent or speak ‘Indian English’. Accent is considered to be an obstacle for integration of immigrants in the labour market of Australia (Hosoda and Stone-Romero 2010). Stereotypical attitudes are often activated because someone speaks
with a foreign accent and may devalue the skills and talents of the minority employees in an organisation.

There are also mismatches between the requirements of Australian organisations and the education and experience of skilled immigrants. Australian employers may underrate an immigrant’s foreign qualifications and capabilities, because of insufficient familiarity with their education system or working experiences in their home country. In section 4.2.1.2 Sunil explains his frustration with such a barrier. Like many others, Sunil faced hurdles in moving into an occupation of his choice due to undervaluing of his Indian accounting degree. This sort of undervaluation results in disadvantages for the immigrants such as reduced marketability in the Australian workforce.

The culture of immigrants is another noteworthy issue. Studies show that employers prefer recruiting people who are like themselves culturally (Kanter 1977). In section 4.2.1.4, Nitin talks about the barriers faced by him due to his cultural difference, which inhibit his ability to network and socialise in the workplace. He feels ‘less accepted’ in his organisation, isolated and finds it difficult to engage with co-workers outside any work-related issue. Because they frequently do not share common characteristics with the native majority in organisations, ethnic immigrants face the potential for ‘minority invisibility’ as suggested by Sun and Starosta (2006). The following extract explores this issue:

‘My Australian colleagues have a good sense of humour and when they crack jokes, I am unable to participate as I do not understand what they are saying. I consider this to be a huge barrier to my future and I spend sleepless nights worrying about this. To me it is strategically beneficial to mix with workmate’s, however I struggle to do so and hence feel isolated’ – Abdul

Differences in language and culture inhibit social interaction and impact on the ability to network (Woo 2000). Such instances may have a negative impact on a professional’s chance for career mobility.

In addition, section 4.2.2 suggests that self-imposed exclusion can occur among immigrant Indian professionals in the Australian workplace. The study shows that
the perception of prejudice and racism alone is enough to cause segregation amongst ethnic minorities. Racial and ethnic identities can cause limited access from informal interaction networks in a white-dominated workplace. Immigrants are often unfamiliar with the cultural norms of their host countries. Participants perceived that a sense of cultural insubordination was amplified when they had difficulties in communicating fluently in English. They believed that a sense of uneasiness and inferiority developed because of this, resulting in weak relations with the natives at work. Drawing on this, one can decipher that the workplace can be viewed as an important arena for the social integration of migrants (Valenta 2008). Networking can open opportunities for advancement and career progression, but seldom goes beyond weak workplace relations with locals. For several of the informants, the workplace did not appear to be welcoming and hence they felt isolated, even humiliated and marginalised.

Workplace ties often do not provide immigrants with the opportunity for developing friendly or social relations. This is mainly due to the fact that immigrants felt devalued because of their ethnic backgrounds. The sense of who they are, contrasted with how others see them, often isolates immigrants from their native workmates. Nevertheless, social ties developed with people at work can be a vital source for social affirmation and identity reproduction. Participants perceived that workplace interaction may represent flows of information, socialisation, mentoring and resources. The discussion in Section 4.3.2 shows that many potential benefits can arise from workplace ties, both for individuals and organisations. Some participants in this study achieved increased support and resources as a result of building organisational networks. As organisations continue to be transformed as a result of increasing workforce diversity and the absorption of immigrants, a need seems to exist to reflect on ways to develop better workplace relations. Research proves that overwhelmingly it is believed that developing bonds with people at work improves communication and helps employees get their job done. This in turn is associated with a perception of increased employee productivity and less stress and absenteeism (Newell, Tansley and Huang 2004).

Participants in this study tend to concur that within organisations, people use ties to access different kinds of valuable resources and can also enhance feelings of
belonging, trust and well-being at work, a finding that is consistent with research done by Ibarra and Deshpande (2007), who assert that informal ties at work are important sources of support as well as identity. Focusing on immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations, who often form networks from scratch, this research describes the challenges and hurdles they often encounter in forming networks.

As discussed in Section 4.3.3.1, there seems to be a desire that immigrants should fit in with the dominant culture, forcing them to assimilate, or they may face exclusion. Discrimination is encountered, focused mainly on external aspects such as towards those immigrants who do not ‘blend’ in with the dominant culture. The following transcript provides another angle into this problem:

‘When I first arrived in Australia, I gave the impression, that I was a very humble and shy person. In India girls are generally told to be demure and modest. I grew up knowing this to be right. After living in Australia for several years now, I realise that this may mean that I lack confidence and am not capable of managing others or even my role. My morale was down and I felt disappointed. I am trying to change in order to adapt to Australian culture, but it’s not easy’ – Nina

The narratives show that the immigrant Indian professionals, who feel comfortable in their workplace, and not the distinctive ‘other’, are the ones who are ‘Australianised’ (section 4.3.3.1). They have adopted behaviours that are not ‘different’ to Australian culture and try hard to appear ‘less different’ and ‘less foreign’. By appearing more like the natives and less like an outsider, they have found the transition into the same playing field as their native colleagues. This goal is accomplished by exhibiting behaviours both verbal and non-verbal that lead others to view them as more desirable, because they are ‘similar’. This shows that if employers and organisations are discriminating based on physical appearance and its associated stereotypes, then the success of an immigrant can be dependent on social desirability.
The fact that immigrants face exclusion at work is often due to racialised and cultural prejudices, as is evident from the literature review of this thesis. This barrier often leads to their inability to attain social capital at work. Findings show that by adopting behaviours that are viewed positively by the dominant culture, immigrant Indian professionals have successfully created positive impressions, enhanced likeability and have minimised the notion of ‘otherness’. It would be worth mentioning here that since Gopal (section 4.3.3.1) developed social traits and a style of speaking similar to the mainstream Australian Anglo-Celtic culture he did not perceive ‘inclusion’ or adjustment problems. However, Gopal’s testimony exhibits a second process of subtle discrimination. This involves incidents in which ethnic minority professionals, who forego their ethnic identity to assimilate into the mainstream culture, are legitimised as individuals, although the entire cohort of individuals of foreign descent is marginalised in the process (Van Laer and Janssens 2011). As in Gopal and Parul’s case, the individual is given a higher status by their co-workers because of their assumed exceptionality, but the cohort to which they actually belong remains ostracised.

This research as well as the literature review shows that immigrants from NESB countries such as India, China, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Philippines, and with a different mainstream culture to Australia’s may face additional problems integrating into Australian workplaces. Immigrants from the US and European countries whose societal cultures are similar to Australia’s have fewer problems while integrating into the workplace.

The aim of this research has been to understand the reality of the situation immigrant Indian professional’s encounter in Australian organisations when relocating to Australia. The interview narratives revealed that instead of arriving in a country where there are endless job opportunities and acceptance, they often encounter barriers. Some of them have found it difficult to get a job matching their qualifications and work experience while others have encountered exclusion at work demanding a toll on their emotional labour. Some have struggled to build social networks with the dominant group due to differences in attitude, values, language and culture. To make matters worse, despite being highly skilled and professionals, they face racialised prejudice and social segregation.
5.3.2 Impact of exclusionary inclusion upon the emotional labour of Indian professional immigrants

The research questions of this study relating to the impacts of exclusionary inclusion upon the emotional labour of immigrant Indian professionals were addressed with the insights of immigrants in Australian organisations. This research concurs with other studies (Kunda and Van Maanen 1999; Asforth and Humphrey 1995) that routinely having to manage one’s emotions in the face of hostility, injustice and the perception of racism can lead to withdrawal behaviours in the workplace such as the intention to quit. In the previous section it was established that heightened visibility, stereotyping and isolation from others makes it difficult for immigrants to blend into the larger group and ultimately creates barriers to their advancement and upward mobility. The difficulties faced by many of the immigrant Indian professionals are reminiscent of Kanter’s (1977) theory of tokenism, which suggests that tokens who are listed as people with heightened visibility in the workplace should experience more work stress and psychological symptoms than non-tokens. Many of the respondents in this study were found to perform emotion management to control their feelings of anger and frustration in order to adhere to professional standards. Knowing that the emotional labour rules of their professions call for calmness and professionalism, they work to bring their emotions in line with the expected feeling norms of their job.

Taken together, past research and the present study show that race and ethnicity matter in trying to understand how emotion work is structured and how emotional labour is performed in professional settings. Many of the respondents are compelled to do emotion work in order to achieve an acceptable professional demeanour. This may mean expressing pleasantness and not displaying anger and irritation when stymied or discriminated in the work place. Hochschild (1983) argues that emotions become yet another form of labour that workers, especially professionals, must produce and display. The research on emotional labour and feeling rules in work environments has occasionally considered ethnicity and culture. Few studies, however, explore how the process of emotion management is racialised for minority workers (Harlow 2003).
Immigrant Indian professionals interviewed for this study found that they were often expected to be amiable and friendly to others at work and suppress any negative emotions arising from the exclusion or other effects of discrimination they encounter in their work environments. For many of the respondents in my study, being one of the few Indian professional’s means they stand out at work and, because of this, they feel that their presence attracts comments and behaviours that they perceive are expressions of racialised bias. Sunil raises this point when he says:

‘For me self-respect is very important. I was never directly discriminated against, however I could feel that my manager did not think well of me. I was under stress and felt demeaned and discriminated’ – Sunil

As a result, they find it hard to adhere to the organisational requirement that they display a pleasant demeanour. A display of positive emotional labour that requires professionals to display pleasant emotions may be applicable to employees of all races, but immigrant Indian professionals find that this feeling rule poses a challenge to follow, given the tokenism they encounter in the workplace and the sense of isolation which it can produce.

Many of the participants cite examples of having to stay ‘calm’ through encounters of racially biased statements by their native colleagues and to maintain a sense of equanimity about concealing their true feelings. A major contribution of this study is that immigrant Indian professionals find that they are often denied emotional expression of their feelings of anger and resentment towards exclusion or stereotyping at work. Recall that in section 4.2 Mohit experiences tokenism in the form of stigmatisation and xenophobia when a white colleague suggests that he has behaved in an unprofessional manner. This encounter leads to emotions of annoyance and irritation which Mohit does not express due to the sense that he will violate the emotional labour rules of his profession. In other words, additional emotional labour is created for immigrant Indian professionals as they struggle to bring their emotions of irritation, anger and resentment into line with the feeling rules of pleasantness, no anger and concealing feelings of frustration about race-related issues that they believe are applied to them. Often the respondents were
fearful of being ostracised from colleagues and have to choose not to voice their annoyance.

As their statements show, several respondents in this study took a rather nonchalant attitude about racialised comments thrown at them, seeming to regard them as simply a fact of life when working in a predominantly white setting. In section 4.2.2.4, Abdul details his experience of an offensive remark directed at his culture. He copes with this by doing emotional labour that allows him to maintain a sense of professionalism in the face of racialised and cultural perceptions. Research suggests that minorities often operate within the context of these stereotypes, forcing them to do emotion work or to embrace these images as a strategy for being accepted (Wingfield 2010, 4).

Some respondents in this study argue that the cultural dynamics of their workplaces made it at times difficult to follow the feeling rules and that this had a negative impact on their emotional labour. In section 4.3.1.1, Nina indicated general dissatisfaction with her job, due to feelings of exclusion. Her perceived sense of exclusion in the workplace is a reflection of what many of the other immigrant professionals who were interviewed face. She felt under-valued and grew tired of the extra effort she had to make to fit in and hence decided to leave her job. The results of this study show that emotional labour requires regulation of emotions at work in pursuit of organisational goals. Being discriminated against or tokenised can trigger an emotional response such as stress, anger, resentment or frustration, which has to be constrained through emotion work. However, in order to be accepted in the workplace, immigrants and ethnic minorities often realise that they are precluded from showing feelings of anger and frustration. Holding back feelings of outrage, sadness, annoyance or irritation may guarantee keeping one’s job.

Emotion regulation can, however, result in burnout as experienced by Neeta in section 4.3.1.4 Immigrants may have to regulate their emotions frequently to meet the demands of the organisation. According to Gross (1998), the management of emotions by the use of acting can have detrimental outcomes for employees. In such a case, rather than adjusting the perception of the situation or the situation itself, the employee manipulates their emotional reaction to the situation. As a result of this
emotion management technique, employees have to work harder to mask the emotion which they are feeling, suppress their true feelings and show acceptable expressions (Grandey 1998). Individuals who are required to constantly engage in altering their emotional labour for extended periods eventually experience burnout.

5.3.3 The implications of inclusion of skilled immigrants for Australia

The final research questions relate to the implications of inclusion of skilled immigrants for Australia. Immigration of skilled and professional Indians to developed countries began in the 1950s and by 1960 was identified in India as a ‘brain drain’, due to IT graduates in particular and skilled workers in general seeking global opportunities to work (Khadria 2009). By the mid-1960s, IT workers and nurses began migrating in great numbers to the US and Canada, the UK, other European countries, and Australia-New Zealand. The growing competition brought even the Ivy League institutions to India to source the cream of students (Khadria 2009).

In the UK, the Indian community is considered to be one of the highest-educated groups of people, especially in the fields of medicine, IT, media and the entertainment industries. On the other hand Indo-Canadians have a high education level in the fields of academia, management, engineering and medicine. Australia and New Zealand have witnessed an increase in the entry rate of immigrant Indian professionals (Khadria 2009).

An article in The Australian (Danby 2010) considers Australia to be a country which is envied for its standard of living and quality of life. In 1970, the population was 12 million and since welcoming 6.9 million immigrants since 1945, it has grown to 22 million.

Danby stated:

‘The 6.9 million immigrants Australia has welcomed since 1945 and their descendants have benefited this country economically and culturally. Maintaining a balanced, non-discriminatory but highly-skilled immigration
policy will continue to pay dividends to an Australia challenged by demographic change. We must also consider what the cost to Australia would be if we were to cut our immigration numbers. Like most Western countries, we have an ageing population, and this will impose enormous costs on the next generation as the ratio of working-age to retired people declines. As the recent Intergenerational Report notes, our young immigrants offset this trend. Cutting immigration risks following Russia and Japan into rapid ageing and consequent economic stagnation. This is also why we need to keep our focus on skilled immigration, because it contributes most to our demographic, economic and cultural vitality. Immigration contributes enormously to our economic growth’ (Danby 2010).

This issue has been supported by Gaurav who states:

‘I believe that America would not have been established if people had not been allowed to immigrate into the country. I believe Australia has to realise that you cannot keep an isolated landmark for a restricted number of people. Small percentage of people holding a large mass of land in the end will lead to problems. I think Australia should allow lots more people to come and then the country will grow faster and develop more’ – Gaurav

India has long been an important player amongst the main suppliers of professionals to the world market. It is not surprising, therefore, in terms of the place in the US economy indexed by employment, occupation, education and income of immigrants, the Indian Diaspora continues to rank among the top (Khadria 2008).

‘As more and more Indians will come and more people interact with each other things will change. I think that the government has to play a major role that people are not discriminated against and in workplaces they are properly represented. They should not be made to work at the lower level if they are qualified and opportunity should be given to them for growth. Otherwise they will end up with a group of disgruntled immigrants. These people might create problems in due course’ – Gaurav
Gaurav has been working in the same organisation for the past four years. He credits his ability to ‘survive’ to ignoring anything which he does not like or views as discriminatory. He says his ‘thick skin’ has enabled him to overlook the fact that he has ‘faced lack of encouragement and lack of promotion’.

He provides further insight:

‘They don’t really want you to move up. It is very important for the government to educate people. There should be education on cultural diversity. One should enjoy cultural diversity so that it is more of an asset. We may not be able to cut jokes like the Australians do, but what they should look at is our quality of work. We should be judged on that basis. I think that the education system here is based a lot on language and presentation. That creates outright discrimination for us. We come from a society which is knowledge-based. We have moved from a society which believes in calculation and knowledge and is more interested in the subject rather than the presentation value. I agree that we should improve our presentation skills. The locals should understand that if we are not able to express well does not mean that we do not know the subject’
– Gaurav

The above excerpt highlights the ongoing dilemma, as skilled immigration has played a big part in making modern Australia. According to Michael Easson, the Executive Chair of EG Property Group and Chair of the Ministerial Advisory Council on Skilled Migration, since the Second World War Australia has welcomed around 7 million immigrants. Today Australia stands to be the fourth largest recipient of skilled immigrants after the US, UK and Canada. According to the Continuous Survey of Australian Migrants (CSAM) conducted by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, skilled immigrants have low dependence on government welfare payments compared to the average Australian and they make a significant contribution to the prosperity of the country (Easson 2012).
Michael Easson further highlights the important role which immigrants play in the economy of Australia by stating the following:

‘Skilled immigration has played a big part in making Australia what it is today and will continue to have a major role in our ongoing prosperity.

Making sure structural barriers do not prevent skilled immigrants from fully participating in the workforce is critical from both a social justice and economic viewpoint. Skilled immigration complements the work to skill more Australians, improve domestic labour mobility and remove barriers such as disjointed trade licensing arrangements. All play an important role in helping individuals reach their potential while supporting ongoing economic growth for the benefit of all Australians’ (Easson 2012, 7)

Immigration of skilled professionals has also led to an ever-increasing brain gain for Australia. Nurses, doctors, civil engineers, business and information personnel as well as teachers and accountants account for the net gain (Mirchandani 2004).

Parul has this to say about her success story in Australia:

‘I come from a family of achievers. I was educated in one of the most competitive schools in Delhi. After that I went on to do hotel management and thereafter graduated in Business. I now work as the Regional Manager of a Construction and Development Conglomerate’ – Parul

It is also true that immigrant professionals are usually amongst the most highly-motivated of those who decide to depart from their countries. In other words, it would probably be right to label them as ‘exceptional’ people with strong ambition and drive. DIAC’s survey (2011) shows that during the Global Financial Crisis recent immigrants accounted for 63 percent of job growth during the period. They further concluded that, six months after arrival, skilled immigrants had a participation rate of 95 percent in the labour market; well above the national average of 65 percent in mid-2010. McDonald and Temple (2010) predict that by the year 2050, the size of the Australian economy will undergo a manifold increase due to immigration. They have forecast that by 2050, if Australia continues to attract around
300,000 skilled immigrants by then, the projected annual GDP growth rate will be 2.4 times the GDP growth rate that assumes no additional skilled immigrants came to Australia.

The evidence provided above indicates that Australia has become a productive and culturally diverse nation. Successive governments have implemented Australia’s skilled immigration policies in the national interest. Whether or not skilled immigrants have the support of the majority of Australians in their workplaces is, however, debatable and a central theme of this research.

With this the thesis concludes the discussion on the investigation of the experiences of perceived discrimination, exclusion after inclusion and prejudice faced by immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations (section 5.3.1) as well as the challenges of emotional labour encountered by them (section 5.3.2). It also comments on the implications of inclusion of skilled immigrants for Australia (section 5.3.3). The following section details the contribution of the study.

5.4 Contributions of this study

This research provides important theoretical implications. It also has practical implications for the benefit of organisations and skilled immigrant professionals in Australia.

5.4.1 Theoretical implications

Theoretically and empirically, little Australian literature documents the exclusionary practices of organisations (after inclusion) towards Indian immigrants and there is even less on professionals in general. Very little research has been done on how ethnicity or racialised status affects a worker’s emotional labour on the job (Wingfield 2010). By adopting a qualitative research method with an interview-based approach for data collection, this study has produced a thick description and detailed understanding of the phenomenon of integration of skilled immigrants in Australia, with a focus on immigrant Indian professionals. This research makes an important
contribution to the management literature, by analysing the perceived experiences of immigrant Indian professionals in Australia and its organisations.

This research aims to capture the experiences and perceptions of immigrant Indian professionals and contribute to addressing the gap in existing research by analysing how indirect exclusionary practices and behaviours circumvent and undermine official policies and programs. Another gap which this research aims to identify and link is exclusion after inclusion and its impact on emotional labour. The examination of exclusionary or discriminatory practices and the relationships between work stress, acculturation and its impacts on emotional labour has not been well researched. This study has contributed to research by analysing the experiences of perceived discrimination, exclusion after inclusion, and prejudice faced by immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations. It focuses on the challenges of emotional labour as it can be difficult to conceal emotions and to display the emotions required by the job. Chapter 4 addresses this gap in the literature by examining if immigrant Indian professionals perceive exclusion and whether ethnicity attributes towards shaping perceptions of discrimination.

This study identifies the experience of exclusionary practices as perceived by immigrant Indian professionals and the impact of such perceived practices on their emotional labour. These practices went largely unreported back to management and this expresses the vulnerabilities of the immigrant Indian professionals, despite their educational attainment and professional credentials. It is this combination of experiences of exclusionary and discriminatory practices that impact on their emotional labour. This in turn leads to a diverse range of coping and response strategies by the immigrant Indian professionals.

This study also aims to comment upon the implications of skilled immigrant inclusion for Australia. Given the growing demands and interventions that organisations have for emotional expression that conforms with or is regulated by organisational goals, it is important to conduct research that contributes to developing this sort of theory. Another gap in the literature is that we know a fair amount about anti-discrimination legislation in Australia and numerous cases have been brought forward to the anti-discrimination tribunal (French and Maconachie
2004), but we know far less about the informal practices in organisations with regard to discrimination against skilled and professional immigrants. This research aims to contribute to the development of that literature.

I found that many of the respondents are compelled to perform emotion management to contend with racialised workplace dynamics where their persona is routinely challenged. This may mean expressing pleasantness and not displaying anger and irritation when stigmatised or discriminated against in the workplace. There was a high degree of frustration due to stereotyping, as well as exclusionary practices attributed to discrimination as well as structural barriers such as an employer’s lack of willingness to adequately recognise qualifications gained outside Australia. The analysis indicated that, despite tougher legislation against discrimination in the workplace, it exists in subtle forms in Australian organisations. A key finding is that the interview participants also experienced barriers preventing them from obtaining effective employment in their occupation of expertise due to the discretion of regulatory bodies, lack of local Australian experience and to perceived language barriers. Non-recognition of qualifications and underemployment may be a form of race-based discrimination, and can result in inequalities in job allocation or performance appraisal, remuneration, promotion or even tokenistic inclusion (Berman 2008).

There are also mismatches between the requirements of Australian organisations and the education and experience of skilled immigrants. Australian employers may underrate an immigrant’s foreign qualifications and capabilities, because of insufficient familiarity with their education system or working experiences in their home country. This sort of undervaluation results in disadvantages for the immigrants such as reduced marketability in the Australian workforce.

Stereotypical attitudes are often activated because someone speaks with a foreign accent and may cause devaluing of the skills and talents of the minority employees in any organisation. For several of the informants, the workplace did not appear to be welcoming and hence they felt isolated, even humiliated and marginalised.
As discussed in Section 4.3.3.1, some interviewees felt pressure that immigrants should fit in with the dominant culture, forcing them to assimilate, or they may face exclusion. The narratives show that the immigrant Indian professionals, who feel comfortable in their workplace, and not the distinctive ‘other’, are the ones who assimilate and conform to the rules of the dominant culture (section 4.3.3.1). Findings show that by adopting behaviours that are viewed positively by the dominant culture, immigrant Indian professionals have successfully created positive impressions, enhanced likeability and have minimised the notion of ‘otherness’.

The research on emotional labour and feeling rules in work environments has occasionally considered ethnicity and culture. In the previous section it was established that heightened visibility, stereotyping and isolation from others makes it difficult for immigrants to blend into the larger group and ultimately creates barriers to their advancement and upward mobility. Many of the respondents in this study were found to perform emotion management to control their feelings of anger and frustration in order to adhere to professional standards. They work to bring their emotions in line with the expected feeling norms of their job. For many of the respondents in my study, being one of the few Indian professionals in their organisations means they stand out at work and, because of this, they feel that their presence attracts comments and experiences of subtle yet persistent racism in the workplace.

Many of the participants cite examples of having to stay ‘calm’ through encounters of what they perceive as racially biased statements by their native colleagues and to maintain a sense of equanimity about concealing their true feelings. A major potential contribution of this study is that immigrant Indian professionals find that they are often denied emotional expression of their feelings of anger and resentment towards exclusion or stereotyping at work. As their statements show, several respondents in this study took a rather nonchalant attitude about racialised or culturally stigmatising comments thrown at them, seeming to regard them as simply a fact of life when working in a predominantly white setting. In section 4.2.2.4, Abdul details his experience of an offensive remark directed at his culture. He copes with this by doing emotional labour that allows him to maintain a sense of professionalism in the face of racialised and cultural perceptions.
There is little empirical research on immigrant Indian professionals in Australia and their employment and career strategies. This study will allow a better identification and understanding of the dynamics of the Indian Diaspora in Australia and the dynamics of their integration into Australian organisational life. The rich descriptive data that emerges as a result of this qualitative research will provide valuable information for identifying the need for organisational support of immigrants, especially professionals from India. This study thus carries significant value as it provides a detailed understanding and deep description to explain these integration issues. This is a new contribution to the literature on integration of immigrant Indian professionals in Australia.

5.4.2 Practical implications

First, this study highlights psychological and social factors that are affecting immigrant Indian professionals personally and professionally. Conversely, the present findings contribute to a greater understanding of the deskilling, discrimination, hurdles to career advancement or xenophobia at work which are undoubtedly harmful practices. Such findings provide direction for human resource personnel to provide in service training to promote ‘teamwork’ and support during periods of stress. This may result in increased work productivity and performance and in reduced anxiety.

Second, the findings of this research may propose revising or devising workplace policies and practices to facilitate better workplace integration of immigrant professionals and provide organisations with directions for improving the alignment between organisational discourse and organisational practice.

Third, as mentioned in the thesis the regulatory context in Australia is already strong, however the existence of policy itself does not eliminate practices of exclusion and discrimination as they are largely informal and go unreported back to management. Many of the reports of discriminatory practices towards Indians or stigmatisation on the basis of accent, skin tone or national origin are anecdotal in nature and this study, especially by conducting interviews with immigrant Indian professionals, seeks to better understand and explain such practices and their impacts on the Indian
community. This will provide organisations with directions for improving the alignment between organisational discourse and organisational practice.

Organisational support for cultural diversity is a growing trend in Australia. This study, by capturing the informal aspects of how the immigrant Indian professionals face perceived discrimination, highlights the need for management to develop a climate of inclusiveness as well as involve a greater number of employees in cultural diversity management policy and practice. A range of initiatives can be taken to ensure skilled immigrant representation on recruitment and promotion panels and providing cultural sensitivity training for all (D’Netto and Sohal 1999). Such initiatives can prospectively become a comfortable starting point for informal networking and socialisation as well.

Fourth, this study reveals that many Australian employers depreciate the immigrant’s foreign education and experiences. This calls for improving awareness by obtaining information about the education programs and work practices of the immigrant’s home countries, in an attempt to remove hurdles for gaining jobs in their professional field of expertise. It also implies that employers as well as assessing organisations in Australia should devote more resources to gain know-how and knowledge in comparative education and work practices.

In sum, the findings in this study provide new insights into how immigrant Indian professionals view their work environments. Needless to say, these findings are an exciting beginning to a program of research which works to provide knowledge, insight and perspective on how immigrant Indian professionals function in Australian workplaces.

5.5 Limitations of the study

As with any study, there are limitations associated with it. First, although the interviews were based on semi-structured interviews, the sample size was limited to twenty respondents, from Sydney and Melbourne only. Additionally, the diversity of the immigrant Indian professionals is evident by examining the professional background of the participants. Past research shows that additional barriers to
employment arise for those in regulated professions (i.e., doctors, teachers, engineers) (Girard and Bauder 2007). Hence future research should compare these professionals with one another as well as with others in non-regulated professions to gain further insight into how the emotional labour of these professionals differs from others.

A second limitation was the lack of ‘triangulation’. ‘Triangulation is a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study’ (Creswell and Miller 2000, 126). This study utilises interviews of immigrant Indian professionals as the sole source of data. Focusing on immigrant participants’ own narrative accounts of their experiences, rather than arbitrarily choosing several aspects of the process to observe, allowed me to get a full picture of their experiences consistent with the focus of my thesis. However, depending solely on narrative accounts from the immigrants themselves can run the risk of losing sight the full picture, and more diverse information could have been obtained with additional stakeholders. For example, I have not gathered the perceptions of the Australian native professionals, in order to gauge their side of the story, or the employers.

Moreover, due to the small sample size of this study, generalisations about the investigated phenomenon cannot be made across whole populations. The thesis examines immigrant Indian professionals as a group. In reality and practice, of course, this group is not undifferentiated. There are differences between the genders and there are significant ethnic differentiations within the Indian professional Diaspora itself. However, as can be seen from the immigrant Indian professionals data presented, the possible differences remain unexplored. Additionally, age or length of stay of immigrants were not considered as significant contributors of mismatches in workplaces and should be tested in an effort to understand the process of workplace integration.

Finally, further refinement is useful to ensure employees’ feelings of in/exclusion can be attributed to cultural differences and not to some other dimension. As a small qualitative study, the research findings are not intended to be generalisable to all situations. Instead, the study aims for a depth of information, characteristic of
qualitative studies, and for a descriptive clarity of the experiences of twenty immigrant Indian professionals.

5.6 Future research

Despite Australia’s stand to be the fourth largest recipient of skilled immigrants in the world and changes over time in anti-discrimination and anti-vilification laws in the country, it is demonstrated and documented through my research that exclusionary and discriminatory practices continue to exist in many forms within Australian organisations. While this research has not focused on one organisation per se, it does demonstrate that several organisations in Australia have not taken relevant steps to ensure that informal practices of exclusion do not take place. This has been demonstrated amply via the testimonies of twenty immigrant Indian professionals illustrating their perceived experiences of exclusion after inclusion and its impact on their emotional labour. There exists scope for future research to explore the influence of perceived exclusion after inclusion and feelings of discrimination at work on other organisational variables such as organisational performance and citizenship behaviours, and not only emotional labour.

It is also recommended that the current research be replicated with other cultural minority groups. In this study, the findings were limited to immigrant Indian professionals. A study which seeks direct comparison of various individuals of different racial/ethnic groups in Australia may help in exploring significant inter-group differences, if any, of exclusion after inclusion and integration experiences into Australia and its organisations. In addition, factors such as age or length of stay of immigrants can be tested in exploring the process of workplace integration.

Future research can also address areas relating to personality, contextual and other factors such as family and education to explore how different individuals perceive and cope with experiences of belonging to a minority status in Australian organisations.

It would also be interesting to compare the strategies used by immigrants who are able to reach high levels of achievement in Australian organisations.
5.7 Concluding comments

The present research analyses the experiences of twenty immigrant Indian professionals and issues relating to ‘exclusion after inclusion’ into Australia and its organisations. The purpose of this qualitative study was to improve understanding of the perceived exclusion after inclusion of immigrant Indian professionals in Australian organisations along with the challenges they face in managing emotional labour. In addition to the theoretical and practical applications of the results of the study, potential limitations were presented. Finally, suggestions for future research were discussed.

Conclusions pertaining to the research questions confirmed that immigrant Indian professionals, across a range of professions and organisational environments, and including women and men, claimed to have experienced exclusion after inclusion, and that this impacted on their emotional labour. Such practices are largely informal and fall outside of formal, regulatory compliance measures. Perceptions of exclusion as identified in this study indicated subtle discrimination resulting in diminished job satisfaction and commitment, and lower motivation by some of the respondents. Many of the respondents in this study were found to perform emotion management to control their feelings of anger and frustration in order to adhere to professional standards. Some of them cited examples of having to stay ‘calm’ through encounters of racially biased statements by their Australian colleagues while others took a rather nonchalant attitude about racialised comments thrown at them. Some respondents in this study argue that the cultural dynamics of their workplaces made it at times difficult to follow the feeling rules and that this had a negative impact on their emotional labour.

Social integration within an organisation is no doubt vital. As people spend a considerable amount of time in the workplace, it is important that what they do, and how they behave and adjust be conducive to their well-being (Amit 2010). According to Trenerry, Franklin and Paradies (2012), immigrants perceive and experience avoidable and unfair practices in recruitment and selection, promotion, evaluation, remuneration and dismissal. As such, informal exclusionary practices may continue
even after formal inclusion and may exist within an institutional and regulatory environment that formally seeks to eliminate exclusion and discrimination.

Immigrants face difficulties in the process of workplace integration in part because they have a different set of skills and culture. In addition, immigrants have often been subject to difference in treatment they receive in the workplace in terms of career opportunities and recognition (Ballafkiih 2010). This can lead to an uneasy time for immigrants and lead to adjustment problems in the workplace. Because of cultural differences, and lack of contextual skills and experience, there can be underutilisation of individual capacity (Reitz 2007). Problems that are encountered by immigrants in their efforts to integrate into the workplace exist in immigrant-seeking countries like Australia, Canada and New Zealand (Jupp 2002). A lot of the research which has been conducted on integration is quantitative in nature and survey based. Survey and census data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) provide data for research on immigrants (Chiswick and Miller 2010). Few studies detail the experiences of these immigrants into the Australian way of workplace existence (Syed and Murray 2009). A program of research needs to be developed to continue this examination into factors which influence the integration of immigrant Indian professionals and other minority professionals into Australian organisations. With this type of inquiry, it is expected that a clearer understanding of the dynamics and nuances of exclusion after inclusion and its impact on emotional labour with Indian and other minority professionals would continue to be achieved.

By focusing on the notion of integration in the workplace context, this study considers that professional and skilled immigrants who come from vastly different cultures will retain their own values and perceptions in the host countries. Expecting wholesale changes or assimilation sounds unrealistic. This study focuses on the integration of immigrants as the adaptation of some Australian values and culture but not by abandoning their own values, beliefs and culture.

The productive use of immigrants in the labour force is vital for the growth of the economy. This study is an effort to bring to the fore social integration aspects in the organisation or workplace by unfolding the stories and experiences of twenty immigrant professionals. This research is significant because it explores the
emotional labour experiences of the immigrant Indian professionals and their perceptions of exclusion after inclusion. By this means the study investigates the barriers and challenges these skilled immigrants encounter in the workplace. Australian businesses must understand these work environment-related issues in order to enhance employee commitment and retain a diverse skilled immigrant workforce. Community activists and public policy-makers involved in developing solutions for the success of immigrants in the Australian labour market will gain important insights from this study for developing policy and practices that facilitate skilled immigrant assimilation.

In conclusion, organisations need to move from being formally tolerant of diversity to creating a truly supportive diversity climate. Only if organisations respect individual uniqueness and appreciate group differences, will they reap the benefits of a diverse workforce. It is of the essence, not only for sound business reasons but also for personal experiences of individual workers, that the organisations of today practise eliminating organisational prejudice, move towards valuing diversity and establish a supportive diversity climate.
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APPENDIXES
Appendix A: Participant Consent Form

Project Title: The Shifting Identity of the Professional Workforce in Australian Organisations: The Indian Immigrant Experience

I,…………………………, consent to participate in the research project titled “The Shifting Identity of the Professional Workforce in Australian Organisations: The Indian Immigrant Experience”.

I acknowledge that:

I have read the participant information sheet and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher/s.

The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

I consent to (tick for each aspect to which you give consent) - The completion of an interview. - The audio recording of an interview. - The use of my interview to develop data for the project.

I understand that my involvement is confidential and that the information gained during the study may be published but no information about me will be used in any way that reveals my identity.
I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher/s now or in the future.

Signed: _____________________________

Name: ______________________________

Date: _______________________________

This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is: H9363

If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Office of Research Services on Tel +61 2 4736 0229 Fax +61 2 4736 0013 or email humanethics@uws.edu.au. Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.
Appendix B: Letter of Invitation for the participant

Invitation to participate in a research project

You are invited to participate in a study conducted by Sunaina Gowan, a PhD student from the University of Western Sydney. The research project will examine the experience of migration, cultural and kinship obligations of skilled, professional, Indian migrants to Australia. Sunaina Gowan is the principal researcher of this study, working under the supervision of Dr. Gregory Teal in the School of Business.

What is the study about?

The purpose is to investigate the experience of migration, cultural and kinship obligations of skilled, professional, Indian migrants to Australia. It will focus on the adjustments and issues which compel and determine their decisions on settlement and their engagement strategies with Australian society, and whether these factors also play a role in their integration within organisations.

What does the study involve?

If you choose to be involved in the research project, you will be asked to participate in an interview lasting up to 60 minutes.

Are there any risks in participating in the study and how will my privacy be protected?

The research project has been designed to minimise any risk and inconvenience to the participants. To ensure privacy and confidentiality, participants will be not be required to write down any personal information or identify their current workplace. Only Sunaina Gowan and her supervisor will have access to the information on those participants who will agree to be interviewed. It will be impossible to identify who was interviewed. During and after the research process, all data collected during the
study will be securely stored in adherence with the University’s records management guidelines.

**How will the information collected be used?**

The data generated from questionnaires will be used for Sunaina Gowan’s PhD thesis.

**Can I withdraw from the study?**

Participation is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to be involved and - if you do participate – you can withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without any consequences.

**Can I tell other people about the study?**

Yes, you can tell other people about the study by providing them with the chief investigator’s contact details. They can contact the chief investigator to discuss their participation in the research project and obtain an information sheet.

**What if I require further information?**

When you have read this information, Sunaina Gowan will discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact Dr Gregory Teal on (02) 46203247.

**What if I have a complaint?**

This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. The Approval number is **H9363**.

If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Office of Research Services on Tel +61 2 4736 0229 Fax +61 2 4736 0013 or email: humanethics@uws.edu.au.
Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome. If you agree to participate in this study, you may be asked to sign the Participant Consent Form.

Sunaina Gowan
Appendix C: Interview Questions

A. Demographics

• What is your age and marital status?
• What is your highest level of educational attainment?
• Do you have any professional certification?
• What is your year of arrival in Australia?
• Which organisation do you work for?
• What is your job title/position in the Organisation?

B. Experiences of the respondent in an Australian work place

• Does your present employment reflect the education and possible work experience that you had prior to migrating to Australia? If not, what are the differences?
• In your present employment are you able to use the education and training that you received in India?
• What are the most rewarding aspects of your job?
• What, if any are the most frustrating aspects of your job?
• Do you feel that you have equal opportunity as other professionals have in the organisation?
• Do you feel that your professional and educational credentials gained in India have been recognised?
• Have there been times when you feel that your professional/educational credentials have not been recognised?
• Tell me about aspects of your work and your organisation that you consider positive.
• Tell me about aspects of your work and work organisation that you consider negative.
• What kinds of formal opportunities for training does your organisation offer?
• Are you able to participate in these opportunities?
• What kinds of informal social networks are there in your organisation?
• Do you participate in any of these networks?
• Have you ever felt excluded from such networks?
• Since you have been in the organisation do you feel that you have experienced any form of stigmatisation?
• If so, what do you believe to be the source of stigmatising, such as language, national origin, culture?
• Have there been any incidents in the organisation that you perceive of as discriminatory or biased?
• Have you been treated less favourably with regard to promotion, training, and other opportunities in your organisation? If not, why do you think that this is?
• Do you feel that you have you have been discriminated against because of your “language” or “accent”?
• Have you ever had feelings of being undervalued and embarrassed in the workplace?
• Have you ever felt that your workplace is hostile or unwelcoming to you because of derogatory, insulting or degrading comments or actions that have been made about your ethnicity?
• Has there been a time when you have felt a sense of isolation in the workplace due to your Indian background?
• Has there been any instance where you have felt a negative attitude being expressed towards your skin colour, manners of speech or clothing?
• If so, are such expressions explicit and direct or implicit and inferred?
• In the organisation have people avoided contact with you and ‘forgot’ to invite you to certain events because of your ethnicity?
• Do you think that a discrepancy exists between the organisational discourse of equity and equality on the one hand, and the actual practices of the organisation on the other?
• If so, please explain and provide examples, if you are able to.
Does your organisation and do your colleagues engage in positive recognition and inclusion of the professional skills, knowledge, and cultural attributes that Indian professionals may bring to the work place?

C. Impacts of the respondents experiences on emotional labour in the work place

Do you think that your emotional experiences in the workplace affect your productivity and work contribution?
If so, in what ways?
Have you ever felt pressured to compromise your ethnic and cultural identity, in order to adjust or to get ahead in your workplace? If yes, how?

D. Responses and Strategies adopted by the respondent to assimilate into the work place

Have you ever left an organisation because you felt that you were not integrated or involved to the extent or in the ways that you believed you deserved?
Have you ever sought supervisory intervention for a discriminatory act done to you in the organisation?
How has the organisation responded to incidents of discrimination or bias?
Have you ever found yourself working extra hard to avoid discrimination?
Do you participate in any professional organisations?
Do you participate in any organisations in the Indian community?
Do you ever discuss your work and professional experiences with members of the Indian community?
Do you believe you spend significant amounts of energy ‘coping’ with a different environment?
Have you done educational and training programs in Australia?
If so, have these been supported or encouraged by your employer?
What impacts has this had on your work and employment?
Is there anything else you would like to add about your experiences of working in an Australian organisation as an Indian professional immigrant?