Immigrant Indian Professional's Experiences with Perceived Discrimination in the Australian Workplace

Sunaina Gowan and Gregory Teal

Abstract—**This qualitative study aims to explore the process underlying perceived discrimination in the workplace. Based on twenty in-depth interviews with Indian immigrants who are professionals or managers, we argue that due to tougher legislation against discrimination in the workplace, discrimination continues to exist in Australian organisations, but in subtle forms. These include ridicule, withholding information, social isolation, passing remarks and making unfair accusations, each causing ethnic minority professional's stress. The research also provides evidence that there is devaluation of skilled immigrants in Australia, 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 workers' interests and needs, and to make sure the work environment is equitable and inclusive.**

Index Terms—**Exclusion, inclusion, perceived discrimination, cultural diversity, acculturation, integration, immigrants.**

I. INTRODUCTION

Although anti-discriminatory legislation has an on-going focus in Australia, a significant number of skilled immigrants find it difficult and at times stressful to participate in an appropriate work environment [1]. Stephenson and Lewin's [2] 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. Discrimination 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 [3]. Accordingly, our research explores the underlying processes of perceived discrimination in the Australian workplace.

There is a paucity of theoretical and empirically based research on exclusionary practices and its impact on professional and managerial 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 insights and understanding of how minority professionals function in majority 'White' work environments.

We explore these practices and impacts based on interviews with twenty immigrant Indian professionals working in Australian, cultural majority dominated workplaces. Focusing on those experiencing perceived discrimination is especially vital in this context as it allows us to capture hidden and subtle forms of perceived discrimination.

II. EXCLUSIONARY PRACTICES AND PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

A great deal of research has focused on the discrimination towards 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 [4]. Perceptions of exclusion harm not only the individual employee, but also the organisation [5]. Exclusion on the basis of ethnicity and race has long been recognised as a reality in culturally and ethnically pluralistic and diverse societies.

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 [6] who stated that it occurs 'when persons in a "social category" are put at a disadvantage relative to other groups with comparable potential'. Jupp, Roberts and Gumperz [7]) suggested that immigrants are expected to behave according to the norms of the dominant population and are judged by demonstrated differences which reinforce the stereotype. Immigrants are forced to learn in an environment of conformity survival, along with all its associated pressures and stressors.

According to Schuck and Liddle [8] 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 was broadened to encompass artificial barriers imposed on immigrant professional employees which would prevent them advancing within the organisation [9]. It is a term which now describes the exclusion of racial/ethnic minorities in organisations [10].

In a study done by Hawthorne [11] it was found that non-English speaking background (NESB) immigrant doctors

and engineers may have limited access to employment in their respective fields. In addition, though sometimes NESB professionals are more highly qualified than their local counterparts, they often do not receive a return commensurate with their qualifications and end up encountering greater hurdles integrating into the Australian workforce [11]. Research reveals that immigrants from Asia face a significantly higher chance of exclusion from meaningful employment compared with skilled Australians of European background [13]. Even if they are able to speak English fluently, immigrants from India, the Philippines and Hong Kong suffer disproportionately from unemployment or workplace integration issues [14].

Booth, Leigh and Varganova [15] provided empirical evidence that immigrants who have accents and non-Anglicised names, especially Asian immigrants, are treated unfavourably in the Australian labour market. Bias regarding names can represent an obstacle for immigrants and exclude them from entry into organisations [16]. Activation of stereotypes towards applicants can occur, reducing opportunities for them to be hired. Asian names can impose an 'ethnic penalty' on immigrants and affect them negatively during the pre-screening phase [17].

A foreign accent is a perceived disadvantage in organisations [18]. Even if immigrants are proficient in speaking English, there may still exist a bias against them. These prejudices towards workers with accents are more notable for immigrants who hold or desire to hold professional jobs [18]. Such prejudices can limit access to employment as well as reduce self-esteem, cause dissatisfaction at work and stress for the immigrant [19].

Discrimination, whether real or perceived, has negative effects on both the physical and emotional well-being of immigrants [20]. Perceived discrimination is equally important as it is a cognitive appraisal of the extent to which an encounter or particular event is harmful [21]. Kessler, Mickelson & Williams [20] 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.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

According to Crotty [22], 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 [22]. 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 [23]. Researchers who concur with this paradigm are concerned with the social construction of meaning [24]. People should be studied as active agents as they have free will, purposes, goals, and intentions [25].

The methodological partner for the interpretive paradigm

is qualitative methodology. The present research uses a qualitative approach, informed by organisational ethnography [26], which includes using in-depth interviews to reveal the stories and experiences of organisational members, many of which have not been brought to life. A major component driving our choice of research design is the assumption that many of the exclusionary practices which take place are informal. We have sought to collect data that is often hidden and concealed, intentionally or otherwise. As Silverman [27] 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 [28].

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 research interaction between interviewer and participant is 'a conversation with a purpose' [29]. For this particular research, as the quality of information gathered with the help of interviews is more important than the number of participants [30], twenty participants were chosen for this study.

IV. SAMPLE

A total of twenty immigrant Indian professionals, employed in a variety of occupations were interviewed for this study. 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. 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.

V. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

For the purposes of this research, in-depth semi-structured interviews were considered ideal because of the need to allow research participants time and scope to discuss their perceptions and highlight their experiences of working in Australia. 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, it was 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; however 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.

VI. DATA ANALYSIS

To identify the mechanisms underlying perceived

discrimination in the workplace, initially the data was manually analysed and then a software package was used for the full study. NVivo 10 was selected because it is simple to use yet very effective as a data coding tool. In order to conduct the data analysis, transcription was done of the interviews and isolated interview parts that referred to experiences of perceived discrimination. An interview guide was used which helped identify incidents as perceived discrimination, if these encounters made the respondents feel upset, treated unfairly, uneasy or uncomfortable and if these were directly or indirectly perceived to be linked to their ethnicity.

Coding allowed themes to be derived inductively from the interviews. 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 [31]. This technique was very important for generating categories. These categories were then clustered into themes, which developed into larger categories.

VII. REFLECTIONS ON THE MATERIAL AND ITS ANALYSIS

Immigrants leave their home countries with hopes of having a better life in the country of destination. 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 [32], immigrants perceive and experience avoidable and unfair practices in recruitment and selection, promotion, evaluation, remuneration and dismissal.

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 [33]. Systemic barriers hinder immigrants from having their experience or credentials recognised, and as a result skilled and professional immigrants may experience frustration, despair and humiliation. They feel that they have lost their occupational status and this is very damaging to their professional identity [34].

Mary was one of the respondents in this 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 Australian 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 missed teaching and felt frustrated with the situation she found herself in. Mary expressed concern about her potential for upward mobility in Australia. 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 [35].

Non-recognition of qualifications and under-employment

may be a form of ethnic/race-based discrimination, and can result in inequalities in job allocation or performance appraisal, remuneration, promotion or even tokenistic inclusion [36]. 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. 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 that job outcomes of immigrants are not always determined by education, qualifications, and recent work history in their home country. 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 [12].

One immigrant, who was an accountant by profession, explained 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

Cultural conformity 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 [37]. This implies that those who differ from the majority may experience isolation.

Nitin, who holds a postgraduate degree from India, was 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

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 [38]. This is often amplified if there is a sense of insecurity and difficulty in communicating in the native language [39]. However, the role which an individual immigrant can play is vital for greater integration in the workplace. They may display initiatives to integrate or they may 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. These challenges may pose impediments to forming workplace relationships, as shown by Sam's interview:

'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

According to De Meuse and Hostager [40], there needs to be more 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 [41]. A successful career is often linked with good interpersonal relationships with colleagues [42], [43]. Perceived discrimination in the workplace has long prompted employees of colour to have different perceptions of the workplace as opposed to their white counterparts [44].

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. Interestingly, some perceived negative responses to their cultural difference.

VIII. FINDINGS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Our findings indicate participants 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, underemployed, or working below their qualifications in Australia. It was revealed that this can be caused by organisations favouring individuals with Australian education, the non-recognition of foreign credentials or 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. 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 tokenistic inclusion [36].

Problems can also arise in regard to language skills. Accent is considered to be an obstacle for integration of immigrants in the labour market of Australia [18]. 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.

The culture of immigrants is another noteworthy issue. Studies show that employers prefer recruiting people who are like themselves culturally [37]. Because they frequently do not share common characteristics with the native majority in organisations, ethnic immigrants face the potential for 'minority invisibility' [45].

As with any study, there are limitations associated with this one. First, although the interviews were based on storytelling and semi-structured interviews, the sample size was limited to twenty respondents, from Sydney and Melbourne only. Past research shows that additional barriers to employment arise for those in regulated professions such as doctors, teachers, and engineers [46]. 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.

This study utilised interviews of immigrant Indian professionals as the sole source of data, which can run the risk of losing sight the full picture, and more diverse information could have been obtained with additional stakeholders.

Due to the small sample size of this study, generalisations about the investigated phenomenon cannot be made across whole populations. There are differences between the genders and there are significant ethnic differentiations within the Indian professional Diaspora itself. 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. In this, the research was highly revealing of Indian immigrant professionals' perceptions of discrimination, of informal mechanisms of social exclusion, and negative impacts on the emotional labour, professional identity and ethnic identity of these immigrants.

IX. CONCLUSION

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 [47]. Immigrants face difficulties in the process because they have a different set of skills and culture. Immigrants have often been subject to official and popular disfavour which 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 [48].

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 [49]. A lot of the research which has been conducted on integration research is quantitative in nature and survey based. Survey and census data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) provide data for research on immigrants [39]. Very few studies are qualitative and interview-based. Very few studies detail the experiences of these immigrants into the Australian way of workplace existence [13]. 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 integration of immigrants and their productive use in the labour force are vital for the growth of the economy. This study is an effort to bring to the fore integration aspects in the organisation/workplace by unfolding the stories and experiences of twenty immigrant professionals. This research is significant because it explores the 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 workplace integration. 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 integration of immigrants into the Australian workplace 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.

REFERENCES

[1]   B. Cope and M. Kalantzis, *Productive Diversity: A New Australian Model for Work and Management*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1997.

[2]   K. Stephenson and D. Lewin, "Managing workforce diversity: macro and micro level HR implications of network analysis," *International Journal of Manpower*, vol. 17, no. 4-5, pp. 168-197, 1996,

[3]   H. Hoel, C. Rayner, and C. Cooper, "Workplace bullying," *International Review of Industrial and Organisational Psychology*, vol. 14, pp. 195-230. 1999,

[4]   J. Teicher and K. Spearitt, "From equal employment opportunity to diversity management the Australian experience," *International Journal of Manpower*, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 109-133, 1996.

[5]   R. L. Dipboye and A. Colella, *Discrimination at Work: The Psychological and Organisational Bases*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005.

[6]   R. L. Dipboye and S. K. Halverson, "Subtle (and not so subtle) discrimination in organisations," *The Dark Side of Organizational Behaviour*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, pp. 131-158, 2004.

[7]   T. C. Jupp, C. Roberts, and J. C. Gumperz, "Language and the disadvantage: The hidden process," *Language and Social Identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 232-256, 1982.

[8]   K. Schuck and B. J. Liddle, "Female manager's experience: A concept map and assessment tool," *Consulting Psychology Journal*, vol. 56, pp. 75-87, 2004.

[9]   K. S. Wickwire and J. C. Kruper, "Glass ceiling effect: An approach to assessment," *Consulting Psychology Journal: Practice and Research*, vol. 48, pp. 32-39, 1996.

[10] V. E. O'Leary and J. E. Ickovics, "Cracking the glass ceiling: Overcoming isolation and alienation," *Managing in Times of Demographic Turbulence*, pp. 7-30, 1992.

[11] L. Hawthorne, "The question of discrimination: skilled migrants' access to Australian employment," *International Migration*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 395-420, 1997.

[12] P. Kler, "Graduate over education and its effects among recently arrived immigrants to australia: A longitudinal survey," *International Migration*, vol. 44, no. 5, pp. 93-128, 2006.

[13] J. Syed and P. Murray, "Combating the English language deficit: The labour market experiences of migrant women in Australia," *Human Resource Management Journal*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 413-432, 2009.

[14] B. Khadria, "Skilled labour migration from India," in H. Oda, ed., *International Labour Migration from South Asia,* 2004.

[15] A. Booth, A. Leigh, and E. Varganova, "Does racial and ethnic discrimination vary across minority groups?" *Evidence From Three Experiments*, Australian National University, 2007.

[16] J. Dietz, "Introduction to the special issue on employment discrimination against immigrant," *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 104-112, 2010.

[17] L. Petersen and J. Dietz, "Employment discrimination: Authority figures' demographic preferences and followers' affective organisational commitment," *Journal of Applied Psychology,* vol. 93, no. 6, pp. 1287-1300, 2008.

[18] M. Hosoda and E. S. Romero, "The effects of foreign accents on employment related decisions," *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 113-132, 2010

[19] G. Wated and J. Sanchez, "The role of accent as a work stressor on attitudinal and health-related work outcomes," *International Journal of Stress Management*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2006.

[20] R. C. Kessler, D. K. Mickelson, and R. D. Williams, "The prevalence, distribution, and mental health Correlates of perceived discrimination in the united states," *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour,* vol. 40, no. 3, pp. 208-230, 1999.

[21] B. Major, W. Major, J. Quinton, and S. K. McCoy, *Antecedents and Consequences of Attributions to Discrimination, Theoretical and Empirical Advances*, San Diego: Academic Press, 2002.

[22] M. Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*, Sage, 1998.

[23] T. Lee, *Using Qualitative Methods in Organisational Research,* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 1999.

[24] N. Nicholsan and R. White, "Darwinism: A new paradigm for organisational behaviour?" *Journal of Organisational Behaviour*, vol. 27, pp. 111-119, 2006.

[25] D. Hartmann, "Sen meets schumpeter: Towards an agent oriented theory of inequality and qualitative change," *The Musical Times*, vol. 109, p. 341. 2009,

[26] D. Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook,* Los Angeles, SAGE, 2010.

[27] D. Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, London: Sage, 1993.

[28] K. Williamson, "Research in constructivist frameworks using ethnographic techniques," *Library Trends*, vol. 55, no. 1, pp. 83-101, 2006.

[29] J. Eyles and D. Smith, *Qualitative Methods in Human Geography*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998.

[30] K. Dunn, *Doing Qualitative Research in Human Geography,* Melbourne Oxford University Press, pp. 77-105, 2005.

[31] E. Devers and K. M. Robinson, "The making of grounded theory: After death communication," *Death Studies*, vol. 26, pp. 241-253, 2002.

[32] B. Trenerry, H. Franklin, and Y. Paradies, *Preventing Race-Based Discrimination and Supporting Cultural Diversity in the Workplace – An Evidence Review*, Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, Melbourne, 2012.

[33] U. S. George, F. Chaze, S. Brennenstuhl, and F. E. Thomson, "Looking for work but nothing seems to work: The job search strategies of internationally trained engineers in Canada," *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, vol.13, no. 3, pp. 303-323. 2012.

[34] O. Yakushko, A. Backhaus, M. Watson, K. Ngaruiya, and J. Gonzalez, "Career development concerns of recent immigrants and refugees," *Journal of Career Development*, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 362-396, 2008.

[35] J. Collins and C. Reid, "Immigrant teachers in Australia," *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Journal*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 38-46, 2012.

[36] G. Berman, *Harnessing Diversity: Addressing Racial and Religious Discrimination in Employment*, Melbourne: Victorian Multicultural Commission and Victorian Equal Opportunity & Human Rights Commission, 2008.

[37] R. M. Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, New York: Basic Books, 1997.

[38] S. L. Ross and A. M. Turner, "Housing discrimination in metropolitan America: Explaining changes between 1989 and 2000," *Social Problems*, vol. 52, pp. 152-180, 2005.

[39] B. R. Chiswick and P. W. Miller, "The Effects of Educational-Occupational Mismatch on Immigrant Earnings in Australia, with International Comparisons," *International Migration Review*, vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 869-898, 2010.

[40] K. D. Meuse and T. Hostager, "Developing an instrument for measuring attitudes toward and perceptions of workplace diversity; An initial report," *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 33-51, 2001.

[41] P. S. Adler and S. W. Kwon, "Social capital: prospects for a new concept," *Academy of Management Review*, vol. 27, pp. 17–40, 2002.

[42] L. Zhang and J. Liu, R. Loi, V. P. Lau, and H. Ngo, "Social capital and career outcomes: A study of Chinese employees," *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, vol. 21, no. 8, pp. 1323-1336, 2010.

[43] H. J. McHammon and L. J. Griffin, "Workers and their clients: An Editorial Introduction," *Work and Occupations*, vol. 27, pp. 278-293, 2000.

[44] T. Cox, "The multicultural organisation," *Academy of Management Executive*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 34-47, 1991.

[45] W. Sun and W. J. Starosta, "Perceptions of minority invisibility among Asian American Professionals," *The Howard Journal of Communications*, vol. 17, pp. 119-142, 2006.

[46] E. Girard and H. Bauder, "Assimilation and exclusion of foreign trained engineers in Canada: Inside a professional regulatory organisation," *Antipode*, pp. 35-53, 2007.

[47] K. Amit, "Determinants of life satisfaction among immigrants from western countries and from the FSU in Israel," *Social Indicators Research*, vol. 96, no. 3, pp. 515-534, 2010.

[48] J. G. Reitz, "Immigrant employment succes in Canada, Part 1: Individual and contextual causes," *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, vol. 8, pp. 11-36, 2007.

[49] J. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Sunaina Gowan is a lecturer of management and is currently pursuing her PhD from the University of Western Sydney. Her work is focused on emotional labor, exclusionary inclusion and organizational change.

Gregory Teal is a social anthropologist, and the director of academic programs (advanced business leadership and honours) in the School of Business, University of Western Sydney. His masters was on Korean migration and intra-ethnic relations in Edmonton, Alberta. His PhD was on the social division of labor along ethnic, gender and occupational lines in the clothing industry in Montreal. He has also conducted fieldwork and published on the garment industry and garment workers in Mexico, automobile workers and organizational culture in Korea and Canada, and tourism industry development in the Dominican Republic, among others.

He has an abiding interest in modes of social inclusion/exclusion in business organizations, social justice, and community dynamics.