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Abstract

This paper examines the experiences of middle class Indian migrants to New Zealand. Using qualitative data from interviews with this under-researched group the paper analyses their migratory strategies, labour market experiences and reasons for choosing New Zealand over other potential destinations. In the New Zealand labour market they experience an under valuation of their Indian qualifications, and interviewees reported taking low level service employment, and only sometimes progressing to middle class forms of employment. In addition data from the interviews suggests that there is evidence of a 'brain drain' from India to New Zealand rather than a circulation of talent that has been the focus of recent theories. Unlike other studies of migration of highly qualified Indian labour this study finds that they are attracted by the environment and family friendly lifestyle of New Zealand as marketed by the New Zealand government to potential immigrants. Contrary to many previous studies, the findings suggest that migration is a family rather than an individual strategy.

Keywords: Middle class migrants; Indians; New Zealand; brain drain; families

1. Introduction

For some time now there have been repeated calls for more research on migration of the 'middle class' of professionally or technically qualified or managers (Conradson and Latham, 2005; Favell et al. 2006; Friesen and Collins, 2017; Iredale, 2001). However, much of the research in response to those calls remains concerned with migration within Europe and to global cities (Csedo, 2008; Nohl et al., 2014; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014; Smith and Favell, 2006). Ong et al. (1992) recognised that the migration of the highly educated from Asian countries has been the most significant element of global migration since the 1960s. Often a contrast is drawn between the mobility of a 'corporate global elite' as they pursue their careers and the 'immobile' working class (Bauman, 2008). However, the migrations of the

middle classes are more typical than that of the 'globally mobile elites' (Ong et al., 1992) and they are increasingly the focus of state attempts to manage migration as is the case in New Zealand (Friesen and Collins, 2017; Spoonley, 2015). However, very little 'human level' research has been available on the socially differentiated middle class migrants who are regarded as 'prototypical' (Favell et al., 2006: 3). This paper addresses some of the key issues arising from this debate on middle class migrants in relation to middle class, qualified or skilled migration from India to New Zealand since the 1980s.

The analysis of Indian migration to New Zealand is a critical contribution to these debates in several ways. What some authors (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014; Friesen and Collins, 2017; Kurian and Munshi, 2006; Simon-Kumar, 2015; Spoonley, 2015) see as the explicitly 'neo-liberal' migration policy of successive New Zealand governments since the 1980s, has led to a rapid growth in the migration of educated labour from Asian countries including India. This has involved not just a points based system highlighting scarce skills (Spoonley, 2015), but pro-actively recruiting skilled migrants based on the construction of 'desirable migrants' (Simon-Kumar, 2015: 1181). Some aspects of New Zealand migration policy are now seen to be internationally innovative, so that rather than following Canada or Australia, these other states are seeking to emulate it (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014). Finally, India has traditionally been seen as one of the archetypical victims of the 'brain drain' or beneficiaries of the circulation of talent, the 'brain chain' (Friesen and Collins, 2017), depending on one's perspective (Khadria, 2001; 2002; Oommen, 1989).

Many recent studies of mass middle class migration have focused on the EU, USA or 'world cities' (Csedo, 2008; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014; Smith and Favell, 2006). Such a focus may distort the theoretical conclusions. The EU is a relatively frictionless space for migration compared to most international migrations, and migrants to world cities and the USA might have distinctive motivations, migration and occupational trajectories and other

experiences of settlement compared to middle class migrants to other locations. This study also provides a different perspective to those studies of middle class Indian migration which have focused on highly skilled migrants to 'Silicon Valley' (Saxenian, 2006) or the temporary migration of young Indian men to Europe (Batnitzky et al., 2008; Qureshi et al., 2013; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014). In contrast it highlights the migration of middle class Indian families to New Zealand, building upon and complementing previous work (Lewin et. al. 2011).

Using data about Indian migrants from a wider qualitative study of the South Asian diaspora in New Zealand this paper focuses on the relatively under researched issue of the migration of educated labour from India to New Zealand (Lewin, et. al., 2011). It examines the qualifications, job histories and current employment of middle class Indian migrants, and how far their Indian qualifications are 'de-valued' through migration (Csedo, 2008; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014; Qureshi et al., 2013). The paper considers how far Indian migrants expect to become New Zealand citizens, and examines what specific challenges, opportunities and constraints they have faced in their migration plans, and what strategies have they pursued to negotiate them. Finally the paper suggests that 'post-materialist' values (Inglehart, 1977) valuing the environment make New Zealand a desirable destination for middle class Indian migrants.

2. Literature Review: Middle Class Migration

For some time there has been a widespread recognition that more research is needed on 'middle class' migration (Conradson and Latham, 2005; Favell et al. 2006; Friesen and Collins, 2017; Iredale, 2001; Ong et al., 1992). This literature suggests that studies of 'mass middle class' migration should examine claims about the supposed liberalisation of migration (or for some neo-liberal migration policies), as they are geared towards improving the human

capital and economic performance of receiving countries. New Zealand is such an example. Middle class migrants are assumed to have the qualifications and individualised orientation towards careers that such policies might reward. Too often the agency of such migrants is assumed or 'imagined', and that is where qualitative studies can make a decisive contribution (Favell et al., 2006).

If, as suggested by Ong et al. (1992) and by Favell et al. (2006), most migration globally involves the educated middle classes, it might appear that many general migration theories have been oriented to minor aspects of migration since the 1960s. The difficulties of constructing a general theory of migration have been commented upon several times, be it from an interdisciplinary perspective (Favell, 2008) or a more specifically sociological one (Castles, 2010). The approach taken here is informed by Castles' (2010: 1582) suggestion that migration theories should be middle range, integrating insights from diverse approaches and oriented to specific historical and local circumstances. It also takes up Favell's (2008: 266) suggestion that there should be a decentring of both US and European studies.

Favell et al. (2006) suggest that there are five assumptions frequently made about middle class international migration. Firstly, there is a tendency to overlook them by referring simply to migration of the corporate elite and the unskilled working class, leaving out key categories such as female nurses, students and 'unskilled migrants' whose qualifications are devalued in the host nation. Although there are some recent studies of middle class Indian migrants, these have focused on high performing IT specialists (Saxenian, 2006) or temporary male migrants to Europe (Batnitzky et al., 2008; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014). Most importantly globalisation has produced a surge of large-scale middle class migration since the 1960s (Ong et al. (1992). Secondly, middle class migration is demand driven, what were traditionally called 'pull-factors'. However, Favell et al. (2006) suggest that institutional, cultural and post-colonial factors structure and channel such migrations.

Nevertheless, it is important to distinguish between the post-colonial connections of culture and language which may structure the choices of potential migrants, from the pro-active recruitment of specific kinds of skilled migrant labour. Both are relevant to the case of Indian middle class migrants to New Zealand, since both countries were part of the British Empire, and New Zealand has pro-actively sought highly qualified migrants from India (Friesen and Collins, 2017; Khadria, 2001: 54; Spoonley, 2015). Thirdly, Favell et al. (2006) suggested that there is often a simplified version of the 'brain drain' phenomenon assumed, so that it is thought only the best qualified migrate. In contrast, they suggest that a model more akin to 'brain circulation' may be apparent. What Friesen and Collins (2017) refer to as the 'brain chain'. This may indeed be the case with Indian migration, and this paper specifically sets out to examine this claim in relation to Indian migration to New Zealand. Highly educated Indian migrants often find their qualifications and experience undervalued in a European context (Qureshi et al., 2013; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014). Fourthly, there is the debate between those who see more controlled immigration vs frictionless mobility. Favell et al. suggest a third model for middle class mobility that is characterised by distinct criteria for entry, and specific challenges and opportunities for migrants. New Zealand migration policy and citizenship criteria (Spoonley, 2015; Simon-Kumar, 2015) seem to fit this model. Finally, Favell et al. identify an assumption that human capital is in a sense a universal and inalienable category comparable to the view of Friesen and Collins (2017). However, any individual nation's qualifications may not be recognised elsewhere, and social networks may prove more useful than qualifications in getting ahead. In short social capital trumps cultural capital. However, others have suggested that social networks are of declining significance for Indian migration (Johnston et al., 2006) and others have highlighted the role of employers and agents recruiting directly in India for migration to Europe (Batnitzky et al., 2008; Qureshi et al., 2013; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014).

These recent debates tend to overlook how migration destinations might be 'marketed' towards particular migrants and how this might interface with the motivations of middle class migrants. The bias towards EU migration and migration to 'global cities' such as London, Paris and New York produces a stereotype of the middle class migrant as an individualistic over-achiever primarily motivated by upward mobility, as reinforced by studies such as Csedo (2008). However, this ignores the importance of life-style, environment and a 'family-friendly' culture in host countries, their marketing to attract the 'right kind' of migrants and how migrants both individually and with their families make decisions about where to migrate to. This is prominent in the case of migration to New Zealand. For these potential 'new' migrants Immigration New Zealand's website has emphasised lifestyle and opportunity. Its sub-headings were: 'Balanced lifestyle, Safe & Secure, Family friendly, Clean & beautiful, A warm welcome. Emphasizing a healthy work/life balance, a diverse, beautiful environment to settle in and a great place to bring up families' (Immigration New Zealand, 2015). Furthermore, what Indian migrants liked most about New Zealand, when they were asked in the longitudinal survey of migrants, was the climate and natural environment with over 73 per cent indicating this, and the relaxed pace of life and friendliness of people with over 61 per cent responding positively to this option. The aspects with the highest negative responses related to perceptions of job opportunities (79 per cent negative), economic conditions (89 per cent negative) and the education system (68 per cent negative) (Statistics New Zealand, 2012: tables 9 and 10). One question arising from this is how far are middle class Indian migrants to New Zealand motivated by 'post-materialist' (Inglehart, 1977) concerns of environment and non-economic aspects of lifestyle such as being able to spend more time with their families, rather than the opportunities for career development and economic returns that dominate much of the literature on middle class

migration? Theories of migration based on narrowly economic motivations would seem to be at a loss here.

This review of the general literature on global mass middle class migration gives rise to four sets of issues that this paper seeks to address through original empirical data relating to the migration of middle class Indians to New Zealand. Firstly it will examine how far such migrants succeed in obtaining comparable educated middle class employment in New Zealand, and how far they are able to use their Indian qualifications in that country. For example how far those qualified as engineers or doctors are able to obtain such employment in New Zealand. Secondly, it contributes to the ongoing debate around whether or not Indian migrants to New Zealand are part of a more general 'brain drain', brain circulation or brain chain. This is addressed through examining how far contemporary Indian migrants have settled in New Zealand rather than returning to India or moving on elsewhere. Central to this question is how far and for what reasons have migrants taken out New Zealand citizenship. Thirdly it examines the strategies they have developed to plan their migrations and settlement in overcoming various constraints and taking advantage of various opportunities arising from the policies of the both the New Zealand state and the Indian state. Finally, it considers the question of the role of social networks in the migrants' experiences, and how and why they chose New Zealand as a destination and the role of post-materialist concerns (Inglehart, 1977) in these migration decisions. The next section provides the context for the analysis of the original qualitative interview data in terms of New Zealand migration policy and the migration of middle class Indians to New Zealand.

3. New Zealand migration policy and middle class Indian migration

Since the 1970s New Zealand has pursued what many (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014; Friesen and Collins, 2017; Simon-Kumar, 2015; Spoonley, 2015) refer to as a neo-liberal migration

policy aimed at skilled migrants to improve economic performance. In 1974 the preference given to UK and Irish migrants was replaced by an approach that sought to maximise the economic benefits to the country. Criteria became focused on skills shortages and investment, and from 1991 onwards a points based system led to significant new migration from the Pacific, East Asia and South Asia. In the mid 1990s there was a populist reaction against especially East Asian migration (Spoonley, 2015) leading the government to increase English language test scores, amongst other policies, that were supposed to improve social cohesion (Kurian and Munshi, 2006). This temporarily slowed the increase in migration from India (net migration from India declined from 2294 in 1996 to 1154 in 1998 (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). However, after 1999 the new Labour government introduced the selection of skilled migrants. The most innovative development came in 2003 with the introduction of applications to an Expression of Interest pool from which applicants were selected to apply for permanent residence. Rather than passively accept resident applications who met particular points threshold, the country has been able to target and actively select prospective residents with skills which were in demand in the labour market (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014). In 2009 India was the top ranked source country for the first time, and over the next three years the EOI's submitted by Indians had increased to 28.8 per cent of those submitted in 2013 (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014).

Driving this increase in migration from India to New Zealand was the growth of various temporary visas for students and others with the expectation that they would become permanent residents (Simon-Kumar, 2015). The effect on migration from India was immediately apparent with arrivals increasing from 1869 in 1999 to 6860 in 2002, but then falling to 2569 in 2005 since when there was an increase purely on the basis of student visas to 11,303 in 2014 (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). In 2012 the family sponsorship of siblings and adult children ended, being justified on the purely economic neo-liberal lines that their

employment prospects were poor (Simon-Kumar, 2015: 1178), so that the bulk of this increase was due to students. The number of those arriving under student visas increased from 971 in 2006 to 8491 in 2014, however this has since fallen to 6273 in 2017 (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). Furthermore, there is no sign of a return to India, as permanent and long-term migration returns to India only increased from 618 in 2006 to 1215 in 2014 with net Indian migration to New Zealand increasing from 2125 to 10088 over the same period (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). This looks very much like a new brain drain via university education. The majority of these new migrants are young men, and by 2014 men aged between 15 and 29 accounted for over 61 per cent of all migrants from India. Between 1979 and 2005 the ratio of male to female arrivals in New Zealand from India ranged from 0.7 to 1.6. From 2008 onwards it has ranged between 2.0 and 2.8, and in 2014 in the 15 to 29 age group the ratio was 3.6 men to every woman (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). The image of Indian migrants would seem to have rapidly changed from one of family households to one of single young highly educated men. There has been a shift in the criteria for immigration from 'race' to class, with the preference being for educated middle class migrants (Friesen and Collins, 2017; Simon-Kumar, 2015; Spoonley, 2015).

The Indian diaspora in New Zealand is composed of both long established communities (Leckie, 2007) and more recent substantial waves of migration. The current wave of Indian migration to New Zealand is not entirely new, contrary to some standard accounts (e.g. Castles et al., 2014: 168), which overlook the earlier waves of migration both directly to New Zealand and via Fiji through the modern slavery system of indentured labour that transported over 60,000 from Calcutta between 1879 and 1916 (Leckie, 2007; Prasad, 2004). This new wave of 'middle class' Indian migrants are encountering a diasporic Indian population that has been in formation for over 150 years, and there appears to be little contact between. In the Census of 2013 over 143,000 described their ethnicity as Indian and over

10,000 as Fijian Indian. The recent wave of migrantion is also illustrated by 67,000 giving their birthplace as India (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Recent Indian migrants also tend to have close relatives living with them. In the New Zealand longitudinal survey of immigrants only 8.3 per cent of Indian migrants lived alone compared to over 11 per cent of other nationalities, and this is further reinforced by the evidence that 54 per cent of Indian immigrants were in households comprised of couples, children and/or extended family compared to 46 per cent of all nationalities. The significance of family and social networks is also reinforced by the evidence that over 26 per cent of Indian migrants in the survey intend to sponsor another migrant compared to only 20 per cent of migrants from all nationalities (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). As a result it appears that much of the recent Indian migration to New Zealand during the period in which the fieldwork for this study was completed has been of families rather than of the single young men who have been the focus of several recent studies in Europe (Batnitzky et al., 2008; Qureshi et al., 2013; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014).

4. The qualitative data

The qualitative interviews were carried out with a variety of men and women from India who were new migrants. These were part of a wider series of 64 in-depth semi structured interviews with respondents from the South Asian population of Indian and Pakistani ethnicities and from Hindu, Muslim and Sikh religions. Questions were asked about their past and current employment history. The interviews addressed many of the issues that had arisen in discussions around this particular community: migration; growing up in New Zealand; issues around identity; religion; impact of war on terror; 9/11 and the fear of backlash; gender issues; the role of citizenship; living in new Zealand; marriage; leadership of South Asian communities; country of origin; experience of racial discrimination; work; and future issues. Unlike similar studies (Lewin, et. al., 2011: 18) there were no objections to

the interviews being recorded. The questions concerned with migration from India form the focus of the data discussed in this paper and thus only draw upon those interviews with the Indian sub-sample.

Men and women aged 16-35 and 36 and over were identified as target groups for interviewing. The younger group is significant as it covers many who are likely to be recent migrants. The older group were also more likely to have migrated some years ago and subsequently taken up New Zealand citizenship. Existing community and professional networks facilitated sample recruitment, and community groups and community centres were approached, starting with the Indian Cultural Centre for both young and older people, religious institutions and council organizations. The sample was deliberately generated from a diverse range of organizations, as this would ensure it was not dominated by specific groups of individuals, often with similar experiences, who were not normally in the public eye or who were not necessarily politically active members of the community. In addition interviews were sought in locations outside of Auckland unlike previous studies (Lewin, 2011). Further contacts were also made informally by the use of snowballing techniques.

Interviews were carried out by the British South Asian author, transcribed and if necessary translated. The interviewer's identity proved to be an advantage locating her both within but also outside the communities, hence interviewees explained in detail many issues specific to the New Zealand context. The transcripts were anonymised with the use of pseudonyms, and analysed thematically. Quotations were selected on the basis of their relevance for the overall analytical argument.

This analytical argument is organised around the following themes: employment, citizenship, and lifestyle. In the following section on middle class Indian migration to New Zealand I use the available published sources of quantitative data on migration to New

Zealand to provide an overview of the qualifications and labour market positions of Indian migrants. The qualitative data is then used to show how 'downward mobility' was seen strategically as a temporary phenomenon prior to securing middle class employment in New Zealand. New Zealand citizenship claims are readily identified in the quantitative data, but my qualitative data adds new dimensions to that show what these mean for migrants and how they fit into their migration strategies. In the final section I consider the importance of 'post-materialist' (Inglehart, 1977) factors in the decisions about New Zealand as a destination for Indian migrants.

Middle Class Indian Migration to New Zealand

From the available published quantitative data relating to the period around the time of my qualitative fieldwork, principally the New Zealand longitudinal survey of migrants, four variables relevant to middle class migrants can be identified: occupational class, income, education and housing. According to the New Zealand longitudinal immigration survey over 53 per cent of Indian migrants are in managerial, professional and technical employment in 2009 three to four years after arrival. Although over 15 per cent are in labouring jobs in the first year three years later only 9 per cent are in such employment (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). This data suggests that Indian migrants are predominantly middle class, and experience some upward mobility in the early years after arrival in New Zealand. However, it does not necessarily mean that they are amongst the best paid immigrants to New Zealand. The same survey shows that amongst skilled primary immigrants (the highest paid immigration approval category) South Asians (who are predominantly from India) were the second lowest paid on arrival with median earnings just over 20 New Zealand dollars per hour compared to the highest paid immigrant from the UK and Ireland who had median earnings of over 26 New Zealand dollars per hour. Three years later these differences persisted with South Asian immigrants' median hourly earning being just over 25 New

Zealand dollars, whilst those of UK and Irish Immigrants had risen to over 30 New Zealand dollars (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). However, this data does not enable us to distinguish between those who arrive on student visas, as might be the case for Indian migrants, and other visa categories. Further evidence of the economic marginality of recent Indian migrants to New Zealand is that they tend to live in rented accommodation during the first few years covered by the longitudinal survey, as over 51 per cent of them live in rented accommodation compared to just over 32 per cent of those from all nationalities. This is not what one would expect of middle class migrants. Although I did not systematically collect data on housing in my qualitative interviews, I did note that those recent migrants who I interviewed in their own homes lived in very poor conditions in rented accommodation. It seems that Indian migrants, who are otherwise seemingly 'middle class' arrive with limited economic resources and earn relatively low incomes at least during the first few years despite being highly qualified (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). This quantitative data supports findings of previous studies of middle class Indian migrants to European and World Cities regarding their living conditions (Batnitzky et al., 2008; Nohl et al., 2014; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014)

Indian migrants in the longitudinal survey also tend to report holding better formal qualifications than all migrants, although their qualifications seem to be undervalued by the New Zealand authorities. This is evident from the survey which shows that over 76 per cent of Indian migrants have post-school qualifications compared to 67 per cent of all migrants. However, Indian migrants assessed as having level 1 skills (bachelors degree or above) account for over 32 per cent compared to over 40 per cent of all nationalities (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). Similar findings regarding the undervaluation of Indian qualifications are also reported from qualitative studies of middle class Indian male migrants to European cities (Rutten and Verstappen, 2014; Qureshi et al., 2013)

Migration was often related to education, if not of the interviewee, then one of their family. For example Gurnam Singh explained: 'I was a lecturer in mechanical engineering in India, I stayed in Australia for five and half years and I worked in the railways' he is now working as a taxi driver in New Zealand 'if you start thinking I was professor in India and here I am a taxi driver I think it's not okay…, if you consider yourself that you start from scratch you will be okay'. This looks like a classic example of downward social mobility through migration as extensively documented elsewhere in the case of New Zealand (Boyd, 2003; Department of Labour, 2006; Lewin et al., 2011). However, Gurnam's decisions about migration had been part of a wider family strategy as he explained:

> My brother came as a student visa in 1996 in Australia and I was a lecturer and he said to me it was going to be difficult for him to pay the fees for an international student and "it would be good if you could earn money and sustain my education".

Stories like these were frequently related by the respondents, as they left middle class professional jobs for lower level employment. For example Neelem Kumar and her husband had secure professional middle class careers in India:

> I came in 1998, I worked as a counsellor in a college, it was a private college and my husband was a mechanical engineer. When we came here my husband worked in the dairy [a small shop] and I used to work in a cafe for a few months.

Such individuals had routine service jobs in New Zealand rather than employment more fitting to their Indian qualifications. They were able to earn more money in New Zealand doing such work than the money they would earn if they were in India. However after some training in New Zealand their jobs have changed, according to Neelam Kumar: 'I got a job in special needs teacher …, and he (her husband) is now working in a good job he is a sales engineer so no problem at all'. These cases also exemplify how migration takes place

as a family-household strategy. It is not isolated individuals making rational choices, but relatives engaging in mutual support. This is a strategy of initially 'getting by' and settling in to New Zealand, and helps to explain the previously noted trends in the longitudinal survey data where recent Indian migrants are more likely to secure middle class employment the longer they are in the country partly contradicting other evidence (Boyd, 2003; Department of Labour, 2006; Lewin et al., 2011).

Whilst most of the recent migrants chose to take up jobs for which they were 'over-qualified', there were others who had no option, especially those within the medical field. Kiran Uptain was a medical laboratory scientist, and he explained what was happening in his place of work:

> What we are finding is that there a lot more Asian and Indian skilled people coming as migrants recently they cannot find jobs in their fields. Some are doctors. New Zealand has a policy of registration and these people are either held back because of language or through financial constraints. We have laboratory technicians that are doctors in the country of origin! They work beneath them to save money so that eventually they can retrain and register again in New Zealand.

Other cases reveal a more familiar strategy of upward mobility amongst recent migrants through entrepreneurship (Lewin, et al.,2011). Jaswinder Kaur had lived in New Zealand for eight years: 'I've studied engineering and my husband studied engineering in India'. When she first arrived she got a menial job but was able to progress as: 'originally I did some computing course in India and I was able to use that qualification when it came here to get a job so I was a software programmer for 5 years'. Her husband had qualified as an engineer, but unable to find employment in that profession with his Indian qualifications he set up a real estate business where his wife now works with him. Setting up their own

business was seen as the route to economic improvement for some of the migrants. Others set up their own petrol stations and an export and import clothing business from and to India.

The experience of downward mobility also had an impact on the children of these migrants who arrived in New Zealand with them, so whole families experienced downward mobility. For example, Roshan could not understand why his parents would chose to leave the comfort of their home and the security of a good job and the lifestyle this provided for them for a life in New Zealand where the job opportunities were not that good. Moving to New Zealand has meant a drop in employment status:

> Dad worked in a supermarket first, then a bus driver and now a liquor business. Mum's a manager at supermarket, she's quite skilful, she's not using her degree, commerce degree and other courses – she can also do shorthand but she's never used it here in New Zealand.

This is an account of downward mobility and under utilisation of human capital familiar from other studies of middle class Indian migrants (Nohl et al., 2014; Lewin et al., 2011; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014; Qureshi et al., 2013), and other migrants to New Zealand (Boyd, 2003; Department of Labour, 2006). Roshan explains how the pull factors for his parents were economic 'Same as others, better life, better education, more opportunities was the main issues, in India the value of life is not as high as it is in new Zealand as there are so many people'. According to Roshan his parents decided to come to New Zealand on the basis that the New Zealand government were inviting migrants from India: 'We decided to come to new Zealand as the visas were open, the new Zealand government was inviting people to come over..., that was the biggest reason'. This contrasts with other recent studies of middle class Indian migrants (Batnitzky et al., 2008; Qureshi et al., 2013; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014) in two main ways. Firstly, migrants were not recruited by agencies or

employers in India; rather it was directly at the instigation of the New Zealand government (Khadria, 2001: 54). Secondly, these were migrations of families rather than single men. Another interviewee with a similar experience of downward social mobility of the family through migration after seeing promotion of the country by the New Zealand government was Lyla Sen an Auckland University student:

> My dad was a lecturer in India, he was lecturing for 19 years and had enough and he saw this advertisement. There wasn't many people coming at that time so he tried to come over and he fell in love with this place.

She mentions that her mother was reluctant to migrate; 'my mum was not that keen, you have to start from scratch, we were quite established and she questioned the decision and it was going to be hard with the children. My grandparents weren't that keen either, as she's the only child as well'. Both her parents were highly educated and with a few courses in New Zealand both of them have been able to utilise their education and are now in employment more fitting to this: 'my mum is an early childhood teacher and my father is now working as a scientist'. She talked about the adjustments to their lives being in New Zealand in particular for her mother 'My mum was not even working in India, and here in NZ you have to have both incomes to survive. Mum wanted to work in India but dad wouldn't allow her, she's now become a workaholic, my mum's loving work'. What was also significant here was the loss of a distinctly Indian middle class lifestyle, with its distinct gender roles, something noted previously in studies of middle class Indian migration (Batnitzky et al., 2008). They left their Indian relatively affluent middle class lifestyle as well with servants in favour of opportunities for their children. According to Neelam Kumar:

> If I stayed in India I would have had a good life as well, nowadays you can earn a lot of money via job and if you have money you can have servants. Here I do everything

on my own, servants there do breakfast and all the cleaning and washing and fetching of groceries, lunch and dinner as well.

On the question of Indian middle class migration to New Zealand there is both considerable quantitative and qualitative evidence that this takes a distinctive form. The migrants are in many respects typically middle class with high levels of education, professional or managerial occupations and middle class lifestyles in India. However, upon migration to New Zealand they experience significant initial downward mobility in terms of employment, housing, lifestyle (no servants) and a lack of recognition of their qualifications. Nevertheless through further training and setting up their own businesses those interviewed generally improve their social position, and this is broadly supported by the evidence from the New Zealand longitudinal survey of immigrants. A further distinctive feature of the interviewees in this study is that they were involved in forms of family migration, as brothers, couples with children or extended families. This finding contrasts markedly with other recent studies of middle class Indian migrants to European cities (Batnitzky et al., 2008; Qureshi et al., 2013; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014), which have largely represented such migration as being mostly of young single men.

5. Brain drain or brain circulation: citizenship as a sign of permanent settlement

A key issue regarding middle class Indian migration has been regarding whether or not it involves the loss of human capital from India, a ‘brain drain’ or if it involves ‘brain circulation’ or ‘brain chain’ (Friesen and Collins, 2017) with the return of migrants to India (Khadria 2001; Oomen, 1989). Wider debates about middle class migration also reflect these concerns (Favell et al., 2006). In the context of this study evidence about Indian migrants’ actual or intended acquisition of New Zealand citizenship throws some light on these

questions. Obtaining New Zealand citizenship signifies an intention to remain permanently in the country with no plans to return to India. Whilst there is a considerable literature detailing the changes to the rules regarding New Zealand immigration and citizenship over the past forty years and the economic, social and political factors shaping these (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014; Kurian and Munshi, 2006; Simon-Kumar, 2015; Spoonley, 2015), they do not consider how migrants are negotiating these changes. Survey data indicate that migrants from South Asia (who are mostly from India) are more likely to be committed to permanent settlement in New Zealand compared to those from elsewhere. Over 86 per cent of South Asian migrants had gained or intended to gain citizenship within three or four years of arrival, compared to 78 per cent of all migrants (Statistics New Zealand, 2012).

Amongst those whom I interviewed, whether migrants had arrived recently in New Zealand or some decades ago, obtaining New Zealand citizenship, as most had done or intended to do, was a sign of permanent settlement. This was a clear preference to the various options of extended visas and permanent residence offered by what some have called New Zealand's liberal regime of 'soft citizenship' (Spoonley, 2015). There was no intention amongst interviewees of moving on elsewhere such as Australia. For example, Navin Sindhu has been a New Zealand citizen since 1975 explained: 'I work in this country, I can make this country part of my life and I have no intention of going elsewhere'. Similarly Aakesh Dev said 'Being an NZ citizen means a lot, I have settled here and I will die here and I will live forever here, I wouldn't be anywhere else'. For such migrants New Zealand citizenship was a clearly a sign of long term settlement in the country rather than brain circulation (Favell et al., 2006). Another feature of decisions to take New Zealand citizenship concerned the ease of international travel with a New Zealand passport as Sukbir Singh explained: 'NZ citizenship is valued highly and it makes travel easy'.

However, these were not individual choices; rather they reflected a family strategy of dual citizenship either through one member of the family retaining Indian citizenship or maintaining a form of dual citizenship, such as an Indian certificate of citizenship and reflects the widely recognised phenomenon of transnational citizenship. This is typically done to maintain contact with extended family in India, and it does not undermine or qualify their longer term commitment to staying in New Zealand. According to Kuldeep Kaur, who has had New Zealand citizenship for fifteen years:

> I have not got an Indian passport, I have got dual citizenship and got a certificate but we have only got one passport. We have this as we go to India every year so we don't really need to get a visa, with dual citizenship we can get away with this and we don't get stopped going. My mother in law is still there and we visit there as often as we can.

For Kuldeep's family New Zealand is the country of permanent residence and family obligations towards relatives in India are the reason for retaining Indian citizenship, but not a passport. This is simply to facilitate travel between the two countries. Another reason that emerged from the interviews was a desire to maintain land ownership rights in India. Rajwant Singh explains how he has retained Indian citizenship, but his wife and children have obtained New Zealand citizenship, yet he recognises the complications and disadvantages for international travel:

> Citizenship, I don't have it, my wife is and my children are, if I take it I can't buy land in India and I cannot maintain it, I cannot buy agricultural land or maintain it without Indian citizenship. It's been twenty one years I could've got citizenship but I choose not to. I travel with my family US, Canada and Australia, when I travel with my passport it's not such a big difference, they do a thorough check for all passports! It

> doesn't make a difference, the only difference is I have to apply for visa, I do sometimes think yes it would make it easier to move around, we are going to Dubai and I need to get a visa

Amongst those who had been in New Zealand for some time there was widespread recognition of how citizenship had become more difficult to obtain. Those who obtained their citizenship before the new conditions were introduced often commented upon how easy it was. As Rajinder Kaur explained:

> I am a NZ citizen, very easy to get in my time. I just applied, it was free the government paid for everything and we were invited for a meal. Now you have to pay 500 dollars, you have to be so many years in the country.

More recent migrants were also aware of the constraints, but did not perceive them as a major issue. They saw themselves as being on a path towards citizenship and none of them seemed unduly worried about their ability to get it despite the introduction of longer residency periods and English language tests. As Sukwinder Singh argued: 'I am only permanent resident, I don't really know how long I have to wait, I think about 5 years… I will get it when it comes to that time'. Jaswinder Kaur and here husband were both still Indian citizens despite having settled permanently in New Zealand: '… both me and my husband are still Indian citizens and we just haven't got around to doing it'.

Decisions about whether to apply for New Zealand citizenship are therefore family decisions rather than individual ones. In addition this often means that one member of the family retains an Indian passport and/or the rest of the family retains an Indian certificate of citizenship alongside a New Zealand passport. This is largely to negotiate commitments towards other extended family members who are still in India in the context of Indian requirements for New Zealand citizens to obtain visas. Similarly Indian government

constraints on land ownership often mean that those who would otherwise have taken New Zealand citizenship retain their Indian citizenship. Interviewees were also extremely knowledgeable about the rules governing the application for New Zealand citizenship, noting how they had become more rigorous in recent years. However, recent migrants without citizenship were confident they would obtain it when they so desired. Overall running through the interviews is the notion that taking out citizenship signifies permanent settlement, and that migration strategies are 'family-household' strategies. This challenges the common perception of globalised middle class migration being individualised and temporary.

6. A 'greener' lifestyle

New Zealand has not been shy of promoting its country to attract the best skilled migrants, competing alongside Canada and Australia in terms of its points system, the environment has been a valuable asset in its promotion (Khadria, 2001). Whilst attention has been given to the nation's desire to recruit the right kind of migrant (Simon-Kumar, 2015), less attention has been given over to the marketing of New Zealand as a desirable location for the right kind of migrant. The Immigration New Zealand website emphasizes the environment as a selling point, starting with the headline 'Clean and beautiful - Every country has a certain amount of natural beauty. New Zealand just happens to have loads of it'. In doing this it is clearly aiming to recruit highly educated middle class migrants whom it assumes would be motivated by an appreciation of these 'post-materialist' (Inglehart, 1977) non-economic factors in migration. Whilst Inglehart was concerned to explain the rise of political values such as environmentalism in the West, part of his argument was that this shift was produced by higher levels of university education. What I want to suggest here is that these values may also be pertinent to migration decisions. Immigration New Zealand's celebration of the country's environment is achieved through emphasizing its connection to the land, 'spectacular scenery' and promoting its low population density:

> We're slightly larger than the UK and slightly smaller than Japan. But we have a fraction of their populations, just 4.5m …So, on average you'll find just 16 people for every square kilometre in New Zealand. That compares to 253 in the UK and 337 in Japan. (Immigration New Zealand, 2015)

For several respondents, the environment was central to their family's decision making with regards to migration. According to Lyla Sen:

> My dad has three younger brothers, two in New York and one in California and he said "no let's not go to America" and then he thought about Australia and he was not too keen there so then he thought about New Zealand and it was very quiet. We couldn't handle New York, it was too noisy, we like New Zealand it was very quiet and it was so good in terms of its nature.

This negative comparison made with New York was reiterated by other interviewees in relation to Australia. For instance Gurnam Singh explained: 'I stayed in Australia for five and half years and I worked in the railways and the lifestyle was like New York and I didn't like it I wanted to stay in a laid back country which is why I came here'. Balwinder Singh was studying to be a doctor in India but left that to join his brother who was running a successful restaurant business in Sydney. He spent three months in New Zealand went onwards to Australia, but decided to leave Australia and to return back to New Zealand:

> I lived in Sydney for a while but decided it was not for me, it was too busy for me and not want I wanted so I came back to New Zealand..., Life is very different tin Sydney and Auckland, my brother had a lot of money in Sydney, but he was working like a machine, and I decided no. My brother has a 250 seater restaurant and he was working so hard no rest. Sydney and New Zealand were so different, it was too busy,

people don't have time to look after you and they are busy doing their own things and they have to behave like that to live in that country, I just didn't like it.

The emphasis on families and friends was an important one for the respondents, and even Immigration New Zealand's website focuses on 'family and friends', its headline on its website opening page is ' Choose New Zealand - New Zealanders believe life is for living. It's about balancing a good day's work with time for family and friends' (Immigration New Zealand, 2015). These themes are echoed in the views of my respondents such as Gurnam Singh: 'I can imagine me and my wife and my mum if we were in India I wouldn't have enough time to spend with them – not have too much quality time to spend with them'. This family friendly point was also reiterated by Harrinder Singh 'I found this country very much family orientated, educational wise it was equal it was second to none and it was clean, green and I thought lets come to this country. People are very tolerant over here'. Interviewees also made comparisons with India, regarding New Zealand as having a slower pace of life, as Jaswinder Kaur argued: 'When I first arrived I thought it was a good and green country with good people'.

7. Conclusion

This paper has set out to examine the experiences of recent middle class Indian migrants to New Zealand in terms of their employment, permanent settlement, the constraints and opportunities they faced and their reasons for choosing New Zealand in preference to other locations. By sampling across the Indian community in New Zealand the research has avoided focusing on those categories such as IT specialists or single educated men which have been the focus of previous studies. This has enabled the research to highlight the significance of family migration which is substantiated by the available quantitative data.

Migrants from India to New Zealand are 'typically middle class', highly educated professionals, managers or small business people with a middle class life style in India. However, upon immediate arrival in New Zealand many experience a lack of recognition of their qualifications, downward mobility and a loss of their middle class Indian life style. Although often initially taking unskilled service employment many do experience upward mobility after some time in New Zealand. They frequently migrate as families or more extended kin networks and pursue collective family strategies towards migration, employment and settlement.

The findings also suggest that they aim for permanent settlement in New Zealand, taking up New Zealand citizenship. They express no desire to move on to Australia or elsewhere, nor to return to India. The minority who do not have or intend to take out citizenship do so to maintain investments in India or to maintain family contacts. Often these are the sole members of their families who do not take out citizenship.

Finally, rather than being principally motivated by economic factors they choose migration to New Zealand for its family friendly life style and 'green' environment. They compare New Zealand favourably over other destinations such as Australia, Canada, the USA and Europe for these reasons. This suggests that New Zealand's marketing of itself as a green family friendly destination has been successful for this particular group of migrants. This suggests that the role of non-economic post-materialist values (Inglehart, 1977) should be considered more generally in studies of middle class migration. Middle class migrants from countries such as India and elsewhere such as China might be seeking a higher quality physical and natural environment and not just career advancement. These findings challenge the common stereotype in the literature of middle class Indian migrants as economically motivated individuals.

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