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Exploring 'employability' in different cultural contexts

FINAL REPORT: SCOPING STUDY (2014)

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Aims

This scoping study aims to provide a broad sweep of current and emerging research into culturally specific understandings of employability in four distinct cultural contexts: China, India, Vietnam and Indonesia.

Through an examination of the literature, the study explores:

- How employability is understood in different cultural contexts and what differences exist between employability attributes valued in different geographical and cultural settings;
- How expectations of employability vary between different professions and different categories of employer in each of the countries under investigation;
- Gaps in current research and priority areas for future research

Introduction

The growth in knowledge economies has led to changing skill and knowledge requirements while the massification of higher education has resulted in an expanding supply of tertiary educated graduates entering the workplace. For employers, globalisation has resulted in greater international competition, off-shoring and less certainty regarding their future labour requirements (Brown, Lauder, & Ashton, 2010). For graduates, this translates into heightened competition for entry level positions, far less certainty surrounding post study employment prospects and the growing need to 'stand out' in a crowded graduate labour market.

Graduate employability is now a priority for universities. Employability is generally defined as encompassing the discipline knowledge, skills and personal attributes that give an individual graduate the ability to gain and maintain employment (Hillage & Pollard 1998). In a competitive graduate labour market, employers are looking beyond the degree in their search for 'work-ready' graduates. There is growing emphasis on generic skills and personal attributes as well as discipline related work experience. Emerging research suggests generic skills are culturally specific (Henderson, 2011) or even discipline specific (Gribble & Blackmore, 2012; Jackling et al., 2012). A study of Australian employers of accountants, engineers and nurses referred to 'portfolio' capabilities in addition to 'soft' generic skills (interpersonal, intercultural sensitivity, communication, problem solving, etc.). Such capabilities were identified in studies of graduates doing short courses, Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC), overseas or local volunteer work and work-integrated learning (WIL), which also revealed that English competence was a further factor distinctively positioning individuals' capability in work (Blackmore et al., 2014).

Importantly the employability of graduates has emerged as a critical issue for emerging economies. As developing economies shift from a reliance on agriculture and manufacturing to the services sector, demand for highly skilled workers grows. However, evidence of a mismatch between the skills, knowledge and attributes of graduates and the demands of the labour market is growing in many emerging economies (Dobbs & Madgavkar, 2014). This has led to graduate employment being a major concern for such emerging economies across Asia. The aspiration for a university qualification is deep-rooted in many Asian cultures, however, poor graduate outcomes in many parts of Asia have given rise to questions regarding the capacity of tertiary institutions to adequately prepare graduates for evolving employer demands. There are also concerns that technical and vocational skills are being overlooked. While many cultures place high cultural status on a degree, the economies in many parts of the world face a shortage of technical and vocational expertise (Holmes & Chew, 2016).

Issues surrounding graduate employment in Asia are complex and shaped by a highly diverse socio-cultural landscape. While some issues affecting graduate employment can be applied to many countries, others are unique to one nation's particular cultural context. Employability in different countries often relates to distinct skills and competencies which are influenced by national contexts and cultural values. While there is significant research on the topic of graduate employability in western contexts, culturally specific understandings about the generic attributes influencing employment decisions by graduates and recruiters are under-researched. Little is known about the value of technical-professional knowledge relative to the requirements regarding credentials, grades, WIL, English language proficiency etc. Moreover, given the growing importance placed on generic skills, further research into how these skills are understood across cultures is also required.

The report presents a review of current literature on how employability is understood in four emerging Asian economies: China, India, Vietnam and Indonesia, highlighting how national culture influences the skills and attributes valued in the workplace. The work of Professor Geert Hofstede on how values in the workplace are influenced by culture provided useful insights, and references to Hofstede's 'Six Dimensions of National Culture' are made throughout the report, with a summary of these six dimensions of national culture in the countries under investigation included as an appendix (Hofstede, 2010).

While similarities exist across cultures, for example, all employers place high value on communication skills, there can be variation in how key attributes are understood depending on the cultural context and also the nature of the workplace and type of employer. The impact of an increasingly global workplace is also evident in the literature. Large multinational corporations (MNCs) in the four countries may have certain requirements of employees that are uniform across their subsidiaries. However, there is growing awareness among such MNCs of the need for employees who can straddle two cultures; the culture of the MNC and that of the local context. There are indications that employees that have the skills, knowledge and attributes required to operate in multiple cultural contexts will be highly sought after in the future.

Finally, entrepreneurship emerged as a key issue in graduate employment in the four countries under investigation and there is significant interest in harnessing entrepreneurship to optimise work procurement and economic growth. While China is witnessing the impact of the "One Child Policy" and the subsequent challenges of an ageing population, recent economic success has resulted in a growing middle class, an expanding tertiary education sector and a large supply of graduates. Vietnam, Indonesia and India have large youth populations and growing numbers of tertiary graduates entering the labour market each year. In all four nations graduate employment has emerged as a major challenge. Entrepreneurship has received significant attention as governments consider how policy settings, appropriate support and training can encourage young people to innovate, create their own opportunities and contribute to further economic growth.

This report first provides a brief account of the key concepts from Hofstede used to help discuss the cultural and value aspects of workplaces and their relation to employability in the four national contexts. This is followed by an account based on the literature of the understandings of employability in China, India, Vietnam and Indonesia, highlighting areas of skills and employment of specific interest in these nations. Given the emphasis in all nations on entrepreneurship, a separate section is devoted to this matter.

Hofstede's Six Dimensions of National Culture

This scoping study draws on Hofstede's 'Six Dimensions of National Culture' in order to identify how employability is understood in different cultural contexts. Using data from over 40 different countries and a variety of companies and industries, Professor Geert Hofstede identified systematic differences in values between nations. Hofstede defines values as "broad preferences for one state of affairs" (Hofstede, 1985, p.347). Hofstede found that these country values grouped themselves into four clusters: ways of coping with inequality, ways of coping with uncertainty, the relationship of the individual with her or his primary group, and the emotional implications of having been born a girl or a boy (Hofstede, 2011). From these value groupings, Hofstede developed his dimensions of national culture: 'Power Distance', 'Uncertainty Avoidance', 'Individualism' versus 'Collectivism' and 'Masculinity versus Femininity' (Hofstede, 2011) in the 1980s. A fifth dimension, 'Long-Term versus Short-Term Orientation' was added in the same decade based on the research by Michael Harris Bond. In the 2000s a sixth dimension, 'Indulgence versus Restraint', was included drawing on research by Michael Minkov (Hofstede, 2011). While his influence on the field of international business and management is undeniable, Hofstede has also received criticism including suggestions his work assumes nations are culturally homogeneous and fails to recognise the importance of linguistic and cultural differences that exist within national borders (Clegg, 2009). Others have questioned the relevance of Hofstede's dimensions and their meaning to 21st century businesses and individuals (Orr & Hauser, 2008). While recognising the limitations of the Hofstede's 'Six Dimensions of National Culture', they can be a useful tool as long as the research guards against using them to put forward essentialising statements. Rather, their use should promote a sense of a complex matrix of possibilities affected by culture, profession and individual experience.

Understandings of Employability in the Four Nations

China

The context

The economic, political and social reform that began in 1978 has transformed China from a state-planned economy to one that is market-driven, government controlled and 'guanxi' based (Cooke, 2013). In the intervening decades, China has shifted from acting as the workshop of the world to being a services powerhouse in one of the world's largest economies. However, despite China's rapid economic and social development, the nation remains a developing country and faces significant social and economic challenges. China's ageing population, vast social inequalities and environmental pressure pose a threat to the nation's continued growth and prosperity. Most recently, rising graduate unemployment rates have emerged as a major challenge (Sharma, 2014). As China's economy continues to evolve, there is a high demand for a highly-skilled labour force especially in in the service sector and knowledge-intensive manufacturing sector (Chen et al., 2013). While China is likely to face a shortage of workers in the long term due to its ageing population (Chen et al., 2013), there are currently suggestions of a mismatch between the skills, knowledge and attributes of graduates emerging from China's tertiary education sector and those demanded by Chinese employers in a range of disciplines.

Impact of Chinese culture on employability

Differences in how graduate employability is perceived in China compared with western nations can be explained in part by Chinese cultural values. According to Hofstede, China is a highly collectivist society that scores high on 'masculinity' and 'long term orientation'. Chinese society is driven by competition, achievement and success often at the expense of leisure time, family life and individual desires (Hofstede et al, 2010). Families have long-term aims connected to their child's education and subsequent career. Chinese society places high value on education with traditional Chinese culture holding the belief that passing exams and accruing good qualifications can convert students into government officials (Zefang, Yanbin, & Wenjiao, 2009). This way of thinking influences students' attitudes towards learning and today many students still believe that higher education and higher degrees can lead to higher social positions and financial rewards (Gu, 2006) and improve the chance of employment (Fladrich, 2006; Yang, 2010).

In recent years, the demand for higher education in China has grown dramatically. China's emerging middle class consider that investing in a university qualification will lead to greater economic, social and political mobility. However, the rapid growth in university graduates has not automatically resulted in human capital assets. For the Chinese government, high unemployment among university graduates is now a major concern and tackling the mismatch between graduate skills and employer requirements has become a key challenge.

Factors influencing employment pathways and employability

Despite the opening up of the Chinese economy and greater commercial opportunities in the private sector, a job in the Chinese civil service remains an attractive option for many young Chinese (*Economist*, 2012, November 24). The current popularity of the Chinese civil service is due to the stability of jobs and benefits offered by the positions held (bonuses and benefits in kind). Importantly, a position in the civil service is also synonymous with power (Mériade & Qiang, 2015).

Recent economic instability and concerns around the capacity of the Chinese economy to maintain its recent growth may explain interest among graduates in civil service positions. A 2009 study found that foreign-owned MNCs were no longer the top employer of choice for Chinese university graduates. State owned enterprises (SOEs) were the employer of choice which can be partly attributed to the fact that SOEs did not carry out any redundancies during the 2008 global financial crisis and continued to provide improved benefits and more stable employment than in the past (Cooke, 2013). Again, the valuing of stability and security appears to play a key role in influencing Chinese graduate employment pathways.

Moreover, there are other factors unique to the Chinese context that influence graduate outcomes and suggest that the Chinese graduate labour market is far from a level playing field. China's highly collectivist culture means that personal networks and relationships play a key role in determining hiring and promotions (Hofstede, 2011). For the children of 'cadres' (members of the civil service), there are multiple benefits associated with having a parent in the civil service (Li et al. 2012). These benefits include better educational opportunities from kindergarten through to university, but also cadre parents boost their children's employment prospects by obtaining information about job opportunities and using their power to trade for good jobs for their children (Li et al. 2012). The role of networks in China is critical to success in the graduate labour market

The '*Hukou'* residential system also impacts on graduate employment. Under the *Hukou* (the immobility-based residence system) citizens from small or less developed areas are restricted

from accepting employment in more prosperous and well-resourced cities. Graduates from rural *Hukou* or small city *Hukou* have to pay for job offers from more developed cities or areas (Chow & Perkins, 2014). One study reported that employers are reluctant to employ graduates from rural areas as they are perceived as narrow minded, money oriented and have inferior primary and secondary schooling (Cooke, 2013). The same study referred to a 'north-south' divide suggesting that some employers prefer to hire employees from northern China who are considered more diligent and more able to endure hardship than their southern counterparts. Therefore, geography may also play a role in graduate employment outcomes.

China's 'One Child Policy' may also be shaping graduate employment outcomes. As a result of having only one child, parents have high expectations, which in part has led to the rapid growth in demand for tertiary education. While China's overall labour pool declined in 2012 (by 3.45m) for the first time in almost 50 years, the number of tertiary education graduates continues to rise, leading to greater competition in the graduate labour market (Economist, 2013). In 2014, there were 7.27 million new graduates flowing into the labour market, causing much pressure for both students and authorities. Some figures indicate that 17.6% of the new graduates were still unemployed two months after graduation (Li, Chen, & Zhang 2014). Research suggests that the 'One Child Policy' may have produced individuals lacking the characteristics important for economic and social attainment (Cameron et al., 2013; Fang, 2013). Much has been written about the 'Little Emperor Syndrome' where the products of China's 'One Child Policy' are risk adverse, more pessimistic, less conscientious and fail to develop key social skills such as the capacity to collaborate with others and take initiative (Cameron et al., 2013). In addition, they carry the weight of expectations of their parents and two sets of grandparents who place high value on academic achievements.

What employability attributes are valued by Chinese employers?

In China, the concept of employability remains relatively under-researched. The rapid economic, social and political shifts occurring in China, suggest that the demands of the labour market may also be undergoing significant change. The coexistence of two different economic systems - the modern market economy (valuing work-related and soft skills) and traditional command-control economy (valuing academic qualifications) (Venter, 2004) suggests that the skills, knowledge and attributes valued in one sector of the economy may differ from those sought in another. Research carried out over a decade ago suggested that employers in Chinese state-owned industries linked employability with good academic qualifications, political background and personal qualities (Zhu & Dowling, 2002). Multinational corporations and foreign-invested enterprises valued graduates with technical competence, management skills (Shen & Edwards, 2004), work-related and soft skills (Venter, 2003). However, the Chinese labour market is experiencing rapid change, which may result in shifting expectations among employers in regard to graduate employability as they seek graduates who can perform in an increasingly global environment.

The impact of globalisation on China's labour marker and the recent slowing of economic growth have led to a mismatch between students' and employers' expectations (Moorman, 2011). As China shifts towards a modern market economy, there are signs that graduates are struggling to evolve to meet changing employment requirements, while still respecting traditional values. For example, employers in multinational firms are seeking graduates with the key skills required in a modern economy, such as English language proficiency, interpersonal skills and teamwork as well as the ability to translate theory to practice. However, traditional Chinese business customs like 'guanxi' continue to have relevance in the job market. For example, state-owned enterprises and the Chinese civil service placed importance on morality,

integrity and the ability to think of solutions in accordance with Chinese philosophical principles (Yuen, 2013).

While China is a collectivist culture, modernisation and the influence of western cultural norms have resulted in a rise of individualism among the younger generation. Traditional Chinese culture prioritises group-based equality over individual differentiation. Many employers expect endurance, diligence and devotion to the organisation. According to Hofstede, China scores high on power distance and inequalities are acceptable in the workplaces where the subordinate-superior relationship tends to be polarised (Hofstede et al., 2010). A challenge for the younger generation is balancing traditional Chinese workplace rules and expectations with contemporary western business practices.

Engineering

The skills valued for employability differ among disciplines. Engineering and other Science Technology Engineering Mathematics (STEM) fields are critical to China's future prosperity and the Chinese government is boosting investment in science and technology in order to expand knowledge-based sectors to supplement the booming manufacturing sector (Katsomitros, 2015). However, the employability of engineering graduates has emerged as a key concern of the Chinese government. In 2010 the Chinese government issued an official document specifically for engineers, which identified three groups of skills valued in the engineering professions: "inner qualities", 'hard skills' and 'soft skills'. 'Inner qualities' included 'engineering', 'professional morality' and 'social responsibility' as well as 'creativity and innovation'. 'Hard skills' related to the ability to operate and maintain the manufacturing production systems as well as mathematical skills and professional knowledge. While most of the soft skills outlined in the document were similar to those valued in western contexts (problem solving, team work, communication, etc.) the list also included international and multicultural awareness as well as the ability to deal with an emergency (Ridgman & Liu, 2014).

Ridgman and Liu's (2014) interviews with Chinese engineering employers indicated that when recruiting graduates, employers value academic results and the reputation of the academic institution. In regard to academic results, employers were of the view that above average grades not only indicate the graduate's grasp of technical knowledge and analytical ability, but also reflect their personal attitude and future potential. The study revealed that 'working attitude' was the top ranked attribute among engineering employers. This stems from the intensive workload and tough manufacturing working environment. For example, many engineering firms expect graduates to begin work on the factory floor in sometimes hot and uncomfortable conditions. A common complaint among employers is that the current cohort of graduates have a poor working attitude, unrealistic expectations of graduate employment and lack the capacity or motivation to work hard, which some have attributed to the effect of China's one-child policy. Regarding the value placed on working attitude, Ridgman and Liu explain that employers consider it a measure of a graduate's loyalty to the company. Employers are looking for graduates whom they can trust with confidential company information and who will remain with the company.

Business and management

Reports suggest China continues to experience an ongoing shortage of qualified business managers indicating a need for improved business education (Hartmann et al., 2010). Employers are commonly dissatisfied with business and management graduates' performance and criticise the fact that current graduates have high exam scores yet low ability and transferrable skills. In the past, university graduates were assigned a job upon graduation suggesting little need to compete in the job market. Employers in the current decade complain of applicants' lack of

understanding of the job application process, including how to present themselves in a job interview, which may be a legacy of past job allocation practices. Many Chinese MBA programs lack the hands-on class assignments, company internships, and joint research initiatives with industry that provide business students the skills and knowledge required in the modern business environment (Henderson, 2011).

In recent times the lack of local capacity has resulted in multinational and Chinese firms recruiting managers from Hong Kong or seeking candidates who have studied abroad (Makkennon, 2015). From the perspective of Chinese employers, returning international students who can operate bilingually and bi-culturally are highly desirable, compared with those Chinese international students whose identity was subsumed within the host culture (Henderson, 2011). If returning graduates know which combination of skills is required and can adapt appropriately, they should be able to move between cultures with ease, thus enhancing their employability within both a Chinese and western environment (Henderson, 2011) This emphasis on moving between cultures was highlighted by Lan, Ma, Cao and Zhang (2008) who claim that the accounting profession in China changed after the nation joined the World Trade Organisation in 2001 and again with the introduction of Chinese Accounting Standards similar to the International Accounting Standards. Importantly, they also acknowledge China's goal is for a market economy with Chinese characteristics.

Multinational corporations

Multinational corporations operating in China require staff to have skills and competencies that allow them to operate in both the international and local milieu. Companies require people who can understand local market needs and practices without compromising the business ethics of the MNC subsidiary (Makkonnen, 2015). Reports suggest a shortage of local managers with the managerial and English-language skills multinationals require (Barris, 2013). In the past, difficulties sourcing graduates with appropriate skills and knowledge was attributed to China's theoretically oriented education system and the general lack of experience in international business contexts. Many companies relied on foreign expatriates to compensate for local skills shortages, however, there are signs that this changing (Makkonnen, 2015).

It might be assumed that the repatriation of graduates trained abroad would alleviate skill shortages, providing employers with a pool of talent schooled in western business practices but possessing key linguistic and cultural knowledge. However, a number of reports refer to Chinese employers' dissatisfaction with overseas returnees. Lack of China-specific knowledge is considered a significant constraint among employers in industries such as real estate, construction, law, finance and manufacturing (Cooke, 2013). Other studies suggest multinationals have found it easier to recruit Chinese employees with qualities valued by the western MNCs (Makkonnen, 2015). For employers, the benefits of hiring local staff over expatriates is that the local staff remain embedded in Chinese culture. While multinational operations in China apply Western management practice, the paternalistic leadership style of the Chinese remains strong (Tong & Yong, 2014). This requires employees to meet the expectations of respect, control and deference.

Hao, Wen and Welch's (2016) study of Chinese graduates from Australia revealed that higher return rates combined with a competitive Chinese graduate labour market have eroded the competitive advantage of high skilled returning graduates. Despite the diminishing value of an overseas qualification, feedback from a wide range of employers (public and private) was consistently positive and overseas educated graduates were valued for their adaptability, language skills, and their capacity to learn quickly and operate in foreign environments.

Importantly, the authors note that returning graduates may need to adjust their attitude and positioning, indicating that unrealistic salary expectations and overconfidence may negatively impact graduate career outcomes (Hao, Wen & Welch, 2016).

Henderson's (2011) study of Chinese graduates with an Australian business qualification found that returning Chinese graduates who wished to be employed in China needed to be aware of "traditional ideologies and cultural influences and be prepared to work with hierarchical organisational structures; paternalistic leadership styles; long-standing relationships, complicated networks and collectivist employee behaviours" (Henderson, 2011, p.110). Henderson advocates that universities hosting Chinese students should focus on developing skills that are important to employers in China, such as negotiation and maintaining face, which would benefit all students in a globalised labour market. Chinese business graduates would be particularly advantaged as they could promote these skills to employers in China (Henderson, 2011).

India

The context

The Indian economy has grown rapidly over the past two and a half decades. Most recently, the services sector, which accounts for over half of the country's gross domestic product (GDP), has been a key driver of growth (Eichengreen & Gupta, 2011). Two thirds of students with tertiary level of education enter service sector (Mehotra, 2015). By 2020, India will have the largest tertiary-age population in the world and the second largest graduate talent pipeline globally, ahead of China and the USA (British Council, 2014). However, despite a buoyant economy, the employment outcomes of the growing number of tertiary graduates in India have emerged as both a critical issue and key challenge.

According to the Labour Ministry, one in three graduates up to the age of 29 is unemployed (Sharma, 2014). While the rapid expansion of India's tertiary education system has provided Indian youth with far greater access to educational opportunities than previous generations enjoyed, there are concerns it is creating a "revolution of rising aspirations and the economy can't keep pace" (Sharma, 2014). Though experts believe India's young population has the potential to produce an additional 2% per capita GDP growth each year for the next two decades, concern grows around the increasing number of unemployed and under-employed youth unable to contribute to the economy (Sharma, 2014).

The Indian press is awash with stories of graduates unable to find work while at the same time employers complain of the lack of graduates with the skills and competencies required in the labour market (Chowdhury, 2011; Irfan, 2013; Unni, 2016). Many lay the blame on the tertiary education system, which is struggling to meet the growing demand with enrolments in higher education rising from 6% in 1983 to 18% in 2014 (UNESCO, 2015). India's large youth population and growing middle class suggest that demand will continue to escalate. Between 2015 and 2030 the median income per household in India is set to increase by 90% (Hodgson, 2015).

There are major concerns around the quality of the tertiary education system, which some have attributed to the affiliated college system. Most Indian students study at public and private colleges which are affiliated with state universities. The affiliated college sector enrols over 90% of India's undergraduate population and 70% of the postgraduate population. Some state universities have as many as 1000 affiliated colleges (British Council, 2015). The sheer size of the system poses enormous challenges around regulation and quality control with many perceived as offering substandard tuition. A shortage of qualified academics is another concern with reports suggesting 30-40% of faculty positions being unfilled (British Council, 2015). Serious concerns have been expressed regarding the Indian tertiary system's capacity to prepare graduates for the contemporary labour market. Recent figures have revealed that 1 in 3 graduates up to the age of 29 is unemployed, sparking growing concern about the mismatch between universities and the needs of the job market. For example, though India has been well known as a dominant exporter of software and ICT related services, 75% of Information Technology (IT) graduates cannot find jobs (Aggarwal, 2011; Mishra, 2014). The underlying causes of high levels of graduate unemployment are attributed to a shortage of teachers, rapid private sector growth with little regulation, weaknesses in the accreditation system, skewed funding of public institutions and poor quality of technical and vocational education (Mehotra, 2015).

Impact of Indian culture on employability

According to Hofstede's 'Six Dimensions of National Culture, India scores high on 'Power Distance' reflecting the hierarchical nature of Indian society (Hofstede et al., 2010). Indian society is highly stratified and in the work context employees are often dependent on the employer. Communication in the workplace is top down with employees expected to be highly directed by their employer, a practice that discourages initiative. India is a moderately collectivist society where the employer/employee relation is based on expectations. In return for loyalty to the company, employees receive protection from the employer and relationships are central to hiring and promotions. The Hindu religion also influences an individual's attitude to work and career. In the Hindu religion, individuals are responsible for their own life and actions which dictates their rebirth. Religion also affects Indians' attitudes to work and personal success. India ranks moderately on 'masculinity'. While on the one hand Indians exhibit high levels of visual display of success and power, India is also a spiritual country which values humility and abstinence, which in turn weakens the focus on success and achievement validated by material gains (Hofstede et al., 2010).

Factors influencing employability in India

A British Council study found that 'integrity' was a highly ranked graduate attribute among Indian employers, suggesting that, like in China, traditional Indian values may also play a role in graduate employability (British Council, 2014). Studies also indicate that India's caste system affects employment outcomes, with members from lower castes lagging behind in terms of representation at higher grades of employment (Majumder, 2013). Social connections are crucial when obtaining a government job in India. Connections are also important in the private sector and often members of minority groups lack the personal contacts and training to enter well-paid private jobs in metropolitan India (Jeffrey, 2010).

Geography also plays a role in determining graduate outcomes. The standard of education varies dramatically between institutions, and those located in major cities are often better resourced than those in regional areas, where 70% of the population resides (British Council, 2014; World Bank, 2015). While India is home to top ranked institutions globally, there are many other substandard institutions where the quality of education and job prospects of graduates are poor. Engineering colleges are particularly affected by low graduate employment and an over-saturated market. One report indicates that only 10 per cent of the 300,000 annual engineering graduates from Tamil Nadu's colleges are employable, suggesting that the quality of many Indian tertiary institutions is contributing to poor graduate outcomes (British Council, 2014).

As in China, government jobs remain highly sought after among Indian graduates. Reports in the media have described vacancies for "peons" – a type of lowly office dogsbody – being inundated by applicants with tertiary degrees. According to one report, 2.3 million applications were submitted for 368 peon vacancies. In this climate of high graduate unemployment and lack of social security, government jobs offer long term job security, comfortable working hours and an attractive salary (BBC News, 2015).

What employability attributes are valued by Indian employers?

A review of the literature indicates that Indian employers are seeking graduates with analytical thinking, problem solving and critical reasoning skills. Employers prefer employees who are not only technically proficient, but also score high on softer skills such as working in diverse intercultural contexts which are important to thrive in a global work environment. Indian

employers place high value on soft skills, inclusive of communication in English (Blom & Saeki, 2011), interpersonal skills, team work, and basic computer knowledge (Mishra, 2014). Employers are looking for graduates who can practically apply the knowledge that they acquired at university (Pandit et al., 2015).

Engineering

A World Bank study of the employability of newly graduated engineers in India classified skills into three categories: core employability skills, communication skills, and professional skills (Blom & Saeki, 2011). The following summary highlights the range of skills and competencies demanded by engineering employers in India. According to the study 'core employability skills' comprised integrity, self-discipline, reliability, self-motivation, entrepreneurial skills, team work, the ability to understand and take directions, willingness to learn, flexibility and empathy. 'Professional skills' consisted of the capacity to identify, formulate and solve technical and engineering problems, design a system, component or process to meet desired needs, use appropriate modern tools, equipment, technologies, apply knowledge of mathematics, science and engineering, customer service skills, knowledge of contemporary issues and creativity. 'Communication skills' included written communication, design and conduct of experiments, the ability to analyse and interpret data, reading, communication in English, technical skills, verbal communication, basic computer and advanced computer skills (Blom & Saeki, 2011).

The study found that employers rated core employability skills as more important than the professional skills and communication skills. Soft skills (core employability skills and communication skills) were rated significantly more important than the professional skills. Key findings of the study were that: (a) the employability of technical graduates is low, (b) the requirements of skill sets vary from sector to sector, (c) technical knowledge and skills are considered to be important, but soft skills (communication skills, self-discipline, team work, willingness to learn, flexibility, creativity, etc.) are considered to be more important for employability, (d) technical graduates lack higher order cognitive skills such as the ability to analyse, logical reasoning, the ability to evaluate and create, and the ability to solve problems, (e) knowledge of computers and mathematics are essential for an engineer to succeed, (f) teaching-learning processes must focus on higher order thinking skills, problem solving and creativity, and evaluation processes must change accordingly (Blom & Saeki, 2011).

Information Technology

Despite Bangalore being considered India's answer to Silicon Valley, the sustainability of the sector is highly dependent on a pipeline of employees with high technological capabilities. One report suggested that traditional IT companies in India have focused around services and consulting requiring 'generalist' graduates who can adapt to different technologies depending on the type of project. However, newer companies are seeking those with expert skills in specific technologies. While global software companies hire local graduates, they usually only choose them from a select number of leading institutions (Punit, 2015).

In their study of the employability of engineering graduates, Aggarwal (2011) identified differences in both employability rates and the attributes valued by employers depending on the type of IT company. For example, only 2.68% of IT graduates are employable in IT product companies which require greater understanding of computer science and algorithms. In contrast, the employability rate was higher in IT services companies (17.45%), which is attributed to the practice of providing 3-6 months training to graduate employees. It is evident that employers

are looking for graduates who demonstrate soft skills and requisite cognitive skills that will allow an employer to train them.

The study also highlighted the challenges facing Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in India (Aggarwal, 2011). While large companies have the capacity to provide on-the-job training, SMES are seeking work-ready candidates. They are looking for IT graduates who may not have substantial work experience but are able to contribute to the workplace in some form immediately. However, the study found that only 3.25% of graduates are prepared for the software industry, which highlights the recruitment challenge facing SMEs in India. The report also noted that written communication skills, analytical thinking and critical reasoning are key requirements in the Knowledge Process Outsourcing Industry. However, only 9 out of 100 candidates is employable. In the hardware and networking profiles sector, hardware and software knowledge, problem solving abilities and English language proficiency is essential. The study reported that 36.75% are employable in this area. Finally, the Business Process Outsourcing companies, which include telecalling and backend processes, report relatively high satisfaction with the employability of graduates. However, in many instances companies are reluctant to hire engineering or IT graduates as the nature of the work does not meet their expectations in terms of job satisfaction and remuneration (Aggarwal, 2011).

English language proficiency

English fluency is one of the key qualities Indian recruiters look for during the interview process (ICEF Monitor, 2015). Issues of limited English proficiency were found across the higher education spectrum in India, including at the country's top-ranked institutions for engineering studies, the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) and National Institutes of Technology (NITs). One study found a positive correlation between large metropolitan areas and English proficiency with students in cities such as Delhi, Mumbai, and Bangalore demonstrating better spoken English skills, compared to those in Hyderabad and Chennai, who were found to have the most limited speaking and listening proficiency (ICEF Monitor, 2015). In engineering, English language proficiency is highly valued by employers, who are seeking graduates with the communication skills to operate in a global business environment. However, employers are largely dissatisfied with the level of English language proficiency among engineering graduates. One report suggested 97% engineers cannot speak English fluently, while English communication skills have been identified as one of the prime setbacks for engineering graduates from India in finding jobs (Clement & Murugavel, 2015).

Vietnam

Context

Education is highly prized in Vietnam and the nation has witnessed growing demand for tertiary education over the past three decades. In the mid 1980s Vietnam shifted from a centrally-planned socialist economy to a socialist-oriented market economy resulting in greater international integration. An expanding middle class, large youth population and a rapid increase in participation rates at the secondary school level have led to growing demand for higher education. However, while the Government has nominated improving domestic higher education provision as a key priority, the sector is struggling to keep up with demand. In 2012, 1.8 million students registered for the national higher education entrance exam; however, the admission quota was only 560,000. Concerns over quality and over-crowded classes in a country

that places a high value on education has led to a growing number of middle-class families sending their children abroad (Tran et al., 2014; Tran, 2015; Truong & Tran, 2014).

In 1995 Vietnam joined ASEAN which opened up opportunities for Vietnamese to seek employment in other ASEAN member countries. Improving vocational training and developing highly skilled workers who are employable both in Vietnam and other countries was considered a priority. In 2009 Vietnam joined the World Bank's group of lower-middle income countries and its gross national income (GNI) per capita reached US$1,030 (World Bank, 2012). Within a quarter of a century, Vietnam was transformed from one of the poorest countries in the world in 1986 into an economic success story in 2009 (World Bank 2014). However, there are concerns that recent falls in GDP growth rates in Vietnam might be an early sign that the nation is falling into the 'middle-income trap'. In order to continue on the path of sustained economic growth towards high-income status, Vietnam must tackle corruption and inefficiencies among state owned firms, strengthen the labour market and develop the skills and knowledge needed for a modern industrialised economy (Berliner et al., 2013).

Impact of Vietnamese culture on employability

Vietnam is a collectivist society which places value on commitment to the group, whether that be family, extended relationships or the workplace. Loyalty is of paramount importance and upsetting members of the group results in shame and loss of face (Hofstede, 2010). In the workplace, the relationship between employer and employee is akin to family and affects decisions around hiring and promotion. According to Hofstede et al.'s (2010) Six Dimensions of Culture, Vietnam ranks high on power distance and exhibits a strong hierarchy. Workplaces are clearly stratified with a typically autocratic leadership style.

The role of networks is visible in a range of organisational settings. Like other Asian countries, Vietnamese are very relationship-oriented when doing business, and are more comfortable working with someone they already know. Many organisations have an unwritten policy of giving priority to recruiting employees' children to work in the company (Nga, 2005). Social connections continue to influence employment outcomes often excluding those from lower socioeconomic background (Concordia, 2014).

Factors influencing employability in Vietnam

There are concerns that Vietnam's higher education system is ill-equipped to prepare graduates for a modern economy. The traditional mission of universities in Vietnam was to prepare workers for a centrally planned economy, where they were required to follow orders, to listen and obey, rather than to develop creativity and take initiative (Nguyen 2009). However, the adoption of a market-based economy in 1986 resulted in the development of both private and foreign direct investment sectors. There are concerns that the university sector is not keeping up with the changing labour market (Pham, 2008; The World Bank, 2008). By October last year, Vietnam already had 165,000 unemployed graduates, representing 17% of the overall jobless total (Pham, 2013).

There are suggestions that the low quality of Vietnam's human resources is creating a bottleneck for the nation's sustainable development. Reports in the local media indicate that local demand for qualified staff is increasing and that major companies in Vietnam are facing shortages of skilled workers (Montague, 2013; *Thanh Nien News*, 2013, Month date; *Việt Nam News*, 2013, Month date). However, it is difficult for graduates to find appropriate jobs within a year of graduating, suggesting a mismatch between graduate supply and market demand (Nguyen,

2011). The slowing of the Vietnamese economy is likely to exacerbate existing issues around graduate employment. The Institute of Manpower Banking and Finance suggests that graduates in finance and banking will struggle to find employment, as banks cut back on recruitment. There are also indications that many graduates are working below their level of qualification. One report indicated that hundreds of blue-collar workers in the the Hoa Cam Industrial Zone had university degrees (VietnamNet, 2013).

State employment, which still employs a large proportion of skilled labour, is an attractive route for many graduates as it offers higher wages and benefits. Competition for civil service positions is fierce with one report noting that one government agency received 3,924 applications for the civil service exam for only 459 positions (VietnamNet, 2015). State employment offers security and fewer opportunities in the private sector have led to a growing number of graduates seeking jobs in state agencies which are perceived as easy and stable. As with China, graduate employment in Vietnam's public service depends on a different set of criteria than employment in the private sector. Communist party membership is still an implicit criterion for management positions in most state organisations, although not necessarily a requirement in private or joint-venture entities where qualifications and experience have been given more weight in selection and promotion (Nga, 2005). A study by Coxhead and Phan (2013) suggests that having a family member employed by the state impacts positively on graduate employment. According to their study, nepotism is not only accepted, but a requirement to entering state employment.

What employability attributes are valued by Vietnamese employers?

As Vietnam transitions to a middle-income country, human resources requirements must also evolve to meet new economic demands. The current low quality of tertiary education, low research capacity and a mismatch between training and labour needs poses significant challenges. Vietnam needs more highly skilled people in science and technology, policy making and service delivery. Employers in Vietnam are increasingly looking for employees with a combination of cognitive skills, behavioural skills and technical skills (Australian Government, 2014).

Surveys of Vietnamese employers of university graduates report that employers perceived the levels of problem solving, decision making and learning skills of graduates to be low. Vietnamese employers complain that graduates lack both skills and practical experience (Bilsland et al., 2014). Employers in Vietnam expect graduates to be proficient in communication skills, IT skills and English. While attributes such as loyalty, hard work and obedience were of high value in the centrally planned economy, employers now emphasise English language skills and communication skills, teamwork and personal skills, and want prospective employees to demonstrate such characteristics as taking initiative and being proactive (Ketels et al., 2010; Tran & Swierczek 2009). While employers rate soft skills and English language skills highly, they are generally dissatisfied with graduates' communication skills as well as their ability to demonstrate characteristics such as team work, taking initiative and being proactive (Nguyen, 2016). One study reported that over 30% managers surveyed believed that graduates are increasingly less well prepared for the workplace and over 35% of alumni from Vietnam National University reported that graduates lack the interpersonal skills and English language proficiency required in the workplace (Nhuan & Van Van, 2009).

Business and management

A study of Vietnamese business graduates found that Vietnamese employers value the following skills when recruiting university graduates: continuous learning, organisation and environment awareness, team leadership, values and ethics, teamwork, decision making, networking/relationship building, change leadership, creative thinking and client focus (Nguyen, 2011). Trung and Swierczek's (2009) study identified four skill factors of importance among Vietnamese employers: 1) information processing skills to solve problems; 2) interpersonal and collaboration skills to effectively work in teams; 3) learning skills incorporating active learning, self-esteem, career development planning, and self-confidence; 4) decision making, comprising identifying key causes, critical thinking, decision making, prioritising, and goal setting.

Employers commonly complain that business graduates lack management skills as well as knowledge of law and finance. English language skills are also valued, particularly among foreign owned companies based in Vietnam. However, many employers are frustrated with the level of English among Vietnamese graduates (Van, 2016).

Engineering and Information Technology

There are suggestions that the shortage of suitably qualified engineers is worse in Vietnam than in other ASEAN countries such as Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand. Employers are critical of Vietnamese trained engineers who fail to keep abreast of the latest technology and developments and lack foreign language skills (Van, 2016). While Vietnamese universities tend to be heavily theoretical, multinationals operating in Vietnam seek graduates with practical and technical training. For example, Intel Vietnam, frustrated by the lack of qualified engineers, resorted to sending local Vietnamese students to the USA to study engineering (Einhorn & Kharif, 2014). The company is now trying to help local universities develop curriculum and programs in order to build a talent pipeline.

In late 2015 Google announced that it would help train 1400 local IT engineers (Nunis, 2016). While the Vietnamese education system scores well on mathematics and science, there is a recognised need for greater practical training as well as a focus on soft skills (Greene, 2015). A multinational human resource management firm, Adecco, noted ten soft skills most requested by clients operating in Vietnam. These included: communication, interpretation, analysis, creativity, decision making, adaptability, explanation, thinking ahead, organisation and delegation. Companies are willing to hire candidates who possess and demonstrate a high level of soft skills on top of their academic achievements (Adecco, 2015).

Indonesia

Context

As Indonesia's economy shifts from being agriculture-based to industry- and service-focussed, demand for a highly skilled labour force is increasing (ADB, 2014). While higher education participation has grown from 9% in 1990 to 27% in 2011 (UNESCO, 2015), there is growing concern about the mismatch between the graduate supply and labour market demand. One report suggests that in 2014, 27% of university graduates joined the ranks of the unemployed and for those that do find work, many end up in positions unrelated to their field of study (Ford, 2014).

Indonesia's world of work is highly stratified and high rates of graduate unemployment are particularly prevalent among those from lower socioeconomic status who lack networks and marketable skills (Manning & Sumarto, 2011). Often graduates will accept positions unrelated to their field or be under-employed. This is particularly the case in rural areas where Indonesian youth have unprecedented access to higher education but a lack of entry level positions. While the decentralisation of Indonesian government created opportunities for graduates in regional areas, departments are now saturated and lack of private enterprise means there are often few graduate opportunities (Schut, 2015).

According to the Indonesian government as reported in the media, the university sector has focussed on producing as many graduates as possible without considering the skills and attributes demanded by the Indonesian labour market. In response, the government has identified four strategies to overcome the unemployment of university graduates: establishing vocational training centres to improve the quality of human resources, developing the educational system, facilitating the growth of job fairs and creating entrepreneurship development programs (*AntaraNews*, 2012, December 1).

Impact of Indonesian culture on employability

Like China and Vietnam, and to a lesser degree India, Indonesia is collectivist society where there are strongly defined in and out groups (Hofstede, 2010). The extended family plays a central role in Indonesian society and children demonstrate a strong commitment to their parents. While Indonesians may leave their community to study, many wish to return in order to fulfil their filial duties. This can prove challenging in regional areas where high unemployment is widespread. A study of educated young people in the region of Flores revealed that while many return to their parent's communities they are often reliant on support from their families due to the lack of a properly functioning job market (Schut, 2015).

As with the other three countries under investigation, Indonesian society is hierarchical and there are extensive inequalities. In the workplace, the employer wields considerable power and there is a saying in Indonesian society: "*Asal Bapak Senang*" which translates as "keep the boss happy" (Geert Hofstede, n.d.). Respect for the employer is paramount in the Indonesian workplace which values harmony and where conflict is avoided. In Hoftstede's 'Six Dimensions of National Culture'(Geert Hofstede, n.d), Indonesia ranks high on 'long term orientation' which reflects a tendency among Indonesian to persevere, save, invest and be frugal. In the context of employment, there is the view that investment in education will lead to career advantages and social mobility.

Factors influencing graduate employment outcomes

As in Vietnam, India and China, there are indications that personal networks and social background play a critical role in success in the graduate employment market. As noted earlier, Indonesian society is highly stratified and education is seen as vehicle for social mobility. A study of lower middle class youth and their education-to-work transitions in the Indonesian industrial town of Cilegon, Banten, noted the reliance on personal networks in job seeking as young Indonesians sought alternative employment in the services sector resulting from the demise of Cilegon's heavy and petrochemical industries (Naafs, 2012).

There is also high demand for low-paying civil service jobs. In some families there is a tradition of working in the civil service with parents pressuring their children to follow in their footsteps. For the aspirational lower middle class, joining in the civil service is seen as way of establishing or consolidating their middle class position (Ford, 2014). Despite the popularity of civil service employment, high entry requirements and heightened competition means that joining the civil service is beyond the reach of many. There have also been reports of corruption, collusion and nepotism in the civil service recruitment processes (Blunt et al., 2012).

The unevenness of the Indonesian economy also contributes to the labour market outcomes of graduates. Levels of industrialisation on Java compared to that on other islands differ considerably with eastern Indonesia, which suffers from underdevelopment (Ford, 2014). Geographical location may also influence graduate employment outcomes in Indonesia. In the past the local economy of Flores in eastern Indonesia was able to absorb its educated youth, however, this is no longer the case. In many provincial towns in Indonesia with relatively low industry and a high reliance on the state to provide job opportunities, a job in the civil service is the goal of many graduates. While in the past, civil service jobs required a high school diploma, some local governments now demand a four-year university degree (Minza, 2015).

The main employer of educated youth in Flores is the government, which up until recently had no difficulty absorbing the new workforce into its bureaucracy. While the move towards decentralisation that occurred in the post-reformation era created new opportunities for youth in Flores as the regional bureaucracy expanded, the local bureaucracy is now saturated. The plan to build another university in the area is likely to exacerbate the problem of under- and unemployment of local youth (Tanu, 2014).

In Ngada, a district of Flores, Indonesian youth now have access to tertiary education locally, however, having only limited employment opportunities creates challenges. The government, the largest employer in the region, is unable to hire staff due to budget restraints. While hospitals are unable to hire new nursing graduates, the Department of Education continues to hire teachers but on special so-called "honourer" contracts, which provide significantly lower wages than those for staff with official government contracts. The private sector in many regional areas lacks the capacity to provide sufficient graduate opportunities (Schut, 2015).

What employability attributes are valued by Indonesian employers?

While there is no shortage of candidates for entry level positions in the Indonesian labour market, there is a shortage of those with appropriate education, skills and training. The Boston Consulting Group predicates that by 2020, top companies will be unable to fill about one-half of

their entry-level positions with fully qualified candidates (Boston Consulting Group, 2014). The reason for the current and future skill shortages is the Indonesian economy's shift towards the service sector which accounted for 35% of jobs in 2014 and will represent 55 % of jobs by 2020. Indonesia is currently not producing sufficient graduates to fill these positions. There is also a shortage of technical skills, particularly engineers, with outlying areas of Indonesia worst affected. In 2014 Indonesia produced around 30,000 engineers, however the economy requires around 50,000, suggesting a shortfall of 40%. This shortage will rise to more than 70% by 2020 (Boston Consulting Group, 2014).

The growing skills gaps are in part attributed to Indonesia's higher education system, which is struggling to keep pace with the nation's rapid economic growth (*ICEF Monitor*, 2014, March 24). A UNESCO study of graduate employability in Asia revealed that 43% of Indonesian employers interviewed would like the higher education curricula to focus more on meeting the needs of industry (UNESCO, 2012). Employers indicated that more emphasis needs to be placed on practical training and improving graduates' soft skills while 41% cited work experience to be an important consideration when hiring recruiting graduates. The study also highlighted the importance of tests, comprising placement tests which include assessments on technical skills/knowledge related to the job, a psychological test, a medical test and scholastic tests. While the results on in-house testing are valued, only 52% of the employers considered the grade scores to be an important factor when hiring a new employee. The top four skills sought by Indonesian employers are integrity, intellectual capacity, team work, analytical and problem solving skills (in order of priority) (UNESCO, 2012).

A study examining employers' expectations about the employability skills of engineering graduates in Indonesia reveals that apart from sector-specific skills, employers value foreign language (especially English), communication and computer/ICT skills, among other skills (Saputra, 2015). In the technology-intensive sector the critical skills needed include creative and critical thinking, a command of information and communication technology skills, proactivity and curiosity, and a broad-based understanding of company operations and industry knowledge. The Indonesian export sector stresses the need for tertiary and upper-secondary graduates to be strong in thinking, negotiation, computer, language, and practical knowledge skills (Saputra, 2015).

The reorienting of the Indonesian labour market away from agriculture towards services has led to changing skill requirements (International Labour Organization, 2014). Future predictions suggest the need for strong generic skills, including behavioural ones such as communication, negotiation, and client orientation, and the ability to work independently. These skills will be in high demand due to growth in the services sector as well as workplaces becoming more client and teamwork oriented. Consequently, the Indonesian education and training sector will have to adapt to the changing skills requirements. Expanding opportunities for practical work experience will also be critical (Di Gropello et al., 2011).

Entrepreneurship

A survey of the literature around employability in China, India, Vietnam and Indonesia revealed that promoting and fostering creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship is viewed as one way to ease high levels of unemployment, particularly among university graduates. Governments in all four countries have pledged to actively support entrepreneurial activity. China has introduced policies designed to promote entrepreneurship and encourage start-up businesses, particularly among graduate entrepreneurs (*The Straits Times*, 2015, October 20). In Indonesia, the government has established the Creative Economy Body, which received support from the UK government's Ministry of Culture, Communications and Creative Industries (Ford, 2014). The Vietnamese government has pledged to implement new measures to support the SME sector, including enhanced training programs and the development of business incubators (Oxford Business Group, 2016), while India has a Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises to promote the growth and development of the MSME Sector (Government of India, 2016).

Young people have high rates of entrepreneurship, with young adults between 25 and 34 displaying the highest early-stage entrepreneurial activity worldwide (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2016). However, despite their high interest and enthusiasm for entrepreneurship, young people often lack the resources and skills needed to grow and sustain a business. Organisations such as UNESCO, the World Bank and the OECD also view enhancing entrepreneurship opportunities as a way of tackling youth unemployment (World Bank, 2014; OECD, 2012). Entrepreneurship education was one of the key thematic priorities for 2013- 2014 of UNESCO-UNEVOC, a specialized centre for technical and vocational education and training (UNESCO-UNEVOC, 2013). Solutions for Youth Employment (S4YE), a coalition of partners from the public and private sectors and civil society, has named entrepreneurship and self-employment as one of its "frontier areas" (S4YE, 2015, p. 40).

The following subsections examine entrepreneurship in the context of the four countries under investigation, with a particular focus on how each nation approaches issues surrounding entrepreneurship in the context of high levels of graduate unemployment.

China

As with employability, attitudes towards entrepreneurship are shaped by national culture. In China, the traditional Confucian values which continue to permeate Chinese society are in some ways contradictory to the attributes required in entrepreneurial activities. For example, Confucian values of 'obedience', 'respect for authority' and 'emotional control' are not always compatible with launching a start-up company. These values are also pervasive in the Chinese higher education system, which has a reputation for discouraging creative thought and risk taking, attributes that are central to entrepreneurialism. Other challenges include widespread piracy and poorly enforced intellectual property law. Large state owned enterprises, a legacy of the nation's communist past, dominate China's business sector and receive generous conditions from state-owned banks as well as special political protection (Zhang & Freestone, 2013). Lack of access to incubators, educators and entrepreneurial clubs and workshops have also been nominated as barriers to further expanding and enhancing entrepreneurship in China (EY, 2013).

However, there are signs that China is making significant progress in fostering and supporting entrepreneurship. China has developed a strong venture capital and private equity ecosystem and according to one study 70% of respondents believed the country's culture supports

entrepreneurship (EY, 2013). The government has increased the availability of small business loans and provides free training for start-ups. China also recognises the entrepreneurial potential amongst overseas educated Chinese students. Approximately 80% of NASDAQ-listed Chinese high-tech enterprises were started by returning Chinese graduates and in order to further encourage this trend, the government has established around 150 business start-up incubators for returnee students (EY, 2013).

There are also signs that the education system is changing with universities beginning to offer courses in entrepreneurship. In 2015 China's prestigious Tsinghua University began offering a free online course in entrepreneurship (Wangshu, 2015). While many Chinese graduates are still seeking the security of traditional white collar jobs in finance, law or engineering, others are encouraged to take risks, spurred on by high profile success stories such as that of Alibaba and Weibo (EY, 2013). With millions of graduates leaving university each year and the labour market struggling to produce adequate opportunities, entrepreneurship is becoming a more attractive option for the growing number of disenchanted graduates.

India

While India has a history of entrepreneurialism, young people tend to have low rates of participation. Young people are often excluded from opportunities as commercial banks are reluctant to provide them with credit. In India, there is stigma associated with failed business which discourages risk taking (Kumar, 2009). Families can also act as a barrier, steering their children away from entrepreneurship in favour of safer careers. As noted previously, a stable government job, even if low paid and menial, is regarded as preferable to the risk involved in starting a business (BBC News, 2015).

In the past, entrepreneurship has been hampered by India's regulatory environment. More recently, the government has attempted to remove hurdles such as complex and lengthy procedures for setting up a business (*The Times of India*, 2016, January 17). The growth of Bangalore and Hyderabad as hubs for IT companies is a direct outcome of government support and concessions for start-ups. The Credit Guarantee fund scheme for micro and small enterprises (CGFSE) was introduced in 2000 in conjunction with the Small Industries Development Bank (SIDB) to provide collateral-free credit to the micro and small enterprise sector in an attempt to address the lack of finance available to young entrepreneurs (European Commission, 2016).

One study suggests that India has high levels of entrepreneurial talent but requires further government support and training, as well as shifts in cultural attitudes, in order to unlock the nation's entrepreneurial potential. India lacks adequate entrepreneurial education, and a shortage of suitably trained teachers and issues around the quality of programs are hindering entrepreneurial growth (Yu & Tandon, 2012). Lack of mentors and role models is another barrier. In response the Government has established the TREC-STEP (Tiruchirappalli Regional Engineering College Science and Technology Entrepreneurs Park), which provides support to promising young entrepreneurs with seed funding, subsidised production facilities and mentoring (TREC-STEP, 2014).

A key challenge in India, and in other emerging economies, is moving entrepreneurship into rural areas where residents often have few chances to take advantage of opportunities to access training and support. Approximately 70% of India's population live in rural areas where there is a lack of support services for budding entrepreneurs such as entrepreneurial education programs.

In order to stem rural-urban migration and tackle serious graduate unemployment in regional areas, appropriate support and infrastructure for entrepreneurship must be made available outside of major cities (EY, 2014).

Vietnam

One of the key findings of a report on entrepreneurship in Vietnam is that successful entrepreneurs are highly valued by Vietnamese society and that entrepreneurship is considered a desirable career choice, particularly among young Vietnamese (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2014). This positive view of entrepreneurship may be attributed to the current generation of graduates growing up in the 1980s and 1990s as Vietnam transitioned from a centralised, state-run system to a market economy. During this period, private enterprise was permitted and many Vietnamese took advantage of their newfound economic freedom and started their own business. As a result, entrepreneurship is considered a positive career choice (Rosen, 2014).

Entrepreneurship has received growing attention in the context of emerging interest in Vietnam as an attractive location for IT companies and information technology and high-tech products. In 2015 Saigon Silicon City was launched, a technology hub hoping to attract $US1.5 billion in investment. Vietnam's young labour force is a key attraction as are the high capabilities in mathematics and science among Vietnamese students. As previously noted, Google has recognised the importance of the Vietnamese market, announcing in 2015 that it would help train 1,400 local IT engineers (Nunis, 2016).

In 2012, the government set a target of around 45% of GDP for hi-tech products and applications by 2020. In 2013 the Ministry of Science and Technology and the Vietnamese Government launched Silicon Valley Ecosystem in Vietnam, which has the ambitious goal of building a Silicon Valley for Startups in Vietnam (Vietnam Silicon Valley, 2013). Drawing on the experience of America's Silicon Valley, the Vietnamese initiative aims to combine Vietnam's 'entrepreneurial spirit' with successful American practices in areas such as start-up development, mentorship and venture capital funding and investment. The Government has also promised to introduce practical initiatives to encourage entrepreneurship such as greater transparency on legal issues, tax advantages and favourable regulations for start-ups (Vietnam Silicon Valley, 2013).

More recently there have been reports of an influx of Vietnamese-born entrepreneurs returning to reap the benefits of Vietnam's shift to a more market-oriented economy (Hookway, 2015). Conversations with VietAbroader, a not-for-profit organisation for overseas Vietnamese students, suggest that many start-ups are launched by returning students who are unable to find work in their field or become frustrated with the local work environment (Thu. Pham pers. comm.). As previously noted, Vietnam is a relationship based culture and having local connections is highly desirable in the graduate labour market. Studying overseas for several years can be a disadvantage as many Vietnamese companies are domestic based and value local government connections, which returning Vietnamese students may lack.

Despite the positive public image of entrepreneurs, high levels of enthusiasm for pursuing entrepreneurial activities and government assurances to remove impediments to entrepreneurship, significant barriers remain and many are doubtful that the government will

convert promises into action. According to the World Bank's *Doing business,* Vietnam has fallen from 87th place in 2007 to 99th in 2013. Access to finance, inadequate infrastructure, and lack of skilled labour are the most prominent problems mentioned by Vietnam's firms. Corruption amongst government officials is reportedly widespread (Concordia, 2014).

In order to promote greater entrepreneurship among Vietnamese graduates and ease graduate unemployment rates, issues surrounding the quality of Vietnam's higher education system, low and unequal participation and mismatches between education and the labour market need to be addressed (World Bank, 2014). Equipping Vietnamese youth with the skills, knowledge and attributes required in a modern economy, including appropriate entrepreneurship training, is a priority. While Vietnamese students rank highly on mathematics and science, more emphasis needs to be placed on entrepreneurship and soft skills in education such as problem solving, creativity, leadership, communication and teamwork (World Bank, 2014).

Indonesia

The SME sector in Indonesia accounts for nearly 90% of all business in the country, provides 97.2 % of domestic employment and contributes to approximately 58% of the country's GDP (Elyda, 2014). However, most SMEs operate in sectors that do not require much technological innovation such as retail, food and beverage, and hospitality, fishing, agriculture and mining (EY, 2013). In order for Indonesia to move beyond these industries and boost entrepreneurialism in future growth areas linked to technology, a number of barriers need to be overcome.

Limited access to capital for small business and an education system that fails to promote entrepreneurialism have hampered growth in entrepreneurship. Other barriers include unevenly distributed transportation and communication infrastructure, bureaucratic inefficiencies, and widespread corruption. Indonesia's higher education sector must also evolve in order to prepare graduates for the changing labour market. The quality of programs being offered at some institutions has been raised as a concern (Ford, 2015). While a number of Indonesian education institutions now offer programs in entrepreneurialism and the creative industries, there are concerns surrounding their quality with many lacking appropriately skilled teaching staff and facilities. Cultural values including a prevailing attitude that defines career success as a government job or a position in a multinational also stifle growth in entrepreneurship (Barley, 2014).

Nevertheless, with its large youth population and rapidly expanding middle class, Indonesia is a country with significant entrepreneurial potential. There are signs the government recognises this potential and is actively promoting entrepreneurship. According to the Indonesian government, empowering the labour force to create job opportunities will enhance labour force participation and reduce high unemployment. The government has developed the National Entrepreneurship Movement program, in collaboration with universities, banks, and businesses. to promote entrepreneurship among university graduates and provide them with technical and managerial training and support (G20, 2014). Since 2012 the Bank Indonesia has also been involved in promoting entrepreneurship via its entrepreneurship programs with a focus on agribusiness and export commodities. In 2015 the program was extended to focus on women's entrepreneurship (G20, 2014). The Bank Mandiri has also been running the Mandiri Young Entrepreneur Program since 2007. The program aims to change mindsets and to encourage young people to engage in entrepreneurship (Carolina, 2016).

Other evidence of government interest in promoting and supporting entrepreneurs is the intermediate action plan for entrepreneurship development. The overarching aim of the plan is

to develop entrepreneurship behaviour among SMEs by providing incentives to new entrepreneurs, developing and strengthening relevant training and education, encouraging cooperation and networking among entrepreneurs and other stakeholders and supporting exporter entrepreneurs. The plan also includes boosting opportunities for women entrepreneurs (Dipta, 2015). There is also a focus on entrepreneurship within the creative industries. In 2012 the government has established the Creative Economy Body, which received support from the UK government's Ministry of Culture, Communications and Creative Industries. However, there are concerns that the glossy advertising featuring young Indonesians in glamourous jobs misrepresents the reality of the industry which is characterised by lack of job security and low and unpredictable profits (Azali, 2015).

Key Themes

The following section provides a comparative analysis of key themes emerging from the scoping study and how they manifest in the four case study countries as well as in the contexts of Australia and the UK.

Credentials plus

In each of the countries under investigation, there are strong indications that a tertiary qualification is no longer enough to ensure success in the graduate labour marker. As noted by Mok, Wen and Dale (2016, p. 9), Chinese graduates are no longer the 'stars of the sky' and heightened competition means graduates must find ways to differentiate themselves or risk joining the ranks of the new urban working poor. Large tertiary age populations coupled with rapidly expanding tertiary education systems have resulted in a rise in the number of graduates entering the labour market in recent years. From the employer perspective, graduates must prove they have not only strong professional knowledge in their area of qualification, but also well developed soft skills (team work, interpersonal skills, initiative, leadership, etc.). Strong communication skills are a key requirement and there is an increasing emphasis on English language proficiency. English language skills appear particularly valuable in the Indian context where employers are seeking graduates who will perform well in a global business environment, particularly the lucrative Business Processing Outsourcing (BPO) sector (ICEF, 2015). Employers in all four countries are also looking for discipline related work experience which is leading to greater demand for internships and work placements.

Employers in the UK and Australia are seeking similar skills and attributes, suggesting that there are parallels across nations in the way employability is currently understood. There are also suggestions that graduates in a range of cultural and geographical contexts face similar challenges resulting from the massification of higher education and structural changes in the labour market. In the UK the number of people holding postgraduate degrees has almost tripled in the last 15 years (Lindley & Machin, 2013). Australia has also witnessed a rise in postgraduate enrolment with predicted continued growth as graduates seek ways to gain a competitive employment advantage (Group of Eight, 2013). In the Australian and UK contexts, employability is understood as a combination of credentials, key technical and professional skills, well developed communication skills, and 'soft skills' such as team work, initiative, leadership, etc. The growing demand for work integrated learning (WIL) is further evidence of the importance of developing additional employability attributes and acquiring professional experience while at university in order to compete in the graduate labour market (ACEN, 2014).

Developing the entrepreneurial capabilities of graduates is now a national priority in all of the countries under investigation and reflects a shift in the nature of employment with growing emphasis on being flexible, adaptive and proactively seeking out opportunities.

The relationship between social mobility and university credentials is being challenged in both developed and emerging economies

While enrolment in tertiary education has expanded globally, there are growing concerns that wider access may also lead to a decline in social mobility and greater income inequality. In all

four countries, as well as in Australia and the UK, the notion that widening access to higher education promotes greater equality and access to opportunity is being challenged (Mok, Wen & Dale, 2016; Brown, Lauder, & Ashton, 2010, Liu & Hong, 2016; Naafs & White, 2012). In China, the rapid expansion of tertiary education since 1999 has resulted in high numbers of tertiary graduates. However, there are concerns that rising rates of graduate unemployment may be attributed to the poor quality of less well known institutions, the shortage of qualified teachers, outdated curricula, lack of industry placements programs, along with the impact of the restrictive *'Hukou'* residential system. Moreover, the growing pool of potential middle-class members from every sector of Chinese society places pressure on the middle class to maintain their social positions. This has led to a focus on strategies designed to provide children with points of differentiation in the competitive labour market. Middle-class Chinese parents place a high premium on 'personal qualities' such as language training, hobby cultivation and communication skills and these cultural assets mark out middle-class students from others in job seeking (Liu, 2016). Direct parental involvement in the development of cultural capital persists throughout the educational journey through to transition into the labour market. As Liu and Hong argue (2016, p.69), "the functioning of cultural capital represents more subtle and sophisticated means of class reproduction resulting in selective university graduates' occupational attainment". In China the role of the family appears to be particularly influential in determining how individuals develop their employability, which is likely to stem from both the enduring influence of Confucianism and the effects of the "One Child Policy".

In India, expanded access to higher education has resulted in the growth of educated unemployed youth throughout the country, including those from lower-caste backgrounds. The expansion of educational opportunity threatens the traditional sources of privilege of upper-caste, middle-class youth who face increased competition for middle-class jobs and the prospect of downward economic mobility (Brown, 2015). The Indonesian economy has not been able to generate sufficient graduate jobs, resulting in many tertiary graduates being compelled to accept jobs that were previously filled by those with lower education levels (Naafs & White, 2012). In Indonesia, graduate employment is also likely to demand personal connections and to require drawing on class privilege or ethnic identities in negotiating access to work (ibid).

In Vietnam, white-collar occupations and professional careers are seen as a way of achieving upward social mobility. However, lack of opportunities in both the state and private sector has resulted in many graduates working for low salaries or waiting for well-paying jobs that may never eventuate (Van, 2016). Those from middle class families in Vietnam "possess high levels of formal education as well as diverse experiences of, and knowledge about, regionalized traditions and globalized cultural influence" (Earl, 2014, p.249). The literature highlights the importance of additional forms of capital, such as fluency in English, in order for persons to be competitive in urban job markets. Graduates from wealthier families are likely to be advantaged by way of access to English medium schools, private tuition and in some cases overseas study opportunities. The role of social connections in procuring employment was identified in each case study.

In countries such as the UK, USA and Australia, greater access to higher education has not automatically resulted in higher status jobs or higher incomes. In 2013 around half of recent US college graduates were working in jobs that did not require a degree (Center for College Affordability and Productivity, 2013) while in the UK underemployment amongst graduates had risen from 37%in 2001 to 47% in June 2013 (Allen, 2013). In 2013, 26% of Australian higher education graduates were underutilised immediately after completing their courses (Papadopoulos, 2014). Social class has also emerged as a key factor influencing employability in both the UK and Australia, with recent reports indicating that students from low socio-economic

backgrounds face additional barriers when developing key employability skills and accessing the labour market compared to students from medium-high socio-economic backgrounds. Studies in both the UK and Australia suggest that the employability of low socio-economic status (SES) has been largely overlooked and more needs to be done to develop the employability of low SES students while at university and to facilitate their transition into graduate employment (Bathmaker, Ingram, & Waller, 2013; Gribble & Kay, 2016).

Influence of sociocultural factors

The study reveals that while there are cross-national similarities in the skills, knowledge and attributes required by employers, sociocultural factors such as gender, ethnicity and social class are highly influential in determining both how employability is understood and how it is developed in individual national contexts. The countries under investigation have all undergone rapid social, economic and political change in the recent decades resulting in students graduating into societies and labour markets that are significantly different from those experienced by previous generations. For example, while the economies of Vietnam and China have opened up in recent years resulting in the emergence of the private sector, differences between SOE and private companies remain. Contemporary western business practices have become widespread, however, in many work places traditional values must also be adhered to. The need to balance traditional values with the requirements of the contemporary global labour market can be witnessed in all four countries. While attributes such as leadership, initiative, team work and communication skills are considered key employability attributes in a range of countries, they may be interpreted differently according to different cultural settings and must be considered via the cultural lens of particular country contexts.

Mismatch between tertiary education and the labour market

There are concerns in all four countries that the tertiary education sector is failing to equip graduates with the skills, knowledge and attributes required in contemporary labour markets. Serious concerns around the quality of tertiary education in India, Vietnam, Indonesia and China are largely the result of the massification of higher education systems and the failure to maintain quality in periods of rapid expansion (Altbach, 2014). While India's Institutes of Technology are of high calibre, mainstream institutions have a reputation for low quality. High graduate unemployment is attributed to institutions producing too many graduates for available jobs in particular fields (e.g., the arts). In skill shortage areas such as management and engineering, graduates are commonly considered deficient in quality and poorly trained for the positions available. Employers indicate that they must retrain many of those they do hire (Altbach, 2014).

In Indonesia, there are around 10 million tertiary education graduates in the labour force (Allen, 2016). As in India, Indonesia has struggled to meet rising demand for higher education resulting in concerns over student learning and overall quality. While state-run universities dominate the higher education system, they receive low levels of government funding and are tightly regulated. Private institutions are prevalent but lack credible accreditation and quality control mechanisms. Vietnam faces similar challenges with demand for tertiary education outstripping supply (Clarke, 2014). There are widespread concerns over the quality of local tertiary higher education with outdated curricula and teaching methods along with a severe shortage of qualified teaching staff considered major impediments to boosting the quality of tertiary graduates. Some experts believe that the decline in quality at the bottom tier of higher education is an inevitable result of massification and can be found worldwide (Altbach, 2014)

Concerns around graduate employability are not limited to developing countries. Graduate unemployment is a global phenomenon reflecting the growing precariousness of work. Policy agendas aiming to expand access to higher education in countries such as the UK and Australia have been successful in universalising higher education and developing strong regulatory and quality assurance processes. Nevertheless, there has been considerable debate surrounding the capacity of tertiary institutions to adequately prepare graduates for the competitive global labour markets. While there are suggestions that universities need to do more to enhance the employability of graduates via increased work experience opportunities, for example, greater collaboration between universities, industry and government is required to ensure that the supply of graduate jobs keeps pace with demand, and that graduates are equipped with the right mix of knowledge, skills and attributes for the changing nature of work.

Conclusion and Further Research

This scoping study examines culturally specific understandings of employability in four distinct cultural contexts: China, India, Vietnam and Indonesia. The study reveals that there are clear similarities between the types of skills and attributes valued by employers in the countries under investigation with those in developed nations such as the UK and Australia. Communication and interpersonal skills, team work and problem solving abilities appear to be valued across cultures. However, there are also differences. The study highlights the role of culture in determining what is valued and why in the workplace. Hofstede's 6-D Model (2010) provides a useful tool for understanding the cultural drivers that influence workplace values and attitudes. In many Asian countries, workplaces are heavily stratified and roles clearly defined. Employers are often seeking employees who are loyal, hardworking and obedient and will contribute to harmonious work environments. This is in contrast to the flatter hierarchy evident in many workplaces in countries such as Australia and the UK where qualities such as leadership, initiative and enterprise are rewarded. Importantly, while many traditional values endure, the capacity to operate and move between multiple cultural contexts is increasingly valued, and necessary, in the globalised workplace.

This study provides a preliminary examination of employability in four different cultural contexts. There is limited available research in the field and a pressing need for greater in depth quantitative and qualitative research into employability across cultures. This is particularly urgent in relation to graduate employment, where rising unemployment rates among tertiary educated graduates has emerged as a major challenge in China, India, Indonesia and Vietnam. Importantly, providing access to meaningful employment to an expanding cohort of graduates is also an acknowledged challenge in many other countries around the word including developed nations such as Australia and the UK. To inform responses to this global challenge, greater understanding of the issues surrounding employability in a range of countries and contexts is needed.

This study focused on employers and policy makers, examining the available research on how employers determine who they hire and what policy interventions have been used to address issues surrounding employability. However, this field is under-researched and the study highlights the need for further research, especially that focusing on particular professional fields. SMEs are a major employer in many countries, where SMEs and entrepreneurship are considered central to continued economic growth, innovation and job creation. More research into the human resources needs of SMEs, including how best to prepare graduates for employment in this sector is also required. Research is also needed on graduates and their career aspirations. For example, there is a need for greater insights into the career aspirations of graduates and how these match with employer expectations and labour market conditions. While

this study examined four countries in Asia, there is a need for further in depth investigation into employability in a range of cultural contexts in order to understand regional differences and responses. The challenges of providing meaningful employment opportunities in regional areas in order to stem rural-urban migration also emerged as an issue requiring further examination as well as the impact of gender on employment in different cultural contexts.

The study also highlighted the influence of social class on employment outcomes. There are suggestions that success in the graduate labour market is highly dependent on an underlying foundation of cultural, economic and social capital, as qualifications alone are not sufficient and will not be fully recognised without additional forms of capital (Earl, 2014). Further research is needed to understand how socio-economic status affects the development of graduate employability and access to the labour market in emerging economies.

While the terms 'innovation', 'entrepreneurship' and 'creativity' are increasingly associated with boosting economic growth and touted as the solution to halting rising levels of graduate unemployment, more research is needed in this area. Firstly, we need to understand how graduates perceive entrepreneurship and the factors that deter or encourage graduates to pursue this career pathway. There is a need for further examination of the experiences of young entrepreneurs, what factors lead to success or failure, what policy settings foster entrepreneurship and how institutions are responding to demand for entrepreneurship education. In many countries, entrepreneurship education is a new concept. Research into entrepreneurship in a range of cultural settings is required in order to understand the impact of national culture on developing entrepreneurial capabilities among graduates. There are indications that female graduates have lower rates of entrepreneurship than males, suggesting that research into gender in entrepreneurship should be prioritised. There is a need for further research into how tertiary institutions best provide education and training that equips graduates with the skills, knowledge and attributes to create their own opportunities and successfully pursue a career in entrepreneurship in rapidly shifting global conditions.

Finally, research into how government, industry and tertiary institutions can collaborate to both equip graduates for challenging labour market conditions and generate viable work opportunities is an imperative.

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Appendix: Summary of Six Dimensions of National Culture

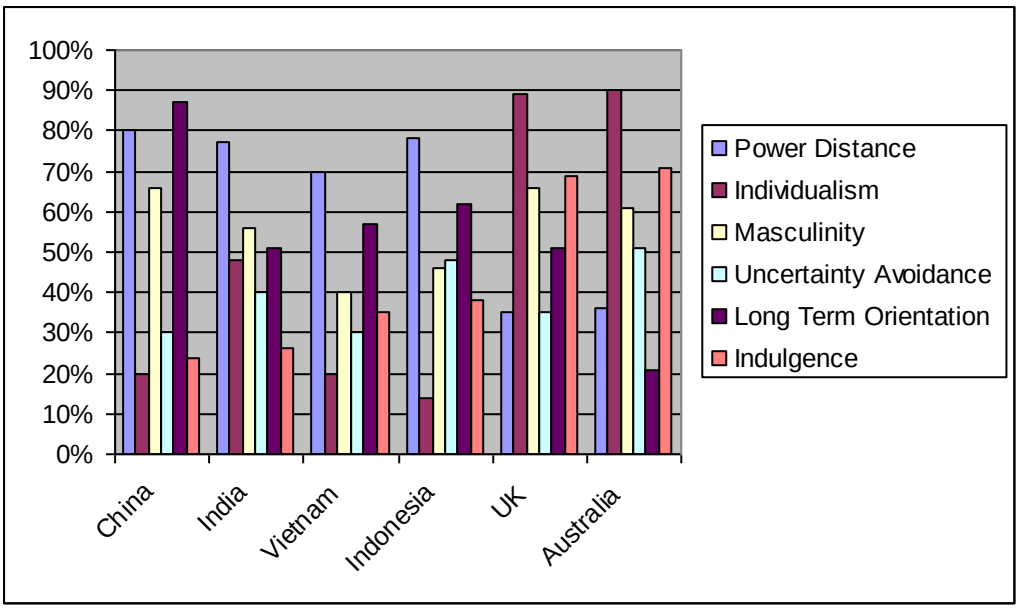
This is a summary of the dimensions of national culture according to Professor Geert Hofstede. The information contained in this summary is drawn from the Hofstede Centre Website: https://geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html

China	**India**
Power Distance 80%: • Inequalities are acceptable with workplaces dominated by subordinate – superior relationships • Social stratification with "individuals influenced by formal authority and sanctions" - Aspirations should not go beyond rank Individualism 20%: • Highly collectivist culture with in and out groups • Personal relations more important than organisations – Guanxi - actions and networks = loyalty Masculinity 66%: • Society driven by "competition, achievement and success" at all levels often at the expense of family, individuals and leisure time • Rankings are the major criteria for success – exams, universities, position in a company etc Uncertainty Avoidance 30%: • Chinese are pragmatic, "adaptable and entrepreneurial" and comfortable with ambiguity creating fluid business practices • 70 -80% Chinese of Chinese businesses are SME's and family run Long Term Orientation 87%: • Pragmatic culture – truth depends on context • Persistent and adaptable – strong propensity to save, invest, endure to achieve set goals Indulgence 24%: • Restrained society –dominated by social norms • Collectivist notions with little emphasis on leisure time and individual desires	Power Distance 77%: • Paternalistic, hierarchical society with a top down organisational culture • Inequalities are acceptable with the boss or leader as the power holder who dictates direction Individualism 48%: • Acting collectively in the greater good of one's own – social network of extended family, work, neighbours and community – dominated by social norms and expectations • Hinduism provides an individualist aspect to the culture with each individual being responsible for their own life and actions which dictates their rebirth (behaviour control) Masculinity 56%: • Society highly driven by "competition, achievement and success" • Prestige important and displays of wealth common place but often balanced out by religious beliefs • Work and position central to perceptions of success Uncertainty Avoidance 40%: • Acceptance that nothing is perfect and things continually change • There is a prevailing belief that rules can be circumvented and people adjust their behaviour to achieve goals often bypassing the system Long Term Orientation 51%: • Highly pragmatic culture with a concept that time is not linear and all things should be flexible to achieve outcomes Indulgence 26%: • Restrained society dominated by social norms and expectations • Collectivist notions with little emphasis on leisure time and individual desires

Vietnam	**Indonesia**
Power Distance 70%: • Hierarchical society, boss as autocratic leader Individualism 20%: • Collectivist society with extended family and loyalty paramount • In and out groups. Loyalty overrides rules Masculinity 40%: • Vietnam is a feminine society with emphasis on well being, equality, compromise and negotiation • Free time and flexibility highly valued Uncertainty Avoidance 30%: • Relaxed attitude to change • Flexible workplace attitudes, with rules changed or removed if things don't work Long Term Orientation 57% • Pragmatic culture with truth dependant on time, situation and context • Propensity to persevere, save, invest and be frugal Indulgence 35%: • Restrained society dominated by social norms and expectations	Power Distance 78%: • Hierarchical society, boss as power holder • Inequality accepted, huge differences between poor and rich Individualism 14%: • Collectivist society, strongly defined in and out groups • Extended family very important with strict rules of behaviour Masculinity 46%: • Less masculine than some Asian countries but visible symbols of success still important • Position – or "gensi" outward appearances very important to Indonesians Uncertainty Avoidance 48%: • Indonesians dislike conflict. Harmony in the workplace is highly valued • "Asal Bapak Senang" – "keep the boss happy" is a way to best describe Indonesian attitudes to work, change, and conflict resolution Long Term Orientation 62%: • Pragmatic culture with truth dependant on time, situation and context • Propensity to persevere, save, invest and be frugal Indulgence 38%: • Restrained society dominated by social norms and expectations • Collectivist notions with little emphasis on leisure time and individual desires

United Kingdom	**Australia**
Power distance 35%: • Inequalities should be minimised, even against the British class system – "Fair play" Individualism 89%: • Highly individualist culture, happiness through personal fulfilment Masculinity 66% • Highly success driven, live to work Uncertainty Avoidance 35% • Flexible, able to adjust and embrace change and ambiguity Long Term Orientation 51% • Preference cant be determined as too low Indulgence 69%: • Indulgent culture, with a positive, optimistic attitude. • Leisure time important, spending on personal pleasures moving towards consumerism	Power distance 36% • Inequalities should be minimised • Non-hierarchical and communicative workplaces. "Fair go" Individualism 90%: • Highly individualistic society where people look after just their immediate families • Employees need to be self-reliant and display initiative. Merit based employment methods Masculinity 61% • Strive to be the best, proud of success and achievements Uncertainty Avoidance 51%: • Preference cant be determined Long Term Orientation 21% • Normative society - respect for traditions and little drive to save for the future • Focus on quick results rather than long term plans Indulgence 71%: • High importance on leisure time and enjoyment • Indulgent culture, with a positive, optimistic attitude.

Chart 1: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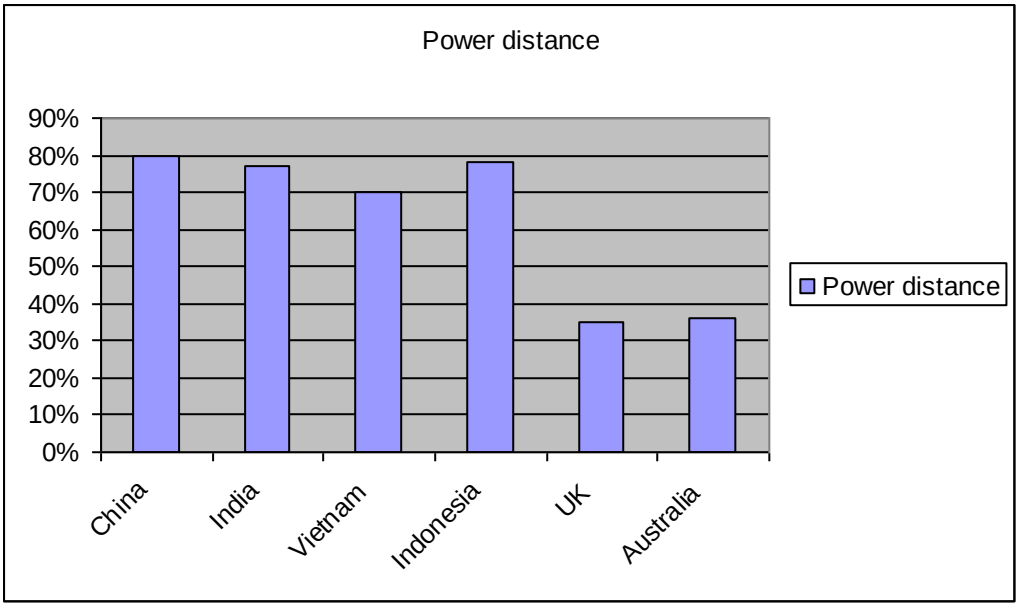
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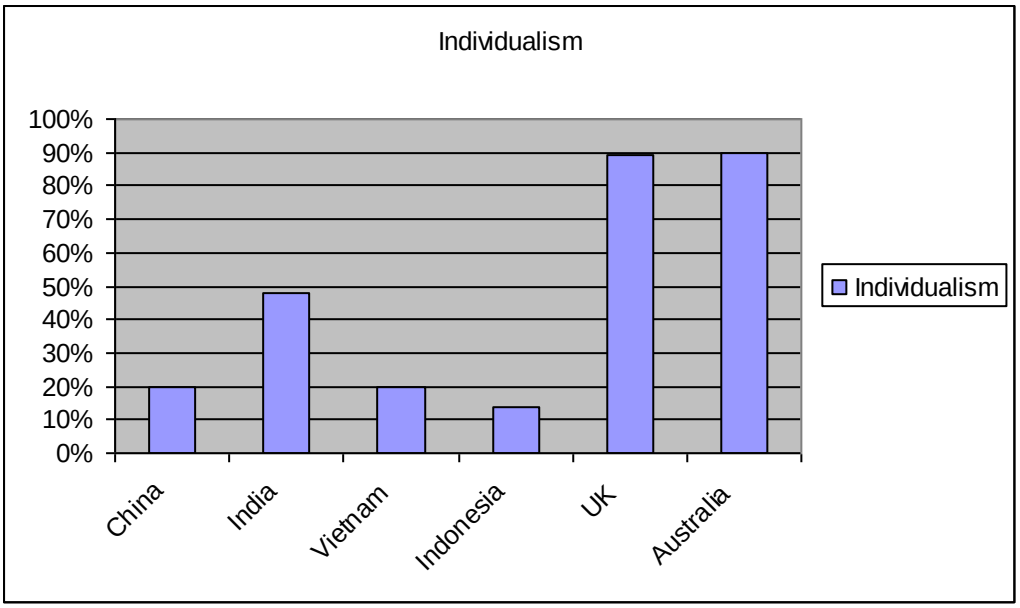
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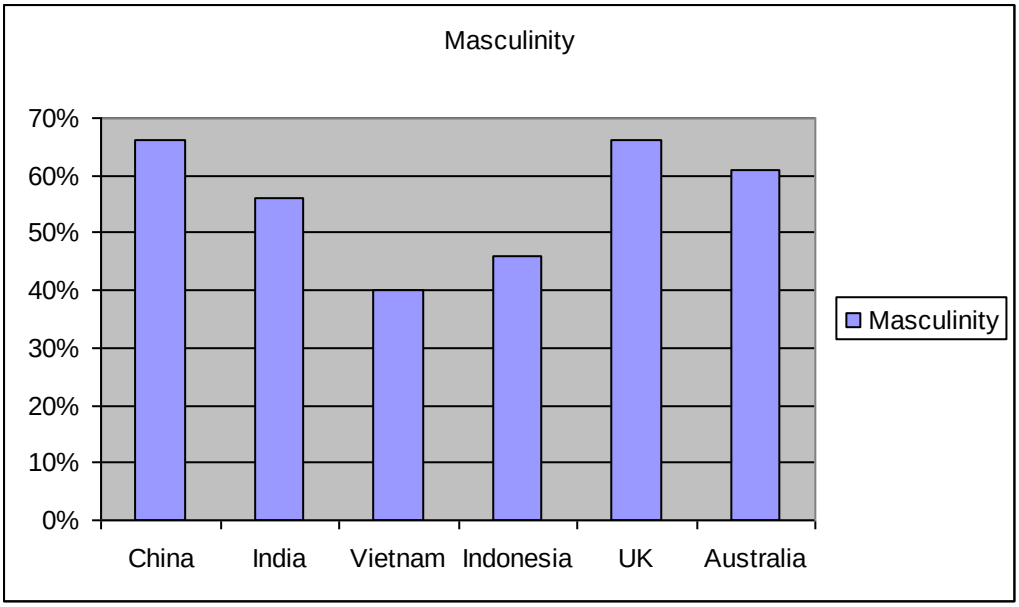
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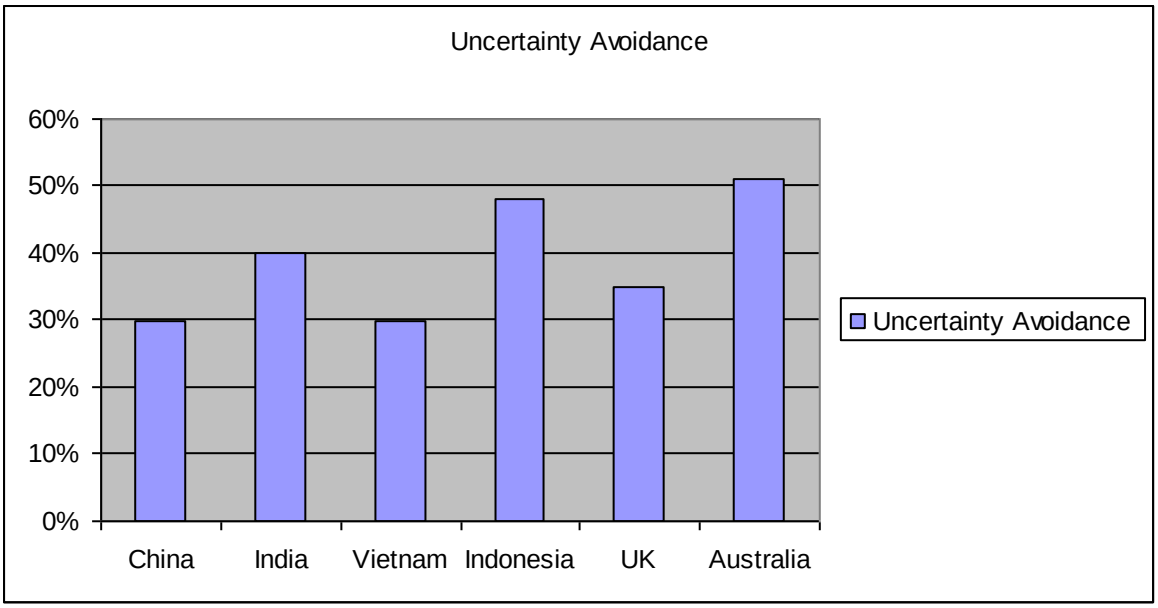
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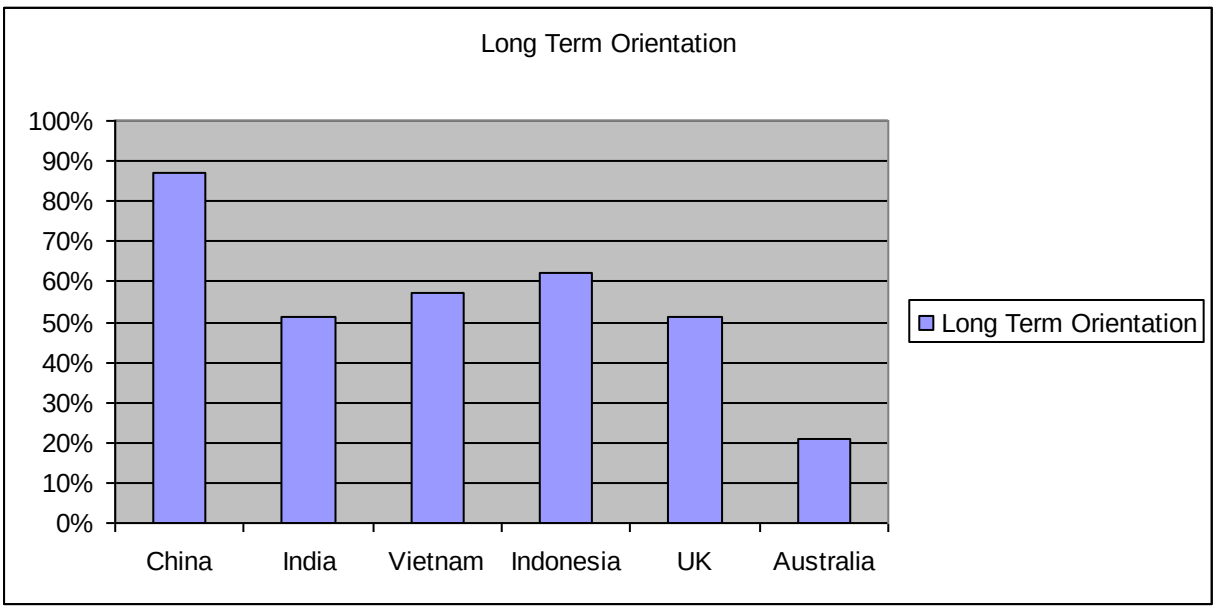
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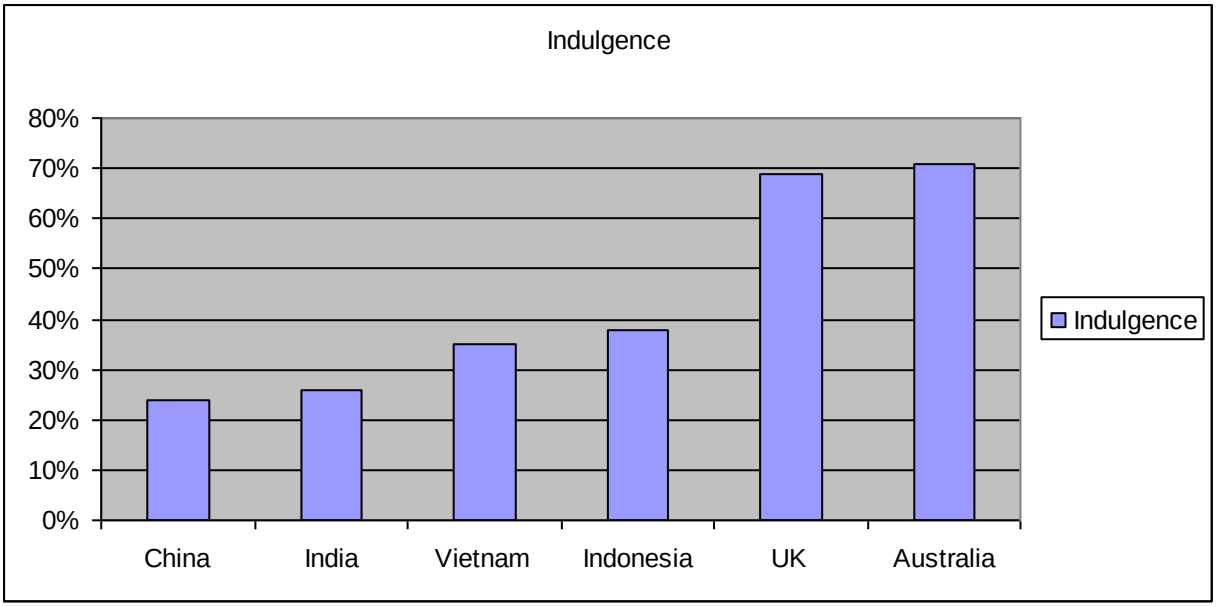
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