

Navigating the In-Between: A Narrative Inquiry into the  
Early Career Choices, Pathways and Experiences of  
Ethnically Diverse Second-Generation Individuals from  
Refugee and Migrant Backgrounds In New Zealand

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## Abstract

Migration is a process that enables international mobility and the movement of people around the world. It continues to have diverse implications explored across fields such as psychology, health and migration studies, however, the effect it has on the early career experiences of second generation from refugee and migrant backgrounds (SGRMB) remains largely unknown. While there is increasing research exploring the lived experiences of the SGRMB, research on the early career development experiences of SGRMB remains largely limited to European, North American and Australian contexts (Belfi et al., 2022; Zwysen & Longhi, 2018; Abkhezr et al., 2022; Gabrielli & Impicciatore, 2022). Furthermore, the body of knowledge predominantly focuses on employment outcomes instead of the influence of upbringing and culture on career decision making and workplace dynamics within their early careers.

To a large extent, existing literature has assumed that SGRMB would achieve greater outcomes than their first-generation parents (former refugees and migrants) as per classic assimilation theory (Zhou, 1997). However, SGRMB are also as likely to experience institutional biases such as racial discrimination and stereotyping (Muñoz-Comet & Arcarons, 2021; Huang, 2021). Furthermore, research exploring the impact of cultural identity on the early career development of SGRMB has largely taken place only within the Asian-American contexts (Yoon et al., 2017; Yoon et al., 2011; Parks & Yoo, 2016). This suggests that there is a lack of consensus and an evident knowledge gap around the role of upbringing and culture on the early career choices, pathways and experiences of SGRMB, which this study seeks to explore.

This study explores how upbringing and culture directly and indirectly influence firstly career development of SGRMB through early career choices and pathways, and then the way they impacts their early career experiences. Furthermore, being based in New Zealand, this study contributes to the limited understanding of the early career experiences of individuals from SGRMB beyond European, North American and Australian contexts. It used a qualitative research approach based on a narrative inquiry methodology to explore how upbringing and culture influence the early career choices, pathways and experiences of SGRMB through in-depth semi-structured interviews. Using a

blend of narrative and thematic data analysis frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Fraser, 2004; Bamberg, 2012; Kim, 2012), a bespoke four-step analytical framework was developed and applied to understand the influence and impact of upbringing and culture on career development and experiences.

Findings from this study highlight the symbiotic relationship between their personal experiences throughout their upbringing and their professional careers. Therefore, there are implications for SGRMB individuals, their careers, organisations they are a part of, and for career development professionals. This study found that the early career choices and pathways of SGRMB were shaped by intersecting family, cultural and socio-economic influences. Family influences shaped by collectivist cultural values around maintaining the collective identity contributed to expectations and parental involvement within the early careers of SGRMB. Participants reflected on the challenges involved with growing up in lower socio-economic circumstances impacted by their parents' status as former refugees and migrants and the institutional barriers they faced with achieving upward mobility. Thus, participants' parents strongly emphasised the importance of education, particularly higher education and qualifications, to empower and enable the SGRMB to achieve a better quality of life.

While participants have made considerable progress and achieved notable milestones in their early careers, their achievements were often relative to their first-generation parents. The degree to which their parents had acculturated had a flow-on effect on how participants negotiated cultural differences within the workplace and how well they could engage in organisational politics or injustices within the workplace. Participants also reflected on the impact of racial stereotyping and discrimination throughout their early careers, in which they had to minimise or reject aspects of their cultural identities in an attempt to fit into the dominant culture.

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## Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor used artificial intelligence tools or generative artificial intelligence tools (unless it is clearly stated, and referenced, along with the purpose of use), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

31 January 2024

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Signature

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Date

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## Ethics Approval

This Masters research study was approved by ***Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)*** on ***16 November 2022***. AUTEC reference number: ***22/302***

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background Context of Study

While the experiences of first-generation migrants and refugees are widely documented in New Zealand, the same cannot be said about the second generation from refugee and migrant backgrounds (Marlowe et al., 2014). In recent years, researchers have become increasingly interested in the experiences of second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds (Belfi et al., 2022; Huang, 2021; Muñoz-Comet & Arcarons, 2022; Gabrielli & Impicciatore, 2022). In New Zealand, generational differences between descendants from refugee and migrant backgrounds are not often made nor explicitly captured in research (Marlowe et al., 2014; Deane et al., 2023). Still, very few studies have explored the impact of migration on ethnically diverse second generation individuals within the New Zealand context and the effect it has on their early career development.

This research will focus on the second-generation descendants of former refugees and migrants to New Zealand from ethnic minority groups. This will draw on the New Zealand Ministry of Ethnic Communities (2023) definition of Aotearoa New Zealand's ethnic communities, including individuals who identify as initially from the continents of Africa, Asia, Continental Europe, Latin America and Middle-Eastern (ethnic majority in New Zealand refers to New Zealand of Pākehā). This definition emphasises the first-generation migrants and refugees from backgrounds that culturally and linguistically may have made their resettlement or settlement in New Zealand particularly challenging due to additional cultural, language and systemic barriers.

Migration has been a significant part of New Zealand's history as a settler society since the 1800's (Watters, 2023). New Zealand Immigration policy has only changed within the late 1960s to allow more diverse migrants and refugees into the country due to the effects of globalisation (Beaglehole, 2005). While this has allowed for greater ethnic diversity within New Zealand, issues around social cohesion and equity remain and these continue to have implications in terms of workplace diversity, equity and inclusion.

Despite acceptance and support for diversity (Ward & Masgoret, 2008; Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment, 2021), issues around social cohesion and inequities persist in society due to systemic and institutionalised barriers from individuals of refugee and migrant backgrounds. This research project will delve into the experiences of ten second-generation individuals from ethnically diverse refugee and migrant backgrounds to understand the impact of upbringing and culture on their early careers within New Zealand. It will acknowledge the unique migration histories of their first-generation refugee and migrant parents, aiming to explore how acculturation and migration-related factors have influenced how the second generation has been brought up and how cultural expectations have shaped their early career choices, pathways and experiences.

This study is also timely given that SGRMB individuals with parents who arrived in New Zealand from the 1970s onwards, have been establishing their careers over this time.

## 1.2 Researcher's Background and Position

Similar to my participants in this study, I come from both refugee and migrant backgrounds. This gives me a position as an insider; a researcher exploring the early career choices, pathways and experiences of SGRMB, who identifies also as a second generation New Zealander.

My upbringing was in a multi-generational family setting where I was raised predominantly by my grandparents. I barely saw much of my parents who worked incredibly hard dawn to dusk at the family bakery to make ends meet. Their hard work was hidden by the guise of the trauma they endured as survivors of the Khmer Rouge – a regime in which almost 3 million innocent lives perished under the most inhumane conditions of genocide, famine, poverty and torture (University of Minnesota, n.d; Kiernan, 2012; Hannum, 2017). As with other immigrant children I knew, I grew up straddling multiple cultures, traversing the world and navigating conflicting values systems influenced by my Cambodian-Chinese and Kiwi upbringing. While it is a privilege to be able to see the world from many points of view and to be able to pick and choose the 'best from both worlds,' I struggled with my identity and sense of

belonging in the world. I wasn't Cambodian enough nor did I look like the average 'kiwi.'

Without a great deal of representation of possible career pathways for someone who looked like me, I took on the advice of those around me at university to complete a Management major along with my International Studies major which led me into Recruitment and Human Resources as part of my early career.

Entering the workforce added another dimension to these dynamics where I was having to figure out my professional identity and whether Human Resources Management was the right career for me, alongside what felt like an ongoing cultural identity crisis as a child of immigrants. Regardless of how perfect my English was, the fact that I grew up here or was born here, I was still 'different' in the workplace.

### **1.3 Research Purpose and Rationale**

I have chosen to undertake this study to explore the experiences of individuals who share a similar background as myself, to understand the similarities and differences within our experiences and to understand how the intersection of upbringing and culture can continue to shape our lived experiences in our early careers. Through my informal interactions with second-generation peers of a similar refugee or migrant background, I have had these personal experiences reflected anecdotally, however, there is a real need for formal research in order to capture and validate these experiences. Research on the early career experiences of SGRMB can add insights to the career experiences of marginalised groups and address existing gaps in careers literature that has not often focused on the experiences of individuals from migrant and refugee backgrounds.

This research also aims to also give voice to individuals from SGRMB to share details on the matters that are most important to them acknowledging that they are an overlooked demographic within New Zealand. The study will explore the early career choices, pathways and experiences of SGRMB through the following research questions.

**RQ 1:** How does upbringing and culture influence second-generation individuals' early career choices and pathways?

**RQ 2:** How do upbringing and culture impact the early career experiences of second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds?

The first research question will focus on how aspects of upbringing and culture influence the choices and pathways made by SGRMB individuals, which is different to the second research question as it will explore the factors contributing to the early career development of SGRMB. Research question two, however will focus on the experiences, including the successes, challenges and learnings throughout their early careers.

These research questions along with the methodology and research design will be outlined further in Chapter 3.

## 1.4 Definitions

As the following terms and concepts will emerge quite frequently throughout this thesis:

**Acculturation** is the process that occurs as individuals adjust their cultural values, beliefs and attitudes when they come into contact with another cultural system (Berry, 2017).

**Assimilation** is one of the outcomes of acculturation and occurs when individuals align themselves with the dominant culture's values, attitudes and beliefs and, in the process may reject aspects of their cultural identity that distinguish them from others (Fox et al., 2017).

**Attitudes** are the way people perceive or respond to certain situations which is often influenced by values (Schwartz, 2012).

**Collectivism** is a cultural dimension in which individuals place importance on the collective identity over individualistic needs and achievements (Triandis, 2001).

**Country of Origin** refers to the country in which the parents of the SGRMB (i.e., the first-generation migrants and refugees) were originally from.

**Country of Resettlement** refers to the country in which the parents of the SGRMB migrate from their country of origin and re-settle in. In the case of this study, the country of resettlement is New Zealand.

**Culture** refers to these, values and beliefs that are shared by a particular group of people. According to Lustig and Koester (2010), culture is learnt and acquired through the process of socialisation.

**Early Career** refers to the immediate years when individuals enter the workforce. In the context of this study, it refers to the first 5-10 years following the completion of a tertiary qualification.

**Identity** refers to the social groups in which individuals belong to which contributes to a sense of self. It is a multi-faceted phenomena that has been developed internally (personal identity) or externally (social identity or relational identity) through interactions with others (Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

**Individualism** is the opposite cultural dimension to collectivism where importance is placed on individualistic interests (Triandis, 2001).

**Upbringing** refers to the ways in which individuals have been brought up by their family, including the values that have been instilled throughout childhood and the way they have been treated by those around them.

**Second Generation Individuals from Refugee and Migrant Backgrounds (SGRMB)** refers to the children of long-term migrants and former refugees who have made settled in New Zealand.

**Values** reflect beliefs that are considered important to individuals or a group of individuals and can be analysed to understand peoples' motivations (Schwartz, 2012).

**Worldview** refers to the way individuals make sense of the world and the perspectives that they have are shaped by their upbringing and lived experiences.

## 1.5 Overview of Thesis Structure

This study endeavours to contribute to the knowledge gap around the early career experiences of SGRMB individuals within New Zealand by investigating the influence of identity, upbringing and culture on early career choices and pathways and how the same factors impact their early career experiences.

This research study is arranged across six chapters. **Chapter 1** has outlined an overview of the research, including details on the research aims and purpose, including acknowledgement of my position as an insider researcher from the outside, exploring the early career experiences of participants from SGRMB.

**Chapter 2** provides a review of relevant literature to understand the different factors of upbringing and culture which influence early career choices, pathways and impact the experiences of SGRMB. The chapter starts off by discussing the socio-political background behind the family migration contexts of SGRMB and delves into the migration trends and changes to New Zealand Immigration Policy over time. Key concepts and definitions are outlined in the following section before concluding with a discussion on existing literature regarding the role of cultural upbringing on the early career experiences of SGRMB.

**Chapter 3** outlines the methodology of narrative inquiry that forms the basis of this research. The chapter discusses the research philosophy (relativist ontology, constructivist epistemology and interpretivist paradigm) that informs the research design of the study. In-depth semi structured interviews were carried out to establish a better understanding around the cultural upbringing of participants, how it influences their early career choices and impacts the early career experiences of SGRMB. To analyse participants stories, a four-step framework of data analysis was employed.

The key findings (presented as stories) are presented in **Chapter 4**, followed by analysis of the ten stories shared by participants from SGRMB. The individual interpretative stories of each participant are presented in the first part of this findings chapter, followed by the second section which provides an overview of the main themes drawn from across the interpretative stories and interview transcripts.

**Chapter 5** discusses these key findings of the research and gaps in the literature that emerged in the Literature Review (Chapter 2). The chapter discusses the intersecting influences of family, cultural expectations and socio-economic challenges on early career choices and pathways based on Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT). It highlights the significance of parental adaptation and how it influences the challenges and opportunities SGRMB individuals encounter in their early career context. The impact of upbringing and culture on the Early Career Experiences of SGRMB individuals around validating achievements, feelings of indebtedness and pressures to conform are also discussed.

Finally, **Chapter 6** will draw conclusions from this study. This final chapter will provide a summation of the key findings and contributions to theory and practice. It will discuss the implications and limitations of the study before outlining areas for further research.

## Chapter 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

This literature review will explore current research regarding the early career experiences of ethnically diverse second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds (SGRMB) in New Zealand. The aim of this literature review is to scope out key factors that shape the early career choices, pathways and experiences of SGRMB individuals. This is to understand better their socio-cultural contexts (family migration history and cultural influences) along with the New Zealand socio-political contexts and policies that have enabled refugees and migrants to move to New Zealand in the late 20th Century. By examining literature across a range of areas, including Immigration Policy, New Zealand migration history, acculturation and career development theories, this review will highlight key themes and knowledge gaps in how migration continues to impact and influence the careers of SGRMB.

### 2.2 Background Context

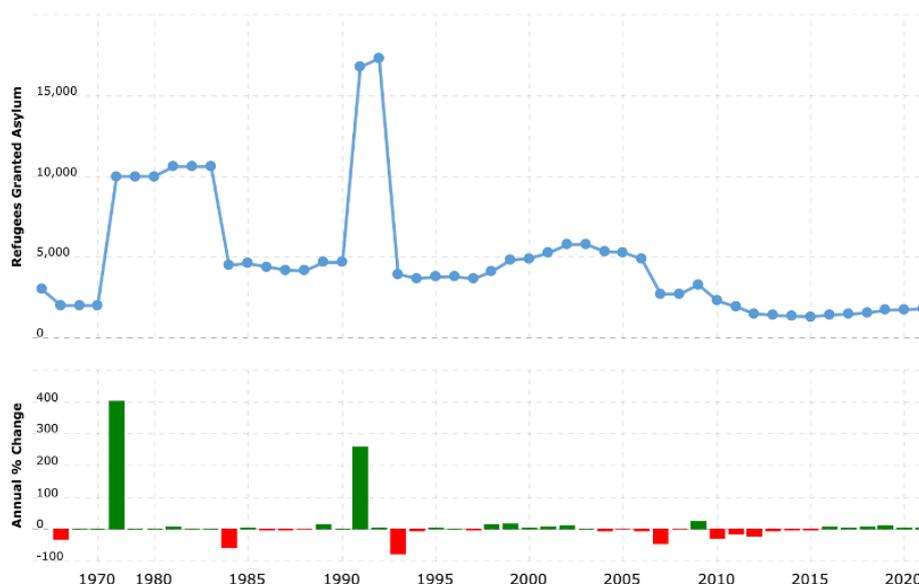
Migration has been an ongoing phenomenon since the 16th century that has widely influenced social, economic, and political contexts (Buttler et al., 2023). The Industrial Revolution, World Wars, Cold War and more recently the war in Ukraine have been key events that have forced people to seek refuge elsewhere and migrate for better conditions worldwide (Oris, 1996; Kirk & Huyck, 1954; Lloyd & Sirkeci, 2022). However, migration continues to be relevant in a modern world where the movement of people continues to take place due to personal and economic reasons. Migration has also been a necessary process that has helped people improve their quality of life, enabling them to contribute back to society and establish a sense of belonging in their countries of settlement (Douglas et al., 2019). Nonetheless, migration continues to have extensive implications on each country's socio-cultural and socio-political contexts, economies, and the physical environment where housing and resettlement are involved (Guterres, 2018). Issues around migration can also be a source of controversy when factoring in ethnic, cultural and racial differences and potentially unfavourable perceptions about migrants and refugees as 'foreigners' (United Nations, 2018). This background sets the foundation behind the unique context that shapes the lives of

SGRMB in New Zealand. The overview of migration policy and historical trends emphasises the dynamic nature of New Zealand’s socio-political context and will allow a detailed exploration of how the experience of migration continues to influence early career choices, pathways and experiences of SGRMB.

### 2.2.1 Historical Patterns of Migration

Refugee resettlement within New Zealand is aligned with historical, political, and social events that take place worldwide, resulting in refugees or asylum seekers who must flee their home countries for safety from danger. Statistical data shows a spike in migration to New Zealand between 1970 and 1985, reflecting an influx of refugee resettlement before levelling off between 1985 and 1990 and peaking again in the early 1990s (Macrotrends, n.d). The graph below suggests that global and historical events influenced the peaks in refugees granted asylum in New Zealand. Between 1970 and the mid-1990s, 354 Chilean refugees were resettled in New Zealand following the downfall of the Allende Government in 1974. Between 1974 and 1991, approximately 1134 refugees from Eastern Europe arrived in New Zealand due to the Cold War (Beaglehole, 2005). Over approximately 10,000 Indo-Chinese refugees from across Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos arrived in New Zealand through the late 1970s (Parliament New Zealand, 2008). Therefore, these refugees arrived from countries with political unrest due to colonisation, conflict, civil wars and genocide.

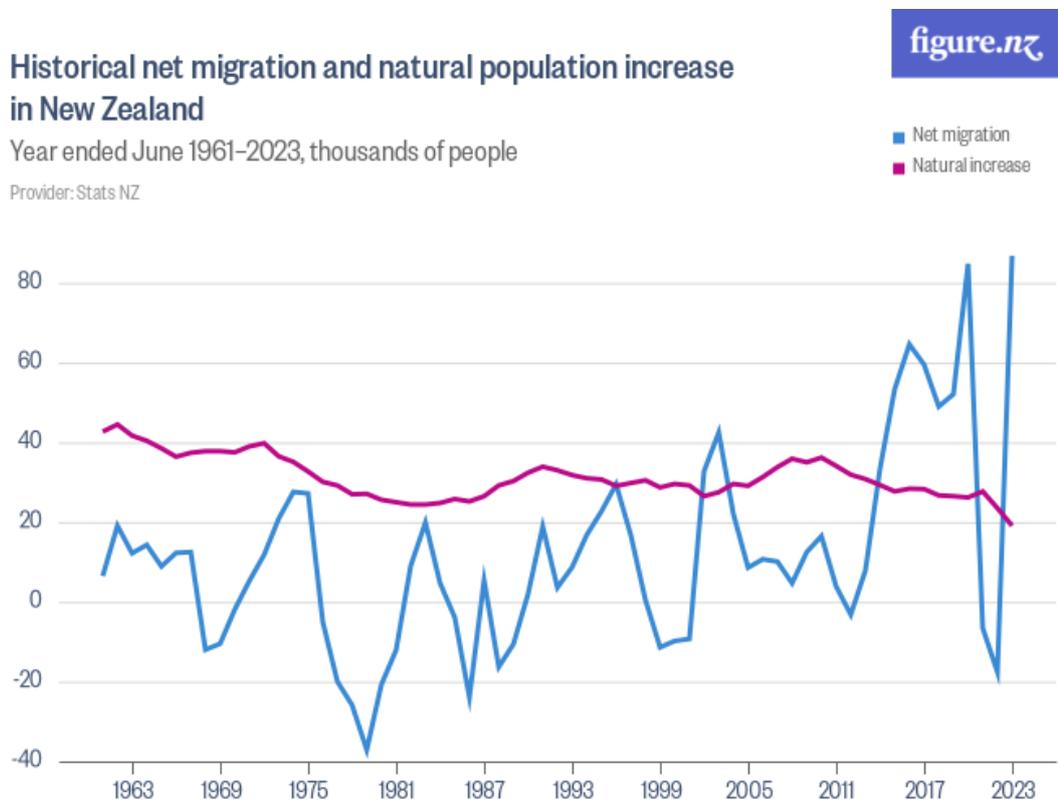
Figure 2.1 Trends in Refugee Resettlement in New Zealand from 1970-2020



*Note. This graph shows the trends in refugee resettlement, including the annual percentage change within New Zealand between 1963 and 2023. Macrotrends (n.d).*

New Zealand has continued to accept refugees well into the 21st Century under the UN Refugee Quota programme. These have consisted of smaller and more diverse groups from Africa, Eastern Europe and the Middle East, including Somalia, Ethiopia, Bosnia, Yugoslavia and Afghanistan (New Zealand Red Cross, 2023). Special allocations remain for refugees from the Middle East, including Afghanistan and Syria, to allow for refugees because of international crises (Immigration New Zealand, n.d).

*Figure 2.2 Historical Net Migration in New Zealand from 1970-2020*



*Note. This graph shows the gradually increasing migration trend in New Zealand between 1963 and 2023. Figure New Zealand (2023)*

## 2.2.2 New Zealand Immigration Policies

New Zealand has had a long history of immigration dating back to the 1800s. It is an example of a 'settler society' inhabited by European settlers under British colonialism (Watters, 2023). Policies and legal regulations were implemented only to allow specific individuals and groups entry to New Zealand for an extended period. Earlier versions of

New Zealand Immigration policy reflected a 'white New Zealand' policy based on race and ethnic background, favouring migrants from white European backgrounds. Assisted Immigration schemes in 1947 would favour those of white European descent and ideally with British heritage. These nationalities included the Dutch and Irish as part of assisted immigration schemes. The rationale for supporting 'white Europeans' as part of immigration efforts to New Zealand was that individuals or groups from these nationalities were considered "less different" and, therefore, would be able to integrate into New Zealand society more easily than other racial or ethnic groups that were perceived to have more significant differences (Beaglehole, 2005). This implies that past immigration policies, laws and regulations were underpinned by perceptions of white superiority influenced by Eurocentric views.

These attitudes, particularly concerning racialised immigration policy, were challenged, leading to radical changes to New Zealand Immigration policy toward the mid to late 1900s. This resulted in the Immigration Policy Review of 1974, which demanded an inclusive immigration policy that no longer discriminated against migrants based on their racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds, instead becoming based on skills and meritocracy (Hodgson & Poot, 2011). Changes made in the late 1960s were not fully implemented until the 1980s under the leadership of former New Zealand Prime Minister Norman Kirk, who recognised the importance of globalisation and the need to allow skilled migrants from diverse backgrounds into the country (Beaglehole, 2005). While discriminatory immigration criteria were scrapped, there was still an expectation for new migrants arriving to be educated and have a standard of competency with the English language (Cunningham & King, 2018). Exceptions to these included individuals who arrived as refugees or on family reunification schemes in New Zealand.

### 2.2.3 New Zealand Refugee Policies

Fundamental to these changes was the shift towards neo-liberalism (Pringle & Ryan, 2015), where migration was a pathway to strengthen economic development in New Zealand while accepting refugees and asylum seekers into New Zealand for humanitarian reasons. Therefore, as part of the 1974 Immigration Policy, three new categories were introduced to allow entry of migrants and refugees under skills-based criteria, family reunification and a humanitarian basis. New Zealand has accepted

refugees for economic and humanitarian causes since the mid-1940s. Under the Refugee Quota Programme, New Zealand has seen the resettlement of approximately 35,000 refugees since 1945 (Immigration New Zealand, n.d). New Zealand ratified the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention in 1960. Since then, a quota of 750 refugees has been allowed into the country each year (Marlowe & Elliot, 2014). The annual refugee quota was increased to allow 1,500 refugees with permanent residence into the country (Immigration New Zealand, n.d). Individuals who can demonstrate the risk of danger, serious harm or torture can put through an application for refugee status to be granted under the New Zealand Refugee Quota Programme (Immigration New Zealand, n.d). Furthermore, a Refugee Family Support Category enables former refugees to sponsor their family members to New Zealand.

The above section has provided an overview of the background context of immigration and refugee policies in New Zealand, highlighting relevant socio-historical and socio-political contexts that have shaped these policies within New Zealand.

## 2.3 Key Concepts and Definitions

### 2.3.1 Refugees

The United Nations Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees defines a refugee as “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion (UNHCR, 1967 p.3).” Refugees have no choice but to leave their home country in the face of danger. They are forced to escape due to external factors not limited to war, conflict, genocide or persecution. Their experiences are often traumatic, their journey unplanned. Often, they need the proper documentation to get into another country and, therefore, must seek asylum before being granted status as a refugee in the new country for resettlement (Amnesty International, n.d).

Furthermore, the term refugee is a label that reveals the status of an individual within the context of migration and carries significance from a public policy perspective as it suggests that individuals have had to migrate on humanitarian grounds (Zetter, 1991;

Community Law, n.d). Refugees who end up re-settling in New Zealand in the long term become former refugees as their refugee status is temporary and changes when they become New Zealand citizens. In line with the Citizenship Act 1977, refugees are allowed to apply for New Zealand Citizenship once they have resided in New Zealand continuously for a certain time and thus become former refugees (Community Law, n.d). Thus, participants from refugee backgrounds eligible for this study will be descendants of former refugees who have permanently resettled in New Zealand.

### 2.3.2 Migrants

While there is no official definition of what constitutes a migrant in the same way that there is a definition for refugees, the definition outlined by the International Organization for Migration (IoM) is widely accepted. The International Organisation for Migration (n.d) defines a migrant as “a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons (paragraph 1).” In addition to this, other terms such as immigrants and emigrants are often used interchangeably within the context of migration to provide context into the direction people have moved, whereas ‘migrants’ are used generically to refer to people who have moved from one country to another (Douglas et al., 2019). For this study, individuals from migrant backgrounds eligible to participate will be descendants of long-term migrants who have voluntarily and permanently settled in New Zealand since the changes to the New Zealand Immigration Policy in 1974.

The study will attempt to consider the nuances between refugee and migrant backgrounds and the impact of their migration-related experiences on their second-generation children, specifically within the contexts of their early careers. By considering the collective experiences of these two groups, we seek to avoid the stereotypes behind the labels used to identify someone from a refugee background versus a migrant background and instead aim to understand the nuances between their experiences, along with how their migration experiences have shaped the way they have brought up their children amidst the blend of cultures they find themselves situated in.

### 2.3.3 Second-Generation Individuals from Refugee and Migrant Backgrounds

The experiences of SGRMB are often absorbed as part of studies that focus on 'children from immigrant backgrounds' who do not differentiate between generations of migration or family migration status (Chimienti et al., 2019; Bloch & Hirsch, 2017). Definitions of generations within the literature typically regard parents as the first generation and their children as the second generation (Chimienti et al., 2019; Belfi et al., 2022; Marlowe et al., 2014; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). However, this may be more complex depending on whether the second generation was born in their home country or the country of resettlement (Vathi, 2015).

Research conducted by the Taylor et al. (2013) defines the second generation as those born outside of the parent's country of origin and where there is "at least one first-generation (immigrant) parent (p.4)". Similarly, the second generation refers to the descendants of refugees and migrants born and brought up in a socio-cultural and national context different from the parents' country of resettlement (Bloch, 2018). This suggests that SGRMB become natural citizens of their country of their parent's settlement or resettlement by birth, although they are continuously regarded as foreigners or immigrants due to their ethnic differences, even in the country they grew up in (Parks & Yoo, 2016).

The application of generational terminology is particularly important for the refugee context as it helps acknowledge contextual factors that may differentiate the experiences of those from a refugee background compared to an individual of a migrant background, such as intergenerational trauma and how it may continue to impact the second and subsequent generations (Loizos, 2007; Chiementi et al., 2019). The use of generational terminology is more common within the North American and European contexts when referring to different generations of individuals with migration histories due to larger population sizes and earlier waves of migration.

The definition of second generation used in this thesis study will also include individuals born overseas but migrated to New Zealand along with their parents as young children. Individuals who migrated as children are labelled as the 1.5 generation (Gonzales et al., 2013) and can be argued that both groups share relatively similar

experiences in their parents' country of resettlement as they are brought up in similar socio-cultural and socio-political circumstances. Similarly, Rumbaut (1994) considered children below 12 years of age to be a part of the second generation.

Clarifying these key concepts and definitions provides a shared understanding of the key terms used in this study. It will also provide background context to understand the complex issues experienced by SGRMB during the early career stage.

#### 2.3.4 Acculturation

Understanding the concept of acculturation is critical as part of understanding the lived experiences of the SGRMB. Migration, and consequently the process of acculturation that takes place well after migration, continues to shape the lives of refugees, migrants and their children (the second generation) over time. Moreover, acculturation is the process that occurs as individuals adjust their cultural values, beliefs and attitudes when they come into contact with another cultural system (Redfield et al., 1936; Berry, 2017; Bhugra et al., 2021). The concept of acculturation is derived from cross-cultural or intercultural psychology, central to understanding the experiences of individuals from refugees and migrants, and particularly the values instilled in the second generation through upbringing and culture. The Model of Acculturation highlights four acculturation outcomes: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation (Berry & Sam, 1997). Assimilation occurs when refugees and migrants align themselves with the dominant culture's values, attitudes and beliefs and, in the process, reject aspects of their cultural identity that distinguish them from others (Fox et al., 2017). Integration is the most ideal outcome of acculturation, where individuals are able to blend their two cultural systems and maintain values and traditions from both (Berry & Sam, 1997). However, integration as an outcome of acculturation is complex and can be summarised below.

“Psychological acculturation is not only, nor mainly, about preferences of people who live in plural societies. It is about the real complexities of life in two or more cultural worlds: facing cultural differences, misunderstanding and understanding others, coping with difficulties and lack of competencies, experiencing inner conflicts, acquiring cultural skills, enjoying growth, and reflecting on new emerging qualities.” (Boski, 2008, p. 152)

For those from ethnically diverse refugee and migrant backgrounds, the challenges associated with the process of migration and consequently in adjusting to a new and culturally different system can have ongoing implications for the second and subsequent generations. Outcomes can include those related to health, housing, and employment challenges which may impact the social wellbeing of migrants and refugees and their children in different ways (Castañeda et al., 2015; Gurrola & Ayón, 2018; Olsen & Anderson, 2018).

### 2.3.5 Upbringing

This thesis aims to understand the influence of upbringing and culture on the experiences of SGRMB individuals and how it impacts their early career development. While there tends to be some overlap between upbringing and education, the latter refers to formal teaching and learning processes, typically through educational institutions, including schools. In contrast, upbringing refers to how individuals have instilled particular values, attitudes and behaviour by parents or their close family members (Baruch & Erstad., 2018).

There are limited academic definitions for the concept of upbringing. However, dictionary definitions commonly acknowledge that upbringing involves nurturing and includes how individuals are taken care of and treated by their parents within a family setting (Oxford Dictionary, n.d; Cambridge Dictionary, n.d). Acknowledging how different parenting styles can influence a child's upbringing and how contextual factors such as ethnic background, culture and socio-economic status can impact dynamics between parents and children (Lang & Diener, 2020). For individuals of SGRMB, migration from their home country (country of parental origin) to the new country of resettlement (in the case of this research, New Zealand) can shape the values in which the children of these former refugees and migrants have been instilled with due to this ongoing process of acculturation (Marlowe et al., 2014).

### 2.3.6 Culture

It is also important to understand the role culture plays in influencing the lives of SGRMB individuals, who grow up in a cultural setting that is different to that of their parent's countries of ethnic origin. Therefore they are influenced by a blend of

cultures between their ethnic culture and the national culture of the country their parents settled or resettled in (Barros & Albert, 2020). While cultural values and expectations are often instilled naturally as part of one's upbringing, culture is a distinctive aspect in the lives of the SGRMB. This is due to the intercultural impacts of migration and acculturation, along with the way the process continues to shape the social and cultural identities of individuals over generations. There are also pressures for individuals from ethnic minority backgrounds to 'fit in' to the dominant culture or the national identity, which can create ongoing cultural tensions (O'Connor & Faas, 2012).

As specified by Lustig and Koester (2010), culture is a set of "learned set of shared interpretations about beliefs, values and norms (p.25)" held by a group of individuals. Culture is believed to be acquired through a process of learning or socialisation and can evolve, however, it also forms the foundation for one's worldview (Claus-Ehlers et al., 2006). Different cultural groups vary by the values they hold in common, which are beliefs that reflect what is considered important to an individual or a group and influence the motivations, behaviours and attitudes (Schwartz, 2006).

According to Hofstede (1980) and Hofstede (2011), there are a number of cultural dimensions that suggest how different cultural contexts may vary from one another - the main ones being power distance (perceptions of equality between individuals), uncertainty avoidance (attitudes around certainty and risk-taking behaviour), individualism versus collectivist (self-interest or collective interest) and masculinity vs femininity (gendered rules within culture. Although there is a risk of generalising, understanding cultural tendencies and the variations between certain cultures can highlight cross-cultural differences. However, according to Schwartz (2012) and his theory of basic values, ten values are believed to be universally shared by people, regardless of cultural backgrounds (self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, conformity, tradition, benevolence and universalism). The works of Hofstede have been critiqued over the years, with many scholars challenging that Hofstede discusses culture in an essentialist or overly-simplified way that does not capture nuanced differences between cultures (Bradley, 2018). Shaiq et al. (2011) argues that Hofstede's cultural dimensions also lack relevance within a contemporary world. Over time other scholars such as Hampden-Turner and

Trompenaars (1997) have built on Hofstede's (1980) Cultural Dimension to highlight additional dimensions of culture such as time orientation and other values orientations. Despite the limitations of Hofstede's cultural dimensions, the constructs form a useful framework to enable an understanding of cultural differences between certain groups of individuals within society (Jackson, 2020; Jackson, 2023). In regards to the lived experiences of the SGRMB, the cultural context is significant as individuals from refugee and migrants must navigate cross-cultural contexts between their ethnic and national identities.

### 2.3.7 Early Career

Careers can be viewed as a journey with a start and end point. However Nicholson and West (1989) argue that viewing careers in such a chronological way means we may disregard the nuances that result from differences among individuals and the experiences they have, through the career pathways they pursue. With globalisation in the 21st century, careers have also changed drastically in nature to be boundaryless (Baruch, 2015). Boundaryless careers are defined as careers that are established independent of training, development and career progression initiatives within specific organisations (Baruch & Sullivan, 2022; Arthur et al., 2005; Guan et al., 2019). The expectation that organisations will ensure employees' career progression and development in exchange for tenure and loyalty is no longer part of the psychological contract, meaning that individuals are now primarily responsible for their career development (Baruch & Sullivan, 2022) and that career is no longer a linear, upward trajectory (Tomlinson et al., 2018).

Although careers have been defined in many ways, the definition that is most relevant to this research will be the definition by Sullivan & Baruch (2009), who defines a career as "an individual's work-related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organisations, that form a unique pattern over the individual's life span (p.1543)." This will be the definition that will be drawn on for the purpose of this study.

Early careers are often the focus of graduate recruitment and socialisations efforts by organisations that recruit university students and graduates for entry-level roles (Accenture, n.d.; Deloitte, n.d.; Datacom, 2023). However, there is limited literature

on career development within the general early career context and the challenges experienced by younger people as they embark on their early careers. The early career stage within academia is also commonly considered within the higher education industry to refer to new academics within the first five years to seven years (Bazeley, 2003; Sutherland, 2017; Hollywood et al., 2020; Hemmings & Kay, 2010). Other management studies that focus on the early career experiences of graduates focus on a varied period of between three years of starting the job and up to eight years following graduation (Zwysen & Longhi, 2018; Belfi et al., 2022; De Vos, 2009). These inconsistencies suggest that there is no definitive period that accounts for early career as this may depend on a number of factors that can be dependent on qualification, industries and or individual trajectories. Therefore, this research will broadly define an early career by referring to the immediate years following graduation with tertiary education that SGRMB enter the workforce.

## 2.4 Career Development Theories

Various theories in career development literature explain different ways individuals make career choices and navigate their chosen career pathways. These theories can help explain how SGRMB approach their early career development and the various influences on their decisions. Career Construction Theory is perhaps one of the most common career development frameworks that have been applied to research in the context of refugee and migrant background careers (Savickas, 2019; Campion, 2018; Magnano et al., 2021; McMahan et al., 2019; Abkhezr et al., 2018). The theory is founded on the understanding that careers are constructed based on how individuals make sense of their life experiences in conjunction with their career-related interests or values to 'construct' their careers (Savickas, 2019). The construct of culture and the different cultural values that individuals hold may also influence career development and particular ways in which career decisions are made, thus, it is the distinguishing feature that makes career construction theory relevant to understanding the career experiences of individuals from SGRMB. The framework typically focuses on career adaptability and how careers are constructed based on earlier career-related experiences (Baruch & Sullivan, 2022). However, it can also be argued that careers can be constructed based on life experiences that may not necessarily be work-related,

that is the case with the early careers of younger individuals, particularly those from SGRMB (Savickas, 2019).

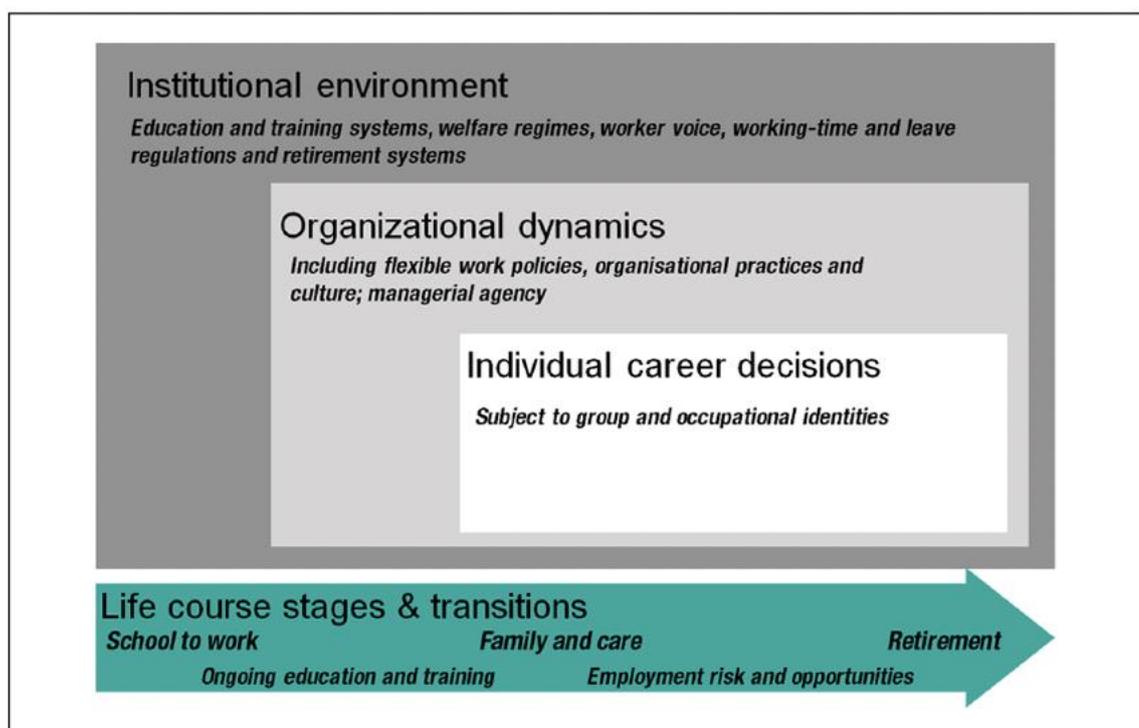
The Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) is another career development theory frequently applied to understand the career development of individuals from different cultural backgrounds. Unlike Career Construction Theory, it is a framework that can be applied to the early career context as individuals must make sense of personal experiences and contextual factors to construct their initial careers (Olson, 2014). SCCT assumes that career decisions are dependent on sociocultural factors, however, influenced predominantly by the cognitive processes held by individuals and the beliefs they have about themselves regarding particular career or vocational paths (Lent et al., 2008; Boerchi, 2022; Olson, 2014 ). It acknowledges that individuals may have different upbringings, come from varying socio-economic backgrounds, and are socialised differently (Lent & Brown, 2019). Self-efficacy is also central within SCCT as it attempts to understand how different factors of an individual's social identity may be conducive to how individuals craft their career pathways. This SCCT framework has also been frequently applied to career research in the context of marginalised groups. Flores et al. (2017) researched the importance of understanding the impact of social class and how it may impact the early career choices, pathways and experiences of individuals from diverse backgrounds, consequently finding that socio-economic backgrounds can hinder their career development often due to a lack of financial resources and social networks. Similarly, Byars-Winston & Rogers (2019) found that socio-cultural and demographic factors influences the self-efficacy of individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds in various ways, thus can shape the careers they may pursue. On the other hand, SCCT has also been applied to an international context, acknowledging cultural differences between students of Asian and European backgrounds (Sheu et al., 2017). For these reasons, the SCCT is a valuable framework for understanding how aspects of upbringing and culture may influence and impact the early career choices, pathways and experiences of individuals from SGRMB.

The Trait and Factor Theory involves matching key personality traits, interests, and competencies with existing jobs or careers (McCrae & Costa, 2008). This approach is commonly practised within a career counselling context and assumes individuals have distinct combinations of 'traits' that align with particular career profiles (Kosciulek et

al., 2015). Recent studies have discussed how the trait and factor approach has developed and is now more commonly understood as part of the organisational behavioural theories such as person-environment fit or person-job fit (Su et al., 2015; Rounds & Tracy, 2014; Berisha & Lajçi, 2020). While less relevant to the early career development context of SGRMB, the Life Span Theory by Super (1980) acknowledges that career development is a process that needs to consider the different roles held by individuals in their personal lives and how those roles may influence their work-related roles.

In recent years, careers literature has evolved beyond Super’s Life Span Theory (1980), and researchers have looked to Life Course theory to better understand the dynamic nature of individual careers as they evolve based on changing life contexts (Elder et al., 2003; Savickas et al., 2019). Otherwise known as a ‘flexible career,’ a life course approach to careers assumes that individual career decisions are shaped by organisational processes and institutional policies however, these can differ throughout different stages of one’s life from when individuals first embark on their early careers until they retire, as illustrated by the figure below (Tomlinson et al., 2018).

Figure 2.3 Factors influencing careers in Life Course Theory



*Note.* This diagram captures the different factors that shape individual careers throughout their lifetime. Tomlinson et al. (2018)

Tomlinson et al. (2018) also acknowledges that career decisions and experiences can also be influenced by a number of social and cultural factors such as socio-economic status, ethnic background, cultural background and educational experience of individuals, therefore career decisions are often made based on these contextual factors. While literature on career development is extensive, there is a knowledge gap concerning the factors that influence and impact the early career choices, pathways and experiences of SGRMB.

## 2.5 Cultural Upbringing on Early Career

Upbringing and culture can influence the early career choices and pathways of SGRMB in various ways. As highlighted earlier, the upbringing of the SGRMB is shaped by cultural values from their first-generation parents' countries of origin in combination with the national culture or country of resettlement (Giuliani et al., 2018; Christmas & Barker, 2014; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2018). Regardless of whether individuals from SGRMB were born in New Zealand or in their parents' country of origin, SGRMB were predominantly educated in New Zealand and followed the national curriculum. Many of those from ethnically diverse refugee and migrant backgrounds often originally come from collectivist cultures (Magan et al., 2023).

### 2.5.1 Collectivist Parenting Styles

Parenting styles are an important aspect of upbringing and can differ across cultural contexts. In collectivist cultures, parenting styles tend to be more authoritarian (Fu & Markus, 2014), and there is often a greater distance between parent and child. Thus, the cultural expectation is for children to obey their parents and elders and respect their wishes (Choudhari & Stebnicki, 2015). Furthermore, it is expected that decisions made are with the collective in mind, and so would emphasise values such as harmony, conformity, and tradition to avoid shame and disappointment to the family. These cultural values and expectations place certain pressures on SGRMB as they are encouraged by their parents to pursue traditional career pathways, which reflect

stability and status (Taylor & Krahn, 2013). As a result, SGRMB are more likely to experience greater parental involvement in their early career decision-making processes than their non-SGRMB counterparts who were brought up and encouraged to be independent (Jung & Zhang, 2016). Belfi et al. (2022) found that individuals from ethnically diverse, non-western backgrounds were more likely to experience poorer career satisfaction than individuals from non-migrant backgrounds, however, there is limited understanding of why this is.

## 2.5.2 Family Influence

Many studies have also shown the significance of the family context in influencing early career development. Previous studies argue that family is among the most essential influences on career choices and pathways (Lustig & Xu, 2018; Schulenberg et al., 1984; Whiston & Keller, 2004; Dryler, 1998). Schulenberg et al. (1984) assert that the family context is a crucial aspect within a broader development-contextual framework that acknowledges that early career choices and pathways are shaped by how an individual interacts with their external environment, including cultural systems and wider society. A limitation of these existing studies is that they have explored family influences on career development without accounting for cultural differences. This is one of the gaps in the literature addressed in this research study.

Additionally, existing studies, such as those mentioned above have discussed the influence of family on career development. These same studies have acknowledged the influence of family of origin on early career development, which is particularly critical in the context of SGRMB. Family of origin does not only denote one's biological parents, but also refers generally to 'family members' that an individual was brought up by, which can include relatives or, in the case of some, foster families and other caregivers (DeCore & Focht, 2019). The significance of this terminology is that it acknowledges diversity in family settings that can shape one's upbringing, which in turn influences career preferences. It also allows for cultural interpretations of what constitutes family, given that collectivist cultures have a broader and more inclusive definition of family than Western, individualist cultures, where priority is often placed on the nuclear family and less on the concerns of extended family and relatives (Whiston & Keller, 2004).

### 2.5.3 Educational Values

Despite limited studies that explore the influence of family and parental expectations on the early careers of SGRMB, studies have discussed the parental involvement of Asian Americans from migrant backgrounds towards their early career decisions (Gabielli & Impicciatore, 2022; Iqbal & Modood, 2023; Yates & Bruce, 2017; Yoon et al., 2017). Huang (2021) has often highlighted how parents of second-generation Asian Americans have emphasised the importance of education, which was anticipated to avoid institutional barriers to the SGRMB getting into employment (Huang, 2021). Although participants gained qualifications that provided them entry into their early career pathways, studies found they were not free from discrimination, prejudice and bias once they entered their early careers (Huang, 2021). Research on second-generation individuals from refugee backgrounds in the UK has also highlighted the importance of education shared by the first-generation, who, as former refugees themselves, were often motivated by their own experiences of disrupted education and missed opportunities (Bloch & Hirsch, 2017).

For individuals of refugee and migrant backgrounds, decisions relating to education and career are also widely influenced by their respective communities (Stebbleton, 2007). Former refugees perceive having a 'meaningful career' as an indicator that they have integrated successfully into their adopted country and often place these same expectations and values around a secure and stable career on their children. Thus, younger people from refugee backgrounds often carry the burden of high career expectations (Abkhezr et al., 2015).

### 2.5.4 Intergenerational Challenges

Being brought up within refugee and migrant households, children of former migrants and refugees experience unique challenges and hardships (Portes & Zhou, 1993). These challenges are often specific to their parents' experiences of migrating from a developing country with culturally and linguistically diverse social systems compared to their countries of origin. Different languages, cultural values and systemic barriers may prevent the first generation from adapting to their country of resettlement. Thus, SGRMB may be instilled with the need to take on family responsibilities from a young

age and be in a position to contribute to the well-being of the family (Earley & Cushway, 2002). Based on research by Bah (2023) and Weisskirch (2017), the eldest child often takes up these responsibilities to support the parents. This may contribute to selecting early career choices that prioritise practicality and financial stability, enabling the ability to support or contribute towards the family over career pathways that align with personal career aspirations, interests, and passions.

Former refugees and migrants may face downward mobility when they arrive in their country of resettlement/settlement. While this may happen initially while they are adjusting, there is a likelihood that some first-generation refugees and migrants may persistently struggle to achieve upward mobility due to cultural barriers and systemic challenges (Gan, 2009; Muñoz-Comet & Arcarons, 2021). The parents of the SGRMB, particularly those who were former refugees who arrived in New Zealand during the late 1990s, are likely to have experienced disrupted education, while former migrants might have arrived in the country with qualifications that were not recognised in New Zealand. Institutionalised barriers, such as international qualifications not recognised by another country, persist in the present day and can force migrants into low-skilled, low-paying jobs that can prevent them from achieving upward mobility (Choudhry & Pastore et al., 2023). Moreover, growing up in lower socio-economic conditions can continue to have implications on the SGRMB mental health on top of intergenerational trauma, migration challenges and acculturation stress experienced by the first generation (Ceri et al., 2017).

A number of studies have also highlighted how individuals from SGRMB tend to experience a sense of indebtedness towards their parents due to the sacrifices their parents have made through the process of migrating, along with the ongoing consequences it can have on both generations (Pfammatter & Schwarz, 2022; Kang, 2010; Kang & Raffaelli, 2016). Thus, career decisions are likely influenced by these intergenerational dynamics that continue to be shaped by migration (Albertini et al., 2019; Baykara-Krumme & Fokkema, 2019). Depending on how well the first generation has adapted (or acculturated), first-generation migrants and refugees may still hold on to values and expectations influenced by their own direct life experiences within their country of origin. Intergenerational conflicts can result when members of families do not acculturate to the same extent and thus be attributed to acculturation gaps

(Hasanović et al., 2020). This may lead to a reversal of roles within the family where first-generation migrants and refugees (the parents) may depend on the second generation for support. This interdependence can create cultural tensions and place certain pressures on their children (the second generation) as they try to make sense of their own identities within the country of resettlement, where they grow up straddling two or more different cultures (Verkuyten et al., 2019). Intergenerational conflict may also show up as differences in values, attitudes, and beliefs contributing to stress and indecisiveness among the SGRMB during early career decision-making (Zhang et al., 2022). In addition to this, individual factors such as personality differences may either facilitate or exacerbate these decision-making challenges (Saka & Gati, 2007).

## 2.6 Early Career Outcomes of SGRMB

Literature exploring the lived experiences of individuals from ethnically diverse refugee and migrant backgrounds has often focused on the experiences of first-generation, often the parents of those former refugees and migrants themselves (Campion, 2018; Abkhezr et al., 2015). Aside from this, there are a number of other studies that focus their research on individuals from those from 'immigrant' or 'culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds' though it is not always apparent whether these studies are referring to first or second-generation refugees and migrant backgrounds (Deane et al., 2023; Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Abkhezr et al., 2018; Abkhezr et al., 2015; Neumeyer & Pietrzyk 2023). Despite this, there has been an increasing focus on the early career development of those from immigrant backgrounds, including those who are second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds (Nylund & Rosvall, 2019; Dunwoodie et al., 2022; Pineda-Hernández et al., 2022, Belfi et al., 2022; Zywsen & Longhi, 2018; Huang, 2021).

Existing research exploring the early career experiences of SGRMB has predominantly focused on employment outcomes as opposed to the cross-cultural experiences amongst the SGRMB once they enter their early careers and thus have often been quantitative. These studies have typically been centred around the experiences of ethnically diverse SGRMB in the European and North American contexts (Belfi et al., 2022; Zywsen & Longhi, 2018; Huang, 2021; Belzil & Poinas, 2010; Tasiran & Tezic,

2007; Laurijssen & Glorieux, 2015). According to Belfi et al. (2022), both first and second-generation from migrant backgrounds were found to experience poorer employment outcomes when compared to those from non-migrant backgrounds. This contradicts the assumption that the second generation from refugee and migrant backgrounds have better employment outcomes than their first-generation parents, given their cultural familiarity with their parent's country of resettlement and the context in which they were primarily brought up (Muñoz-Comet & Arcarons, 2021). Those from migrant and refugee backgrounds were also more likely to experience poorer satisfaction in employment due to a misalignment of skills in comparison to what they would have studied or are naturally good at.

Zwysen and Longhi (2018), however, found that there are insignificant differences in earnings between individuals with migrant backgrounds in comparison to the majority population (white British given the UK context of the study). Though there were inconsistencies, it was also evident that some ethnic groups performed better than other groups. While poorer outcomes persisted for the first generation, the second generation from migrant backgrounds was more likely to see an improvement in their circumstances following the first few years of work (Belfi et al., 2022). This suggests that because of their educational attainment, including the skills, qualities and attributes they have developed, they are still more likely to lift themselves out of social immobility in the long term. In contrast, first-generation migrants and refugees, particularly those without qualifications and relevant experience, will continue to be disadvantaged within the labour market.

## 2.7 Chapter Summary

Research on the early career experiences of the second generation from refugee and migrant backgrounds is limited, and it is not apparent that studies have attempted to understand how migration contexts have shaped the cultural upbringing of SGRMB from New Zealand and the subsequent influence on the early career experiences of this group. Studies have been carried out exploring the career aspirations of refugee background youth, within the context of career counselling within Australia however, these studies have primarily focused on the experiences of first-generation individuals from refugee backgrounds (Abkhezr & McMahon, 2017, Abkhezr et al., 2015).

Moreover, literature exploring the early career experiences of SGRMB have taken place predominantly within the European and North American contexts, typically focusing on employment outcomes as opposed to the cross-cultural nature of individual experiences.

## Chapter 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

There is limited research in the extant literature in regards to the early career experiences of SGRMB with many of these existing studies focused on the European and North American contexts (Belfi et al., 2022; Zwysen & Longhi, 2016a; Zwysen & Longhi, 2016b; Zwysen & Longhi, 2018; Huang, 2021). Therefore, there needs to be more research to understand how migration has shaped the lived experiences of subsequent generations of migrants and how it influences their early careers. New Zealand also has a dearth of literature on this topic, thus highlighting the importance of this opportunity to explore the lived experiences of this group within the New Zealand context. This thesis aims to address these gaps and establish a better understanding of the experiences of SGRMB individuals and their early career experiences. The benefits of addressing such gaps enable the voices of this group to be heard and their experiences to be better understood, bringing to light the unique contexts that influence the experiences of SGRMB. This awareness is necessary to improve diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives within organisations and broader society.

This study is also situated in the broader migration and refugee experience context (Muñoz-Comet & Arcarons, 2022; Abkhezr & McMahon, 2017; Bloch & Hirsch, 2017). It considers how migration, resettlement, and acculturation of the first generation have shaped the upbringing of the subsequent generation. Migration, resettlement, and acculturation can significantly influence attitudes, values, and belief systems through the process of acculturation (Berry, 2017), often creating cultural tensions experienced by SGRMB members. This study considers the impact of culture and upbringing by the first generation (parents) on the second generation (adult children). Thus, similarities and differences in experiences, values, belief systems and attitudes between the first and SGRMB will be explored as part of the 'unpacking' of the career experiences of second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds.

This chapter will outline the research design behind this study. It will explain the methodology utilised to explore the early career choices, pathways and experiences of SGRMB individuals in the New Zealand context. The next section will discuss the

research questions and philosophy and will be followed by an exploration of narrative inquiry.

### 3.2 Research Questions

Straightforward research questions are necessary for guiding impactful research (Agee, 2009). An important consideration within the research design is to ensure clarity between how the research questions link to the research purpose. The following research questions (RQ) were developed to explore the influence of upbringing and culture on the early career experiences of second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds.

**Research Question 1:** *How do upbringing and culture influence the early career choices and pathways of second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds (SGRMB)?*

**Research Question 2:** *How do upbringing and culture impact the early career experiences of second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds?*

The first question will explore the role of upbringing and culture on the early career choices and pathways of SGRMB to understand different factors that may influence decision-making around early career development. The second research question will be how their first-generation parents' migration and resettlement experiences have shaped the upbringing of the second generation, which in turn have influenced their early career experiences and the interactions they have in the workplace as part of their early careers.

This next section outlines the research philosophy, explains the methodology and methods as part of the research design, and discusses critical ethical considerations relating to this study.

### 3.3 Research Philosophy

This study utilises a qualitative approach, allowing the exploration and analysis of specific issues to comprehensively understand the nuances of individual experiences (Bryant, 2006).

Research philosophy refers to the belief systems and assumptions shared by the researcher around how knowledge is developed (Saunders et al., 2009). More specifically, these are the ontological and epistemological stances the researcher holds, which create a theoretical framework informing the methodology and methods that shape the research process (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). This thesis exploring the early career experiences of SGRMB in New Zealand draws on a predominantly interpretivist paradigm based on a relativist ontology and constructivist epistemology.

### 3.3.1 Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions

Ontology attempts to understand the nature of reality and how the issues being examined in research exist in nature (Gioia, 2022; Saunders et al., 2009; Ryan, 2018). These ontological assumptions are based on the researcher's beliefs about reality, which can be realist or relativist. Realism assumes that one reality or truth can be sought quantitatively, while relativism assumes that reality can be constructed in many ways depending on context (Gray, 2018). The relativist ontology is most relevant when research focuses on exploring individual experiences and assumes that these experiences will differ (Denicolo et al., 2016). Therefore, a relativist ontological perspective is founded on the underlying assumption that there is more than one reality and that realities can be interpreted differently (Saunders et al., 2009). Given that ontological beliefs and epistemological assumptions often overlap, it can be challenging to discuss the ontology separately from the epistemological underpinnings of a study (Crotty, 1998). Therefore, my ontological belief as a researcher is that there can be many interpretations of early career experiences amongst the second generation as each individual perceives, experiences and interacts with the world around them uniquely (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

Researching the early career experiences of the SGRMB is suited towards a constructivist epistemological approach. A relativist ontology is consistent with constructivism amongst other epistemologies, based on the understanding that more than one reality exists (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). However, it is essential to note that objective realities may simultaneously exist alongside subjective or individualised experiences (Pouliot, 2007). For example, this could mean that common experiences may be shared amongst the SGRMB due to similar circumstances in their upbringing.

A constructivist epistemology acknowledges that individuals construct their realities through interactions with the external environment and socially constructed meanings, using pre-existing frames of reference shaped by individual values, attitudes, and beliefs (Crotty, 1998; Denicolo et al., 2016). Research participants may share different reflections or recollections of their early career experiences based on their unique interpretations of events that have shaped their lives. Thus, in constructivism, social interactions define reality (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Knowledge is derived from subjective meanings based on how research participants interact with their world (Gray, 2018). Therefore, a constructivist epistemological perspective suggests that second-generation workers from refugee and migrant backgrounds socially construct their early career experiences based on their values, attitudes, beliefs, and worldviews, which are influenced by the cultural context of their second-generation refugee and migrant experiences.

For this research, it is essential to acknowledge that participant's upbringing and culture will contribute differently to their early career experiences. Therefore, researching the diverse early career experiences of the SGRMB requires an in-depth qualitative approach that aligns with a relativist ontology. This will highlight the complexities of how such factors are influenced by the migration journeys of the first generations of refugees and migrants, which then influence the early career experiences of their offspring.

### 3.3.2 Interpretivism

An interpretivist research paradigm informs the theoretical approach of this study. Interpretivism is founded on the belief that reality is socially constructed (Crotty, 1998). Interpretivism is tied to a constructivist epistemology, connected to a relativist ontological perspective, as highlighted above. The link between a relativist ontology and a constructivist epistemology aligns well with an interpretivist paradigm.

Interpretivism is central to studying human experience, thus enabling the interpretation of meaning through an interactive sense-making process (Gray, 2018).

The interpretivist paradigm allows phenomena to be explored in a way that makes the unknown tangible and visible, giving voice to those experiences that have yet not been heard, such as those from second-generation refugee and migrant backgrounds (Myers

et al., 2017). In contrast to post-positivism, interpretivism does not seek to test out theory or find universal answers to the matter being researched. Rather, interpretivism appreciates that experiences are understood differently between groups and individuals (Willis, 2007). This suggests there will not be one conclusive reality that reflects the early career experiences of second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds. Rather, an interpretivist lens acknowledges that experiences will be individual and intersectional and will take account of race, gender, class, and other demographic factors.

As the early career experiences of second-generation workers from refugee and migrant backgrounds within the New Zealand context are understudied and under-theorised, an interpretivist lens will enable these experiences to be explored in detail. The benefit of using an interpretivist paradigm is that it enables various interpretations of how upbringing and culture can influence the early career experiences of the SGRMB and is key to unpacking and understanding the significant issues that this participant group experiences from various perspectives.

While interpretivism does not generally reflect a critical perspective, within this study, criticality emerged in the research process via my status as an insider researcher. I was familiar with many of the challenges experienced by SGRMB and these resonated within me. I was not only drawn to understanding how society and systems shape the early career experiences of second-generation workers in New Zealand from refugee and migrant backgrounds, but as the study progressed, I found that I became interested to explore how these challenges and barriers could be addressed within organisations and also wider society.

### **3.4 Methodology**

Methodology informs researchers' techniques and procedures to seek new knowledge (Daly, 2007). Research methods, however are chosen to align with the overall research philosophy and research paradigms that provide the theoretical underpinnings of the whole study. Thus, methods such as sampling, recruitment, collecting data and analysing the data are carefully chosen in order to design a research process that best serves the research question and preserves the integrity of the research approach

(Bryman, 2008). The following section discusses the rationale for adopting the narrative inquiry methodology and the various methods used for this study.

### 3.4.1 Narrative Inquiry

A narrative inquiry methodology uses storytelling in its broadest sense to examine the lived experiences of a group of people within society (Stitt & Windsor, 2014; Clandinin, 2006). According to Wang and Geale (2015), narrative inquiry enables the voices and perspectives of minority groups to be heard, thus helping to communicate their experiences more effectively to a wider audience. The researcher works collaboratively with research participants to capture the individuals' stories around the topic (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004; Stitt & Windsor, 2014; Butina, 2015). The methodology draws on interpretations by the researcher to unravel patterns identified within and across the stories shared by participants and to attribute meaning to them (Crotty, 1998). Furthermore, a narrative inquiry methodology enables research participants to share their stories and empowers them to take ownership of the personal narratives they choose to share (Kim, 2016). Participation in research that uses narrative inquiry methodology can be a transformative learning process for participants and the researcher. This is because it enables opportunities to make new meanings from the original experiences while contributing to robust learning opportunities that extend beyond the research objectives (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2019).

Within the context of this study, individual early career experiences contribute to broader social phenomena of collective early career experiences that the SGRMB shares in New Zealand. Clandinin and Connelly (2006) stated that *"people are individuals and need to be understood as such, but they cannot be understood only as individuals...(but) always in relation to a social context (p.2)."* Individual experiences, also contributing to a broader social phenomenon of collective experiences, can be facilitated richly through narrative inquiry as a research methodology (Fraser, 2004). Thus, emphasis should be placed on capturing the research's individual experiences and broader contextual influences that influence and shape those experiences.

The social context for this research study on the early career experiences of second-generation individuals will also be shaped by the migration or resettlement experiences of the first generation that have influenced their (and their children's)

identity, culture and upbringing. Narrative inquiry also attempts to unpack other societal narratives that contribute to those personal narratives of individuals (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2019). Therefore, narrative inquiry methodology is appropriate for exploring the experiences of individuals within the broader context of our world.

### 3.4.2 Storytelling

Storytelling is a powerful process of connecting with others. It is a way of finding meaning through individual and shared experiences, particularly for those from refugee and migrant backgrounds (Abkhezr & McMahon, 2017; Polkinghorne, 1998; Antaki, 1988). As part of the narrative inquiry methodology, storytelling has commonly been used to explore the lived experiences of refugees and migrants, including stories of intergenerational trauma as it plays out in occupational and career counselling processes (Abkhezr & McMahon, 2017; Jeyasundaram et al., 2020).

A key aspect of using stories as part of narrative inquiry is acknowledging the unique position of research participants, whose voices are marginalised and where they might never have had the opportunity to speak about their experiences (Stitt & Windsor, 2014). The relationship between the researcher and research participant differs from that of other research methodologies, where narrative inquiry tends to be more dynamic (Clandinin et al., 2007). The process of sharing and listening to the stories that have been shared enables a process of learning and development that co-occurs for the researcher and the participant.

Along with the narrative thinking that comes with it, storytelling is a heuristic process where storytellers craft their experiences into a story (Robinson & Hawpe, 1986). Storytelling enables individuals to make sense of their experiences based on their cultural attitudes, values and frames of reference, thus allowing participants to construct their meanings from their experiences (Fraser, 2004). This is a valuable aspect of this study where participants' understandings of how their upbringing and culture have shaped their early career experiences are expressed through the lens of their diverse cultural backgrounds.

Stories about migration and refugee resettlement have not always been discussed, particularly given the traumatic nature of some experiences migrants and refugees

face. However, there are instances where migration and resettlement stories are shared to educate the second generation about their privilege compared to the first generation. For example, the first generation often uses the narratives of poverty, underpinned by values of hard work, academic success, and financial security, to motivate the second generation (Bloch, 2018). These narratives provide perspectives around hardship, although they have also instilled a sense of indebtedness in individuals from SGRMB towards their parents (Pfammatter & Schwarz, 2022).

The level of openness around the exchange of migration stories between generations depends on several factors, including the extent of trauma experienced by the first generation, parental communication styles, the level of acculturation achieved and the strength of family relationships (Jeyasundaram et al., 2020). Those amongst the SGRMB who arrived in New Zealand with their parents may have had first-hand experiences and a better understanding of these stories, though there are just as likely to be silence or gaps in these narratives. Some of the SGRMB may have been able to recall some of those details. At other times, members of the first generation may avoid speaking of their experiences with the second generation because they do not wish to burden their children with such stories, instead choosing to move on (Bloch, 2012; Abkhezr & McMahon, 2017). The implications of withholding such narratives can continue to perpetuate intergenerational trauma by hindering generational empathy and understanding (Sangalang & Vang, 2017).

Storytelling has, therefore, been used as a research method in this study to draw out insights about the impact of migration on the SGRMB to better understand their early career contexts. It is important to uncover these intergenerational stories and to understand better how they might have also influenced the upbringing of the second generation and their early career.

### 3.4.3 The Three-Dimensional World of Narrative Inquiry

In narrative inquiry, researchers enter a three-dimensional world when they engage in storytelling with participants as they share their experiences (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). This three-dimensional world refers to the intersection of stories between those of research participants and those of the researcher. Meaning is sought from these interactions and the exchange of these stories. Personal narratives that shape shared

stories are also influenced externally by other socio-cultural or institutional narratives that have shaped them (Clandinin, 2006).

Conducting narrative inquiry requires researchers to continuously negotiate their relationships with research participants and the stories they are willing to share (Clandinin, 2006). Researchers must also be compassionate in the interview process to empower participants and elicit relevant stories that will align with research objectives, thus responding to the purpose of the study. A key aspect of narrative inquiry involves reconstructing experiences concerning the participants' social environment (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Consequently, a narrative inquiry approach will enable participants from second-generation refugee and migrant backgrounds to explore how their parent's experiences of migration, resettlement and acculturation have shaped their outlook, thus influencing SGRMB perceptions of their early careers.

### 3.5 Research Design

The design and practice of this research were aimed at empowering research participants to share their personal life and family stories relevant to their early career experiences. Their stories will drive the direction and findings of the research, along with the emerging individual and collective themes.

#### 3.5.1 Ethics Approval

Following the approval of the research proposal in June 2022 via the university postgraduate committee, an ethics application was submitted for approval through the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC). As part of this process, the academic rationale was included with a brief literature review, a summary of the methodology and an outline of the research design. The study's relevance to the broader bi-cultural context within New Zealand (Te Tiriti O Waitangi) was also acknowledged. Submission of the ethics application was supplemented with supporting documentation outlining the protocols for the study: a draft of the research advertisement, the Participant Information Sheet, the Consent Form, and a draft interview question guide consisting of indicative interview questions. AUTEC granted Full ethics approval for this study on the 16th of November, 2022.

### 3.5.2 Sampling

Sampling is the process of identifying research participants for a study. Careful sampling decisions are critical to the research design to ensure efficiency and effective outcomes (Daniel, 2012). A combination of purposive convenience and snowball sampling were used to identify research participants for this study. The purposive convenience sampling approach is where personal networks are consulted to identify the first few research participants was initially used to source initial participants for the pilot study before a snowball sampling approach was used to recruit consequent participants (Cresswell, 2014). Snowball sampling, on the other hand “uses a small pool of initial informants to nominate other participants who meet the eligibility criteria for a study (Given, 2008). Also according to Given (2008), the name reflects an analogy to a snowball increasing in size as it rolls downhill. (p. 816)”

For this study, the initial pool of research participants identified through purposive convenience sampling consisted of those who responded to the research advertisement posted on social media. Purposive convenience sampling also tends to attract similar participants, therefore running the risk of bias and limited diversity across the sample (Given, 2008). The subsequent snowball non-probability sampling approach was considered most appropriate for the study of early career experiences of second-generation workers from refugee and migrant backgrounds due to its exploratory nature, focusing on SGRMB experiences as a subset of the population that has often been overlooked within the New Zealand context.

Ten participants were interviewed in this study. Sample sizes are not specified for research that uses a narrative inquiry methodology. This contrasts with information available about other qualitative methodologies, which provide rough indications for sample sizes in the literature (Daniel, 2012). Butina (2015) further argues that there are no set rules around sample sizes for qualitative research due to contextual factors dependent on the research, including time and resource constraints that researchers may face. Alternatively, thematic or data saturation has been used to identify when enough data has been collected throughout the data collection process and where further interviews will not produce new codes or themes (Hennink et al., 2017).

Hennink and Kaiser (2022) suggest that the number of studies to achieve saturation is a minimum of nine interviews.

### 3.5.3 Selection Criteria

Participants interviewed as part of this research needed to be in an early career stage following graduation from university. Research participants needed to either have been born in New Zealand or arrived in New Zealand as a young child (below the age of 12) to meet the inclusion criteria. They needed to be descendants of former refugees or migrants and, therefore, have at least one parent from a refugee or migrant background. Participants had completed at least an undergraduate university qualification at tertiary level and had at least three years of post-degree work experience in New Zealand. Most importantly, they needed to be willing to share how their identity, upbringing and culture shaped their early career experiences as second-generation descendants of refugee and migrant parents.

The selection criteria in this study is summarised in Table 3.1. Communications supporting the recruitment were carefully worded and included inclusive language to ensure participants could identify themselves as individuals from SGRMB. Careful communication was to consider the complexities around identifying oneself as a second-generation New Zealander from a refugee or migrant background. For members of this community, especially among those born in New Zealand, it is less common for individuals to identify themselves as being from a second-generation refugee or migrant background. In other words, the term 'second generation' for the migrant and refugee community is not as commonly used as in other countries.

*Table 3.1 Selection Criteria - Early Career Experiences of Second-Generation Workers from Refugee and Migrant Backgrounds*

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#### **Selection Criteria for Research Participants**

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Born in New Zealand *or* arrived in New Zealand at a young age (below the age of 12 years old)

Have at least one parent who was a former migrant or refugee

Graduated from university with a tertiary qualification

Have had at least 3 years of post-university work experience in New Zealand

### 3.5.4 The Recruitment Process

Information about the research project was communicated to potential participants in several ways. In the first instance, research participants received initial information about the study from the research advertisement distributed through the researchers' social media network, including Facebook, Instagram, and LinkedIn. Those interested and meeting the criteria as participants were encouraged to contact the researcher via email. The researcher then responded to the potential participants and provided further information about the study. The Participant Information Sheet was sent along with the Consent Form. Potential participants emailed the researcher their signed consent forms to confirm their interest in participating. Once the Consent Form was signed and returned electronically, the researcher confirmed a suitable interview time with the participant. After each interview, participants were asked to invite other potential participants qualified for this research as part of the snowballing process. Participants emailed the Participant Information Sheet to other potential participants and left them to make the decision to get in touch with the researcher depending on their interests. Finally, participants received a \$30 e-gift card as a koha for their participation in the study, and as an appreciation for their time.

## 3.6 Data Collection

### 3.6.1 In-depth Interviews

In-depth semi-structured interviews were used to collect stories about the early career experiences of second-generation workers from refugee and migrant backgrounds in New Zealand. Semi-structured interviews are among qualitative studies' most frequently used methods (Allmark et al., 2009; DiCicco-Bloom, 2006). Despite previously unclear frameworks for developing interview guides for semi-structured interviews, this has not detracted from the popularity of semi-structured interviews being used as a research method due to its versatility and flexibility as a data collection

method (Kallio et al., 2016). Interview questions within semi-structured interviews are broad and open-ended, allowing researchers and participants to explore a broader scope of the research topic (Krauss et al., 2009).

For this study, open-ended questions as part of the semi-structured interviews enabled research participants to explore how different factors of their upbringing, including their cultural experiences as a SGRMB, had influenced their early career decisions and experiences. From an ethical perspective, this allowed participants the autonomy to disclose as much or as little information as they saw fit for the study.

Some criteria guide the suitability of semi-structured interviews as a research method for qualitative research (Kallio et al., 2016). Semi-structured interviews explore experiences that are otherwise not often spoken about, particularly experiences that may be culturally or emotionally sensitive (Barriball & While, 1994). Amongst the SGRMB, there may be complex narratives around their former first-generation parents' migration and resettlement journey, along with their own stories growing up that allude to their experiences with intergenerational trauma (Bloch, 2018; Jeyasundaram et al., 2020). Insights from the literature review compiled in Chapter Two of this thesis informed the topics for developing the semi-structured interview questions.

In-depth interviews enable a level of spontaneity in terms of how research participants may respond to interview questions. There can be challenges between consistently asking the same questions and being open to asking questions beyond what has been outlined in the indicative questions guide. Deviating from the original interview guide allows the researcher to probe more deeply, thus enabling stories to evolve more organically during the interview process. This has been highlighted as a challenge for qualitative researchers working as part of a team, although it is relevant for individual researchers working with in-depth, semi-structured interviewing techniques (Krauss et al., 2009). Balancing consistency with spontaneity to allow the collection of relevant but valuable data in the interview process requires researcher discretion and thoughtful judgement, which is all part of the reflexive process.

Interview guides for in-depth semi-structured interviews represent two levels of interview questions (Kallio et al., 2016). The first level is higher level full questions. In

contrast, the second level of questions are probes or follow-up questions that prompt more details from research participants on their individual experiences. Cresswell (2007) recommended five to six indicative questions to guide the interview process as part of the interview guides, which was followed in developing the indicative interview questions for this study (see Appendix E).

A pilot study was initially conducted with two research participants. Part of this process was to field-test the interview questions outlined in the indicative interview questions guide and to ascertain the time required to conduct an interview for enough data to be collected for the study (Kallio et al., 2016). Revisions of the interview guide were made (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to ensure questions were fit to generate responses by participants that would support research questions and aims. No significant issues arose from these pilot interviews, and consequently, the interview guide was implemented into the interview process for the actual study. The two participants as part of this pilot study were both included as part of the overall data collection given there were no substantial changes to interview format and interview questions.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews to gather stories from participants were conducted, and these took place face-to-face in cafés (in a position that offered privacy) and publicly available meeting rooms, depending on what had been preferred by the participants. Each interview ranged between 60 to 90 minutes, depending on the time each participant took to address each aspect of the interview questions. When it was not possible to meet face-to-face, some interviews were carried out over Microsoft Teams to accommodate individual circumstances. Participants read through the Participant Information Sheet and returned their completed Consent Forms before the interview. Participants needed to understand the full extent of the research and the potential implications on them individually if they were to partake in the research and have the opportunity to withdraw from the research at any point.

At the start of the interview, introductions were facilitated to establish rapport. The building of trust and rapport through open and honest communication between the

researcher and participants is necessary to be able to act honourably and in good faith for research participants to feel comfortable enough to share their individual stories as part of this research project (DiCicco-Bloom, 2006). I introduced myself and briefly explained the reason for my research. I took participants through a Participant Information Sheet and consent forms to ensure they understood the study's aims and their rights as a participant. I also briefly explained the interview process and emphasised how I wanted to be guided by the narratives around their identities as second-generation workers from a refugee and migrant background within the early career context. I also allowed participants to ask questions before the interview started. After seeking their verbal consent to audio record the interview for data analysis purposes, I initiated the interview. These re-affirmations around consent were followed as per recommendations by Allmart et al. (2009), who advised seeking consent throughout the research process to ensure research participants can provide informed consent. Then, research participants were asked to introduce themselves and share their understanding of their parents' migration journey to New Zealand, their childhood, early career decisions, and early career experiences.

As a rule, I dedicated the first 30 - 45 minutes of each in-depth interview to allow participants to share their understanding of their personal and family contexts, such as the research participants' individual stories. The first part of the interview was to establish who they were, their parents' migration and resettlement experiences, their upbringing in New Zealand, and other factors such as childhood and education and how they influenced their early career decisions. Time was carefully kept to ensure enough time to probe for further details within the interview's second half. Handwritten notes were made to capture observations and other details that might not have been captured in the audio recording.

### 3.7 Data Analysis

Below is an outline of the four stages of analysis used to explore the early career experiences of participants. These stages reflect fundamental aspects of thematic analysis by Braun & Clarke (2006).

#### ***Stage 1: Transcription and Preparation of Data***

Stories from recorded interviews were transcribed.

Interview transcripts of participants' stories were reviewed for familiarity with the data.

***Stage 2: Narrative Analysis – Restorying participant stories into interpretative stories***

Stories interpreting participants' experiences were constructed in line with research questions. Transcripts were reviewed again to identify key quotes to support the stories.

Stories were then revised a second time to incorporate the voices of participants.

***Stage 3: Analysis of Narratives by Themes - Exploring the individual and collective themes within the stories and interview transcripts***

Interview transcripts were coded section-by-section to identify patterns across individual stories.

Codes were collated together based on patterns (similarities and differences)

***Stage 4: Collating key themes across the stories.***

Themes are identified and synthesised.

Themes are summarised and written up as key findings.

Following each interview, reflections were made on the interview process and the initial findings that emerged from the interviews. Memos evaluating the interview techniques that worked well and other areas that needed further improvement for the following interview were written down as part of procedural and analytical memo-writing, as recommended by Stitt and Winsor (2014). The decision was made to self-transcribe the audio recordings of the stories collected from the in-depth interviews with participants instead of having transcriptions outsourced. Despite being quite time-intensive, transcribing interviews is a valuable process that enables researchers to familiarise themselves with the data, facilitating the ease with which codes and themes can be collated later in the analysis (Fraser, 2004).

### 3.7.1 Narrative Analysis and Analysis of Narratives by Themes

The following section will discuss stage two of the four step analytical process above in further detail, to explain the process of how data was analysed.

#### 3.7.1.1 Re-storying participant stories into interpretative stories

Narrative inquiry enables the exploration of individual stories of individuals belonging to a group whose experiences are often hidden from the mainstream (Stitt & Windsor, 2014). It is important to explore themes from individual stories within earlier stages of data analysis to acknowledge the nuances between individual experiences. This process ensures that individual differences are not lost amidst the collective themes across the study (Cresswell, 2007).

Narrative analysis can be conducted in many ways (Fraser, 2004; Bamberg, 2012; Polkinghorne, 1995, Kim, 2012). One of the ways that it has been conducted in this study is through constructing interpretive stories based on the original stories that participants shared within the in-depth, semi-structured interview process. This is a process of restorying i.e. 'storying stories' or producing stories through analysis (Myers, 2016; Polkinghorne, 1988). McCormick's concept of interpretive stories is founded on the idea that there are various stages as to how stories are constructed (Bold, 2012). Following transcription, I constructed interpretative stories summarising participants' experiences around how they believed their upbringing and culture shaped their early careers. To construct these stories, I referred closely to the research question to construct these stories to ensure that the interpretative stories captured relevant experiences. Following the draft of the initial stories, interview transcripts were reviewed to highlight key quotes that spoke to experiences included in the draft interpretative story. Key quotes were included throughout the interpretative stories to ensure the voice was woven throughout interpretations of their experiences.

Once a second draft was complete, these interpretative stories were shared with participants for them to verify that their experiences were being represented with accuracy. This process of member-checking is a form of validating data to ensure the trustworthiness of research findings (Butina, 2015; Cresswell, 2014). Additionally pseudonyms were used in data analysis instead of participant's actual names, as a mechanism to ensure participant privacy and confidentiality.

### 3.7.1.2 Exploring the individual and collective themes within the stories and interview transcripts

While narrative analysis constructs stories from the data, analysing narratives drawing on key ideas thematically can uncover collective themes across the narratives (Savin-Baden & Van Niekerk, 2007). This can add perspectives to the findings by exploring the commonalities and differences between participant experiences. Using a combination of approaches to analyse data can be valuable to embrace the richness of the data. For this reason, this research draws on a combination of narrative and thematic analysis techniques.

Once the interpretative stories were finalised, an analysis of narratives by themes was conducted to understand the trends in participant experiences. An analysis of narratives by themes is like a thematic analysis. One of the main advantages of using thematic analysis is its flexibility as a data analysis technique that aligns with different epistemologies, paradigms, and methodologies (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Given its simplicity, thematic analysis is also regarded as a less complex qualitative data analysis technique that novice researchers can use effectively. However, this flexibility can also present challenges, such as failing to provide clear guidelines on identifying themes (Nowell et al., 2017). An inductive approach was used to ensure the analysis was driven by the data shared by participants as much as possible. In contrast to a deductive approach, inductive reasoning does not use a pre-existing theoretical framework like a deductive approach. Thus, an inductive approach allows relationships within the data to be explored based on emerging patterns (Gray, 2018).

In addition to an inductive approach, a section-by-section approach to coding was utilised to identify the initial codes from the participant stories. While the more common technique for thematic analysis is a line-by-line approach to coding, a section-by-section approach is often employed for more extensive studies with more significant sample sizes (Fraser, 2004). Despite this study having a relatively small sample size, a section-by-section approach for coding was appropriate given the volume of data within the transcripts and to support the inductive approach to analysis. Sections that required more careful review were coded line-by-line to capture further detail.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis “involves the searching across a data set - be that a number of interviews or focus groups, or a range of texts - to find repeated patterns of meaning (p.86).” This process of coding is an iterative process that requires continuous code review and helps refine the key themes identified. Relevant data was collated and assigned to the codes. A codebook (Roberts et al., 2019) was maintained where a list of codes and their definitions were included to ensure transparency. The codebook was updated in NVivo as each new code was developed.

### 3.7.2 Creating a Thematic Map

Codes were also mapped visually on a Miro board and continued to be grouped into themes based on patterns of similar ideas or meanings. This step is what Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to as producing a ‘thematic map’ as part of data analysis.

Mind maps were created based on the research questions to visualise the data. The codes across early career experiences, aspects of identity, upbringing and culture and the impact of these factors. Lines connecting codes to each participant were drawn to help identify how often each code came up in the stories shared by participants. In Figure 3.1, the purple Post-it notes (codes) represent individual themes within the early career experiences. In contrast, the yellow Post-it notes (codes) represent the collective themes across the entire participant group.

Codes across each mind map were then consolidated and grouped based on patterns that emerged across the participants' stories and how they related to the research questions. From here, six themes regarding the early career choices, pathways and experiences of individuals from a second-generation background were identified.

Figure 3.1 Thematic Data Analysis using Miro - Aspects of Upbringing & Culture

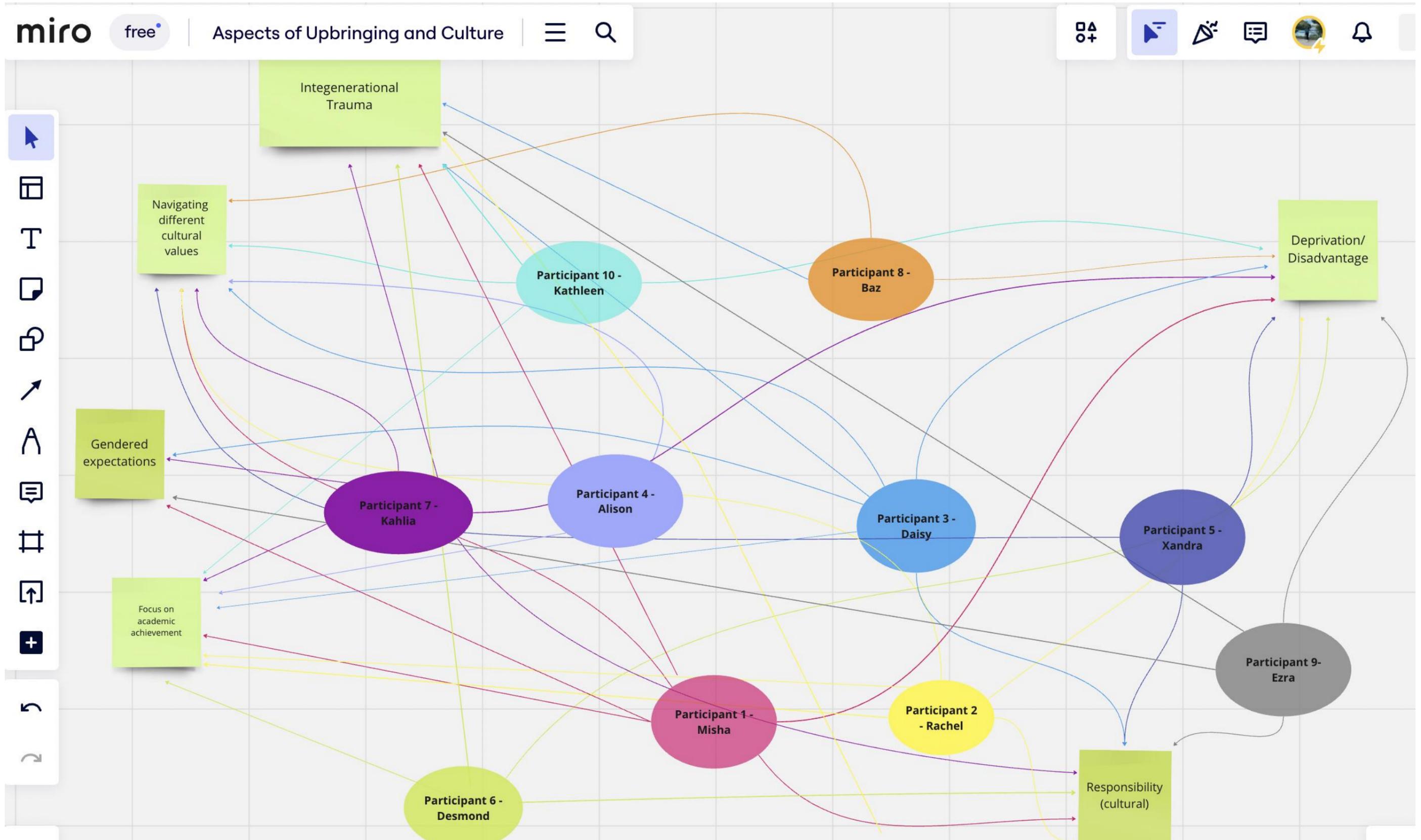


Figure 3.2 Thematic Data Analysis using Miro – Mapping out Early Career Experiences

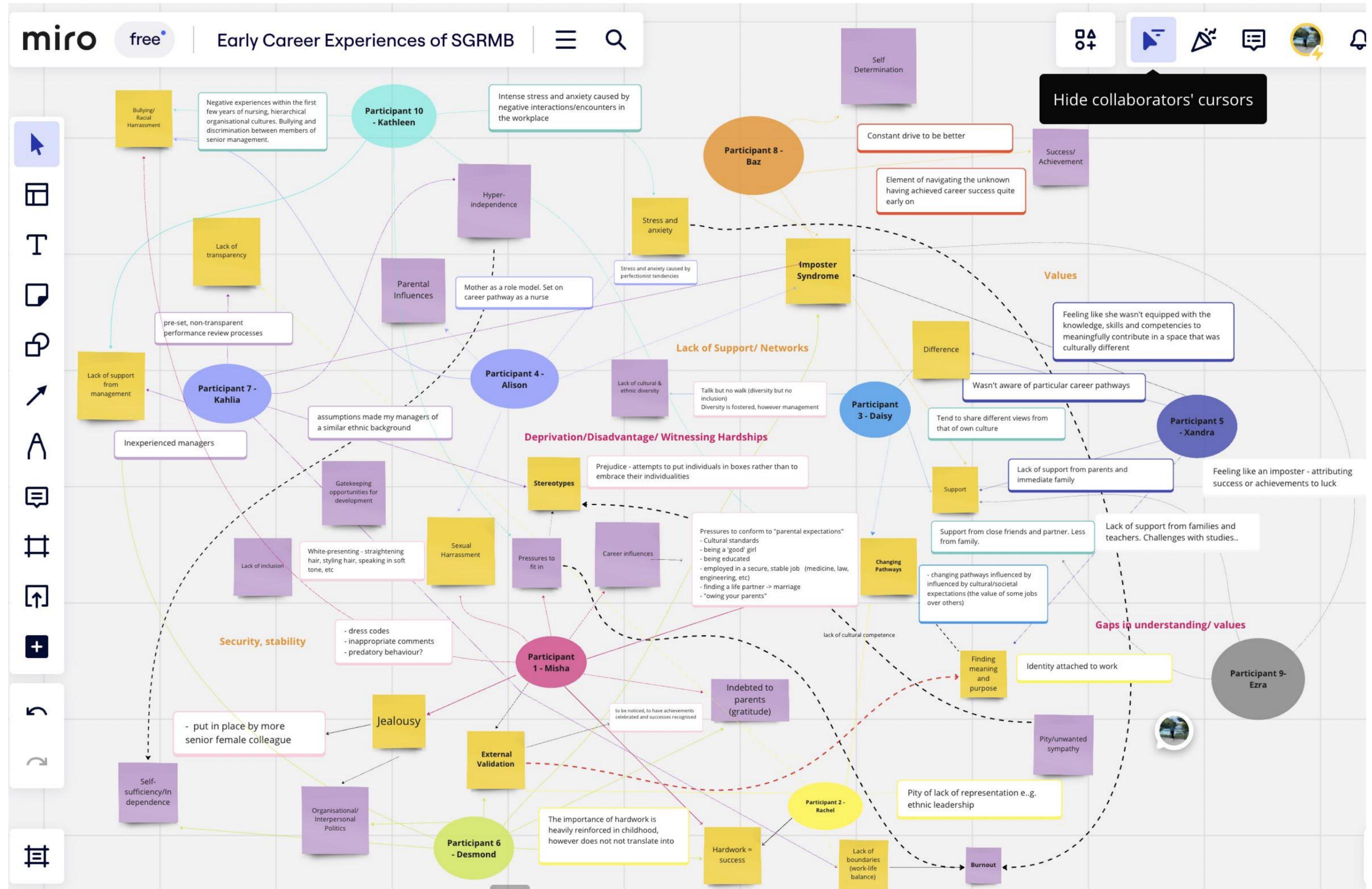
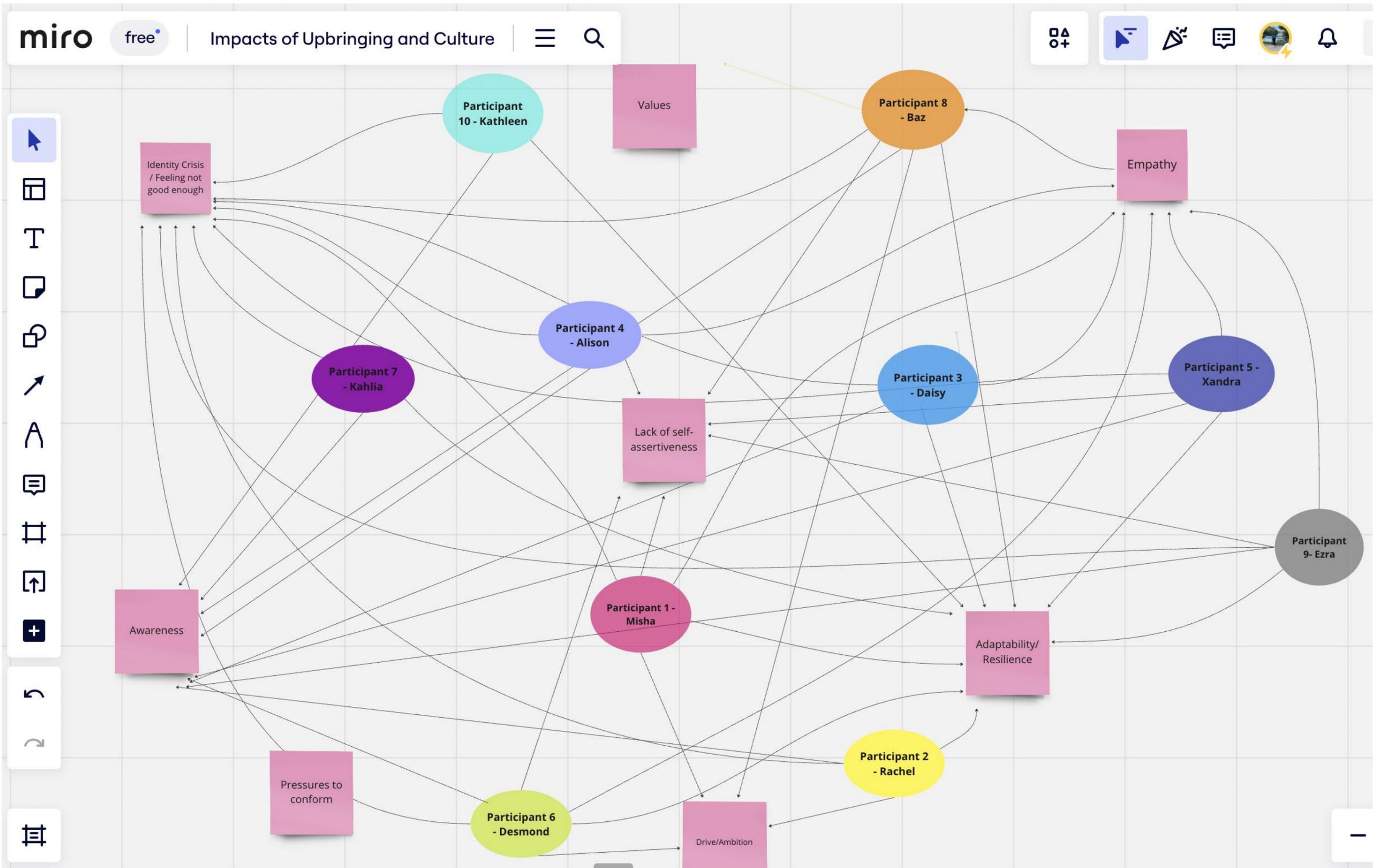


Figure 3.3 Thematic Data Analysis using Miro - Impacts of Upbringing & Culture



### 3.8 Chapter Summary

This methodology chapter presented the methodology and methods used in this study to explore the early career experiences of SGRMB. The chapter started by outlining the research topic and the two research questions before discussing my ontological (relativist) and epistemological (constructivist) perspectives as a researcher. A narrative inquiry methodology has been employed, acknowledging the usefulness of stories to capture the experiences of marginalised or underrepresented groups, such as participants from refugee and migrant backgrounds. The process for recruiting participants via a combination of purposive convenience and snowball sampling was explained along with the processes for data collection via in-depth, semi-structured interviews and data analysis via interpretative stories and a thematic analysis of narratives.

The following chapter (chapter 4) will outline the findings from the ten in-depth, semi-structured interviews transcribed and re-storied into individual interpretative stories. The findings chapter will also follow with a thematic analysis of the narratives.

## Chapter 4 Findings

This chapter aims to present the findings on the early career choices, pathways and experiences of second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds (SGRMB). This chapter is separated into two parts, with the first part presenting the experiences of each participant using individual interpretative stories. These stories provide background context for the thematic analysis of these narratives, which are featured in the second part of this chapter.

### 4.1 Interpretative Stories

This section contains ten stories of individual participants, uncovering how their upbringing and culture have influenced their early career decisions and choices and impacted their subsequent career experiences.

#### Misha's Story

Misha's (Accounting Manager, 26 years old) pathway towards her early career was full of ups and downs. Her journey into Accounting came about in an unexpected way after she could not pursue her initial goal of becoming a doctor. Due to her parents' humble beginnings as refugees, she was taught very early on that she needed to "*work twice as hard as everyone else.*" Her parents instilled in her specific cultural values and expectations, such as job security, high earning potential and work feasibility (practicality). However, two of the most significant values were the prestige or status of a job and the fear of "*what will people say?!*" Misha learnt early on that 'failing' was not an option.

Her Sri Lankan father and Indian mother met each other in the most unique circumstances amidst civil unrest and political tensions between Sri Lanka and India in 1981. They fled to India, closest to the Sri Lankan border. From there, they decided to move to New Zealand as refugees, a country that was the furthest away from the warzone. Misha's childhood innocence initially shielded her from the hardships her parents experienced as former refugees. However, by the time she was a teenager, she had family responsibilities to manage, including completing tasks such as booking inorganic collections or talking to the neighbours about 'the fence'. She led such work

on behalf of the family because she *“had perfect English, which neither of them (parents) had.”*

Being the youngest daughter, Misha was regarded as the ‘spare’ as her eldest sister was free to devote her time fully to her studies as she was destined to become the first doctor in their family. These experiences made Misha feel inadequate and pushed her to go above and beyond to prove herself to her parents. She, too, wanted to become a doctor, so she set her mind on becoming one after a conversation with her mother in Year 12. Then, after she completed high school, went on to complete a degree in the Health Sciences.

When she was not accepted to study medicine by the time she had completed her degree, it left her feeling as though she *“had completely failed as a daughter...as a Tamil girl and as a ...as a child of migrants.”* Following six months at home of unemployment and *not doing anything*, Misha realised she needed to take control of her life. She followed her interest in accounting by pursuing a Master of Professional Accounting, despite her parents’ initial scepticism. When she secured multiple offers for graduate employment from more than one of the large ‘Big Four’ professional services firms, she thought that was enough to make her family proud. However, this was not the case. She didn’t get the validation she wanted from her parents and could not believe that after all the effort she put in to make them proud of her. This also taught her an important lesson for her early career. *“And then it hit me, it was when I realised I have to live for myself. While getting praise from other people is lovely, you have got to live on your own terms.”*

Within a few short years of her accounting career in a highly reputable company, Misha has climbed the corporate ladder and successfully become an assistant accountant manager. Her success, however, is tied to the many lessons her mother instilled in her when she started “looking for jobs”, including that she needed to look as “European” as possible to fit in and succeed in the workplace. *“Don’t get too dark, don’t get too chubby. Make sure your hair is styled, your makeup is good, and you fit in with them (New Zealand European/Pakeha).”*

As much as she would have liked to go against what her mother had taught her due to her identity as a second-generation New Zealander, Misha has realised that sometimes being different can hinder career progression.

*“And I understand why she did that. As I get older with the privilege of being born in this country. I mean, so secure in who I am. I find myself challenging that view. I want to be me. I want to wear a bindi and not have anybody think of me less for that. But I find it ... where I work, mum’s words are true.”*

### Kahlia’s Story

Kahlia (Design Lead, 25 years old) spent her childhood and early adolescence between Indonesia, Australia, and New Zealand. Despite living across multiple countries throughout her early childhood, Kahlia felt she ‘belonged’ the most in New Zealand and is proud to call it her home. Currently, she works remotely from Indonesia while travelling in her spare time. Having graduated from university with a Bachelor's Degree in Design, she is currently a Design Lead for a New Zealand-based company. While proud of this achievement, she still feels like an imposter.

Her early career success, however, was not due to chance. Her achievements have been a result of hard work and a strong work ethic, most of these skills and competencies were a culmination of many character-building experiences as the eldest daughter from a migrant family. Kahlia grew up in a dysfunctional family with parents who had striking differences from each other in personality and values— a devout Muslim father and a progressive, independent mother who pursued further studies. Growing up meant Kahlia had to navigate conflicting values, attitudes and beliefs. Her parents eventually separated. As the eldest child, this placed additional pressure on Kahlia to take on additional responsibility on behalf of her mother. She remains in contact with both parents, however, *“I would argue that my parents are, at times, quite emotionally immature, and so I feel like my mom's therapist and in that sense a little bit of a parentified child, which is not ideal.”* Like many eldest children within immigrant families, she took responsibility for tasks that adults would be expected to do, such as providing emotional support to her mum and caring for her younger sister. She acknowledges the trauma that came with this extra and early adult responsibility. She still grapples with the effects of such early responsibility within her

career, particularly regarding boundary setting and feeling obliged to say 'yes' to others at the expense of her mental health.

Throughout her early career in Tech Product Design, Kahlia was exposed to a mixture of experiences, including both positive and negative support from management. She has experienced stereotyping, with unfair assumptions made by an inexperienced manager from a similar cultural background who thought Kahlia would progress through her early career at an accelerated rate as the manager herself. This mismatch of expectations was perpetuated by perceptions of the Asian stereotype that assumed Kahlia would be a high achiever so early in her career was hurtful.

The combination of high workload, toxic work cultures, and an inability to effectively set boundaries contributed to an episode of burnout she suffered after the first three years. Kahlia had to take a couple of months off to figure out what was needed to get back on track. In later roles, she has had to learn to reframe the sense of guilt she used to feel about being too busy in the past to pick up additional tasks.

*“And I felt bad hearing that it [the extra task] was done and thinking - did they think I couldn't do that work? But sometimes I have to sit with it and tell myself - hey, look, it's great they had decided to fix this problem themselves because that was an unexpected event, and I cannot fix everything.”*

She has reflected on these maladaptive qualities and attributes them to intergenerational trauma stemming from the experiences of her maternal grandmother, who, similar to her mother, got divorced in her 30s.

*It was very young for an Indonesian, and also, at the time, it was a very stigmatized thing to be a single woman. So, she had to endure a lot of hardship. And so I think to an extent that instilled in me the idea that I must not rely on anyone...I must not rely on them to support me like I must be able to keep myself afloat... I would argue that I'm sort of hyper-independent, and because of that, I struggled to be open and ask for help. That's how I ended up burnt out in the first place last year. My default is to try to make everyone else happy without actually checking whether I actually have the capacity to do what I need to do.*

## Rachel's Story

Much like Misha, Rachel (Customer Services Manager, 26) believed that her pathway to “success” was already set out by her parents since childhood, which was to pursue a profession-based career such as to “*be a lawyer, doctor or accountant. And so it wasn't really much like a question of, should I go to uni? it was like, you are.*” She describes herself as one of the middle children in the family, the younger of twin sisters with older and younger siblings. Notably, being a twin has been a significant part of her identity.

From a Cambodian, Vietnamese and Chinese background, Rachel's mother and father separately fled from the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia. Her mother arrived in New Zealand as a refugee, while her father moved across to Vietnam before re-settling in Australia. The couple met in Australia and fell in love. They decided to start a new life together in New Zealand. However, it wasn't easy. They started a bakery “*as other Cambodians in New Zealand*” did. They worked tirelessly from dawn to dusk and were hardly present with their children. However, Rachel felt her parents *made their presence felt* despite not being home due to their work commitments. Growing up, the children were taught to be frugal, humble and resourceful with what they had. There was the odd occasion when Rachel was also expected to interpret for her parents as she came to have better English than them.

Her parents instilled the importance of hard work and a strong work ethic. This was also something her parents were able to reap the benefits of by retiring early, following sacrifices made to work very long hours from dawn to dusk at their family bakeries. Rachel admired her parents for these qualities and attributes and set out to follow suit. An early retirement has since become a long-held aspiration of Rachel herself. She wasn't particularly keen on becoming a doctor. Still, she felt she could not go against her parents' wishes, given their sacrifices and the circumstances they had to overcome. So reluctantly, Rachel initially pursued that path. However, she wasn't accepted into medicine at university, so she had no choice but to study something else. Not knowing what to do, she decided to follow her twin down the pathway of commerce.

Despite making the decision, something still felt not quite right for Rachel. It was not until her first backpacking trip overseas without her family that she realised she needed to follow her own career path independent from her twin sister. Upon returning to New Zealand, Rachel changed majors to Marketing and moved to a completely different university. She didn't tell her parents either. *"It felt like I was not taking them along on the journey of my decision. I had already made up my mind, so I didn't know what to accomplish by talking to them about it."* Rachel recalls the sense of fear she felt immediately after graduating. The prospect of having to put herself out there for employment was one she dreaded.

*"I felt like it was a personal representation for myself and me, and I was allowing myself to get rejected. I think I wasn't ready for that. I was drawn to furthering my studies but then I was also drawn to...I need to make more money."*

The pressure to be working, productive, and earning was real for Rachel, fuelled by having grown up in an environment where she had seen her parents constantly working. Her service orientation and keen work ethic contributed to her experiences of 'burnout' quite early in her career. She reflects on what she referred to in her own words as *"falling victim"* to the roles that required the *"wearing of many hats, and I think I have always been exploited in that sense. I am always eager to learn more, challenge myself, and serve others because that is all I have aspired to be like my parents."*

### Desmond's Story

Coming from refugee and migrant backgrounds themselves, Desmond's (30 years old, Engineer/Business Owner) father fled Vietnam and arrived in New Zealand as a teenager, while his mother migrated from Macau later in her twenties. As his father arrived in the country quite young, he attended high school here in New Zealand - this was a key difference compared to the parents of other participants in this study who were educated in their countries of origin.

His parents made the decision to start their own business, which was initially a takeaway shop. This was common amongst the Vietnamese-Chinese community, whereas the Cambodian community within New Zealand often started bakeries. Later,

they started a family business in construction. The construction business was where Desmond spent most of his weekends and school holidays as an only child. While his father was more reserved and *'complacent'*, he described his mother as more assertive and easy-going in how she engaged with risk and took up opportunities in New Zealand, for example, in setting up new businesses.

Growing up, Desmond had a difficult relationship with his father and continues to do so as an adult. His father placed overwhelming expectations on Desmond as an only child, expecting him to take on responsibilities that many non-migrant or refugee children would not have to. This includes administration tasks such as translating documents from English, filling out forms, and completing formal paperwork on behalf of his parents. This was similar to the experiences of Kahlia, Misha and Rachel. Despite managing such administration responsibilities, a lack of validation from his father also fuelled a constant sense of imposter syndrome, which persisted throughout his early working life. *I never felt my opinion was valued*, and it made him constantly feel *not good enough*. These feelings of inadequacy continued well into his early working life, where he started to doubt whether he was *good enough* to work in the workplaces he ended up in.

*"Everyone else has impressive LinkedIn profiles, and I have got, like... a few things. I don't know if I got this job by winging it, or was I just really a slick talker during the interview?"*

Desmond didn't get into a graduate programme as he had hoped. Instead, he had to juggle a few different roles to develop work experience. When he worked for an engineering company, he found that he was the scapegoat amidst organisational politics in the office. He was an easy target due to being a junior from a minority background. Unlike other participants, such as Rachel and Baz, who were unable to communicate openly with their parents about work-related issues, Desmond felt he was able to and benefited from the perspectives his parents could offer him to help him reframe the situations. *"They understood it from the perspective that it was a power struggle, or it's like they saw that this new graduate was coming in and saw it as a threat. It's a threat to them. So, they had this interesting perspective."* He reflected on how helpful his parents' perspectives were in helping him make sense of particular

incidents within his early career, helping him to respond more effectively to these situations.

His early career experience within organisations, in combination with his experiences being raised as the only child of a family with a refugee and migrant background, has shaped Desmond into a resilient, independent and reflective individual. Desmond is now self-employed and owns his own business in automation. He is also hoping to build his container farm one day.

*“When you are an only child, you don't really have anyone to talk to and so you have a lot of time to reflect. If you want to do something. You have to do it yourself because there's nothing that's gonna be given to you. Like, if you want it done a certain way, you have to do it yourself.”*

### Baz's Story

Baz (Human Resources Business Partner, 26 years old) arrived in New Zealand in 2001, at the age of three, along with his refugee family. As the youngest of five siblings, he became the first in his family to graduate from university while his other siblings took alternative pathways. The path for Baz was not straightforward, however. He grew up *“on a stretch of road in state housing that was all of refugee and migrant backgrounds.”* Being exposed to such diversity helped shape his understanding and appreciation for cultural differences. He reflected on his mother's stories about their struggles immediately following resettlement in New Zealand. His dad was the breadwinner for the family and worked as a taxi driver. He recalls them only being able to afford green tea and bread. *“It was tough for my parents - Dad didn't know English. Mum didn't know English at all.”* Resettling in a new country *where the cultural beliefs are so different*, Baz felt there was no option but to *assimilate growing up in that system.*

He discussed the school-related struggles and difficulties when he received homework or assignments. *“We couldn't go to our parents because they didn't understand anything. So it was sort of like you had to learn pretty quickly to sort of be on your own and self-sufficient in that sense.”* Despite having a large family, Baz mentioned that there weren't close bonds between the siblings. *“To this day, we still don't share personal stories. So it's really sort of you're on your own and out there, you know,*

*battling your challenges and things like that.”* Despite the odds, Baz was determined to be successful and wanted to make his parents proud of him. He worked as a part-time supermarket checkout operator whilst studying full-time for his degree. *And I kid you not - there were multiple times where I wanted to quit – where it’s like I don’t wanna go on. It’s too much. You know, there’s too much pressure.* Financial pressures did not drive his decision to work part-time, as by then, financially, they were doing fine as his elder siblings were already working. So, for Baz, it was a matter of *being able to afford the things we didn’t get to do* when he was younger.

Working part-time and getting advice from a counsellor influenced Baz to move into human resource management. He was told to study Management, however initially dismissed it. One day at work, he saw a poster of the Executive Team, which included someone with the job title of General Manager (GM) of Human Resources (HR). Not knowing what it was, Baz googled it. Despite not understanding what it entailed, he thought he would *“just study it and that’s how I went into HR. I went back to the careers counsellor and she was over the moon. She was like, ‘This is what I was thinking. You know you’d be great at this!’”*

As if by coincidence, Baz happened to have a chance encounter with the GM herself. Through their interactions, the GM offered him a chance to visit the HR department for a day, which later turned into an offer for a secondment opportunity as their Recruitment Coordinator. Though this opportunity was a steep learning curve, it set the foundations for his career within HR. *“And I think I was really privileged in that sense to be able to start so early, and I think that’s why I am here today.”*

Despite his incredible achievements, Baz has often felt like he doesn’t quite belong. *“I think that imposter syndrome definitely kicks in at times. And I am not too sure why that is. Is it because of my upbringing? Is it because you are the minority in the organization where you are not seen to be here?”* He has reflected on the realities of being a minority in the workplace, in his words, being *brown, male, the youngest* and with a completely different upbringing from most other people. The biggest dilemmas have included not being able to relate to others and trying to avoid oversharing by talking only about work. His reason for this is outlined as follows:

*“A) you don’t want to be sharing because they won’t understand and B) so you don’t want that to impact or for people to perceive you differently. That is also so that people don’t judge me on my upbringing but judge me on my work and what I deliver. I don’t want your empathy or your sympathy. I don’t need it. I am here to do my job – I am here to do it. I have gone through the same criteria as you would have. You know, if I can’t deliver then tell me...”*

Baz has also acknowledged the stress involved with maintaining a successful career as a minority. Despite the challenges, he attributes his immense drive in his professional endeavours to the sacrifices his parents made for him as former refugees re-settling in New Zealand.

*I think its driven by them a lot, being able to fulfil what they wanted for us as well or making it worthwhile that he made the sacrifice to come to this country as well. So that’s what my career ambitions are driven by/ from also.*

### Daisy’s Story

Daisy (30 years old, Teacher) is the younger of two children who arrived in New Zealand with her mum, dad and brother from Hong Kong when she was a toddler. She describes her cultural identity as the *“cultures (she) associates with because it is not as limited”* to being defined by the single culture she was born into. *I feel like there are certain aspects of me that are becoming more Westernised, but the core values like respect for elders or honouring them, taking care of older relatives of the family, etc.*

Having arrived in New Zealand below the age of ten, Daisy had greater exposure to New Zealand culture and thus was more receptive towards picking and choosing the values she best identified with. This enabled a unique blend of East meets West that represents her cultural upbringing as an individual. Daisy continues to navigate the challenges with her family, who still fail to understand the Western values system entirely, thus creating significant tensions in her early career decision-making.

When she started at university, Daisy aspired to become an English teacher. However, teaching was not considered stable or a ‘high-status’ role, such as HR or other office jobs within an organisation. *Some relatives had a very narrow-minded view of teaching. I guess they were looking down on the profession.* As a result of these pressures, Daisy reluctantly took up a role within a call centre between jobs working at

an after-school programme. While the call centre role was in line with her family's values and expectations, she “*hated*” the experience, finding it incredibly profit-driven. Despite the lack of support from family and relatives, the encouragement of her partner and a few friends gave her the confidence to move into a teaching career officially.

Reflecting on her parents’ experiences of settling in New Zealand, she acknowledges that it was very challenging. *It was very hard to adjust in New Zealand, public transport isn’t very reliable, the neighbours weren’t very helpful, and you needed a car to get to places.* Back in Hong Kong, her parents were well-educated and relatively affluent. Once in New Zealand, though, they found that language differences and cultural barriers made finding employment very difficult. Her mother, working in a stable corporate role within a bank in Hong Kong, had to start from scratch in New Zealand. *She felt like she was unable to go back into that field and lost so much confidence.* Her mother did not get back into a corporate role, instead settling for low-skilled work and typically with employers who would exploit her by not paying the minimum wage.

Witnessing the exploitation and discrimination her parents faced in employment as first-generation migrants in New Zealand has influenced Daisy’s worldview about work and employment. She has been meticulous in choosing new employers, ensuring their values align with hers. Being one of few of Chinese descent in teaching, she has often felt that she has stood out as the token representation of diversity within the spaces she has occupied. She claims that *the way we teach children isn’t how the workplace culture is fostered*, meaning the values of diversity and inclusion taught by young children as part of their curriculum are not necessarily lived out by teachers employed to teach children.

*It is very much shaped by the manager and often is a very Western – very Pakeha way of doing things. For example, even team bonding exercises they do. It might be a dress-up party or some places where there were talks about an overnight stay somewhere – some cultures may not feel comfortable with that. Those considerations that aren’t openly discussed, and there is not much curiosity about other cultures apart from the tokenistic – for example, Samoan Language Week, its Te Reo Māori Language Week... what about the deeper things that*

*make up the culture – it's more than a week, it's more than that. That is what I have observed.*

As Daisy builds her career, she finds herself continually navigating the tensions between her ethnic culture and the Western way of doing things.

### Ezra's Story

Ezra (Entrepreneur, 45 years old) is of New Zealand Tongan descent. As a middle child, he was the first in the family to be born in New Zealand after his parents migrated from Tonga during one of the waves of Pacific migration in the 1970s. He grew up in a family that held strong beliefs in their faith. He believes that their faith was why he and his family were able to get through challenging times. While his father was a law clerk, his mother worked in manufacturing. Growing up, Ezra had a complex relationship with his father and would not always see eye-to-eye with him. *"Yeah, I think he just had a lot of trauma growing up that he couldn't deal with and so that impacted him. He wanted the best for us, but he didn't know how to do it."*

Ezra's father worked hard to support his community, *his main job was the treasurer at the church*. His father's trauma stemmed from the fact that his own father (Ezra's grandfather), was a noble Chief, but following a dispute with the Queen, had his title taken off him. As a result, Ezra's dad spent his entire life trying to live up to their family name, feeling *that sense of responsibility to redeem it*. As a result, while Ezra's father put all his effort into supporting the community, he often ended up taking his stress out on his family. This made him an absent father despite being someone the community respected. Ezra also spoke about the challenges his parents had to overcome to give him the care he needed when he was younger when he was sick and had to go to the hospital often. He described how difficult it was for his parents, not only in terms of affording the cost of prescriptions but also physical barriers in terms of getting him to the hospital. He speaks of the immense gratitude he has for his parents. *You know, I have learnt a lot about being grateful for their sacrifices.*

A teacher at school commented that he was 'superficial' and not exactly know what that meant, it left Ezra feeling quite embarrassed throughout school. *"I'm a good worker. I was a good worker, but I was trying to be a good student, but I wasn't very successful at it."* He turned down the opportunity to get into professional rugby to

rebel against his father and to please his sister, who didn't like watching rugby. This demonstrated the effect his family had on him. Instead, he went on to tertiary study, although he was unable to finish it until much later in life after returning as a mature student. *Growing up, I think I lacked focus and a plan on what to do. You know, when I was younger, I wasn't embracing advice and probably had influences that weren't great for me, whether these were from his family or school environments.*

He worked in customer service roles to make a living, however, he felt he was simply *"filling up my CV, but nothing of any substance."*

Realizing that he wanted another chance at completing his university studies and following the opportunity he had to reflect on his relationship with his father, Ezra finally made the commitment and successfully completed his Bachelor's degree before going on to pursue a Masters degree, acknowledging the support of two key academics who believed in him and have continued to support him.

Currently, he distributes his time across his own business - a Pasifika food bag concept, similar to Hello Fresh, that he set up to honour his mother and grandmother's love for serving great food for the community, managed also with teaching contracts he has with a university. *It's just funny when people ask me what I do. I tell them that I teach at AUT. And they were like, wow! But I didn't know if they were saying wow because they were thinking I was smart enough for it!*

His story speaks to his personal growth because of healing his relationship with his family and reconnecting with his cultural identity through entrepreneurship.

### Kathleen's Story

Kathleen (Public Health Professional, 29) arrived in New Zealand from India at nine years old with her parents, who were seeking a better quality of life for her and her younger sister. She recounts the effect migration had on them as a family. Especially for her parents with their experiences of discrimination and struggles to adjust to life in New Zealand. Back in India, her father was a university graduate and CEO of his tech company. He dreamed of continuing his ventures in the tech industry when he arrived in New Zealand, although this quickly was not the case. After rejection from several employment opportunities, he had to settle for work at Wendy's - a fast food

restaurant that paid minimum wage. The immense stress following migration had such an impact on Kathleen's father it led him to experience a heart attack at quite a young age. She recalls her mother's helplessness, not knowing how to access help. Her mother sought help from their neighbours, though they "*made up excuses*" and refused to help them get to the hospital.

These are only some of the experiences that have shaped Kathleen's worldview. As the eldest daughter, she witnessed many challenges following the family's move to New Zealand. *I'm really aware of the on the ground, experiences that some people have, the true socioeconomic barriers that people face, you know, I think I feel I still remember it ...it's still...I can feel it in my body. I know that's how strong it is.* These experiences led Kathleen down a pathway into nursing and healthcare. For Kathleen, entering nursing as a career was also a strategic move to find a way out of her family home and towards independence. The trauma of migration at a young age and witnessing her parents struggle to settle in New Zealand along with the discrimination they faced made Kathleen realise that she wanted more out of life.

The first few years of nursing were incredibly challenging for Kathleen due to long hours, shift work and bullying that came with of the hierarchy within hospitals. *It was just some of the worst times I've ever had. I was blamed for some really strange situations that had happened.* Although she was clinically trained as a nurse, she was still *constantly told how incompetent she was and how horrible I was at my job.* Kathleen quickly realised there was a misfit between her personality and working within patient-facing roles. Once she took on a more specialist nursing role within the Intensive Care Unit (ICU), she realised that she was better suited to a more analytical and expert role. Following this, she moved into more non-clinical and policy-based roles, eventually leading her into her first management role position within a private hospital.

The new management role exacerbated her feelings of being different and out of place, and it also didn't help that her new workplace was incredibly toxic. *They immediately put me down.*

*There were a lot of ageist perspectives a lot of racism there. There was a lot of bullying going on at that place...so much that we had to hire lawyers and get it all sorted from that (legal) perspective.*

She had *demeaning* assumptions made up by senior managers challenging her competence as a younger manager, which undermined her. However, she has also reflected on the efforts she makes, such as pronouncing her ethnic name differently or straightening her naturally curly hair to fit in. *I think...I think I myself have (also) built up a degree of internalised racism.*

Kathleen has since found a role working in Health Policy as an Investigator *which is much more welcoming*. She still bears the impacts of her early career experiences, and in particular, the long-term effects on her psychological health. *It has had such a toll on my mental health*. To process the challenges of her early career, Kathleen has sought professional help, including therapy, to help address these challenges. She has now reached a stage in life when she is ready to do something further in terms of her education and has made the decision to return to pursue a Master of Health Science degree. *I'm also studying, and I think that is actually empowering.*

### Alison's Story

As the youngest daughter of three to Malaysian Chinese–Iban parents. Alison (27 years old, Registered Nurse) was seven years old when her family migrated to New Zealand. She reflected on leaving Malaysia, which, due to her young age, she barely had *any memories of Malaysia - some little things would bring up fragments of my memories*, and she felt she *never really belonged there*.

Alison followed her dream career path to be a nurse, inspired by her mother, a trained nurse. She recalls the feelings of being *"internally frustrated"* after being unable to secure a nursing job straight out of university, therefore having to work in retail in the meantime. While her parents were supportive of her not having secured a role quickly after graduation, Alison felt incredibly stressed. She remembers it as if she *"wasn't good enough"* even though *"a big chunk"* of her classmates didn't get into a graduate nursing position either. *It "wasn't really talked about"* as she thinks they were all very 'embarrassed'. Alison remembers feeling she didn't do well in her final nursing placements also due to anxiety.

*I didn't have that autonomy and that confidence. I remember going to placement and I was crying just feeling so anxious and so scared and I don't think I really talked to anyone about it. And that translated into the workplace when I started working because people would say that I was doing well but I didn't have the confidence and it got pretty bad."*

Feelings of stress, anxiety and inadequacy continued when Alison officially entered the profession. It took her quite some time to adjust to the working environment. The cultural values her father had instilled around being a "good worker" created tension in her earlier days as a junior nurse, particularly when asking others for help, which she saw as a sign of weakness or incompetence. This was until her charge nurse pulled her aside and told her that *it's fine for you to ask for help. If anything, it only shows you are really strong.* Although she struggled to accept this at first, given that she "hadn't grown up with" this perspective, Alison accepted that asking for help was not a negative.

Alison also shared her experiences of having an identity crisis at the age of 14 by not quite feeling Malaysian enough or Kiwi enough.

*"I don't look like, you know, a typical New Zealander obviously I look Asian, but when I go back to Malaysia, there will be people staring at me. Also when I am in New Zealand, I felt comfortable, but I knew people would see me as an outsider so that was something that was, I guess I was very conflicted about."*

Alison now feels less cultural tension as her *"parents just gradually assimilated to New Zealand culture as they have grown older."* Despite quite significant challenges Alison had encountered throughout her early years as a nurse, she attributes her success to her ongoing adherence to her parents' immigrant values and the support of her nursing colleagues. *I struggled so much and I thought of quitting nursing but now that I am further ahead, I enjoy my work more I guess.*

Being ethnically and racially different has also contributed to some questionable situations for Alison in the workplace. Working in the hospital, she received many questions about where she was from. She did not mind people asking many of these questions as she believed they were showing curiosity about her cultural background.

*They usually start with “where are you from?” which I am not offended with at all, I don’t mind. And I’d be “oh, guess!” Make it a game. “I’ll give you three guesses.” And rarely do they say Malaysia, it’s always China. Japan, Korea or Vietnam.*

When asked how others view her in the workplace, she says, “Oh, that’s easy. A lot of patients assume that I am an overseas trained nurse, that I am Filipino, that I moved to New Zealand, and I am on a work visa.” While these comments are harmless, some interactions have made her very uncomfortable, for example, incidents where male patients were trying to draw unnecessary attention to themselves and doing things such as handing out their numbers to her.

### Xandra’s Story

Xandra’s (Mental Health Counsellor, 30 years) parents migrated to New Zealand from China for a better quality of life, leaving her and her twin sister with extended family still in China. They returned to China nearly ten years later to bring her and her twin sister to New Zealand on a permanent basis. She recalls the challenges of *not settling in the new country, in the culture – we couldn’t speak English when we came.*

The dream of a better quality of life became a distant dream with significant financial and cultural challenges. The family struggled and could not provide a safe environment for Xandra and her sister. As a victim of domestic violence, Xandra was uplifted by Oranga Tamariki and placed into foster care with a Pākeha family at age 12. Xandra was forced to assimilate and discouraged from speaking Chinese. This resulted in her losing her mother tongue, which left her feeling ashamed of her culture as she felt it was her *Chinese identity that got (her) into care* as opposed to what she realised later was the system that failed her and her sister. The trauma of these experiences forced Xandra into survival mode, and all she knew in terms of choosing a career was whatever was most practical. Despite relishing the arts from a young age in China, she believed it was not viable as a career path. A random enrolment into university sent her down the pathway of a Health Sciences degree, and a few years later, she found herself in a career in the mental health and addiction space.

Despite her nuclear and foster families having very little influence on her early career, Xandra believes that her upbringing in care has led her to do what she does now on terms of her career.

*I think it's shaped it in the sense that I connect with the minority – I understand the migrant experience because I have seen it in my parents' experiences and I see it in myself. Minority in the sense, minority in society, like in addiction and mental health these are population groups that are pushed to the fringe, the prisons and rehab – they are not in the mainstream...”*

Her work primarily involved working with those from Māori and Pasifika backgrounds. She quickly realised that she was “*very much a minority within the minority...*”, she felt like she wasn't good enough. As a professional of Asian descent, she didn't feel like it was in her place to support these individuals out of addictions through a cultural competency framework that was not her representative of her own culture. *I was like “who am I? A tiny Asian girl telling you how to recover, you know? When I haven't directly been there, but I have vicariously experienced the aftermath of my parents who had gambling issues, I've lived with families whose children have been displaced due to drug and alcohol issues.”*

This feeling of inadequacy was isolating, compounded by her upbringing in care, which stripped her of her cultural identity. She knew she was different, and this made her question her place at work even though she qualified for the job and had lived experience as a victim of addiction and domestic violence.

Over time, she has channelled her lived experiences into healing and helping others.

*And so I guess, I connected, I found my calling and passion in those spaces but it is also out of frustration. I just get frustrated and I don't know if that is also passion – it could be a fine line it could be either all. I get frustrated and sometimes it drives me to do what I do now. The minority really speaks to me, also going against the grain, and not being a cookie cutter, I could probably in another life be an accountant or a lawyer but even though the fact that life has panned out for me, given me another narrative to challenge the status quo.”*

Xandra now aspires to incorporate her passion for art into her role as a professional counsellor through art therapy. Her early career is a moving story of resilience,

determination, and courage despite the immense challenges she encountered as a young child who migrated to New Zealand to live with her parents.

## 4.2 Analysis of Stories by Themes

The following section will explore the themes implicit across the individual interpretive stories. This thematic analysis also returns to the interview transcripts to provide greater context and make more explicit certain topics that were only briefly highlighted in each participant’s individual stories.

The table below summarises the key themes identified across the stories shared by participants. These themes have been separated into two categories to reflect the research questions that aim to explore the influences on early career choices and pathways along with the consequential impacts on the early career experiences of participants from SGRMB.

*Table 4.1 Key themes emerging from interpretative stories and interview transcripts*

<b>Influences of Upbringing and Culture on Early Career Choices and Pathways</b>
1. Family Influence and Cultural Expectations
2. The Importance of Education
3. Material and Social Deprivation
<b>Impact on Early Career Experiences</b>
4. Adaptation and Parentification
5. Validating Own Achievements and Success
6. Discrimination and Bias
7. Pressures to fit in and relate to others

## Theme 1: Family Influence and Cultural Expectations

*I think my parents imposed a lot of their own beliefs and values on to me. And I think Asian parents tend to do that, and they have this whole perception of.... I don't want my children to make the same mistakes as me (Kathleen, migrant background).*

Participants spoke about the significant influence their family had on their upbringing and in influencing their identities as SGRMB. While some participants had closer relationships with their parents, others were more distant. This was often due to migration-related trauma that their parents experienced. Parents were typically participants' most influential family members, followed by siblings and extended relatives such as aunts and uncles.

Family influence was also heavily shaped by the parental country of origin and the cultural values, attitudes and beliefs associated with this country. Three of the participants with a strongly religious upbringing mentioned the role of faith and reflected on how it has translated to particular beliefs that have played out in their early careers. An example of this was with Baz, who reflected on his early career success and the gratitude he has for the opportunities that have come his way, attributing it to his late 'grandmother's prayers', thus reflecting the spiritual beliefs participants may have held about how family members have influenced the success of their career journeys, even well after those family members have passed on.

The presence of collective cultural influences has often made it difficult for participants to challenge or deviate from family expectations. Decisions around early career choices and pathways were often greatly influenced by the need to fulfil family obligations. For the most part, participants demonstrated a sense of readiness to reciprocate their parents' sacrifices by making them proud of their efforts or achievements.

Participants had varying degrees of understanding of their own migration journeys to New Zealand. This was particularly so for participants who were New Zealand-born to parents who were former refugees, resulting in some gaps in family migration histories. However, in many cases, participants were aware of the immense sacrifices of their parents who migrated to New Zealand, whether voluntarily or involuntarily.

Overwhelmingly, participants have shared thoughts on the gratitude they continue to feel for their parents, even if that is not explicitly communicated at times.

Some participants faced greater parental expectations than others, particularly those whose families held onto traditional, cultural expectations and highly valued status and achievement. In comparison, other participants had greater freedom to identify their career pathways independently from family pressures. Participants who faced high expectations from their parents reflected on experiencing immense pressures to conform to the expectations set out by their parents, family, and communities. The recipe for success they were taught at a young age was to work hard, be frugal and do well at school.

Participants such as Rachel, Misha, Daisy and Desmond were expected by their parents to pursue pathways set out for them, whether this was a traditional profession guaranteed financial stability and a high income or to take over their family business. Examples of traditional professional roles approved by the parents of SGRMB were law, commerce, engineering and business. While there was consensus about doctors being a high-status role, career pathways in business, accountancy and teaching, despite being well-respected roles in society, were perceived by some of the families as being 'not as good' as becoming a medical doctor. Participants such as Baz and Daisy experienced these influences more through their community than directly from their parents regarding which career pathways were deemed higher status than others.

*I think it was because they never got to go through formal education, and it led them down a really practical, hard-working path that was often blue-collar work (Rachel, refugee background).*

Parental expectations were otherwise driven by the first generation's (parents) shame and regret over missed or wrong opportunities. An example of this includes how Kathleen was discouraged from pursuing computer science by her father due to his failures within the tech industry, even though she felt being analytical was something she was naturally good at.

Due to cultural values of respect and dutifulness, participants were inclined to pursue the pathways set out by their parents, even though it did not align with their own

interests until it was not practically possible to continue to do so due to barriers imposed by others. This was in the case of Misha and Rachel, who pursued medicine until they realised they could not enter that pathway. While some participants saw the opportunity to change to another career pathway as a positive opportunity, there were some participants who struggled to see this as an opportunity at first. Commonly, participants saw this as a reflection of their own failure, such as Misha, who was completely distraught after not getting into medicine.

A fear of poverty drove many expectations imposed on participants by their parents. Thus, there was an expectation for participants to pursue career pathways that offered significant earning potential, stability, and financial security. Although these parental expectations were quite strict, placing great stress and pressure on the SGRMB, these expectations were arguably what the parents felt were in the best interests of the SGRMB. Given the sacrifices the parents have made and the hardships they have endured, the second generation wanted to ensure that the SGRMB had the skills to be self-sufficient and have financial autonomy.

Not all participants from SGRMB had a family to support them through their early career choices and pathways. At times, families were able to offer little guidance to participants. This was due to their lack of familiarity with the New Zealand labour market and specifically of roles that required at least a Bachelor's degree. At other times, career guidance from parents and family members lacked relevancy in New Zealand, particularly if they were informed by their lived experiences as a former refugees or migrants. As a result, some participants relied on external support or socio-cultural influences to navigate their early career decisions and experiences.

For participants who were the first in their family to attain a university degree, such as Baz, Rachel and Xandra, there was little knowledge they could draw upon from their parents regarding higher education and possible career pathways. Their parents often had work experiences and knowledge relevant to roles involving manual labour that did not require qualifications, for example, as a taxi driver, a factory worker or as self-employed running their own family food business. Despite having elder siblings, participants often could not seek advice and guidance from them either. For example, Baz had one sibling who attended university but could not complete their degree due

to lack of support. Rachel had elder siblings who completed diplomas and went down the pathway of entrepreneurship, starting their own businesses. These findings suggest that in place of the limited networks and, therefore, limited social, cultural, and ethnic capital from their family networks, participants have had to be able to problem-solve and draw on alternative sources themselves to be able to pursue their career aspirations.

In contrast to many other participants in this research, Xandra grew up with little parental presence as she spent her early childhood in China with her extended family and her adolescence in foster care. Growing up in foster care meant that she was distant from her biological family, and her Pākeha foster family did not give her much direction regarding what to pursue as a career. Also, the professionals she dealt with through foster care influenced Xandra's frames of reference around career pathways. Her early career decisions were very much left to chance and based on whatever was most practical due to having a limited understanding of the outside world and potential career pathways that she could pursue. Her pathway into public health and later into the mental health and addictions space was a result of a good friend who enrolled her into university, initially in bio-medical sciences, to become a doctor. She transitioned into the Health Sciences, taking a pragmatic route because a degree in bio-medicine would take too long to complete.

*I knew I didn't have enough (of a) support network to go through with it so I jumped to Health Sciences and in that transition period, I thought I would go into nursing because I didn't know what to do when I left school but I knew I could always get a job in health care. I just had this weird thought of like, you'll never fall short of a job in health care (Xandra, migrant background)*

The quote above also highlights how a lack of support from family and close networks can hinder decisions to pursue specific career pathways, as in the case of Xandra. However, it also exemplifies the resilience and determination it has taken for these individuals from SGRMB to pursue their careers in the pathways they have sought for themselves.

## Theme 2: The Importance of Education

*“My mum has always seen that education is top-notch. Whatever you do - get that degree because that was like the gold standard. You know, as long as you get that, I don't care what you do, but then there was also that ...my parents valued education much more than I do personally (Desmond, Migrant and Refugee Background).”*

While the parents of some of the participants had limited education within the New Zealand context, a large majority of the participants reflected on the importance of education from their parents' beliefs that education enabled pathways into less manual and labour-intensive work, which they didn't have the opportunity to get into. Thus, the expectation to finish school and pursue undergraduate studies at university was non-negotiable. Participants acknowledged that their parent's values regarding education were often greater than their own. For the parents of many participants, missing out on education was something they regretted and are still ashamed of, even though they had little control over the circumstances that contributed to their lack of education.

*Epecially my dad, he didn't have an education. So all the stuff that he couldn't do right now, like... it basically defined him. So it was just like, look at all these people doing everything. I could have been all that if I had an education, it seemed like. Yeah, it seemed kind of like a ...a key that he never had, you know? So it was something that held him back, I guess. It wasn't resentment as such, but it kind of became like became a reason...(Desmond, refugee and migrant background)*

Within this study, participants with parents from former refugee backgrounds typically faced significant disruptions in their education. For those who fled war-torn countries, there were also physical barriers to getting an education.

*My mother never finished high school. Truthfully, she never even finished year 12 given moving countries and doing everything. You can't really go to school, where there's a bomb in the schoolyard. My father basically finished the first year of post-high school education, but that's worth nothing when you come to New Zealand (Misha, refugee background).*

Therefore, finishing university and getting a degree was not only seen to be necessary to secure a stable career but also an opportunity to make up for the educational

opportunities their first-generation parents had missed out on and restore pride and a sense of social status for the family.

Others whose parents did receive an education from their countries of origin commented on the challenges their parents had accessing employment in New Zealand. This also suggests that, in most cases, overseas qualifications were simply not valued once they migrated to New Zealand, forcing them to rebuild their lives from scratch. There was this shared perspective that education, in this case, referring to a tertiary qualification, was necessary to successfully navigate the New Zealand labour market and find a job that enables financial security. While tertiary qualifications have given the SGRMB a 'foot in the door' in terms of better-paying jobs, this has not necessarily removed challenges for the SGRMB during their early careers.

### Theme 3: Material and Social Deprivation

*And you know, I have learnt a lot about being grateful and grateful for their sacrifices. (Ezra, migrant background)*

All ten participants shared experiences of material and social deprivation due to their parents' being refugees and migrants to New Zealand. As children of former refugees and migrants, participants grew up witnessing and experiencing hardships as their parents re-established new lives in New Zealand.

Participants frequently spoke about the immense challenges that came with moving to a foreign country with a completely different values system, attitudes and expectations. They spoke about the barriers of their parents not being able to speak English, battling logistics in a new environment in terms of not knowing how to physically get from one place to another without private transport or an understanding of how to use public transport immediately following their arrival into New Zealand. Having limited networks and little to no family close by to draw support from was a challenge that participants frequently discussed. A few participants also reflected on initially having neighbours who were unwilling to help in the event of personal emergencies, where this was potentially due to perceptions of differences, prejudice, and bias.

The parents of participants from refugee backgrounds typically arrived in New Zealand with few resources. Due to the disruption in their education as a result of socio-political circumstances, those from refugee backgrounds had very little to start off with. In comparison, the parents of those from migrant backgrounds generally had some financial resources, education and/or qualifications. This was the case of Kahlia, Kathleen, Alison, and Daisy's parents. While some were able to continue working in professions they were trained in, such as Alison's mother, who was able to re-train as a nurse in New Zealand, the majority experienced downward mobility and a loss of status. Examples of this included Daisy's mother, who went from becoming a banker in Hong Kong to working minimum wage jobs with no guarantee of the minimum employee entitlements and thus was subjected to migrant exploitation.

*My mum worked in a stable corporate role but because of her language barrier, she felt inadequate, she felt unable to go back into that field and lost so much confidence. (Daisy, migrant background)*

This was also the case for Kathleen's father, who *"went from being a CEO" back in India "to being working in Wendy's minimum wage job."*

Not only did they witness how their parents struggled and were disadvantaged by the system they were working in, but participants themselves also experienced deprivation as children of their former refugee and migrant parents. Participants reflected on growing up without the basics, missing out on time with parents because they were busy working outside the home, and forgoing opportunities to attend birthday parties and other social events to not inconvenience their parents.

The examples outlined above exemplify some of the practical challenges their parents faced and how these experiences have shaped the perspectives or worldviews of the second generation from refugee and migrant backgrounds. Understanding the challenges the first generation has had to overcome has humbled their children, who have learned to appreciate the sacrifices their parents have made for their future. In addition, these shared experiences of deprivation and disadvantage between the participants have also become a driving force for the SGRMB to aim to be a better version of themselves.

#### Theme 4: Adaptation and Parentification

While family influences towards early career choices and pathways were a predominant theme across the stories of participants within this research, the lived career experiences of the participants were also seen to be shaped closely by the degree to which their parents had adapted to the country of resettlement, which in this case was New Zealand and its values, attitudes, and societal norms. Participants with parents who had a level of education and were able to speak English well were often able to navigate their country of resettlement (New Zealand) independently without relying on their children. As a result, they would place less pressure on their children (the SGRMB) in terms of cultural expectations towards their careers and family responsibilities, which can continue to impact the autonomy of SGRMB over time.

Through the stories shared by participants, it was evident that the first generation faced several challenges immediately following their settlement as migrants or resettlement as refugees in New Zealand. They faced significant challenges accessing employment and housing. However, not having the support from family or a close network to which they had access back in their home country made settling in New Zealand difficult. Some participants, including Kathleen, Ezra, and Daisy, reported not having the means to get around, i.e., via private transport and not knowing how to use public transport. This was a barrier for their parents in terms of accessing medical and social support. Competency in the English language was also a critical factor influencing parental adaptation. Furthermore, the parents of participants were more likely to face discrimination, particularly if they had an accent when speaking English. While growing up in New Zealand meant that participants rarely had issues with native English fluency, participants who learnt from their parents how to adapt to the dominant culture and 'fit in' with the majority had greater success navigating their early careers.

Regarding parental adaptation, it was common for at least one parent to have assimilated into the dominant culture more so than the other parent, as it was rare for both parents to have adjusted to the same extent. Often, the mothers in the family were better at assimilating to New Zealand society. This was reflected in the stories of

participants such as Desmond, Ezra, and Kahlia. They were often more open to opportunities and actively sought to adapt their behaviours to fit in with what was required of their employment contexts and general society. In the case of this group of participants, only Alison's parents seemed to have both been able to adjust their expectations following many years in New Zealand to accept that the dominant culture will influence their daughters as their upbringing in New Zealand after their move from Malaysia. However, Alison has also acknowledged the cultural tensions between her parents and her elder sisters when they were younger, which has undeniably influenced how they have challenged their parent's pre-existing attitudes about culturally acceptable behaviour.

For example, Misha's parents exhibited contrasting behaviours on succeeding professionally in New Zealand. Growing up, Misha witnessed two key incidents that significantly impacted her family - how his father reacted to his first significant job loss and her mother stepping up from her role as a domestic housewife to become the breadwinner. When her father lost his job, it had a significant impact on his mental health. Misha's innocence as a child meant that she didn't realise the effect losing his job had on her father, a former refugee without fluent English-speaking skills, social networks, or a valued New Zealand qualification.

However, in stepping up to provide for the family, Misha's mother had to adapt. Misha recounts a story of her mother coming home one day with her hair cut short.

*My mother has traditionally long Sri Lankan hair. If it's not to your waist, you are a failure. So, what she did was she... she cut it. She cut it to this very like white lady modern day side part, shoulder length  
(Misha, Refugee Background)*

Her father was "gob-smacked" by the drastic changes her mother had made concerning her outward appearance to 'fit in' to her new place of work. Amongst these changes, Misha's mother also made a conscious effort to better her English language skills to the extent that she now speaks "perfect English" just like her, while her father still retains his "very thick accent." Her mother went on to teach Misha and her sibling

about the importance of assimilation for their success within a New Zealand workplace.

*She told me that in New Zealand, at the time she was going through it, what whoever you are, you need to assimilate, make yourself as white centric as possible. You need to make yourself as 'European' as possible. Don't get too dark, don't get too chubby. Make sure your hair is styled, your makeup is good and that you fit in with them. And I understand why she did that.*

This example highlights the effect of parental adaptation on the early career experiences of participants from second-generation refugee and migrant backgrounds. Those with parents who were able to adapt effectively were able to socialise their children from a young age on how to succeed in New Zealand society.

*"I think I only realised when I got older, that this this isn't normal, like European family and children. Somebody told me it's parentification. The boundaries between parent and child blurs somewhat, I felt somewhat uncomfortable when I read that! However, it has made me tougher. Being the product of my parents' choices has made me stronger (Misha, Refugee Background)"*

The parents of participants amongst the first generation were likely to depend more heavily on their children for support in relation to administration and arrangements within their refugee or migrant household. This often placed an additional layer of stress and burden on participants navigating their journeys through schools and universities, often without guidance from their parents. Examples of responsibilities would include translating documents from social services, interpreting for parents who were unable to speak English well at medical appointments and completing forms on behalf of family members.

*It's like you had to see it from your parent's point of view. There's no like coddling. [They would say] we don't speak English like we don't speak well. And you're going to school. You should be able to do these things. You know you're gonna have to step in for us and that might even be that financial, where like I'd have to show up (to work) in the holidays, etc... (Desmond, Migrant and Refugee Background)*

Misha and Desmond have spoken extensively about this and where they have had to take up these adult responsibilities on behalf of their parents, who have not had the confidence to do so themselves. Rachel spoke of having to interpret for her parents on

the odd occasion. In contrast, Kahlia spoke about stepping into the role of counsellor for her mother due to her parents' broken relationship. These participants have also had to perform these duties on top of their school commitments, suggesting the additional load associated with these responsibilities. While these responsibilities typically fall onto the shoulders of the eldest child within the family, such as Desmond and Kahlia's case, this is not always the case, as illustrated in the case of participants such as Rachel and Misha.

These experiences have also forced them to grow up quickly into young adults and thus become mature beyond their years. While it has instilled a sense of responsibility, independence, adaptability, and resilience in these participants, which a number of participants have attributed to the milestones they achieved in their early careers, these experiences have also hindered their development into adulthood. Conflicting cultural expectations and responsibilities have impacted participants' sense of self (identity development), self-esteem and understanding of how to set boundaries and assert themselves, which has been seen in the early career experiences of participants such as Rachel, Kahlia and Desmond. Even if participants didn't experience having to pick up these responsibilities, they were also forced to grow up more quickly than non-refugee or migrant backgrounds as a result of their exposure to trauma, deprivation and disadvantage directly related to their parents' migration experiences.

### Theme 5: Validating Own Achievement and Success

*We sometimes go and look at the people around us who are much older and go "why is that I am here and you are 10 years older than me?" Why are we in the same room or the same role? And I think that also impacts – it makes me think "have I cheated the system?" Am I deserving of this role or am I not? That internal battle as well but you are here because you worked hard and people saw what they saw in you and things like that (Baz, Refugee Background)*

The effects of parentification, where participants had to take up responsibility for their parents in relation to cultural brokering or family administration, have had consequences for the SGRMB, which have been two-fold in nature. While it has instilled in them the resilience, adaptability, and independence to navigate their early careers, having to take up responsibility from a younger age has hindered their identity

development, impacting their ability such as being able to validate their achievements.

Participants have shared stories of overcoming significant barriers to personal and professional success in their early careers. Participants have achieved major education and career milestones compared to their first-generation parents. Such achievements include attaining their tertiary qualifications and graduating from university. Even though their parents had some education, several participants in the second generation went on to become the first in their families to complete tertiary-level study, such as Baz, Xandra, Ezra, and Rachel. Following graduation, they accessed skilled employment, often for higher wages and better working conditions than their parents. This is an impressive achievement, considering how participants like Daisy and Kathleen have spoken about their parents working minimum-wage jobs and that they sometimes didn't even receive their minimum employment entitlements such as sick leave, annual leave, and employer contributions to KiwiSaver. Their educational qualifications ensured that the SGRMB were able to access financial and social security in their early careers with the opportunity for promotions and career development depending on how they worked. However, achieving career success has not come without self-doubt. Participants have often questioned their worth and belonging in specific professional spaces, grappling constantly with this sense of feeling like they don't belong in the areas they have worked incredibly hard to occupy. Participants often downplayed their successes, attributing them to luck rather than their hard work and merit. Some of the reasons include being brought up to be humble rather than to show excessive pride in their achievements.

The impact of being unable to validate their professional successes to date effectively has continued to fuel a sense of self-doubt and lack of confidence in participants as they navigate their early careers. This has often contributed to psychological stress, which they are not able to share with the parents as they were often unable to understand due to cultural and generational gaps. This inadequacy hindered some participants, such as Xandra, from seeking promotions and further progression. Participants also attributed this sense of inadequacy to a need for more cultural role models and representation in leadership within the workplace.

## Theme 6: Discrimination and Bias

*When you're five foot one, which I am and very skinny and dark-skinned with a very gregarious attitude, people don't know what to make of you. They don't know ... they look at you, and I can see it on your face. Which box do we put her in? Is she a quiet Indian girl? Is she bold and confident? Someone who wants to climb? Which one is she? (Misha, Refugee Background)*

Kahlia and Rachel spoke about instances where they have had assumptions made by their managers that were related to their ethnic backgrounds. In her first few years, Kahlia had a manager from a similar ethnic background (Asian) who assumed she was a 'hardworking, high achieving Asian' who would progress as quickly as her. She was an inexperienced manager, according to Kahlia, however, it also demonstrated the presence of in-group biases between members of the same race. In contrast, Rachel, who navigated her early career without having role models from similar ethnic backgrounds, recounted a story about how her former Pākeha manager apparently 'felt sorry' for Rachel because Rachel didn't have the same representation of ethnic women in leadership as her when Jacinda Ardern became Prime Minister. Having grown up in predominantly 'white' environments, Rachel was unfazed by the comment since she was used to being the minority and the 'only hardworking Asian in some places.' While her manager's intention was well-meaning, it did suggest that Rachel was racially different from her and reflected an unconscious bias she held about Rachel.

While earlier examples refer to instances of racial bias, participants also shared experiences of gendered bias that intersected with the other aspects of their identities as ethnically diverse SGRMB. Similar to Alison's experiences with hospital patients who were on the borderline of sexual harassment, Misha attests to the prevalence of sexist behaviour across most workplaces, particularly within the corporate world.

*I have to say this out loud. You know, you think it's a stereotype. It's not, it's very real. The continued and sustained sexual harassment (within these firms) is starting to tire me. You know, a normal person should... a normal man would get put on a suit to come to my firm and just get his work done. The appreciative stares, the never-ending comments on the female body, or "you're just looking really hot today", or, you know, suggestive comments on that are*

*whispers...you can't quite prove it, not just within the firm, for God's sake, from even my clients.*

The key point highlighted from the quote above is that these behaviours are often difficult to prove, thus making it difficult to evidence and for these issues to be effectively addressed within the workplace. The same can be said regarding racial remarks or microaggressions about cultural stereotypes that can be perceived to be offensive towards some individuals from minority groups, however normalised within the culture of some organisations by leadership, such as in the case of Kathleen's experiences in a toxic and hostile workplace culture. These incidents, especially the ones that are more serious in nature, have had detrimental impacts on the psychological well-being of individuals from SGRMB.

While individuals from non-SGRMB can experience discrimination, sexual harassment and bullying, these experiences can be exacerbated amongst ethnically diverse individuals from SGRMB due to intersections of race, gender, age and ethnicity. Furthermore, initially embarking on their early careers may mean participants have limited work experience and thus may be likely to be made a scapegoat in organisational politics, such as in Desmond's case.

Participants such as Xandra acknowledged the impact of stereotypes on her sense of identity. Due to her experiences in foster care, Xandra has never felt she was a typical second-generation New Zealander from a migrant background. Being raised in an environment that was so far apart from her own culture (for example, in a Western system of foster care) has made her feel as though her experience differs significantly from that of the stereotypical Asian that fits the 'model minority' stereotype of being overly smart and intelligent. While she is perceived in that way at work, those experiences have made her feel incredibly insecure about her identity as a second-generation New Zealander from a Chinese background. These experiences have affected her self-confidence and self-esteem, and she has openly spoken about how all this has held her back from applying for promotions or seeking leadership positions.

Participants such as Misha and Kathleen, both of South Asian descent, have spoken about their efforts to conform to the dominant culture as much as possible, whether this be speaking a particular way, straightening their hair as opposed to wearing their

natural curly hair out and dressing in a specific way that helps them fit in with the majority.

*But I think – that is where I say the minority in terms of people- and I see this when they go – oh but, do you know what you are talking about? There will be people who will second guess you and go to someone else. People go get a second opinion -and I am like – that is fine like that is all good. Is it because I am not senior enough? Maybe – or is it because I am not (Baz, Refugee Background)*

To counter unfair stereotypes and unwanted attention, participants have learned to adapt in a way not to stand out. This is also what Rachel calls one of the special advantages of being an SGRMB - having the natural ability to “code-switch and adapt’ across different cultural contexts where needed. Baz spoke about keeping conversations with colleagues, mainly about work and avoiding over-sharing information about his life and, in particular, his upbringing. Also, being so young and in such a senior role within his organisation, he is often challenged in terms of his knowledge and competence at work.

#### Theme 7: Pressures to Fit in and Relate to ‘Others’

*You get through the first stage of interviews. Everything's all good. You get asked the traditional questions, and then you get to the second stage, which is more personalised and informal. They ask...where are you from? You know, what are your family like? What are your hobbies? I get really uncomfortable with those questions because I don't have....You know I don't play sports or anything like that. I don't have these interesting hobbies. I just come home with my book. And watch TV (Kathleen, migrant background).*

Within the workplaces they have worked at across their career, participants have also often commented on their inability to relate to others. Key aspects come from the fact that they belong to a minority group and, therefore, had different life experiences growing up compared to their peers or colleagues.

*I look around the room when we have partnering meetings, and I can't relate to any of you because we don't come from the same background or have the same experiences. I think being a minority in this sense of when you look at those that ...like your peers – literally brown, male, the youngest, their upbringing – and I think a) you are a minority because you are brown but then you are not a minority because you a male. And then when you look at your lived*

*experiences, you are far different to everyone else. You can't relate. So therefore when you talk about things, to avoid oversharing, you will be talking about work.*

Baz describes this situation in great detail and speaks to the realities of being able to truly show up as one's self, questioning the relevance of such contexts when it can also perpetuate negative stereotypes or assumptions, which can then impact their reputation and performance at work.

Participants often highlight their unease around "small talk," water cooler conversations or questions they get asked during the interview stages of applying for a new role. While these questions are often well-intended in nature, participants have felt uncomfortable knowing that their hobbies and interests are very different from what is commonly spoken about in the workplace.

Daisy has reflected on the realities of trying to fit in within the spaces she has worked in, however, given the limited diversity within those organisations, she has often been one of the few employees from a diverse background. "Perhaps when I was a student teacher and initially and when I was looking for jobs, I felt I stood out because I was the only person of Chinese descent."

She also believes that how children are taught is not how the workplace is fostered.

*Teachers are obligated to be accepting of diversity and to foster and encourage that as in teaching but in the staff room, that is not always the case – its very much shaped by the manager and that is a very Western – very Pakeha way of doing things. For example, even team bonding exercises they do. It might be a dress up party or it might be like a ...some places there were talks about an overnight stay somewhere – some cultures may not feel comfortable with that. So there is like, those considerations that aren't openly discussed and there is not much curiosity about other cultures apart from the tokenistic – for example, Samoan Language Week, its Te Reo Māori Language Week... what about the deeper things that make up the culture – its more than a week, its more than that. That is what I have observed.*

These observations speak to the disconnect participants believe exists in terms of diversity and inclusion within organisations. While there is diversity, participants believe there is a lack of awareness around the conditions that make an organisation

truly inclusive so that individuals from different demographics feel comfortable bringing themselves to work without having to mask their identities.

*So it's interesting that when I started my first job, I talked to our chief at the time about diversity. I said there is no diversity in HR, and that 'we'll change that' and I think she got offended by it. The thing is, we talk about diversity but it's usually one lens – we talk about one layer e.g. women in leadership etc. And what about people from different backgrounds who have missed out? Just because you are male, doesn't mean you have the same privileges. White male privilege does not apply to everyone else. Just because you are male doesn't mean ... you know as a brown male, it's very different the challenges I face. We talked about the cultural barriers – those are challenges I face. Now, a white female may not face the same challenges I do, nor do I face the same challenges I do as them. But there are challenges and I don't think we should be – we are creating minorities again (Baz, Refugee Background).*

Therefore, a notable factor contributing to participants' feelings of being unable to relate to others within the workplace stems from a lack of awareness of cultural differences that impact power and privilege.

### 4.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined the key findings from the ten participants' stories about the influence of upbringing and culture on early career choices and pathways, along with the impact of these factors on their early career experiences as SGRMB. The first section provided the background context for participant experiences through interpretative stories, which summarised their early career stories. The second section thematically analysed the key themes emerging from the study to reveal the influence of family, education and socio-economic status on these participants' early career choices and pathways. The findings have highlighted the impact parental adaptation following migration may have in terms of impacting the experiences of the SGRMB, along with uncovering an unexpected finding around challenges with negotiating social and cultural identity within the workplaces and the systemic barriers that may complicate these dynamics.

## Chapter 5 Discussion

This thesis explores the influence and impact of upbringing and culture on the early career choices, pathways and experiences of second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds in New Zealand. The findings and insights drawn from this current study will contribute the early career experiences of SGRMB and, more specifically, to the New Zealand context. While the previous chapter documents the findings from the stories shared by the ten participants, this chapter will build on findings by drawing on theory and relevant literature to discuss several factors such as upbringing and culture for their implications on second-generation individuals, their careers and organisations.

This discussion chapter first recaps the main findings from the previous chapter. Secondly, it will discuss the intersecting influences of upbringing and culture on the early career choices of SGRMB followed by the impacts on their early career experiences. Finally, there is a discussion on the implications as mentioned above. Table 5.1 illustrates the sample of research participants recruited as part of this study. These demographic details were collected as part of the interview process. Family migration status was identified to confirm their eligibility as research participants. Additionally, age, ethnicity, degree qualifications and position in the family were collected to help provide context for the data analysis. Full permission was given by each participant to use the information depicted in the table.

Table 5.1 Participant Summary and Demographic Information

Name	Age	Gender	Family Migration Status	Ethnicity	Current Role	Qualifications	Position in family	Parents' highest education
Misha	26	Female	Refugee background	Sri-Lankan-Indian	Accountant	Health Science Professional Accounting	Youngest	Diploma (father)
Kahlia	25	Female	Migrant Background	Indonesian	Design Lead	Design	Eldest	PhD (mother)
Rachel	26	Female	Refugee background	Cambodian Vietnamese Chinese	Customer Services Manager	Business	Middle	Unknown
Desmond	29	Male	Refugee background	Vietnamese- Chinese	Business Owner	Engineering	Only Child	High School
Baz	27	Male	Refugee background	Afghani	HR Business Partner	HR/Employment Relations	Youngest	Unknown
Daisy	30	Female	Migrant Background	Hong Kong Chinese	Teacher	Psychology Education	Youngest	Bachelors Degree
Ezra	40	Male	Migrant Background	Tongan	Entrepreneur	Business Management	Middle	Diploma (father)
Kathleen	28	Female	Migrant Background	Indian	Public Health Investigator	Health Sciences	Eldest	Bachelors Degree (father)
Alison	27	Female	Migrant Background	Malaysian-Iban Chinese	Nurse	Nursing Degree	Youngest	Bachelors Degree (mother)
Xandra	29	Female	Migrant Background	Chinese	Counsellor	Health Sciences/ Counselling	Middle	Unknown

As shown in Table 5.1 above, the participants' ages ranged from the mid-20s to mid-40s. There are four participants from refugee backgrounds and six from migrant backgrounds. However, there is one instance where the participant has one parent from a refugee background and another from a migrant background. There were more female participants in this sample (n=7) than males (n=3). Details on the position of participants in their families were noted to support analysis and better understand the impact of migration and resettlement on the second generation. Participants from this sample are predominantly among the youngest and middle children of their families.

This study captures the participants' early career background and experiences from secondary school, tertiary study, and at least five years of employment. Nine out of ten participants reflected on their early career experiences within the first five years since completing a tertiary qualification. One participant, however, was in a different career stage. Although this participant started university after high school, the participant had worked for some time before returning to university to complete their qualifications as a mature student. Whilst this was a different pathway taken to others, this participant reflected on their early career with the benefit of time and maturity, acknowledging their upbringing and culture's impact on shaping their career to date.

### **5.1 The Intersecting Influences of Family, and Cultural Expectations and Socio-Economic Challenges on Early Career Choices and Pathways**

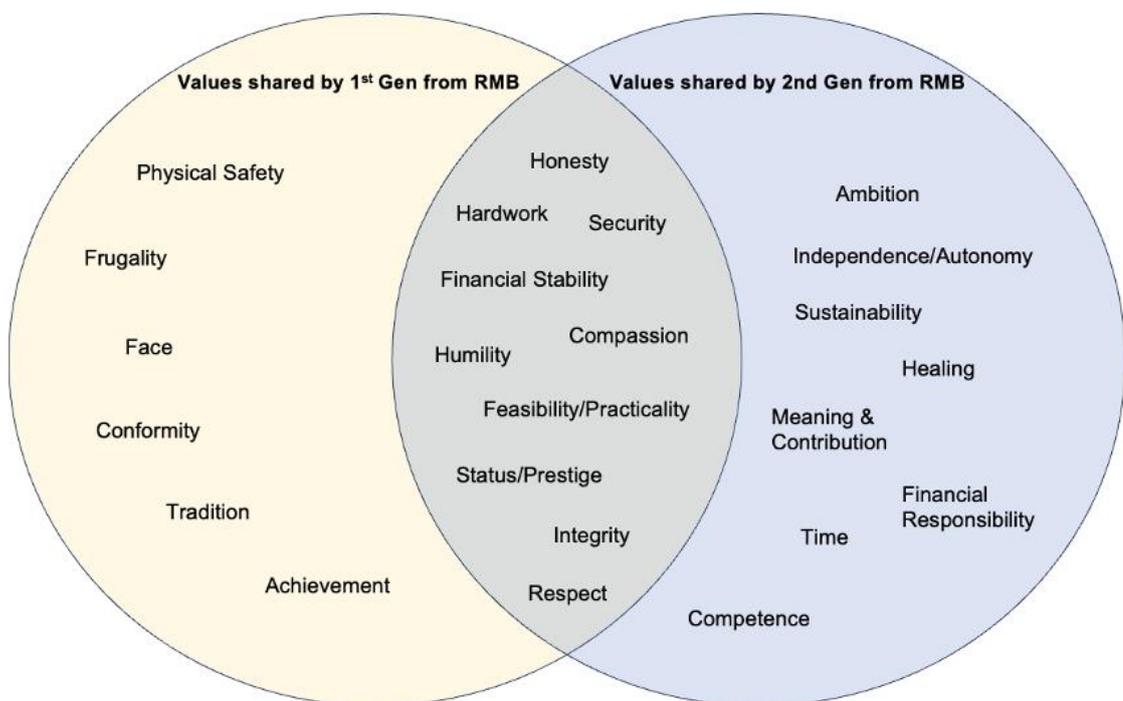
The key themes to emerge highlight the intersecting influences of family (family influence), socio-cultural factors (importance of education instilled by parents of SGRMB) and socio-economic factors (social and material disadvantage) on the early career choices and pathways of individuals from SGRMB. However, the most significant influence is the degree of parental adaptation, which has the most significant effect on the early career experiences of the participants from SGRMB. In combination with one another, these factors cumulatively impact the early careers of SGRMB in terms of shaping outcomes such as the early career pathways they pursue and their ability to navigate cultural complexities within the workplace.

Central to exploring how upbringing and culture influence the early career experiences of SGRMB is an understanding of how values shape an individual's social identity and

worldview. An understanding of how values held by the first-generation parents of participants continue to shape their experiences in the ongoing process of acculturation is necessary to acknowledge the challenges experienced by the second generation. Further to this, the unique intersection of socio-cultural contexts following their migration along with their socio-economic circumstances within New Zealand has shaped the values of both generations over time. This is similar to how Wang and Morav (2021) discussed how values, in particular work values, are acquired through the process of cultural socialisation from one generation to the next and can also be shaped by the different work individuals in each generation engage in and their socio-economic circumstances. On top of socio-economic circumstances, there can be ethnic or cultural differences in work values depending on parental countries of origin, which can shape what each individual values in terms of work (Parboteeah et al., 2013).

Figure 5.1 below highlights the values shared by both first and second-generation migrants and refugees as presented from the participants' perspectives through the original stories they shared.

*Figure 5.1 Values shared by each generation from participant stories*



The values captured in this diagram (Figure 5.1) represent the values shared by the first and second generations from the perspective of the participants. The values within the left circle represent the participant's perspectives of the values held by the first generation. The second circle on the right reflects the participants' values that influenced how they navigated their early careers. The overlap within the Venn diagram captures the values shared between generations, often influenced by the first generation in how they have brought up the second generation to value physical and financial security and conformity. These findings are similarly reinforced by the findings of Wang and Morav (2021), who found from their sample that the second generation from ethnic minority backgrounds in the UK often held a blend of intrinsic and extrinsic work values that was influenced by their first-generation parent (extrinsic) and the peers from non-second generation immigrant backgrounds (intrinsic).

In contrast, the values held by the SGRMB reflect a higher level of aspiration beyond the basic needs of financial and physical security, which the SGRMB appreciate from the sacrifices of their refugee and migrant parents and having grown up in a developed country such as New Zealand. This relates to motivational theory, specifically Maslow's (1987) Hierarchy of Needs framework, which suggests that individuals will only be motivated towards other needs once their basic needs are met. As per classic assimilation theory, the SGRMB attain better socio-economic outcomes than the first generation due to their cultural socialisation within their parents' country of resettlement (or settlement) and local educational attainments (Wang & Morav, 2021).

The diagram (Figure 5.1) does not suggest that each generation's values are mutually exclusive. While it fails to accurately capture how these values may change over time in the acculturation process following the migration experiences of the first generation, it does capture how those of their first-generation parents have influenced the work or career values of the SGRMB. When participants were younger and beginning their early career development journey they were influenced by values on the left. However, over time, values on the right side of the venn diagram were embraced as they gained greater ownership over their early careers, shifting to being consciously aware of socio-cultural expectations that may have held them back from

reaching their potential. The values the SGRMB adopt from their acculturation process within the work context can emerge in the second circle of the Venn diagram. The values in the centre also represent the values shared between both generations.

Given that these values are often a combination of influences between parental country of origin and country of resettlement, values can conflict with one another and create tensions for the SGRMB as they navigate their early career. Examples of conflicting values, as reflected in the stories of participants, are valuing the importance of a traditional career pathway, such as in medicine or engineering. These are practical options that offer greater security over non-traditional career pathways such as the arts or design, which may align closer with personal interests and, therefore, be more meaningful. Though there is recognition of cultural and generational differences in work or career-related values (Wang & Morav, 2021) the impact of these values differences has not been examined in detail.

Participant's stories and thematic analysis revealed that participants' parents, directly and indirectly, influenced the early career choices and pathways of participants. More than half of this study's participants shared stories about parents who were very involved or moderately involved in their early career development; fewer had little parental involvement in their early career choices and pathways. Parental involvement in shaping careers began from as early as childhood with great emphasis placed on education especially amongst individuals who spent some aspect of their childhood educated overseas in their parents' home countries where getting good schools was necessary to enter particular career or vocational pathways. The involvement and influence of family members were also evident from secondary school onwards around subject choices and pathways for further studies. These findings align with previous studies which suggest that those from collectivist cultural backgrounds hold the perspectives of family members, acquaintances and relatives about possible career choices and pathways in high regard (Akosah-Twumasi et al., 2021; Fouad et al., 2008; Hui & Lent, 2018).

Within collectivist cultures, identity is closely associated with one's family. Therefore, children have an obligation to achieve success, usually by conforming to family and cultural expectations to avoid bringing shame to the family (Choudhuri & Stebnicki,

2015). Five of the participants from this study spoke about feeling obliged and determined to 'do as expected' in choosing their early careers based on their parent's expectations. They decided to stick to these pathways as they were perceived as the pathway to success. If they were to deviate from these cultural expectations, they would be seen as disrespecting their parents and their well-intentioned advice. The rest of the participants carried indirect obligations through self-imposed expectations influenced strongly by their parents' migration experiences, socioeconomic circumstances and cultural expectations imparted to them. These findings are supported by Aboud-Halabi and Shamai (2016), who assert that parents play a key role in shaping their children's collective identity and can convey lessons through verbal and non-verbal communication. Due to these cultural expectations, participants from SGRMB often reluctantly followed parental expectations into educational pathways that led towards traditional careers, even if it went against their interests.

Moreover, no matter how much participants did not wish to follow the paths set out by their parents, the majority felt they could not immediately challenge these expectations due to a fear of disappointing their parents and, therefore, failure. Participants would persist down the pathways their parents expected of them, and only when those pathways did not work out would they pivot into a different pathway. This was seen in four participants who experienced strong parental expectations and transitioned into different pathways without letting their parents know until they had successfully pivoted into a new study or career pathway. These findings indicate that there is a mismatch of parent-child expectations during the early career context, which can place great pressure on individuals and can be a source of career indecisiveness and conflict (Zhang et al., 2022; Saka & Gati, 2007; Kantamneni et al., 2016). This also illustrates the pressures SGRMB faces regarding balancing parental expectations (direct) and cultural expectations (indirect) along with their interests and aspirations. However, the latter is usually an aspect they forgo at the initial stages of their early career to conform to social and cultural expectations. One of the implications is that individuals end up getting into career pathways that do not align with their values or interests. This is echoed in the research of Belfi et al. (2022), who found that individuals from migrant backgrounds were more likely to experience career dissatisfaction than those from the dominant group or ethnic majority.

Another cultural expectation is that the second generation will reciprocate their parents' sacrifices and care for them in old age, demonstrating the intergenerational obligations of many of those belonging to migrant and refugee families (Albertini et al., 2019). Some participants spoke about aging parents and the predicaments they faced when considering their parents' needs in their early career decisions, ensuring they pursued roles that would offer them financial stability and enable them to support and care for their parents when they were older. These family obligations are closely linked to filial piety (Ho, 1996). Among its other forms, communalism and familism comprise the cultural dimension of collectivism (Schwartz, 2012; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Filial piety emerged directly and indirectly through the participants' stories as they reflected on their duties as children of former refugees and migrants and how they needed to factor their parents' needs into their career decisions.

Acculturation has a significant part to play in terms of shaping collectivist influences of filial or family obligations amongst those from refugee and migrant backgrounds. As exemplified by the experiences of both the first and second generation from refugee and migrant backgrounds in this research, adapting towards individualistic values is necessary for success in the country of resettlement (Olanrewaju, 2021). Due to this process, former refugees and migrants who belong to the first generation hold these values more loosely, suggesting that they may not necessarily expect their children to care for them when they are older. This is echoed in the research of Yeh et al. (2013), who found that expectations of filial piety may differ from family to family depending on how much the first generation has adjusted to more individualistic societal norms of their new host country (parental adaptation). These expectations to reciprocate and provide for their parents once they are older may reflect more embedded expectations individuals from SGRMB have regarding giving back to their parents. They acquired these values through cultural socialisation in their family settings and their experiences growing up as children of former refugees and migrants.

These expectations held by SGRMB individuals also reflect the gratitude and indebtedness of participants towards their first-generation parents and their desire to compensate for their parents' sacrifices to give them a better life in New Zealand through their personal and professional achievements. These findings suggest that values of filial piety or a sense of indebtedness amongst the SGRMB in New Zealand

are consistent with those of second-generation Korean Americans from migrant backgrounds in America (Kang, 2010; Kang & Raffaelli, 2016) and second-generation individuals from ethnically diverse backgrounds within Switzerland (Pfammatter & Schwarz, 2022). While the cultural expectation around filial piety is evolving and becoming less strongly adhered to due to the process of migration (Yeh et al., 2013), values behind the significance of this cultural phenomenon will continue to be implicitly embedded within the identity of many second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds. Therefore, it is critical to understand how acculturation may continue to impact the SGRMB participants' early career choices, pathways, and experiences.

Findings from this study show that the family setting to be one of the most factors in early career decision making. This is consistent with literature reviewed such as by Lustig and Xu (2018), Whiston and Keller (2004) as well as Dryler (1998), which has argued that that the family setting is the most important as the family environment facilitates learning and socialisation of cultural values, expectations, attitudes, and beliefs from one generation to another. Moreover, collectivist cultural differences interwoven within the family context explain why family involvement in early career choices and pathways of individuals from SGRMB is considerable compared to New Zealand-born individuals from non-SGRMB. The stories shared by participants also reveal the pressures they experienced throughout their early careers, balancing dual expectations shaped by intersecting individualist and collectivist values from New Zealand society and their respective cultures of origin. This contributes to the existing knowledge on SGRMB and captures the complexity of their lived experiences as descendants of former refugees and migrants navigating multi-cultural contexts. These findings suggests that not only do collectivist cultural differences create challenges during the early careers of SGRMB, but the intersection of these social and cultural expectations associated with their identities as individuals from SGRMB can complicate these early career decision-making processes. Such situations can lead to conflicts and tensions between their parents and themselves, often due to generational and cultural differences. This is because what the SGRMB wish to pursue in terms of a career can sometimes contradict their elders' advice or expectations, ensuring they follow viable pathways that lead to stability.

Material and social deprivation was a common experience for all participants. As descendants of former refugees and migrants to New Zealand, participants grew up witnessing the cultural challenges of navigating life in a foreign country without networks or support from extended family. The SGRMB often belong to lower socio-economic communities (Alba & Holdaway, 2013), and their parents are over-represented in low-skilled, lower-paying manual labour professions due to a lack of recognised educational qualifications and labour market discrimination (Tibajev, 2022; Kingston et al., 2015).

Participants recounted stories of witnessing their parents struggling financially with putting food on the table, employment and the experiences of job loss, exploitation and working long hours in low-skilled, low-paying work in order to provide for their families. While the experience of socioeconomic struggles is not unique to those from refugee and migrant backgrounds, migration can contribute to downward mobility for both refugees and migration, resulting from a loss of status (Gans, 2009). Furthermore, witnessing these challenges and experiencing the consequences has also shaped the worldviews of the SGRMB to appreciate where they have come from, along with the hardships they have indirectly endured as children of former refugees and migrants from ethnically diverse countries of origin. Most importantly, these socio-economic challenges have motivated the SGRMB towards upward mobility with their career goals and aspirations part of this leading to potential conflict with their parents as a result of differences in values shared between the generations (see Figure 5.1). Former migrants from ethnically diverse backgrounds experience significant challenges at migration, such as downward mobility and the loss of their cultural identity, social networks and status (Bhugra, 2005). Arguably, those from refugee backgrounds experience greater disadvantages following the experiences of having to flee their countries of origin abruptly due to political or climate reasons threatening their safety. This corresponded with the stories of participants whose parents were former refugees.

Kang et al. (2010) assert that individuals from the SGRMB who perceived their parents had made greater sacrifices to allow them a better quality of life and felt more indebted towards their parents than those who had not. The experience of socio-economic challenges directly due to family migration also contributes to the feeling of

indebtedness by the SGRMB, as highlighted earlier in the previous section. This suggests that family socio-economic contexts also influence this sense of indebtedness as experienced by the SGRMB they are brought up in. Such indebtedness was as much derived from the socio-economic household context as it was from the cultural values individuals hold, such as filial piety or obligation, which is similarly discussed in studies by Pfammatter and Schwarz (2022). Further to this, participants who identified as being from refugee backgrounds, such as Baz, Misha, Rachel and Desmond, spoke more greatly about the sense of indebtedness they felt towards their former refugee parents and how it influenced their drive and determination to succeed personally and professionally.

The parents of participants who arrived in New Zealand as refugees experienced greater hardships, often having arrived in New Zealand with little to no financial capital, only basic language skills and little or no recognised qualifications. These challenges contributed to them continuing to experience structural challenges over time. Participants recounted traumatic stories of their parents fleeing from war and conflict. Knowing that their parents' sacrifices have guaranteed participants from second-generation refugee backgrounds physical security has perhaps contributed the greatest to participants' sense of indebtedness towards their first-generation parents. Kang and Raffaelli (2016) also identified gendered differences in experiences of indebtedness amongst the second generation and those females often felt more indebted towards their parents. It is difficult to identify whether this is also the case within this study due to the limited sample size and one where there is a larger proportion of female participants than male participants. Therefore, further research will need to be conducted to explore the construct of indebtedness within the New Zealand context and how it influences the early career choices, pathways and experiences of SGRMB.

While participants from this study looked up to parents and other immediate family members for inspiration towards their early career choices and pathways, a few participants felt they were unable to engage in constructive conversations on the topic of their early careers due to the immense pressures their family placed on them to pursue traditional pathways. However, this was also due to parents' limited knowledge about the labour market. These findings partially contradict those of Stebleton (2007)

and Abkhezr and McMahon (2017), who found that those former refugees and migrants were likely to base their career choices on the viewpoints of family and others within their communities.

Family members have often tried their best to guide and support their children towards their early career choices and pathways. Their knowledge has often been based on traditional and cultural experiences drawn from their pre-migration frames of reference. Koçak et al. (2021) also suggest that the level of parental education can influence the ability of parents to provide career-related guidance for their children based on their knowledge and experience of career pathways, professions and the labour market.

Although parents have been unable to provide practical support towards the early career development of their children, they have been influential toward the SGRMB early careers in other ways. Their influence can be seen in role-modelling behaviours such as a strong work ethic, grit, resilience and perseverance, which have helped participants through their early careers. This is significant as starting one's career can be stressful for individuals regardless of their background or career pathways (O'Brien, 2016; Wilke et al., 2020; Hepburn et al., 2021).

## 5.2 Second-Generation Pursuit of Higher Education

Regardless of whichever career pathway individuals pursued, education was essential to provide the knowledge and skills to navigate life and a career in New Zealand. Their parents' experiences facing structural employment barriers and attaining financial security influenced these expectations early in life. This was the case despite varied educational success by parents. Structural barriers such as institutional racism, discrimination and prejudice often pushed the parents of the SGRMB into manual labour or low-skilled jobs requiring little to no qualifications. Due to the employment opportunities the SGRMB have missed due to a lack of relevant qualifications, the first generations have placed significant importance on the value of quality educational outcomes for SGRMB.

Individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds see education as one of the most important ways for their children to achieve upward mobility (Bloch & Hirsch, 2017).

Education can be an important economic investment, and the first generation often believed it can help SGRMB overcome the institutionalised biases that prevent the first generation from accessing skilled employment (Huang, 2021). Studies existing studies have identified the importance of education shared by first-generation migrants and refugees (Saw et al., 2013; Yoon et al., 2017), suggesting that the parents (first generation) would encourage their children down educational pathways to gain the skills and knowledge that would equip them for life. For those from refugee backgrounds who were not able to be well-educated, education was seen as a restitutive opportunity for the SGRMB to take up opportunities that were not available to their parents. If successful, they will achieve the aspiration of achieving intergenerational mobility (Bloch & Hirsch, 2017). Furthermore, as highlighted by Misha, pathways not requiring university qualifications were commonly perceived as less favourable or reliable career pathways. These pathways would not always enable individuals with refugee and migrant backgrounds to enter professional careers without established parental social networks and limited social capital.

Stories shared by participants have shown that several participants became the first in their families to further their education to tertiary level. These educational achievements exemplify the SGRMB's ability to achieve outcomes despite structural barriers. These findings differ from existing research, which tends to include participants without tertiary qualifications. Existing research also typically claims that children of ethnically diverse refugees and migrants are more likely to experience negative educational outcomes due to cultural and socio-economic disadvantages derived from their family migration backgrounds (Gabrielli & Impicciatore, 2022; Heath & Brinbaum, 2014; Alba & Holdaway, 2013). For example, lower family socio-economic status may place them in lower decile schools within New Zealand and lack of capital (social, financial and cultural) amongst their parents to support them through their schooling. However, most participants in this study achieved successful educational outcomes including through to tertiary level, which have supported them in achieving successful outcomes in their early career contexts. Such findings are aligned with those of Engzell (2019), who found that individuals from migrant backgrounds, in other instances, outperformed individuals from non-migrant backgrounds within the educational context.

Interestingly, most parents of the SGRMB in this study did attain a level of education for themselves, however this is not likely to be entirely representative of the population from first-generation refugee and migrant backgrounds. Historically, this also may differ by ethnic groups where particular groups of former refugees, such as from Southeast Asia or parts of Africa, have had their access to education disrupted due to the impacts of civil war, famine or genocide (Ramakrishnan & Ahmad, 2014). Therefore, assumptions that the first generation from refugee backgrounds are always worse off than individuals from migrant backgrounds regarding educational experience may not always be accurate due to personal or contextual reasons. The main difference between the generations is that the SGRMB typically have greater opportunities than their parents to pursue a career aligned with their qualifications.

Participants believed education was necessary for better employment opportunities, often dismissing alternative pathways to entering particular careers without relevant qualifications. Several participants completed new qualifications or postgraduate studies before pivoting into different roles, suggesting the value individuals from SGRMB place on education to get into jobs. While a focus on a wide range of educational outcomes of individuals from SGRMB is beyond the scope of this study, values held by each generation around the importance of education and the SGRMB's educational experiences themselves, have been a key aspect influencing the early career pathways and experiences of this group.

### 5.3 The Effects of Parental Adaptation and Parentification

The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) (see Figure 5.2) by Bennett (2014) can be used to understand the different experiences of parental adaptation that can impact the SGRMB well into their early career experiences. Individuals who can recognise the cultural differences between their own cultural contexts and those they come in contact with often have a level of cultural awareness that allows them to adapt and integrate effectively into their new cultural context (Bennett, 1986). This concept is captured in the DMIS Scale below which presents the experience of cross-cultural adaptation as a continuum with ethnocentrism (centering reality based on own of culture of origin) on the left moving towards ethnorelativism (acknowledging there can be multiple realities based on different cultural values

systems) on the right (Bennett, 2004). This ability to adapt across cultural contexts may also depend on various factors for refugees and migrants. However, Jasemi and Gottardo (2023) have found that those with good proficiency in the English language were likely to have more positive acculturation experiences for first-generation refugees and migrants.

*Figure 5.2 Experience of Difference based on Bennet's (1986) Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity*



*Note.* This presents the different experiences of cross cultural differences as a continuum based on Bennet's (1986) Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Bennet, 2014).

For the participants, the degree of parental adaptation had significant implications for their early career choices and pathways. As highlighted earlier, participants who had parents who were highly educated or who had adjusted their expectations away from traditional and cultural values based on their pre-migration contexts to align with the New Zealand values, attitudes and beliefs were more likely to place less pressure on their adult children's career development. Thus, when parents had achieved a level of acculturation to become more understanding of the nuances of New Zealand's Individualist culture, they were more likely to respect individual autonomy and be less concerned about status. However, they would still emphasise financial stability where possible. Referring back to Zhang et al's (2002) concept concerning parent-child career expectations, it was found in this study of SGRMB that values, attitudes and expectations are more likely to be aligned, thus creating less friction, indecision and conflict.

For participants with parents who had trouble acculturating to New Zealand, the responsibility to carry out specific tasks often fell on the second generation as their parents did not have the appropriate cultural understanding and language skills. Having grown up in New Zealand, participants better understood societal norms and individualist values. They were often fluent in English as well. This is supported by the fact that SGRMB are more likely to acculturate at a greater pace than their parents, thus contributing to an acculturation gap and, consequently, acculturative stress (Hasanović et al., 2020). As a result, their parents would expect them to take on the 'admin' for the family above the expected skill level or maturity of children. These duties often involve being an interpreter or translator. Role reversal leads to a unique experience called parentification when children assume roles as the 'parent' or 'adult' to support the family by accessing basic needs (Earley & Cushway, 2002). While the experience of parentification is not specific to the experiences of immigrant children, the context that leads SGRMB children to be parentified is often directly related to the migration context. This is often when the first generation must rely on their children to complete certain tasks they are not able to due to their lack of language and cultural competencies within the country of resettlement (Cheng, 2012). This co-dependence creates significant pressures on the second generation, as well as cultural tensions as they negotiate various cultural and social expectations from their family on top of their own experiences of acculturation (Hooper, 2011). Therefore, the level of parental adaptation amongst individuals from a refugee and migrant background can either impact their professional working lives in a positive or negative way.

Participants reflected on the nature of some of these dynamics and how it impacted them. This experience was often a source of undue pressure and trauma for the participants, especially when they were very young. Participants grew up thinking this was standard practice and what all children were expected to do, not realising that this was not common. Research on parentification suggests that it is not always unique to the children of refugees and migrants. However, it is more prevalent for SGRMB, especially if they are needed to take on caregiving duties or other adult responsibilities on behalf of parents who are not able to (Hooper et al., 2011; Titzmann, 2012).

Based on the participants' stories, it was not always the eldest child in the family who experienced parentification. While it was the eldest child in most cases who had to

take over these duties on behalf of their parents, sometimes the youngest took over, such as in the case of Misha. Existing research has predominantly concluded that the eldest child within a refugee or migrant background family often takes over this responsibility as other siblings may typically be too young (Bah, 2023; Weisskirch, 2017). However, Cheng (2012) asserts that it is often the child who is perceived as the most competent or whoever is seen to be most capable of handling the family's affairs who would be parentified.

Many participants reported experiencing issues with their self-confidence and self-esteem early in their careers, along with challenges asserting themselves and setting boundaries within the workplace. Although participants have not attributed these challenges to the effects of parentification, past research has suggested that parentification can negatively impact individuals in the long term by causing anxiety (Earley & Cushway, 2002), depression (Burton et al., 2018), trauma (Schorr & Goldner, 2023), physical ailments (Mechling, 2011) and also impacting identity development (Watkins, 2006). Parentification has also been found to contribute to behavioural issues that may hinder individual outcomes, such as in education (Engelhardt, 2012).

While there has been an acknowledgement of upbringing within a refugee or migrant background household having a negative impact on the psychological well-being of participants, there have been several positive outcomes that have come out of these experiences for SGRMB, which have included resilience, adaptability, empathy and cultural competence that is consistent with recent research (van der Mijl & Vingerhoets, 2017). Furthermore, a criticism of literature exploring parentification from a Western lens is that it has primarily focused on the idea that taking on responsibility for the family is perceived as a negative rather than acknowledging the complexities of this and how it may be an important aspect of fulfilling family obligations in many collectivist cultures (Garcia, 2023). Participants within this study experienced parentification to varying extents and arguably could include those who grew up with little parental presence (due to their parents financial/work commitments or lack of cultural awareness) therefore having to practice independence at a young age.

While participants reflected on the fact that this meant they had to mature more quickly than other non-SGRMB children, they were well aware of the positive consequences their upbringing as children of former refugees and migrants enabled them (strong work ethic, adaptability, cultural competence and independence etc). Participants were also self-aware and conscious of the negative impact on parentification on themselves as young adults which has contributed to their inclinations to be conflict avoidant, hyper-independent and unable to effectively set boundaries or expectations with others within the workplace.

#### 5.4 Impacts of Identity, Upbringing and Culture on Early Career Experiences

Participants in this study have been successful in their career development during their early to mid-career years despite the systemic disadvantage associated with being descendants of former refugees and migrants. SGRMB have achieved significant milestones such as attaining higher level tertiary qualifications, which have helped them secure well-respected roles within various industries across finance, health care, education and technology. Some participants have attained management roles in their respective career trajectories less than ten years following graduation. In contrast, some participants have moved into the entrepreneurial space and become owners of their own businesses. Whilst these educational outcomes have supported participants in their early career pathways, their academic success has yet to necessarily help them navigate their early career context to the challenges they faced concerning institutional or systemic biases.

It was difficult to gauge how proud the participants' parents were of their SGRMB children and their early career milestones, as the stories shared by participants were told only from their perspective. Migration and refugee-related trauma experienced by the first generation presented intergenerational trauma affecting relationships between the generations and impacting their ability to maintain constructive parent-child relationships based on vulnerability and openness. In addition, several participants spoke of having challenging relationships with their parents, particularly with their fathers. This, combined with cultural differences in emotional expressions,

has prevented open communication and expressions of pride from the first generation towards the SGRMB.

Research exploring the early careers of the SGRMB has often focused on employment outcomes, measured quantitatively by employment status, employment type and salary information, as opposed to the early career experiences of the SGRMB (Belfi et al., 2022; Zwysen & Longhi, 2018). Research that explored the cross-cultural nature of early career experiences amongst SGRMB was often concentrated within the Asian-American context (Yoon et al., 2017; Huang, 2021). These findings, however, support the assumption that the second generation from refugee and migrant backgrounds attain better employment and education outcomes when compared to the previous generation due to their acculturative experiences growing up in the country of parents' resettlement (Muñoz-Comet & Arcarons, 2022). It is important to acknowledge again that a limitation of this thesis study is that it has focused on the experiences of participants from SGRMB who are tertiary qualified, thus meaning they already have higher educational outcomes to begin with. The studies of Belfi et al. (2022) and Zwysen and Longhi (2018) claim that both generations are just as likely to face similar challenges with employment at the beginning of their careers, while the employment outcomes of SGRMB were likely to show significant improvement over time. Findings from this study suggest that this is likely to be the cultural and social capital SGRMB have accrued over time, which they can utilise to navigate their career pathways.

The achievements and successes attained by the SGRMB are often relative in comparison to the experiences of their first-generation former refugee and migrant parents who have had little choice around their pathways. Cultural expectations their parents have instilled in them, often through strict parenting styles, along with their resilience, grit, work ethic and adaptability, have allowed them to succeed in their early careers. Even though SGRMB have attained success, this has also come at the cost of their well-being, and their accomplishments may not fulfil them as they have been chasing external validation from their parents, community and society. These sentiments are reflected in the participant's ongoing commitment to finding intrinsic meaning and purpose in their careers, beyond validation from these external sources.

Participants spoke about having trouble themselves in validating their successes and recognising their professional accolades. This is despite those achievements reflecting their work ethic, determination, and drive, enabling them to reach those outcomes. While some participants attributed this to the values they were instilled with growing up, such as humility, others also related this to a lack of cultural or ethnic representation in the career pathways they pursued. Karunanayake and Nauta (2004) have explored the impact of career role models based on gender and race and have suggested that a lack of racially diverse role models can disadvantage individuals from minority groups. Poon (2014) found that there is often a lack of ethnically diverse career role models within non-traditional pathways such as human resources management, technology and design, which may also prevent individuals from minority backgrounds from getting into those pathways in the first place, as they fail to see someone that looks like them in those careers.

Struggles with validating achievement are also likened to the concept of 'imposter syndrome.' While the experience of imposter syndrome can be applied to various demographic groups within the general population, several studies have explored the experience of imposter syndrome within ethnic minorities (Petee et al., 2015; Heslop, 2023). In addition to this concept of imposter syndrome, which Edwards (2019) summarises as the feeling of not belonging within a workplace, there is the concept of "stereotype threat", being the idea that some individuals belonging to a minority group must "prove that they belong" (Grimes, 2019, p.108) which they do so by masking themselves to fit in with the dominant culture to be socially accepted. Reflections drawn by participants such as Baz, Kathleen and Misha in this study also highlighted the specific actions they took to avoid standing out or to enable others in their workplace to judge them negatively, such as straightening their naturally curly hair in order to look more 'professional' or avoid oversharing details about their low socio-economic refugee or migrant upbringing to avoid unnecessary stereotypes and negative judgement within the workplace. Reasons for hiding personal details of their upbringing were that Western workplaces often did not welcome individuals with diverse upbringings, which would further perpetuate feelings of being different amongst individuals from SGRMB (Huang, 2021).

Earlier discussions around imposter syndrome and the stereotype threat suggest that workplace unconscious biases exist and are experienced by most participants. In addition to this, the experiences participants have suggested that workplaces are, in fact, 'white-centred'. White-centering is defined by Gassam Asare (2023) as the "actions and behaviours that prioritise, uplift, amplify and venerate white people and the dominant white culture above other cultures and communities (p.3)."

While the last section has highlighted the ways participants have tried to make themselves fit in within their workplaces to avoid negative stereotypes, unfortunately, ethnicity-related discrimination, prejudice and bias are aspects that SGRMB are unable to avoid. It more commonly appears in the form of racial microaggressions as part of everyday conversations or casual banter, making it difficult to identify when it becomes inappropriate. Although participants lived in New Zealand for the majority and some all their lives, they reported experiencing microaggressions and discrimination based on their ethnic differences within the workplace, even though held qualifications that were attained from a New Zealand university and spoke fluent English. While some participants were unfazed by these comments and remarks, these stereotypes were sometimes problematic as they perpetuated their sense of not knowing where they culturally belonged. Participants had trouble fully identifying their parental countries of origin as they were not born there or had since moved to New Zealand for a significant time. At other times, these remarks were derogatory and even hostile and sometimes at the boundaries of bullying and harassment.

As individuals from SGRMB are racially and ethnically different from the majority of the New Zealand population, they are frequently regarded as foreigners even though many are New Zealand Citizens by birthright. This was highlighted by Alison's stories of her interactions with patients who assumed she was a migrant nurse on a working visa. These findings are similar to those of Parks and Yoo (2016) and Chimienti et al. (2019), who found that members of some ethnic groups continue to be regarded as foreign despite their citizenship status. These perceptions are also continually upheld by racial stereotypes that generalise the experiences of migrants and refugees without acknowledging the intersectionality of ethnic differences, socioeconomic backgrounds and a range of other demographic factors (Ruiz et al., 2023). While a few participants spoke openly about experiences of discrimination, bullying and harassment, many

others minimised their experiences of racial discrimination. These findings are also similar to those of Huang (2021), who found that the SGRMB in the Asian American context would employ similar strategies to feel less marginalised in the workplace. Female participants have also reported witnessing and experiencing sexual harassment themselves during their early career experiences. While others from non-SGRMB backgrounds may also experience gender discrimination and harassment, the intersection of race and ethnicity may exacerbate these experiences amongst SGRMB individuals (McBride et al., 2015).

While other groups and individuals from non-second-generation refugee and migrant backgrounds may also experience conflicting values within their early careers, the point of difference for SGRMB is that their values that conflict within their career contexts are tied to their social identities as second-generation individuals from ethnically diverse backgrounds. Participants in this study reflected on the challenges of navigating conflicting attitudes, values and beliefs internally at the individual level and externally with their respective cultures and societal expectations. Discussions earlier in this chapter have outlined the intersecting influences of parental involvement, collectivist cultural expectations and social factors on the early career choices and pathways of SGRMB. However, these pressures to conform continue to be prevalent as the SGRMB embark on their early careers within organisations.

Despite how acculturated the SGRMB were and how they had assimilated into New Zealand culture, they found that the cultural values that individuals were instilled with often clashed with what was valued within organisations and the workplace. Examples of these cultural or familial values held by the SGRMB include humility or respect for elders, which can be problematic in a corporate workplace where individual contribution is valued over collective effort and work tasks are valued over relationships. These findings add to the recent studies conducted by the Ministry of Youth Development, which identified that it was common for individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds to experience a clash of values in the Western system with non-Western values they were brought up with (Deane et al., 2023). Baz had spoken to this internal conflict in the context of respecting elders within corporate environments, feeling the need to wait for his colleagues to finish speaking instead of rushing to talk over them and take control of the meeting. This example is like Alison's earlier

example of being conflicted about asking for help in the workplace, as her parents taught her to be as independent as possible. This cultural clash in values tends to happen subconsciously and is often not apparent to individuals from SGRMB unless their manager has raised their behaviour as a concern. This speaks to the nature of some cultural behaviours or values, which are so deeply embedded as part of someone’s psyche that it becomes difficult to distance oneself from them (McIntyre, 2014). On the other hand, these situations can result in cultural misunderstandings that may often portray SGRMB individuals as being ‘difficult’ or ‘odd’ due to their differences.

## 5.5 Relationships between the Key Themes

*Figure 5.3 Upbringing and Culture on the Early Career Choices, Pathways and Expectations of SGRMB*

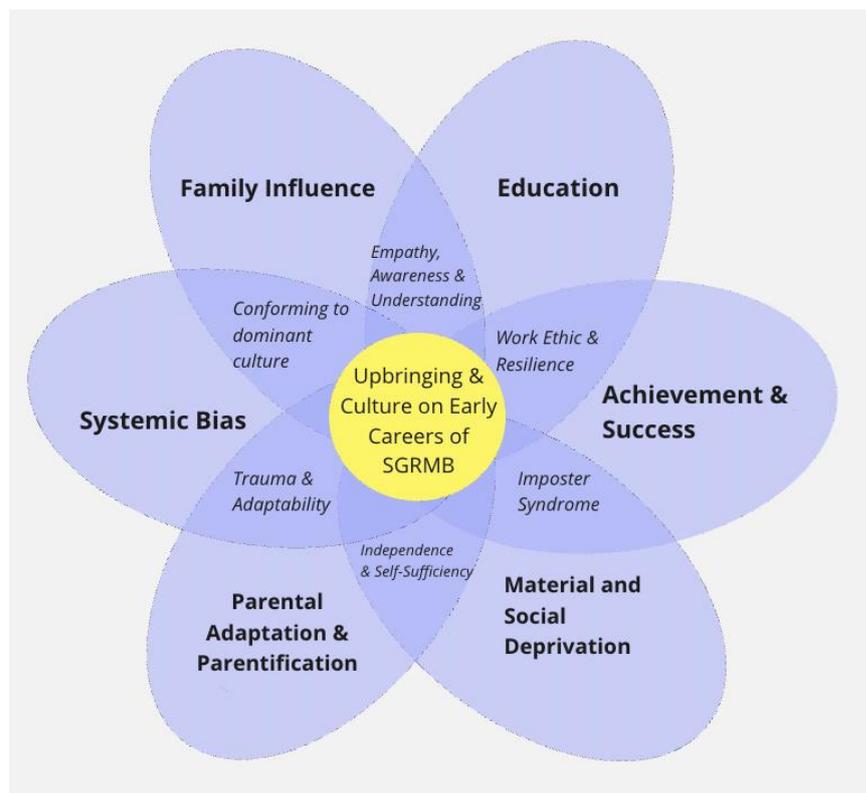


Figure 5.3 illustrates the key themes emerging from the ten stories shared by participants as individual petals of a flower that intersect and overlap with one another to provide insights into how upbringing and culture influence the early career choices and pathways of these participants from SGRMB. Just like the individuals stories from this study, all flowers comprise of different shaped petals and petal sizes, hence since

factors are more prevalent in particular individual stories than others. This can be seen in how the participants stories show that while there are a number of commonalities in terms of their shared experiences, there is also no identical story.

Findings from this study have shown that certain aspects of upbringing and culture, such as family influences, socio-economic contexts and levels of parental adaptation, can influence the early career choices and pathways of SGRMB and impact their early career experiences. The outside petals refer to six overt themes captured from the stories of participants in regards to their early career choices, pathways and experiences. The seventh theme (pressures to fit in and relating to others) are captured in the overlap between 'family influence' and 'systemic bias's suggesting that systemic biases against individuals not belonging to the dominant culture of a society have forced individuals from SGRMB and their family members to try and fit in as much as possible in order to not stand out or be different from everyone else. Furthermore, family members who have experienced racism or other forms of immigration trauma have learnt to 'blend in' as much as possible, thus influencing the values the first generation continue to instil within the SGRMB individuals. The themes within the overlap of other petals capture other sub-themes that exist within the larger themes (the petals) that have been discussed in earlier in this chapter.

## 5.6 Career and Wellbeing Implications

Individuals from SGRMB must balance conflicting pressures from family and their ethnically diverse family culture of origin, along with the expectations from the country they have been brought up in. As conformity is often valued more highly within collectivist cultures, individuals from SGRMB may feel pressured to conform to external pressures more than others brought up in an individualist upbringing (Oh, 2013). Those with parents who have acculturated into New Zealand culture are more likely to experience greater independence, autonomy and freedom over their own career decisions. However, findings from this study have also revealed that it often takes time for participants to gain ownership of their early careers. Individuals from SGRMB must figure out their professional identities whilst negotiating their complex cultural identities as part of an ongoing acculturation process. Furthermore, the socio-cultural contexts shaping the upbringing of the SGRMB may make it difficult for some

SGRMB to make early career decisions that are independent of external social and cultural factors and choices that reflect their skills, aptitudes, and interests. As a result, SGRMB are more likely to make early career decisions that may not align with their values and thus experience value incongruence. Another consequence is poorer career satisfaction due to person-job or person-environment misfit, which was also found in studies by Belfi et al. (2022).

All participants in this study spoke about challenges experiencing material and social disadvantage when they were younger, which often directly impacted their parents' migration experiences from a developing country of origin. Participants have also often achieved greater social mobility than their parents, acquiring educational qualifications that have helped them gain well-respected and well-paying roles within organisations and others who have used their knowledge to start their own businesses. While some participants spoke briefly about their finances, scarcity mindsets, and their parents' immigrant mentality, these conversations exceeded the scope of this study. As one of the more important goals for pursuing SGRMB careers is to gain upward mobility and financial stability, it is important to understand the impact upbringing may have on the financial behaviours of SGRMB as they earn. Childhood experiences play a key role in influencing the financial well-being of people (Ullah & Yusheng, 2020), so it may be useful to understand how upbringing within refugee and migrant background settings or cultural values may influence the financial socialisation (Danes, 1994) of SGRMB, along with the implications this could have on SGRMB individuals and their early careers. Although organisations are no longer predominantly responsible for the careers of individual employees to the extent they were in the past (Hall et al., 2018), it is still important for those managing individuals from SGRMB to understand the lived experiences of this group and the factors that may affect their early career development.

Throughout their stories, many participants spoke concerning wellbeing experiences, including extreme exhaustion and sometimes burnout during their early careers. These experiences have often resulted from a combination of factors, including career indecision due to conflicting external pressures and expectations, workload and ineffective management. Cultural expectations of success based on collectivist values

tend to differ from those of individualistic values that are valued within New Zealand workplaces. These conflicting values can result in cultural tensions for the SGRMB as they navigate two or more cultural contexts dependent on their ethnic identities. These can also contribute to the experiences of acculturation or bi-cultural stress, which has been discussed by scholars such as (Yoon et al., 2011; Yoon et al., 2013; Yoon et al., 2017).

A number of participants shared experiences related to systemic biases and their identities as SGRMB within the workplace, citing instances of prejudice, discrimination and bias. While in many instances, these interactions were well-meaning and harmless, at other times, these contributed to bullying and harassment with the potential for long-term impacts on the psychological well-being of individuals from SGRMB. This also suggests a lack of cultural awareness within organisations and an opportunity for greater cultural intelligence to facilitate more effective engagement with multicultural differences (Livermore et al., 2012). Individuals seek belonging within workplaces to feel valued and included, and thus, organisations may need to consider how organisational cultures create psychological safety and to enable conversations about discrimination, bias and cultural differences. However, these challenges are also likely to mimic structural inequalities that exist beyond the organisations in wider New Zealand society. Such inequalities are deeply entrenched in colonial perspectives and are visible in existing tension surrounding multicultural versus biculturalism within New Zealand (Ritchie, 2020; Nayer, 2013; Smith, 2010).

Several participants in this study spoke about the experiences of parentification and having to take on family or cultural responsibilities, though it is unknown whether participants continued to face ongoing expectations to fulfil cultural responsibilities that may continue to interfere with their career development. Further research is therefore required to understand the nature of these cultural responsibilities better and whether they may continue to impact the early career development of SGRMB and aspects of their early career, such as work-life balance.

In addition to acculturation stress, there were also the effects of intergenerational trauma, which participants experienced indirectly through their parents' experiences of immigration trauma. For those of individuals from refugee backgrounds, their

parents' experiences of trauma included fleeing from war, conflict and in some cases, persecution. Given the sensitivity of issues surrounding intergenerational trauma, this was sometimes a topic that was not often talked about by participants. However, it was evident that many participants experienced challenges with their psychological well-being through the depiction of their struggles with their self-efficacy, self-esteem, stress and anxiety. While some participants could speak to their parents about their early career experiences and the challenges they experienced at work, a number of participants felt they couldn't speak openly about work-related stressors due to intergenerational gaps and gaps. Closed-off communication between the first generation and SGRMB due to cultural communication styles and trauma, along with socio-cultural stigma around mental health, created barriers for the SGRMB, who often felt they had to shoulder their struggles alone (Bloch, 2018). Participants also equated their problems to 'first world problems', especially for those of refugee backgrounds who felt their parents' sacrifices were more significant and of a life-threatening nature.

Rarely did other participants speak about the influence of career counsellors at school, suggesting the limited impact school career counselling has had for this group. Only one participant spoke about their experience with a career counsellor at school, who pointed them to a career pathway into business management, which they had initially dismissed. Research within career education has acknowledged the importance of career counselling, especially with a social justice approach to ensure that all school leavers, regardless of their diverse backgrounds, are equipped with the skills and competencies to navigate their careers (Irving, 2015; McMahon et al., 2008; Yates & Bruce, 2017). This is especially critical given that schools are important institutions where individuals from SGRMB can potentially access formal career support that they otherwise would struggle to access at home due to their parents' limited social and cultural capital.

Individuals from migrant and refugee backgrounds require culturally responsive career counselling that acknowledges the complexities they experience navigating different cultures and the expectations that come with them (Howard et al., 2011). Apulu (2022) also highlighted the importance of culturally responsive career counselling for Pacific youth in New Zealand. However, for this group of participants, it appears that school-based career counselling was not a particularly influential model, suggesting a

culturally responsive and more holistic approach is needed for career counselling to be effective in schools (Yates & Bruce, 2017). A holistic approach would be culturally responsive and consider broader cultural and contextual factors of individuals from SGRMB.

## 5.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the key findings relating to how upbringing and culture influence the early career choices and pathways of individuals from SGRMB, along with the impacts on their early career experiences. Notable findings have included that aspects of upbringing such as family, culture and socioeconomic status intersect to influence this group's early career choices and pathways.

Regarding the impacts of upbringing and culture on the early career experiences, their identities as SGRMB straddling two distinct cultures (parental country of origin - New Zealand culture) have contributed to experiences of identity insecurity within their early careers. Their early career achievement and successes were discussed, along with the challenges they often experienced validating those achievements. Systemic biases were also found to be a barrier to early career at most times and for a number of participants.

The following and final chapter will summarise these discussions linking them back to research outcomes and questions. It will also highlight the main contributions of this study, the research significance, limitations, and opportunities for further research.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion

### 6.1 Overview and Significance of this study

This final chapter will summarise the key contributions of this study that explored the influence and impact of upbringing and culture on early career choices, pathways and experiences of SGRMB. It will discuss contributions to theory, outline study implications, and provide recommendations for future research. By exploring the stories of the individuals from SGRMB, this thesis has highlighted the intergenerational impacts migration can have on the working lives of the second and subsequent generations within New Zealand.

In capturing the influence of upbringing and culture on the early career choices and pathways of SGRMB, this study acknowledges that there may be differences between the experiences of the SGRMB due to the diversity of this group. This research has aspired to give voices to individuals from SGRMB in New Zealand, noting the research gap that exists in terms of the experiences of this group, especially in terms of their early career development (Marlowe et al., 2014). The qualitative research has been designed based on a relativist ontology, constructivist epistemology, and an interpretivism paradigm. It has used narrative inquiry as the methodology and employed stories to elicit participants' experiences. Two research questions were developed to investigate the early career experiences of SGRMB within New Zealand:

1. How do upbringing and culture influence the early career choices and pathways of SGRMB?
2. How do upbringing and culture impact the early career experiences of SGRMB?

A thematic analysis based on the narratives shared by ten SGRMB participants summarised into interpretative stories found that the influences of family, culture and socio-economic status intersect to shape the early career choices and pathways of the SGRMB. The influence of family, in particular, was prevalent across the participants' experiences, although parental involvement was more evident in the early career development of some participants than others and was often shaped by strict parental expectations.

First-generation migrants and refugees have endured great hardships and made significant sacrifices to ensure their children (the second generation) have a better quality of life. Given their circumstances and loss of status through migration, the first generation has worked hard to ensure their children have access to the opportunities they had often missed out on. As a result of these social and cultural dynamics, there is an unspoken expectation that the SGRMB (the children) reciprocate their parents' efforts through the attainment of a well-respected and financially secure career, in which this success would be seen to reflect the collective success of the family (Choudhuri & Stebnicki, 2015). Furthermore, due to their collectivist cultural backgrounds, SGRMB individuals emphasised early career choices that align with the collective identity and are likely to have greater involvement from family members, especially their parents. Moreover, migration has often contributed to a loss of status, therefore challenging socioeconomic circumstances have motivated participants to achieve better outcomes. Hence, SGRMB from an early age were often strongly encouraged by their parents to follow formal educational pathways into their early careers.

The level of acculturation achieved by the first generation (parental adaptation) also influenced the early career choices and pathways of the second generation, affecting the level of support or guidance SGRMB individuals could receive from their parents. In addition, those with parents who had struggled to acculturate had to take on responsibilities on behalf of their parents from a young age (parentification). While this has left adverse psychological effects impacting the self-efficacy and self-confidence of participants, it has also made them high-achieving, resilient, empathetic, adaptable and competent individuals.

Another significant finding was how salient identity was in terms of the early career experiences of SGRMB. Participants reflected on their identities as SGRMB and the complexities of navigating a cultural middle ground influenced by their parental countries of origin (collectivist) and New Zealand (individualist) culture and the challenges that brought them within the workplace. Furthermore, systemic biases were prevalent through their interactions with colleagues and managers.

While it was found that SGRMB individuals faced a number of challenges throughout their early careers, there were also a number of stories around their wins, personal agency, personal development and key successes.

### 6.1.1 Contributions to Knowledge Early Career Development of SGRMB

Research on the early career choices, pathways and experiences of the SGRMB is an area of growing interest within academia, including as a topic of research for theses and dissertations amongst international postgraduate students (Garcia, 2023; Akosah-Twumasi, 2021; Tibajev, 2022) whose personal experiences often align with the topic. The experiences of the 'second generation' is often amalgamated into that of ethnically diverse communities or those from first generation refugee and migrant backgrounds, thus, it is difficult to understand the unique challenges each generation may experience as a result of migration (Chimienti et al., 2019). Therefore, this study contributes to understanding of SGRMB, knowledge that has been typically generated within the European and North American contexts. More notably, this study contributes to building our understanding of ethnically diverse SGRMB whose parents who arrived in New Zealand as refugees and migrants since the changes made to Immigration Policy post-1960 in New Zealand, the experiences of the 'second generation' from ethnically diverse migrants and refugees.

The study draws on diverse research areas to explain the role of upbringing and culture on SGRMB's early career choices, pathways, and experiences, in particular SCCT. It has drawn on literature from career development theory, migration studies, cross-cultural psychology, education and health in order to validate the experiences of participants within the study (Zwysen & Longhi, 2018; Stebleton, 2007; Yoon et al., 2011; Koçak et al., 2021), thus creating an interdisciplinary perspective around this topic. Studies exploring the early career experiences of SGRMB have tended to focus on employment outcomes comparing them to those of first-generation former refugees or migrants, or peers from non-refugee or migrant backgrounds, instead of generating greater understanding of intercultural workplace dynamics (Belfi et al., 2022, Zywsen & Longhi, 2018; Laurijssen & Glorieux, 2015) for their impact on career development.

A recommendation posed by McIntyre (2014) to explore how socio-cultural factors may continue to influence changes in cultural values over time, and how these changes

may influence cross-cultural dynamics within the workplace was also addressed within this study. Findings from this study have extended McIntyre's work in that they have explored the effect of migration and acculturation on the second generation (SGRMB) within New Zealand, thus going beyond the scope of earlier research, which focused on first-generation migrants from Chinese and Indian ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, the study has also tied together discussions around cultural workplace dynamics with career development.

### 6.1.2 Methodological Contributions

A four-step analytical framework was developed and implemented to analyse the stories shared by participants in this study. While narrative inquiry methodology offers great flexibility to analyse data in several ways (Kim, 2016), this study has incorporated an analysis of narratives along with thematic analysis techniques to extrapolate the data from the participant stories shared during their semi-structured, in-depth interviews. Firstly, interviews were transcribed. Secondly, a narrative analysis was conducted by restorying participants' stories into interpretative stories. Thirdly, an analysis of narratives by themes was conducted to explore the individual and collective themes within the stories and interview transcripts. Lastly, key themes across the stories were collated.

To identify the key themes around how upbringing and culture influence the early career choices and pathways of SGRMB along with the impact it has on their early career experiences, interpretative stories were constructed with each participant's experiences. This was before key collective themes were identified, and a thematic analysis of insights across these stories was conducted.

Although the combined narrative and thematic analysis approach is not novel, there are different ways that researchers have gone about analysing narratives using a thematic approach (Fraser, 2004, Butina, 2015; Nowell, 2017). Therefore, the four-step analytical framework developed specifically for this study may provide a valuable reference for other researchers who wish to understand the lived experiences of individuals from marginalised groups.

## 6.2 Implications of the Study

### 6.2.1 SGRMB individuals and their Professional Careers

Findings from this study firstly have implications for individuals from SGRMB and their careers, as discussed in the previous discussion chapter. Individuals need to be aware of how their cultural upbringing and identity can influence their early career development so that they can make informed decisions about their early careers. Although individuals from SGRMB may be naturally empathetic and culturally aware due to their cultural upbringing across two or more cultures, they should continue engaging in opportunities to develop their cultural intelligence.

### 6.2.2 Managers and Organisations

It will also be necessary for hiring managers and direct managers of those from SGRMB to be aware of how migration may still have an impact on the second generation and influence the ongoing processes of cultural values and identity as they evolve, as part of ongoing diversity management initiatives. The diversity of thought that exists amongst individuals from SGRMB, influenced by their diverse upbringing as children of former refugees and migrants, can be incredibly beneficial towards innovation within workplaces. Diversity has been highlighted in a recent article by McCausland (2021) which also supports the value of underrepresented individuals within workplaces. Therefore, managers should be cognisant of how the psychological process of cultural change (acculturation) can take place over three or four generations as individuals with family migration backgrounds adjust and adapt towards changing socio-cultural or socio-political contexts within New Zealand over generations (Mesoudi, 2018).

Influenced by their family migration backgrounds, individuals from SGRMB possess adaptability, resilience, empathy, and cultural competency early on in life, which can help them navigate the beginning of their careers more independently, however these are also qualities in which organisations can leverage for greater organisational efficiency, performance, productivity and competitive advantage (Mazibuko & Govender, 2017; Muchiri & Ayoko, 2013). However, Human Resources and Talent Acquisition teams must ensure that individuals from SGRMB are hired into roles that align with their interests, skills and experiences. Organisations should also foster

inclusive environments where there are high levels of psychological safety to ensure individuals from diverse backgrounds feel safe expressing their cultural identity at work and do not feel as though they must disregard aspects of their cultural identity to fit in for career success.

Organisations must be aware of systemic biases within organisational culture that may hinder the growth and development of individuals SGRMB. Findings from this study highlighted that SGRMBs from ethnically diverse backgrounds are subject to discrimination that tends to be exacerbated by racial stereotyping despite their identities as second-generation New Zealanders. While some stereotypes can be conducive to career success (in line with the Model Minority myth, which assumes that all individuals from an Asian background are intelligent and hardworking), other stereotypes can threaten psychological well-being and impact self-esteem and consequently individual careers over time (Shih et al., 2019). Therefore, organisations must engage in cultural competency that goes beyond unconscious bias training to recognise diversity properly and foster inclusion beyond racial stereotyping.

### 6.2.3 Career Development Professionals

While one participant spoke about their experiences with a career counsellor at school, other participants rarely spoke about the influence of career counsellors at school, suggesting the limited impact school career counselling has had on this group. Research within career education has acknowledged the importance of career counselling, especially with a social justice approach to ensure that all school leavers, regardless of their diverse backgrounds, are equipped with the skills and competencies to navigate their careers (McMahon et al., 2008; Irving, 2010; Furbish, 2016). This is especially critical given that schools are important institutions where individuals from SGRMB can potentially access formal career support that they otherwise would struggle to access at home due to their parents' limited social and cultural capital. For this group of participants, it appears that school-based career counselling was not a particularly influential model, suggesting a culturally responsive and more holistic approach is needed for career counselling to be effective in schools (Yates & Bruce, 2017). A holistic approach would be culturally responsive and consider broader cultural and contextual factors of individuals from SGRMB.

Whether for high school career counselling or general career development for early career professionals, individuals from migrant and refugee backgrounds require culturally responsive career counselling that acknowledges the complexities they experience navigating different cultures and the expectations that come with them (Howard & Solberg, 2011). Apulu (2022) also highlighted the importance of culturally responsive career counselling for Pacific youth in New Zealand. However, there remains an opportunity for culturally responsive career development practices beyond the Pacific ethnic group to reflect the ethnic diversity within New Zealand's workforce.

### 6.3 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

However, there are some limitations with this study. The sample size of ten participants for this study is relatively small. Thus, it is not possible to generalise the findings beyond this specific and unique participant group of individuals from SGRMB in New Zealand. Further research with a larger sample size is required to conclude the early career experiences of SGRMB and the influence of upbringing and culture. However, for this Master's study, a sample size of ten participants is considered sufficient based on guidelines by Daniel (2012).

Results from this study may also be skewed, firstly from its recruitment criteria requiring participants to hold at least a tertiary-level qualification. This is likely not representative of the general population from a second-generation refugee and migrant background as it may not capture the individuals who may choose to undertake entrepreneurship or an apprenticeship.

Although two complementary sampling measures were used to source participants (purposive convenience sampling and then snowball sampling), another limitation of this study involved the convenience sampling technique used initially to generate interest from personal networks, which risks a biased sample with similar backgrounds (Given, 2008). Therefore, the purposive convenience sampling technique limited the recruitment of participants to close networks of myself as the researcher to begin with before outreach began to diversify following a social media post with the recruitment advertisement on LinkedIn. Another recommendation for further research would be to

use an alternative sampling technique along with snowball sampling to reduce the risk of bias. This will also allow the recruitment of participants from across New Zealand.

A third recommendation would be to conduct a longitudinal study to explore the experiences of these participants after ten years to understand whether there are changes in how their cultural upbringing has influenced or impacted their career experiences over time. A mixed-method approach to ensure findings around outcomes of SGRMB careers would also be helpful to capture further insights regarding this group. Additionally, it would be interesting to also capture the perspectives of employers/managers and even their first-generation parents to gain a broader perspective on these issues being researched. Further to this, more research into the value of an interdisciplinary approach towards understanding the career development and experiences of SGRMB would be helpful.

## 6.4 Chapter Summary

This study examines the early career development of SGRMB to understand better the role of upbringing and culture on the early career choices, pathways, and experiences of SGRMB from New Zealand. Findings have provided great insights about the experiences of this group that have been under-researched and un-documented in research, thus contributing to the gap in understanding how migration and acculturation may continue to affect the working lives of individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds over generations.

The study adds to existing literature that has explored the lived experiences of the second generation from refugee and migrant backgrounds in other contexts such as Europe and North America. Of greatest significance, this study has collectively explored the early career experiences of second-generation individuals from refugee and migrant backgrounds in New Zealand. The benefits of addressing such gaps enable the voices of this group to be amplified and their experiences to be better understood, bringing to light the unique contexts that influence the experiences of SGRMB. This awareness is necessary to improve diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives within organisations and across New Zealand society amidst constant demographic changes.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A Ethics Approval



### Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

Auckland University of Technology  
D-88, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142, NZ  
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316  
E: [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz)  
[www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics](http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics)

TE WĀNANGA ARONUI  
O TĀMAKI MAKĀU RAU

21 October 2022

Barbara Myers  
Faculty of Business Economics and Law

Dear Barbara

**Ethics Application:** 22/302 Diversity, Equity and Inclusion. A narrative inquiry into the early career experiences of second-generation workers from refugee and migrant backgrounds in New Zealand

Thank you for submitting your application for ethical review. We are pleased to advise that the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) approved your ethics application at their meeting on 17 October 2022, subject to:

1. Clarification of who the existing networks are and how they are being approached;
2. Amendment of Information sheet as follows:
  - a. Inclusion of the primary researcher's ethnicity in the invitation section;
  - b. Revision of "how identified" section of to reflect how the person came to receive the advertisement;
  - c. Inclusion of the inclusion and exclusion criteria;
  - d. Inclusion in the "how do I take part" section advice regarding how the communicate a willingness to take part to the researcher;
  - e. Inclusion in the "what will happen" advice to pass study information on to anyone they think may be interested in taking part;
3. Clarification of what other information is being recorded from participant e.g. demographic data;
4. Reconsideration of how participants might refer to their workplace and how this will be managed.

Please provide us with a response to the points raised in these conditions, indicating either how you have satisfied these points or proposing an alternative approach. AUTEC also requires copies of any altered documents, such as Information Sheets, surveys etc. You are not required to resubmit the application form again. Any changes to responses in the form required by the committee in their conditions may be included in a supporting memorandum.

Please note that the Committee is always willing to discuss with applicants the points that have been made. There may be information that has not been made available to the Committee, or aspects of the research may not have been fully understood.

Once your response is received and confirmed as satisfying the Committee's points, you will be notified of the full approval of your ethics application. Full approval is not effective until all the conditions have been met. Data collection may not commence until full approval has been confirmed. If these conditions are not met within six months, your application may be closed and a new application will be required if you wish to continue with this research.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, we ask that you use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz).

We look forward to hearing from you,

(This is a computer-generated letter for which no signature is required)

The AUTEC Secretariat  
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: [vpg3542@autuni.ac.nz](mailto:vpg3542@autuni.ac.nz); [irene.ryan@aut.ac.nz](mailto:irene.ryan@aut.ac.nz)

## Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

Auckland University of Technology  
D-88, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142, NZ  
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[www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics](http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics)

16 November 2022

Barbara Myers  
Faculty of Business Economics and Law

Dear Barbara

Re Ethics Application: 22/302 Diversity, Equity and Inclusion. A narrative inquiry into the early career experiences of second-generation workers from refugee and migrant backgrounds in New Zealand

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 15 November 2025.

### Non-Standard Conditions of Approval

1. Please ensure that the comments have been switched off on social media ads;
2. Please provide an assurance that "referral" in the Information Sheet means the potential volunteer received study information from another research participant who thought they might be interested in taking part.

Non-standard conditions must be completed before commencing your study. Non-standard conditions do not need to be submitted to or reviewed by AUTEC before commencing your study.

### Standard Conditions of Approval

1. The research is to be undertaken in accordance with the [Auckland University of Technology Code of Conduct for Research](#) and as approved by AUTEC in this application.
2. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using the EA2 form.
3. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using the EA3 form.
4. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form.
5. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
6. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
7. It is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard and that all the dates on the documents are updated.
8. AUTEC grants ethical approval only. You are responsible for obtaining management approval for access for your research from any institution or organisation at which your research is being conducted and you need to meet all ethical, legal, public health, and locality obligations or requirements for the jurisdictions in which the research is being undertaken.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

For any enquiries please contact [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz). The forms mentioned above are available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>

(This is a computer-generated letter for which no signature is required)

The AUTEC Secretariat  
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: [vpg3542@autuni.ac.nz](mailto:vpg3542@autuni.ac.nz); [irene.ryan@aut.ac.nz](mailto:irene.ryan@aut.ac.nz)



## Participant Information Sheet

### Date Information Sheet Produced:

18 September 2022

### Project Title

Diversity, Equity and Inclusion. A Narrative Inquiry into the Early Career Experiences of Second-Generation Workers from Refugee and Migrant Backgrounds in New Zealand

### An Invitation

Kia ora. My name is Tracy Han and I am carrying out this research to partially fulfil the requirements of my Masters degree at Auckland University of Technology (AUT). My research question asks about the early career experiences of second-generation workers from refugee and migrant background.

### What is the purpose of this research?

This research project will explore the career experiences of second-generation workers of refugee and migrant backgrounds. Given the unique migration histories of migrants and refugees, this study aims to understand how family migration journeys have influenced the upbringing of the second generation and how cultural expectations have shaped their career choices, experiences, expectations and aspirations.

### How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You were identified to participate in this research because you are a second-generation refugee and/or migrant. By this I mean that you were either born in New Zealand with at least one parent who arrived in New Zealand as a refugee or migrant, or you arrived in New Zealand as a young child. You will also be tertiary qualified and have had between 3 to 5 years of New Zealand work experience.

### How do I agree to participate in this research?

To participate in this research, you will need to complete a consent form to confirm that you have read the Participant Information Sheet and that you agree to take part in this research.

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

### What will happen in this research?

Once you have read the participant information sheet and agreed to take part by completing a consent form (written or audio recorded) you will have an interview with the researcher of up to 60 minutes, but no more than 90 minutes.

Interviews will take place face-to-face in public meeting rooms at one of the AUT Campuses (either Akoranga, City or South Campus). In some cases, a face-to-face interview may not be possible and an online interview via Microsoft Teams or Zoom will be carried out. In this research, you will be asked a range of open-ended questions where you will be encouraged to share your early career experiences.

### What are the discomforts and risks?

It is not anticipated that there will be any significant discomfort or risk in the overall interview. However, there may be some discomfort experienced as you reflect on the reasons for family migration, the experiences of your parents before during and after their migration and any impact this has had on your early career experiences.

### How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

You are not required to answer any questions that you are not comfortable with. You can stop the interview and/or leave the interview at any point. You may withdraw from the research altogether.

AUT Student Counselling and Mental Health is able to offer three free sessions of confidential counselling support for adult participants in an AUT research project. These sessions are only available for issues that have arisen directly as a result of participation in the research and are not for other general counselling needs. To access these services, you will need to:

- drop into our centre at WB203 City Campus, email [counselling@aut.ac.nz](mailto:counselling@aut.ac.nz) or call 921 9998.
- let the receptionist know that you are a research participant, and provide the title of my research and my name and contact details as given in this Information Sheet.

You can find out more information about AUT counsellors and counselling on <https://www.aut.ac.nz/student-life/student-support/counselling-and-mental-health>

#### **What are the benefits?**

The benefit of this research is that participants will have the opportunity to share their early career experiences, to develop greater understanding and insights into their career experiences and aspirations within their cultural context.

This research will also benefit Human Resources and hiring managers to better appreciate the challenges around diversity, equity and inclusion experienced by ethnically diverse New Zealanders from second and subsequent generations. These insights would be helpful for identifying the necessary solutions to better support early career professionals with processes such as recruitment, onboarding, training & development.

This research will also benefit myself as the researcher, as it partially fulfils the requirements for my qualification.

#### **How will my privacy be protected?**

Interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed for the purposes of data-analysis. All transcriptions will be kept confidential, secure and will only be accessible by myself and my research supervisors.

Your confidentiality in this research study is assured. No identifiable information about you will be included in the research findings or any outputs from the research. Your name will not be used. Instead, a pseudonym will be used to further maintain confidentiality.

You will also have the opportunity to review your interview transcript so that you can correct any aspects of the transcript and also remove any information that could identify you. Your interview transcript would be emailed to you, and you will have two weeks to review and make any changes for this purpose.

#### **What are the costs of participating in this research?**

Participation in this project will involve approximately 3 hours of your time.

- Approximately 10 minutes to read the Participant Information Sheet and sign the consent form
- Approximately 60-90 minute individual interview
- Time to review your individual interview transcript.

Further costs may include travel time and expenses, and internet connection for online interviews.

#### **What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?**

You will have approximately 2 weeks to consider this invitation. One reminder will be sent to you after two weeks to confirm whether you have any further questions about the research and whether you still wish to participate in the research study.

#### **Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?**

A one to two page summary of the research findings will be available to participants. In order to receive this summary, please tick the appropriate box in the consent form.

You will be able to access my final thesis after it is completed, by searching <https://tuwhera.aut.ac.nz/open-theses>.

#### **What do I do if I have concerns about this research?**

Any questions regarding this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Barbara Myers, [Barbara.myers@aut.ac.nz](mailto:Barbara.myers@aut.ac.nz), (09) 921 9999 ext. 5366.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTECH, [ethics@aut.ac.nz](mailto:ethics@aut.ac.nz), (+649) 921 9999 ext 6038.

**Whom do I contact for further information about this research?**

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

***Researcher Contact Details:***

Tracy Han, [vpg3542@aut.ac.nz](mailto:vpg3542@aut.ac.nz)

***Project Supervisor Contact Details:***

Dr Barbara Myers, [Barbara.myers@aut.ac.nz](mailto:Barbara.myers@aut.ac.nz)

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16 November 2022, AUTEK Reference number 22/302.



## Consent Form

**Project title:** *Diversity, Equity and Inclusion. A Narrative Inquiry into the Early Career Experiences of Second-Generation Workers from Refugee and Migrant backgrounds in New Zealand*

**Project Supervisors:** *Dr Barbara Myers & Dr Irene Ryan*

**Researcher:** *Tracy Han*

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated dd mmmm yyyy.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- I understand that I will have two weeks to review my interview transcript and make any changes, for the purpose of removing any information which could make me identifiable.
- I agree to take part in this research.
- I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes  No

Participant's signature: .....

Participant's name: .....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

Date:

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16 November 2022, AUTEK Reference number 22/302**

**Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form**



## **Research on Early Career Experiences of Second-Generation Workers from Refugee and Migrant Backgrounds**

*Are you a second-generation New Zealander from refugee and/or migrant background? Would you like to explore how your background and upbringing has shaped your early career experiences?*

This study involves an individual interview where you will have the opportunity to share your story and explore how your culture, identity and upbringing have contributed to your early career experiences as a second-generation worker from refugee and migrant backgrounds in New Zealand.

### **Take part in this research if you:**

- Have at least one parent who arrived in New Zealand as a migrant or refugee
- Was born in New Zealand or arrived in New Zealand at a young age
- Have a tertiary qualification
- Have had between 3-5 years of work experience
- Would like to share your early career experiences

If you are interested, please contact Tracy, [vpg3542@aut.ac.nz](mailto:vpg3542@aut.ac.nz)

*Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 16 November 2022, AUT Reference 22/302*

Tracy Han 14866937

## Indicative Interview Questions

### Project Title

Diversity, Equity and Inclusion. A Narrative Inquiry into the Early Career Experiences of Second-Generation Workers from Refugee and Migrant Backgrounds in New Zealand

### Research Questions

What are the early career experiences of second-generation workers from refugee and migrant backgrounds in New Zealand?

How has identity, upbringing and culture shaped these early career experiences?

What is the impact of identity, upbringing, and culture on the early career experiences of second-generation workers from refugee and migrant backgrounds?

### Indicative Interview Questions

#### *Tell me about yourself*

- What names do you go by?
- What do you do?
- What is your cultural and ethnic background?
- What are your different identities?

#### *Tell me about your parents' migration journey to New Zealand*

- How would you describe your parent's resettlement experiences?
- How would you describe your parent's education and career experiences?
- What were some key issues or challenges your parents' experienced?
- How have these experiences shaped who you are as an individual?

#### *Tell me about your childhood and upbringing*

- What were you like growing up?
- What was your role in the family?
- How would you describe your own experiences of schooling and the education system in New Zealand?
- What were some key issues or challenges your parents' faced that impacted you as you were growing up?
- What were your career aspirations when you were younger?

#### *Tell me about your early career decisions*

- How did you go about making the decision to go to university?
- What were the decisions you made in response to choosing a career?
- What were some key issues or challenges you experienced?
- In what ways does the career pathway you are pursuing align or not align with the career aspirations you had when you were younger?

#### *Tell me about your early career experiences*

- What were the experiences in your early career?
- What were some key issues or challenges that took place within your early career?
- How do you think your culture and upbringing, including your identity as a second-generation worker from refugee and migrant background has impacted these issues and challenges?